TRANSPERSONAL PSYCHOLOGY'S HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP TO MAINSTREAM AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGY

by

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Abstract

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This study reviewed transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American (United States) psychology. A historic-hermeneutic perspective was taken wherein transpersonal psychology was viewed as an event emerging out of and alongside other areas of American psychology, including behaviorism, psychoanalysis, humanistic psychology, cognitive psychology, and more recently, positive psychology. Founders of transpersonal psychology, who were interviewed included Ken Wilber, Roger Walsh, Frances Vaughan, Stanislav Grof, Ralph Metzner, Stanley Krippner, Huston Smith, James Fadiman, Miles Vich, Charles Tart, and Michael Washburn. These individuals answered general questions with regard to transpersonal psychology's development over the past 35 years as well as more specific inquiries into their involvement in mainstream psychology. In order to provide a counterpoint to the transpersonal perspective, historians of American psychology were also interviewed. These individuals commented on the place of transpersonal psychology in the history of American psychology, whether or not they view transpersonal psychology as a subdiscipline of American psychology, and if they believed that transpersonal psychology could have a viable relationship with mainstream American psychology in the future. Results indicated that neither its founders nor historians of psychology consider transpersonal psychology an influential force in American psychology. Transpersonal psychology's failure to influence mainstream

American psychology was attributed to mainstream psychologists' resistance to spiritual and philosophical ideas as well as to transpersonal psychologists' tendency to isolate themselves from the mainstream. However, both groups suggested that with the current rise of positive psychology and a popular interest in spirituality transpersonal psychology might be able to engage with mainstream psychology in the future. Finally, both groups offered suggestions for how transpersonal psychologists can participate more dynamically in mainstream American psychology. Both groups suggested that transpersonal psychologists become more involved with the mainstream, and do so by emphasizing existing similarities shared with the mainstream rather than focusing on historical differences.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

Transpersonal psychology occupies an unusual position in the history of American (United States) psychology. Unlike its predecessors—psychoanalysis, behaviorism, and humanistic psychology—transpersonal psychology has yet to be formally recognized by the American Psychological Association (APA) or most academic institutions as a legitimate area of study. Although in existence for over 35 years, transpersonal psychology is rarely mentioned in mainstream academic journals and few academicians consider themselves experts in the field. Nonetheless, transpersonal schools, journals, and associations exist in several countries around the world (Harttelius & Rardin, 2003). Furthermore, transpersonal psychologists practice therapy in a diverse array of settings and in a number of different countries.

The reasons for transpersonal psychology's exclusion from what might be called "mainstream" American psychology are unclear. Among the possible explanations are these:

1. Transpersonal psychology is still emerging as a distinct and meaningful area of study, and thus has yet to be identified as an integral aspect of mainstream psychology.
2. Mainstream psychologists have ignored transpersonal psychology because it does not fit their definition of a legitimate approach to psychological inquiry.
3. Transpersonal psychologists have historically isolated themselves from mainstream psychology, failing to participate in or contribute to mainstream institutions, journals, and organizations.

4. Transpersonal psychology represents an intellectual tradition that is at odds with the values of mainstream American psychology—that is, it operates from assumptions and utilizes methods that are not recognized by the mainstream.
5. Transpersonal psychology is at odds with itself—that is, practitioners within the field may be in disagreement over what the field represents and what it should study.

The validity of the above conjectures remains an open question. As the field enters its 36th year of research, theory, and practice, it is worth asking what the nature of transpersonal psychology's relationship has been to mainstream American psychology. To what degree has the work of transpersonal psychologists effectively addressed mainstream concerns? To what extent is the work of transpersonal psychologists relevant to mainstream American psychology? How much has the field interfaced or failed to interface with the other areas of American psychology? The current study takes up these questions, first through a review of the available literature, and then by requesting the founders of transpersonal psychology and another group of psychologists familiar with the history of psychology to reflect on the historical relationship of transpersonal psychology to mainstream American psychology.

Throughout this dissertation transpersonal psychology is conceived of as an event held within the context of larger historical events. Transpersonal psychology and its surrounding events are happening in real-time, simultaneously and conjunctively. That is, they are independent events, following idiosyncratic lines of development that nonetheless impact one another's evolution through their relationships to each other. This

perceptual frame will be described in greater detail below. However, the study's general approach is elucidated next.

This study will use a historic-hermeneutic lens in order to generate findings with regard to the topic of transpersonal psychology's historical relationship to mainstream American psychology. This approach will allow the researcher to take a longitudinal perspective on transpersonal psychology's emergence as an independent field of study while at the same time considering its evolution within the context of other historical events. In the psycho-historical tradition of Dilthey (1894/1977), transpersonal psychology is viewed as a meaningful event held in the context of the past and the horizons of the future. The contextual past and horizontal future can both be envisioned, in this case, as moments that hold, yet are simultaneously defined by, the phenomenal event of transpersonal psychology. Part of the historical context within which transpersonal psychology emerged is characterized by mainstream American psychology, and even more specifically, humanistic psychology. Thus, transpersonal psychology is seen as an emerging event defined by its preceding event, humanistic psychology, yet also developing as its own independent movement of inquiry in relation to American psychology as a whole.

Although hermeneutics is most readily known as a method for interpreting Biblical texts (Palmer, 1969), the current study will use hermeneutical analysis in a much more general sense, viewing interpretation as an epistemological and ontological element of evolution itself. In this spirit, this dissertation will offer an interpretation of the history of transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology.

This more general use of hermeneutics is based on the works of Schleirmacher (1959), Dilthey (1894/1977), and Gadamer (1977). Schleirmacher introduced the concept of the "hermeneutical circle," which is the notion that the whole of a thing defines its parts, as the parts of that thing define the whole. Dilthey expanded on Schleirmacher's notion of the hermeneutic circle by adding a dimension of "meaning" to the process of mutual definition. In Dilthey's view, an individual concept derives meaning from a context within which it stands; yet the context is made up of the very elements to which it gives meaning (Palmer, 1969). Furthermore, Dilthey contended that this hermeneutic process was one that took place within a historical context. The evolution of meaning did not happen outside, above or beyond time; it was integrally connected to the evolution of humanity's inner life through history. Thus, the hermeneutic endeavor, in the Diltheyan sense, allows one to understand the meaning of a thing as it changes through history, based on how it is interpreted within a given cultural context.

Finally, Gadamer (1977), echoing Schleirmacher's idea of the hermeneutical circle, offers a dialectical view of hermeneutics. With Gadamer, hermeneutics "is not conceived as a subjective process of man over and against an object but the way of being of man himself; hermeneutics [is] . . . the ontological process in man himself" (Palmer, 1969, p. 209). Thus, Gadamer sees hermeneutics as a universal component of the lifeworld, one that most fundamentally gives meaning, through understanding, to life itself. This nicely ties Dilthey's and Schleirmacher's ideas together, resulting in a perspective that honors the dialectic of coemergence in a historical, evolutionary sense.

Thus, in the tradition of Schleirmacher, Dilthey, and Gadamer, the current study examines the primary ontological meaning of transpersonal psychology as it has

emerged, and continues to emerge, alongside and in relation to mainstream American psychology.

In order to accomplish this task, the researcher first examines the history of American psychology and then more closely inspects the relationship between humanistic psychology and transpersonal psychology. This analysis will be undertaken for the purpose of more fully explaining how transpersonal psychology emerged from the tradition of mainstream American psychology within the specific context of humanistic concerns. At the same time, it will allow one to understand how and why transpersonal psychology is not a "part" of the mainstream, and is in fact, its own peculiar event happening in the larger event of cultural evolution itself (please see Figure 1).

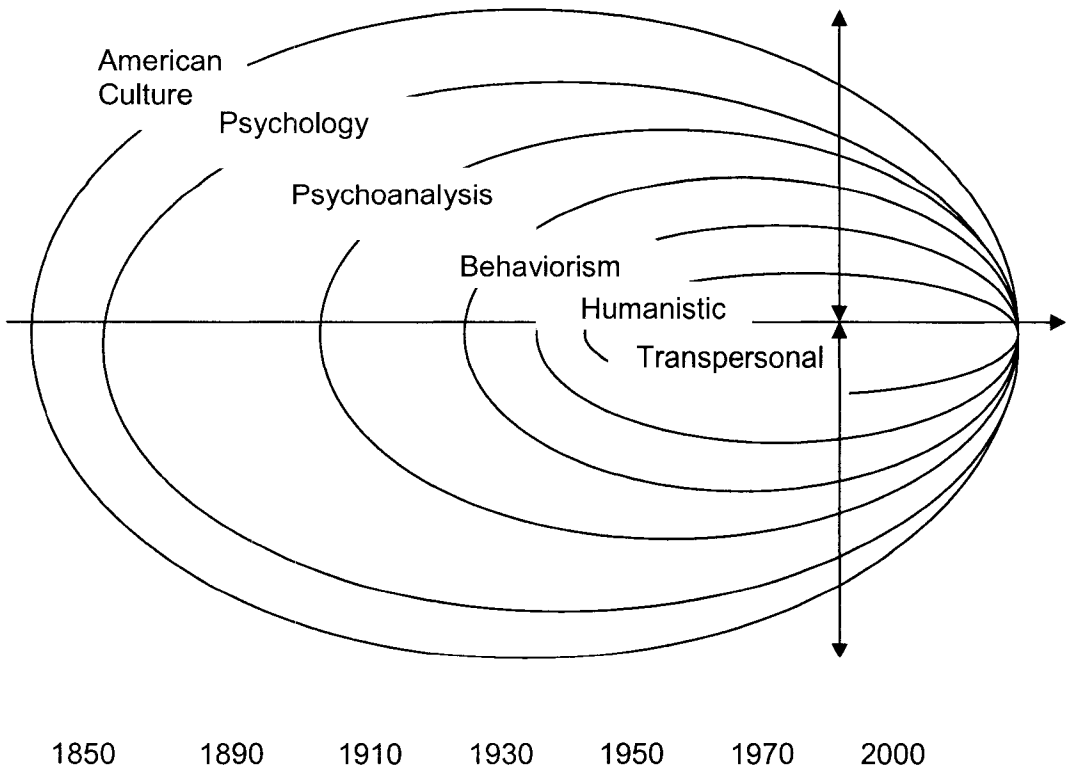

Figure 1. Relation of American culture and schools of psychology.

Although this diagram is simplistic, it allows one to get a sense of how each area of psychology is evolving as its own entity, yet is held in relation to the larger events of American psychology and American culture. It is vital to keep this in mind as this study unfolds. No field, however seemingly independent, exists outside any other. Each is independent in so far as it represents a unique event in evolutionary history, yet is also integrally connected to the events out of which it evolved, and which evolved from it. The arrow pointing to the right represents the passage of time and shows, in a historical sense, how each field is related temporally to the other. The arrows pointing upward and downward in opposite directions indicate how each field in any moment interfaces with all of the others. Again, none is independent unto itself, and each is a contained entity, as is indicated by the circles, with its own phenomenal content.

Having provided this frame, it will now be possible to examine each event in some detail, showing how each relates to the other. In the following pages the history of American psychology is briefly delineated to give the reader a context within which to understand the evolution of transpersonal psychology. By first examining the nature of mainstream American psychology as it emerged in the first half of the 20th Century, one can better understand why transpersonal psychology was perceived in the late 1960s as the necessary next step in the evolution of American psychology.

Therefore, what follows is a delineation of the rise of the first three evolutionary events in American psychology—behaviorism, psychoanalysis, and humanistic psychology. This historical discussion is in turn followed by a review of the development of transpersonal psychology.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The Emergence of Transpersonal Psychology

In order to understand transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology, it is important to first understand the nature of American psychology, how it came into existence, what ideas and people pushed its development forward, and how it has interfaced with the greater cultural context. By understanding American psychology's developmental trajectory, it will become apparent how and why transpersonal psychology developed as an extension of American psychology yet with its own idiosyncratic interests and vision. Because American psychology is a complex and vast historical event in and of itself, the focus here will be placed on behaviorism and psychoanalysis, given that these two orientations dominated the field for most of the 20th Century and because it was these two psychologies that precipitated the creation of the third orientation, humanistic psychology. It is important to keep in mind, however, that other areas such as personality, social, and cognitive psychology have also played an important role in the history of American psychology. The history of these more specialized areas will be touched upon, but not elaborated in detail here.

American Psychology 1890-1960: Behaviorism and Psychoanalysis

The history of American psychology may be said to have started in Germany over 100 years ago. Most historians of psychology credit the founding of modern psychology to Wilhelm Wundt (Koch, 1992). By establishing the first psychology laboratory in Leipzig, Germany in 1897, Wundt is said to have set the stage for what is today considered modern psychology. Wundt, however intentionally or knowingly, shifted the

focus of psychology from a philosophical contemplation of human thought and expression to an experimental study of psychological phenomena.

> Henceforward the core meaning of "psychology" would be dominated by the adjectives *scientific* and *experimental*. And the core imagery suggested by the word would soon commence its well-known evolution from that of bearded savants patiently manipulating Hipp chronoscopes, tachtiscopes, and episcotisters, to clean-shaven laboratory habitués sending forth their obligingly whirring rats upon microjourneys through mazes and obstruction boxes—to the present (and partially retrogressive) imagery of bearded savants algorithmically interrogating their gleaming computers.
>
> The ancient tradition of ardent and disciplined speculation about man's nature and conduct that formed so large a part of the concern of philosophy was now "armchair psychology." (Koch, 1992, p. 8)

In the tradition of Wundt's "new" psychology, American psychology was born as a discipline devoted to rigorous experimentation. William James, considered the "founder" of American psychology, admired Wundt's commitment to a psychology based, at least partially, on the laws of natural science. In his book *The Principles of Psychology* (*Principles* for short), James (1890) paved the way for what he called a "Science of Mental Life." Heavily influenced by Darwin's theory of evolution, James purported to show that the contents of consciousness were less important than what consciousness did. James' psychology was called functionalism, the name denoting a movement away from Wundt's structuralism, yet still in alignment with Wundt's formulation of how psychology should be studied.

It is interesting that both Wundt and James have been celebrated for their seminal contributions to modern psychology given that both men advocated something very different from what is today thought of as psychology. Both were, indeed, interested in applying the principles of natural science to psychology. However, both were also interested in a topic that is seldom mentioned by today's mainstream psychologists—that

is, consciousness. Both Wundt and James considered consciousness to be a central, if not the core, topic of psychology, and advocated using introspection as a way to study this central aspect of human psychology. This fact is mentioned here because considering consciousness as appropriate subject matter for psychology is important to the development of transpersonal psychology. More will be said about this later.

From James' functionalist perspective and his pragmatist philosophy (James, 1907) grew the impetus for a psychology based on the utility of behavior. Although James later came to advocate a psychology of consciousness based both in scientific objectivism and philosophical introspection, his contribution for the first 50 years following the publication of *Principles* was a naturalistic experimental psychology of behavior.

After reading *Principles,* a young student with an interest in animal behavior named E. L. Thorndike sought out James in order to study under his tutelage. James, impressed by Thorndike's rigorous approach to study, invited Thorndike to set up a laboratory in his basement. Over the next several years, Thorndike (1911) transformed James' early functionalist ideas into a successful stimulus-response psychology called connectionism. Connectionism explained how animals learn new behaviors from two major principles: the law of effect and the law of exercise. Simply stated, the law of effect purported that any action followed by a satisfactory state for the organism will be more firmly connected to the situation and will be repeated, whereas any action followed by discomfort will be less likely to recur. The law of exercise put forth that any response to a situation will be connected to that situation in proportion to the number of times that it has been connected to that situation.

Around the same time, Russian physiologist Ivan Pavlov discovered the conditioned reflex. Pavlov's (1927) model proposed that, over time, when a neutral stimulus is paired with a stimulus that elicits a reflex, the neutral stimulus will come to elicit the same reflex response. This model came to be known as classical conditioning. Pavlov's model was extremely influential in American psychology due to its foundation in physiology, and thus its amenability to the methods of natural science. Along with Thorndike's connectionism, Pavlov's ideas set the stage for a psychology of learning based on the objective study of physiological behavioral responses. This new psychology was appropriately called behaviorism.

J. B. Watson, strongly influenced by the work of Thorndike and Pavlov, is the figure most commonly associated with rise of behaviorism in America (Hilgard, 1987). His studies on stimulus pairing were powerful in that Watson applied Pavlov's and Thorndike's basic principles to the study of human beings. In his famous "Little Albert" studies, Watson demonstrated that humans were susceptible to the same conditioning as Pavlov's dogs (Watson & Rayner, 1920). Watson's findings sparked a tradition of research focused on the description, prediction, and control of human behavior.

As he delved more rigorously into a study of behavioral conditioning as applied to human subjects, Watson became increasingly adverse to any notion of consciousness or the mind. Watson (1913) wrote,

> Psychology as the Behaviorist sees it is a purely objective, experimental branch of natural science. Its theoretical goal is the prediction and control of behavior. Introspection forms no essential part of its methods, *nor is the scientific value of its data dependent upon the readiness with which they lend themselves to interpretation in terms of consciousness*. The behaviorist, in an effort to get a unitary scheme of animal responses, recognizes no dividing line between man and brute. The behavior of man,

> with all its refinement and complexity, forms only a part of the behaviorist's total scheme of investigation. (italics added, p. 158)

Watsonian behaviorism promised to revolutionize society by allowing parents to shape their children's behavior into any desired form. Watson (1924) confidently predicted that he himself could take any child, regardless of race or innate talent, and raise him or her to be anything from a model citizen to a thief. Watson's behaviorism was popular not only in academia, but also in other sectors of American culture, such as business and advertising, due to both its adherence to scientific principles and its potential to transform society (Cushman, 1997). However, the behaviorism Watson put forth soon fell short of its promised effect. Watson's model proved too facile to explain complex behavioral responses such as language. Thus, Watson's model was eventually replaced by a new model called neo-behaviorism.

Clark Hull was the foremost figure of the neo-behaviorist period. Hull disagreed with Watson's strict version of behaviorism, arguing that inner processes are at play in the execution of behavioral responses. Without completely rejecting Watson's model, Hull worked to improve it by utilizing what he called a hypothetico-deductive method. The method involved establishing postulates from which experimentally testable conclusions could be deduced. These conclusions were then put to the test of experimentation. In explaining a chain of reactions, Hull (1943) referred to "intervening responses." These responses were processes inferred as occurring within the organism. According to Hull, these events had an allegedly real, although undetermined, neuromuscular locus. Hull's behaviorism, although less reductive than Watson's, was no more amenable to the idea of consciousness. Hull argued that psychology had no room for a study of consciousness "for the simple reason that no theorem has been found as yet

whose deduction would be facilitated by including" a postulate referring to consciousness (Hull cited in Leahey, 1991, p. 212).

Hull's system was readily adopted by psychologists seeking to devise a systematic and scientific study of psychological events. However, one final figure of the behaviorist era did not think that Hull's system went far enough in objectifying behavior. B. F. Skinner, who was greatly influenced by Pavlov's research, the strict positivism of philosopher Ernst Mach, and the neo-Darwinian concept of natural selection, rejected any idea of "intervening responses" and proposed an experimental analysis of behavior based on a strict observation of behavioral events. Skinner detected a slippery slope in Hull's formulations in that Hull admitted the existence of some kind of internal mechanisms at work in a behavioral response. Skinner warned that this conceptualization allowed mentalistic concepts to pollute a psychology based on the laws of natural science. Skinner's (1953) brand of behaviorism was called "radical behaviorism" because of its exclusive adherence to an objective analysis of outwardly observable events and measurable behavioral responses. Skinner proposed the idea of operant conditioning in which contingencies of reinforcement (i.e., the setting, the reinforced response, and the reinforcer) described the nature of a behavioral response. In such a formulation there was absolutely no room, nor need, for mental variables or consciousness.

From Watson's classical behaviorism to Clark Hull's neo-behaviorism to B. F. Skinner's radical behaviorism, American psychologists from 1912 to 1960 focused almost exclusively on the objective study of behavior and paid little to no attention to the idea of mental variables or consciousness. Behaviorism became the dominant school of psychological investigation due to its strict adherence the scientific method. Consistent

with the positivist agenda of the early 20th Century, behaviorism excluded anything from its domain that could not be readily measured and objectively observed. Therefore, consciousness was jettisoned as a metaphysical construct with no place in a scientific psychology. "The behavioristic revolution was encouraged by the promise that if natural science methods would be applied to human and animal behavior, progress in our understanding would be inevitable" (Kendler, 1992, p. 122). As Gordon Allport (1940) wrote in his APA Presidential Address,

> The psychological system-builders of the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries were filled with the lingering spirit of the Enlightenment which hated mystery and incompleteness. They wanted a synoptic view of man's mental life. If moral and metaphysical dogmatism were needed to round out their conception of the complete man, they became unblushing dogmatists. Yet even while their synoptic style flourished, the very experimental psychology which they helped to create was leading others into new paths. Their own students, in the very process of enhancing their experimental proficiency, came to admire not the work of their masters, but the self-discipline of mathematics and of the natural sciences. Willingly they exchanged what they deemed fruitless dialectics for what to them was unprejudiced empiricism. Nowadays, for one experimentalist to proclaim another "superior to controversy about fundamentals" is considered high tribute. (p. 15)

Before, and while, behaviorism took root in American academia, an alternative view of psychology was developed in Europe: Psychoanalysis. Founded in 1890 by Sigmund Freud (1966), psychoanalysis was based on the idea that all behavior is motivated by innate, physiological instincts. Furthermore, Freud's original formulations put forth that humans were no more evolved than apes, and that human behavior, like animal behavior, was based on the reduction of physiological tension. The primary source of tension experienced by all animals, Freud asserted, was sexuality. In 1910 Freud traveled to the United States to deliver a series of lectures at Clark University (Leahey, 1991). Although Freud's ideas were never well-accepted in American academia due to

their insusceptibility to the rigorous hypothesis testing of behaviorist psychology, they nonetheless came to influence the areas of psychiatry and clinical psychology in the United States.

Freudian psychology focused primarily on neurosis and looked toward repression to explain psychological phenomena. Although Freud alluded to the idea of consciousness through his theory of unconscious motivation, his model was critical of the conception of consciousness as being anything more than an epiphenomenon of instinct (Freud, 1929/1983). Freud relegated such human endeavors as the creation of civilization and the practice of religion to the sublimation, or diversion, of biological urges.

During and following Freud's tenure as the premier psychoanalyst of his time, other psychoanalysts introduced alternative conceptions of the unconscious. Most notable was Freud's former protégé Carl Jung (1965), who had his own ideas regarding the role of religion and civilization in psychological life. Jung dismissed Freud's insistence that these human feats were merely byproducts of repressed sexuality. Jung (1936/1971) postulated the idea of a collective unconscious made up "of those [contents] which are universal and of regular occurrence" (p. 53). The contents of Jung's collective unconscious were labeled by him as "archetypes." He wrote, "The concept of archetype, which is an indispensable correlate of the idea of the collective unconscious, indicates the existence of definite forms in the psyche which seem to be present always and everywhere" (p. 60). Jung thus suggested that universal patterns of experience existed through time and contributed to the human capacities of creativity and devotion. Far from being biological epiphenomena, religion and civilization were products of human beings' connection with one another through a lineage of shared experience.

Jung's rendition of psychology would have little weight in America until much later in the history of psychology. His ideas gave too much credit to spirituality and consciousness and too little credit to behavior for the tastes of an American academic audience of the early 20th Century. Thus, the Freudian view of psychology dominated clinical practice for much of the 20th Century, creating a climate wherein human functioning was viewed as it related to the pathological potentials of the psyche brought on by sexual repression and aggressive instincts.

The 1950s and the Rise of Humanistic Psychology

By the 1950s a number of American psychologists became dissatisfied with a field dominated by behaviorists in the academy and Freudians in the clinic. It was argued that behaviorism, through its commitment to a strict scientific objectivism, was leaving out a vital aspect of psychology: What it meant to be a thinking (mental), feeling (emotional) human being. Psychoanalysis, with its emphasis on the repression of instinctual (mainly sexual) drives, was failing to address the positive, healthy aspects of being human. Dissatisfied with the pathological stance of Freudian psychoanalysis and the mechanistic perspective of behaviorism, these psychologists took inspiration from the existentially and phenomenologically oriented Europeans. How this came to occur is delineated below.

Although psychoanalysts such as Carl Jung attempted to construct a more complete picture of psychological life than the Freudian one, little headway was made in introducing an alternative to Freudian psychology in America until the mid-20th Century. Interestingly, the introduction of new psychoanalytic concepts came partly as a result of political forces of the time. In the 1930s and 1940s a number of European intellectuals

immigrated to the United States in order to flee Nazi occupation of their own countries during WWII (Hunt, 1994). Many of these intellectuals were students of Freud who had contentions with the Freudian perspective but were not able to fully develop their ideas until coming to the United States.

Figures such as Karen Horney, Alfred Adler, Erik Erikson, Erich Fromm, and Kurt Goldstein were trained in traditional Freudian psychology, then added their own emphasis to psychoanalysis, and thus came to be called neo-Freudians. Influenced by the philosophies of existentialism and phenomenology, the neo-Freudians contemplated the meaning of human existence, the importance of lived experience, the role of values in psychology, and the idea of self-realization.

Then, in 1942, a behaviorist with interests in human sexuality and attachment named Abraham Maslow traveled to New York to study at Brooklyn University (Daniels, 1982).

> While in New York, Maslow sought out and was influenced by a number of eminent psychologists, many of whom had fled to America from Nazism in Europe. These included Max Wertheimer, Alfred Adler, Erich Fromm, Karen Horney, Kurt Goldstein, and the anthropologist Ruth Benedict. Together they extended Maslow's intellectual horizons beyond the American traditions of behaviourism and functionalism, and introduced him to Gestalt and Freudian theories. (p. 62)

After coming into contact with the neo-Freudians, Maslow began developing a psychological theory based on the idea of self-transcendence—a concept written about by the Jewish psychiatrist Kurt Goldstein. Influenced heavily by Goldstein's work, Maslow created a theory of motivation based on a hierarchical arrangement of human needs. Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs is perhaps the most widely known aspect of his work. Through it Maslow postulated that human beings must have their deficiency needs

(i.e., physiological sustenance, security, love and belongingness, and self-esteem) met in order to become what he termed "self-actualized."

Maslow (1969) later extended his basic hierarchy to include more than deficiency needs by suggesting that "self-actualized" persons are further motivated to strive for and embody what he called "being" values. These higher values included truth, goodness, beauty, aliveness, perfection, completion, justice, simplicity, richness, effortlessness, unity, playfulness, self-sufficiency, and meaningfulness.

While Maslow was developing his theories, American academic psychology was branching into a number of different directions besides that of Skinner's radical behaviorism. Interests in personality, social, organizational, and abnormal psychology emerged in response to the events of WWII (Leahey, 1991). As during WWI, psychological tests were widely administered to military recruits during the Second World War in order to assess their skill levels and mental competence. Furthermore, psychologists were increasingly put into the role of therapist—a job that had traditionally been relegated to psychiatrists. Service men returning from the war often came home severely traumatized, and thus the need for therapists rose dramatically within a relatively short period of time. To fill this gap psychologists were trained to employ therapeutic interventions. Finally, psychologists, viewed as experts in behavior, were asked to consult in the area of human relations. During wartime individuals had to work closely together to accomplish strategic objectives; hence, there was a need to find the most efficient and effective ways to give and execute commands in a cooperative fashion. Thus, the war brought into American psychology an interest in personality tests, clinical issues, abnormal behavior, and social psychology. These applied areas overshadowed the

ivory tower experimentalism of the behaviorists and opened the door for alternative points of view in American psychology.

Eventually psychologists interested in society, personality, and clinical issues began discussing ideas that had been excluded from psychology for the past 50 or so years. Leon Festinger (1957) devised the theory of cognitive dissonance, the idea that when there is inconsistency between one's beliefs and one's experiences, the individual will attempt to reduce the tension due to such misalignment by changing his or her beliefs or finding a consistent explanation for his or her experience. Jerome Bruner suggested that the concept of learning included elements of perception (Bruner & Goodman, 1947). Gordon Allport and Gardner Murphy introduced holistic and integrated models of the human personality that included attributes of mind and body (Leahey, 1991). As mentioned above, Abraham Maslow (1943) proposed a model of human growth based on the idea of self-actualization. With the introduction of these new ideas came the possibility of an academic psychology that included more than a study of behavior and a clinical psychology that considered human beings as more than the sum of their sexual repressions.

In 1954 Maslow created a mailing list for those psychologists interested in topics such as creativeness, autonomy, self-actualization, love, self, being, and growth (Sutich, 1976b). The list was started in order to facilitate communication among those interested in the listed topics, and who were not yet able to publish in mainstream psychology journals due to the still pervasive influence of behaviorism. The list ended up forming the foundation of what was later to be called humanistic (as distinguished from what Maslow considered mechanistic) psychology.

Humanistic psychology began with a few interested individuals, and during the late 1950s and early 1960s burgeoned into what Maslow called the "third force" in psychology (Goble, 1970). Along with Maslow, psychologists such as Carl Rogers, James Bugental, Charlotte Buhler, Sidney Jourard, Rollo May, Gordon Allport, Henry Murray, and Clark Moustakas began vigorous investigations into areas of psychology that the behaviorists and psychoanalysts had failed to consider. Such concepts as authenticity, creativity, self-actualization, intentionality, love, play, synergy, and human values were introduced into the domain of psychological investigation. These concepts contrasted starkly with the behaviorists' interest in discovering deterministic laws of stimulus-response. Likewise, the humanistic psychologists exhibited a shift in thinking from the psychoanalytic focus on repression of libidinous energy to an emphasis on the higher-order attributes of being human.

Surprising many people, humanistic psychology evolved as a recognized movement in American psychology. In 1961 the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* was founded by Anthony Sutich and Abraham Maslow, in 1962 the American Association for Humanistic Psychology (later the Association of Humanistic Psychology) was established, and in 1964 humanistic psychology was officially declared an intellectual movement during a conference in Old Saybrook, Connecticut (Moss, 1999b). In 1966 Maslow was elected president of the American Psychological Association, indicating significant support from the professional community at large (Sutich, 1976a). Further, as evinced in the emergence of what came to be called the "human potential movement," humanistic psychology was adopted by the American culture (Anderson, 1983). "Growth centers" (e.g., the Esalen Institute in California and the Open Center and Omega Institute

in New York) were established for the sole purpose of helping people reach their highest potential and emerged in cities and towns across the nation, attracting unprecedented numbers of individuals looking for a way to realize the meaning of life beyond the mechanistic model of industrial society. The vision of human life as imbued with meaning, as opposed to a characterization based on mechanization and pathology, strongly resonated with the cultural community of 1960s America, which coming out of the economically robust 1950s, began to question how adequately technological advances could provide the happiness the "American dream" promised (Gitlin, 1993).

The 1960s heralded in the civil rights movement, ecological concerns, women's liberation, a rejection of materialism, an interest in mysticism of all forms, the birth control pill, opposition to the war in Vietnam, a new concern for ethnic diversity, as well as extended psychedelic use, among other advances. The political climate in America was alive with revolution and the promise of transforming a conservative, narrow-minded populace into an open, liberated people. This cultural climate strongly resonated with humanistic psychologists who were themselves breaking away from the confines of a narrow reductionism (the positivism of the behaviorists) and venturing into new territories of discovery.

Interestingly, humanistic psychology fit nicely into the emerging culture of 1960s America, yet failed to revolutionize academic psychology to the degree that its founders had hoped it would (Taylor, 1999; Taylor & Martin, 2001; Wertz, 1998). Over the 44 years it has been in existence, humanistic psychology managed to procure a division in the American Psychological Association in 1971, but never gained the widespread acceptance of mainstream scientists that its founders believed it deserved.

Amedeo Giorgi (1987, 1992), a pioneer in the humanistic movement, has declared humanistic psychology as being in a state of crisis because the field has failed to follow through with its intention to transform American psychology into a human-centered science. Giorgi has repeatedly called for a psychology that utilizes a humanistic, as opposed to naturalistic, research paradigm (e.g., Giorgi, 1970). However, he argues that humanistic psychologists, rather than developing new ways to conduct a human science, have instead either ignored research altogether or continued in the tradition of mainstream psychology and used the methods of natural science.

Eugene Taylor (1999) attributes humanistic psychology's failure, ironically, to its success. As the American public utilized humanistic principles for the purpose of self-exploration, Taylor claims that academics came to view the humanistic movement with suspicion. Humanistic psychology, through its affiliation with such phenomena as encounter groups and the controversial Gestalt therapy of Fritz Perls, came to be perceived as anti-intellectual, if not dangerous. Furthermore, Taylor points out that a number of humanistic psychologists became overtly political in their orientation, which has also contributed to the field's lack of acceptance in American academia. By taking up such causes as feminism, civil rights, and environmentalism, Taylor suggests that humanistic psychologists appeared more interested in creating an ideological agenda than conducting a serious scientific study of the human mind and behavior.

Taylor (1999) points out two additional explanations for humanistic psychology's failure to influence American academia in any lasting way. One was the rise of the cognitive revolution in psychology and the other was the influence of a "fourth force" transpersonal orientation created by a handful of humanistic psychologists themselves.

During the 1970s cognitive psychology came to challenge the dominant behaviorist paradigm. Cognitive psychology had a much more significant impact on American academic psychology than humanistic psychology because of its commitment to objectivist science. Although billed as a "revolution," the cognitive movement did very little in terms of overturning the reigning behaviorist paradigm. Figures such as Bruner and Festinger introduced "mentalistic" concepts. However, like behaviorism, cognitive psychology adhered to a natural science orientation.

The only new addition that cognitivists contributed to psychology was the idea that between the stimulus and response was an information processor (i.e., the mind). This mind, however, was not conceptualized in the life-affirming way that humanistic psychologists regarded mental phenomena. Rather, the cognitive mind was conceptualized as a computer comprised of information processing networks. The subject domain of cognitive psychology included concepts such as memory, language, problem solving, and reasoning. Obviously, these areas of inquiry were quite different from the subjects that humanistic psychologists found integral to a study of psychology. Nonetheless, as Taylor notes, cognitive psychology became the next wave in American academic psychology, overshadowing the work of humanistic psychologists. It should also be noted, however, that humanistic psychology did come to substantially influence the clinic, as is seen in the integration of existential and humanistic principles in clinical practice and the use of gestalt, person-centered, and body therapies (Moss, 1999a).

The other detriment to humanistic psychology's academic success that Taylor (1999) points out was the emergence of the transpersonal movement. Taylor suggests that transpersonal psychology is a distinct discipline related to, yet independent of, humanistic

psychology. However, according to Taylor, a number of humanistic psychologists have become more interested in the transpersonal than the humanistic, and thus humanistic psychology has lost its distinction as its own independent field with specific interests in humanistic concerns. The emergence of transpersonal psychology is detailed below, which will clarify how the two movements stand in relation to one another.

Transpersonal Psychology 1969-present

Although humanistic psychology was a remarkable advance from the pathological modeling of psychoanalysis and the mechanistic view of behaviorism, it existed less than 10 years before a number of its own adherents began to detect a need for yet another kind of psychology (Sutich, 1976b). Cofounder of the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* and later cofounder of transpersonal psychology, Anthony Sutich wrote

> Within less than a decade Humanistic Psychology became an integral part of the general field of psychology with an assured future. However, the reality of rapid development also made it unmistakably clear that the extension of Humanistic Psychology, as incalculable as it seemed to be, was accompanied by the emergence of certain possibilities not explicitly accounted for in the original definition. The new possibilities were directly related to what Dr. Maslow (1968) among others has called "end-states." Other names have been applied to the same area. For some it has been the realm of "ultimate meaning," "ultimate purpose," "ultimate experience," "point Omega," "universals," "a psychology of ultimate concerns," etc. Some of the possibilities appeared to overlap with, or were implied in, the definition of Humanistic Psychology.
>
> The differences were so significant, however, that they soon pointed unmistakably to the conclusion that a new and proper area of psychological inquiry was being manifested. It was a "personal" area of inquiry but it went beyond the usual range of humanistic investigation. (Sutich, 1969, p. 15)

Humanistic psychologists opened the door to a study of humanity that was much more inclusive and generous than that of psychoanalysis or behaviorism. As noted above, they delved into the meaning of what it meant to be a human being with distinctly human

needs and values. Furthermore, they challenged the prevailing notion of health as defined against sickness, proposing that individuals could maximize their sense of well-being far beyond what was typically considered "normal." Nonetheless, as Sutich reflected, there was a sense that the domain of humanistic psychology was not expansive enough to encompass "the new possibilities" elaborated by Maslow and others. Thus, it was perceived that a new area of psychology had to be created—a psychology that took note of humanistic concerns yet went beyond them as well (Boucouvalas, 1981; Vaughan, 1982; Walsh, 1992).

Most of what is known about the development of transpersonal psychology in the late 1960s and early 1970s comes from Anthony Sutich's doctoral dissertation. Little has been written elsewhere delineating the details surrounding the establishment of the field, and thus, much of the current account is based on Sutich's recollections. This history is supplemented through the empirical portion of this study, which is discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Sutich (1976b) was instrumental in creating the infrastructure necessary to support the field of humanistic psychology. As mentioned, he was cofounder of the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*. As well, Sutich almost single-handedly formed the American Association for Humanistic Psychology (later the Association of Humanistic Psychology). Sutich, enthralled by Maslow's theory of self-actualization, worked hard to create a forum where Maslow's and other like-minded thinkers' ideas could be published in a scholarly, reputable fashion. His endeavors resulted in the establishment and maintenance of a disciplinary platform for publishing research and theory and set the

stage for humanistic psychology to become a lasting force in the tradition of American psychology.

However, Sutich soon became dissatisfied with this field. A clinician by trade, many of his own intellectual insights were based on his interactions with clients. While humanistic psychology was developing into an integral part of mainstream American psychology, Sutich began noticing that some of the experiences he witnessed in his clients were not reflected in the new psychology he had just helped to create. For example, Sutich recalled how he worked "with clients who had independently ingested psychedelic substances and had extraordinary experiences with them" (p. 150). Many of these clients reported having what they called "mystical" experiences that transcended the narrow conceptions of reality put forth by mainstream society, yet these experiences were not addressed in the psychological literature.

> One effect of these shared experiences was that the individuals felt a pressing need to find some body of literature or research which would clarify, codify, interpret, and resolve the questions raised by what were emotionally important and yet bizarre occurrences. (Fadiman, 1981, p. 2)

These experiences seemed important to include in a comprehensive study of psychology, but Sutich could not quite discern how they fit into humanistic psychologists' interests in the meaning of life and the nature of human values. Sutich wrote to Maslow, explaining this dilemma. Maslow responded with interest, and noted that he was, in fact, developing a new set of ideas that were larger than the humanistic perspective. At the time Maslow was working on a series of articles that would later form a book entitled *Toward a Psychology of Being* (Maslow, 1962/1999). In the preface to the first edition of the book Maslow would write,

> I should say also that I consider Humanistic, Third Force Psychology to be transitional, a preparation for a still "higher" Fourth Psychology, transpersonal, transhuman, centered in the cosmos rather than in human needs and interest, going beyond humanness, identity, self-actualization, and the like. (p. xl)

Then in 1966, several members of the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*'s Board of Editors were invited to Esalen Institute, a popular growth center on the California coast, to meet with a group of theologians. The occasion for their meeting was a seminar on "Humanistic Theology." In attendance were several Jesuit theologians and a number of humanistic thinkers, including James Fadiman, Joe K. Adams, Willis Harman, Miles Vich, Anthony Sutich, and Michael Murphy. Sutich (1976b) recalled that

> during the course of the seminar dialogue, Miles Vich asked two questions. . . . In one exchange with the Jesuits present he asked, "Has any one of you ever had a mystical or similar experience?" The answer from all of [the] group was "no." Very shortly after this Vich asked another question, "Is it an official policy on the part of your church to systematically encourage and foster attainment of a mystical experience on the part of each lay member of your Church?" The answer again was "no." (p. 150)

Sutich marks this conference, and these particular questions and answers, as the moment he realized that a new psychology was about to be born. Sutich noted that, like the Jesuit tradition, humanistic psychology "did not adequately accommodate the depths of the cultural turn toward the 'inner-personal' and it gave insufficient attention to the place of man in the universe or cosmos" (p. 153). He and Maslow soon came to the conclusion that the idea of self-actualization, which was central to humanistic psychology, was not an expansive enough concept to describe the inner-personal depths being explored through spiritual practice and psychedelic experience. It seemed that a new framework would have to be constructed in order to allow psychologists to consider

the full nature of humanity, which appeared to stretch beyond the limits of what was typically referred to as "human."

Sutich (1976b) characterized the new kind of psychology as "the psychology of mysticism, modified by humanistic considerations and the Western attitude of empiricism" (p. 156). He then turned to Maslow, asking him for guidance in finding a name for the emerging field. Sutich initially proposed an amalgam of humanism and mysticism—humanisticism—as a term to describe the new area of interest. Maslow responded by indicating that the term Sutich was looking for was already being used by biologist-anthropologist Julian Huxley (1956) and was called "transhumanism." This word gave Sutich the impetus to begin work on formulating the new psychology, and in the period between 1967 and 1969 he, Maslow, and a group of like-minded psychologists (including James Fadiman, Joe K. Adams, Sydney Jourard, John Levy, Stanislav Grof, Sonja Margulies, Michael Murphy, and Miles Vich) held a series of meetings in Sutich' s home to formulate what was later to be known as the "fourth force" (Maslow, 1969) in American psychology (Anderson, 1998).

On September 14, 1967, Maslow announced the idea that a "fourth force" in psychology was emerging to an audience at the San Francisco Unitarian Church (Sutich, 1976b). This was the public's first exposure to the new psychology. Shortly thereafter Sutich began work to create a journal that would support research and theory on transhumanistic issues. Not long after that Maslow wrote Sutich a letter indicating that he and Stanislav Grof had come up with a more fitting term than transhumanism for the fourth force psychology. That term was "transpersonal" (Hastings, 1999). Maslow wrote in a letter to Sutich:

> The more I think of it, the more this word says what we are all trying to say, that is beyond individuality, beyond the development of the individual person into something which is more inclusive than the individual person, or which is bigger than he is. (quoted in Sutich, 1976b, p. 16)

Transpersonal thus became the term that denoted the emergent interest in mystical states, personal transcendence, and identity expansion.

As intimated in Maslow's (1969) characterization of transpersonal psychology as the "fourth force," emerging out of the context of the previous three schools of psychological thought (behaviorist, psychoanalytic, and humanistic), transpersonal psychologists saw their new field as the next step in the evolution of American psychology. As Elmer and Alyce Green (the Association for Transpersonal Psychology's first president) (1971) wrote,

> Behavioristic, psychoanalytic, and humanistic *psychologies* have shown respectively an evolution of thought (at least in the United States) from intense preoccupation with stimulus-response mechanisms of the brain and spinal cord, through concern with subconscious Freudian levels of man's nature, to the more inclusive developments of humanistic psychology. Humanistic psychology, because of its focus on group as well as personal processes, is in a way the foreshadower of group awareness at transpersonal levels, such awareness implying that the individual has become to some extent aware of his transpersonal union with other persons and with nature in general, and finds himself part of a movement in which understanding among members is not primarily dependent on words, contact, or personality relationship. This is part of the union of life that ensues when transpersonal selflessness is dominant, rather than an exclusively personal orientation. It is probably the trans-cultural understanding that can do the most to bridge the gap between East and West and between divergent cultures. (p. 40)

The last part of the Greens' (1971) characterization of transpersonal psychology brings up an important point. Transpersonal psychology was not only conceived of as the next step in the evolution of American psychology; it was also seen in a larger context as the bridging of Eastern and Western philosophy and spirituality (Fadiman, 1981;

Vaughan, 1982). One reason for this interest was that, in the culture at large, the United States was experiencing a newfound respect for Eastern spiritualities (Fields, 1992; Needleman, 1972). The affluent climate of the 1960s permitted more Americans than ever to travel abroad to places like India and the Far East, where they discovered spiritual alternatives to the Judeo-Christian religions of American society. Likewise, spiritual teachers from across the globe (e.g., Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, and Swami Muktenanda) were visiting America for the first time, giving lectures and forming spiritual communities in the United States (Gitlin, 1993).

Also, Maslow and Sutich were deeply influenced by the teachings of the East and interested in how to integrate the wisdom of Eastern traditions with the psychology of the West. Both men had shared a lively relationship with the East-West philosopher-theologian Alan Watts. Watts influenced Sutich's thinking as early as 1952. Sutich (1976b) wrote of his relationship to Watts:

> Frequently I would ask him [Watts] one question after another and the more direct they were the better he liked them. He seemed to want more and more questions and I marveled at his readiness to respond without hesitation. This gave me a wonderful opportunity to develop my interest in mysticism and psychotherapy. The more I talked to him [Watts], the more I read about mysticism. In addition to Watts' books I read everything in mysticism I could get ahold of. This carried me into the worlds of Sri-Aurobindo (1948), Besant (1897), Blavatsky (1927), the *Bhagavad-Gita* (Isherwood, 1947), Muller (1899), the *Upanishads* (Radhakrishnan, 1953), and a variety of books dealing with yoga. (p. 35)

Thus, as the field developed, ideas of the transpersonal focused on not only what it meant to go beyond the limits of humanness, but also how that mode of transcendence was reflected in or related to Eastern philosophy. The marriage of East and West was a vital trend in the culture at large as was evidenced by the influx of spiritual teachers from Asian countries and the conversion of ordinary Americans into devoted disciples of these

teachers. Transpersonal psychologists took it as their mission to understand the universal nature of transcendence, which meant not only focusing on the scientific research of Western psychology, but looking at how themes of liberation and enlightenment were reflected in other cultural (namely, Eastern spiritual) traditions as well. As Frances Vaughan (1982), past president of the Association for Transpersonal Psychology, wrote in a retrospective essay, "In this sense the transpersonal perspective sees Eastern spiritual disciplines and Western scientific approaches to psychology as complementary" (p. 37).

With these ideas in mind, the humanistic-turned-transpersonal psychologists began creating an infrastructure to support their newly emergent school of psychology. In 1969 the first issue of the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* (*JTP*) was published under the editorship of Anthony Sutich. *JTP* was established as a peer-reviewed scholarly journal "concerned with the publication of theoretical and applied research, original contributions, *empirical* papers, [and] articles" in the area of transpersonal psychology (taken from *JTP*'s Statement of Purpose, 1969). Shortly following the establishment of *JTP*, Sutich and others formed the American Transpersonal Association (later the Association for Transpersonal Psychology—ATP) and elected its first president, Alyce Green of the Menninger Foundation. In May of 1973, ATP held its first conference at Vallombrosa (Weide, 1973), and later that year the first international conference on transpersonal issues was held in Iceland (Vaughan, 1982).

In 1973 Stanislav Grof founded the International Transpersonal Association (ITA). Maverick philosopher Ken Wilber began his own transpersonal journal called *ReVision* in 1979 (Hastings, 1999). *ReVision* differed from *JTP* in that its emphasis was more theoretical than research based. In 1987 the European Association for

Transpersonal Psychology (EUROTAS) was established, and today it boasts professional organizations in 14 countries (EUROTAS website, 2002). Furthermore, in 1996 the British Psychological Society (estab. 1901) created a Transpersonal Psychology Section, which publishes its own peer-reviewed journal, the *Transpersonal Psychology Review* (British Psychological Society, 2002).

With the establishment of the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* and the inauguration of the field via the creation of the Association, transpersonal psychology became the cutting edge of American psychology, at least for the small group of psychologists who decided that mystical states were indicative of the evolution of psychology. From 1969 through the present, transpersonal psychologists have published thousands of books and research articles in an attempt to shed light on their area of investigation.

As mentioned above, transpersonal psychologists were influenced by and interested in spiritual and philosophic texts and teachers from Asia. Much of the early transpersonal work published in the *Journal* focused on Eastern spiritual practices and their application in various settings. Researchers examined the dimensions of meditative experience (Osis, Bokert, & Carlson, 1973), Buddhism (Goleman, 1972), transcendental meditation (Tart, 1971a), yoga as an educational tool (Criswell, 1970), and Sufism (Fadiman & Frager, 1975) among others. Many of these articles pointed to the notion that higher states of consciousness could be cultivated through spiritual practice alone. The idea of even observing, let alone effecting, consciousness was an alien concept for Western psychologists to consider. Since introspection had been rejected as a legitimate tool for the study of psychological phenomena in the early 1900s, psychologists had

virtually jettisoned consciousness from the domain of Western scientific psychology. Transpersonal psychologists, influenced both by their own experiences and the writings of Eastern spiritual sages, decided that consciousness was worth considering as central to psychology, something that even the humanistic psychologists had failed to propose. This central interest was most readily reflected in transpersonal psychologists' interests in spirituality, but also showed up in other areas.

In addition to interests in spirituality, transpersonal psychologists were fascinated by the effects of certain substances on consciousness. Much of the early research and theorizing in transpersonal psychology was motivated by the widespread use of psychedelics during the 1960s. As Sutich observed, many transcendent experiences seemed to be precipitated by psychedelic use. With the popularization of drugs such as LSD and mescaline by figures such as Timothy Leary and Aldous Huxley, increasing numbers of Americans were opened to the other-worldly realms of psychedelic experience (Stevens, 1987). These psychedelic trips appeared to mimic either the temporary attainment of enlightenment or a regression into psychotic states of mind (Sannella, 1976). Transpersonal psychologists interested in differentiating between the states of consciousness that created psychosis and enlightenment found psychedelics to be a fertile area of research.

Stanislav Grof (1975) was the foremost transpersonal psychologist researching psychedelic states in the early years of the transpersonal orientation. Grof, a Czechoslovakian psychiatrist, had conducted hundreds of experiments in his home country on the psychological effects of lysergic acid diethylamide-25 (LSD). In 1967 Grof received a grant to visit the United States and continue his research. While in the

U.S., Grof discovered transpersonal psychology and found it to be the only professional venue available to conduct the kind of research he was interested in at that time.

Grof (1975) researched the effects of LSD in psychotherapy and came to some astonishing conclusions regarding the human unconscious. He inferred that LSD had a curious tendency to induce birth and transcendent types of experiences in its consumers. Grof observed thousands of individuals under the influence of the drug and came to the conclusion that the unconscious was not merely a storehouse of instinctual (mainly sexual) repressions as Freud had suggested, but that it also held memories of the birth experience as Otto Rank had proposed, and was a doorway to higher spiritual realms, as Carl Jung had suggested. Grof thus opened the door for a study of the unconscious that extended Freud's theory and allowed for a more inclusive interpretation of the unconscious.

Following his seminal studies of the effects of LSD on consciousness, Grof continued his research by looking at alternatives to using LSD as a precipitant for birth and transcendental experiences. One of Grof's greatest contributions to this area is his work on what he calls holotropic breathwork. This technique involves using deep breathing exercises in a supportive, yet evocative, context to induce transformative experiences (Grof, 1998). Grof has also published numerous books expanding his original LSD research (e.g., Grof, 1985; Grof, 1992).

Another early transpersonal researcher, Charles Tart, was interested in marijuana as an agent of consciousness expansion (Tart, 1971b). In a groundbreaking paper published in the prestigious journal *Nature*, Tart (1970) provided a guide to understanding the experience of marijuana intoxication. Tart informally interviewed

college students for 2 years, gaining their impressions of what the experience was of being under the influence of the psychoactive drug. Never before had such a thorough investigation of the phenomenology of marijuana intoxication been conducted.

Tart's interest in marijuana intoxication reflected a general interest in altered states of consciousness (Tart, 1969/1990). This idea, in broad terms, put forth that our normal waking state of consciousness is but one type of conscious experience. Beside this state are other altered experiences of consciousness, which might be precipitated by drug use, meditation, nature experiences, dreaming, and hypnosis among other things. Out of Tart's conceptualization of altered states came a renewed interest in the contours and functions of consciousness. Not since William James had such ideas been discussed in psychology, at least not with any sincerity. Transpersonal psychologists were reclaiming a facet of psychological study that had been lost to the behaviorists' extreme focus on objectively observable events. Tart's ideas regarding altered states were expanded into suggesting that individuals could utilize altered states to maximize performance in areas such as education and scientific exploration (Tart, 1975).

In addition to stretching the paradigms of behaviorism and psychoanalysis, these early transpersonal researchers also reached beyond the limits of humanistic psychology. Most notably, transpersonal psychologists aimed to study the contours of consciousness. Humanistic psychologists, although paying heed to human attributes such as creativity, authenticity, and love, did not discuss the experience of being conscious nor the ancient (yet new to the West) idea that consciousness was evolving and that the evolution of consciousness could be hastened through techniques such as yoga, meditation, or the use of psychedelics.

Probably the most prominent figure to discuss the idea of consciousness evolution within a transpersonal context was the philosopher Ken Wilber (Puhakka, 1999). Although Wilber was a graduate school dropout with little experience in psychology (his field of study was biochemistry), he developed an interest in consciousness after reading texts on and participating in the practice of Zen Buddhism. In 1975 Wilber published a seminal article in the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* called "Psychologia Perennis: The Spectrum of Consciousness." This article set forth the notion that there exists "a universal view as to the nature of human consciousness" (Wilber, 1975, p. 105). Through the article Wilber made his first attempt to establish a model of human consciousness based on the insights of Eastern and Western philosophers and psychologists. Soon thereafter Wilber (1976) published the book *The Spectrum of Consciousness*, which established him as a serious scholar and launched a movement within transpersonal psychology to map the various aspects of consciousness. One of Wilber's most significant contributions to the study of consciousness was to suggest that it evolves (Wilber, 1980). Wilber borrowed this notion from the Eastern mystic Sri Aurobindo and the Western metaphysician Arthur Lovejoy. This idea has since been both supported and criticized by scholars working within and outside of transpersonal psychology. For an overview of some of the major criticisms of Wilber's ideas the reader is encouraged to consult the book *Ken Wilber in Dialogue* (Rothberg & Kelly, 1998).

Over the years Wilber has published 19 books and numerous articles, each refining and expanding his model of consciousness evolution. His most detailed work to date is *Sex, Ecology, and Spirituality: The Spirit of Evolution* (1995), which attempts to chronicle the evolution of consciousness on both ontogenetic and phylogenetic levels.

After *Sex, Ecology, and Spirituality* Wilber published seven more books and a series of collected works. His contribution to transpersonal psychology is more voluminous than any other scholar and has, indeed, impacted the field to a significant extent, inspiring some to continue in his path and others to devise their own theories of consciousness evolution (e.g., Wade, 1996; Washburn, 1995). Interestingly, however, Wilber has maintained a tenuous relationship with the field, at times publishing in its journals and serving on the editorial boards of transpersonal publications, and at other times disavowing himself of the field, claiming that he has not identified himself as a transpersonal psychologist since 1983 (Wilber, 2001). This fickle stance toward the field may reflect a personal bias on Wilber's part against being identified with a nonmainstream discipline, or it may indicate that transpersonal psychology is in a disciplinary crisis, which is turning away serious scholars from its domain. More is mentioned about Wilber's divorce from transpersonal psychology and the state of transpersonal psychology as a unified discipline in a later section.

Grof, Tart, and Wilber helped to establish the initial subject domain of transpersonal psychology (Fadiman, 1981). The study of psychedelic and mystical experiences, altered states of consciousness, and consciousness evolution came to define transpersonal psychology to a significant degree. In addition, Maslow's work was important to the beginning of the field (Walsh, 1992). Maslow (1970) wrote of "peak experiences"—the notion that individuals could experience temporary moments of transcendental awareness. Maslow also began expanding his notion of self-actualization to include the notion of identity transcendence (Maslow, 1969). Unfortunately, Maslow died in 1970 before his influence could fully inform the new transpersonal psychology he

helped to inspire. Transpersonal psychology had really only just begun as an independent area of study at that time. It is unclear how much Maslow would have assisted the new field in gaining prominence in mainstream American psychology. However, his legacy has certainly lived on in that much of Wilber's and other transpersonalists' work is based on Maslow's basic notion that individuals grow into fuller levels of being and have the capacity to eventually transcend their own sense of identity or self (Walsh, 1992).

In addition to the topics mentioned above, another area of inquiry proved of interest to transpersonal psychologists—clinical psychology. Although seldom research-based, numerous articles appeared in the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* discussing the significance of dealing with transpersonal phenomena within the therapeutic encounter and taking transpersonal approaches to conducting psychotherapy. Frances Vaughan (1979) wrote an important piece differentiating between the content, context, and process of transpersonal psychotherapy. Transpersonal content of the therapeutic encounter includes "any experience in which an individual transcended the limitations of identifying exclusively with the ego or personality" (p. 104). A transpersonal context is "determined entirely by the beliefs, values, and intentions of the therapist" (p. 102). Furthermore, "a transpersonal context also implies that the therapist is aware of the centrality of consciousness in determining the outcome of therapy" (p. 103). Finally, a transpersonal process suggests a movement from one stage of development to another. This idea of moving to a new stage of thinking, feeling, and behaving parallels the idea that consciousness evolves.

Besides Vaughan, Seymour Boorstein (1980), John Welwood (1980), Arthur Deikman (1982), Brant Cortright (1997), and Bruce Scotton, Allan Chinen, and John

Battista (1996) have contributed significantly to the area of transpersonal psychotherapy. Transpersonal psychologists have also researched more particular topics such as lucid dreaming (e.g., LaBerge, 1988), psi phenomena (e.g., Tart, 1977), near-death experiences (e.g., Greyson, 2000; Ring, 1985), shamanism (e.g., Harner, 2002; Walsh, 1990; Winkelman, 2000), meditation (e.g., Goleman, 1988; Kornfield, 2000), and education (e.g., Frager, 1974; Hart, 2001; Roberts, 1989). Transpersonal psychologists have also exhibited interests in ecopsychology (e.g., Davis, 1998; Fox, 1990), business (e.g., Gozdz, 2000), sexual orientation (e.g., Sell, 2001), sexual experience (e.g., Sovatsky, 1985; Wade, 2000), and forgiveness (e.g., Luskin, 2002).

In addition to the research and theorizing conducted in the area of transpersonal psychology, transpersonal academic curricula, graduate institutes, and online classes and degree programs have been established (Anderson, 1998). In 1974, Harvard graduate Robert Frager wrote an article proposing the foundation of a graduate school based on the principles of transpersonal psychology, and in 1975 he and Stanford psychologist James Fadiman cofounded the California Institute of Transpersonal Psychology (later the Institute of Transpersonal Psychology—ITP). ITP offers both Master's and PhD level degrees in transpersonal psychology and certificates in transpersonal studies, wellness counseling and bodymind consciousness, women's spiritual development, creative expression, spiritual guidance, and nonordinary states of consciousness. A Master's degree in Counseling Psychology is also available.

In addition to ITP, several other schools offer classes and/or certificates in transpersonal psychology. These include: the California Institute of Integral Studies, Saybrook Graduate Institute, California State University Sonoma, John F. Kennedy

University, State University of West Georgia, The Integrative Studies Program at Alliant University, Pacifica Graduate School, Burlington College, University of Hawaii, International University of Professional Studies (Hawaii), the Naropa Institute, the University of Creation Spirituality, and the University of Santa Monica.

Problems with Transpersonal Psychology

Since its emergence as an independent event in the history of American psychology, transpersonal psychology, like other areas of study, has experienced intermittent growing pains. Below is a review of some of the major crises occurring within the field. First a look at reactions from nontranspersonal psychologists is provided to indicate how the field has been critiqued by those from outside the field. Next a discussion of internal critiques is provided.

Critiques from outside. Interestingly, little has been written in protest of transpersonal psychology's development as an independent area of study. Unlike the other areas of American psychology—behaviorist, psychoanalytic, and humanistic—neither theoretical critiques nor institutional criticisms have been consistently waged against transpersonal psychology. Only a few minor debates, mostly coming from humanistic psychologists, stand out as substantial criticisms of the field. These debates will be reviewed here in order to highlight how some psychologists have resisted the development of transpersonal psychology.

Probably the most well-known criticism of transpersonal psychology was waged by humanistic psychologist Rollo May. In 1986 a group of transpersonal psychologists organized themselves in order to appeal for admission to the American Psychological Association (APA) as a division of that well-respected professional organization. Upon

making this appeal, May (1986a) wrote a letter to the APA's newsletter, the *APA Monitor*, arguing against the creation of a transpersonal division. May's letter, which was also subsequently published in a longer format in APA Division 32's journal, the *Humanistic Psychologist* (May, 1986b), stated that transpersonal psychology ignores the negative aspects of being human in order to focus on the other-worldly, enlightened states of the transpersonal. He wrote, "The problem with the term 'transpersonal' in practice is its implication that we can 'leap across' the negative aspects of human behavior, the expressions of the 'ego' as they are often called" (1986b, p. 88).

May also argued that transpersonal psychology confused the areas of psychology and religion. He wrote, "psychology deals with that part of the cosmos that is human, and whatever goes beyond that is rightfully in the field of religion" (1986b, p. 88). May feared that transpersonal psychology would advocate a religious stance rather than study religious experience from a psychological perspective.

In response to May's criticisms, several psychologists wrote letters to the *APA Monitor* countering May's assertions. In addition, two lengthier responses were published in the *Humanistic Psychologist*, one by Ron Valle (1986) and the other by Steven Hendlin (1986). The nature of the responses were quite similar, most individuals pointing out May's misconstrual of a field he seemed to have little familiarity with. Hendlin argued against May's characterization of transpersonal as bypassing the human with the following statement:

> The train bound for the transpersonal is not pushing people (or "humanness") off along the way! It is, simply put, bound for the "further reaches" of human experience. It is not the train which connects to the Universal but live human beings. (p. 215)

Valle (1986) further pointed out that May's definition of transpersonal was inherently flawed. By intimating that transpersonal means to "leap across" certain aspects of humanness, May denied the greater meaning of the prefix "trans" which, as Valle stated, means "'beyond' and 'through' as well as 'across'" (p. 210). This broader definition allows for a study of not only transcendental states, but also of what it means to be a human being experiencing such states. Valle noted Maslow's intention for the fourth force psychology: "Maslow asks us to understand all of our humanness in this broader context, not to limit our vision (and, therefore, our understanding) to only one part of what we can be" (p. 211).

Unfortunately for transpersonal psychologists, the result of the May debate was that transpersonal psychology was denied its APA division. Years later, however, in 1992, Rollo May recanted his 1986 critique of transpersonal psychology in an interview published in the *Humanistic Psychologist* (May, Krippner, & Doyle, 1992). The introduction to the interview stated,

> Rollo said that his reading of William James (1985) had reaffirmed his conviction about the importance of spiritual life, and that he wanted to correct the misunderstanding of his previous criticisms of transpersonal psychology. It is of utmost importance at this time, Rollo conveyed, that transpersonal psychology be viewed within the context of the whole of psychology. (p. 307)

May was planning on writing a piece explaining how his views of transpersonal psychology had shifted. However, he suffered a stroke before he could complete the project, and thus, his ideas were explored through the interview with Krippner and Doyle. In the interview May explained why he had written the scathing critique of transpersonal psychology for the *APA Monitor*:

> Ken [Wilber] was over to my house one evening, and Don Michael and Walt Anderson were also present, and others. I asserted my views that progress is not automatic. Ken stopped the discussion, and he said that you're working on the wrong premises. He later withdrew from the dialogue. He wouldn't listen, implying that his ideas had reached some state of perfection and he shouldn't be questioned. All of us are always questioning and attacking each other's ideas to sharpen them. In the wake of his intolerant behavior, I may have been angry when I wrote my letter to the APA. (p. 311)

Thus, it appears that May's response was tainted by a personal reaction to Ken Wilber. Ironically, Wilber (2001) later divorced himself from transpersonal psychology claiming that the field has had "no major impact outside of the Bay Area, and . . . is in an irreversible, terminal decline" (p. 1). It is interesting to consider what may have happened to transpersonal psychology had it attained APA status. Quite possibly it wouldn't be the flailing discipline that Wilber perceives it to be.

In the interview hosted by Krippner and Doyle, May held to the position that transpersonal psychologists tend to undervalue negative emotions and experiences and overvalue transcendence. However, he was much more willing to allow for a psychology that explored spiritual experience as it relates to human beings, and he believed that transpersonal psychology could do this if its practitioners were careful not to ignore the darker side of human experience.

Another series of critiques was issued by psychotherapist Albert Ellis in the mid-1980s. Ellis (1986), founder of Rational Emotive Behavioral Therapy (REBT), argued in an article written for the *Journal of Counseling and Development* that transpersonal psychology "has as its basis the same kind of devout, authoritarian, anti-empirical philosophy as that held by many orthodox terrorists" (p. 149). Ellis went on to describe this philosophy as being characterized by four basic principles:

1. Absolute reality exists . . .
2. Afterlife experiences, reincarnation, and immortality of our souls unquestionably exist and have been empirically proven.
3. All living and inanimate things merge into one fundamental unity . . .
4. By following transcendental teaching and by ignoring the knowledge of our normal intellect and senses and abandoning the scientific method and the findings of science, we can achieve perfect knowledge, perfect peace, perfect unity with the universe, perfect joy, and perfect physical and mental well-being. (p. 149)

The sum of Ellis' critique was that transpersonal psychology is a dogmatic, unscientific, absolutistic field of study which advocates belief in unrealistic and illogical phenomena such as "astrology, fortune telling, sorcery, psychic healing, witchcraft, shamanism, exorcism, clairvoyance, telepathy, miracles, spiritualism, past-lives therapy, out-of-body experiences, reincarnation therapy, magic, and cosmic consciousness" (p. 149).

In response to the critique, Ken Wilber wrote an article countering the premises of Ellis' argument (Wilber, 1989). Wilber pointed out that contrary to his own disavowal of irrational belief and dogmatism, that Ellis himself advocated an absolutistic view based on the illogical foundation of logical positivism. Basically, Wilber asserted that Ellis was blinded by a narrow conception of the scientific enterprise, one wherein only empirical data and their logical relations could be verified or falsified. Wilber pointed out that much of transpersonal psychology is based on a broader view of science, one wherein empirical evidence comes from the direct experience of phenomena. Wilber also countered Ellis' characterization of transpersonal psychology according to his four basic principles. Wilber pointed out that transpersonal psychologists do not claim that absolute reality exists in the sense that Ellis suggested. Wilber wrote, "They most certainly don't think that reality can be put into any doctrine, no matter how elaborate" (p. 334). With regard to Ellis' second principle, Wilber maintained that most transpersonalists do not

argue that empirical evidence exists for such phenomena as an afterlife or reincarnation. Some may suggest that such phenomena are possible, but few, if any, dogmatically insist that evidence is currently available to prove their existence. Ellis' third supposed principle, that transpersonal psychologists believe that reality merges into a undifferentiated whole, was answered by Wilber with the observation that because all things are perceived as being unified does not imply that they are all homogenous entities without an identity of their own. Finally, answering Ellis' final principle that transpersonal psychologists reject the scientific method, Wilber pointed out that "most transpersonalists are extremely sympathetic to science and wish that the spirit of the scientific enterprise—a certain honesty, integrity, and openness in research—be used as much as possible" (p. 335).

In another attempt to discredit transpersonal psychology, Ellis attended the meeting of the Transpersonal Psychology Interest Group—the organization that appealed to the American Psychological Association for admission as an APA division—during the 1989 APA Convention in New Orleans (Brock, 1989). Ellis debated John Tisdale, a transpersonal psychologist active in the group. During the debate Ellis maintained that transpersonal psychology is "antiscientific" and that "all transpersonal basic hypotheses consist of invisible thoughts, feelings, and actions" (p. 4). He also reasserted that transpersonal psychology is based on "dogma, devoutedness, and absolutism" (p. 4). Ellis further went on to claim that "the main hypothesis . . . of transpersonal psychology is that, because I feel it, because I experience it . . . therefore, it is true" (p. 4). In response to Ellis, Tisdale described transpersonal psychology as embodying a paradigm shift in psychology. Similar to Wilber, Tisdale noted that transpersonal psychology engenders a

broader view of science than the one that Ellis advocated. Later on in the debate Tisdale made the observation that transpersonal psychologists "look at consciousness very, very closely, noting that all you and I have is consciousness; our experienced world is a construction" (p. 6). Interestingly, Ellis admitted that he, too, was interested in consciousness. However, Ellis' conception of consciousness was decidedly more narrow than that of Tisdale or other transpersonalists.

The result of the Ellis debates is difficult to assess. Following Ellis' critiques, the Transpersonal Psychology Interest Group failed for the second time to attain its own division in APA. Although many of Ellis' arguments were as fanatical as he claimed the transpersonal field to be, he managed to bring to the fore some interesting dilemmas for transpersonal psychologists to consider. Is the field defined by its content or by its fundamental assumptions? How does transpersonal psychology deal with religious dogmatism and absolutism? What areas of religious or spiritual practice should transpersonal psychology exclude? Why does the idea of transpersonal psychology offend well-established figures such as Albert Ellis and Rollo May (Bruck, 1989)?

A third series of debates regarding the legitimacy of the transpersonal position resulted from humanistic psychologist Kurt Schneider's critique of Ken Wilber's work published in 1987 in the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*. Although Schneider's paper focused on Wilber's ideas, he wrote, "I am also questioning the writings of many others who side with the transpersonal movement (e.g., Hendlin, 1983; LeShan, 1974; Ram Dass, 1974; Vaughan, 1983; Vaughan & Walsh, 1983; Washburn, 1980; Welwood, 1983; and others)" (p. 197). Basically, Schneider argued that transpersonal psychology was based on an untenable idea—namely "that people are capable of attaining divine

consciousness" (p. 197). Writing from his own stance as an existential-phenomenological thinker, Schneider held that the notion of transcending one's persona is "unrealistic, and, even if attainable, perhaps not all that attractive" (p. 199). Similar to May's critique, Schneider claimed that transpersonal psychologists had a tendency to ignore the darker sides of humanity and focused on other-worldly states instead. Schneider claimed that there is no lasting proof that transcendent states exist, and even if there was, such states have no relevance in people's everyday lives. Finally, he put forth that these states are unappealing because they lack the substance of reality.

Wilber (1989) responded to Schneider's critique nearly 2 years later. Wilber noted that Schneider's critique was emblematic of a larger critique being waged by existential theorists in general against the transpersonal position. Existentialists seemed to believe that human development stopped at the point of questioning the meaning of existence and humanity's place in it, whereas transpersonalists believed that beyond the existential crisis awaited realms of knowing that were wider, more encompassing perspectives on the Universal whole. In a nutshell, Wilber's own view was that the existential position was limited and the transpersonal position allowed for a broader, more holistic view of humanity.

Countering Schneider's criticism that the transpersonal leaves behind certain aspects of being human, Wilber clarified the transpersonal position as one that puts forth that "each higher stage *transcends but includes* the lower stage" (p. 460). He continued, "ultimately higher states of divine transcendence, although blissful *in themselves*, do not relieve you, or in any fundamental way allow you to specifically bypass the existential concerns of any of the lower levels" (p. 461). Thus, Wilber embraced the position of

transpersonal psychology as truly representing the next step in the evolution of psychological theorizing in that he asserted that only through a transpersonal lens could one attain a full understanding of humankind.

Wilber was not the only thinker to respond to Schneider's critique. Mark Edward Koltko, a then doctoral student at New York University, replied to Schneider's paper, stating that Schneider had misrepresented transpersonal psychology by claiming that it is only focused on other-worldly matters irrelevant to human concerns. Koltko (1989) pointed out transpersonal psychology's social consequences, stating

> Dualistic or boundary-oriented consciousness may originate or exacerbate many of the serious problems found in the "everyday" world, such as environmental degradation, crime, famine, and the threat of war. Several writers have indicated that an important part of the solution to these seemingly intractable problems is a change in perspective fostered by a transpersonally oriented view of life and the world. (p. 486)

The above critiques are important to consider in that they provide a sense of how individuals outside the field of transpersonal psychology differentiate themselves from the field. A question remains as to how seriously transpersonal psychologists, especially the originators of the field, consider these critiques to be. Do the critiques point to legitimate concerns that may be driving a wedge between transpersonal psychology and its counterparts in humanistic psychology and mainstream American psychology?

Problems on the inside: The controversy of definition. As research and theory in transpersonal psychology developed over the years, it became less cohesive and more diverse. The splitting of the field into a number of areas of research and theory can be seen as problematic insofar as it leads to a more complex, less definite, picture of what transpersonal psychology aims to study. However, as Koch (1993) has long pointed out and Yanchar and Slife (1997) have more recently acknowledged, American psychology

as a whole has never been a unified discipline. Although some critics claim that this is a detriment to the discipline, others suggest that it is an asset, allowing a diversity of views to exist and compete for legitimacy.

One can imagine what impact the proliferation of ideas and perspectives has had on transpersonal psychology. Wilber claims that one reason he divorced himself from the field is because of the lack of coherence. Wilber (2001) writes,

> because there is a great deal of disagreement as to what actually constitutes spirituality itself, there is a great deal of disagreement as what constitutes transpersonal psychology. These are not minor inner tensions as one might find in, say, the various schools of psychoanalysis or Jungian psychology. They are instead major internal divisions and barbed disagreements as to the nature, scope, and role of transpersonal psychology itself. This makes the field more rife with political schisms and warring ideologies. (p. 2)

Wilber contends that there are four major factions in the transpersonal field: the "magic-mythic," "altered states," "postmodern," and "integral" groups. The magic-mythic group he describes as comprised of romanticists who advocate a return to times before rationality and industrialization spoiled the earth and its native people. The altered states group, Wilber asserts, is interested in phenomena such as ESP, nonlocality, psychedelic trips, and holotropic breathwork, and often espouses an eco-primitive perspective—one that privileges tribal consciousness above all else. The third group Wilber describes is the postmodern, defining it as engendering a multiperspectival approach to understanding reality. This group, he claims, often over-accentuates the relativity of truth finding, thus collapsing into a self-contradictory, hypocritical stance, which claims that no truth is absolute, except its own. Finally, the integral group, which Wilber aligns himself with, is defined by him as inclusive of all the previously mentioned perspectives, yet transcends them to form its own unique perspective. According to

Wilber, "None of the four groups have much to offer the others, except irritation" because they diverge fundamentally in their worldviews (p. 2).

It is unclear how Wilber decided to divide the field into these categories, except perhaps that they fit his consciousness model. However, Wilber's critique points to the more general questions of what defines transpersonal psychology, whether or not it is a unified area of study, and if that really matters.

Over the years a number of articles have been written attempting to explore the fundamental nature of transpersonal psychology. Starting as early as 1969, Anthony Sutich struggled with formulating a definition of transpersonal psychology. Sutich warned his readers that "Definitions and statements of purpose are understood to be formulations subject to change as required by the development of the objective living conditions, relationships, forces, etc. that they may represent" (p. 11). He then went on to present the first official definition of the field as follows:

> Transpersonal (or "fourth force") Psychology is the title given to an emerging force in the psychology field by a group of psychologists and professional men and women from other fields who are interested in those *ultimate* human capacities and potentialities that have no place in positivistic or behavioristic theory ("first force"), classical psychoanalytic ("second force"), or humanistic psychology ("third force"). The emerging Transpersonal Psychology ("fourth force") is concerned specifically with the *empirical,* scientific study of, and responsible implementation of the findings relevant to, becoming, individual and species-wide meta-needs, ultimate values, unitive consciousness, peak experiences, B-values, ecstasy, mystical experience, awe, being, self-actualization, essence, bliss, wonder, ultimate meaning, transcendence of the self, spirit, oneness, cosmic awareness, individual and species-wide synergy, maximal interpersonal encounter, sacralization of everyday life, transcendental phenomena, cosmic self humor and playfulness, maximal sensory awareness, responsiveness in expression; and related concepts, experiences, and activities. (pp. 5-6)

This definition, a virtual laundry list of transpersonal concepts and ideas, stood as a temporary statement of what transpersonal psychologists purported to study. It was printed inside the front cover of the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* as the *Journal*'s Statement of Purpose for 14 years. In Sutich's view, the definition, and thus Statement of Purpose, would undoubtedly change as the larger culture shifted in its focus and intent.

Indeed, the definition did change over the years, as was reflected in the *Journal*'s Statement of Purpose. Lajoie, Shapiro, and Roberts (1991) pointed out that the Statement of Purpose printed on the inside cover changed in a number of ways during the first 7 years of the *Journal*'s publication. Then, for 8 years between 1975 and 1983 the Statement remained consistent. In 1983, then editor Miles Vich removed the statement from the *Journal* altogether. Vich (1983) intended to formulate a new statement—one that better reflected the nature of the field—but that never happened. Since 1983, the *Journal* has existed without any Statement of Purpose, and thus the definition of transpersonal psychology has not appeared in any consistent manner for 20 years.

Lajoie and Shapiro (1992), interested in the changing definitions, conducted a study examining 202 references made to transpersonal psychology in the professional literature between the years of 1968 and 1991. Through their study Lajoie and Shapiro found that five basic themes emerged throughout the transpersonal literature: states of consciousness, highest or ultimate potential, beyond ego or personal self, transcendence, and spiritual. In a more recent study Shapiro, Lee, and Gross (2002) discovered that two ideas most prominently occurred in descriptions of transpersonal psychology: going beyond the personal and spirituality. According to the authors, these basic categories

denote the essence of transpersonal psychology. As differentiated from the preceding three forces of psychology, which focus on the unconscious, behavior, or the human condition, transpersonal psychology is interested in the human capacity to evolve into higher, fuller, more holistic identifications with earth / nature, body, mind, and spirit.

At a recent conference Harttelius and Rardin (2003) presented a paper entitled "Toward a New Definition of Transpersonal Psychology." These researchers solicited responses from recognized transpersonal scholars with regard to the following question: How do you define transpersonal psychology? Harttelius and Rardin then compared the responses to Lajoie and Shapiro's (1992) findings to get an idea of how the definitions of transpersonal psychology have shifted since 1991. These researchers found that the definitions changed in certain key regards and stayed consistent in others. Comparing the 1991 and 2003 data, Harttelius and Rardin discovered that one theme remained consistent—transpersonal psychology defined as the interface between psychology and spirituality. They also discovered one major receding theme—transpersonal psychology defined as the study of altered states of consciousness. In addition the researchers reported the following emerging themes: transpersonal psychology defined as context, transpersonal psychology defined as holistic, and transpersonal psychology defined as an area of personal and social transformation. Finally, Harttelius and Rardin noted four cutting edge themes: embodiment, applied diversity, transpersonal as a dimension of reality, and transpersonal as a participatory perspective.

Through the above presentation of shifting definitions, it is clear that transpersonal psychology is a vast and varied area of study, and as Anthony Sutich predicted, definitions of transpersonal psychology have evolved, and will continue to

change, as individuals working in transpersonal psychology relate their work to emergent cultural issues and interests. Individuals like Wilber see this proliferation of perspectives as a threat to the stability of the field. However, the diversity of perspectives may also be viewed as an asset, contributing to a richer, more encompassing area of study (Washburn, 2003).

It will be important to examine the founders' opinions of transpersonal psychology's shifting definitions in relation to the following questions: Have the founders' seminal visions been overlooked without a common definition for individuals working in the field to consult? Has the proliferation of ideas created an atmosphere of unfocused study wherein little progress can be made given that few people are choosing to research the same topics? Do the changing definitions reflect an attempt to build bridges with other areas of psychology? Do they reflect attempts to remain autonomous or disconnected from the mainstream of American psychology? Is it important that transpersonal psychologists share a common vision predicated on a clear, communal definition of transpersonal psychology? These questions and others were taken up in the empirical portion of this study.

Concluding Remarks

As stated earlier, the goal of this study is to take a historic-hermeneutic perspective on transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology. The literature review established the historical foundation upon which more specific questions could be asked about transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology. Through a brief history of the emergence of behaviorism, psychoanalysis, and humanistic psychology, it became clear that

transpersonal psychology addressed issues that were excluded from the preceding three orientations in psychology. It was also made clear that, emerging from the humanistic emphasis, transpersonal psychology inherited a tradition of opposition to the mainstream trends of mechanization and pathology. What remains unclear is to what extent transpersonal psychologists made efforts to maintain ties to humanistic psychology and its encompassing event, mainstream American psychology. Is Alyce and Elmer Green's (1971) assessment correct in identifying transpersonal psychology as the next step in the evolution of psychological thought? Have the founders' original visions for a "fourth force" psychology been effected? Was the fourth force metaphor an accurate one to draw? Has transpersonal psychology shown itself to be historically relevant to mainstream American psychology? What efforts have been made to exhibit this relevance? What efforts have not been made that might have been? Finally, what implications might this have for the current and future status of the field?

In order to address these questions it is imperative to ask the founders of transpersonal psychology what they perceive as the historical relationship of their field to mainstream American psychology. As Thomas Kuhn (1962) suggested, it is impossible to understand the history of science by looking at the data alone. One must also consider the sociology behind the science, as that is how individuals within the field work to maintain certain paradigmatic agendas, and how others challenge those agendas through the introduction of anomalous findings that stretch the boundaries of the prevailing paradigm. Paradigm shifts never occur through the introduction of new facts alone. Science is a social process driven by human beings who have personal attachments to the paradigms within which they operate.

In order to better understand the historical relation of transpersonal psychology to American psychology as a whole, the founders of transpersonal psychology were interviewed and asked to take a historical view of their involvement in establishing transpersonal psychology and to address the question of how relevant they see their work as being to humanistic psychology and mainstream American psychology. In addition, the transpersonal pioneers were asked how or if they see their field as relating to schools of thought that emerged after the 1960s, such as cognitive psychology, and most recently, positive psychology. Positive psychology, spearheaded by psychologist Martin Seligman, takes up such topics as resilience, flow, positive affect, optimism, creativity, well-being, self-efficacy, authenticity, compassion, forgiveness, empathy, and altruism—topics that look strikingly similar to those studied by humanistic psychologists (Snyder & Lopez, 2002). It was important to see if the founders of transpersonal psychology view their own work as having any relation to, or as influencing the development of, positive psychology in the mainstream.

In addition to inquiring into the motivations and perceptions of transpersonal psychologists, it is also important to have individuals who are not a part of the field reflect on transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream psychological studies. Therefore, individuals familiar with the development of psychological schools of thought were also interviewed and asked to reflect on how they understand the historical relationship between transpersonal psychology and mainstream American psychology to have unfolded. It is important to obtain the perspectives of those familiar with the development of psychological systems in order to gain more thorough understanding of how transpersonal psychology emerged out of the tradition of American psychology. By

combining this perspective with that of transpersonal pioneers, one will be able to hear not only the nostalgic voices of those who formed the field, but also attain a more objective perspective on the historic-hermeneutic aspect of transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology.

Chapter 3: Methods

Participants

Two groups of professionals contributed to the current research. Individuals responsible for the formation of transpersonal psychology as well as psychologists familiar with the historical development of American psychology and its subareas of study participated.

Founders of transpersonal psychology. The first group of participants included transpersonal psychologists who were selected based on the following two criteria: (a) peer recognition as a founder or contributing developer in transpersonal psychology's history, and (b) professional participation in transpersonal psychology for a minimum of 20 years.

In order to determine how well-recognized an individual was as a founder or contributing developer of transpersonal psychology, he or she had to be nominated by his or her peers as being one of the most influential figures in transpersonal psychology's history. The nomination process took place through the distribution of an email, which asked the recipients to respond to the following prompt: Please list 10 living transpersonal psychologists who you think most greatly influenced the development of transpersonal psychology. (Please see Appendix A.)

The persons contacted with the email included 42 individuals serving as faculty at transpersonal institutions, teaching a class with transpersonal themes, or serving on the board of directors of a transpersonal association. A total of 24 people responded to the email. This particular group of individuals was chosen because they should have

familiarity with transpersonal psychology and they could be easily reached via email. The respondents were affiliated with the following institutions:

1. Association for Transpersonal Psychology (Palo Alto, CA)
2. California Institute of Integral Studies (San Francisco, CA)
3. California State University, Sonoma (Rohnert Park, CA)
4. The Institute of Transpersonal Psychology (Palo Alto, CA)
5. The Integrative Studies Program at Alliant University (San Diego, CA)
6. John F. Kennedy University (Orinda, CA)
7. Naropa Institute (Boulder, CO)
8. Saybrook Graduate Institute (San Francisco, CA)
9. State University of West Georgia (Carrollton, GA)
10. University of California, Irvine (Irvine, CA)

Responses were collected via email. Each individual provided a list of names; some responses included lists shorter that 10 names and others included lists longer than 10 names. Only the top 10 or fewer names were used as data for this study. Once all of the lists were collected, the names were cross-tabulated to determine which names appeared with the most frequency. Through the cross-tabulation, a total of 15 names resulted, indicating those individuals considered to have made the greatest contributions to transpersonal psychology's development. The reason 15, rather than 10, names emerged was due to the fact that 6 of the names received the same amount of tallies. Hence, 15 individuals' names were included in order to provide as representative a sample as possible.

The second criterion used to determine if one was considered a founder of transpersonal psychology was that the individual had to have made a minimum of a 20-year contribution to the field. This criterion was employed due to the historical nature of this study. It was deemed important to interview transpersonal psychologists who are able to take a historical perspective with regard to the development of the field.

Therefore, the individuals nominated by their peers as being founders of transpersonal psychology also had to meet the second criterion of making a 20-year contribution to the field. This criterion was judged using two measures: (a) The individual had to have published an article in the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* or published a book with a transpersonal theme as early as 1983, and (b) each participant had to have attested to being professionally active in the field of transpersonal psychology for at least 20 years. Having been cited in the PsychInfo database during 1983 or earlier validated the first criterion. The second measure was checked by asking those who agreed to participate in the study how long they had been professionally active in transpersonal psychology.

All of the individuals nominated as founders of transpersonal psychology were contacted via email, phone, or letter, and asked to participate in the study. After repeated attempts, 11 of the 15 nominees were successfully contacted and those 11 agreed to participate. Table 1 indicates the 15 individuals who were nominated as founders of transpersonal psychology and designates of those 15 the 4 who could not be reached and asked to participate in the study. (Those individuals who have the words "Did not participate in study" are the individuals who did not ultimately participate in the research.) Table 1 also shows the year when each individual first published an article in

the *Journal of Transpersonal* Psychology or published a book with a transpersonal theme. Finally, Table 1 lists the decade that each of the participants in the study indicated as when they became professionally involved in transpersonal psychology.

Table 1

Participant Group 1: Founders of Transpersonal Psychology (N = 15)

Nominee	First transpersonal publication	Decade of initial participation
Ram Dass	1970	Did not participate in study
James Fadiman	1970	1960s
Robert Frager	1974	Did not participate in study
Stanislav Grof	1972	1960s
Stanley Krippner	1972	1970s
Ralph Metzner	1980	1970s
Claudio Naranjo	1978	Did not participate in study
Huston Smith	1966	1960s
Charles Tart	1969	1960s
Frances Vaughan	1979	1960s
Miles Vich	Editor of *JTP* since 1975	1960s
Roger Walsh	1979	1970s
Michael Washburn	1978	1970s
John Welwood	1976	Did not participate in study
Ken Wilber	1975	1970s

As Table 1 shows, James Fadiman, Stanislav Grof, Stanley Krippner, Ralph Metzner, Huston Smith, Charles Tart, Frances Vaughan, Miles Vich, Roger Walsh, Michael Washburn, and Ken Wilber participated in the study. Each of these individuals met the criteria for inclusion and agreed to be interviewed.

Historians of psychology. The second group of participants included psychologists who are experts in the historical development of American psychology. To be considered an expert in this area the individual must have been a current or past president of either the American Psychological Association's (APA) Division 24: Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology or Division 26: Society for the History of Psychology or he or she must be serving, or have served, as Editor, a member of the Editorial Board, or Consulting Editor of the *History of Psychology (HP)* journal, the *Journal of the History of Behavioral Sciences (JHBS),* or the *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology (JTPP).*

These APA Divisions and journals were chosen because they take as their interests the historical and philosophical dimensions of psychology. The Division of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology "encourages and facilitates informed exploration and discussion of psychological theories and issues in both their scientific and philosophical dimensions and interrelationships" (please see http://www.apa.org/about/division/div24.html). The Society for the History of Psychology "seeks to extend the awareness and appreciation of the history of psychology as an aid to understanding contemporary psychology, psychology's relation to other scientific fields, and its role in society" (please see http://www.apa.org/about/division/div26.html).

Presidents are elected by members of a division based on their contribution to the field of interest and their ability to maintain a broad perspective on that field. Editors of journals are the "gatekeepers" of information in a given field. Editors decide which articles are relevant to a field at a given time and have broad-based knowledge with regard to past, present, and potential intellectual and social trends within a field. Therefore, presidents and editors affiliated with the philosophical and historical branches of psychology should be able to take a broad-based view of psychology as a whole and offer a cogent perspective on the history of psychological systems. They are apt representatives of how individuals who are conversant with psychology's development view the various trends that have defined the field, as it exists today.

A total of 23 presidents, past presidents, and editors were contacted and asked to participate in this study. Nine agreed to participate. These individuals and their professional affiliations are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Participant Group 2: Historians of Psychology (N = 9)

Historian	Affiliation
John Burnham	Past Editor, *JHBS*
Blain Fowers	Consulting Editor, *JTPP*
Kenneth Gergen	Past President, Division 24
David Leary	Consulting Editor, *HP* journal
Jack Martin	Current President, Division 24
James Pate	Current President, Division 26
Brent Slife	Editorial Board, *JTPP*
Michael Sokal	Editor, *HP* journal
Hendrika Vande Kemp	Past President, Division 26

Confidentiality

Because this is a historical study, there was no requirement to keep the respondents' names and responses confidential. However, the researcher offered each participant the option of not being identified in the presentation of the results. Only 1 participant in the historians of psychology group asked that his or her responses not be identified. This person did, however, consent to being listed as a participant in the study. Therefore, this person is included on the list of participants, but his or her name is not identified in Chapter 4: Results.

Because 1 person wanted his or her responses to be kept anonymous, all of the historians' names had to be kept anonymous. In order to maintain the historians' anonymity, the researcher assigned each historian a code name (e.g., Historian A,

Historian B, etc.). In addition, each historian's interview transcript was altered so that their real names were excluded and code names were substituted. The researcher is the only person who knows which responses correspond to which historian.

Instruments

For both groups of participants, a semistructured interview technique was employed. Participants were asked a series of questions regarding their perspectives on the historical relationship between transpersonal psychology and mainstream American psychology. (Please see Appendixes C and D.)

Procedure

Interviews. Each participant was initially contacted via email, phone, or letter and asked if he or she was willing to participate in the study. When the individual agreed, an appointment time and place were determined.

Ten of the interviews with the founders of transpersonal psychology were conducted in person and one was conducted via email. These interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 2 hours.

Eight of the interviews with the historians of psychology were conducted over the phone and one was conducted via email. These interviews lasted between 15 and 45 minutes.

Following the interview, each participant was thanked for his or her time. They were also reminded of the researcher's contact information so that he or she could later obtain the results of the completed study, if so desired.

Treatment of Data

Data were collected using a tape recorder. Professional transcribers then transcribed the tape-recorded interviews so that they could be analyzed. After the recordings were transcribed, the researcher proofread each transcribed interview. Following this process, the data analysis proceeded as follows:

1. Each interview was thoroughly read twice while the researcher took notes on points of historical relevance, common themes addressed by both groups of participants, points of agreement between the two groups of participants, and points of difference between the two groups of participants.
2. The interviews were coded by assigning numbers to textual units expressing themes relevant to the research.
3. Commonly coded textural units were grouped together.
4. Following the grouping of the raw data, the textural units were organized in a way such that the researcher could present a narrative account of transpersonal psychology's historical relationship to mainstream American psychology.

Presentation of Results

The results of this study are presented in the tradition of a historic-hermeneutic analysis as defined by Dilthey (1977). Specifically, the evolutionary ontological status of transpersonal psychology is revealed through an unfolding dialogue between the voices of the founders of transpersonal psychology and historians of American psychology. In order to do this, the researcher compared and contrasted responses provided by both groups of participants, constantly holding them in juxtaposition. Through this analysis a story is revealed, addressing the primary questions posed by this study.

Chapter 4: Results

Given that this is a historic-hermeneutic project, the data are presented as an unfolding story of transpersonal psychology's ontological status within the context of mainstream American psychology. Quotes from both the founders of transpersonal psychology and the historians of psychology are presented vis-à-vis one another in order to provide an essence of the dialogue that might take place if these two groups of individuals were brought together in a real-time conversation.

The discussion begins with a presentation of what the founders of transpersonal psychology had in mind as they were forming the field. In addition, the founders also share their current definitions of transpersonal psychology and elaborate upon the field's accomplishments. In juxtaposition to this discussion, the historians' knowledge of transpersonal psychology is also examined. The historians comment on whether or not they have heard of transpersonal psychology, how much they know about the field, and how they see transpersonal psychology fitting into the context of American psychology. Specifically, they discuss whether or not transpersonal psychology can be described as a subdiscipline of American psychology.

After the preliminary discussion of the founders' visions and the historians' knowledge, transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology is next examined. First, the idea of transpersonal psychology as the "fourth force" in American psychology is questioned. Both the founders and the historians provide perspectives on the accuracy of the fourth force metaphor. Next, both groups of participants answer the question, "How much impact has transpersonal psychology had in mainstream American psychology?" The response to this question, on both sides, is

resoundingly that transpersonal psychology has had little to no impact in mainstream psychological studies. This conclusion carries into speculation by both parties as to why transpersonal psychologists have not had an impact in the mainstream.

Following the above assessment of transpersonal psychology's place within the context of mainstream American psychology, the discussion then takes a turn toward looking at emerging trends in mainstream American psychology. Specifically, the field of positive psychology and a recent interest by psychologists in the topic of spirituality are mentioned. Both the founders and the historians discuss transpersonal psychology's relationship to these areas.

Finally, the discussion concludes with a glance into transpersonal psychology's future. The historians provide prescriptions for how transpersonal psychologists might build bridges to mainstream American psychology and discuss whether or not they believe transpersonal psychology deserves its own division in the American Psychological Association. The founders of transpersonal psychology conclude this chapter by offering views on what would be the best course for their field's future.

Before proceeding further, it should be noted that the transcript quotes presented here were modified as minimally as possible. Every step was taken to preserve the integrity and the essence of each individual's perceptions and ideas. Occasionally, however, it was necessary to alter the tense or to specify ambiguous references within a quote. These alterations are noted through the use of brackets and ellipses. It should also be noted that the page numbers following the participants' quotations refer to the typed transcript of each individual's interview.

Context for the Discussion: Founders' Visions and Historians' Knowledge

In order to provide a context for the discussion regarding transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology, the results begin with a presentation of what the founders of transpersonal psychology saw as their field's original vision, how they define transpersonal psychology today, and what they see as their field's major successes. In addition, the historians of psychology speak to how much they know about transpersonal psychology and whether or not they consider the field to be a subdiscipline of American psychology.

The Founders' Original Visions

> If those of us who are fortunate to give our lives to ideas and transmitting ideas do not urge our culture in the direction of considering the things that matter most, why, who's going to do it? I think the answer is nobody. (Huston Smith, p. 12)

One of the first questions asked of the founders of transpersonal psychology, and thus one of the first themes to emerge, was what visions these individuals had for the field in its beginning. All of the participants shared memories of what hopes and visions they had in mind while forming transpersonal psychology. Many, however, prefaced their own visionary contributions by crediting Anthony Sutich (referred to affectionately as Tony) with being the field's true pioneer.

Several participants recalled Sutich as a physically disabled man with an incredible capacity for innovation and leadership. Stanislav Grof remembered,

> [Tony] was an amazing person. [H]e was paralyzed, and he could use maybe three fingers, or several fingers at least, and he was constantly on the stretcher. He had a mirror [and] you could sit behind him and talk with him and you saw him in the mirror. So his most comfortable way of talking to people was to get a full view without having to move around and follow people. So you basically came into that field and then you

> talked to him . . . and . . . he did all his amazing work that went into founding transpersonal psychology from his stretcher. (Grof, p. 5)

Jim Fadiman further recalled,

> Tony in one corner on a gurney with a little mirror . . . seeing everything in the mirror. And he's cheerful and chatty and outgoing and makes people feel enormously at ease. And he's really curious, and he's asking questions. So he's really running it [transpersonal psychology], and he's running it really for his pleasure. (Fadiman, p. 1)

Miles Vich credited the founding of transpersonal psychology to Sutich's motivation:

> He loved to start projects and create things. . . . He'd gotten the *Journal of Humanistic* [*Psychology*] started in '61. By '66 there was something bothering him. By '67 he was talking about a new journal. By '68 he had it pretty well thought through except for the title, and was already looking for papers and so on. As I recall his perspective from our discussions—he felt that it wasn't enough just to kind of add on or expand or extend [humanistic psychology], but that it [the new psychology] needed a separate voice. (Vich, p. 5)

As reviewed in Chapter 2, Sutich felt that the humanistic branch of psychology that he had helped found was limited in its ability to describe the full range of human experience. Vich recalled Sutich's initial moments of perceiving the need for a new psychology:

> [Tony] wanted to move on to something, but he didn't know what. And so he and Maslow started talking to other people, and in the course of those conversations, we went down to a seminar at Esalen. And that was where Tony got it clear in his head what the problem was—that there wasn't a direct access to spiritual life through humanistic and through the religious systems available, and so he felt there was a big gap. (Vich, p. 3)

Jim Fadiman also recalled the early seminar at Esalen:

> one of the things that led to forming the transpersonal is we set up a meeting . . . with Michael Murphy's [the founder of Esalen] help where we invited . . . the hippest theologians we could possibly find, and Tony and our little crew went down, and we spent a weekend together. And our feeling was we wanted to build a bridge between basically theology and psychology. And at the end of the weekend our feeling was that the bridge definitely needed to be built, and we could see its need. And we could also

> see that they weren't going to do their half. . . . We realized that we had to do it, and so we formed the transpersonal, which clearly was a place where the spiritual could be comfortable. (Fadiman, p. 3)

With Sutich's vision emerged accompanying visions for a new "transpersonal" orientation in psychology. Through the interviews with the transpersonal founders it became clear that these visions included three distinct dimensions: (a) perceiving the limits of conventional psychology, (b) creating an approach that was inclusive of previous approaches to psychology, and (c) including spirituality as an important dimension in the study of psychology. These three themes are elaborated below.

Perceiving the limits of conventional psychology. One of the main visions discussed by the founders of transpersonal psychology was a perceived need to move beyond existing orientations in psychology. As discussed in Chapter 2, in the 1950s and 1960s a number of individuals had adopted the humanistic stance as an alternative to the prevailing behaviorist and psychoanalytic perspectives. However, many humanistic psychologists became dissatisfied with the humanistic point of view because it failed to address larger, more mysterious aspects of human experience. Ralph Metzner said of humanistic psychology,

> [I]t was a first step beyond behaviorism and psychoanalysis. But it didn't really, as Maslow and Grof and others agreed, it didn't really deal with peak experiences or transcendent experiences or sort of religious spiritual kinds of experiences. That's why they [the founders of transpersonal psychology] felt like a fourth force [was needed]. (Metzner, p. 4)

Stanislav Grof further recalled,

> Tony Sutich and Abe Maslow started [humanistic psychology] in the '50s, but 10 years later they were aware of the fact that they left out a very important dimension, which was the spiritual dimension. You know, it didn't include anything from the Eastern philosophies, the mystical traditions, meditation, you know, even things about creativity and things like that. So they felt they needed a psychology that would go . . . beyond

> [humanistic psychology], and so they called it trans-humanistic psychology. (Grof, pp. 3-4)

Grof continued, "[Transpersonal psychology] saw the psyche as infinitely larger than, certainly behaviorism, certainly psychoanalysis, but even humanistic psychology" (Grof, p. 5).

Grof, himself, had run up against the limits of conventional psychology while conducting research on LSD in the 1960s. He recalled,

> I was developing a strange conflict within myself, which was between the theory and the practice of psychoanalysis. . . . I was becoming aware of the limitations of the practice of psychoanalysis. . . . I began working with LSD as an adjunct to psychotherapy, and that was where, you know, one person after another was leaving the narrow range of the psyche as it was described by psychoanalysis, and going into all these areas which were not mapped by Freud—you know, like reliving birth, and having prenatal experiences, and then going to the collective unconscious and karmic experiences, you know, archetypal experiences. And I was lecturing and writing about it, and, you know, I had mapped the territory, sort of talking about the biographical recollective level but also what I call the perinatal . . . and then I described that whole realm that I called transpersonal. (Grof, pp. 1-2)

Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 2, mainstream American psychology during the early 1960s was not able to accommodate the phenomena that Grof was documenting. Frances Vaughan commented,

> I would say that [the transpersonal] was clearly an area of human experience that was woefully neglected in conventional psychology, and conventional psychology seemed so narrow. I mean, then it was either behaviorism or psychoanalysis. So the humanistic was a new focus which was not just the measurement, prediction, and control of behavior but more about value, meaning, and purpose in human life, and that was what appealed to me at first about the humanistic directions—the concern more with values, meaning, and purpose. And so then when the transpersonal first . . . became a field, it seemed to encompass all of my interests. (Vaughan, p. 4)

Creating an approach inclusive of previous approaches to psychology. Like Vaughan, a number of the founders said that a vision they had for the field was to create a perspective that was inclusive of other perspectives in psychology. Miles Vich recalled the decision to move beyond the humanistic perspective as follows:

> I said, "Look, we are not separating from [humanistic psychology], this is not a division, this is not a divorce, this what Maslow had a termed an epiphenomenon. It's on top of or grows a little more in a different direction or beyond, but not a separation from." Because we really felt that all psychology and everything in it is one. (Vich, p. 5)

Charles Tart further explained, "I saw transpersonal as the widest application, taking in all [the previous psychological perspectives] as well as taking the spiritual seriously" (Tart, p. 5). Similarly, Roger Walsh said that transpersonal psychology's "explicit stance or orientation towards the honoring and inclusion of the best of all schools of psychology" is what inspired him to do work in the field (Walsh, p. 8). He said that transpersonal psychology is "not a denigration of other schools, but rather an honoring of each of them and a seeking to identify the best and the true within each school, and to include it within a more comprehensive framework" (Walsh, p. 8).

Echoing and building upon this perspective, Ken Wilber claimed that his original vision for transpersonal psychology was to not only include all existing Western approaches to psychology, but to also integrate Eastern and Western psychological theories. He recalled the vision he had when he first started writing about transpersonal psychology in the 1970s: "I said 'Let's look at a dozen psychology schools and psychotherapy schools, East and West.' And I [asked], '[What] does the human mind have to be like in order that all these schools of psychology can exist?'" (Wilber, p. 2). This question inspired Wilber to map out the contours of the human psyche by drawing

from as many schools of psychology as he could, including Eastern perspectives that had been largely neglected in conventional Western psychological schools.

Including (Eastern) spirituality. As intimated in a few of the quotes above, a major part of moving beyond conventional psychology and taking an inclusive stance was to incorporate spirituality into the study of psychology. Indeed, what most differentiated transpersonal psychology from humanistic psychology was transpersonal psychologists' explicit interest in spirituality. Frances Vaughan noted,

> the transpersonal included the spiritual dimension, which the humanistic really didn't at that time. And so that's why, for me, transpersonal was much more compelling and more interesting, because I was interested in the full range of human experience, not only personal development. (Vaughan, p. 3)

Miles Vich said that the early transpersonal theorists' "orientation [was] . . . more spiritual or a largest-possible psychological grasp, which begins to actually leave psychology" (Vich, p. 3). Ralph Metzner said that, for him, transpersonal psychology was a place to develop "a language, a framework where one could talk about themes that were common to all the religions without being committed to any one particular denomination, sort of an ecumenical psychology of religions, or religious experience" (Metzner, p. 3).

Indeed, a number of the founders cited spirituality as their impetus for becoming involved in transpersonal psychology. Roger Walsh recalled,

> My interest [in transpersonal psychology] arose out of beginning spiritual practice and being very confused about the different worlds I was being opened to by spiritual practice and not understanding how to make sense of spiritual claims, and trying to look for some common . . . links between my understanding of mind and psychology with . . . my beginning understandings of spirituality. (Walsh, p. 1)

Similarly, Ralph Metzner said that he had begun an intensive yoga practice in the 1960s and was "heavily influenced by Eastern psychological ideas" with a spiritual thrust

(Metzner, p. 2). The founders with spiritual interests felt compelled to include them in the new field of transpersonal psychology. Huston Smith reflected, "I think that they felt that they were pioneers. They knew . . . that there was a huge opportunity, namely to study and delve into the treasures of Asian psychology" (Smith, p. 7).

Founders' Current Definitions of Transpersonal Psychology

In addition to being asked to recall their original visions for the field, the founders of transpersonal psychology were also asked how they currently define transpersonal psychology. This question was asked in order to assess whether or not the founders' visions have changed since the field's beginnings, and if so, how.

The founders' current definitions reflect the themes of inclusiveness and integration, especially as pertains to the study of spirituality in psychology. Dissimilar to their original visions, the current definitions did not emphasize the notion of moving beyond conventional psychology. However, a few of the founders defined transpersonal psychology as being more inclusive than psychology itself, and said that transpersonal studies include not only psychology, but other disciplines as well. The founders' definitions for the field are presented below.

Jim Fadiman offered a basic definition of transpersonal psychology:

> [W]hen people ask me, "What's transpersonal psychology?" I say, "It's the study of human experience." "Oh, what's that mean?" "Well, it means *all* of human experience." And I do a little bell curve, and I say, "Most psychology seems to be from normal on down. Well, we think normal on up is equally interesting, and I'd just as soon study saints and entrepreneurs and star athletes as schizophrenics." And people all go, "Oh, yeah, that makes sense." (Fadiman, p. 20)

Miles Vich defined transpersonal psychology by emphasizing the spiritual component as well as the inclusive, multidisciplinary nature of the field:

> Today, my view is rather pragmatic. In ordinary conversation, "that area where psychology and spiritual life and experience interact and overlap," then examples, elaborations, and explanations can follow. . . . For more in-depth purposes [I use the following definition:] "Transpersonal psychology is a study of the full range of human awareness, examined from informed psychological and spiritual religious perspectives in various cultures and eras. . . . As a broadly inclusive field, it focuses on theory and practice, is multidisciplinary, uses multiple methodologies, and applies its findings to individual, social, and planetary concerns and needs." (Vich, pp. 19-20)

Stanislav Grof defined transpersonal psychology as follows:

> [T]ranspersonal psychology is a discipline that studies the whole spectrum of human experience including nonordinary states, that is, it is a discipline that's trying to bring together spirituality and science and [is a] sort of bridging between . . . Western pragmatism and Eastern philosophies and the mystical traditions. (Grof, p. 24)

Roger Walsh also offered an integrative definition, while emphasizing the inclusion of "transpersonal experience."

> It's a field which is interested in a synthetic approach to psychology which is open to and honors all branches and divisions of psychology, but is particularly interested in including the study of transpersonal experiences, the effects, means of induction, meaning, significance, et cetera. (Walsh, p. 12)

Frances Vaughan emphasized the importance of inclusiveness, and like the others, noted the unique place of spirituality in transpersonal psychology.

> [Transpersonal psychology] hopefully includes as large a vision as we can imagine. And that would be the basic idea, not to exclude any of the possibilities that are there for us to develop and particularly to balance the inner life, mind, and spirit with the outer life of action and service in the world. That seems to me what it's really about is to bring that into balance and not to neglect the inner life, and that usually includes some relation to spirituality. (Vaughan, p. 15)

Again, focusing on the spiritual aspect, Michael Washburn initially defined transpersonal psychology as follows:

> [T]he basic definition, I think, remains unchanged: "Transpersonal X is the study of X from a spiritual perspective, a perspective that sees spirituality as an essential dimension of human experience generally and an essential dimension of fulfilled humanness in particular." (Washburn, p. 7)

However, Washburn then went on to emphasize inclusiveness as well, saying,

> For me, transpersonal psychology was always much more than psychology. It was a theoretical perspective that potentially encompassed all of the humanities and social sciences. This larger view of transpersonal psychology—that is to say, of transpersonal theory—is now, I believe, the more accepted view. (Washburn, p. 1)

Likewise, Stanley Krippner said,

> [W]e have to realize that there are transpersonal studies of which transpersonal psychology is only one. . . . The term transpersonal studies refers to the disciplined study of observed reported human behaviors and experiences in which an individual's sense of identity appears to extend beyond its ordinary limits to encompass wider, broader, or deeper aspects of life, of the cosmos, including divine elements of creation.
>
> Transpersonal studies may center on the ethical and moral implications of such behaviors and experiences. Cultural and text-related themes develop mental and evolutionary processes, applications to education, health care, social change, and other areas or a host of other topics. Okay. Now. Transpersonal psychology refers to the psychological study of these behaviors and experiences or at least reports of these behaviors and experiences. And so, transpersonal psychology is obviously the best-known aspect of transpersonal studies, but it is not a synonym to transpersonal studies and it's not the only type of transpersonal study. (Krippner, p. 7)

Finally, Charles Tart offered this simple definition of transpersonal psychology: "[I]t's really about the spirit. It's about discriminating what's real and important in this area we call the spirit" (Tart, p. 19).

Thus, similar to their original visions for the field, the founders continue to define transpersonal psychology in relation to the study of spirituality and emphasize the importance of including multiple perspectives. In addition, a few of the founders stressed

the value of taking an integrative stance, which seems to be a step forward from simply taking a position of inclusiveness.

Transpersonal Psychology's Successes

The founders of transpersonal psychology were also asked what they see as their field's successes. The following four phenomena were identified as accomplishments: (a) developing a professional arena in which to conduct research on transpersonal phenomena, (b) introducing spirituality as an integral component of human functioning, (c) emphasizing integration across disciplines and philosophies, and (d) extending transpersonal psychology's reach internationally.

Ken Wilber said that one success of transpersonal psychology

> was that it was . . . the only place that anybody could stand, in a certain sense . . . for really . . . about a decade and a half. It was the only place you could really publish things [on spirituality], and it was the only place that sort of allowed a certain type of—however modest—academic respectability . . . . (Wilber, pp. 42-43)

Miles Vich similarly said transpersonal psychology provided

> an orientation that people could identify with and through which they could express and develop their interests. . . . Whether any of these continue, that's another matter, but that's been accomplished. Not only . . . was an organization [formed], but [through] conferences, thousands of people have been able to identify how they think and feel about these things by using this kind of terminology and conceptualization, so that's a success. (Vich, p. 31)

Vich continued,

> In terms of the original task, which was to have a body of human experience recognized as having psychological aspects and important enough to be a major consideration in human development, and to do it from a scientific, secular or informed, literary or philosophical evidentiary base, that one I think is accomplished. In other words, that's been laid down as a field, that's been created, and it's been established, and there's a vast literature now. So that task is accomplished and is a success. (Vich, p. 31)

In terms of having a place to publish, Stanley Krippner noted,

> I think that the maintenance of the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* is a great success. This is a journal that has maintained very high standards over the years; has produced classic articles in the field; and that has caught the attention of people outside of the field . . . . (Krippner, p. 12)

With regard to gaining credentials, Miles Vich also pointed out

> the fact that professionals can get degrees and licenses from having gone through a school like [the Institute of Transpersonal Psychology]—that's the big battle. You couldn't do that while we were starting these things. There was no way to do it, and then you couldn't get it if you tried. And so that's all changed. That's a huge development. (Vich, p. 33)

Vich continued, saying,

> this is a great time, I think, to be connected to a transpersonal orientation and to work in the field, even better than humanistic if one had to make such a choice, because it's just so much bigger, and the implications are so much more wide open. So a success would be that you can still almost define it for yourself. Grab a hold of something and work with it. (Vich, p. 35)

In terms of the introduction of spirituality to psychology, Ken Wilber noted that transpersonal psychology "served its purpose by acting as a vehicle to get spirituality in psychology accepted . . . in general terms" (Wilber, p. 42). Similarly, Jim Fadiman said, "I think we've influenced the mainstream culture, predominantly . . . in the introduction and support of Eastern thought, certainly the support of meditation as a tool for normal living" (Fadiman, p. 18). Ralph Metzner stated that transpersonal psychology's success is "its openness in . . . allowing . . . philosophical ideas and religious ideas from other traditions . . . to be considered from a psychological point of view" (Metzner, p. 25). Metzner went on to say that transpersonal psychology was successful in

> expanding our conception of human nature into the spiritual realms, spiritual states, cosmic states, and transcendent states, and transformative experiences. And that these are normal, that they're common, and that

> they can happen in many different contexts, you know, with drugs, without drugs, with music, with . . . a whole lot of methods. (Metzner, p. 25)

Likewise, Roger Walsh said the field's success is

> drawing attention to transpersonal and/or spiritual experiences, legitimizing those; legitimizing contemplative practices [and] introducing the idea of transpersonal or postconventional developmental stages, or at least furthering the investigation of those and legitimizing them. Probably the most important is exactly what its mission was, and that is it has initiated the synthesis between perennial wisdom and contemporary knowledge, particularly psychology. I think that's the most important thing. (Walsh, p. 13)

In addition, Charles Tart noted that transpersonal psychologists have been successful in "showing that spirituality, or its lack, has consequences on people's lives" (Tart, p. 16).

Another area pointed out as a success for transpersonal psychology is its integrative capacity. Roger Walsh noted,

> I think that, at its best, the transpersonal has a deeper goal and that is to really look to a synthesis between what's called perennial wisdom [and contemporary knowledge]. I've recently come up with a term I like—*sophia commonalus*—[which is] the common wisdom of the great contemplative traditions. So . . . I think at its best it's aiming for an open-minded investigation of an integration of *sophia commonalus* with contemporary knowledge and epistemologies—not just psychology, not even just science, but contemporary philosophy [and] phenomenology, for the mutual enrichment of both the broadening and deepening of psychology and for the application of contemporary epistemologies to the enrichment and understanding and evaluation of contemplative wisdom and practices and effects and experiences . . . . (Roger Walsh, p. 13)

Michael Washburn remarked,

> A . . . success is that transpersonal psychology has grown into transpersonal theory, a cross-disciplinary and, therefore, multidisciplinary perspective. Not only psychologists but also philosophers, sociologists, anthropologists, literary theorists, and many others now consider themselves transpersonalists. In this regard, the future of transpersonal theory depends less on its acceptance within mainstream psychology than it does on its continuing influence as a cross-disciplinary perspective. (Washburn, p. 5)

Finally, it was noted by a few of the founders that transpersonal psychologists have managed to communicate their message to a worldwide audience. Krippner said,

> I think that [another] success in the field . . . is the establishment of transpersonal psychology groups throughout the world. And so, no matter whether transpersonal psychology waxes or wanes in the Untied States, there will be someplace where it will carry on. And so, in other words, it's now here to stay. When something develops outside of the country of its origin, you know it's here to stay. (Krippner, p. 12)

Grof noted,

> there are countries like Brazil, for example . . . I just went last year to launch a program where three universities are cooperating and offering a transpersonal program for students, and they're using *The Psychology of the Future*, my last book, as a text. In Austria, holotropic breathwork has been accepted as an official therapy, you know, by the Ministry of Health. In Russia, there is a tremendous interest in transpersonal psychology. (Grof, p. 10)

Jim Fadiman also commented on transpersonal psychology's international reach:

> If you look at Europe, you have about 15 transpersonal psychology organizations, by country, plus EUROTAS, which is this parent group, and they've had conferences here and . . . each country has a totally different take. And they've gotten to the place where there are now two groups of countries who are mad at each other, so they've made it to that level of development . . . . So Europe's thriving. (Fadiman, p. 10)

Finally, Charles Tart remarked on this phenomenon, saying,

> No matter what kind of political system or social system you put it in, [transpersonal psychology is] going to keep popping up repeatedly. You can't get rid of it in any final sense. And something that fuels that is the enormous interconnection in the world today. . . . You can still suppress this stuff quite thoroughly, but in the modern world, since it's our basic nature and the communications keep spreading around, it's just natural seeming to me that it keeps popping up. (Tart, p. 20)

Historians' Knowledge of Transpersonal Psychology

On the other side of the discussion, the historians of psychology were asked to provide their impressions of transpersonal psychology as well. However, rather than

being asked to offer a history of the field, a definition of transpersonal psychology, or to list the field's accomplishments, these individuals were prompted to elaborate on how much knowledge they have of the field, in general.

The first question the historians were asked was if they had heard of transpersonal psychology before being contacted to participate in the current study. Out of the 9 historians interviewed for this study, 8 had heard of transpersonal psychology prior to being asked to participate in the study. The range of knowledge varied, however. Below are some quotes taken from the interviews, which provide an idea of how much familiarity historians of American psychology have of transpersonal psychology.

One historian with very little familiarity with the field said, "Until about a year or two ago, I had no idea what the two-word phrase 'transpersonal psychology' meant" (Historian B, p. 2). This same historian then remembered, "at an APA [American Psychological Association] meeting I saw a flier [that] suggested something to the effect that a group of individuals who identified themselves as transpersonal psychologists were seeking recognition to form an APA division of transpersonal psychology, and were being unsuccessful" (Historian B, p. 4). The same historian then attempted to give a definition of transpersonal psychology, describing it as "analogous to what previous generations thought of as the psychological research of parapsychology and spiritually" (Historian B, p. 5). Another historian with limited knowledge of transpersonal psychology said,

> I know very little [about transpersonal psychology]. I have seen the term and I had a graduate student doing a very comprehensive dissertation on a variety of approaches to psychology, and she, in her dissertation, mentioned but did not discuss transpersonal psychology. Basically, I'm very naive about it. I could probably make up a story, but in terms of

> knowledge, per se, no. I have not read any transpersonal psychology and, consequently, I probably am best described as ignorant. (Historian D, p. 2)

The rest of the historians, besides the 1 who had not heard of the field at all, exhibited more familiarity with transpersonal psychology. One claimed to be a friend of Stanley Krippner's, and then said, "I [have] not read what I would call [the] more exotic fringes, like [Stanislav] Grof." He went on to say, "But I've . . . learned about [Grof's] work and Ken Wilber, partly through friends of mine and partly through a student who was very excited about transpersonal [psychology] a couple of years ago" (Historian H, p. 2). Another historian said, "I knew it was . . . billed as a fourth force. It's something of a follow-on to humanism. It has some spiritual aspects. I know a few names of people who've been associated with it. That's about it" (Historian I, p. 1).

Four historians had even more familiarity with transpersonal psychology. One historian described transpersonal psychology as "a nonmainstream movement" (Historian C, p. 2). This same historian then went on to say,

> I think of it as centered primarily on the West coast, although I'm sure it's all over the United States to some degree, and the world. Actually, at one point in my career, it's got to have been 20 years ago now, I chaired a transpersonal psychology dissertation. It seems to me it's open to spiritual sorts of forces. Also, it seems to me fairly relational in its understanding of things. (Historian C, p. 2)

Another historian commented,

I'm familiar with . . . the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* . . . . And I have a general idea of transpersonal psychology as being a derivative of humanistic psychology, but that tried to make more room for other [experiences], rather than just an entire focus on individual experience. And that there's always been a kind of involvement that has been quite—oh, I'm not sure what the word would be—but welcoming, or inviting of

different kinds of religious and other kinds of traditions that might not be religious but might be esoteric in certain ways. But those are just general senses. I don't have specific knowledge of transpersonal psychology other than the occasional things that, you know, crossed my desk in the past. And I'm not even sure about the accuracy of what I've just said, but that's the general sense that I have. (Historian A, p. 2)

Yet another historian, with even more familiarity, described transpersonal psychology as "an outgrowth, at least partially, of the first wave of humanistic psychology" (Historian G, p. 1). This same historian then went on to say that transpersonal psychology

> has an affinity with other movements, including the 19th Century spiritualism and related psychical research, that formed part of the context within which modern psychology emerged and represents a move away from "me-focused" humanistic psychology toward a larger picture of meaning and life, open to concerns and dimensions traditionally associated with religious quests and questioning. (Historian G, p. 1)

Finally, one last historian claimed to be able to write a book about the field. This historian said, "I know far too much to summarize it for you" (Historian E, p. 2) and then, "I go back to reading . . . Charles Tart . . . and his work on . . . altered states of consciousness. And that's stuff that I came across . . . when I was doing my masters level research, and comprehensives in graduate school on psychology and religion" (Historian E, p. 2).

Transpersonal Psychology as a Subdiscipline of American Psychology

In addition to being asked if they had heard of transpersonal psychology and what they know about the field, the historians were also asked to comment on whether or not they perceive transpersonal psychology to be a subdiscipline of the larger discipline of American psychology. The 5 historians having some knowledge of transpersonal

psychology's subject matter commented on whether or not they consider transpersonal psychology to be a subdiscipline of American psychology. The other 4 historians said that they felt unqualified to comment on this particular question.

The consensus among the 5 individuals who answered the question was that transpersonal psychology is not a subdicipline of American psychology. However, it was noted that transpersonal psychology might be considered an "interest," "school of thought," a "branch" of an existing subdiscipline in American psychology, or a "developing" subdiscipline. The following quotes exemplify these perspectives:

> I don't know if it qualifies as [a subdiscipline]. I mean, you hear almost nothing about it unless . . . it's something that you take an active interest in. So I would put it that way. (Historian I, p. 2)

> Subdiscipline is a funny word, because subdiscipline's usually kind of cognitive, clinical, social. So in that sense, I certainly do not [consider transpersonal psychology a subdiscipline]. Now, I wouldn't be averse to calling it a school of thought. (Historian C, p. 3)

> So the things that you memorize dates for in the history of psychology, things like the publication of textbooks, the founding of laboratories, the appointment of professorships, the founding of journals, the first graduate students, even the naming of the discipline . . . I argue that psychology and religion . . . is a subdiscipline [of American psychology]. And the evidence for that is that there are the journals, there are professional organizations, there are the degree programs, et cetera. . . . But I put transpersonal psychology in there then as one branch of that kind of movement. (Historian E, p. 3)

> Certainly, there is a body of literature and a number of people who are in contact and a set of dialogues, and in that sense it's as much a discipline as virtually anything else. But whether you would mean that formally in terms of, let's say, having established a division of APA, it hasn't reached that stage yet. (Historian H, p. 2)

> [I]t certainly wouldn't be conventionally considered to be a subdiscipline in the way that personality or development or educational or counseling or clinical or industrial/organizational are, and there isn't the kind of formal recognition of the sort that you find granted by large organizations, professional and scholarly organizations of psychology. On the other

> hand, I think it does have its own organization. It has a journal—the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology*—and those are some signs that it's in an ascent stage of developing and, potentially, in the future could develop as a subdiscipline. But I would say that it's more of a school or an approach to psychology rather than a subdiscipline. (Historian A, pp. 2-3)

Transpersonal Psychology's Relationship to Mainstream American Psychology

With the above general impressions of the field presented, it is possible to look more specifically at transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology. What follows is a discussion of the accuracy of the fourth force metaphor, a look at how the founders and the historians view transpersonal psychology's impact in the mainstream, and some speculation as to why transpersonal psychology has not had much of an impact in mainstream American psychology.

The Fourth Force Metaphor as Inaccurate

As mentioned in Chapter 2, in 1967 Abraham Maslow described transpersonal psychology as the "fourth force" in American psychology, coming after psychoanalysis, behaviorism, and humanistic psychology (Sutich, 1976b). This metaphor was used to place transpersonal psychology within the context of mainstream American psychology. Both the founders and the historians were asked to comment on whether Maslow's metaphor of the fourth force was an accurate one to draw. Through the interviews it became clear that neither the majority of the founders of transpersonal psychology nor the majority of the historians of psychology find Maslow's metaphor to be an apt characterization of transpersonal psychology.

One historian, who was a behaviorist early in his career, said, "I do recall Maslow's statements about the fourth force. At the time that he published that, I was not very enthusiastic about it" (Historian D, p. 2). Another historian said that transpersonal

psychology could not be described as a force because it was never "mainstream enough" (Historian C, p. 3). This historian went on to say, "I just don't see its influence as being broad enough to call it a force" (Historian C, p. 3). A second historian provided a similar perspective, saying, "since the time that Maslow said that, I'm not sure that transpersonal psychology has continued to develop as a fourth force in terms of its popularity, in terms of its salience in the field, as it were" (Historian A, p. 3). Yet another historian said, "transpersonal psychology does not seem to be as relatively independent as the other 'forces' nor does it seem to be, or have been, a 'force' of comparable sway within more or less standard psychology" (Historian G, p. 1). Another historian said, "Oh, I think it was a hope. I don't think it really panned out. Personally, I don't see it as much of a force or [as] having a lot of strength or influence" (Historian I, p. 2).

On the other side of the discussion, founder of transpersonal psychology Michael Washburn said, "As the fourth force, transpersonal psychology is not much of a force at all within American psychology" (Washburn, p. 2). Roger Walsh suggested that the idea of transpersonal psychology as the fourth force in American psychology "would be acknowledged as such only by a minority of people, largely transpersonal or humanistically oriented people themselves. I think that within the mainstream it's not widely recognized" (Walsh, p. 2). Stanley Krippner similarly said,

> [N]obody in mainstream psychology uses the term third force or fourth force. I don't use them myself . . . I think this third force and fourth force business is sort of an "in" term—it's really not used by anybody outside of the field. (Krippner, pp. 2-3)

A few of the founders explained that when Maslow made the fourth force statement that the metaphor did hold a degree of truth for those involved in the creation of transpersonal psychology. However, they noted that the metaphor might not be

relevant today. Frances Vaughan said, "I think it [the fourth force metaphor] was appropriate for the time. And from where [Maslow] was looking at it, I think it was a very useful characterization. It was helpful at that time" (Vaughan, p. 7). However, Vaughan continued, "I don't think it matters much anymore" (Vaughan, p. 7). Ken Wilber said, "[I]t was probably never very accurate, but at the beginning, we all loved it, because it put us on top" (Wilber, p. 23). Wilber went on to say, "[F]or us to claim that they were three schools and we were the fourth was an instant promotion. But it doesn't have much to do with today's schools [of psychology]" (Wilber, p. 24).

Transpersonal Psychology's Impact in Mainstream American Psychology

Given that transpersonal psychology is not seen by historians as a subdiscipline of mainstream American psychology and has not lived up to its description as the "fourth force," it was important to ask both groups if they think transpersonal psychology has had any impact in mainstream American psychology at all. Both groups contributed to this discussion, offering a general sense of transpersonal psychology's impact in the history of American psychology.

Founders' views. Almost unanimously, the founders of transpersonal psychology admitted that transpersonal psychology has had little to no impact in mainstream American psychology. Michael Washburn said, "I think it [transpersonal psychology] plays less of a role within mainstream psychology than its founders had hoped in calling it the fourth force" (Washburn, p. 2). Likewise, Jim Fadiman said that transpersonal psychology has had "much less" of an impact than it could have (Fadiman, p. 19). Fadiman described transpersonal psychology as "a large interesting flowering growth on the edge of conventional psychology" (Fadiman, p. 19). Similarly, Frances Vaughan said,

"It's been on the fringe, on the periphery" (Vaughan, p. 10). Grof went on to say, "It's kind of tolerated as something peripheral, rather than being seen as something that, you know, is really a radically new way of looking at things, something that requires a change of the worldview" (Grof, p. 14).

Ralph Metzner commented, "I think the impact of the idea, the concept of transpersonal is probably minimal" (Metzner, p. 11). Huston Smith also said that transpersonal psychology has had "very little" impact in mainstream American psychology (Smith, p. 5). Roger Walsh said that transpersonal psychology's impact "has been modest . . . at least in regards to direct name recognition and effect" (Walsh, p. 3). Miles Vich also noted the relative lack of influence of transpersonal psychology in mainstream American psychology. Vich said, "So, as far as its mainstream influence, there aren't a lot of instances to point to directly" (Vich, p. 27).

Ken Wilber was particularly critical of transpersonal psychology's influence in mainstream American psychology. Wilber said that both humanistic and transpersonal psychology have "had virtually no impact" in mainstream American psychology (Wilber, p. 10). He went on to say that the individuals participating in the area of "humanistic-transpersonal [psychology have] never really been able to see themselves in a way that would demonstrate their usefulness outside of their professional range" (Wilber, p. 10).

Historians' views. Similar to the founders of transpersonal psychology, the historians also saw transpersonal psychology as having little to no impact in mainstream American psychology. One historian said about transpersonal psychology: "I suspect it has not been a major influence" (Historian G, p. 2). Another historian said, "It seems to me that it has had and currently is having relatively little influence on—certainly on

academic psychology" (Historian D, p. 9). Yet another historian expressed, "It's not clear to me how it could be—how it could contribute enough to get a big voice in [mainstream American psychology]" (Historian I, p. 8). Thus, as another historian noted, "I think overall the impact has been muted" (Historian A, p. 16).

Another historian said, "Transpersonal psychology's influence has been negative. Not . . . negative, [but] it has not had the impact that some of its practitioners . . . want it to" (Historian B, p. 7). Another historian noted,

> It seems to me the influence has been indirect. Certainly, I see more people than ever interested, for example, in religious issues, spiritual issues. I see a liberalization to some degree of methods. I mean, all of that is, it seems to me, cooking in American psychology, but I don't know what to attribute it—I don't know whether or how much to attribute some of that to transpersonal. (Historian C, p. 3)

One historian surmised that transpersonal psychology may have had

> some slight influence in some of the research that got triggered on altered states . . . very peripherally, some of the research that might relate to meditation and brainwaves and that kind of stuff maybe have become mainstream, but that's pretty disconnected from the movement. (Historian E, p. 5)

Thus, over all, both the founders and the historians perceived transpersonal psychology as a peripheral movement with little to no impact in mainstream American psychology.

Why Has Transpersonal Psychology's Impact Been Limited?

A number of reasons were given for transpersonal psychology's failure to influence mainstream American psychology. However, three major themes emerged addressing this topic: (a) mainstream American psychologists' resistance to spirituality and philosophy, (b) the rise of cognitive psychology, and (c) transpersonal psychologists' tendency to isolate themselves from the mainstream.

Mainstream psychologists' resistance. As discussed in Chapter 2, American psychology, from its inception, has largely been identified as a "scientific" field along the lines of naturalistic sciences, such as biology. Both the historians of psychology and the founders of transpersonal psychology commented on the dominance of a materialistic, positivistic, and at times scientistic (i.e., putting forth the view that only science can reveal answers to important questions, including those concerned with human values, morality, and meaning) approach in mainstream American psychology.

Many of the founders of transpersonal psychology recognized American psychologists' extreme focus on materialistic, naturalistic, and positivistic science. As Michael Washburn asserted, "Mainstream American psychology has always taken itself to be a science" (Washburn, p. 2). Ken Wilber similarly said that American "psychology is basically variations on empirical types of behaviorism [and] positivism" (Wilber, p. 23). Miles Vich called mainstream American psychology "science-oriented" and said that it "certainly does not want to be religious oriented" (Vich, p. 32).

A number of the historians echoed this assessment of American psychology, and further asserted that American psychology has been driven by the pursuit of methodological purity rather than a quest to understand the fullness of human experience, including the spiritual and philosophical dimensions of humankind. One historian noted, "The psychology of science, understood as some sort of science, has always had hegemony in North America, and so . . . as soon as behaviorism came on the radar screen, you have this incredible emphasis on science" (Historian A, p. 8). This same historian said, "I think that the vast majority of psychologists would still talk about human 'behavior,' and that's a rather de-contextualized, nonexperiential term in all kinds of

ways" (Historian A, p. 17). A second historian said, "Psychologists have taken an extremely narrow view of what humans are and can be. I think they've been method-driven in that way" (Historian C, p. 6). Another historian noted that American psychology has been impacted by "metatheoretical influences—things like materialism and atomism and individualism and instrumentalism" (Historian I, p. 3). This same historian went on to remark that "most psychologists don't even know [these metatheories] influence them, but they influence them very powerfully" (Historian I, p. 3).

According to 5 of the historians consulted for this study, the above mentioned influences have created an aversion in psychologists to anything having to do with religion or spirituality, or concepts and phenomena that cannot be verified through a positivistic methodological approach to science. Indeed, as 1 historian noted,

> When psychology was to become a science, it was going to have to go secular and try to cast off [its] religious or sacred background. And I think American psychology in particular has tried very hard to do that, by and large. (Historian H, p. 11)

This same historian went on to say,

> [P]sychology in general has tried to become materialistic in its orientation, and steer clear of most religious belief systems almost assiduously, so that, if you get any mention of a spiritual experience, they're quick to . . . explain it away through, social influence theories or neurological theories. Anyway, anything that won't let it stand as legitimate. (Historian H, p. 10)

Another historian noted how mainstream American psychologists "want something empirical," and then continued, "They don't really get it when it's a philosophical or theoretical argument" (Historian E, p. 12). This same historian went on to say that transpersonal psychology has "probably only minimally" impacted mainstream American psychology because "American psychology has been impervious

to anything that has either religious or philosophical overtones" (Historian E, p. 4). By leaving out the religious and philosophical, this historian argued that mainstream American psychology has effectively shut out of its domain ideas related to transpersonal psychology.

As verification of mainstream psychologists' resistance to transpersonal ideas, a few of the transpersonal psychologists described experiences they had while participating in mainstream institutions. Jim Fadiman, Charles Tart, Michael Washburn, and Roger Walsh had all taught at mainstream universities at some point in their careers. Jim Fadiman explained how mainstream psychologists' resistance to transpersonal ideas can be so deep that those pursuing mainstream psychological science don't even acknowledge that transpersonal phenomena exist. Fadiman said,

> Having taught in a couple of nontranspersonal departments, it's fascinating. They don't even believe that they reject what we do. It's deeper than that. It's if something doesn't exist, then you don't have to be against it. (Fadiman, p. 8)

Charles Tart faced more direct antagonism while teaching at the University of California at Davis. Tart recalled,

> I had several friends in the [psychology] department [when I taught at University of California Davis], one of whom frequently reminded me that I was a pioneer and that a pioneer was somebody with a lot of arrows in his back. I had difficult times there at times. I taught a very popular course on altered states of consciousness which helped the department's budget, so I was sort of tolerated that way, but a lot of other unnecessary obstacles were thrown in my way by people who didn't like the kind of things I did. And there were some nasty times there. (Tart, p. 10)

Michael Washburn noted how perceptions of his work have changed over time, yet how his work is still considered outside mainstream interests.

> At first my philosophy colleagues thought that my work in transpersonal theory was weird, perhaps even academically suspect. Disciplinary

> boundaries have evolved, though, and I think my work is now considered more respectable, although by no means mainstream. (Washburn, p. 5)

Finally, Roger Walsh spoke of the conflict between transpersonal psychology and the narrow scientific view of many psychologists. He said,

> I think [where I teach] there's been a differential impact on faculty and students . . . I think there's been extremely little impact on faculty. Most of them are working in their own narrow areas and have very little interest in other areas, and [are] suspicious of the ideas which I'm interested in. And they're very scientistic in orientation, meaning, you know, that—not really scientific, but assuming science to be the only valid means of acquiring information. So I think they see, for the most part, the transpersonal arena as being soft, touchy-feelly, maybe even equating it in their own minds with things like "New Age." So I'd say the impact on faculty's been minimal. (Walsh, p. 4)

In addition to these experiences, Stanislav Grof recalled an interaction he and his wife once had with scientist Carl Sagan. Grof recalled,

> [My wife] Christina and I went to see [Carl Sagan] in a hotel in Boston, where he was with his wife, Anne. And he wanted to discuss transpersonal psychology, so he said, you know, "You have an MD degree, you have a PhD degree. People listen to you. You can't spread those kinds of delusions. You know . . . as a scientist, you have a certain responsibility." (Grof, p. 18)

Grof went on to explain how he argued with Sagan that the research he was doing in transpersonal psychology was legitimate. Nonetheless, Sagan refused to listen to Grof's argument. Grof said, "He wouldn't listen . . . [transpersonal phenomena] just weren't happening in his kind of universe" (Grof, p. 20).

Cognitive psychology as the real force. American psychologists' narrow conception of science has created an inhospitable environment for those wishing to conduct research on spirituality or delve into philosophical discussions of psychological topics. However, the scientific (or better, scientistic) climate has been more amenable to other developments within American psychology. While engaging in the earlier

discussion with regard to the fourth force metaphor, both the founders of transpersonal psychology and the historians noted how although the fourth force may have been inappropriate to describe transpersonal psychology, that it may have been appropriate to describe another movement: the rise of cognitive psychology.

In the 1960s, rather than opening to humanistic concerns, psychologists turned instead toward behaviorism's close cousin, cognitive psychology. Cognitive psychology was introduced as an alternative to the behaviorism of the 1940s and 1950s. As is explained below, in the 1960s cognitive psychology became the accepted view in American psychology, overshadowing humanistic psychology, and thus transpersonal psychology. A number of the founders and the historians noted that the real fourth force (or even third force) in American psychology is cognitive psychology.

On the transpersonal side, Stanley Krippner commented, "The third force, if you're going to use such a term, is actually cognitive psychology. Why don't people in humanistic and transpersonal psychology put cognitive psychology into the picture? That's the guiding psychology in most colleges and universities today" (Krippner, pp. 2-3). Likewise, Roger Walsh said, "I suspect that if there were a fourth force it would be probably thought of as cognitive psychology" (Walsh, p. 2). One historian commented in relation to the four forces metaphor, "I think you'd certainly today have to have a cognitive movement in there" (Historian H, p. 2).

Indeed, when asked what they saw as the prevailing trend, historically, in American psychology, the historians and founders of transpersonal psychology alike pointed to the cognitive movement as the dominant force following the psychoanalytic

and behaviorist movements. In addition, both groups perceived the cognitive movement as having overshadowed the humanistic movement.

Although humanistic and cognitive psychology emerged during the same time period (the late 1950s through the 1960s), cognitive psychology was perceived as having a greater impact on American psychology than humanistic psychology. As one historian noted, "[C]ognitive psychology has greater 'legitimacy' within academic psychology [than humanistic psychology], and the people associated with it have, by and large, had higher status in [American psychology]" (Historian G, p. 3).

When asked why cognitive psychology had more of an impact on American psychology than humanistic psychology, the historians pointed to cognitive psychologists' adherence to the "traditional scientific approach" (Historian D, p. 4). One historian said, "Cognitive psychology is much more 'experimentally developable' than is humanistic psychology" (Historian B, p. 12). Another historian commented, "[T]he cognitive can be more tightly defined [than humanistic psychology, and thus] can be made more subject to experiment" (Historian F, p. 4). Yet another historian noted that humanistic psychology "had some trouble" because "the people involved in it couldn't really make up their minds about science, whether it was valuable or not" (Historian I, p. 6). This same historian went on to say,

> [C]ognitive psychology was very univocal about [the place of science]. Science was very important and it was going to be the basis. It was going to provide a justification for seeing things in this particular way. And so I think it generated more interest, certainly in academia. And . . . the people who do most of the teaching are interested in these kinds of intellectual and empirical justifications, and to some degree didn't really believe that humanists could or would provide that sort of justification. (Historian I, p. 6)

This same historian continued,

> I think . . . that cognitivism has been preferred in psychology [because] it seems like we can identify hard-nosed factual kinds of mechanisms that describe how and why people do what they do, whereas that's very difficult to do from the humanistic point of view. (Historian I, p. 7)

Another historian, a self-identified cognitive psychologist, recalled the rise of cognitive and humanistic psychology, and the differences in the two movements:

> [Abraham] Maslow was advocating a much more subjective approach than the cognitive psychologists take. While we [cognitive psychologists] are willing to infer various kinds of subjective states, we seldom if ever make claims that we have any direct evidence about those subjective states. (Historian D, p. 3)

When asked why he thought cognitive psychology has been historically referred to as the "cognitive revolution" while humanistic psychology has not been portrayed as a revolution, this same historian replied that he considers the phrase "cognitive revolution" a misnomer. He went on to explain,

> I have argued . . . that it should have been referred to as a cognitive evolution, and that the changes were not so dramatic as would occur in a revolution, and, thus, the cognitive approach is more closely aligned with the traditional scientific approach that was characteristic of the '40s and '50s. And so, it involved a less dramatic change, and people thus could evolve with the system rather than having to abandon all that had been learned and all that they had learned before. I'd argue . . . that cognitive psychology did not involve a catastrophic change in the field, and I think Maslow was proposing a change that would have involved a much more extensive change. There would have been fewer connections to the old form of psychology than there is with cognitive. So, in a sense, there were simply more people who could adapt to the cognitive form of psychology than could adapt to the humanistic approach. (Historian D, p. 4)

Indeed, another historian commented,

> [C]ognitivism comes along, and cognitivism promises to do what behaviorism tried to do—make psychology into a respected social science. And humanism never had that kind of pretension. So for all those people who are committed to the scientific agenda in psychology, humanism was never seen as a real alternative. (Historian A, p. 8)

The majority of the historians went on to explain that cognitive psychology continues to be the dominant approach in psychology today. One historian said,

> If there is [a dominant approach in psychology today], at least in the academic world, I think it would be cognitive. I think the cognitive approach is somewhat like the general approach of 40, 50 years ago . . . in that it can encompass almost any aspect of psychology if one wishes to use that approach. (Historian D, p. 7)

A few of the historians also noted how the field of cognitive psychology has come to embrace neurological science. One historian said, "I think the thrust at this moment in time is very, very strongly cognitive-neuroscience-psychopharmacology" (Historian E, p. 6). According to another historian, this area of scientific discovery has attracted "granting money" and has led to the development of departments of "neuroscience and cognitive science" at many mainstream universities (Historian A, p. 9). The cognitive neuroscience approach, having overshadowed humanistic psychology, may have, or may be, occluding the relevance of transpersonal approaches as well. Hence, a focus on a narrow brand of science has contributed to the rise of cognitive neuroscience and the dismissal of humanistic and transpersonal approaches.

Transpersonal psychologists' isolationism. The third reason offered to explain transpersonal psychology's lack of influence in mainstream American psychology was the field's tendency to maintain a certain degree of isolation from the rest of American psychology. As Charles Tart said,

> I tend to think that sometimes there's a little too much isolation of transpersonal psychologists. We talk to each other because we're comfortable, and we can talk about weird stuff without being laughed at. (Tart, p. 8)

Ken Wilber noted that transpersonal psychologists have tended to remain "confined" to a small geographical area, namely the San Francisco Bay Area (Wilber, p.

8). Indeed, of the 11 founders of transpersonal psychology interviewed for this study, all but 2 (Wilber and Washburn) reside in the Bay Area. Wilber also suggested that "from the beginning" transpersonal psychology has taken "a very aggressive stance against the orthodox world" (Wilber, p. 2). Wilber claims that since the field's inception, transpersonal psychologists have adopted an "us against them attitude" (Wilber, p. 5), defining transpersonal psychology in opposition to every other school of thought in psychology. This exclusionary perspective has, in Wilber's view, kept transpersonal psychology from becoming an integrated aspect of mainstream American psychology. Jim Fadiman, echoing this perspective, said that this kind of "self-aggrandizement of being slightly outlaws" (Fadiman, p. 19) has not paid off in terms of building bridges to and having an influence in the mainstream. Fadiman then related an anecdote to provide an example of how by remaining isolated transpersonal psychologists have neglected an obligation to the larger community.

> I just talked today with some young man in New Jersey who is perfectly aware that his need for therapy is enormous. . . . If I could recommend to him an APA licensed therapist, his father would pay for it. If I recommend him a great transpersonal therapist, which is what he needs because he got into this state by having a lot of early mystical experiences as a kid and not knowing what to do with them, [he won't pay for it]. Since we're not mainstreamed, I can't help him. So that's our major failure. (Fadiman, p. 19)

A number of the founders of transpersonal psychology expressed regret and frustration over the fact that transpersonal psychology has remained an isolated, peripheral entity with little to no impact or recognition in mainstream American psychology. Similar to Jim Fadiman's anecdote above, Stanley Krippner related the following:

> [M]any times a person with a spiritual or religious problem will come to a clinician who has gone to a mainstream school, and the clinician simply will not know how to help them or how to handle it. And so, they go to their minister, priest, rabbi, or whatever. Sometimes they get good advice. Sometimes they get absolutely dreadful advice, because the religious mainstream doesn't know how to handle psychological problems, with some exceptions. . . . So bringing spiritual issues into psychological therapy and into the clinical field is extremely important. . . . I bring this up because a clinician—a naïve clinician—might hear of a spiritual experience and might immediately write it off as being a sign of psychosis or might, on the other hand, go to the other extreme and honor it, even though it is something wacky and crazy and might eventually lead to that person's suicide or that person's attempt to wreak harm on people who don't agree with him or with her. So a good grounding in this area is extremely important. I think this is one of the very important goals for transpersonal psychology, to try to make its presence known among mainstream clinicians. (Krippner, p. 17)

It was also asserted that transpersonal psychologists' isolation includes a failure to learn and use the methodologies of mainstream American psychology. Ralph Metzner noted,

> I often critique people at CIIS [the California Institute of Integral Studies]—the students and many of the faculty—for not teaching people the standard social science methodology for doing research. They're always inventing new research methods that float off into the ethers and, you know, are very tenuously connected to any kind of empirical data. (Metzner, p. 12)

Metzner maintained that it is important for transpersonal psychologists to utilize methodologies that are familiar to mainstream psychologists if the transpersonal psychologists want their research to be read and respected.

In addition, a number of the founders of transpersonal psychology noted how publishing in mainstream journals is a good way to make contact with the mainstream, yet how they seldom, if ever, publish in such journals. Walsh noted,

> We, including me, have not published enough in the mainstream. It's easier to get our transpersonal stuff published in the transpersonal literature, but that's playing in the sandbox. And one of the regrets I have

> about my own work and 20 years of work in this field is that I did not more actively seek to publish in the mainstream literature. (Walsh, p. 21)

Similarly, Ralph Metzner noted how transpersonal psychologists study transpersonal "experiences and develop questionnaires and do research. But then they tend to publish it in the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology*" (Metzner, p. 8). Jim Fadiman also noted how the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* has limited its reach to a small, isolated audience. He said the *Journal* and the Association for Transpersonal Psychology "never quite saw themselves as public entities" (Fadiman, p. 19).

In order to assess the degree to which transpersonal psychologists have isolated themselves from the mainstream, the founders were asked to what extent they participate in mainstream organizations. Confirming the above discussion regarding transpersonal psychologists' isolationism, most of the founders of transpersonal psychology said that they do not participate in mainstream organizations, or if they do it is on a minimal basis.

Ralph Metzner said that he doesn't really follow mainstream psychology. Roger Walsh said that he goes to "occasional meetings" and gives "occasional presentations, but not many" (Walsh, p. 10). Michael Washburn said that he does not participate in any mainstream organizations. Charles Tart commented,

> I've been invited to give invited addresses at APA a number of times, and I'll gladly go then, but I don't care about the organization otherwise, so I don't participate in it. I don't have time, among other things. I mean, I'd sort of like to keep up with all of mainstream psychology and all of that, but I can't even keep up with transpersonal. (Tart, p. 16)

Frances Vaughan observed, "I would guess that transpersonal psychology was never well represented in the APA partly because none of us really wanted to bother" (Vaughan, p. 11). Indeed, Jim Fadiman said, "Every year I have to look at my APA membership, and I

think, 'Why do I want to continue this?' Do I look at the publications? A teeny bit" (Fadiman, p. 24).

It seems that the reason transpersonal psychologists have had relatively little influence in mainstream American psychology is threefold. First, mainstream American psychology, having been established in the guise of natural science, has been resistant to phenomena or ideas that do not fit into a narrow conception of psychology as science. Therefore the subject matter of spirituality and philosophical discussions related to psychology have not been honored as important to psychology. Second, with the rise of the cognitive movement in psychology, humanistic and transpersonal psychologies were overshadowed. Cognitive psychology fit into the narrowly defined science of psychology of the 1960s, whereas humanistic and transpersonal psychology did not. Third, transpersonal psychologists have somewhat purposefully isolated themselves from mainstream American psychology. By failing to involve themselves in mainstream organizations or publish in mainstream journals, they have not made the efforts necessary to build bridges to the mainstream.

Other Considerations

Before this section ends, it is important to consider one last reason why transpersonal psychology may have had minimal impact in the mainstream, which is the field's failure to devise a coherent, agreed-upon definition of transpersonal psychology. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology (JTP)* has existed without a statement of purpose for 20 years. Miles Vich removed the statement in 1983 and had planned on putting a revised version back in, but he never did. The statement of purpose was the one place where, for 14 years, one could find a definition of

transpersonal psychology. Once it was removed, transpersonal psychologists were charged with the task of devising their own definitions of the field. This led to a proliferation of multiple definitions, and currently there is no one definition that individuals can refer to in order to get a sense of how the field, as a whole, is defined. Without a single definition, it seems that it would be difficult to communicate to those outside of transpersonal psychology what the field purports to study. This would, in turn, lead to a greater degree of isolation.

The founders of transpersonal psychology were asked whether they perceive the lack of a unified definition for their field as problematic. Interestingly, most of the founders said that it is not necessary, nor advisable, to have a single unified definition for the field. What follows is a summary of their responses.

Miles Vich, past editor of JTP, said that when the field began he, Maslow, Sutich, and others "had a bunch of conversations about what the definition [of transpersonal psychology] ought to be." He then went on to say that he "favored a continually evolving definition." He said, "I didn't want to lock any one up" (Vich, p. 18).

Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 2, the definition of the field changed several times over the years. Jim Fadiman said,

> If you look carefully, it's a very interesting study to take the first say 2 years of the [*Journal of Transpersonal Psychology*] and only look at the definition of transpersonal on the front page or two, because it changed every issue as we were informed we'd left something out. The original definition, for example, didn't have meditation, which is a good indication of how much we knew. (Fadiman, p. 5)

Thus, it seemed that the definition changed as individuals working in the field discovered new areas of relevance for transpersonal psychology. Ralph Metzner commented,

> [Y]our definition kind of arises out of your practice. . . . You look at what your interests [are]. But define the whole field? It's like setting limits. You know, why set limits? The whole point about limits is to grow beyond them, if you can . . . for expanding knowledge. (Metzner, p. 15)

Frances Vaughan also saw an open-ended definition as allowing room for new ideas and perspectives. She said,

> I think that looking at a definition [of an entire field] is like saying, "What's the definition of a person?" And how we define it makes a difference in terms of where we draw the boundaries around the field, and in some ways when you're studying transpersonal, it doesn't have any boundaries. It hopefully includes as large a vision as we can imagine. (Vaughan, p. 15)

On a different note, Charles Tart warned, "I don't want transpersonal psychology to be seen as a repository for every weird idea on the planet. We need more definition than that and more critical discrimination" (Tart, p. 18). He then went on to say, " but I don't worry *too* much about definition because here is all of reality, and we humans can only take in a much smaller segment of that" (Tart, p. 18).

Roger Walsh saw a changing definition as reflecting a potential for growth:

> If we look at a definition it would be in technical language. It would be what's called a "contested concept." That is, the concept is open to multiple interpretations, and those interpretations reflect various perspectives, ideologies, values, et cetera, as well as understandings and depths of understanding. So I think it's entirely appropriate that the definition remained to some extent fluid and open, and that it evolved, hopefully, with the evolution of understanding of participants in the field. That's the positive spin. (Walsh, p. 12)

Walsh then went on to say,

> The negative spin is that, from a political or public relations perspective, I think there's benefit in having a simple, easily understood definition out there that people can understand and hopefully sympathize with, which I don't think we've had definitions which have really reached out into the mainstream as yet. (Walsh, p. 12)

Ken Wilber also saw the lack of a clear unified definition as problematic. In fact, Wilber argued that the word "transpersonal" is awkward. He said, " 'transpersonal' itself guaranteed extinction, because nobody could define it. It was the only school of psychology, I think, that every 2 years had a contest to see who could define the damn thing" (Wilber, p. 25). Wilber then said,

> It's almost the worst possible name that you can choose. [I]t's not obvious what it means. And when you start thinking about it, it's really hard to figure out what [it means] to go beyond the personal. What does transpersonal mean? And then when you do think what that means, almost all those meanings are bad, and [you tend to] leave out stuff that shouldn't be left out. (Wilber, p. 43)

Finally, Miles Vich reflected, "I have very few regrets about *JTP*. If there's one, it would be that there wasn't enough in-depth philosophical discussion about what a definition means." However, Vich said that he left it up to those engaged in research on transpersonal issues to define the field. He said, "it was useful to let the journal authors speak to it . . . so I'd rather have an author speak than the editor" (Vich, p. 20).

Transpersonal Psychology's Relationship to Emerging Trends in American Psychology

Given the above assessment of transpersonal psychology's failure to have an impact in mainstream American psychology in any significant way, another question arose. Are any current trends emerging in mainstream American psychology that might permit transpersonal psychologists to engage more successfully with mainstream psychological organizations and individuals?

Although the common conception among the majority of the historians was that a methodologically pure form of cognitive psychology has been the dominant force in American psychology following behaviorism and psychoanalysis, many also noted that

more recent developments are opening the discipline to a wider range of ideas. One historian said,

> I do think that with [the] various kinds of discourse of most modern influences with narrative psychologies [and] with the sociocultural psychologies, that you certainly do have a rather now broad spectrum of psychologies that are attempting to address some . . . broader experiential aspects of the human condition. (Historian A, p. 17)

This same historian then went on to comment, "But are they themselves mainstream as yet? No, I'd say probably not. But I think that there is an increasing movement in many areas of psychology to include these things . . . " (Historian A, p. 17). Another historian said,

> I do think that, generally, the culture of psychology, if you don't take the APS [American Psychological Society] people, is far more open to [alternative perspectives] right now than they ever have been before. . . . After postmodernism came along, all the voices could be raised in a way. (Historian H, p. 11)

A third historian remarked,

> I would rather psychology in general start to question its mainstream assumptions. And it seems to me that would necessarily go along with looking at some alternative assumptions. And I would hope that transpersonal assumptions would be among those. That would be grand. I think it's also going to have to go hand in hand with some methodological questioning . . . . (Historian C, p. 10)

Two areas that have recently gained popularity in mainstream American psychology are positive psychology and the study of spirituality. These two areas and their relation to transpersonal psychology are discussed next.

Positive Psychology as an Emerging Perspective

Positive psychology is that area of psychology aimed at uncovering human strengths through the empirical study of human flourishing. As Martin Seligman, the field's founder writes,

> The field of positive psychology at the subjective level is about valued subjective experience: well-being, contentment, and satisfaction (past), hope and optimism (future), and flow and happiness (present). At the individual level it is about positive individual traits—the capacity for love and vocation, courage, interpersonal skill, aesthetic sensibility, perseverance, forgiveness, originality, future-mindedness, spirituality, high talent, and wisdom. At the group level it is about the civic virtues and the institutions that move individuals toward better citizenship: responsibility, nurturance, altruism, civility, moderation, tolerance, and work ethic. (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, p. 5)

Both the historians of psychology and the founders of transpersonal psychology offered their views on this emerging area of psychology. Interestingly, both groups saw some striking resemblances between positive, humanistic, and in some ways, transpersonal psychology.

Overall, the founders of transpersonal psychology saw the emergence of positive psychology as a welcome development in the mainstream. However, many felt that humanistic and transpersonal psychology have not been given the credit they deserve for laying the foundations for the development of a positive approach to psychological studies. Charles Tart said about positive psychology, "I'm glad it happened. . . . It's about time" (Tart, p. 11). Tart then commented, "I think the emergence of positive psychology will help the field of transpersonal psychology as well as be a good thing in itself" (Tart, p. 11). Roger Walsh said, "I'm delighted to see the field of positive psychology emerging" (Walsh, p. 8). Walsh continued,

> I regret that to some extent it's a reinvention of the wheel and a refusal to acknowledge the work and contributions that have already been made by other people in these areas in a variety of schools—humanistic, existential, various transpersonal schools . . . and, particularly, the lack of appreciation of the Eastern psychologies and philosophies, and, of course, the wisdom in the spiritual traditions. (Walsh, p. 8)

Miles Vich said that he saw positive psychology as "a makeover of the humanistic literature" (Vich, pp. 24-25). Likewise, Frances Vaughan commented,

> Martin Seligman [is] sort of repackaging the whole thing in such a way that it has then become attractive to funding sources, and he raises a lot of money and I mean, I think what he is doing is fine, except that he didn't give any credit to his forerunners, but that's all right. It's like that's his way of doing it. (Vaughan, p. 12)

On a more conciliatory note Stanley Krippner said, "I think [positive psychology is] a very exciting development and a very important development. . . . And the research methods that they're using are fairly conventional research methods but still they're finding out important things" (Krippner, p. 4). However Krippner continued,

> I have no problem at all with positive psychology, except that they typically don't even mention that humanistic psychology was there first. And when pressed, they will say, "Yes, humanistic psychology advocated many of these things, but they didn't make them stick. Now we have ways to really make them stick." You know, really bring them into psychology in a way that they will not be banished. (Krippner, p. 5)

As Roger Walsh said,

> Seligman and the positive psychology people placed a heavy emphasis on research. And a major criticism of, and a valid reason for refusing to give much credence to humanistic, transpersonal, et cetera, has been that it hasn't had an adequate research base—which I think is partly true though not as true as some people seem to be claiming. I would hope that over time they would merge into a comprehensive synthesis. (Walsh, p. 9)

Finally, Jim Fadiman recalled an issue of the *American Psychologist* (2000) devoted to positive psychology:

> [W]hen that issue came out, there were a couple of whiny letters from people like us saying, "We've been doing this for 20 years. Why didn't you mention us?" And the answer is, because we didn't, because [we] never quite made it into the mainstream. (Fadiman, p. 19)

Most of the historians also saw the emergence of positive psychology as favorable. However, some of the historians had reservations about positive psychology's

sudden popularity, some critiqued its practitioners' claims that the field is a "new" area of study in psychology, and a few historians lamented positive psychologists' continued adherence to a narrow set of methodologies.

One historian said,

> I find . . . positive psychology to be, in many ways, a worthwhile kind of activity. I mean, I applaud and welcome the emphasis on everyday positive human functioning in the world rather than on pathology, the attempt to develop models that relate to optimism, happiness, the reawakening in some quarters of this movement of, you know, older, Aristotelian ideals and ideas like *eudemonia*. . . . These are marvelous kinds of things to be happening. (Historian A, p. 12)

This same historian then went on to say, however, that

> positive psychology really is trying . . . to retain the classic scientist-practitioner notion in the American psychological scene. And it also is very much based on the notion that science somehow can contribute to happiness, whereas I think science is absolutely neutral with respect to human happiness—at least physical science is. (Historian A, p. 14)

Another historian noted,

> [T]here's a lot to be said for the emergence of positive psychology as a way of thinking, but there's a strong attempt by a number of the people who've been responsible for the major books in that area, and Seligman would be among them, to want to pretty much tie positive psychology down to a strong cognitive, experimental . . . orientation. And I look at that as unfortunate. (Historian H, p. 9)

This same historian continued, "[W]hat positive psychology wants to claim is a kind of an old scientific vision of science as value-free. So, you know, in terms of its theories and methods, it's totally antiseptic. It just wants to get things 'right'" (Historian H, p. 9).

A few of the historians likened positive psychology to a "fad" (Historian D, p. 8), and said that the field has a "cheerleading tone" (Historian A, p. 12). One historian said,

> It doesn't feel like it has the depth necessary to really be a movement that would be sustained over the long period. I think that it does not have some important . . . theorists that would allow it to . . . look at the philosophical

> foundations of it. For example, a lot of the early attempts were almost entirely sort of naturalistic, and hedonistic. . . . Now, I think people are trying to change that around a little bit, but it's done in sort of the regular superficial way that a lot of psychology theorizing's done, without really looking at the foundational assumptions and evaluating them critically. (Historian C, p. 8)

Other historians noted the similarities between positive psychology and other areas of psychology, including humanistic and transpersonal psychology. One historian said, "I think it's a very legitimate critique of the field to say that it's been historically ignorant" (Historian E, p. 12), meaning that positive psychologists have not given credit to preceding psychologists who were also interested in the positive attributes of human life. This historian continued, "I think it certainly would be accurate to say that transpersonal and humanistic psychologies emphasized the positive. But they weren't the ones who invented it either, because it goes way, way back" (Historian E, p. 12). This same historian went on to say,

> I at one time thought about trying to put together a book—an edited book—critiquing that movement [positive psychology] as a historian, simply because I think, if you look at it carefully, yes, humanistic psychology was the forerunner of it, but you can go all the way back to the fruits of the spirit in the Bible, to the virtues in Catholic psychology. I think you could probably come up with similar lists of things in Buddhism and other world religions. I mean, I know less about those, but . . . you have . . . Christian Science, and all of these positive movements. (Historian E, p. 11)

Another historian said, "I see similarities [between positive and humanistic psychology]. I've been on symposia where we've talked about those" (Historian C, p. 8). Yet another said,

> I think that one of the ways that those people [in positive psychology] have been remiss is not acknowledging their debts to the humanistic, and their similarities. I think they want to portray themselves as different and so they sometimes claim that humanism was anti-empiricist. And . . . not all humanists were anti-empiricist. I mean, Carl Rogers was the first one to

> do psychotherapy research, so you can hardly call him an anti-empiricist, at least not in his early years. So, yeah, I mean, the themes of fulfillment and flourishing and growth and all of that are very, very similar to humanistic themes. And so I see it as really kind of a—in some ways, a new incarnation. (Historian I, p. 9)

Yet another historian noted "developments in . . . mainstream (positive) psychology" as being "consonant with aspects of transpersonal psychology" (Historian G, p. 1).

Spirituality as an Emerging Interest

Some historians and a few of the founders of transpersonal psychology pointed out how spirituality has also recently emerged as an area of interest for mainstream American psychologists. According to a number of the participants in this study, the interest in spirituality has been precipitated by an interest in spiritual matters in the culture at large.

Huston Smith, scholar of the world's religions and identified founder of transpersonal psychology, noted that spirituality has emerged as a "buzzword" (Smith, p. 13) in American culture. Frances Vaughan said, "I think that the climate has changed a lot in this country in the last few years. [There is] just such a widespread grassroots spiritual movement" (Vaughan, p. 13). Charles Tart commented, "You know, I can drop a word like *karma* into a conversation most places and not have to define my terms" (Tart, p. 19). Indeed, the 2003 APA Convention in Toronto, Canada hosted symposia and presentations with the following titles:

1. Mindfulness Meditation as Therapy
2. Transforming Human Nature, which included a presentation entitled: Seeking the Spiritual in Secular Places

3. Across the Great Divide—Including Spirituality in Mainstream Clinical Psychology
4. Expanding Your Practice: Buddhism and Psychotherapy
5. Spiritual Experience, Spiritual Maturity
6. Counseling and Clinical Training in Religion and Spirituality
7. Buddhist Counseling Centers in Taiwan
8. Meaning and Religiousness
9. Spirituality and Culture
10. Religious and Spiritual Issues in the Training of Clinical Psychologists
11. Buddha, Being, and the Black Forest
12. C. G. Jung: Pioneer of Self and Spirit
13. Heidegger's Taoist Path to the Limits of Language
14. Buddha Realms (APA Convention Handbook, 2003)

As one historian, a professed mainstream psychologist, remarked,

> I think that the study of spirituality, if by that one, in a general way, means . . . humans' search for meaning, for some sort of higher sensibility to very existence, then I think this is . . . a very important part of human experience. And I don't understand how it would be possible to claim to be interested in human experience broadly understood and to feel that one could not study, and should not study, and must not study . . . these aspects of human experience. (Historian A, p. 15)

Although encouraging, Huston Smith warned that this new interest in spirituality is not being dealt with very well in the popular culture. He noted the "revival" of the "religious right" and said that because "universities give us no help" in exploring spiritual issues that it is often left to "evangelists" to decide what matters in the spiritual context (Smith, p. 13). One of the historians of psychology had a slightly different view:

> I think spirituality is experiencing a revival, although it's hard to figure out what it means, too, because I don't think there's ever been a big drop in the number of people who profess to have some sort of spirituality. I mean, you know, there's revived interest, but mainlined interest denominations are losing people. But then you have some of the new kind of religious movements with larger followings. So it's hard to interpret it. But, I think, definitely, the interest in religion in psychology comes out of the sort of new wave of interest in religion and spirituality in the culture. (Historian E, p. 6)

In terms of spirituality emerging as an interest in American psychology, one historian said:

> Certainly, I see more people than ever interested, for example, in religious issues, spiritual issues. I see a liberalization to some degree of methods. I mean, all of that is, it seems to me, cooking in American psychology . . . . (Historian C, p. 3)

Another historian commented,

> I do see a lot of interest in [spirituality], and see it in students who come in who want to do dissertations on spirituality. There used to be a lot of resistance to that sort of thing on faculties, [to get them to] talk about sort of the parochial environment of the University. There used to be a lot of resistance to it because it seemed like an illegitimate topic, but as far as I can see, that resistance . . . has collapsed. And so as long as people are pursuing methods that are agreed upon as legitimate in studying the topic, they're pretty much allowed to do so. (Historian I, pp. 8-9)

One historian noted how the realm of clinical psychology has become increasingly open to spiritual matters:

> [S]o far as I can see it, is that clinical has . . . had a sort of dramatic turn in terms of openness to spiritual issues and therapy, a lot of books on the implication of spiritual experience for therapeutic process and the uses, and discussion of spiritual matters in therapy and so on. (Historian H, p. 4)

The founders of transpersonal psychology also recognized the opening of mainstream psychology to spiritual ideas. Stanley Krippner noted,

> The American Psychological Association has published our book on the varieties of anomalous experience, which has many chapters devoted to transpersonal experience in them, and that's done very well, that second

> printing. It's gotten very good reviews. So I think that mainstream psychology is beginning to realize that spiritual and transpersonal experiences are worthwhile topics of investigation and they're not either trivial or pathological as was thought maybe as recently as 30 years ago. (Krippner, p. 4)

Krippner also mentioned the recent inclusion of the category "spiritual or religious problems" in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (*DSM*). Krippner said,

> thanks to David Lukoff of Saybrook and his associates who were having a task force who prepared a huge paper . . . they ended up with about six words in *DSM-IV*, but that was enough. That was enough to make this, shall we say, an alternative classification of a mental disorder. (Krippner, p. 11)

Ralph Metzner pointed out how

> [E]ven cognitive psychology, which is sort of the dominant paradigm, is now very open to having discussions [about spirituality]. I don't know if they use the [word] transpersonal, but they use the concept if they're interested in Asian philosophies and particularly Buddhism. And all these people are meeting with the Dalai Lama, and talking about brain science and psychology and destructive emotions and emotional intelligence. (Metzner, p. 8)

Similarly, Miles Vich said,

> As recently as last week, I heard a neurological symposium in which one of the main arguments was there is no self neurologically, but there is an experience of the self. That's not a lot different from what Buddhist systems hold. (Vich, p. 25)

Frances Vaughan noted how "even at the APA, [there is] so much interest now in integrating spiritual experience" (Vaughan, p. 6). Vaughan went on to say that she was recently invited to give a talk on spiritual intelligence at the APA Convention, something that would never have occurred in the 1970s when transpersonal psychology was in its beginnings.

Likewise, Jim Fadiman said,

> Actually, if you look at the list of publications of the APA, which is about as mainstream a way of looking at psychology as you can, in the last 4 or 5 years, there are books put out by APA on meditation, on spiritual issues in psychotherapy, on holistic health and healing. (Fadiman, p. 7)

As a sidebar, 2 of the founders and 1 historian commented on whether they thought that transpersonal psychology might have had any influence on the current interests in positive psychology and spirituality. Frances Vaughan said,

> The culture has changed, and I don't see that it was *because* of the transpersonal movement, but the transpersonal movement was part of that wave. And it was a pioneering effort in that domain. So whether it was riding the crest of the wave or whatever, it was a forerunner of what now has become so popular and so widespread. (Vaughan, p. 7)

Stanley Krippner said that he's noticed that transpersonal psychology has recently "grown closer to the mainstream" (Krippner, p. 4). He then went on to say, "but I think a better way to put it is the mainstream has grown closer to transpersonal psychology, because now APA has actually published a book on spiritual issues in counseling and psychotherapy, and that would not have been imagined, even 10 years ago" (Krippner, p. 4).

The single historian remarked,

> Actually, related idea-systems (e.g., Buddhism) have been influential on some researchers in the "neuro-consciousness" field (e.g., see the Buddhist-inspired work of Francisco Varela, Evan Thompson, and Eleanor Rosch *The Embodied Mind: Cognitive Science and Human Experience*), but I am unaware of any influence from transpersonal psychology per se. (Historian G, p. 6)

This same historian said,

> As I tend to see it—from "outside" transpersonal psychology—it seems to be a "symptom" or outcome of a more general trend of trying to find a more appropriate place for the personal and social, and for values and spirituality, within psychology. The extent to which transpersonal psychology has a "causal" role in these . . . developments, I cannot say; but I suspect it has not been a major influence. (Historian G, p. 2)

The Future of Transpersonal Psychology

Given the above discussions of transpersonal psychology's origins, the historians' knowledge and perspectives on the field, the assessment of transpersonal psychology's impact as minimal in the mainstream, and the emergence of new ideas in mainstream psychology, the next question is "What is in store for transpersonal psychology's future?" It seems that one of the field's biggest failures is that it has not had a significant impact in American psychology. Although transpersonal psychologists were successful in developing a professional domain (e.g., a journal, an association, and degree granting institutions), and were successful in introducing spirituality as an important consideration in the study of human experience, they have not conversed effectively with those outside their domain. As noted above, a number of the founders regretted not having built more bridges to the mainstream.

With this regret in mind, the historians of psychology were asked to offer advice to transpersonal psychologists as to how they might more effectively dialogue with mainstream psychologists. Below are their prescriptions for building a successful relationship.

How Can Transpersonal Psychology Build Bridges to the Mainstream?

The historians suggested several ways for transpersonal psychologists to build bridges to mainstream American psychology. One historian stressed the importance of building bridges by connecting to existing commonalities with the mainstream. This historian said,

> One should emphasize similarities rather than stressing only [differences], and I think that that was, in part, why cognitive psychology managed to

> make the changes in contemporary psychology that it has. . . . The people in cognitive psychology found ways of remaining connected to old psychology, to bringing old ideas into new perspectives and so forth. And so I think that transpersonal psychologists, to be effective, will have to look for ways in which they are similar to other kinds of psychology and indicate how they might enhance approaches or investigations of things that others have been dealing with, rather than stressing their differences. (Historian D, p. 10)

Another historian suggested writing an innovative text that speaks to mainstream interests yet relays a transpersonal message. The historian said,

> Given the . . . trends of the moment (including health psychology, spirituality, and values, as well as the study of consciousness), it is possible [for transpersonal psychologists to dialogue with individuals in the mainstream], but there would have to be a strong, novel statement (book) that addressed these other currents *and added something important to the mix*—something that was compelling and theoretically useful. To simply say, "we talk about the same kinds of things" wouldn't get you very far. (Historian G, p. 4)

A few of the historians suggested that transpersonal psychologists build bridges to the field of psychology of religion. One historian noted, "There's . . . a pretty active group in psychology of religion that could be very open to a lot of what goes on in transpersonal" (Historian H, p. 8). Another said,

> I first think about the possibility of maybe forming partners with the more religious psychologists. . . . I'm afraid there'd be some distrust, because many transpersonal psychologists would see many religious psychologists as being more dogmatic. But it seems to me you could join together with them. (Historian C, pp. 11-12)

A third historian suggested that transpersonal psychologists, humanistic psychologists, and individuals interested in psychology and religion combine resources at the yearly APA convention. This historian said,

> I think, with the current APA convention format, they [are] . . . talking about some new kinds of ways of doing interdivisional kinds of programming. Obviously, the people who are interested in that should try to get, like, the religion and humanistic divisions to do some creative

> interdivisional program with groups of people that wouldn't usually be talking to them [such as transpersonal psychologists]. . . . So I think the APA convention is a chance to do that. (Historian E, p. 13)

This same historian also suggested that transpersonal psychologists publish in mainstream journals in order to build bridges to mainstream American psychology:

> I think all you can do is try to publish in the main journals. . . . But the best way to do it, I think, is to keep trying to put your ideas into the mainline journals. . . . When someone like Stanley Krippner publishes in the *American Psychologist*, that's good for humanistic and transpersonal psychologists. (Historian E, pp. 12-13)

A different avenue was indicated by another historian who said, "I think its [transpersonal psychology] greatest opening is . . . within therapy, within circles of therapy and particularly those groups which are opening themselves up to spiritual issues within the therapeutic system" (Historian H, p. 8). This historian explained,

> Where I think they [transpersonal psychologists] could have an impact and haven't really yet, so far as I can see it, is [in clinical psychology which has] just had a sort of dramatic turn in terms of openness to spiritual issues and therapy, a lot of books on the implication of spiritual experience for therapeutic process and the uses, and discussion of spiritual matters in therapy and so on. And that area would be wide-open for transpersonal. (Historian H, p. 4)

Finally, 1 historian suggested that transpersonal psychologists "draw on qualitative researchers" who are in the mainstream. This historian said,

> [I]t seems to me sort of a central, sort of omission in contemporary psychology is meaning, because you're really going to not be able to operationalize meaning, behaviorally or observationally, in which case it seems to me the qualitative researchers would be another partner in [the transpersonal psychologists'] quest, in some sense, to build a bridge to the mainstream. (Historian C, p. 12)

Should Transpersonal Psychology Get Its Own APA Division?

Through the interviews a discussion of transpersonal psychology's relationship to the APA ensued. As mentioned in Chapter 2, transpersonal psychology has had a tenuous

relationship with the APA. Twice, transpersonal psychologists attempted to procure divisional status for their field, and twice they were denied admission. Given APA's status as the United States' leading psychological organization, it was important to ask the founders what they see as their field's relationship to APA and to ask the historians whether they think that transpersonal psychology deserves divisional status.

Jim Fadiman recalled,

> Rollo May wrote a full-page article in the [*APA Monitor*], the newsletter, and it said, "They [transpersonal psychologists] shouldn't do that [become a division of APA]. They should stay in the psychology of religion section . . . ." And it worked, and we were voted out . . . . (Fadiman, p. 12)

As quoted earlier, Frances Vaughan said,

> I would guess that transpersonal psychology was never well represented in the APA partly because none of us really wanted to bother. And perhaps if there had been more people [with transpersonal interests] in academia who were interested in making a mark in APA, they could have done that. (Vaughan, p. 11)

Stanley Krippner expressed that "Transpersonal psychology was not able to get its own division within APA [because] they didn't know how to play the politics well enough" (Krippner, p. 6). Indeed, Miles Vich said,

> I wasn't surprised about the first or second APA rejection. I thought the second one—I'd have go to back and look at it—but I thought the proposal erred by referring to parapsychology. The definition submitted was inadequate and off message. At the time, I think I told the president of our organization, "Let it go. Look, this isn't going to affect our work and it probably won't change the APA." (Vich, p. 29)

With regard to transpersonal psychology not getting an APA division, Charles Tart said,

> Oh, I thought it would be nice, but I didn't lose any sleep over it. Now part of that is an illogical investment in the pioneer role. Of course, we're going to have trouble because we're different, more ahead of everybody else, which is irrational, but part of the social reality, too. (Tart, p. 10)

As Stanley Krippner notes, APA status may be necessary if transpersonal psychologists want to make an impact in the world:

> More and more states in the United States are limiting the practice of psychological therapy to psychologists who have had their training not only at an accredited university or graduate program, but at an APA-approved graduate program. And so that cuts out a lot of people with—probably most people with a transpersonal orientation who have gotten their education at an accredited, but not an APA-approved, school. (Krippner, p. 11)

Given transpersonal psychology's rejection by the APA, and given the new trends emerging in American psychology, a question was posed to the historians, which was as follows: If you were on a governing body deciding whether or not transpersonal psychology should have its own APA division, how would you vote? Six of the historians responded to this question.

One historian claimed to have been involved in the early decision of whether or not transpersonal psychology should have its own division. This historian said,

> I was part of those discussions, I always discouraged it, because the small divisions are already so small that it's hard enough to get your voice heard. And to have one more small group split off, I don't think is very helpful. (Historian E, p. 10)

The other historians responded as follows:

> I have a two-part answer. . . . If I were voting, I would vote not to increase the number of divisions beyond what we have. My opposition would not be in terms of the general belief that APA indeed not have any more divisions, [but] that somehow we should find ways in which transpersonal psychology can be included in one of the existing divisions. I suppose if the case were made that none of the existing divisions would have anything to do with transpersonal psychology, I would say, "okay, then we obviously have to put [in] another division." So my preference would be, actually, to reduce considerably the number of divisions. I don't think that's going to happen, but that's my own preference. (Historian D, p. 10)

> Having its own APA division would confer some "legitimacy" and visibility upon transpersonal psychology, but it could also perpetuate the

> field's relative isolation from the rest of psychology. Still, all in all, I suppose [transpersonal psychology] has more to gain than to lose by assuming divisional status in APA. (Historian G, p. 5)

> It may be very appropriate for transpersonal psychology to attain divisional status within the American Psychological Association, if that's—I mean, it seems to me that's what happens when a large group of people, or a sizable group of people with common interests get together. They do things and act in ways and lobby and develop a pulse and, eventually, they become a division. I don't understand why that would, given the divisions that exist and the different kinds of divisions that exist, why transpersonal psychology should be or ought to be excluded from divisional status any more so than any goodly number of other things that are divisions. (Historian A, p. 16)

> It's very difficult for me to put myself in that position. . . . If all of the conventional requirements were fulfilled, I would have no problem approving it. I mean, I see no reason to exclude it, personally. (Historian I, p. 10)

> If I were on a deciding body, I would certainly be open to that. I would not rule it out . . . a priori. (Historian C, p. 11)

> Yeah, I'd vote for it. Yeah, I absolutely think it ought to have a place. (Historian H, p. 10)

The Founders' Views of the Future of Their Field

Given the historians' perceptions that mainstream American psychology is opening, however gradually, to new ideas and methodologies; and given the historians' assertions that they would be open to a transpersonal division in the APA, it seems that transpersonal psychology may finally find a place within mainstream studies. As presented earlier, the historians offered their prescriptions for how transpersonal psychologists might build bridges to mainstream American psychology. On the other hand, the transpersonal psychologists were asked what they perceive as being in their field's future. Few wanted to speculate on what the future holds. As Huston Smith related, "Well, you know, there is a Biblical saying: 'I'm neither a prophet nor the son of

a prophet.' I don't know. I don't know what's going to happen" (Smith, p. 15). However, a few of the founders offered advice to themselves and their colleagues, for how they might create a successful future. The founders called for open-mindedness coupled with critical thinking, a renewed emphasis in transpersonal psychology on integration, and healthy, open communication with mainstream American psychologists.

Michael Washburn noted,

> Having not disappeared as a passing fad and having survived the storm and stress of paradigm disputes, the time is ripe for moving forward with a more mature understanding of transpersonal psychology. Transpersonal psychology as it begins the 21st Century is a field with rich resources, major past accomplishments, and diverse perspectives ready to engage each other in fruitful dialogue. (Washburn, p. 7)

Roger Walsh related,

> I think the challenge for us is to integrate open-mindedness with critical thinking. It's relatively easy to be critical which I think is predominant, perhaps, all over [and] is overemphasized in the mainstream. It's easy to be open-minded which, perhaps, is overemphasized in transpersonal. It's hard to be both. (Walsh, p. 14)

With regard to how such integration might be accomplished, Walsh said,

> If we want to have a significant impact, then our ongoing challenges to look for are to be most beneficial and impactful. And I think part of that—not all of it but part of it—consists of being able to speak to the largest spectrum of the population as professionally as we can, and certainly, to whatever extent we can, speaking to mainstream psychologists, psychiatrists, other health professionals, mainstream intellectuals of one kind or another, working through both a grass and brass, or top-down and bottom-up, approach, to whatever extent we can. You know, my own belief is that, if we're going to be doing all this work, we might as well try and make the best and biggest contribution we can. And how to do that of course is an ongoing question and challenge for all of us. But I think our impact will be severely limited to the extent that we're unable to build those kinds of bridges. (Walsh, p. 6)

Similarly, yet in a more humorous tone, Charles Tart admonished the transpersonal psychologist to "[h]old your head up scientifically instead of just hanging

out with other California kooks" (Tart, p. 4). He continued, "I'm passionate about bringing those two things [science and spirituality] together. I don't think in modern times you can have a viable spirituality that somehow ignores science. It's got to fit in. It's too powerful" (Tart, p. 4).

Ralph Metzner put forth, "As long as the field stays open to trying to connect to other perspectives, then I think it'll be vital and continue to grow" (Metzner, p. 25). Likewise, Miles Vich said, "what is most significant in transpersonal, whatever that turns out to be, [is that it] connects up with everything else in psychology, and I think thereby with everything else in the culture. And that's a success that one keeps working at" (Vich, p. 35). Roger Walsh similarly commented,

> [H]istorically, both humanistic and transpersonal psychologies arose in part as . . . a reaction to . . . the perceived limitations of behaviorism and psychoanalysis. And I think the ideal would be a kind of a Hegelian dialectic, that the interstitial origins of transpersonal would move towards what always has been the transpersonal vision, the open-minded inclusion of the best that those fields have to offer in a broad-ranging synthesis. (Walsh, p. 8)

Ken Wilber agreed, and went further, saying that transpersonal psychology needs "a paradigm shift, which means not change in theory, but a change in exemplars and injunctions." He went on to say, "The injunction, the practice that you have to do here, is looking at *all* the theoretical schools of psychology . . . not [deciding] which one we should identify with and [then coming] up with reasons to hate all the others" (Wilber, pp. 11-12). In other words, like Walsh, and similar to Metzner and Vich, Wilber seems to be calling for an integrative approach, one which honors multiple perspectives and finds ways of weaving those perspectives into an integrated whole.

In fact, Wilber (2000a, 2000b) has forged ahead with this integrative vision on his own and created what he terms "integral psychology," or more broadly "integral studies." Wilber said that he feels that "the only way to change a system is to go over here and create a new system" (Wilber, p. 17). Roger Walsh, in a more diplomatic gesture, suggested the following:

> [M]y hope would be that transpersonal would embrace [Wilber's] integral studies. And my vision—my hope would be that, for example, the *Journal [of Transpersonal Psychology]* could become the *Journal of Transpersonal and Integral Studies*, which I think would, within a year, triple its number of subscribers and revitalize the field. (Walsh, p. 14)

Finally, with regard to transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology, Stanley Krippner said,

> I think that transpersonal psychology will attain more visibility if it seeks to expand those footholds that it's made in mainstream psychology, which would mean in the death and dying field and the altered states of consciousness field, in the field of psychological therapy for people who have spiritual or religious problems. Those are the three fronts that I see openings in and where I think transpersonalists should put their efforts and try to make connections with mainstream psychology and show what they have to offer that is practical and useful and viable. (Krippner, p. 13)

Jim Fadiman, in a similar tone, said of transpersonal psychologists: "One of our tasks for the next 10 years is to maintain the links. I mean, they [the mainstream psychologists] may have closed the bridge at both ends, or at least at one end, but we've got to keep the bridge built" (Fadiman, p. 12).

Charles Tart said, "my main goal in life now is building bridges between genuine science and genuine spirituality" (Tart, p. 5). He continued, "stuff is going to be discovered in the mainstream . . . that is useful to us, and we need to know about that." He went on to admonish, "There is more to the world than Northern California. We have to know how to fit in and utilize mainstream ideas" (Tart, p. 8).

Table 3 provides a summary of the themes discussed above. An exemplary quote by either a founder of transpersonal psychology or a historian of psychology, or both a founder and a historian, is provided next to each theme.

Table 3

Summary of Themes

Theme	Transpersonal Founders' perspectives	Historians' perspectives
Transpersonal Psychology's Founders' Original Visions		
Perceiving the limits of conventional psychology	"[the transpersonal] was clearly an area of human experience that was woefully neglected in conventional psychology."	
Creating an inclusive approach	". . . an explicit stance or orientation towards the honoring and inclusion of the best of all schools of psychology."	
Including (Eastern) spirituality	". . . heavily influenced by Eastern psychological ideas."	
Founders' Current Definitions of Transpersonal Psychology		
Stressing inclusiveness	"Transpersonal psychology is a study of the full range of human awareness . . . . As a broadly inclusive field, it focuses on theory and practice, is multidisciplinary, uses multiple methodologies."	
Emphasizing spirituality	"It's about discriminating what's real and important in this area we call the spirit."	

Theme	Transpersonal Founders' perspectives	Historians' perspectives
Transpersonal Psychology's Successes		
A place to study transpersonal psychology	". . . an orientation that people could identify with and through which they could express and develop their interests."	
Introducing spirituality as important	". . . expanding our conception of human nature into the spiritual realms, spiritual states . . . . And that these are normal, that they're common, and that they can happen in many different contexts."	
Multidisciplinary nature of the field	". . . transpersonal psychology has grown into transpersonal theory, a cross-disciplinary and, therefore, multidisciplinary perspective."	
Global reach	". . . the establishment of transpersonal psychology groups throughout the world . . . so, no matter whether transpersonal psychology waxes or wanes in the Untied States, there will be someplace where it will carry on."	
Historians' Knowledge of Transpersonal Psychology		
Little familiarity		"Basically, I'm very naïve about it. I could probably make up a story, but in terms of knowledge, per se, no. I have not read any transpersonal psychology."

Theme	Transpersonal Founders' perspectives	Historians' perspectives
Some familiarity		"I knew it was . . . billed as a fourth force. It's something of a follow-on to humanism. It has some spiritual aspects. I know a few names of people who've been associated with it. That's about it."
Much familiarity		"I know far too much to summarize it for you."
Transpersonal psychology as a subdiscipline of American psychology		"[I]t certainly wouldn't be conventionally considered to be a subdiscipline . . . there isn't the kind of formal recognition of the sort that you find granted by large organizations, professional and scholarly organizations of psychology."
Transpersonal Psychology's Relationship to Mainstream American Psychology		
The forth force metaphor as inaccurate	"As the fourth force, transpersonal psychology is not much of a force at all within American psychology."	"I just don't see its influence as being broad enough to call it a force."
Transpersonal psychology's limited impact in mainstream American psychology	". . . as far as its mainstream influence, there aren't a lot of instances to point to directly."	"It seems to me that it has had and currently is having relatively little influence on—certainly on academic psychology."
Why Transpersonal Psychology's Impact Has Been Limited		
Mainstream resistance	"They don't even believe that they reject what we do. It's deeper . . . if something doesn't exist, then you	"American psychology has been impervious to anything that has either religious or philosophical

Theme	Transpersonal Founders' perspectives	Historians' perspectives
	don't have to be against it."	overtones."
Cognitive psychology as the real force	"I suspect that if there were a fourth force it would be probably thought of as cognitive psychology."	"If there is [a dominant approach in psychology today], at least in the academic world . . . it would be cognitive."
Transpersonal psychologists' isolationism	". . . sometimes there's a little too much isolation of transpersonal psychologists. We talk to each other because we're comfortable."	
Transpersonal Psychology's Relationship to Emerging Trends in Mainstream Psychology		
Positive psychology	"I have no problem at all with positive psychology, except that they typically don't even mention that humanistic psychology was there first."	"[T]here's a lot to be said for the emergence of positive psychology . . . but there's a strong attempt . . . to want to pretty much tie [it] down to a strong cognitive, experimental . . . orientation. And I look at that as unfortunate."
Spirituality	". . . if you look at the list of publications of the APA, which is about as mainstream a way of looking at psychology as you can, in the last 4 or 5 years, there are books put out by APA on meditation, on spiritual issues."	"I do see a lot of interest in [spirituality] . . . . There used to be a lot of resistance to that sort of thing on faculties . . . because it seemed like an illegitimate topic, but as far as I can see, that resistance . . . has collapsed."
The Future of Transpersonal Psychology		
Building bridges to the mainstream: Emphasizing connectedness		"I think that transpersonal psychologists, to be effective, will have to look for ways in which they are

Theme	Transpersonal Founders' perspectives	Historians' perspectives
		similar to other kinds of psychology and indicate how they might enhance approaches or investigations of things that others have been dealing with, rather than stressing their differences."
A transpersonal APA division?	"I would guess that transpersonal psychology was never well represented in the APA partly because none of us really wanted to bother."	"Having its own APA division would confer some 'legitimacy' and visibility upon transpersonal psychology . . . all in all, I suppose [it] has more to gain than to lose by assuming divisional status in APA."
The founders' visions for the future	"I think the challenge for us is to integrate open-mindedness with critical thinking." ". . . what is most significant in transpersonal, [is that it] connects up with everything else in psychology. . . and thereby with everything else in the culture." "One of our tasks for the next 10 years is to maintain the links. I mean [the mainstream psychologists] may have closed the bridge. . . at least at one end, but we've got to keep the bridge built."	

Chapter 5: Discussion

Summary of Findings

The purpose of this study was to investigate transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology. Transpersonal psychology's history was examined, particularly as it has unfolded in relation to mainstream American psychology. The historical review provided a context within which to address the question of where and how transpersonal psychology stands in relation to other areas of American psychology, including behaviorism, psychoanalysis, humanistic psychology, cognitive psychology, and positive psychology. In order to obtain a full picture of transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology it was necessary to move beyond historical renderings offered in the literature and engage with individuals who are able to take an informed perspective on this issue. Therefore, both founders of transpersonal psychology and historians of psychology were interviewed and asked to provide their views on a number of issues related to transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology.

The results of the study provided a generalized picture of transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology. The central finding was that transpersonal psychology has not historically maintained a viable relationship with mainstream American psychology. Transpersonal psychology is not considered a subdiscipline of American psychology by historians. Neither its founders or the historians consider it the "fourth force" in American psychology following behaviorism, psychoanalysis, and humanistic psychology. Furthermore, the data revealed that transpersonal psychology has not impacted mainstream American psychology in any

significant way. This failure of influence, it was suggested, is due to a confluence of factors: (a) mainstream psychologists' resistance to philosophical and spiritual issues, (b) transpersonal psychologists' tendency to isolate themselves from the mainstream, and (c) the rise of the cognitive movement in American psychology.

In addition to this historical picture, the current status of transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology was considered. With regard to this issue, transpersonal psychology was perceived as having some relation to emerging trends in mainstream American psychology—more specifically, the field of positive psychology as well as a recent interest by psychologists in spirituality. Although transpersonal psychology was not seen as directly influencing the development of these areas, it was perceived as sharing some resemblance with them, and thus it was noted that transpersonal psychologists might be able to engage with the mainstream by connecting to these new developments.

Finally, the results of this study took on a prescriptive tone as both groups of participants offered suggestions for how transpersonal psychology can engage more dynamically with mainstream American psychology, and thus prove itself as a relevant, viable area of study. Specifically, it was suggested by both groups that transpersonal psychologists become more involved with the mainstream, and do so by emphasizing existing similarities shared with the mainstream rather than focusing on historical differences.

What follows in this chapter is a discussion of the most central finding of this study. In addition, limitations of the study are examined and suggestions for future research are offered.

A Tenuous Relationship

The central finding of this study is that transpersonal psychology has had a tenuous relationship, at best, with mainstream American psychology. The historians of psychology stated that transpersonal psychology has had "relatively little influence" in mainstream American psychology (Historian D, p. 9). Similarly, the founders of transpersonal psychology described transpersonal psychology's impact in the mainstream as "minimal" (Metzner, p. 11) and "modest" (Walsh, p. 3). The reasons offered to explain this lack of influence were a resistance on the part of mainstream psychologists to spiritual and philosophical issues, isolationism on the part of transpersonal psychologists, and the rise of the cognitive movement.

Mainstream Resistance: Subsiding or Increasing?

As discussed in Chapter 2, American psychology was founded on the principles of natural science and American psychologists have persistently employed methods that allow them to conduct objective studies of human behavior. Indeed, the historians claimed that American psychologists remain strong adherents to objectivist methods and the underlying philosophies that support them (e.g., naturalism, materialism, and positivism), even though they are often unaware of privileging these philosophies. Thus, although psychologists pride themselves as being open-minded scientists, a number of them naively close their minds to transpersonal psychology simply because the things that transpersonal psychologists are interested in (e.g., spiritual and philosophical issues) do not fit into a materialistic view of reality.

This finding was not surprising in and of itself. What was interesting was the contention by some of the historians that mainstream American psychology is currently

experiencing a liberalization of its philosophies and methods. Over the last several years, intellectual movements such as postmodernism have opened psychology to a myriad of perspectives that were historically omitted from the field, such as multiculturalism, feminism, and constructivism. In addition, as one historian mentioned, alternative methods to those employed by the behaviorists of 50 years ago (and most of today's cognitive psychologists) are beginning to garner mainstream attention. The call for alternative perspectives and approaches to inquiry is growing louder, and with this call the mainstream is being forced to admit that more than objectivist studies of human behavior are relevant to psychology. As this occurs, psychologists' resistance to spiritual and philosophical ideas will inevitably subside. Hopefully, with this shift, transpersonal psychology will finally find a place in mainstream American psychology.

Although the above scenario might take place, it is important to consider another alternative—that mainstream resistance will heighten, yet in a more subtle way. A potential impediment to the broadening of psychologists' perspectives is the success of biological models to explain human behavior and the mind. Biology may provide the last and strongest obstruction to the development of a psychology that embraces philosophical and spiritual concerns. As psychopharmacology continues to dazzle the public and feed a multibillion dollar industry, the push to seek biological explanations for psychological phenomena intensifies. Although psychology appears to be taking on a more inclusive, multiperspectival orientation, the most powerful voice in the discipline right now is the cognitive-neuroscientific perspective. More will be said about the dangers inherent in this point of view, especially with regard to the biologization of psychology.

Transpersonal Psychology's Isolationism

Transpersonal psychologists have found it easy to isolate themselves from mainstream organizations and activities. As the field became an established professional area, transpersonal psychologists had no reason to deviate beyond the safe domain of transpersonal publishing outlets and transpersonal organizations (e.g., schools and associations). The early pioneers' vision and fortitude paid off in terms of providing an area for transpersonally minded individuals to establish themselves as professionals. However, the professional fortress the founders constructed at times became impervious to outside influence. Transpersonal psychologists could effectively shut out the rest of psychology, claiming to neither have use for, nor be of use to, the larger discipline.

By remaining isolated, transpersonal psychologists engage is a solipsistic pursuit of proving their validity within the context of their own belief system. By failing to verify their claims within the context of mainstream science, they remain blissfully ignorant, and superciliously reject the mainstream with the belief that the phenomena they are studying are of ultimate importance. Ironically, this rejection mirrors the resistance of the mainstream, and what results is a large gap between the findings of transpersonal psychologists and the findings put forth in mainstream American psychology.

Such isolationism has not only been harmful in terms of burning intellectual bridges; it has also created a situation wherein transpersonal projects (e.g., schools, research, journals, associations, and conferences) are rarely funded by outside sources. The result is that transpersonal psychologists are constantly forced to finance their own endeavors. Obviously, the same individuals cannot continue to support their own pursuits indefinitely. The precariousness of this dependence on internal sources of funding is

evident if one looks at the dramatic drop in subscribers to the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology*, the financial insolvency of the Association for Transpersonal Psychology, and the fact that the Institute of Transpersonal Psychology (the only school in the United States offering a PhD in transpersonal psychology) is completely tuition driven.

More will be mentioned later with regard to the problem of isolationism when the founders' original and current visions are discussed. Before that, it is important to look at the third explanation for transpersonal psychology's failure of influence: the rise of cognitive psychology.

The Real Fourth Force: Cognitive Psychology

Through the interviews, a fascinating finding came forth, which was that the evolutionary picture imagined by Maslow and Sutich does not fit the reality of how American psychology actually progressed. Figure 2 illustrates the original view, put forth by Maslow (1969), which transpersonal psychologists originally adopted as a description for how their field fit into the context of American psychology.

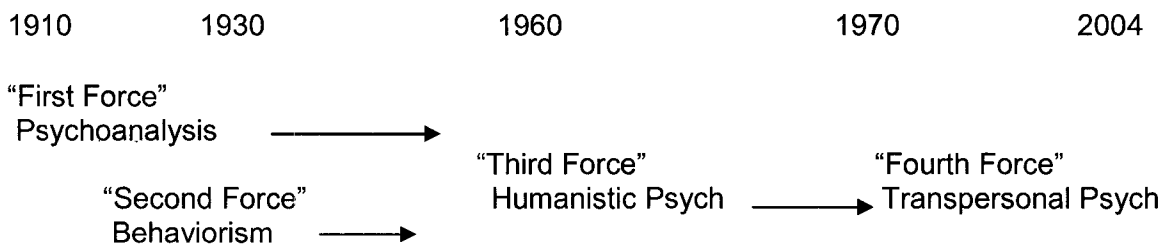

Figure 2. The "Four Forces" of American psychology.

Figure 2 portrays humanistic psychology as developing out of the traditions of behaviorism and psychoanalysis. Figure 2 then shows transpersonal psychology as evolving out of humanistic psychology. However, what came forth through the current investigation was a very different picture of American psychology's history, and transpersonal psychology's place in it. Figure 3 shows this revised view.

1910 1930 1960 1970 2004

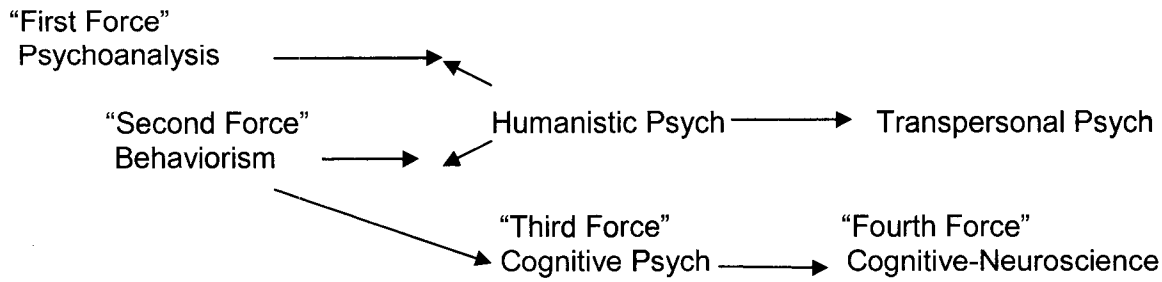

Figure 3. Revised version of the "Four Forces" metaphor.

Figure 3 tells a different story of American psychology's history than the one put forth by most transpersonal psychologists documenting their field's history (e.g., Anderson, 1998; Fadiman, 1981; Hastings, 1999; Sutich, 1976b). Figure 3 shows humanistic psychology developing as a reaction to the first two forces, psychoanalysis and behaviorism (i.e., mainstream American psychology), and then transpersonal psychology developing forward from humanistic psychology. In this view, transpersonal psychology inherits a tradition of resistance to behaviorism and psychoanalysis, but takes some of the humanistic concerns and moves forward to the present. Figure 3 also illustrates the development of cognitive psychology and cognitive-neuroscience. Cognitive psychology is viewed as growing out of behaviorism and moving forward to the development of cognitive-neuroscience.

As perceived by the historians of psychology, cognitive psychology and cognitive neuroscience have been shown to be the real third and fourth forces in American psychology. Historically and currently, cognitive psychology and its descendant cognitive-neuroscience are in closer alignment, methodologically, with the behaviorist agenda of 50 years ago. As mentioned in Chapter 2, and later confirmed by the study's results, cognitive psychology is predicated on the laws of materialistic science, and cognitive science follows the protocol of discovering the natural laws of the universe.

Unlike humanistic or transpersonal psychology, cognitive psychology is not interested in probing issues of life's meaning or examining the importance of spirituality to psychology. However, its firm basis in science has allowed cognitive psychology to prevail as the most powerful perspective in American psychology today.

Although most of the transpersonal psychologists admitted they no longer consider the fourth force metaphor accurate, it is nonetheless the mythology recited in accounts of transpersonal psychology's history. Indeed, the present study began by accepting this assumption, because it was put forth in the available literature. (More about this oversight will be mentioned in the "Limitations" section of this chapter.) It is the contention of this author that it is a disservice on the part of transpersonal psychologists to continue to hold on to the idea of transpersonal psychology as the fourth force. This kind of grandiosity has likely contributed to transpersonal psychology's isolationism, and has spread a misinformed view of the history of American psychology.

Furthermore, by viewing transpersonal psychology as the fourth force, coming after psychoanalysis, behaviorism, and humanistic psychology, the transpersonal psychologist is free to overlook cognitive psychology. To ignore the developments in cognitive psychology, both those in the clinical and research arenas, is tantamount to ignoring that an entire facet of the human being, namely cognition, exists. Transpersonal psychologists risk being as reductive as behaviorists when they fail to take the whole picture of psychology into account. Furthermore, as mentioned in the next paragraph, transpersonal psychologists run the risk of allowing biologists to explain away transpersonal phenomena if they do not recognize the place of cognitive-neuroscience in psychology and learn to dialogue with the field.

A danger for transpersonal psychologists to consider is that if cognitive psychology morphs wholly into brain science, it could completely derail any attempt by sympathetic mainstream psychologists to open the discipline's doors to transpersonal concerns. As discussed above, the allure of biological explanations is tempting to those individuals looking for natural science explanations for life's mysteries. As granting money keeps getting funneled into research on cognition and the brain, more and more scientists will find neurological correlates to transpersonal experiences. It is thus imperative that transpersonal psychologists acknowledge the place of cognitive-neuroscience in psychology, learn to speak the language of biological psychology, and contribute their own perspective to the dialogue occurring around whether or not spiritual and other transpersonal experiences can be reduced to brain chemistry.

The Founders' Visions Then and Now: A Call for Integration

This study also examined the founders of transpersonal psychology's original visions and current appraisals of their field. What follows is a discussion of how the original visions have changed or remained the same and what this means for the field today.

The results of the study indicated that the founders of transpersonal psychology had three central ideas in mind when they created the field: (a) to move beyond conventional psychology, (b) to introduce spirituality as important to psychology, and (c) to create a psychological orientation that was inclusive of previous schools of thought. Interestingly, in comparing these visions with the founders' current definitions of transpersonal psychology, it became clear that the latter two points remain important as visionary ideals, but that the first point has become less fundamental to the aims of the

field. Furthermore, as evidenced by the founders' recommendations for the field's future, it appears that the vision of creating an inclusive field of study has taken precedence. Although spirituality remains important, integration is key.

In the interviews conducted for this study, Roger Walsh and Ken Wilber repeatedly emphasized the point of integration, noting that transpersonal psychology is at its best when it incorporates existing perspectives. Wilber specifically noted that transpersonal psychology is an empty concept when it is simply defined as being in opposition to other schools of thought. As mentioned in earlier chapters, Wilber's original vision was for a psychological orientation that would integrate not only Western perspectives on psychology, but also include Eastern psychological and philosophical theories. Wilber claimed that as transpersonal psychologists defined themselves against existing schools of thought, he became increasingly frustrated with the field, and thus eventually moved on to create his own approach—integral psychology, and later, integral studies. "Integral studies" not only incorporates perspectives within psychology, but also draws from other disciplines (e.g., biology, sociology, anthropology, and philosophy) to supplement the psychological perspective on human life (Wilber, 2000b).

Interestingly, Stanley Krippner and Michael Washburn also emphasized the importance of not only integrating multiple perspectives within psychology, but also including perspectives from other fields of study, such as anthropology, sociology, biology, and the humanities. Rothberg (1999) and Walsh and Vaughan (1993) have also called for this level of integration, challenging transpersonal psychologists to take an inclusive stance by embracing multiple areas of study. "Transpersonal studies" is currently the catchphrase used to note this trend toward multidisciplinary integration.

In addition to multidisciplinary integration, Jim Fadiman, Stanley Krippner, and Charles Tart also called for integration in terms of building bridges and joining forces with mainstream American psychology. Fadiman and Krippner specifically called for transpersonal clinicians to mainstream themselves, while Tart begged transpersonal researchers to pay attention to mainstream science.

Why Integrate Now?

One might wonder why the call for integration is so important at this point in transpersonal psychology's history. In its beginnings transpersonal psychology was heralded an alternative area of study, one where, as Wilber noted, psychologists for the first time found a place to study spirituality. As Miles Vich related, by becoming a field with a journal and an association, transpersonal psychology provided those interested in spiritual issues with a place to publish and an avenue through which to hold conferences. During the 1970s, 1980s, and into the 1990s, transpersonal psychology was a comfortable haven for those dissatisfied with the mainstream.

The call for integration, although always there in some form, was less important in the field's beginning. The founders' original visions included moving beyond conventional psychology, and transpersonal psychologists were successful and proud to paint themselves as "slightly outlaws" (Fadiman, p. 19). Transpersonal psychologists of the 1970s and 1980s were content to finally have a place to isolate themselves and establish themselves as successful academics within the context of like-minded colleagues. As Charles Tart commented, it felt good to have a comfortable place to "talk about weird stuff without being laughed at" (Tart, p. 8).

Now, as mainstream psychologists embrace ideas such as positive psychology and spirituality, the transpersonal mission is less unique, less "alternative," and increasingly more mainstream. This may initially appear as good news to transpersonal psychologists who have felt disavowed or ignored by mainstream psychologists. However, as was attested by both the founders and the historians, transpersonal psychologists have not been credited with contributing to or influencing these new developments. Transpersonal psychologists are rarely cited as pioneers of this kind of research, as their foundational contributions are overlooked.

Psychologists wedded to the same natural science perspective of the '40s and '50s are conducting research in positive psychology and spirituality. Finally, the positive psychologists attest, spirituality and positive human functioning can be understood within the framework of science. Humanistic psychology and its offspring transpersonal psychology have never been successful at using the strict science of mainstream psychology to "prove" that spirituality and the positive aspects of humanity are relevant areas of concern for the psychologist.

If mainstream American psychology takes off with these areas of interest, and introduces them with the charisma of scientific evidence to the culture at large, transpersonal psychologists risk not only being overlooked; they also risk being gradually extinguished by voices with more prominence and power than their own. The subject matter of transpersonal psychology, at this point in American psychology's history, is no longer as radical as it used to be. In order to remain viable, transpersonal psychology must show itself to be connected to the mainstream. Otherwise, it will go the way of other

once popular, but now largely forgotten, psychological trends such as Gestalt psychology or the human potential movement.

In addition to the risk of being overlooked in the research arena, Stanley Krippner noted how more and more states are requiring that licensed psychologists graduate from APA-accredited schools. Indeed, 21 states currently refuse to license individuals who have not graduated from an APA school or a school that meets APA standards (see http://www.asppb.org). This undoubtedly creates a certain degree of urgency for transpersonal degree programs to conform to APA's standards, or else lose students, and thus, lose the opportunity to train transpersonal clinicians. Just recently both John F. Kennedy University and California Institute of Integral Studies secured APA accreditation, and the Institute of Transpersonal Psychology is currently in the process of working toward APA accreditation.

Thus, the call to integrate is no longer merely a theoretical concern; it is also a practical necessity. If transpersonal psychologists want to maintain the viability of their field, they must no only build theoretical connections to mainstream American psychology, they must also conduct research that speaks mainstream language and become involved in mainstream organizations such as the APA.

A Look at the Proposed Solutions

The historians of psychology offered a number of suggestions as to how transpersonal psychologists might more fruitfully engage with mainstream American psychology. One solution was to emphasize similarities with existing aspects of mainstream American psychology. Related to this proposal were suggestions to write a book that connects to mainstream interests yet makes a novel statement with regard to

transpersonal issues and to join forces with the Humanistic and Psychology and Religion Divisions of the APA. In addition, it was suggested that transpersonal psychologists publish in mainstream journals.

Emphasizing similarities with mainstream psychology is a task that few transpersonal psychologists have historically undertaken. Perhaps, in the past, transpersonal psychologists had little in common with the mainstream, and thus, were unable to stress similarities. During the early days of the field, transpersonal psychologists expressed dissatisfaction with mainstream psychology's narrowness. As discussed above, this expression did little in terms of creating a viable connection to mainstream psychology.

The proposals put forth by the historians to emphasize similarities may in fact work, especially now that the mainstream is opening to ideas such as positive psychology and spirituality. Although in some ways it may appear that these now mainstream topics are redundant with respect to transpersonal psychologists' work, it is this researcher's contention that transpersonal psychologists have something original to offer. Transpersonal psychologists not only have a history of honoring the inclusion of topics such as spirituality and positive psychology; they are also interested in using methodologies that employ multiple approaches to investigating such phenomena. Transpersonal psychologists are comfortable using qualitative research methods, which is an approach to science that few mainstream psychologists have yet to adopt.

Phenomenology, hermeneutics, feminist approaches, and heuristic study are a few examples of methods that transpersonal psychologists have made a part of their repertoire (Braud & Anderson, 1998). These methods differ radically from the experimental designs

and quantitative analyses that most mainstream psychologists employ (e.g., see Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). Nevertheless, as Anderson and Braud point out, these quantitative approaches are not mutually incommensurate with traditional quantitative methods. In fact, the two approaches (quantitative and qualitative), taken together, create a more inclusive approach, which Braud terms "integral inquiry."

Transpersonal psychologists would do well to master the realm of quantitative methods *and* add their own contribution through qualitative approaches. If transpersonal psychologists supplemented, not supplanted, mainstream quantitative methods with complementary qualitative approaches, they could both connect with and contribute something novel to the mainstream.

The suggestions of writing a book with a novel statement and publishing in mainstream journals are good, but potentially impractical if the above suggestions for integration through a common language do not take place first. It seems that transpersonal psychologists will first need to become conversant with mainstream research if they want to contribute to developments in mainstream psychology. Once they've accomplished this, they can then add to the dialogue by introducing qualitative examinations of psychological phenomena.

Finally, the suggestion to have transpersonal psychologists join existing divisions within the APA is an excellent proposal. Both the Humanistic and Psychology and Religion Divisions have shown interest in transpersonal concerns. Since these areas of psychology already have somewhat of a foothold in the mainstream by being a part of the APA, it would be beneficial for transpersonal psychologists to take advantage of this situation and participate in those divisions' activities. The more they become active in

mainstream activities, the more opportunities transpersonal psychologists will have to expand their reach to the greater community and contribute something novel to the conversations happing in the mainstream. A caveat to keep in mind, however, is that both the Humanistic and Psychology and Religion Divisions are somewhat marginalized by the powerful, predominant experimental psychology sections. Therefore, simply joining these divisions does not guarantee transpersonal psychologists mainstream acceptance.

The Future of Transpersonal Psychology's Relationship to American Psychology

At this time in transpersonal psychology's history, it is important to step back and take a critical look at the field's relationship to other areas of psychology (e.g., positive psychology, cognitive psychology, humanistic psychology, behaviorism, and psychoanalysis). This study was an attempt to take a historical and contemporary view of transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology. By taking stock of transpersonal psychology's successes and failures in this area, and mainstream psychologists' views and opinions of the field, it is now possible to look speculatively into the field's future.

Although the author cannot predict future events, and would be remiss to do so, she can nonetheless offer the informed opinion that transpersonal psychology will only remain a viable, relevant area of study as long as it maintains connections to mainstream American psychology and other fields of study. Transpersonal psychology truly is at its best when it adheres to the original intention of its founders to be as inclusive and integrative as possible. Not only does it then become more holistic as a psychological orientation, it also opens the door to sources of support, financial and otherwise, outside the transpersonal domain.

As Roger Walsh warned, a certain degree of critical mindedness will be necessary to maintain the field's professionalism and academic integrity in the future. As Charles Tart admonished, transpersonal psychology should not admit any bizarre idea into its domain just for the sake of inclusiveness. The field's practitioners must be discerning in what they allow as legitimate scientific studies. Transpersonal psychology's future must include a balance of open-minded inclusiveness and critical-minded discernment.

Transpersonal psychologists have historically adopted a more liberal approach to science than most mainstream psychologists, which, as stated above, makes what they do unique. However, when what they do is solely nontraditional, they fail to speak the language of mainstream science, and thus loose a valuable audience—mainstream American psychologists. In the future transpersonal psychologists must avoid the pitfall that Ralph Metzner spoke of, wherein they invent methods that "float off into the ethers" (Metzner, p. 12). Transpersonal psychologists must become conversant in mainstream philosophies and methods, particularly if they want to communicate with individuals outside transpersonal psychology. At the same time, they need to contribute an alternative to the mainstream manner of studying psychological phenomena. This means that transpersonal psychologists will have to effect a true integration of the orthodox with the unconventional.

Ken Wilber was absolutely right in calling for an integral vision that would pull together multiple perspectives in an inclusive, yet discerning, whole. Wilber was also right in noting that transpersonal psychology has a history of opposition to the mainstream, and that it will fail if it does not take a more integrative stance. Wilber was mistaken, however, in asserting that it is necessary to leave transpersonal psychology in

order to adopt such a vision. Transpersonal psychology continues to grow as a field, and transpersonal psychologists are just coming to recognize the field's strengths and weaknesses. This study showed that one of the field's most crippling flaws has been its isolationism and the arrogance that accompanies an "us against them" attitude. This study also showed that with the emerging interests of positive psychology and spirituality in mainstream American psychology that it might be possible, even imperative, for transpersonal psychologists to build bridges to the mainstream. By engaging with the APA (by joining existing divisions and through the accreditation of transpersonal programs) and conducting publishable research (research that uses mainstream language) which combines the best of the transpersonal with the best of the mainstream, transpersonal psychology will thrive as a unique, yet important, dimension of the larger discipline of psychology.

The future will, indeed, require a Buddhist "middle way" approach, which means avoiding both self-indulgence (i.e., isolationism) and self-torment (i.e., completely conforming to mainstream standards). However, being individuals who appreciate a good spiritual challenge, transpersonal psychologists should be more than able to forge this middle path. Before this study concludes, a look at both its limitations and suggestions for future research are provided.

Limitations of this Study

As with any study, the current research was limited in a number of respects. These limitations are discussed below.

One major limitation of the current research was that because it was qualitative in nature, only a small group of participants could be consulted. This was especially

apparent with regard to the historians of psychology. Only 9 historians participated in the study. Although, theoretically, the individuals selected to participate were representative members of the total population of historians of American psychology due to their positions as editors and presidents, it is highly unlikely that these individuals provided a broad enough perspective to adequately indicate how most historians view transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology.

Related to the above limitation, is the fact that Divisions 24 (Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology) and 26 (History of Psychology) are themselves somewhat peripheral aspects of American psychology. Although having their own APA divisions, historians of psychology and theoretical psychologists have faced their own set of challenges in being recognized as important contributors to mainstream American psychology. Two participants in the historians group told the researcher that he or she was by no means a "mainstream" psychologist. Thus, some individuals in this group might have offered a view of American psychology's history that is not shared by more "mainstream" individuals. Furthermore, these individuals may have been more sympathetic to the notion that transpersonal psychology deserves recognition in American psychology due to their own frustrations as psychologists who have also often been overlooked by the mainstream.

A third limitation of the current study was that it failed to adequately address the role of cognitive psychology in the literature review. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, one of the unexpected findings of this study was both the founders' and the historians' admission that cognitive psychology has played a much larger role in American psychology's history than either humanistic psychology or transpersonal psychology. By

failing to consider cognitive psychology as a major perspective within mainstream American psychology, the research perpetuated the fallacy of the fourth force metaphor. Interestingly, however, this fallacy has been dispelled through the research, which can be seen as a positive outcome of the study.

A fourth limitation of this study was that it was overly ambitious in its scope. By attempting to look at the entire historical relationship of transpersonal psychology to American psychology, depth was compromised at the cost of breadth. Very broad questions with regard to transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology were asked of both the historians of psychology and the founders of transpersonal psychology. By asking such broad questions, the research was opened up to a large variety of issues (e.g., the fracturing of American psychology, transpersonal psychology's role in popular culture, and the rise and fall of alternative movements in American psychology), many of which had to be omitted in the presentation of the results.

Suggestions for Further Research

In order to supplement the qualitative nature of this study, it would be beneficial to conduct a corresponding quantitative analysis. A quantitative study would effectively assess most mainstream psychologists' perspectives on transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology. As indicated in the limitations, the current study was only able to review the perspectives of 9 historians of psychology. One suggestion is to distribute a survey to a representative sample of mainstream psychologists practicing in the United States. A large-scale survey, distributed to hundreds of psychologists around the country, would allow one to get a better handle on

how the majority of mainstream American psychologists view transpersonal psychology. This survey would ask the psychologists questions similar to those put forth through the current research, such as if they had ever heard of transpersonal psychology and how much they feel it has impacted the mainstream.

A second area where more research can be conducted in relation to this topic is to examine the perspectives of transpersonal psychologists who are not founders, yet who are currently active in the field as researchers, practitioners, and theoreticians. The perspectives of these individuals would likely differ from the founders' points of view, and may shed more light on the current and future status of the field as it relates to mainstream American psychology. It is this researcher's hypothesis that the younger generation of transpersonal psychologists is even more interested in integration and participation in the mainstream than their predecessors. This would be an important phenomenon to examine as one attempts to make recommendations for the future of transpersonal psychology.

In addition to the above two suggestions, another area worth exploring in more detail is the current interest in spirituality in the mainstream, how that has developed, and if it truly is compatible with transpersonal interests. Important questions to ask are: Are mainstream psychologists interested in the same types of spirituality that transpersonal psychologists value? Will the mainstream effectively reduce spiritual experience to brain chemistry? Are mainstream researchers at all open to transpersonal approaches to studying spirituality (i.e., through qualitative research methods)? Is the mainstream merely giving lip service to a larger cultural trend, which will eventually pass, and thus become less interesting to mainstream researchers in the future? By assessing the state of

mainstream psychology's relationship to the topic of spirituality, one would be able to have a better idea as to how feasible it is for transpersonal psychologists to connect with the mainstream with regard to this issue

Finally, as academic programs in transpersonal psychology increasingly mainstream themselves by seeking APA accreditation, it would be interesting to document the changes that take place in these institutions. Will these institutions loose their transpersonal identity as they struggle to gain acceptance in the mainstream? Or will funding come their way such that the transpersonal psychologists can finally do the research they need in order to prove their importance to the mainstream? Tracking the development of the institutions that support transpersonal psychology will reveal how resilient the field is in the face of mainstream as well as internal resistance and how well it actually accomplishes its stated goal of integration.

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Appendixes

Appendix A: Email to Transpersonal Psychologists

Dear Faculty Member,

My name is Nicole Ruzek and I am a PhD student at the Institute of Transpersonal Psychology working on my dissertation regarding the history of transpersonal psychology. I am contacting you with the hope that you will assist me in the preliminary stages of my research. I am conducting an informal survey to determine who individuals like yourself consider to be the most influential thinkers in transpersonal psychology.

Please list 10 LIVING transpersonal psychologists who you think most greatly influenced the development of transpersonal psychology. If you cannot think of 10, please name as many as you are able.

If you have any questions, feel free to email me at this address:
<Email address inserted here>

Thank you in advance for your support,

Nicole Ruzek

Appendix B: Interview Questions: Transpersonal Psychologists

1. How did you become involved with transpersonal psychology?
2. How many years have you been conducting transpersonal research or practicing transpersonal psychology?
3. What was your original vision for the field of transpersonal psychology? Where did you expect the field to go?
4. Did you envision transpersonal psychology to be the next step in the evolution of American psychology? Why or why not?
5. Did you, and/or do you, consider transpersonal psychology to be the "Fourth Force" in the tradition of American psychology? Why or why not?
6. Was the original mission of transpersonal psychology's founders accomplished? How would you characterize that mission? Has that vision changed over the years? If so, why do you think it has changed?
7. How has transpersonal psychology changed over the last 35 years? Has it become more or less important as a contributing force to mainstream American psychology?
8. What is your view of the changing definitions of transpersonal psychology?
9. How do you currently define the field? Is that the same definition you used at the beginning of your career?
10. Does transpersonal psychology's relationship to mainstream American psychology matter? How would you characterize that relationship?
11. How does transpersonal psychology relate to behaviorism and psychoanalysis? Does it take any of its ideas from those schools of thought? Are there any other areas of psychology, such as cognitive psychology, positive psychology, or the consciousness

movement, that transpersonal psychology relates to more readily than behaviorism and psychoanalysis? Do you think that transpersonal psychology has had any influence on the development of these contemporary schools of thought?

12. What is transpersonal psychology's historical relationship to humanistic psychology? Do you feel that the two fields have diverged or converged over the past 35 years?
13. Were you originally a humanistic psychologist? If so, what was your rationale behind creating a new psychology with a different vision?
14. Do you publish in humanistic journals such as the *Humanistic Psychologist* or the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*?
15. What has your involvement been with mainstream psychological studies?
16. Have you published in any mainstream psychological journals?
17. Do you actively participate in mainstream associations?
18. Over the years do you feel that your work has been well-received by mainstream psychologists?
19. What areas of mainstream psychology do you feel the most comfortable contributing to or relating your work to?
20. What are transpersonal psychology's successes?
21. What are its failures?
22. Looking back on the past 35 years, has transpersonal psychology flourished or declined?
23. What, in your view, is in store for transpersonal psychology in the next 10 years?

Appendix C: Interview Questions: Historians of Psychology

1. Have you heard of transpersonal psychology?
2. What is your impression of the field?
3. Do you consider transpersonal psychology to be a subdiscipline within the larger discipline of American psychology?
4. Do you understand transpersonal psychology to be the "Fourth Force" in American psychology?
5. How has transpersonal psychology influenced American psychology as a whole?
6. How have other psychological systems influenced transpersonal psychology?
7. How do you view transpersonal psychology's historical development?
8. Looking at the development of American psychology as a whole, please give your impressions regarding which schools of thought have had the most influence in academia.
9. Looking at the development of American psychology as a whole, please give your impressions regarding which schools of thought have had the most influence in American culture.
10. How do you perceive the current state of American psychology?
11. Do you see transpersonal psychology as having the potential to effect change in American psychology? How so?
12. Do you see transpersonal psychology as having the potential to effect change in American culture? How so?
13. Do you think it important that transpersonal psychology maintain a dialogue with other psychological schools of thought? How so?

14. Please give any concluding thoughts you have with regard to the history of American psychology, especially as it pertains to transpersonal psychology.