HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MODERN PSYCHOLOGY IN ASIA, SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC: ACTIVITIES, ASPECTS AND PROSPECTS

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Virtually no papers on the development of modern psychology in the West have emanated from the East, and very few on its development in the East have emanated from the West. Relatively frequent over several decades have been papers assessing the current state of psychology, institutional or bearing on research, in countries in Asian and South Pacific regions where the discipline has a reasonably firm footing. Sometimes these are written by local protagonists, sometimes by foreign observers.

However, whilst these may certainly provide a data base for historians, and do sometimes indicate a developing historical awareness, most do not undertake any sort of historical analysis.

The following set of references is limited to papers which at least in part cover aspects of the historical development of modern psychology in countries within these regions. Not included are works, historical or otherwise, on aspects of traditional Asian psychology as opposed to introduced western psychology or modifications thereof. Whilst modern psychology has a foothold in about twoscore of countries in the region, in only about half of these has it as yet been viewed from even the most elementary of historical perspectives. This list in any case makes no claim to being exhaustive, and restricts itself to works in English. Australia and New Zealand are treated elsewhere in this volume, so are not included here.

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TEXTBOOKS

Only two general textbooks on the history of psychology have been located which make any attempt to cover any part of the Asian and Southeast Asian regions, and none cover the South Pacific. These two are:

- MARX, M.H. and HILLIX, W.A. Systems and Theories in Psychology, McGraw Hill, N.Y., 1963. (Appendix C, pp. 456-472, by Shinkuro Iwahara deals with "Oriental Psychology", encompassing India, Japan, Mainland China, Taiwan and Korea. Several later editions have appeared.)
- SAHAKIAN, W.S. History and Systems of Psychology, John Wiley and Sons, N.Y., 1975 (Chapter 19 deals with Japanese Psychology (pp. 415-428), and Chapter 20 with Psychology in the Republic of China, and with Yoga Psychology in India (pp. 429-432)).

PUBLICATIONS DEALING WITH PARTICULAR COUNTRIES

Other works of relevance, outside the textbook arena, operate only within clearly defined national boundaries, so they may appropriately be listed under the names of the particular countries with which they deal. Thus:

INDIA

GANGULI, H.C. "Psychological research in India: 1920-1967", *International Journal of Psychology*, 1971, 6, 165-177.

NANDY, Ashis. "The non-paradigmatic crisis of Indian psychology: reflections on a recipient culture of science", *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 1974, 49, 1-20. PAREEK, U. "Psychology in India", *Psychologia*, 1957, 1, 55-59.

PRABHU, P.H., "India", pp. 190-203, in Sexton, V.S. and Misiak, H.K. (Eds.): *Psychology Around the World*, Brooks/Cole, California, 1976.

INDONESIA

MUNANDAR, S.C.U. "The current status of psychological studies in Indonesia", *Psychologia*, 1979, 22, 31-48.

JAPAN

IWAHARA, Shinkuro. "Japan", pp. 242-258, In Sexton, V.S. and Misiak, H.K. (Eds.): op. cit.

SATO, Koji and GRAHAM, C.H.: "Psychology in Japan". Psychological Bulletin, 1954, 51, 443-469.

TANAKA, Yoshihisa. "Status of Japanese Experimental Psychology", Annual Review of Psychology, 1966, 17, 233-272.

KOREA

CHA, J.H. "Korean psychology. a survey of a science and profession", Social Science Journal (Korean UNESCO), 1978, 5, 142-184.

MALAYSIA

WARD, Colleen. "The role and status of psychology in developing nations: a Malaysian case study", *Bulletin of the British Psychological Society*, 1983, 36, 73-76.

PAKISTAN

ASLAM, O.M. "Fifty years of psychology", Pakistan Journal of Psychology, 1975, 8, December, 3-40.

ZAIDI, S.M.H. "Pakistan", pp. 329-340, in Sexton, V.S. and Misiak, H.K. (Eds.). op. cit

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

BROWN, L.B.: Psychology in Contemporary China, Oxford, Pergamon, 1981.

CHING, C.C. "Psychology in the People's Republic of China", American Psychologist, 1980, 35, 1084-1089.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE PSYCHOLOGICAL SOCIETY: "Sixty years of Chinese psychology: retrospect and prospect", *International Journal of Psychology*, 1983, 18, 167-187.

GARDNER, H. "China's born-again psychology", Psychology Today, 1980, 14, 3, 45-50.

- KUO YOU-YUH. "Psychology in Communist China", The Psychological Record, 1971, 21, 95-105.
- LIXIN-TIAN, XU SHU-LIAN & KUANG PEI-ZI. "30 years of Chinese medical psychology". Chinese Sociology and Anthropology, 1980, 12, 97-123.
- LIN ZHONG-XIAN and FANG ZHI. "Thirty years developments in Chinese experimental psychology", Chinese Sociology and Anthropology, 1980, 12, 43-61.
- LIU FAN: "Developmental psychology in China". International Journal of Behavioural Development, 1982, 5, 391-411.
- PAN SHU. "On the investigation of the basic theoretical problems of psychology", Chinese Sociology and Anthropology, 1980, 12, 24-42.
- PETZOLD, M.: "History and political context of psychology in the People's Republic of China", In M.G. Asch and W.R. Woodward (Eds.): Psychology in Twentieth Century Thought and Society (forthcoming).
- PETZOLD, M.. Developmental psychology in the People's Republic of China, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (in press).
- PETZOLD, M. "The history of psychology in China". Paper presented at Cheiron XV, June 1983, at York University, Canada.
- KUO, Z.Y. "China", pp. 72-90, in Sexton, V.S. and Misiak, H. (Eds.). op. cit.
- WANG JI-SHENG: "On the modernisation of psychology in China: fundamental theoretical viewpoint and methodology". FBIS Report Joint Publications Research Services, N. 76133, 1980, 103-114.
- XU LIANG-CANG (HSU, L.T.). JING QI-CHENG (CHING, C.C.) & OVER, R.. "Recent developments in psychology within the People's Republic of China", *International Journal of Psychology*, 1980, 15, 131-144.

THE PHILIPPINES

GUTHRIE, G.M. and BULATAO, J. "Psychology in the Philippines", *Psychologia*, 1968, 11, 201-206.

THAILAND

GARDINER, H.W. "Psychology in Thailand", Psychologia, 1959, 2, 120-123.

SOURCES OF CONTEMPORARY REFERENCE

Major sources of information on the current state of psychology in these regions are: JACOBSON, E. and REINERT, G. (Eds.): International Directory of Psychologists, North-Holland Publishing Co., Amsterdam, 3rd edn. 1980. (This presents data, collected between 1974 and 1979, about 17,000 psychologists from 100 countries, excluding the U.S.A. Names of individuals and any professional associations are given for fifteen of the countries in the area of concern.)

ROSENZWEIG, M.R. "Trends in development and status of psychology: an international perspective", *International Journal of Psychology*, 1982, 17, 117-140 (This paper compares the development and status of psychology across member countries of I.U.P.S., in terms of definitions of psychology and psychologist, growth in numbers of psychologists, numbers of psychologists relative to total population, developmental patterns, employment opportunities, sex ratios of psychologists, and legal recognition of the profession.)

WOLMAN, B.B. (Ed.). International Directory of Psychology: People, Places and Policies, Plenum, New York, 1979, (This volume gives details regarding the current status of psychology in a number of particular countries -professional organizations; education and training of psychologists; occupation of psychologists; research agencies, centres and facilities; publications. Names of individuals are not listed. Thirteen of the countries are in the Asian and South Pacific areas.

Psychologia, an International Journal of Psychology in the Orient. (First published in 1957 with Dr. Koji Sato of Kyoto University as editor. The currently stated purpose of this journal is to serve "as a channel of communication from the East to the West and as a forum for international discussions".)

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

As part of the joint meeting of the Second Asian Conference of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology and the First Asian Conference of the International Council of Psychologists, held in Taipei in August 1981, Geoffrey of Hong Kong Univeristy organised a symposium entitled "Historical Development of Psychology in Asia". Papers included were:

UMEMOTO, T. and HOSHINO, A. "Historical development of psychology in Japan,"

WARD, C. "Psychology in Malaysia - Past, present and future";

LIU, I.M.: "The historical development of psychology in the Republic of China"; LEE, H.W. "Psychology in Mainland China";

BLOWERS, G.H. "Psychology in Hong Kong: the growth of professionalism"; TURTLE, Alison M. "Psychology in the Australian context".

WORK IN PROGRESS

As an outcome of the above symposium, the present authors, Geoffrey and Alison, are editing a set of papers with the ambition of spanning the history of modern psychology in all Asian and South Pacific countries where the discipline has achieved any form of official status. The emphasis is intended to be on psychology as it has developed within a variety of socio-cultural contexts and colonial situations, raising questions as to the impetus for such development and, where relevant, the interaction of western psychological concepts with indigenous ones.

Psychology in its modern form actually made its appearance in the East virtually simultaneously with its importation from Europe and Britain into the United States, with the introduction of the subject into a Japanese university in the 1880's. Its most recent formal coming-of-age has occurred in Malaysia, where the first department devoted exclusively to the subject was set up in 1979. We have located seventeen countries in the Asian and South Pacific areas where psychology has by now achieved a fully independent status within the universities (Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam, People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, Japan, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Papua New Guinea, Australia and New Zealand), one where it has substantial representation at the professional level (Singapore), and one where it is taught but still totally under the chaperonage of other disciplines (Fiji). We hope to obtain contributions from each of these areas extending from Pakistan in the west to Fiji in the east. Culturally, linguistically, historically and geographically the diversity in this vast region is enormous.

For the purposes of our proposed volume the relevant connecting links are two. Firstly, there is the fact that modern psychology, at least as it first took root in these areas, is a transplant to cultural climates very different from those in which it originally evolved. Secondly, there is the fact, as the brevity of the above set of references indicates, the progenitor countries remain in quite considerable ignorance of the growth of this particular group of offspring.

With some exceptions, the region has kept largely to itself until the last few years, though there has been a steady procession of individuals in the capacity either of students or of visiting academics or professionals sallying forth to the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and the U.S.S.R. The usual posture adopted has been very much that of diciple rather than of apostle. Recently a more egalitarian stance is being assumed, with Asian and South Pacific countries offering themselves as venues for international conferences. The first such to be held was the XXth Congress of the International Union of Psychological Science, at Tokyo in 1972. Perhaps not surprisingly, the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology has been a pioneering force here, with its first ever conference taking place immediately after the Tokyo meeting, at Hong Kong in 1972, and with subsequent Asian regional meetings at Hong Kong in 1979 (1), Taipei in 1981, and Bangi (Malaysia) in 1983. A series of Asian Workshops on Child and Adolescent Development has also commenced, the first in Jakarta, the second in Bangkok (2), and the third being scheduled for Kuala Lumpur in May 1984. The International Union of Psychological Science plans to hold its XXIVth Congress in Sydney in 1988, the year of Australia's bicentenary celebration. From the region under consideration only Japan was a foundation member in 1951 of the I.U.P.S., but by 1980 seven other National Psychological Societies had joined as well (3).

The more detailed examination of this pattern of events my be undertaken from a variety of perspectives, and the set of reflections that follows is undoubtedly hybrid. It belongs on the one side to the history of psychology and on the other to cross-cultural psychology; it is an offshoot of the burgeoning growth of the sociology of knowledge, and of the expanding examination of the role of science in the history of imperial impacts (4). Indisputably also, whatever the momentary or preferred perspective of reader or writer, the editorial enterprise one of

no more than pilot status. The papers from the different contributors represent the raw material of the first such study of this area; the contributors all hold formal qualifications as psychologists and are practising as such rather than as historians. We, as editors, are assembling this data base with quite considerable difficulty. As the discipline of psychology in the region under study matures, historians of science may emerge and set about the accumulation of a data base without a participant bias.

In our initial advice to prospective contributors we have endeavoured to orient them towards a socio-historical perspective, and to make it clear that we are seeking a social rather than a cognitive history. For fear of imposing the limitations of our own ignorance upon the conceptual and informational frameworks of our contributors we were reluctant to give very specific directives at the outset. When half the first drafts were in, we put together a set of approximately thirty questions suggested by our comparative reading of them, and sent them to all contributors. This set of questions is divided into categories dealing with students, academics, contact with international psychology, research and basic conceptual issues (5).

As we composed this set of questions in an endeavour to round out our own informational store, the limitations of our own conceptual and linguistic frameworks became increasingly apparent to us. The countries where we were educated and currently teach, Australia, England and Hong Kong, have very similar educational systems to each other, and the traditions of psychology in England and these two colonial offshoots remain closely intertwined with each other within the broad western pattern. The other contributors on the other hand come from countries with a variety of educational institutions, with a range of experiences with colonial status or lack thereof, with differing degrees of direct exposure to the West, and, of course, with hugely differing cultural backgrounds. Their fluency levels in the English language which in written, occasionally supplemented by spoken, form comprises the sole means of communication, also encompass a wide span.

From its inception, modern psychology has had a history of transplantation, and historians of the subject have, as part of their increasing concern over the last decade with the mutual interdependence of cognitive tradition and social context, indicated their awareness that social comparisons should be inter-as well as intra-cultural. Thus RIEBER and SALZINGER in their edited collection of papers (1980) generally take up the theme of European psychology and "the Americanization process" (6).

The handful of general papers that has appeared to date on psychology in developing and Third World countries indicates only very broad themes and analytic frameworks (7), and the stage of detailed application of these to the history of any specific country, in Asia and the South Pacific or elsewhere, has yet to be reached. Such essays in comparative history however have been for a longer period part of the practice of more general historians of science. Peter BUCK's American Science and Modern China, 1876-1936 is a good recent example. BUCK points out that "the mutual interdependence of tradition and context cannot be fully brought out unless we are able to envision the ideas and institutions in question as developing under conditions other than those that produced and sustained them, and speaks of the "varied development of scientific ideas in relation to different patterns of social organization and social action" (8).

In all the countries we are considering, the conditions under which psychology is flourishing or beginning to flourish are other than those in which it originated in

Europe, the United States, Britain and the U.S.S.R. Australia and New Zealand, for instance, whilst culturally almost identical with the "mother country" at the time of the introduction of psychology into their tertiary institutions (from which their indigenous populations were far removed), enjoyed the dependency and adolescence inevitable upon such colonial status. Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Fiji, Papua New Guinea and India, Pakistan and Bangladesh have not only experienced similar aspects of existence as colony or protectorate, but have encountered the necessity to superimpose upon or integrate with their prevailing pre-colonial cultures a set of views evolved elsewhere about the nature of human nature and how to study it.

Industrialization, urbanization and in many cases an increase in ethnic diversity have overtaken the Asian and South Pacific countries later than the West and the Soviet bloc, with the result that socio-economic models of such genre are before the eyes of their governments, technocrats and scholars as they seek to develop psychological knowledge and skills. A convincing description of how Third World educational institutions in particular are exposed to academic dependency and neo-colonialism is offered in Philip ALTBACH's latest book (9). Education plays even more of a key role in developing countries than it did in the nineteenth century in the progenitor countries of psychology. For historians of psychology, a cognate discipline of education, this contrast is of particular relevance.

Such differences bring instantly a host of questions to the mind of the social historian. What are the patterns of interaction between colony and imperialist power in the area of scientific and technological development in terms of derivation of ideas, exploitation one-way or mutual, emulation or rejection? To what extent do the local religions and world views of the countries under consideration contain ideas comparable to or in conflict with the concepts of modern psychology, and to what extent are such comparisons in fact made by these new practitioners of psychology? Where modern psychology has had a long history, as in Japan, Australia and New Zealand, has it in fact followed similar or different paths to those in those regions where it first began its course? In countries where it has had only a short history, does there seem to be a regular developmental sequence? Is psychology nowadays an inevitable part of the process of industrialization and urbanization? Can it be handled just as a technology, or must it inevitably be interpreted as invoking a world view? If so, what is this world view? To what extent can it be blended with or assimilated into a variety of different cultures and ideologies and still retain a recognizable common form? Whilst answers to some of these questions may be provided by a perusal of the papers in the forthcoming volume, we nonetheless consider that the final interpretation of this material will depend upon the reader's fundamental stance, realist or instrumentalist, towards science and psychology.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- (1) For Selected Papers from this conference, see J.L.M. BINNIE-DAWSON, G.H. BLOWERS and R. HOOSAIN (Eds.): *Perspectives in Asian Cross-Cultural Psychology*, (Lisse, Swets and Zeitlinger, 1981).
- (2) See Proceedings of the Second Asian Workshop on Child and Adolescent Development. Ed. P. SUKONTASARP et al., Bangkok, Buralipa Press, 1982.
- (3) M.R. ROSENZWEIG: "Trends in development and status of psychology: an international perspective". *International Journal of Psychology*, 1982, 17, 122.
- (4) See Roy MACLEOD: "On visiting the 'Moving Metropolis': reflections on the architecture of imperial science", *Historical Records of Australian Science*, 1982, 5, No. 3.
- (5) Examples of questions are: "What language is used for teaching?"; "Can the students read any language other than their native one, such as English or Russian?"; "Where did the members of the first generation of academic psychologists obtain (a) their first and (b) their second degrees, if any?"; "Does promotion depend upon teaching and research, or upon other factors?"; "Does your government have any policies which affect contact with international psychology?"; "Do you have mechanisms for maintaining parity with foreign standards for the award of degrees, such as a system of external examiners?"; "How is research funded?"; "Do most psychologists in your country subscribe to a set of religious beliefs?".
- (6) R.W.RIEBER and K. SALZINGER (Eds.): Psychology: Theoretical and Historical Perspectives, (New York, Academic Press, 1980). See especially "The assimilation of psychoanalysis in America" by Maurice GREEN and R.W. RIEBER (pp. 263-304), and "Wilhelm WUNDT and early American psychology: a clash of cultures" by Arthur L. BLUMENTHAL (pp. 25-41).
- (7) Examples of such papers are: Gustav JAHODA, "Psychology and the developing countries: do they need each other?", International Social Science Journal, 25 (1973), 461-474; D. SINHA, "Psychology and the problems of developing countries: an overview", International Review of Applied Psychology, 22 (1973), 5-27; Leonard BLOOM, "Applying psychology in the Third World", Bulletin of the British Psychological Society, 35 (1982), 143-146.
- (8) Peter BUCK, American Science and Modern China, 1876-1936, (Cambridge University Press, 1980), 1, 5.
- (9) Philip G. ALTBACH, Higher Education in the Third World: Themes and Variations, (Singapore, Maruzen Asia, 1983).