THE CHURCH, THE FACTORY AND THE MARKET AS METAPHORS FOR PSYCHOLOGY

Scenarios for Psychology in the Postmodern Age

Steinar Kvale

It is somewhat of a challenge to be asked to address the position of “psychology in the postmodern age”. I am not going to suggest a postmodern psychology here, but rather discuss conditions for psychology in a postmodern age. I shall regard psychology as a cultural, a social and a historical activity and trace how shifting styles of doing psychology reflect assumptions from the culture at large. In the first part I attempt to cast some light on the science and profession of psychology by invoking three cultural metaphors for psychology – the church, the factory and the market. In the second part I discuss psychology as a postmodern religious, industrial and commercial collage and outline two contrasting scenarios of psychology in the postmodern condition: a postmodern psychology as a contradiction in terms and psychology as the postmodern discipline par excellence.

1. Metaphors Psychology lives by

- The Church, the Factory and the Market

In an attempt to find some recurring patterns of human activity – and the psychology of human activity – I shall turn to three prominent types of buildings in the postmodern cultural landscape. There are the large and often richly decorated churches, many with the patina of centuries. There are the functional industrial factories with straight lines and square design, many in sombre grey, some tainted by rust; and there are the new fancy shopping malls, extravagant in strong colours, often labyrinthine, and with designs of reflecting glass facades.

The human activities taking place inside these conspicuous buildings differ. There is the solemnity of the often empty churches, the visitors are quiet or whispering, except for occasional ceremonies with songs and sermons, and in the cathedrals clicks of the tourists’ cameras. In the older factories, filled with noise and hectic activity, workers latched on to high-speed machines perform the same mechanical movements over and over again. In newer factories, often smaller and quieter, the workers are freer to move about and interact while monitoring computerised production. In the shopping malls people move freely around at their own pace, in their own individual styles, glancing at and sometimes purchasing some of the many tempting commodities displayed.

Metaphor means understanding one kind of thing in terms of another. I shall here apply the church, the factory, and the market as metaphors for understanding psychology today. These three institutions provide cultural metaphors that may serve to clarify the shifting styles

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of psychological research and professional activity in the 20th century – such as introspectionism and psychoanalysis, behaviourism and cognitive psychology, and the humanistic psychologies and therapies.

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Figure 1. Religious, industrial and consumption metaphors of psychology

Figure 1 gives a schematic presentation of the three cultural metaphors I will draw upon when relating psychology to the cultural and historical context it is a part of. Religious worship, production and consumption all take place in the premodern, modern and postmodern ages, but with different dominance in different epochs. They again involve different conceptions of how to obtain knowledge: by revelation, through methodology, and by focusing on application, respectively.

1.1 The church metaphor of psychology

"Truth inhabits inner man" (Saint Augustine)

In Medieval Europe agriculture was the main form of production, hereto came production in small craft shops. Trade was little developed. Christianity was a ruling spiritual and political force.

Worldview: Religion faces the fundamental issues of the human situation, it provides answers to basic questions of life. Both traditional religion and modern psychology deliver a worldview: they give a vision of what a good life is, they provide legitimation of a social order, and they deliver specific techniques for ordering mental and social life. The Christianity that ruled the medieval age eroded throughout the modern era. Nietzsche gave the final diagnosis in 1878 – “God is dead”. Man replaced God as the centre of the universe. God receded from view as the romantic thinkers of the 19th century translated key religious themes and values into non-theological terms. Theology as a truth guarantee was replaced by the new sciences, and psychology took over religion's task of providing guidelines for human life.

Subject matter: The soul and its unity with God are the subject matter of religion. The religious soul was in the modern era secularised to a psyche. The subject matter for modern psychology became a self-encapsulated consciousness and unconsciousness.

Telos: In religion life is a striving for unity with God, a quest for salvation of the soul. In a secularised culture salvation of the soul was replaced by realisation of the self. In psychology the biblical story of mankind’s fall and ultimate redemption became individualised into theories of the growth of the self and of psychosocial development. In the
psychological liberation of the self, the evil and tragic dimensions of the human condition went out of sight. Although facing the dark irrational side of man, also the new psychoanalysis was in line with the Enlightenment rationalism and optimism - "Where id was, ego shall become".

Individualising: A psychological conception of man originated in the 4th Century after Christ with St. Augustine’s autobiography "Confessions". The God of nature and heaven was moved into man, constructing an inner man of contemplation. Certain knowledge was sought by looking inwards - through intro-spection and self-reflection. Redemption was sought through an inner confession to God. Augustine was influenced by Neo-platonic philosophy and defended Christianity against a sceptical philosophy at the dissolution of the Roman empire, at a time when the concept “modern” first came into use. Augustine's argument against sceptics’ doubt of certain knowledge was "I reply, 'If I am mistaken, I exist'. A non-existent being cannot be mistaken, therefore I must exist, if I am mistaken" (Augustine, 1972, p. 460).

Thousand years passed before an Augustinian monk during the Renaissance radicalised the individualising and interiorising of man’s relation to God instigated by St. Augustine. Martin Luther’s Protestantism left man alone with God, to be sought inwards by prayer and by study of the Holy Scriptures. In Protestantism man was set free from confession and the absolution of his sins by the church and left to his own inner conscience and free will. The new modern psychology pursued the Protestant line of individualisation; by also breaking the transcendental relation of the soul to God, the secular self became an encapsulated self. The very term "psychology" was coined in the 16th century and the self-contained individual of modern Europe came to be the subject of the new Enlightenment psychology.

Styles of inquiry: Theological modes of obtaining knowledge through contemplation and exegesis were carried over into introspectionism and psychotherapy. Augustine's quest for certain inner truth, by contemplating on the modes of how inner states of consciousness appeared to the introspecting observer, was systematised in the introspective psychologies of Wundt and Titchener. The theologicians’ elaborate exegesis of the parables of the holy Scriptures were taken over in Freud’s “The interpretation of dreams”.

The churches employed in the first centuries after Christ therapeutic techniques which are also in use today. The therapeutic techniques involving mental imagery were part of the inner healing prayer. The psychoanalytic technique of listening with "evenhovering attention" - being open to whatever appears - is also found in the contemplative prayer of the Catholics. The religious confession preceded modern psychotherapy. To St. Augustine and Luther there was an individual inner dialogue and inner confession to God, whereas the Catholic Church had institutionalised a confession to a priest. The Fourth Lateran Council required in 1215 AD all Christians to confess their sins annually, with a medical model in mind:

"The confessor should be direct and careful in the manner of experienced physicians ... diligently inquiring about the circumstances of the sin and the sinner, whereby he can learn what sort of advice to offer and what remedies to employ, making diverse attempts to heal the ailing person" (quoted from Jonsen & Toulmin, 1988, p. 46).

In church the topic of the confession is the confessant’s soul, in psychoanalysis the topic of the therapy is the patient’s psyche, his conscious and unconscious self. There is in both in-
stances a sympathetic listener and an examining questioner, quasi-anonymously hidden behind a curtain or seated behind the patient on the coach. The confessing parishioner or patient recounts his sins and guilt, his anxieties and worries, with a guarantee of anonymity. Sexuality as sin and guilt became a major theme for confession and psychoanalysis. In instruction books for the confessors in the 17th century one finds instructions that the confessant recounts everything, examines the content of the dreams, however repulsive they may be to awake thought, however trivial and insignificant the matters may appear (see Foucault 1978, in particular p. 20-21). Two centuries later we refine such instructions in the secular psychoanalysis.

Foucault has noted the transformation of sex into discourse and the self-confession and the self-examination as a specific cultural form of domination – “Western man has become a confessing animal” (1998, p. 59). The confessing person receives relief through the priest’s absolution, the patient receives relief through reacting out his or her feelings in the relationship to the therapist. The priests as confessors and counsellors are today being replaced by the psychotherapists as paid companions, renting out their empathy by the hour.

**General church – psychology correspondence:** Modern psychology corresponds to religion, in particular Protestantism, with its individualisation and construction of an inner man, in conceptions of the self and its development, in providing guidelines for human life, in seeking truth and consolation through contemplation and in counselling, and as in Catholicism, also with confession. Religion and modern psychology provide concepts and techniques for the ordering of interior life as well as contributing to the ordering and legitimation of social life.

The church and the new psychology have throughout the 20th century had opposing views on sexuality and morality. In a century where there have been killed more human beings than in any other century of human history, the church and psychology have upheld a common understanding of sexuality as a more important human matter than aggression, poverty and war.

**Specific church – psychology correspondence:** There exist specific correspondences between the many schools of modern psychology and the religious denominations. Influences of Freud’s Jewish upbringing may be found in his development of psychoanalysis (Bakan, 1958). The religious roots of modern psychology are not confined to psychotherapy or introspective psychology. Thus, Watson's scientific behaviourism is close to the Baptism that Watson was brought up with and for which he was planning to become a minister (Birnbaum, 1964). In one theological commentary Skinner’s belief in the relentless force of natural selection is close to the Calvinistic theory of predestination, and Skinner’s belief in a perfectly planned operand environment appears as a secular counterpart to the Presbyterian obedience to the providence of God (Browning, 1987).

**A Protestant psychology:** The discipline of psychology is generally most prominent in Protestant countries. It may be that the stronger religious community of the Catholic Church, and its confession, make recourse to professional therapists less relevant than in the more individualised Protestant denominations. It is also striking how many of the pioneers in psychology, from Wundt and James onwards, were sons of priests, and how the strength of the father-son conflicts of some key psychologists, such as Jung and Rogers, influenced the psychology they pioneered.
The present thesis of modern positivist scientists taking over the earlier role of the priests is not new. When Auguste Comte founded sociology and positivist philosophy in the early 19th century he explicitly visioned the sociologists as the new positivist high priests preaching the positivist doctrine of the religion of humanity (Samelson, 1974).

1.2 The factory metaphor of psychology^2^)

“Man a machine” (La Mettrie, 1748)

Modern industrial production splits the work of the skilled craftsman into separate manual and mental skills. The workers of the new factories were left to carry out fragmented repetitive movements. The management, for whom the workers were mechanical bodies without souls, did the planning of work. The industrial workers were uprooted from the tight-knit unity of the medieval community and isolated in rationally planned factories. Modern man was further individualised by the liberal economy loosening the feudal bonds, now every man became the architect of his own fortunes in an individual struggle for survival in the free market. The loosening of communal bonds was furthered by the Protestant ethic as analysed by Max Weber. The Protestant values of hard work, saving and Puritanism were in line with the capitalist demands to the new workers.

**Worldview:** Nature - and man – became in the modern age raw material to be explained and formed rationally. The Enlightenment philosopher La Mettrie conceived of man as a machine. The degradation of human labour in the factories was carried over into the mechanical dehumanisation of the human subjects in the new psychological laboratories, treating humans and animals in the same experimental designs and language. Experimentation in psychology contributed to a worldview where it became scientifically legitimate to talk of soul and body, the mental and the physical, of man and machine, and of man and animal, in the same breath. The natural science conception of behaviour had the ideological function of making a technological approach to human activity legitimate and self-evident.

**Subject matter:** Throughout the 20th century the subject matter of modern psychology moved from an internal consciousness over external behavioural responses and back again to internal cognitive processes in a mind. The focus on the individual and the exclusion of the cultural aspects of human activity remained constant throughout the transformations of the subject matter of psychology. The industrial conception of human activity was not confined to behaviourist and the later cognitivist psychologies, also psychoanalytical meta-theory was replete with mechanical metaphors of the human psyche as transformations of energy and the mind as a microscope, and with therapy conceptualised as the repair of ego-functions.

**Telos:** A technical interest in control over objectified processes became a presupposition for theoretical and empirical work in the new psychology. A technological paradigm for understanding nature and man became pervasive, a technology characterised by a means-ends rationality, employing the most effective techniques for transforming raw material into refined products. The new psycho-techniques developed at the beginning of the 20th century - such as the psychometric testing and the human engineering – served to predict and control human behaviour as well as to reduce a futile waste of human time and energy.
Styles of inquiry: Psychology was founded as an experimental discipline at the height of industrialisation of society, dated to Wundt’s opening of a psychological laboratory in Leipzig in 1879. In the same period the engineer Taylor developed a new “scientific management” of the workers in American factories where all possible brain work should be removed from the workers and centred in the planning department. In “Shop management” from 1903 Taylor describes scientific management as

"... aimed at establishing a clearcut and novel division of mental and manual labour throughout the workshops. It is based upon the precise time and motion study of each workman's job in isolation and relegates the entire mental parts of the tasks in hand to the managerial staff ... working out minutely detailed job-cards which the workmen are left to follow out at the prescribed speed (Taylor quoted from Sohn-Rethel, 1972, p. 195; see also Bravermann, 1974).

The behaviourism founded ten years later by John B. Watson came to reflect the goals, conceptualisations and methods of Taylor’s human engineering, albeit with natural science rather than industrial efficiency as legitimation. To Watson "Psychology as the behaviourist views it is a purely objective branch of natural science. Its theoretical goal is the prediction and control of behaviour" (1914, p. 1). In line with Taylor’s human engineering, behaviourism moved the brainwork away from their subjects' activity in order to control and predict behaviour objectively. The mental thinking and planning parts of work were left to the engineers and the behavioural experimentalists. There is a common quantification and timing of the motor movements of the workers and subjects, who were uprooted from their cultural contexts and planted into the strictly controlled factories and experimental laboratories.

When Ebbinghaus in 1885 instigated the natural science study of the higher mental processes with experiments on learning and remembering nonsense syllables he also instigated what may be termed the assembly line paradigm of psychological research. Remembering was studied by learning lists of nonsense syllables by rote at a prescribed speed, and then measuring the time saved by relearning the same lists. The lived meaningful world of the subject was split into isolated fragments, with experimental manipulation counteracting possibilities of creating meaning of the situation. In the subsequent pursuit of a natural scientific psychology the meaning of what is learned and its cultural context became sources of error.

The strict scientific management of the worker's behaviour has for some time been outdated within industry. Human engineering was from the 1930s on replaced by, or supplemented with, a human relations management, where the workers’ experiences, feelings and self worth, were regarded as important for their productive efficiency. The themes raised by the new “technological humanism” of industry became manifested in the many group studies of the new social psychology and by mid-century also in the humanistic psychologies.

Key professions: The priests as mediators of truth were throughout the 20th century replaced by scientific psychologists as the ultimate authorities in human matters. Within education, administration and industry psychometric testing has become pervasive in the selection of personnel deploying apparently objective methods for access to social privileges. The behavioural engineers applied refined industrial models to human behaviour in factories, in
schools and in therapy. In the latter area the new techniques of behaviour therapy and
cognitive behaviour modification competed with the older confessional therapies.

General factory – psychology correspondence: The fragmented and monotonous situation
of the industrial worker, devoid of meaning and influence, visualised by the repetitious
mechanical behaviour at the assembly line, provides a model for the early psychologists’
laboratory studies of man. In the present perspective, and contrary to frequent laments of
psychology giving an artificial mechanical view of man, laboratory psychology has, albeit in a
scientifically disguised form, produced a valid picture of human life in a modern industrial
society.

Specific factory – psychology correspondence: Today the mechanical movements at the
production lines have been taken over by automated machines and computer robots and by the
cheaper and more easily manipulated work force in The Third World. In particular the
information industries require more cognitively demanding work. A revised psychological
conception of man has followed suit, replacing the behaviourist stimulus-response models
with more complex cognitive hierarchies of thought. In fact, the cognitive revival of the mind
actually strengthened the industrial conceptions of man by now treating the human mind as a
machine – as a computer. Behaviourism’s assembly line model of behaviour had been
legitimised through appeals to the natural sciences. The cognitive rebellion did not need the
detour of a natural science to legitimate its industrial model of human activity. The new
information psychology could now model its human mind directly on the computer.

A two-way interaction: The mechanisation of human behaviour in the industrial factories
preceded the mechanisation of behaviour in the psychological laboratories. A direct interac-
tion of industry and psychology was soon established, thus a pupil of Wundt’s laboratory,
Münsterberg, depicted the goal in his book “Psychology and industrial efficiency” (1913):

“Our aim is to sketch the outlines of a new science, which is intermediate between the
modern laboratory psychology and the problems of economics: the psychological experiment
is systematically to be placed at the service of commerce and industry …. We ask how we can …
secure the greatest and most satisfactory output of the work from every man; and finally,
how we can produce most completely the influence on human minds which are desired in the
interests of business” (pp. 3, 23 - 24).

The present tracing of the development of psychology to the development of industry is
not original. Karl Marx posited in his "Economical and philosophical manuscripts" from
1844:

"It can be seen that the history of industry and industry as it objectively exists is an open
book of the human faculties which can be sensuously apprehended …. No psychology for
which this book, i.e. the most tangible and accessible part of history, remains closed, can be-
come a real science with a genuine content" (Marx, 1964, p. 163-164).

1.3 The market metaphor of psychology³)

“I shop, therefore I am” (Painting by Barbara Kruger)
The visual and symbolic landscape is no longer dominated by churches or factories; today it is the shopping malls and the all-pervasive advertisements, which draw our attention. The importance of augmenting industrial production has receded; the key to economic growth is increasing consumption of the abundance of commodities produced. With the exploitation of wage labour and the workers’ adaptation to industrial discipline well secured in the Western countries, it is today the maximum exploitation of consumer desires that is the crux of economical growth. It is now necessary to manufacture customers as well as products. The transitions in the economical sphere were with some delay reflected in the mid-century humanistic psychologies of Carl Rogers, Abraham Maslow, and Frits Perls.

**Worldview:** With the erosion of a comprehensive frame of meaning, of traditional values and communal bonds, individual self-realisation became the goal of life. The concept of ‘realisation’ has several meanings in Webster’s dictionary: to make real, to understand, to convert into money, to realise a profit, to be sold for a specific price. In the theories of humanistic psychology the meanings of self-realisation as making real and understanding prevail, in the present market metaphor of psychology the commercial dimensions of the humanist self-realisation are also included.

The flamboyant rainbow character of many of the new trends is well captured by Cushman in his analysis of the construction of the self in relation to the development of advertising and psychotherapy in the American consumer society:

“Humanistic psychology’s liberationist, transcendental, expressivist tendencies, combined with an optimistic pragmatic stance, moved in a direction often compatible with the energetic, flamboyant, on-the-make, sometimes nihilistic, always consumer-oriented post-war landscape” (1995, p. 243).

A new psychological ethos of spontaneity, joy and wish gratification was promoted by the advertising and therapeutic communities. Individual salvation took the form of self-actualisation to be fulfilled through consumer products. Maslow’s pyramid of needs is well suited to the upper classes in Western societies for whom the basic needs are fulfilled and who can now devote themselves to self-realisation and peak experiences.

The consumption of commodified experiences, such as tourism and the virtual realities of the Internet are becoming as important as consumption of material products. The coming age has been termed a dream society where large parts of economy will rest upon the consumption of commodified dreams. At the beginning of the 20th century a new psychology was introduced by Freud’s “Interpretation of dreams”. At the beginning of the 21st century, psychologists have become instrumental in fabricating and marketing commodified dreams for consumption.

**Subject matter:** The self with its feelings and desires became the subject of consumer manipulation as well as of the new humanistic psychologies. The substantial self on the early modern epoch now became a relational self. In an other-directed society the social construction of the self is a key issue. Marketing fosters a critical awareness of the appearance of the self to others - advertisements massively picturing the approving, or disapproving, gaze of others to oneself and to the product’s entouring the self. The social self of George Herbert Mead - constituted by taking the attitude of the other towards oneself - became the self of the age of consumption.
Telos: The market has today replaced the church and industry as main forces in the shaping of cultural values. The Protestant work ethic of discipline and saving – of energy, of time and of money - has been replaced by a psychology of wish gratification and indulgence. Social reality and identity appear as constructed and reconstructed with consumer products, with a planned obsolescence built into the commodities purchased. The meaning of life is found in consumption, what matters, is to express, design and redesign yourself at the pace of the market. An insecure self emptied through a loss of tradition and social bonds is now filled up by consumer goods and commodified experiences in a perpetual identity shopping. In the consumer society St. Augustine’s argument against the sceptics “If I am mistaken, I exist” has in a painting by Barbara Kruger been rephrased as “I shop, therefore I am”.

When religion and the meta-narratives of modernity - such as progress, growth and emancipation - eroded, there appeared no truth outside of man. In the ethics of the humanistic psychology, virtue became responsibility towards one’s own existence and vice, irresponsibility towards oneself. From a religious perspective the move from a spiritual quest for salvation of the soul to a secular quest for self-realisation appear as psychology’s sanction of selfishness. A potential destructiveness of the new psychology’s individualism also offers itself as one interpretation of a cryptic remark by Karl Kraus in Vienna at the beginning of the 20th century - “Psychoanalysis is the sickness psychoanalysis seeks to cure”.

The emphasis on self discovery, self fulfilment and freedom of choice work together in what Foucault described as the new technologies of the self, a self-government securing the modern state a control of citizens with little direct oppression (Rose, 1989).

Key psychologies: Therapy and marketing have been key venues of psychology in the consumer culture, an epoch also referred to as a therapeutic culture. The humanist therapists followed Freud’s approach of listening to and conversing with the patients, but dismissed classical psychoanalysis as too authoritarian. For the psychoanalysts the patients were sick persons to be cured, they had delusions of outer reality as well as their inner selves. For the new antiauthoritarian therapists the patients became clients and consumers. To the client-centred therapists the client was the ultimate authority – “the customer is always right”.

Marketing is today the field where Watson's scientific goal of prediction and control of the behaviour of others has become a billion-dollar industry. Pioneered by Watson and followed up by more subtle humanistic approaches psychology has provided concepts and techniques for the prediction and control of human behaviour through marketing and advertising. Idiosyncratic meanings and cultural variations which are abhorrent to the rational planning of human engineers and administrators, as well as to the behaviourist scientists, are the very themes for the managers of a market sensitive responsive capitalism. With sophisticated psychological techniques they search out new market niches and promote continually new life-styles tailored with individual meanings.

Styles of inquiry: In the consumer age there has been a resurgence of qualitative research, earlier dismissed as unscientific by natural science psychologists. The new wave of qualitative research in the social sciences was preceded by market research half a century earlier, its telos captured in book titles as “The strategy of desire” (Dichter, 1960) and “The captains of consciousness” (Ewen, 1976). The qualitative research interviews, which now are coming into use by academic psychologists, were employed in market research by Dichter in the 1930s.
The consumers' experiences and desires were tracked sensitively by therapeutically inspired interviews, today mainly in the form of focus groups. The marketer needs to be sensitive to the variety of individual experiences and meanings in the different segments of the population in order to exploit them for increased consumption. Probably a major part of the knowledge production through qualitative interviews today takes place within market research.

*General market - psychology correspondence:* In an economy based on consumption the manipulation of the consumers’ self image, their desires and fantasies are essential for economical growth. Such themes, which were relegated as unscientific by classical behaviourism, reappeared in the feelings and experiences of the self-realising self in humanistic psychology. Likewise the earlier rejected qualitative research methods, which have for long been essential for marketing, are slowly admitted into academic psychological research.

*A two-way interaction:* The ideology and methods of marketing have influenced and often preceded the application of corresponding concepts and techniques within the humanistic therapies and psychological research methods. In contrast to the dominantly one-way influence on psychology from religion, psychologists have also contributed directly to the development of consumption. This has taken place by promoting an image of man as driven by desires, sanctioning a self-centred morality, and providing techniques for investigating and promoting consumer desires.

1.4 *Metaphors and histories of psychology*

The situating of modern psychology as a cultural and historical activity by drawing upon metaphors such as the church, the factory and the market falls outside the common insider histories of psychology. Some divergences between the external metaphor story and the insider story of the development of psychology as a history of ideas shall be mentioned.

*The repressed religion and the philosophical legitimisation of psychology:* Histories of psychology rarely consider a possible continuity of religion and psychology. They prefer to treat Descartes rather than St. Augustine as a founding father of modern psychological thought. When psychology entered the scientific laboratory in 1879 Nietzsche’s recent death certificate for Christianity was taken literally, and the door to religion slammed.

The relation of psychology and religion has been a one-way street: there have been many studies of the psychological aspects of religion and very few investigations of religious traces in modern psychology. It has generally been left to scholars from other fields - theologians, sociologists and anthropologists – to violate the one-way street sign and address religious influences on modern scientific psychology. With the neglect, or repression, of religion within modern psychology, religious practices and modes of thought may today pervade psychological research and practice without the awareness of the psychologists.

The door to philosophy remained half-open when the psychological experimental laboratory was founded in 1879. When constructing a past for the new science of man the history of philosophy appeared more legitimate than the history of religion. I believe that if the door to religion is again opened, systematic textual studies may find a closer correspondence of the images of man in North European and North American psychology to Christian thought -
from Saint Augustine and to the current multitude of religious sects in North America - than to the history of philosophy.

*A natural science psychology mythology of natural science:* Treating the history of industry as the context for development of behaviourist and cognitive psychology falls outside the insider story referring to the natural sciences, in particular physics, as the model for the new scientific psychology. The psychological science story has been taken from the speculations of positivist philosophers about the natural sciences. In their story experimentation and quantification were the major criteria of scientific method, somehow overlooking Darwin’s qualitative descriptions of the evolution of species as well as the discipline of chemistry where the qualitative analysis of components of a substance is as fundamental as the subsequent quantitative analysis of the components. The changes in physics throughout the 20th century hardly penetrated the walls of the psychological laboratories, as documented in the article “The physics of the physicist and the physics of the psychologist” (Brandt, 1973).

It remained for anthropologists to open the doors of the natural science laboratories and to empirically observe research behaviour totally differently from the formal method bureaucracies depicted in the social science textbooks. On the basis of his own empirical studies of laboratory life (Latour & Wolgar, 1979), as well as newer social studies of science, Latour (2000) depicts the ruling social science conceptions of the natural sciences as simply “a comedy of errors”. When the science of psychology originated more than a hundred years ago it was heralded as replacing religious myths with scientific evidence of human behaviour. Today it appears hard to find anything as mythical as modern psychologists’ conceptions of the natural sciences.

*The borrowed feathers of humanistic psychology:* The new American humanistic psychologies sought their legitimation in European phenomenological and existential philosophies. More often than not their conceptions of phenomenology and existentialism were superficial and selective. The humanistic psychologies became a “religion light”, focusing on the good and on the growth potentials of life, dismissing existential anxiety and dread as too pessimistically European. With an Enlightenment optimism humanistic psychologists sought to substitute irrationality with rationality, and the dark sides of life with the sunny sides.

*The three cultural metaphors of the church, the factory and the market have dominated in different historical epochs. They are not, however, sequential stages linked to specific epochs or persons. In the biographies of pioneers such as Freud and Watson we thus find all three metaphors represented. Freud’s invention of psychoanalytic therapy contains relations to the catholic confession as well as to his Jewish background. His meta-psychological theories were replete with industrial metaphors. Also the individualist image of man driven by unconscious and primarily sexual desires went well into the later manipulation of consumer desires. Watson’s behaviourist view of man was linked to a Baptist theology. His academic contributions to a natural science study of behaviour were almost a literal translation of Taylor’s human engineering in the American factories into the scientific domain. Watson’s post-academic career was as an innovative and successful marketing executive including combinations of religious and industrial metaphors, such as “seeliches Apparat” (apparatus of the soul).
Pointing out correspondences with religion, industrial production and consumption does not invalidate the findings and practices of psychology, nor does it reduce psychology to “nothing but” religious ideology, industrial manipulation or exploitation of consumer desires. The way out is not to de-situate psychology by attempts to eliminate cultural traces of religious, industrial and marketing approaches. The truth of modern psychology has been in its presentation of the religious, productive and consummatory domains of the modern human condition, albeit in concealed forms.

Modern psychology has been immersed in a modern culture, a culture it does not see. When not being aware of the metaphors one lives by, they may unwittingly influence one’s professional conceptions and activities. By bringing root metaphors of an activity into the open, it will become possible to consciously relate to these metaphors, and reflect on their possible influence on psychological research and practice.

Concluding the foregoing discussion we may ask whether the church, the factory and the market are mere metaphors for modern psychological activities? Or does psychology actually serve as a modern religion of the self, as an industrial shaping of human behaviour and as the marketing of therapeutic and symbolic experiences for a secular consumption?

2. Psychology as a Postmodern Collage

“Psychology is mysteriously disappearing from the social sciences. Its unheard-of success in the real world may have tempted it to give up the theoretical life” (Bloom, 1987)

I shall now turn to the position of psychology in the postmodern condition, drawing upon the three metaphors developed for modern psychology. First, I will outline some features of a postmodern condition and thereafter depict psychology as postmodern religious, industrial and commercial collage.

2.1 The postmodern condition

The postmodern age covers roughly the later half of the 20th century – a period also described as the late or high modernism, the post-industrial age, the information age and the consumer society. Postmodern thought represents attempts to describe the human condition today, with different authors emphasising different aspects of a postmodern age; I shall briefly mention the following: delegitimation, a manifold of knowledge, performativity, consumption and the de-centring of man.

Lyotard (1984) has depicted a delegitimation of modern knowledge. He characterises the postmodern condition by a loss of belief in the Enlightenment metanarratives such as the emancipation of the spirit, the liberation of the worker and economic progress. In a global postmodern age with no ruling metanarrative, Lyotard depicts two key forms of legitimation: a global economic performativity and the pragmatics of local narratives.

Knowledge is in a global postmodern condition changing from a modern monotheistic belief in one true reality to a polytheistic manifold of local and incommensurable language games. Knowledge based on facts and rules is only one form of knowledge, postmodern knowledge also encompasses pragmatic knowing, and the knowledge contained in art,
narratives and metaphors. With the new media the line between reality and fantasy becomes blurred, with a media created reality. The modern belief in a universal objective reality, to be gradually mapped and mirrored in scientific knowledge, is crumbling in a postmodern age and replaced by a conception of knowledge as socially constructed.

In the postmodern condition the state and the large corporations have abandoned the idealist narratives of legitimation. In scientific research the goal is no longer truth, but performativity, that is the best possible input/output equation: “In the discourse of today’s financial backers of research, the only credible goal is power. Scientists, technicians, and instruments are purchased not to find truth, but to augment power” (Lyotard, 1984, p. 46).

Jameson (1984) has analysed postmodernism as the cultural logic of late capitalism; the truth of postmodern thought lies in its description of consumerism and the new labyrinthine space of multidimensional capitalism. Marx and Engels had envisaged that the development of capitalism would increasingly erode stable foundations of human life, including beliefs and values, and lead to a world where “All that is solid melts into the air”. The promotion of consumption by selling of narratives, fantasies and dreams with a planned obsolescence today weakens a grip on a stable objective reality. With the all-pervasive commodification of values in a consumer economy, with the new media, and with globalisation and multiculturalism, relativism is today not merely a philosophical issue introduced by postmodern thinkers, but a pervasive cultural and material issue of our age.

The individual man who from the Renaissance on was at the centre of modern thought has become decentred into a network of relations in the postmodern condition. The self has become a relational self; a self-freed of tradition has become an empty hyper-reflexive self. If the self-encapsulated individual of the modern Western epoch now is on the way out of history, a self-encapsulated science of the isolated individual may also be on its way out.

2.2 Two postmodern scenarios of psychology

Psychologists seldom discuss implications of a postmodern culture for psychology. If they do, it is often to discard the relativism they find in postmodern thought and to defend the belief in one objective reality as the basis for the study of man. The pervasive commodification of human behaviour in a consumer society promoting relativism of values is hardly addressed. In the absence of specific analyses of psychology in a postmodern culture, I shall here suggest two opposing scenarios.

Postmodern psychology – a contradiction in terms? Modern psychology is still going strong as a profession while it appears dissolving as an intellectual discipline, out of touch with a manifold postmodern world. The postmodern de-centring of the subject may also lead to a de-centring of the modern science of the subject. When individual man no longer is at the centre of the world, and then psychology looses its central and foundational role for the human and social sciences, a position the new psychology aspired to and was often accredited at the beginning of the 20th century. Today there is hardly any major export of psychological knowledge to the neighbouring academic disciplines, leaving a pronounced import-export imbalance of a borderline psychology as an intellectual second hand store.
Psychology is entrenched in modern thought – with its centring of the individual, Enlightenment rationalist and romanticist optimism of progress, and monotheistic adherence to an objective reality to be mastered by functionalist designs. Modern psychology has difficulties in coming to grips with man living in a postmodern culture – with its de-centring of man, disbelief in utopias on earth, polytheistic openness to a manifold of language games and their multiple realities. Psychology and postmodern culture may thus be incompatible and the term “postmodern psychology” then becomes a contradiction in terms - a postmodern age may also mean a post-psychology age.

Psychology - the postmodern discipline par excellence: In contrast to the first scenario of a dissipation of academic psychology in a postmodern age, psychology today appears as a lively postmodern collage, as a pastiche of hardly commensurable concepts and techniques - from neuro-linguistic programming to archetypes, from psychometric scaling to auras - often imported from other fields, recycled and recombined according to the latest consumer demands. The varieties of pop-psychology offer a cafeteria of self-understandings for man in a fragmented secular world. From a market perspective psychology has adapted well to the multiple consumer demands of a postmodern age. With an extreme adaptability and flexibility, psychology does seem able to move – amoeba-like - into whatever niche opens in the markets for therapy, personal selection and management.

With these two contrasting postmodern scenarios of psychology in mind I shall now outline some of the multiple contrasting trends of psychology today and suggest some potentials of psychology in a postmodern condition.

2.3 The rise of a profession and the decline of a science

The rise of a profession: Psychology enters the 21st century as a profession of remarkable strength and expansion. It is today among the university subjects most frequently chosen by North American students and is rated among the ten fastest growing career tracks in the United States. The market for personal selection and management is today highly dependent on the multitude of psychological testing services. Psychology has had a strong hold on the rich therapeutic market by rigorous licensing and certification procedures.

The decline of a science: Psychology entered the 20th century as promising young science, new experimental laboratories being established and Freud’s “Interpretation of dreams” instigated a new psychological culture. In the year 2000 the science of psychology appears in a puzzling state, somehow empty of radically new insights into the human situation. Scholars from the humanities, anthropology, sociology and philosophy have taken over the conversations about man in the postmodern age. This concerns even traditional psychological laboratory topics as learning, where anthropologic studies of situated learning are today carrying the field (e.g. Lave & Wenger, 1991). When a classical scholar such as Bloom addressed the social sciences in “The closing of the American mind” (1987) the science of the mind was only credited with a footnote, which is given as an epigram to this section on psychology as a postmodern collage.

Critiques of the emptiness of academically produced knowledge are not new, nor do they only come from the margins. In a report sponsored by the American Psychological
Association Koch (1959) depicted a science rendered desperate by the human vacuum in its own content, a psychology of external legitimation seeking scientific respectability, and where methods preceded content. Bakan (1967) likewise pointed to the insignificant knowledge resulting of the enormous resources being expended for experimental psychological research. Before addressing reasons for the repetitiveness of the emptiness critiques of psychological research a few reservations to the postulates of a rise of the profession and a decline of the science shall be mentioned.

**Reservations on the rise of professional psychology:** Some dark clouds are gathering over the psychologist’s hegemony of the large and profitable therapeutic market. On one side the biomedical therapies are on the offensive and on the other side there is the advent of the New Age therapies. The often negative findings of the evidence based therapy studies together with the economical reign of managed health care may push psychotherapy into shorter therapies by lower paid semi-professionals.

**Reservations regarding the decline of scientific psychology:** One may object that, contrary to an intellectual stagnation of psychology, there are today exciting new developments over a broad spectre. On the natural science side we find artificial intelligence and new computer simulations of the mind, neuro-psychology and psycho-genetics. In particular new biomedical techniques such as scanning, opening for the study of the neurological aspects of mental processes, bring new potentials for psychology. We may even speculate that a close cooperation with biological scientists may relieve the psychologists of the positivist myths about natural science research. On the humanities’ side there is psycholinguistics as well as discursive and narrative psychologies. Such currently active fields, however, tend to remain outside the mainstream of psychology – as strong research programs leaving psychology, as borderline hyphen-psychologies or as small enclaves.

The rapidly expanding, heavily funded cognitive science, investigating cognition from perspectives of information processing, neurology and linguistics, today often leave references to psychology out. Psychologists working within cognitive science programs may prefer to drop the term ‘psychology’ and call themselves cognitive scientists.

The many hyphen-psychologies at the borders of an academic psychology survive on concepts and methods imported from neighbouring disciplines leaving psychology in a limbo between neurology and language. Perhaps, neuroscience and the humanities will take over the field of academic psychology, eventually dropping the hyphens of current psychological lifelines such as psycho-neurology and psycholinguistics, and also leaving behind the metaphysical entangles of the modern secularised soul – the psyche.

2.4 *The Janus head of psychology*

In contrast to an envisaged bifurcation of psychology, the unity of psychology earlier sought in the notion of a psyche or a self, and also in the natural scientific method, is today provided by the market. From a consumption perspective we may discern a unity in the current fragmented and contradictory field of psychology. The face of psychology turned towards the public appears as a *Janus head* talking with two tongues. One head presents the therapeutic narratives in a colourful natural language, providing illuminative insights into the human condition, legitimating a psychology of human concerns. The other head presents the experimental statistic-
cal research of psychology in a quantitative language, legitimating psychology as a natural science.

Within the discipline psychologists may among themselves have difficulties in combining their contrasting languages; academic psychologists criticising the therapists’ lack of interest in their scientific findings, and therapists pointing to the lack of relevance of the scientific theories for their practice. Earlier this took the form of heated debates on the nature of psychology, sometimes with divorces leading to different unions for scientific and professional psychologists - today remains the silence of a bogus marriage. Thus the two oppositely directed faces of the psychological Janus head need not talk to or listen to each other, what matters is that the public can hear the two languages of psychology together providing a public image of a scientific discipline of human concern. From a Janus head interpretation nearly incommensurable languages of scientific and professional psychology may work together to uphold a strong discipline, the one providing the public with practical relevance and entertaining narratives of human activity, the other providing a strict scientific legitimacy of the discipline.

The need for a natural scientific legitimation of the expanding psychological profession may counteract an opening to the cultural and political changes of a postmodern age and the multiplicity of styles of inquiry required to obtain knowledge of this culture. Other disciplines, such as anthropology, the media sciences and philosophy, with no large profession to legitimise, may today move more creatively in the postmodern cultural landscape and there theorise and investigate human activity by whatever concepts and methods which appear appropriate.

Concluding the Janus head interpretation the fragmented state of psychology in a postmodern age appears from a market perspective as a unity. At a closer look some of the apparently incommensurable languages of psychology may also have key concepts in common. Thus the many debates between behaviourist factory metaphors and the humanistic market metaphors for psychology concerning behaviour vs. experience, rationality vs. emotionality, logic vs. creativity appear as two sides of the same individualist coin. Both parties have in common an isolated individual as the subject of psychology, an individual desituated from the social, historical and material world he lives in.

2.5 Potentials of a pragmatic and a culturally situated psychology

Among the multiplicity of trends of psychology today, two potentials of relating psychology to the postmodern condition shall be mentioned. That is a pragmatic psychology taking professional practice serious in its own right, pragmatically legitimating itself through its own practice. And there is a culturally situated psychology addressing the implications the cultural situation of today for human activity.

Professional practice has in psychology often been regarded as “applied” knowledge, as the application of basic theoretical laws derived from scientific studies. In contrast hereto in a pragmatic conception knowledge grows out of practical activity, and knowledge is again validated through its impact on practical activities. Today we see trends towards a rehabilitation of the psychological practitioners’ knowledge. We may discern a growing recognition that practical knowledge is not necessarily the application of theoretical knowledge, and that there
are distinct forms of knowing not reducible to each other. Drawing in Aristotle’s ethics the practical knowledge of human affairs - “phronesis” - is not directly derivable from a theoretical epistemic knowledge, but involves an insight of its own, it rests on reasoned judgement in human matters which may be learned through exemplars and practice. We learn to do the right things by doing the right things.

Empirical studies show that therapists rarely consult scientific psychological literature for guidance in practical problems, but learn from their patients and colleagues and from reading case stories. Referring to such studies Polkinghorne (1992) argues that practice entails an understanding of its own, and outlines a postmodern epistemology of therapeutic practice in line with postmodern ideas of knowledge as without foundations, fragmentary, socially constructed and with pragmatic utility as a criterion of validity. In “The case for pragmatic psychology” (1999) Fishman likewise draws on postmodern thought. In a psychology that does not seek universal psychological laws, but works to solve concrete human issues and problems, research should aim at building databases of case studies with attempts to solve specific issues.

A psychology based on concrete case studies need not be a mere practical discipline without conceptual and principal reflection. We should not forget that major fields of current psychological knowledge have originated in professional practice, in particular the psychoanalytic theory based on the therapeutic interview (Kvale, 1999). Today it is noteworthy that while postmodern thought is generally overlooked by academic psychologists, it is therapists, in particular systemic and family therapists as well as organisational psychologists, who find the philosophical and sociological analyses of a postmodern culture useful when working with their clients.

We may extend a pragmatic approach by envisaging a culturally situated psychology moving out of the isolation of the psychological laboratory and the archaeology of the psyche and into the cultural landscape of the postmodern age. This would involve treating human activity as situated in particular historical and cultural situations, studying man as a bodily being embedded in a social and material network. A culturally self-reflective psychology addresses the influence of postmodern culture on human activity, including the research and professional activities of psychologists in this culture.

Today we find in niches some strong contributions to a situated psychology of culture, such as social constructionism in the United States (Gergen, 1999), a discursive psychology in Great Britain (Parker & Shotter, 1990) and a cultural psychology inspired by Soviet psychology (Cole, 1996). The emphasis on the social construction of meanings brings social constructionism in some respects close to a consumer ideology promising consumers the freedom of constructing their own worlds, of designing their own lifestyles through the purchase of the right products. Within British discursive psychology, sharing key concepts with social constructionism, there are stronger attempts to address political power and the vast social differences in access to material and economical resources involved in the social construction of reality (Parker & Spears, 1996).

2.6 The psychological marginalisation of culture
In psychology there is a consistent marginalisation of dissident views bringing in the cultural material embeddedness of human experience and behaviour. The contributions of social constructionism, of discursive and narrative psychologies remain as small enclaves. They may be of interest to students, professional psychologists, and the intellectual community at large, but their challenges of thinking of psychology anew have hardly entered the dominating textbooks of academic psychology (cf. e.g. the 13th edition of Hilgard’s Introduction to Psychology, Atkinson et al., 2000), and remain marginal in international psychology (cf. e.g. The International Handbook of Psychology, Pawlik & Rosenzweig, 2000).

Attempts to study human activity within a cultural context have from the beginning of a scientific psychology been systematically marginalised. Hardly known by psychologists Wundt’s ten volumes on cultural psychology “Völkerpsychologie” - treating language, myths and social customs - have influenced scholars such as Dürkheim, Simmel and George Herbert Mead, and also Vygotsky, who instigated a Soviet cultural historical school of psychology. Wundt’s cultural psychology has even been interpreted as close to constructivist and a postmodern psychology (Kroger and Scheiber, 1990). Dilthey’s “Ideas concerning a descriptive and analytical psychology” from 1894 arguing for an understanding (“verstehende”) psychology studying man as a historical creature also making history, has been without major impact. When later psychologists have addressed the cultural implications of their research - such as Freud in “The burden of civilisation” and Skinner in “Walden Two” and “Beyond Freedom and Dignity” - their reflections on culture have generally been disregarded as irrelevant to the science of psychology. Also the analyses of human bodily activity in a cultural and historical context by French psychologists such as Merleau Ponty and Foucault remain at the margins of the main stream of psychology. Alternative psychologies addressing the social and cultural situatedness of human behaviour remain at the periphery of a psychological science, such as Riegel’s dialectical developmental psychology, Russian activity theory, the German critical school of Holzkamp, and phenomenological psychology (Giorgi, 1970).

To a natural science psychology – from Ebbinghaus’ learning of nonsense syllables over the white laboratory rats maze-running to the computer simulations of the mind – culture has been a source of error in the quest for universal psychological laws “uncontaminated by human culture”. Perhaps the desituating of human consciousness and behaviour – whether conceived as an internal psyche or mechanical behavioural acts – is the essence of modern psychological conceptions of man. A pragmatic situated psychology embedded in a postmodern culture – addressing its challenges and potentials to human activity – may then be yet another marginal movement at the margins of the still modernist mainstream of psychology.

2.7 Postmodern psychology as a religious, industrial and commercial collage

In an attempt to understand the persistent marginalisation of psychologies relating human behaviour to its cultural, social and historical context, I shall return to the embeddedness of psychology in religious, industrial and commercial metaphors.

Modern psychology has generally been pictured as leaving religion behind. In the present analysis psychology not only originated from Christian religion, it has taken over key concepts and practices from religion, and translated them into psychological scientific concepts. The
modern age was characterised by a desacralisation of the world, replacing ancient religion with modern science. In a postmodern age we see trends of a resacralisation of the world, not only in the New Age religions and in fundamentalists’ movements, but also in indications of a growing interest for religion among Western youth. Within the social sciences politically critical scholars as Benjamin and Horkheimer of the Frankfurt school of social research (see Gur-Ze’ev, 1998) and today Wexler (1996) and Popkewitz (1998) have seriously addressed the religious dimension of human life. The implications for psychology of a resacralisation of the world are twofold. It may entail openness in psychology towards its own religious history and towards the religious domain of human life. It may also mean that the need for secular psychological services may become reduced in a resacralised culture where some of the professional tasks the psychologists took over from the priests may again return to the church.

Psychology – from psychoanalysis to behaviourism to cognitive psychology - is replete with industrial metaphors of behaviour and of mind, metaphors changing in line with the development from damp machines to computers. The ruling conceptions of research have been linked to the human engineering of industry, aiming at measurement, prediction and control of the behaviour. The pervasive influence of industrial technology on human life in an industrial society has though only been seen as a special case for the subdiscipline of industrial psychology.

Psychology has seldom focused on the market forces shaping human behaviour. The domination of consumption and the place of the therapeutic culture and the humanistic self-realisation in a consumer society have only been recognised by a few marginal critiques. Narcissism in the current culture has in psychology more often been attributed to childhood influences than to systematic marketing strategies centring upon the self. The massive influence of consumption as human life in a consumer society has been seen as belonging to the subdiscipline of marketing psychology.

We thus find a psychology not only oblivious to the spiritual domain of human life, but also neglecting the material conditions of human life. Psychology has provided individualistic and idealistic explanations of human problems, overlooking the role of social material conditions. Sartre’s critique of an idealistic psychoanalysis still pertains: "How many times has someone attempted the feat of psychoanalysing Robespierre for us without even understanding that the contradictions of his behaviour were conditioned by the objective contradictions of the situation” (1963, p. 60).

Today the commercial dimension of human life in a capitalist society even dominates conceptions of the nature of psychology as a science. The issue of whether psychology is a natural science or a human science was in earlier periods the topic of heated theoretical controversies, today the issue is left to the market, such as in “The international handbook of psychology” (2000). In the introduction to this book, published under the auspices of the International Union of Psychological Science, the editors Pawlik and Rosenzweig address the scientific status of psychology. With evidence from countries in various parts of the world they point out how a failure to obtain recognition for the natural scientific status of psychological research impairs funding. Classifying psychology under the humanities or the social sciences gives less funding than psychology classified as a laboratory based natural science. The editors’ endorsement of psychology as a natural science is not based on conceptual discussions of the nature of psychological knowledge and practice, but left
unproblematised to the rule of the market – where there is funding there is also psychology in the postmodern age.

I am not criticising the fact that a psychological science and profession is influenced by the culture it exists in, including the pervasive market domination of the postmodern age. What is criticisable from a scientific point of view is, however, a lack of reflection on the social and economical influences on human behaviour in the dominating psychological theories of human activity. The eyes of psychology have remained wide shut to the economical situation of man, leaving an impression of psychologists paid and funded to explain and control human behaviour and experience in a capitalist society without mentioning the impact of money on the behaviour and experiences of their subjects.

PSYCHOLOGY IN A GLOBAL POSTMODERN CULTURE

I will in conclusion turn to the position of psychology in a global postmodern culture and outline two modes of internationalisation in relation to two modes of legitimation in a postmodern condition – performativity with global commensurability and the pragmatics of local narrativity and discourse.

On one hand we see a psychology immersed in Western individualist and rationalist conceptions of man. Western psychologists think locally and act globally. With the current globalisation of economy and culture psychology may come to serve as a cultural imperialism, following Lyotard’s performance dictum – “Be commensurable or disappear”. Psychologists take over as the new secular Protestant missionaries, preaching a humanistic evangelium of man as a desituated freely moving individual. A man uprooted from the culture he lives in, pursuing his own self-realisation through commodities and individual therapy is a man well adapted to a free global consumer market. Western psychology, presented here through the metaphors of the church, the factory and the market, is one historical and culturally specific conception of man, which is today part of Western cultural neo-colonialism in a postmodern age.

An alternative mode of globalisation would be to open Western psychology for multiple cultural discourses in the postmodern condition, taking local narratives of man seriously. This would imply to go beyond the Western individualised narratives of man and open the floor for discourses of non-western cultures and their indigenous psychologies. An intercultural dialogue may open not only to understanding of symbolic cultural influences on the science of psychology, but perhaps also to the role psychology plays in the economic and power structures of the different societies. While such a dialogue across cultures may challenge ruling Western psychological conceptions of knowledge about man, it may enrich the conversation about what it means to be human in a global postmodern age.

FOOTNOTES

1. With the broad metaphorical form of the following discussion it is not feasible to provide specific references for the many statements. When not directly quoted or referred to in the text, relevant literature for each metaphor is mentioned together. For reasons of space some well known books mentioned in passing are not listed in the references: For the church metaphor further literature can be found by Bellah (1987), Bertelsen (2000),


REFERENCES


