"Man - the Finest of Machines":

Transforming Human Nature Through Mental Hygiene in the United States

and Soviet Russia, 1900-1930s.

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To my mom

Abstract

In 1908 the National Committee for Mental Hygiene was founded in the US to deal with such social problems of modernity as "nervousness", through the scientific control of behavior. In the 1920s the young Soviet State looked to Americans models of care to relieve the strain of modern industrial society. During the 1930 International Conference of Mental Hygiene, Soviet advances in this area were re-imported into the US. Based on a variety of archival and scholarly literature, this dissertation explores how the Mental Hygiene movement was adopted by the States and the ways in which it influenced the organization of national health and education systems. This dissertation contributes to the growing body of literature on the transnational flows of knowledge as selective and creative process that change the nature of knowledge in the first place. This dissertation sets out to explore this circulation – or "looping" – of knowledge across national boundaries even within a largely hostile political environment.

This case of knowledge circulation and application is particularly challenging as it goes against current theories that almost exclusively tie the so-called "therapeutic state" to the liberal mode of citizenship (Nolan Jr 1998; Polsky 1993; Bondi 2005; Chandler 2001; Furedi 2002; Garton 2008; Illouz 2008; Kantola 2003; Pupavac 2005; Wright 2009; Imber 2004). Comparing Soviet and US examples shows how the therapeutic ethos can be used to champion a variety of modes of governance and thus helps to identify cultural mechanisms for incorporating citizens.

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Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to my mom, who patiently waited for me to finish writing "that long paper". Here it is.

The pressure of civilization brings in its train no pathological results, it is true, but is shown in malformations of character, and in the perpetual readiness of the inhibited instincts to break through to satisfaction at any suitable opportunity.
Sigmund Freud, "Thoughts for the Times on War and Death", 1915, p. 287

Introduction

Since the end of the 19th century, therapeutic professions have developed distinct and increasingly influential discourses and professional expertise. Today therapists are everywhere. They offer expert testimony, teach us how to raise our kids, measure how happy we are in our relationships, and manage welfare offices. In the developed world the therapeutic approach has become a legitimate and a highly popular field of study and practice. Moreover, it has extended its authority within a wide range of social institutions, including governments, churches, and corporations. Therapeutic recipes have become inescapable features of the expert toolkits of modern social institutions, and therapeutic vocabularies and images saturate our culture.

At the same time, it is widely agreed that evidence of effectiveness of psy-sciences is limited and contradictory at best. Paul Meehla, a psychologist himself, in one of his last public speeches, memorably noted that most clinical psychologists select their methods like kids making choices in a candy store (as cited in Mischel 2008). Similarly, Walter Mischel, an American psychologist and the Robert Johnston Niven Professor of Humane Letters in the Department of Psychology at Columbia University, wrote in his introduction to their 145-page report on the state of psychological science "The disconnect between much of clinical practice and the advances in psychological science is an unconscionable embarrassment… Evidence for most assessment and treatment methods for clinical psychology was still far from solid, and usually highly dubious… practitioners too often still choose to do whatever they feel like … regardless of evidence" (in press). William M. Epstein, professor of social work at the University

of Nevada, asserts that psychotherapy is probably ineffective and possibly harmful (Epstein 1995).

Despite this significant skepticism toward the scientific value of psychological science, it is evident that psy-sciences have become a cultural phenomenon, "a way of understanding the nature of man and an ordering of human experience on the basis of this understanding" (Berger 1965:27). Epstein attributes this 'stickiness' of psychological discourse to the fact that psychotherapy came to play a political role that far transcends its defining production functions of providing personal services and social standards of prevention, cure, and rehabilitation. The belief that personal behavior can be purposively changed underpins contemporary social policy based on therapeutic sciences.

Thus, this dissertation belongs to a tradition of scholarly attempts to understand therapeutic culture. So the question is not in itself a novel one - "What kind of man is the therapeutic culture as a whole producing?" This kind of question has occupied such scholars as Phyllis Chesler, Betty Friedan, Janice Haaken, Julia Kristeva, and Elaine Show-alter over the past four decades. Often, scholars' engagement with the politics of psychotherapeutic discourses came in the form of sharp and hostile criticism. For example, sociologist Frank Furedi (2003) has lambasted what he describes as the "cultivation of vulnerability" by self-serving counselors and therapists, while political scientist James Nolan (1998) decries the insinuation of therapeutic ideas into diverse aspects of policy-making and state regulation. Both follow a well-established tradition that interprets psychotherapies as inherently individualizing, psychologizing and depoliticizing (Lasch 1980; Rieff 1966; Sennett 1977; Turkle 1979).

This question goes hand in hand with what Isaak Reed and Julia Adams identify as a new research orientation for cultural sociology: "How did cultural dynamics bring about the societies we now recognize as modern?". One part of it is "social subjectification", defined as the way "in

which socio-cultural forces construe a new citizen-subject, often one who will govern him or herself by internalizing rules and regulations" (Reed and Adams 2011:250).

This attention to the cultural underpinnings of modern transformation is part of the many legacies of the 'culture turn', that has reinvigorated critical thinking about the ontology of 'the self', and in this regard has propelled studies of ideologies into the heart of contemporary sociologies of modern selfhood, particularly in the context of 'multiple' or 'alternative' modernities. Indeed, there is a growing body of research devoted to researching and theorizing culture as part of historical analysis (Hall 2000), most clearly in connection to the theory of modernity (Adams, Clemens and Orloff 2005).

For this project, I am interested in one particular discourse of the self - self as a project, in as far as it has become the guiding principle for understanding the modern self, as theorized by thinkers like Antony Giddens and Michael Foucault. Giddens says that in the post-traditional order, self-identity becomes a reflexive project - an endeavor that we continuously work and reflect on (Giddens 1991). As such, the project of self-construction has increasingly relied on the aid and guidance of expert discourses (Binkley 2007). I argue that in the context of a general unsettling of social relations during the early 20th century, the projects of "the new man" captured the promise and ambivalence of modernity.

My aim for this dissertation is to interrogate the notion of the modern self as a historical category and examine how it is presented and argued for within the traditions of the Mental Hygiene movement and psychology more generally. While I recognize that ideological movements don't necessarily have straightforward effects, nevertheless, it is impossible to ignore the depictions of the modern man. If the self is 'made', rather than inherited or just passively static, what discursive practices contribute to the way it is constructed? How did the rise of mental hygiene contribute to the development of specific 'cultural toolkits' (Swidler 1986) of

selfhood? Moreover, I argue for the necessity to go beyond the current state of knowledge that tends to be limited to one specific country and provide systematic comparison across what is understood as major variations of the project of modernity - American liberalism and Russian socialism.

Soviet history in particular is often treated as unique and thus effectively de-internationalized, with the exception of what is to this day the largely isolated subfield of Soviet foreign policy. Instead, this dissertation uses a case study of the Mental Hygiene movement to argue that theraputization of self was one particular constellation of modern state practices that arose in conjunction with ambitions to refashion society and mobilize populations for industrial labor and mass warfare. In addition, this research contributes to the field of diffusion studies by analyzing the scientific communication among societies that are often perceived as cultural and political opposites. I argue that both American and Soviet social policies reflected a new ethos by which state officials and nongovernment professionals sought to reshape their societies in accordance with scientific and aesthetic norms.

This rationalist ethos of social intervention first arose in nineteenth-century Europe, and it subsequently prompted welfare programs, public health initiatives, and reproductive policies in countries around the world. Social intervention intensified with the rise of mass warfare. The tremendous mobilization demands of the First World War in particular impelled the leaders of all combatant countries to expand their use of economic controls, health measures, surveillance, propaganda, and state violence— all of which became prominent features of the state system. In other words, the urge to perfect societies stemmed from the universal axis of modernity, the "gardening state" blossomed throughout Europe no less than in the Soviet Union. In the wake of the Great War, the European political landscape was marked by planned economies, elaborate surveillance systems, and thoroughly politicized eugenics research. The key to the distinctive

development of the Soviets' purification drive lay in the volatile fusion of historical time and its ultimate goal.

Besides sharpening our analytical focus, a historical study permits us to best illuminate the global exchange of knowledge as well as the urgent problems of principle and politics that the therapeutic state raises. On a more abstract level, the influence of the therapeutic ethos is particularly striking, as it becomes a global force. Therapeutic governance links psychosocial well-being and security, and seeks to foster personalities able to cope with risk and insecurity now on the global level (Pupavac 2005). This dissertation allows researchers to question the core assumptions of the theory of modernity (for instance, the role of the market economy and secularization as foundations of modernization). Moreover, examining the modern narrative of selfhood from a cross-national perspective can provide scholars with tools and concepts for dealing with modernity as a global project, as well as knowledge of the importance of chronology and causal heterogeneity of modernity (Sewell 2005). As such, this dissertation offers a new approach to American exceptionalism - a way to understand how American experience is part and parcel of a global modern culture.

More specifically, the therapeutic imperative continues to alter the language of our times. Explanations oriented towards the emotion and nerves are now more and more commonly used to make sense of everyday problems. Most spheres of life, including education, workplace, and family have been transformed into a source of mental health problems. This means we are witnessing a strong policy interest in therapeutic approaches to governance. The concept of self-discipline (or lack of thereof), for instance, underpins much of the current debate about the state of the economy and perceived crises in the moral order (Hoyle 2010; Iurevich and Ushakov 2010), claiming to predict anything from the physical health and fitness (Tsukayama, Toomey, Faith and Duckworth 2010) to substance dependence to personal finances to unemployment

(Caspi, Wright, Moffitt and Silva 1998) to criminal offending (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990; Forkner 2010; Moffitt et al. 2011; Duckworth 2011; Duckworth and Seligman 2005; Caspi, Moffitt, Silva and Stouthamer-Loeber 1994; White et al. 1994; Cheung and Cheung 2008) to good adjustment, less pathology, better grades, and interpersonal success (Tangney, Baumeister and Boone 2004). Policy-makers are now considering "large-scale programs aimed at self-control to improve citizens' health, wealth, reduce crime, … save tax-payers money, and promote prosperity" (Moffitt et al. 2011:2693–2698). In the context of this timely, ubiquitous, and intense policy interest in self-control, the discipline of sociology would be well served by new insights into the development of self-control as a cultural value and technique.

Mental Hygiene and the Therapeutic Self

The scholarly tradition of criticism of the therapeutic self can be divided into two camps. The communitarian critique holds that therapeutic discourse encourages self-absorption that in turn distracts us from social engagement. At its most egregious, we blindly ignore social injustice. This camp includes scholars like David Riesman with "*The Lonely Crowd*" (1950) Christopher Lasch's (1979) the "*Culture of Narcissim*", and T.J. Jackson Lears (1983). In this case, the therapeutic and the transfer from inner-directed to other-directed society led people to focus on emotional and physical health as key factors in the way a person was perceived by others. According to Lears, this change has completed itself by the beginning of the 20th century when in place of the bourgeois ethos of compulsive saving, civic responsibility, and a rigid morality of self-denial came "a new set of values sanctioning periodic leisure, compulsive spending, apolitical passivity, and an apparently permissive (but subtly coercive) morality of individual fulfillment" (Lears 1983:3).

The second camp, based on Foucault's historicization of systems of knowledge, argues that psychoanalysis's project of self-liberation is a form of discipline and subjection to institutional power by other means. This broad group of scholars aims to understand neo-liberalism though the Foucauldian concept of governmentality. They argue that as a form of governmentality, neoliberalism works by installing a concept of the human subject as an autonomous, individualized, self-directing, decision-making agent at the heart of policy-making. Many of those positioned within psychotherapeutic practices portray themselves as politically engaged, and argue that the practices in which they are embedded contain politically subversive possibilities (Eichenbaum and Orbach 1982; Kovel 1988; Parker 2003; Bondi 2005). However, these social scientists argue that in so far as this vision of the human subject is recognized and assimilated, people are recruited into neoliberal forms of governmentality, even if they also, simultaneously, seek to resist some of its effects (Larner 2000). This is where Judith Butler (1997) describes "the subject" as "the effect of power in recoil" and argues that "in the act of opposing subordination, the subject reiterates its subjection" (Butler 1997:11). In other words, this account insists that there is no innocent or external vantage point from which to exercise the agency required to contest a model of subjectivity that insists upon the idea that subjects are capable of self-governance. Thus, the "[n]eo-liberal strategies of rule, found in diverse realms including workplaces, educational institutions and health and welfare agencies, [which] encourage people to see themselves as individualized and active subjects responsible for enhancing their own well-being" (Larner 2000:13) are not the outcome of the top-down imposition of neoliberal political ideology, but are often, at least in part, the expression of successful campaigns to decentralize decision-making and partially democratize bureaucratic organizations.

One of the most widely cited Foucauldian writers on governmentality, Nikolas Rose (1985), has drawn particular attention to the role of disciplines within what he calls the "psy-complex" in producing highly individualized, self-monitoring, self-governing and subjectively oriented subjects. Through this interpretative lens, Rose (1990) analyses the role of psychological theory and practice in World War II, the incorporation of psychological ideas about human resources and group dynamics into industry, the reframing of child-rearing and family life in terms of psychology, and the "the nature and implications of the proliferation of psychotherapies" (xii).

Both of these scholarly debates, however, tend to assume that therapeutic state is a uniquely western phenomena intrinsically tied to neo-liberalism: "The characteristics of therapeutics, elaborated within the long tradition of western socialization… comprise a powerful social and political ideology" (Epstein 1995:43). In particular, scholarly critics of therapeutic science tie it almost exclusively to the practices of neo-liberal government, as a form of welfare shaped by the broader requirements of a capitalistic economy, by the need to control the labor force and train reluctant workers for the needs of the factory (Katz 1996). Specifically, psychotherapeutic discourses are analyzed in relation to how they contribute to or resist neoliberal forms of governance (Bondi 2005). The lens of neoliberalism is often the only way of approaching the politics of counseling - and in their turn, therapeutic discourses are primarily credited with the formation of specifically neoliberal subjects.

In fact, prominent cultural sociologist Eva Illouz in the introduction to her book "Saving the Modern Soul" discusses this as a major issue that sociologists of culture face - showing the independent causal power of culture - because it is so entangled with other explanatory variables. She concludes by saying that "it is … virtually impossible to isolate this [therapeutic] language from other "master cultural" codes organizing selfhood, such as that of economic liberalism or

contractual law" (Illouz 2008:9). While I don't argue for the necessity of the positivist causal model, one of the ways to look deeper in the relationship between our variables of interest is through cross-cultural analysis. One notable example of this kind of work is the work by Nickolas Rose.

He acknowledges that 'technologies of subjectivities' vary widely and sometimes mobilize radically inconsistent philosophical bases. Indeed he argues that "the diversity and heterogeneity of psychology has been one of the keys to its continued inventiveness ... and wide-ranging social applicability" (Rose 1990:10-11). Across this diversity Rose identifies and emphasizes overarching commonalities in their effects, especially their role in producing "intensely subjective beings", and modern societies that accord a central role to the "subjective aspects of the lives of individuals as they conduct their commerce with the world, with others and with themselves" (1990:3).

Continuing this thought, this dissertation argues that the approach that ties psy-disciplines to specifically neo-liberal governance is at a minimum incomplete and at a maximum misleading. Therapeutic approaches arose in other kinds of governance with no less success. Thus, this dissertation offers a global story of the therapeutic self, based on the rise and development of the Mental Hygiene Movement, the story of how a new form of expertise emerged and gained influence throughout the world. This research goes beyond current scholarship because it is a cross-cultural historical investigation involving comparative analysis. As a historical sociologist, I am most concerned with the institutional patterns of communication and adapting to a new social environment. How was therapeutic knowledge and practice conceptualized and institutionalized in different places, and how can we explain it?

To accomplish this, in addition to tracing the scientific activities of psychologists in the Soviet Union and the United States in the beginning of the 20th century, the dissertation

compares the development of psychological science in the two nations, which were antipodes socially, ideologically, and politically. I problematize the one-directional flow of therapeutic knowledge, put it in the context of 20th-century modernity, and emphasize the importance of voluntary organizations in making therapeutic frameworks accessible and acceptable to wide populace.

However, I take the rise of the new "psychological man" as an empirical phenomenon, and do not try to assess the practical utility of the various therapeutic activities. This means that I am interested not in the scientific validity of the model of psychological man per se, but the social conditions that facilitated - or impeded - the rise of these models in two different cultures. In particular, I ask how the scientific discourse produced the discourse on what it is to be human, what it is to be social, and how to human more generally. Finally, I am interested in how the rise of this new model of selfhood is related to the so-called 'therapeutic state'. I understand therapeutic state first and foremost as a set of specific policies aimed at increasing the levels of self-monitoring and self-discipling among the populace.

Theoretical Framework

In 1974, British sociologist Stuart Blume argued that "the social institution of modern science is essentially political and that, moreover, the scientific role is an integral part of the political system of the modern state." (Blume 1974:12). And while his conclusion about the interdependence of science, politics, and economy has become virtually axiomatic in contemporary science studies scholarship, it is only recently that American sociology has been explicitly drawing on political sociology. Today, contemporary sociologists like Scott Frickel, Kelly Moore, and Neil Gross are trying to establish an approach to studying knowledge that blends political sociology with the traditional sociology of knowledge and is part of the "strong

program" in sociology of culture. This approach is most clearly outlined in two relatively recent publications: 1)"A General Theory of Scientific/intellectual Movements" in *American Sociological Review* (Frickel and Gross 2005); and 2) The book that aims to establish *"The New Political Sociology of Science"* (The NPSS) with the emphasis on institutions, networks, and power. In the book, Frickel and Moore discuss the following as key elements in the NPSS Program: 1) attention to unequal distributions of power and resources; 2) attention to rules and rule making; 3) attention to the dynamics of organization (Frickel and Moore 2006).

Specifically, this approach argues that scientific/intellectual movements (SIMs) share many characteristics of social movements and therefore they can be analyzed in a similar fashion. For one, it means structuring the question about scientific knowledge in a similar fashion. That is, we can ask under what social conditions is any particular scientific/intellectual movement most likely to emerge, gain adherents, win intellectual prestige, and ultimately acquire some level of institutional stability? To answer this question I rely on three bodies of literature: sociology of culture, diffusion studies and the tradition of historical comparative research. I rely on neoinstitutional theory to bridge diffusion studies with contextual theory of culture. I argue that because science and technology in modern society serve as key sources of cultural authority (Epstein 2008), we can draw several implications from sociological studies of science and technology that are especially relevant to studies of culture. Most importantly, if sociologists of culture are concerned with understanding cultural authority, then it seems crucial to focus on one of the key sources of such authority in the modern world (Etkind 2005:177). Thus, the underlying theoretical question that motivates my project is: how do scientific projects work as moral regulation. Concretely, in what ways did the Mental Hygiene movement of the 20th century constitute a set of social practices that aim to "create a New Man"? How was it

varied, or similar across countries? And how does it affect today's moralization of social conflicts?

'Cultural Turn' within Comparative-Historical Sociology

Numerous developments in recent decades have opened up an important theoretical space for the reconsideration of modernity. Adams et al (2005:43) argued that the making of modernity is central to the cultural turn in historical sociology at least in two ways. First, sociologists engage the substantive problems and questions associated with the formation of historically evolving cultural categories and practices. Second, more generally, the very concept of identity, thought to inhere primarily in an authorized individual subject, is the result of a long historical process. I would also add that 'the cultural turn' opened up space for reconsideration of the thesis of "multiple modernities," which is now being articulated by the likes of S.N. Eisenstadt, Charles Taylor, Peter Wagner, and others. The essential idea behind the multiple modernities thesis is that "modernity" and its features and forces can actually be received, developed, and expressed in significantly different ways in different parts of the world, and by different communities living in single societies. Thus, while the long-observed forces of modernization still operate through powerful historical changes around the globe, the original thesis of uniformity and standardization is suspended if not rejected. In other words, it is possible for different societies and subcultures to be truly modern and yet not end up looking like, say, France or Britain with regard to religion, culture, morality, and views of science.

The 'cultural turn' within historical sociology also aims to understand modernity as not simply a series of institutional changes, but as a cultural project of purposive human agents operating from the start with different categories and beliefs about humanity, society, morality, purpose of life, etc. This cultural dimension of modernity opens up possibilities for dramatic

differences that the older institutionally-focused theories of modernity could not appreciate (Murray and Szelenyi 1984). By reflecting social science's "cultural turn" in this way, the multiple modernities thesis offers new possibilities for considering ranges of options that modern people and societies might take when it comes to matters of religion, science, and morality (Schwartz 1993; Eisenstadt 2000) (Inkeles 1975; Petrone and Chatterjee 1999; Schooler, Mulatu and Oates 2004). As a matter of fact, Shmuel Eisenstadt suggests viewing modernity as *a distinct civilization*, not unlike the formation and expansion of the Great Religions (Eisenstadt 2001:320).

In many respects, the engagement of historical-comparative sociology with culture followed theoretical developments of sociology of culture more generally. As such, we can see how three competing views of culture, have in a large extent shaped historical research: a) culture as values, b) culture as 'toolkit', or c) culture as codes. I argue for the need to reconcile these theories in a meaningful way and suggest that the best way to do it is d) contextual theory of culture.

A) Culture as Values

While a simplification to a certain degree, the 'culture as web' approach orients one to seeing "culture as largely implicit, "traditional", deep, and constituted by *presumably* shared and unspoken meanings, a kind of tacit "background knowledge" (Berger 1995:30)[italics original]. In this case, culture is a 'web of meanings' (Geertz 1973) that produces values (Weber 1930); or ultimate goals for action or 'intuitions' (Vaisey 2009) or 'inputs' (Abramson 2012). One of the examples of historical-sociological scholars working within these traditions would be Alex Inkeles's *Project on the Sociocultural Aspects of Development*. Inkeles examined the degree to which social institutions like factory work contribute to the qualitatively different experience of subjectivity. As a result, he develops a set of qualities that make a "modern man", including

openness to new experience, independence from traditional authority, belief in science and medicine for solving human problems, educational and occupational ambition, punctuality and orderliness, and interest in civic affairs (Inkeles 1975; 1969). In a similar vein, Eisenstadt argued that the core of modernity is continual constitution and reconstitution of a multiplicity of cultural programs, development of modes of interpretations of the world, or of a distinct social imaginaire (Eisenstadt 2000; 2001; 2000). Overall, studying discourses in history has proven a rich way to link a narrower intellectual history with a broader cultural history, by identifying 'thought worlds' in which people at various times and places have participated (Hall 2003:162). This is the perspective that guides Graig Calhoun's discussion of workers' collective action in *The Questions of Class Struggle* (Calhoun 1982). In the book, Calhoun argues that it was the threat to traditional values, rather than a sense of class identity, that triggered the sense of outrage and provoked radical activity. Moreover, discursive practices can therefore serve as the basis for interpretation of certain behaviors as either desirable and productive, or vice versa. By this account, ideologies create expectations of self and others that shape interactions and behavior even in the absence of any immediate structural constraints or direct individual-level socialization (Polletta 2008). For instance, Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi in her book on *"Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy"* argues that discourse, including its nonlinguistic forms (rituals, myths, and images), was an essential element in the formation of the fascist regime's self-identity, which she understands as construction of *goals and definition of ends*. By examining cults, symbols, and speeches, she looks at the process through which fascism shaped its contours, delineated its purposes, negotiated its meanings, and built its authority (Falasca-Zamponi 2000). Overall, from this perspective, culture influences action mainly by structuring objectives for people to pursue.

B) Culture as Toolkit

In the second most popular theoretical approach, culture is seen as collectively available skills, resources or cultural capabilities for dealing with everyday life. Here, the discourses work to "enable and constrain" the range of options available. The most powerful statement comes from a now legendary 1986 article by Ann Swidler, where she argued that at a minimum, cultural discourses provide resources from which people can construct diverse lines of action, and at a maximum, in unsettled cultural periods, explicit ideologies directly govern action. She has also argued that the continuity in the style of action people pursue, even when the ultimate goals change, lies in the continuation of the practices through which action is organized (Swidler 1986:274-7). This allows for understanding of culture as heterogeneous (in its content and function), fragmented across groups, and inconsistent across its manifestations; more like a "complex rule-like structure, that can be used strategically", thus giving opportunity for choice and variation (DiMaggio 1997). Tying it to the issue of selfhood in an influential article, Spencer Cahill (1998) argued that identities are produced through a set of cultural strategies (Cahill 1998). Just as fundamentally, Hans Joas has tried to show how values emerge from the very definitions of the situation and arise in experiences of self-formation and self-transcendence (Joas 2000).

For the studies of modes of selfhood within modernity, this theoretical development meant attention to the techniques through which subjects are produced. One of the largest and still growing parts of the literature is one inspired by Michel Foucault, broadly known under the umbrella term of governmentality. According to this approach, governmental reason represents an approach to social control that operates not through direct state sanction but through the indirect shaping of 'free' social practices on two levels: regulatory techniques that focus on the large-scale management of populations (for example, controlling mortality levels and birth rates, planning of urban environments or investing in 'human capital') and individualizing, disciplinary

mechanisms that shape the behaviors and identity of the individual through the imposition of certain normalizing technologies or practices of the self (McNay 2009). Both regulatory and disciplinary techniques operate through the practical or technical deployment of discourses (for example, see (Delhaye 2006)Miller, Gordon and Burchell 1991; Dolan 2009)). These studies demonstrate through an analysis of a diversity of texts and techniques (such as magazines, government social policy documents, education manuals) how key experts or authorities discursively construct ideal or normative models of selfhood. Following Foucault, Stuart Hall calls for analysis of the specific historical and institutional sites of 'discourse formation' (Hall 1996). This kind of work is exemplified by Rose's analysis of the senses in which the individual becomes an entrepreneur of the self. The individual here becomes an autonomous subject who is required to take responsibility for action, thought and behavior (Rose 1990). According to this scholarship, this self-governing subject is identified with, and to some extent produced through, webs of knowledge and expertise such as psychotherapy (Rose 1990; Illouz 2008; Rosenberg 1977; Cohen 1983). Likewise, Davi Thornton has argued, in the US, the rhetorics of neuroscience and mental health are key means of dissemination of entrepreneurial models of living that prioritize self-optimization and risk-management in the name of health and personal fulfillment (Thornton 2011). Similarly, Eiko Ikegami demonstrates in her analysis of premodern Japanese samurai culture the role the notion of shame played as a central public concept even while rooted in the innermost depths of an individual's dignity (Ikegami 2003). Overall, this kind of research is part of a thread of theorizing that focuses on culture less as people's formal world-views and values than on the how of interaction: institutional models, schemas, recipes, and rules of thumb that people come to rely on (Polletta 2008; Sewell and Jr. 1992; DiMaggio 1997). This approach is particularly useful for capturing the mechanisms by which culture constrains or enables practical action. Within historical sociology, a excellent example is how Philip Gorski

traces the way in which capillary forms of Calvinist social discipline are incorporated into state projects in early modern Europe (Gorski 2003). David Horn, in his turn, draws on many sources to analyze the discourses and practices of "social experts," the resistance these encountered, and the often-unintended effects of the new objectification of bodies and populations. He shows how science, while affirming that maternity was part of woman's "nature," also worked to remove reproduction from the domain of the natural, making it an object of technological intervention (Horn 1994). Likewise, Haidi Marie Rimke explores contemporary self-help literature as a strategy for enlisting subjects in the pursuit of self-improvement and autonomy (Rimke 2000). In his turn, Stephen Mennel uses a wide variety of data, including etiquette manuals, to make the claim about "America's incomplete civilizing process" (Mennell 2007).

C) Culture as Codes

Finally, culture has been defined as shared meanings which include collectively available categories, representations, and understandings - or cultural codes (Alexander and Smith 1993; Kendall and Wickham 2001). Jeffrey Alexander has pointed to the "discourse of civil society" as a semiotic field for the conflict of "modern" idealized qualities like rationality, individuality, and trust with "traditional traits" such as irrationality, conformity, and suspicion (Alexander 1994). In his turn, Philip Smith has tried to understand fascist, democratic and communist discourses by analyzing the social structural processes through which ideas and institutions are exchanged within a culture area. He sees these ideologies as inextricably linked and as providing "moral and mythical solutions to the existential and practical dilemmas of modernity - alienation and anomie, class and ethical conflict, industrialization and the dislocation of traditional sources of social and moral supports" (Smith 1998:117). For him, civil/political discourses can be understood as sign systems, which arrange concepts in patterns of binary opposition, such as sacred/profane, desired/damned, civilized/barbaric. Moreover, in the earlier part of the 20th

century, fascist and communist discourses emerged and consolidated in opposition to democratic discourses through the specification of these binary oppositions. Similarly, Anne Kane looks at the meaning construction in social movements during the Irish Land War, 1879-1882. Applying this approach to the self, Kendall and Wickham argue that "the self is simply an agglomeration of 'techniques' for doing things" (Kendall and Wickham 2001:155). Likewise, in his historical-comparative research of Britain and Germany, sociologist Richard Biernacki demonstrates how a basic difference in the way labor was understood influenced the entire industrial phenomenon in the two countries, affecting industrial work, methods of remuneration, disciplinary techniques, forms of collective action and even industrial architecture.

This theoretical perspective has also been widely adopted for the study of managerial theories that are treated as sets of propositions, rhetorics or ideologies. Stephen Barley and Gideon Kunda in their historical work on the managerial theories proposed to define ideology as "a stream of discourse that promulgates, however unwittingly, a set of assumptions about the nature of the objects with which it deals." (Barley and Kunda 1992:364). They thus put forward a well-supported conclusion that culture has set the substantive and structural boundaries within which managerial discourse has developed (see also Alvesson and Willmott 2002). Mabel Berezin's work on the political culture of interwar Italy, has argued that the 'fascist project' was the set of actions and programs the regime undertook to accomplish its desired cultured ends. They did it through 'fascistifying' Italy's principal cultural and social institutions. Most importantly, she argues that in trying to create a fascist identity or new conception of the self, the regime continually relied on the available schemata and was ultimately a prisoner of it: what was "Italian" about Italian culture and identity limited and constrained what was fascist about fascist identity.

While this approach has a lot to offer, often times it means the attempt to study cultural phenomena without attention to the substance or content of culture (for detailed critic see Calhoun 1992 and Handler 2002).

D) Contextual Theory of Culture

In a recent exchange with Stephen Vaisey, Ann Swidler pushes for a more holistic approach to investigating how culture is organized through "codes," "contexts," or "institutions." The question of how culture shapes action, she argues, "can't be answered by figuring out better models of how it operates in the heads of individuals, however interesting (and however difficult) that might be; instead, we need better analysis of the structures that determine how cultural meanings will be organized, and when and where particular sets of meanings will be brought to bear on experience" (Swidler 2008:617). As noted by cultural sociologist Chandra Mukerji, having a cultural toolkit is one thing; knowing what to do with it is another; and having reason to use it is a third (Mukerji 2007:55). In other words, these projects need to be placed in context, which is likely to restrict the range of possible options to be pursued, and that after certain decisions are institutionalized, they themselves turn into structural constraints.

While this approach has been very successful, I argue that it needs to emphasize the mechanism that tie those parts together. One way of doing it is through paying attention to the developments of neo-institutional theory and its application to the diffusion of science and culture across societies.

Neoinstitutionalism and Diffusion Studies

The question "why does science expand?" bears on a number of important sociological questions. Science represents an important form of rationalization (Weber 1978), which has the potential to shape economic and social activity. For instance, science directly affects economic

growth (Schofer et al. 2000), democratization (Drori 1997; Ezrahi 1990), political engagement (Drori 1997), and social movements such as the environmental movement (Frank, Hironaka & Schofer 2000). It is important, therefore, to understand national variation in this highly consequential social institution. Despite its sociological import, the global expansion of science has received little scrutiny, in large part because there is already a widely accepted account of the process. It is taken for granted that science is useful, and grows as social actors rationally invest in science as a means to pursuing various goals. This idea that science is mainly a "tool for social actors" has been termed the instrumentalist view (Schofer, Ramirez & Meyer 2000). Policymakers (and many scholars) tacitly or actively endorse this view - and thus bemoan global inequality in science, rather than contemplating why science expands on a global scale. Yet, prior research on the expansion of science finds ambiguous support for the instrumentalist view. For instance, Merton's classic study links the early growth of science to the cultural worldview held by certain Protestant sects - not to the instrumental needs of governments or firms (Merton 1970 [1938]). Historians of the period draw similar conclusions - military and industrial applications did not spur early science (Kuhn 1977; Hall 1983, 1994). Recent studies of science and the economy offer mixed findings as well: science is not always tied to instrumental economic ends (Schofer 2004). Thus, additional explanations are needed.

A recent alternative to the instrumentalist view comes from neo-institutional researchers, who shift attention toward the international sphere (see Drori et al. 2003). These scholars emphasize that while communication is a necessary condition for adoption (Strang and Soule 1998:267), attention needs to be paid to the broader social and cultural environment that shapes national policy and behavior. Nations embedded in global pro-science discourses and culture increasingly adopt a fairly standardized "global model" of science, irrespective of local circumstances or needs. Recent research used this approach to understand what accounts for the

institutionalization and then expansion of the global health system, education, and the spread of Western science. For instance, Inoue (2006) investigates the factors that explain the dramatic structuration of the field and account for the 'waves' of its growth: has the global health-related field emerged in response to growing health needs or a growing danger from global infection; as an initiative of a strengthening professional group, or due to the growing influence of global civil society and its cultural emphasis on welfare and social services? (Inoue 2006) Schofer applied this general neo-institutional argument to explain the spread of Western science (see also Drori et al. 2003; Finnemore 1991; lang 2000; Schofer 2003). Science, like education, is culturally valued among Western societies and taken for granted as an important social institution (Schofer 2004).

In the case of the US and Soviet relations, studies abound on the Soviets' practice of borrowing from the capitalist countries of Europe and the United States, particularly on economic, industrial, and technical questions, as well as on issues of architecture, literature, fine arts, and cinema. These studies belong to a long, active, and sustained tradition going back well before the 18th century. ((Hoffmann 2011; Yves Cohen and Stephanie Lin 2009)[1]. As a result, scholarly literature on "transfers" or diffusion is extremely rich. (Strang and Meyer 1993). Diffusion analysis nearly always investigates the spread of "innovations": boiled drinking water, improved seed corn, new prescription drugs. Both the anthropological and sociological traditions of diffusion research are grounded in the study of marginally modern peoples exposed to modern practices. But in the contemporary world, marked by the obliteration of non-modern communities, both practice and adopters are likely to be modern. The modernity of both practices and adopters is so pervasive in contemporary diffusion research that its consequences

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[1] There is an immense literature on the question of transfers, and I cite only a few of these texts here: Antony Sutton, Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development, 3 vols. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1968-73); Kendall E. Bailes, "The American Connection: Ideology and the Transfer of American Technology to the Soviet Union, 1917-1941," Comparative Studies in Society and History 23, 3 (1981): 421-48 (this article problematizes the question of transfers in an interesting way); and James Clay Thompson and Richard F. Vidmer, Administrative Science and Politics in the USSR and the United States: Soviet

are generally ignored. But the cultural match between practice and adopter may substantially alter patterns of diffusion. (1993:503) No wonder that within the broad category of sociological studies of diffusion, there is significant variation in its relation to cultural categories. This variation reflects different epistemological convictions and translates into different methodological choices. From the existing body of contributions, Djelic identified three main types of diffusion studies (Djelic 2008): diffusion as epidemiology, diffusion as contextual encounter, and finally diffusion as mediation and construction.

1) Diffusion as epidemiology.

A first type of diffusion studies traces the spread of norms or ideas across large populations. The term 'epidemiology' is used to characterize this type of diffusion studies, in the simple and original Greek sense of 'study upon populations'. In sociology and organizational science, this type of diffusion studies is often framed, theoretically, in the population ecology or early neoinstitutional traditions (Hannan and Freeman, 1977; Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Aldrich, 1979). Two representative contributions for this category are the article by Tobert and Zucker and a paper by Bach and Neman. The article by Tolbert and Zucker (1983) is on the diffusion of civil service reform, a classic of its kind. The second contribution is more recent: a paper on the international diffusion of insider trading rules by Bach and Newman (2007). Those are only two contributions among many as this vein of research has been quite prolific (e.g. Brown and Philliber, 1977; Knoke, 1982; Frank, 1997; Meyer et al., 1997; Drori et al., 2003; Polillo and Guille´n, 2005).

2) Diffusion as encounter with embeddedness.

The second type of diffusion studies in Djelic's typology explores the encounter between a form or an idea and a rich, complex and unique context. The focus here is on contextualized reception rather than on patterns of diffusion at the population level. The assumption is that the

peculiarities of the context of reception have an impact both on the diffusion path and on patterns of appropriation. This tradition often claims a Weberian inspiration. Two representative contributions here are Westney's classic *Imitation and Innovation (*1987) and Djelic's *Exporting the American Model* (1998). This tradition has also been lively, and these are two contributions picked from a much broader selection (e.g. Guille´ n, 1994; Valde´ s, 1995; Campbell and Pedersen, 2001; Kleiner, 2003; Frenkel, 2005).

3) Diffusion as mediation and construction.

This type of diffusion studies is compatible with the idea of embedded encounters, but its focus is more on the 'construction' of the diffused 'objects'. At all stages of the process, diffusion is understood to be not only about 'mediation' and 'translation' but also, and importantly, about 'construction'. There are already interesting contributions within this category of diffusion studies (e.g. Czarniawska and Sevo´ n, 1996; Sahlin-Andersson and Engwall, 2002; Scott, 2003; Czarniawska and Sevo´ n, 2005; Djelic and Sahlin-Andersson, 2006). Djelic argues that we need a lot more empirical work if we are to better understand those processes of mediation, translation and construction that generate, in our global world, isomorphic pressure. He proposes to use the term 'translation' in three related ways (2008:549-50). First, 'translation' is about the construction of an identifiable and attractively 'packaged' form or idea. This construction can build from and upon a local 'object' or experience. It can also take place in broader negotiation for a structure for that purpose — including those of trans-national scope (e.g. Botzem and Quack, 2006; Engels, 2006). Second, 'translation' is about mediation—and our world is characterized by a dense ecology of carriers and mediators of all kinds (e.g. Alvarez, 1998; Sahlin-Andersson and Engwall, 2002). Third, 'translation' still needs to be understood in the more classical and habitual sense of local adaptation and transformation. In this spirit, Werner and Zimmerman offered a theory of circulation: "Circulation is different from simple mobility, inasmuch as it implies a

double movement of going forth and coming back, which can be repeated indefinitely. In circulating, things, men, and notions often transform themselves. Circulation … therefore … implies an incremental aspect and not the simple reproduction across space of already formed structures and notions." (Werner and Zimmerman 2006:13)[2]

Taken together with a contextual theory of culture, one can expect that cultural linkages generally outstrip direct relations: the pervasiveness of similarity in modern systems means that diffusion is often less structured by interaction and interdependence than expected. I use the case of the Mental Hygiene movement to work through the history of intellectual interdependency and cultural linkages of ideas in psychology.

Method of Approach

According to Skocpol the pedigree of comparative historical analysis can be traced back to John Stuart Mill in his *A System of Logic,* and has been effectively applied by classical social and historical analysts such as Alexis de Tocqueville and Marc Bloch, with its continual application by contemporary scholars, including Barrington Moore (Skocpol 1979, 36). To this explanation, Katznelson adds that it was Barrington Moore who transformed the objectives and aspirations of comparative historical microanalysis (Katznelson 1997, 89), and Collier adds Skocpol to the list of pioneers of comparative historical analysis.

Historian Margaret C. Jacob, in a loosely Weberian approach, in her essay "Science Studies after Social Construction" argues that scholars [of science-making in particular] have become too exclusively focused on local cultures that undermine scholars' ability to make large claims and answer big questions. To address such questions, she urges a return to comparative

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[2] See also Claude Markovits, Jacques Pouchepadass, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds., *Circulation and Society: Mobile People and Itinerant Cultures in South Asia, 1750-1950* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003), 2-3. For a systematic development of the problematic of circulation, see Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650-1900* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

studies, where micro-historical studies of the cultural factors can be used comparatively, both to illuminate particular cases and to answer larger questions (Jacob 1999). Biernacki, like Jacob, advocates a turn from the micro-historical to the comparative. For him, comparison 'between historical cases' and between competing theoretical perspectives allows us to 'unmask the suppositional character of our own terms and 'natural' observations' (Biernacki 1999).

For Tilly, comparative historical analysis is necessary "in order to see whence we have come, where we are going, and what real alternatives to our present condition exist" (Tilly 1984: 11). To Skocpol, comparative historical analysis offers a tool with which to "generalize about social revolutions, to develop explanations of their causes and outcomes" (Skocpol 1979: 35). In *The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry*, Skocpol and Somers, eloquently explain the three distinct logics of analysis and exposition being deployed in comparative history: "the 'parallel demonstration theory' aiming to reveal how a general theory holds for diverse instances; the 'contrast contexts' directed at showing how the particularity of cases affects and modifies more general social processes; and 'macro-causal analysis' which uses comparative history primarily for the purpose of making causal inferences about macro-level structures and processes" (Katznelson 1997:92). Harry Eckstein contributes to this debate by emphasizing that the main goal of comparative studies is to seek "regularities through the simultaneous inspection of numerous cases" (Eckstein 1975:105).

Although the researchers mentioned above have all been great advocates of the comparative method they raise several critical points on the state of comparative historical sociology. For example, in borrowing from Barrington Moore, Skocpol and Somers explain how a map, used by a pilot to cross a certain continent, indifferent of its quality cannot be used to fly over other continents (Skocpol and Somers 1980:195), thus addressing one of the most pertinent issues concerning comparative studies – what is being compared. Sartori points to the menace to

the comparative method, the "growing potpourri of disparate, non-cumulative and – in the aggregate – misleading morass of information," which according to him, has led to "comparative endeavors without comparative method" (Sartori 1970: 1039-1052). From Colliers perspective, the quantitative comparative approach has been hurt by the publication of too many studies in which concepts are "operationalized with dubious validity" and which employ causal tests that are "weak, unconvincing, or inappropriate" (Collier 1991: 16). He also questions the theoretical parsimony of the comparative method because of the lack of attention by comparativists to "thinking through how well or poorly concepts and categories are serving them" (Collier 1991:18). For Tilly on the other hand, the danger lies in the fact that "with the multiplication of cases and the standardization of categories for comparison, the theoretical return declines more rapidly than the empirical return rises" (Tilly 1984, 144).

This is why in their review article Davide Strang and Sarah S. A. Soule call for broader comparative research designs to identify structural and cultural logic of diffusion processes (Strang and Soule 1998). Therefore, this dissertation draws on the tradition of qualitative case studies to increase the level and depth of understanding of a social phenomenon, to develop an understanding of fundamental social processes at work in social institutions, and to provide a concrete vantage point from which some assessment of the meaning of social process may be induced (Ebert 1999). As is true with most qualitative studies, generalizability is limited beyond the sample under observation. However, this is balanced by the opportunity to study on a concrete level the detailed, in-depth workings of this type of movement during a period of immense economic, political, and social change, and by the ability to relate specific case study data to broader theories of the purpose of social-scientific movements.

According to Theda Skocpol, there are two main ways to carry out comparative analysis. Firstly, what Mill termed the "Method of Agreement," which tries to establish that cases which

have in common the phenomenon which is being explained, also have in common a set of causal factors. Secondly, what Mill labeled as the "Method of Difference," in which the phenomenon being explained and the causes, are absent in contrasting cases which are otherwise similar to the positive case. The conceptual design and methodology of this comparative study of the US and the USSR's early 20th century the Mental Hygiene movement combines these two logics by looking at the case where the Mental Hygiene became important in both countries, but are substantially different in what is generally identified as a main causal mechanism - the political system. I explore the ways in which psychological sciences became central to the modernizing project in both countries. This focus leads to an emphasis on culturally legitimate theorists: scientist, intellectuals, and professionals.

The comparison: The US and Soviet Russia

    The US and Soviet Russia as alternative modernities

One of the major organizing characteristics across popular culture and scholarly disciplines has been the categorization of different cultures as either individualistic or collectivistic. It has been accepted as almost self-evident that individuals from some cultures had a more collectivistic identity and identified more with the larger social group to which they belonged, whereas other cultures were more individualistic and were made up of individuals less concerned with the overall group's welfare and more motivated by individual concerns (Sullivan and Cottone 2010). These orientations are usually taken as direct opposites. As the former president George H.W. Bush put it, the US and USSR may be conceived as in a "struggle for the very soul of mankind" (as cited in Leffler 2007). Beyond political talk, The Unites States and Soviet Russia are often taken to exemplify alternative – and sometimes opposite – routes towards modernity. This is particularly visible in the perception of the United States as a society of

extreme individualism (Dewey 1930; Elliott and Lemert 2009), while the Russian/Soviet society is often conceptualized as a carrier of "anti-individualist", communal vision of self (Naiman 1997). But there is one thing they have in common - both of them differ markedly from the European experience that is usually taken as the exemplar of modernity (Wagner 1994). The differences are usually discussed in terms of the sociopolitical backgrounds against which the modern project was proposed and developed in the European versus the North American versus the Soviet experience. For instance, Peter Wagner points to the importance of centralized state in the case of France, while in the absence of such well-established institutions, the situation of the American revolutionaries at the time of their struggle for independence was quite different. In the Soviet Union, the issue is usually framed as the problem of 'socialism in one country'. However, far from presenting a derailment of the modern project or the emergence of some kind of anti-modernity, Soviet socialism emphasized certain features of modernity, though obviously at the expense of others. For instance,

> it tried to create a media-dominated public sphere, engaged in aggressively nationalistic rhetoric, tried to impose linguistic uniformity on multitudes of dialects and patois, ruthlessly co-opted pre-revolutionary historical narratives to facilitate state building, promoted its industrial and technical achievements at home and abroad, and finally, tried to create the modern citizen, the Foucauldian object of disciplinary surveillance, who also participated in the rituals and practices of the modern state (Petrone and Chatterjee 1999:2).

In this respect, the Soviet Union categorized its populations and resources using modern techniques of surveillance and built a massively bureaucratized welfare state. It used mass politics to draw people into the welfare state and sought to inculcate modern values relating to personal hygiene, gender relations, workplace ethics, and national consciousness (Chatterjee and Petrone 2008). Thus, as Wagner argues that "just as American exceptionalism can be regarded as the epitome of one kind of modernity, so should socialism be seen as the epitome of another kind" (1994:29). This comparison demonstrates that there are varieties of 'actually existing modernities'—with the societies of the United States, Western Europe and the Soviet Union as

three major twentieth-century types. Apart from helping to understand 'American exceptionalism', this comparison offers opportunities for a more profound understanding of the dynamics of modernity.

This dissertation aims to examine one particular modern discourse - that of self as a project. Commonalities between the Russian and American models of the "New Man" have received only brief mention in previous work (Halfin 2003; Hellbeck 2009). Virtually all of the scholarly work on the Soviet self has focused on the construction of subjectivity in the Stalin period. However, "modernity" reached the point of "exportation" after some major restructuring of the world order, as new players – most significantly the United States and the Soviet Union - emerged as political, economic and cultural centers. To a certain degree, these countries were able to essentially transport their vision of the modern self to large areas of the world. As American philosopher, psychologist, and educational reformer, John Dewey, has put it "Quantification, mechanization and standardization: these are then the marks of the Americanization that is conquering the world … they have invaded mind and character, and subdued the soul to their own dye" (Dewey 1930). Similarly, until its breakdown the Soviet Union maintained significant influence over the "Eastern Bloc" and has left its cultural legacy behind even after its dissolution.

Thus, the intention of this project is to investigate how the cultural project of selfhood realized itself in scientific discourse in the context of two alternative modernities. The main case study under investigation is the Mental Hygiene Movement, its rise and diffusion, its 'transfer' to the USSR, and its circulation back to the US. I chose Mental Hygiene as the case study of interest because it combined several of the important characteristics of twentieth century modernity: it sought to use science as a way to solve the perceived crises of personality, it enjoyed a wide popular base, and it was characterized by fast rates of diffusion outside its own

social location. What makes the mental hygiene case particularly important to the study of modern selfhoods, is that it is flexible and clearly shaped by culture and ideology (Martin 2006). As a matter of fact, Thomson has argued that the Mental Hygiene movement can be seen as to a tool of 'cultural imperialism' (Thomson 1995:283).

Recently scholars have been paying attention to the ways in which these developments have contributed to the new models of selfhood (Illouz 2008; Rosenberg 1977). As Thornton has argued, in the US, rhetorics of neuroscience and mental health are key means of disseminating entrepreneurial models of living that prioritize self-optimization and risk-management in the name of health and personal fulfillment (Thornton 2011). Fred Matthews, a historian from York University, goes so far as to argue that "The world view variously described as the secular social gospel, progressivism, or (after about 1930) liberalism can best be understood in terms of the great influence that society's popularized medical models have had upon it", in particular the Mental Hygiene movement (Matthews 1979:459). Finally, Thomson points to the unique relation of the Mental Hygiene movement to international affairs. WWI was seen by many to have stemmed from a European mental malaise, antagonized by the anxieties of prewar animosity. In this context, cultivation of mental health was seen as vital in keeping at bay the aggressive drive for war (1995: 283-4). In light of this evidence, I consider the mental hygiene movement central to the project of 'the new man'.

The beginning of the twentieth century is strategically important as it comes the closest to Swidler's "contested times", which makes the cultural conflicts and negotiations more visible. More specifically, my timeframe will be broken down into three decades, each with its own focus, that roughly follow Djelic's stages of 'translation' that generate a diffusion of a particular idea (Djelic 2008). I argue that the 1910s can be seen as the construction of an identifiable and attractively 'packaged' movement that was seeking to apply scientific logic to the creation of a

"New Man". The discussion of the 1920s is on 'translation' as mediation, focusing on a dense ecology of carriers and mediators of all kinds that influenced the adaptation of Mental Hygiene in the USSR. Careful attention is paid to the adaptation and transformation of the ideas in the process. Finally, the third decade of interest - the 1930s - emphasizes the circulation of ideas instead of one-directional appropriation and thus takes us back to the US to analyze the range of American responses to the Soviet work on mental hygiene.

Data Collection

I purposefully sought out data about transnational scientific networks and systemic exchange of scientific information, migration of scientists, as well as the politics of both academic and non-academic organizations and institutions that made this scientific communication possible. To do that, I examined a variety of primary and secondary sources from the US and the USSR. First of all, I identified key personalities that where involved in the movement and followed their career. For instance, I start my analysis with Clifford Beers who drafted the manuscript of his book *A Mind That Found Itself* after his release from an insane asylum. The book included an agenda for mental hygiene societies (Rochefort and Goering 1998) and was published in 1908 under the sponsorship of two other central figures: William James and Adolph Meyer. I followed the promotional and educational literature of the movement, the most visible part of which was a quarterly journal of *Mental Hygiene,* aimed at "leaders of the community" and readable by "lawyers, clergymen, public officials, and students of social problems." By 1924 *Mental Hygiene* had some 5,000 subscribers. That same year it was joined by a monthly Mental Hygiene Bulletin, distributed to about 10,000 subscribers (Cohen 1983:133; Matthews 1979). I also include mission statements and personal correspondence by the key organizers as part of the study.

Second, I use archival data to trace the communication between scholars of the two countries. The richest resource here proved to be the proceedings on international congresses and conferences, including the published reviews of the conferences. The proceedings of the First International Mental Hygiene Conference that were published 1932, two years after the conference, include two volumes which come to about 800 pages each. Importantly, in addition to the published papers presented at the conferences, the proceedings include transcriptions of discussions that followed the presentation, allowing one to see the way scholars engaged with the topic.

In addition, I used citation tracking to estimate the impact of research studies and identify leading scholars of the time. To do that, I analyzed how a specific research study has been cited by others, who has cited a particular study, and explored what disciplines are represented by those subsequent citations.

To explore the Soviet part of the story, in addition to secondary historical literature, I spent a total of 6 months working in *The Russian Federal Archive*, Moscow, managed by Rosarkhiv (The Federal Archival Agency of Russia), which preserves official documents of the Russian Federation as well as many other resources. It was established in Moscow in 1992 and acquired collections of *the Central State Archive of the October Revolution* (founded in 1923) and the *Central State Archive of the Russian SFSR* (founded in 1920). Soviet-era documents constitute the major part of the archive. In particular, I looked at the documents of the *Russian General Executive Committee* (ВЦИК, 1917-1936), *Central General Executive Committee of the USSR* (ЦИК СССР, 1922-1938), and *USSR Labor and Defense Council* (1923-1937). I analyzed the funds of the Central State Organizations (Committee on Population Health; Central Bureau on Physical Culture (P7710; 1929-1930 – over 300 pages); Central Research University on Labor Protection (P9569; 1925-1932); Association for Cultural Commination with Foreign

Countries (P528; 1923-1937); Central Council of Sport Organizations (P8410, 65 pages) and voluntary organizations like Science and Methodology Organization "International Red Stadium" (P4346); The Association of Scientific Organization of Labor (P5286); Association of psyche-techniques and applied psyche-physiology (P7884; 1927-1930); and The Institute For Studies of Brain and Psychiatric Activity. (A2307, including the reports by each department and conference proceedings).

I also included the original scholarly manuscripts by the central leaders of the movement (aka Lev Vygotsky and A.B. Zalkind) and their personal communications with the Soviet State (like visa applications) and with American scholars.

Of course, one has to say that there is a caveat to using official archives: the records are standardized, written for some purpose and audience, and they contain certain sets of assumptions, which are undoubtedly influenced by mission and policy. Particularly in the case of the USSR, public documents are often fragmented and have gaps in data. One always works from small islands of information, and one has to often infer what lies between these islands. I have done my best to point out the darker, less certain aspects of my work.

The dissertation proceeds as follows.

In *Chapter* 2 I provide historical context for the rest of the dissertation. I argue that although the United States and the Soviet Union vary widely in terms of their political, social and economic history, they are comparable because of the social and historical context of that time, e.g. industrialization, immigration, and World War I. I will briefly outline the key elements of American and Imperial/Soviet Russian history between 1900 and the 1930s.

The beginning of the 20th century was marked by "the displacement of the evolutionary by the revolutionary mode of thinking" and thus the rise of the belief in the need for active

radical intervention to bring about social change (Kumar 1978:167). Arguably, this social context facilitated the rise of the Progressivism in the United States and Socialism in Russia. The obvious commonality between the two would be the goal of improving the conditions of individuals through government action. A driving assumption was that humanity could be perfected, that new industrial societies required intervention to achieve those goals, and that it was the obligation of the government to do all it could to reach those goal (Ayers, Gould, Oshinsky and Soderlund 2011). This chapter includes the discussion of the rise of the idea of the new man and specifically the utopian beliefs about science that became popular during the time period.

The next three chapters trace the historical roots of our current cultural obsession with power as self-improvement. *Chapter 3*, "*"To Transform the Yahoo Into a Man": The Rise of Mental Hygiene Movement in the US, 1910s"* gives an analytical history of how the search for a scientific solution to the perceived problem of "modern man" gave rise to the popular-scientific movement of Mental Hygiene. American intellectuals in the beginning of the 20th century thought that society would move toward efficiency, order, and unity. Science, guided by expert minds, would enable the control of social phenomena, primarily by adjusting people to their changing environment (Morawski 1982). In the next chapter, "*The New Soviet Man and the Diffusion of Mental Hygiene"* I drew on the archival and secondary data to show how the Soviet scholars and public intellectuals incorporated American discussions of mental hygiene into the new state policies. I show that Soviet scholars were explicitly interested in multiple works of western scholars, particularly behaviorism and mental hygiene. To the psychologies of the twenties, man was an adaptive mechanism that responded to external forces in such a way as to maintain equilibrium between himself and his environment. However, Soviet scholars placed emphasis on the reshaping of human nature that would take place automatically as the

institutions of society were changed. Chapter 5 builds on the idea of "circulation" and identifies the ways in which American scholars were inspired by quick progress of the Mental Hygiene movement of the Soviet Union. These ideas circulated through personal networks, translations of scholarly works, and conference attendance. These chapters serve as a basis for Chapter 6, where I explore how framing of mental hygiene within the broader goals of society led to the different ways in which therapeutic power was exercised in the US and USSR. Both countries seek to produce voluntary compliance for mental health policies by inculcating into its populace certain types of mental practices (most notably, self-discipline), but the absence of consensus in the US in the context of growing professionalization of psychology means less direct implementation in comparison to the USSR. In contrast, Soviet scholars displayed a much higher level of general consensus on a number of issues and were significantly more comfortable with the ideas of public good and the nature of the individual.

In the beginning of the 20th century much attention from scientists and education activists focused on bringing up a "New Man", one who has high self-esteem, able to withstand the demands of the modern way of life. In combination with a growing new image of American children as precious, fragile, and vulnerable, by the late 1980s the idea of mental hygiene had transformed into the self-esteem movement and is currently re-imagined in terms of "grit". Despite different terminology, these current developments show that some important concepts from the mental hygiene movement have become entrenched in the contemporary culture. In Chapter Seven, I used government reports, news articles, and books to outline some of the ways in which mental hygiene presents itself in modern debates.

CHAPTER 2: Historical Context of the Rise of "The New Man"

Understanding fears of cultural decline and decay is crucial to understanding the social and cultural climate of the rise and spread of the Mental Hygiene movement. This chapter traces the historical roots of this concern with "maladjustment". I will briefly outline the key elements of American and Imperial/Soviet Russian history between 1900 and 1929. It must be emphasized that I do not aim to find one common denominator for all of the psychological theories. Instead, I am interested in the much broader socio-cultural configuration that facilitated the rise of the mental hygiene movement. To be sure, this short chapter cannot do full justice to the complex history of the end of the nineteenth century, so I aim to paint a very broad picture of social, political, and cultural concerns at the time.

Many have sought to portray communism as a foreign, exotic phenomenon of underdeveloped societies with deeply autocratic traditions. This was and is a convenient way of imposing a figurative Iron Curtain between Western political and social ideals - as well as Western movements for social change, economic equality, and the moral improvement of society - and their communist counterparts. Instead, I argue that although the United States and the Soviet Union vary widely in terms of their political, social and economic history, they are comparable because of the social and historical context of the time, in particular industrialization, immigration, and World War I. The American and the Soviet experiment of creating the New Man serves as an example of an overarching theme throughout modern world history: whenever significant social transformation occurs, a much deeper and more anxious concern about human development amid changing circumstances lies beneath the various political and economic goals people claim at the time. This concern consists of two parts: one is to what extent and for what purpose the new circumstances can shape or reform human nature,

and the other is to what extent and for what purpose this "remade" creature can serve political power and make history.

The goal of making people better or more virtuous seems to be one of a fundamental and passionate human impulse. Scholars tend to locate the general impulse to reform humanity, along with the idea that it would be possible to do so through environmental changes, in the Enlightenment. Most famously on the transformation of human nature, Max Weber's study *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* pointed to the relationship between the ethics of ascetic Protestantism and the emergence of the spirit of modern capitalism. Weber argues that the religious ideas of groups such as the Calvinists played a role in creating the capitalistic spirit. Weber first observes a correlation between being Protestant and being involved in business, and declares his intent to explore religion as a potential cause of modern economic conditions. He argues that the modern spirit of capitalism sees profit as an end in itself, and pursuing profit as virtuous. To understand the source of this spirit, Weber turns to Protestantism for a potential explanation. Protestantism offers a concept of the worldly "calling," and gives worldly activity a religious character. While important, this alone cannot explain the need to pursue profit. In particular, he points to one branch of Protestantism, Calvinism, that does provide this explanation. Calvinists believe in predestination - that God has already determined who is saved and damned. As Calvinism developed, a deep psychological need for clues about whether one was actually saved arose, and Calvinists looked to their success in worldly activity for those clues. Thus, they came to value profit and material success as signs of God's favor (Weber 1930).

Since then sociologists like Philip Gorski have further emphasized the importance of disciplining practices to the rise of strong states. For him the key ingredient in explaining the rise of strong states is the emergence of discipline for religious reasons at every level of society, and the most intensive form of this discipline is the one developed by Calvinists. In the Netherlands

he finds a state that became strong by discipline emerging from below. In Brandenburg-Prussia he finds a state that became strong by imposing discipline from above from the electoral government. In each state Calvinist churches played an important role in introducing discipline — in the Netherlands as a favored church in a relatively pluralistic society, in Brandenburg-Prussia as a minority church favored by a governing elite. This discipline was ecclesiastical, as administered by Calvinist consistories, social, as applied in agencies of poor relief, and political, in controlling the creation of cadres of administrators and the drilling of armies.

He argues that

> Like the industrial revolution was driven by a key technology [steam], the disciplinary revolution was driven by a key technology: the technology of observation - self-observation, mutual observation, hierarchical observation. For it was observation - surveillance - that made it possible to unleash the energies of the human soul ... and harness them for the purposes of political power and domination. ... by creating more obedient and industrious subjects with less coercion and violence discipline dramatically increased, not only the regulatory power of the state but its extractive and coercive capacities as well. (Gorski 2003:xvi)

Thus, there is nothing new about attempts to impose social discipline on the populace; after all, urban magistrates and territorial rulers had been attempting to alter the behavior of their subjects for decades and even centuries through a plethora of legislation governing everything from the rations allowed the poor to the clothing permitted the rich. While the period of history that has been termed "Early Modern" - from the end of the Middle Ages until about the 17th century - is important formatively, states generally lacked the administrative capacities to enforce the rules.

I use a specifically social scientific definition of modernity here and exclude conceptualizations of modernity and/or modernism employed primarily in the humanities and elsewhere. Modern, modernity, and modernism are extremely ambiguous terms: modern may be used to refer to anything which is viewed as contemporary rather than traditional; modernity is often equated with modernization or economic and technological developments only; and

modernism most often refers to a movement in the arts that emphasized experimentation and often subversion of traditional forms in painting, literature, music, and architecture, beginning around 1850 and continuing though 1950.

A "modern" society is one in which "project" becomes the central dynamic of the society. Project in this sense can be defined as "purposeful future-oriented activity, geared to the achievement of practical, secular goals, and capable of elaboration into life-governing values and priorities that can make sense of - and in - individual life narratives" (Jervis 1999:54). "Modern" then implies ways of living oriented toward rational, purposive strategies of organization and control of both the natural and social environments with the goals of understanding and transforming those environments, ostensibly for the benefits of individuals and of society.

In a modern society, humans are reconstructed as appropriate subjects who can carry out this process of projects through becoming "civilized" and "Enlightened". The civilizing process is connected to the changing requirements of everyday life from the decentralized, rank-structured, hierarchical social relationships of the Middle Ages to the rise of the modern state. Norbert Elias (1897 - 1990), a German-Polish-Jewish-British sociologist wrote about the relationship between power, behavior, emotion, and knowledge across time. In his two-volume book, *The Civilizing Process*, where Elias describes how *habitus,* the taken-for-granted aspects of culture that bind people into groups, e.g. manners, developed outwards from royal courts and spread across different classes as a result of particular processes in state formation as well as social life. For instance, Elias argues that "the use of each [eating] utensils is … formed very gradually in conjunction with the structure and changes of human relationships" (Elias 2000:2).

"The concept of civilization", argues Elias, "sums up everything in which Western society of the last two or three centuries believes itself to be superior to earlier societies or "more primitive" contemporary ones. By this term Western society seeks to describe what constitutes

its special character and what it is proud of: the level of its technology, the nature of its manners, the development of its scientific knowledge or view of the world, and much more" (2000). However, Elias uses the term civilization in a more particular manner, as a change of human conduct and sentiment in "a quite specific direction". Moreover, "civilization" here is not the result of calculated long-term planning or development of "rationality". Rather, its "rationality" is the *result* of the civilizing process that happened due to the specific figuration of social relations.

As for the general direction of the civilizing process, it is the process of, first of all, internalizing constraints into self-constraints. Thus, argues Elias, the prohibitions of medieval society, even at the feudal courts did not yet impose any very great restraint on the play of emotions. Compared with later eras, social control was mild (2000). Elias suggests that

> the modeling of the individual self-steering .... [is] to be found wherever, under competitive pressures, the division of functions makes large numbers of people dependent on one another, wherever a monopolization of physical force permits and imposes a co-operation less charged with emotion, wherever functions are established that demand hindsight and foresight in interpreting the actions and intentions of others.(2000)

The Enlightenment Project, centered on the sociopolitical dimensions of life, aspired to the realization of a rational, emancipated social order, independent of tradition, religion, and imposed hierarchies. Enlightenment transformed the civilizing process into a project through strategies to produce "better citizens" by means of political and educational reform.

By the nineteenth century the project of modernity was at the core of Western society. This project involved rational, purposive strategies of organization and control in order to appropriate the natural and social world. One classic study of this process is the work by Eugene Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, which gives an account of France's "modernization" during the Third Republic, 1870-1914. The thesis, briefly, is this: most of France in 1870 consisted of isolated and generally impoverished peasant communities where the urban-based French culture,

French language, and national consciousness had made only the most tenuous inroads, despite the Revolutions of 1789 and 1848 and despite economic changes during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. Urban travelers in rural France were confronted with a backward people who used a bewildering variety of ancient measures, spoke "a wealth of tongues," and still believed in the power of sorcerers, magic fountains, and priests' cassocks. But all of this changed, claims Weber, particularly during the period 1880-1910, as "underdeveloped France was integrated into the modern world and the official culture of Paris, of the cities" (xii). Traditional feasts, fairs, and markets, charivaris, and much of the oral culture of the traditional peasant community disappeared. Peasants had become Frenchmen. He identifies three "agencies of change" that transformed France. (1) The transportation revolution, particularly better roads and the railway, expanded the economy and bridged the gap between the two worlds. (2) Educational reforms spread the French language and "suggestions of alternative values and hierarchies; and of commitments to other bodies than the local group" (p. 338). (3) Universal military service forced peasants to learn commands barked in French, read French signs, and, at least temporarily, leave the world of yesterday. By World War I, the closed French rural community had been pried open, and in 1914 Frenchmen marched off to war singing and even correctly pronouncing the words of the Marseillaise, which thirty years before would have been unthinkable (Weber 1976).

Thus, the human being becomes reconstructed as the subject without whom the realization of the project of modernity is impossible. The construction of this unified, coherent modern subject involves a difficult process of controlling or expelling aspects of the self that falls short of the rational, civilized, Enlightened ideal. Both knowledge and control are essential to the construction of population. Hence, the nineteenth century's large scale social surveys and scientific/psychological/medical studies of populations are important in terms of knowledge,

construction and normalization. The twentieth century multiplied and widen the search for ways to perfect human nature due specific social changes, like industrialization, urbanization, immigration, the First World War, and the rise of faith in science. How to adapt and survive in this brave new world became a subject that many writers addressed. The fear that the human body and mind could not be made to fit in with modern times was most intense and crucial for understanding how the narratives of the "New Man" developed.

Social, Political, and Cultural Conditions at the end of 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

 Industrialization

In the 19th century, the Industrial Revolution enormously expanded both the wealth and military power of European countries, but it also generated new social problems associated with urbanization. Governments responded with industrial regulations and social welfare programs to safeguard the productive capacity of the workforce (Hoffmann 2000). Rodgers emphasizes how, in the years between the 1870s and the Second World War, as a result of a new set of institutional connections with the industrializing nations of Europe, American politics was peculiarly open to foreign models and imported ideas (Rodgers 1998:4). This was the period of rapid industrialization, connected to the larger transformations associated with modernity: the growth of scientific consciousness, the development of a secular outlook, the doctrine of progress, instrumental rationality, individualistic understanding of self (Gaonkar 1999, (Gaonkar 1999) drawing on Daniel Bell). The social transformations refer to the emergence and institutionalization of market-driven industrial economies, bureaucratically administered states, modes of popular government, rule of law, mass-media, and increased mobility, literacy, and urbanization. In addition we can point to the increased homogeneity of social life as epitomized in mass production, and the standardization of money (Zelizer 1997) and time (Kern 1983).

In the US, two specific terms that came to epitomize the industrialization and standartization of the modern order were Fordism and Scientific Management. Fordism takes its

name from the mass production systems of Henry Ford, and is identified with an involved

technical division of labor within companies and their production units. Other characteristics of

Fordism include strong hierarchical control, with workers in a production line often restricted to

one single task, usually specialized and unskilled. Most famously, Gramsci in his writing on

Fordism stressed the importance of projects of moral regulation associated with the rise of

Fordist relations of production:

> People who laugh at these initiatives (failures though they were) and see in
> them only a hypocritical manifestation of 'Puritanism' thereby deny
> themselves any possibility of understanding the importance, significance and
> objective import of the American phenomenon, which is *also* the biggest
> collective effort to create, with unprecedented speed, and with a
> consciousness of purpose unmatched in history, a new type of worker
> (Gramsci 1971:302).

Scientific management, on the other hand, "originated" with Fredrick Winslow Taylor in

1911. In Taylor's view, the task of factory management was to determine the best way for the

worker to do the job, to provide the proper tools and training, and to provide incentives for good

performance. He broke each job down into its individual motions, analyzed these to determine

which were essential, and timed the workers with a stopwatch. With unnecessary motion

eliminated, the worker, following a machinelike routine, became far more productive. That is,

Taylor made it clear that what was needed to overcome the perceived sloth of "bad" management

was a 'complete change of mind' both on the side of the workers and of the employer (as cited in

Kössler and Muchie 1990:146).

Many comparisons can be made between the two theories, such as the mechanization,

fragmentation and specialization of work and the idea that a lack of intellectual or skilled content

will speed up the work at hand. Fordism fused and emphasized scientific methods to get things

done in Ford's successful mass-production processes. Contrasts also exist between the two

theories. Fordism dehumanized the worker whereas scientific management convinced the

workers that their goals could be readily achieved along with their employers goals, therefore

they should all work together in this direction. The metaphor of the "human motor" summarized this well, and it managed to move across multiple fields, from popular science to military reform to debate on social issues, and thus informed many utopian social and political ideologies of the early 20th century (Mann 2005). It emphasized the theme of modern efficiency and rationality and conceived of the body both as a productive force and as a political instrument whose energies could be subjected to scientifically designed systems of organization. And as such, according to Rabinbach, this image helped propel the ambitious state-sponsored reforms of the late 19th and early 20th century Europe (Rabinbach 1992:2).

Scholars like Schrand (2003) have suggested that industrialization had similar effects on social reproduction in capitalist and socialist societies. Thus it is not surprising that the early Socialist state relied heavily on the ideas of 'scientific management' when conceptualizing their new worker. This new person was conceived as "self-sacrificing, self-denying, self-disciplined, and unselfish, but also as self-assured and heroic in their dedication to the common good" (Engelstein and Sandler 2000:1). Scholars suggest that despite the collectivist ideology for which Soviet culture is known, cultivation of the self was in many ways congruent with the defining practices of that culture. Jochen Hellbeck (Hellbeck 2009, 1998) goes even further in seeing the production of a specifically Soviet self as central to the fulfillment of the regime's political aspirations.

According to Kössler (1990), Taylorism appealed to crucial, mutually related tenets of Bolshevism, modernism and centralism. In Soviet Russia, Scientific Management was transformed into the Scientific Organization of Work (*Nauchnaia Organizatsia Truda, NOT*), at the Central Institute of Work *(Tsentral'nyi Institut Truda, TsIT)*, headed by A. K. Gastev. Even in 1918, Gastev had extolled industrial productivity as the principal aim of Soviet power. He had advocated breaking the 'enormous resistance by the working masses', who in his view were

acting 'at present as vermin, not as producers', by training 'social engineers' drawn from among qualified workers, but by no means from the *chernorabochie*, the mass workers. These functionaries were to enforce a number of measures that were anathema to most Russian Communists at the time: primarily, the standardization of work. Gastev's program dovetailed with Lenin's modernizing perspective: Russian workers had to be elevated to the level of Western practice in the standardization of work and thus to be enabled to develop a relationship towards the State as the owner of industry along the lines of Western industrial relations. Further, 'Taylor's system' was to be put into practice in Russia 'on the level of the state'.

Immigration and Peasants: Concerns over the Quality of People

Scholars have shown that the intertwining of morality, illness, and consequent policy outcomes has a long history. For instance, in the late 1400s outbreaks of syphilis across Europe were blamed on "dirty" foreigners. The Russians blamed the Polish, the English and Turkish blamed the French, the French blamed the Italians, the Italians blamed the Spanish, and the Spanish claimed the disease had travelled from Hispaniola (Haiti) with Columbus. In the 1800s, cholera epidemics in Britain and the colonies were blamed on the poor as a nervous middle class defined poverty and illness as products of moral deficiency (Adams 2011:2). But the history of modernity in particular is above all the history of a particular complex of biopolitics, or ideas, practices, and institutions focused on the care, regulation, disciplining, improvement, and shaping of individual bodies and the collective "body" of national populations (Dickinson 2004). Biopolitics in this sense includes medical practices from individual therapy and regimes of personal hygiene to the great public health campaigns and institutions; social welfare programs, again from individualized care for particular populations to larger-scale and quasi-universal programs such as social insurance and tax policies intended to encourage particular demographic outcomes; the whole complex of racial science, from physical anthropology to the various racial

theories; eugenics and the science of human heredity; demography; scientific management and occupational health; and at least potentially the full range of related disciplines and practices such as psychiatry and psychology, discourses of self-improvement (nudism, vegetarianism, fitness and nutrition fads, temperance), regimes of beauty, and the like.

The overarching aim of all these disciplines was to create a more powerful and prosperous society by maximizing health and efficiency. All of them operated through the creation of expert knowledge centered around the project of the "normalization" of the individual and his or her physical characteristics and (social and private) behaviors, and the corresponding "pathologization of difference" — the definition of some characteristics and behaviors as healthy and natural, and of others as diseased, unhealthy, unnatural, and in need of containment, stigmatization, treatment, or elimination. This dual process is central to the functioning of biopolitics as a conceptual framework and as a set of social practices — it serves as the critical legitimating discourse for policy, and defines its targets and ends.

Thus, Gastev's modernising perspective implied, as did Lenin's, deep skepticism towards the productive potential of the Russian working class. Thus TsIT, called for 'brushing up the work force' by 'a swift method of learning to work' to counteract 'the continuous disqualification of the working class'. In more concrete terms, "obligations of the worker for a certain level of productivity and a certain result of his work" were inferred from Socialism; TsIT therefore advocated "a careful processing of Man" aimed at alleviating the burden of his work and explicitly complementing the mere 'processing of things'. The TSIT variety of NOT featured the 'social engineer', the central figure of 'the new industrial gospel' of Taylorism and Fordism (Maier, 1970:28). The quest for the engineering of social processes, based on exact units of measurement and the 'complete mathematization of psycho-physiology and economics' (Gastev, 1921:15) epitomized a mechanist approach in research, training and consultancy (cf. Baumgarten

1924:14; Tatur 1979:42). This orientation is emphasized by Gastev's watchwords including: 'Man - the finest of machines, equipped with the most accurate of auto-regulators: the brain' (as cited in Kössler and Muchie 1990:143).

Thus, workers were to be adapted to machinery in optimal fashion, in keeping with the integral application of means of production developed under industrial capitalism and with the programmatic call for 'overtaking' the industrialized capitalist countries on a road of development of industrial productive forces offering no alternative route.

The Ts1T concept dovetailed perfectly with Lenin's view of the proletariat, the party and the working class. TsIT therefore included the workers' lifestyle outside working hours as an important determinant of working behavior in terms of order, punctuality and cleanliness; the factory as a social context, however, was not a topic of research or a point of reference.

The training of work discipline was to be mediated automatically by the set-up of the learner's environment, 'not by means of subjective, enforcing influence'. Besides regularity, evenness, concentration and planning in work as well as of regular and well-defined working pauses, a self-restrained attitude was stressed with regard to success or failure (Gastev 1971:270).

At the same time, the US was struggling with immigration issues. It was a scholarly fashion, circa 1890, to declare the U.S. frontier "closed" and to sound a Malthusian alarm about excess American population growth. But many professionals who wrote on immigration increasingly emphasized not the quantity of immigrants, but their quality. The waves of new Americans from impoverished   rural zones of emigration that swept into the nation were thought to be simple rural people of limited skill for an advanced economy, unschooled in the norms of civic life, ignorant of democratic   processes.   The new   ethnic groups   were   seen as   unsophisticated,

pre-moderns, and, as "peasants, they had not the background or skills to make their way in the economy of the New World." Whatever   progress the new ethnic groups achieved in cultural and civic matters was only possible through learning and adapting to American influence, a process   of   assimilation   that instilled   social   discipline in personal and public life and an appreciation for American democracy.

"If we could leave out of account the question of race and eugenics," Irving Fisher (1921, pp. 226-227) said in his presidential address to the *Eugenics Research Association*, "I should, as an economist, be inclined to the view that unrestricted immigration ... is economically advantageous to the country as a whole....   "But, cautioned Fisher, "the core of the problem of immigration is ... one of race and eugenics," the problem of the Anglo-Saxon racial stock being overwhelmed by racially inferior "defectives, delinquents and dependents." Fear and dislike of immigrants certainly were not new in the Progressive Era. But leading professional economists were among the first to provide scientific respectability for immigration restriction on racial grounds. They justified race-based immigration restriction as a remedy for "race suicide," a Progressive Era term for the process by which racially superior stock ("natives") is outbred by a more prolific, but racially inferior stock (immigrants).

The term "race suicide" is often attributed to Edward A. Ross (1901:88), who believed that "the higher race quietly and unmurmuringly eliminates itself rather than endure individually the bitter competition it has failed to ward off by collective action." Ross was no outlier. He was a founding member of the *American Economic Association*, a pioneering sociologist and a leading public intellectual who boasted that his books sold in the hundreds of thousands. Ross's coinage gained enough currency to be used by Theodore Roosevelt, who called race suicide the "greatest problem of civilization."

Moreover, David Hoffman emphasizes the effect of the rise of *mass politics and mass warfare* to explain aspirations to reshape society in the twentieth century. He argues that in an age of popular sovereignty, political leaders had to meet the needs and interests of the people, and they came to see the population as a source of legitimacy to be served. And in an era of mass warfare, state power and national security depended more than ever on the labor and military capacity of the population. Particularly during the First World War, government leaders in all combatant states sought to regulate people's health, welfare, and reproduction so as to safeguard their countries' "human capital" and "military manpower." They also established extensive surveillance networks to monitor their populations, as well as internment camps to remove "enemy aliens" and "unreliable" ethnic groups from the body social (Hoffmann 2011:9).

Finally, I would like to point to two major cultural figures that influenced both American and Soviet approaches to the transformation of human nature: Charles Darwin and Sigmund Freud.

Social Darwinism

What Ulrich Herbert, among many others, called "the biologization of the social", appears here as a (often, the) central defining characteristic of modernity (Dickinson 2004). In particular, the rise of imperalism and social Darwinism in the 19th century contributed to modern population politics and practices (Hoffmann 2000). The decade between 1859 (the publication date of Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species*) and 1871 (that of *The Descent of Man*) generated a proliferation of articles attempting to apply some of Darwin's major ideas to the social realm. These rudimentary notions were then elaborated and popularized by Herbert Spencer and other advocates of Darwin's theories. Darwinism continues to influence social and political discourse, largely because of Charles Darwin's own tendency to couch his theories in terms acceptable to his contemporaries. Although Darwin was liberal for his time and opposed non-rational religion,

he was anxious about appearing too radical and worried that his ideas would be rejected. He assured readers that England was progressive, its colonial domination was inevitable, and gender divisions were natural. Darwin allowed his ideas to defend the dominance of science and industrial technology as the result of a natural progression. Since then the concept of the survival of the fittest (whether intellectually or militarily) has been applied to nations, and has been used to defend both Nazi Germany & liberal democracies (Jones 1994).

Darwinism naturalized, so to speak, the moderns' belief in the possibility (or inevitability) of progress; but it also naturalized their sense of existential threat, of the iron necessity of change if dissolution and extinction were to be avoided. The biomedical sciences were also arguably uniquely central to the project of renovating the human world, of defining and investigating the problems and potentials of human beings and human populations. Eugenics in particular — the study of the (alleged) inheritance of physical, intellectual, and social characteristics in human populations — occupied a key place in this emerging model. The fear of degeneration neatly summed up the moderns' sense of crisis, and at the same time eugenics expressed the almost religious sense of possibility at the heart of modernity, by holding out the promise of transcendence, of improving the actual material of humanity itself. Koch argued that Social Darwinism's success stemmed in part from the increasing participation of the masses in politics, making it less rational and more emotional, and from the fact that statesmen have been able to mobilize the masses more easily in the name of the struggle for survival by invoking the specter of internal or external dangers (Koch 1984).

Scholars who have investigated the history of Darwinism in Russia in the late nineteenth century have noted the unusual enthusiasm with which intellectuals there received it. Historians note that unlike its reception in the West, Darwinism met almost no opposition in Russia from either the scientists or the social thinkers. "One reason for this receptivity was that by the last

decades of the empire the intelligentsia of Russia usually defined itself in oppositional terms to the Church and monarchy; intellectuals seized upon scientific explanations of man's origins as natural allies in their struggle against these authorities. In addition, the intelligentsia wanted to close the gap between the culture of Russia and that of Western Europe; in their effort to do so, they often embraced uncritically the latest scientific trends coming from the West. By the first decades of the twentieth century, however, biologists in Russia had moved far beyond mere imitation of Western science and had formed a center of outstanding genetics research, entirely in step with new trends and in some respects even leading the way.

Acceptance of Freud in the U.S. And Russia.

While other scholars have located the origins of the self-help attitude in the United States in 19th century spiritual movements, and even earlier to the self-sufficiency advocated by Benjamin Franklin, for Eva Illouz, it is Freud, as a Weberian charismatic figure, who inadvertently launched the U.S. self-help mentality. In particular, it was Freud's warm reception at Clark University and the quick adoption of his ideas by the budding professionals of 20th century self-help culture that set the course for quick diffusion of psychoanalytic perspectives on sexuality, work, and the family. In his fifth lecture at Clark, Freud echoed a sentiment that Americans had long endorsed when he said, "The energetic and successful man is he who succeeds by his work in transforming his wishful fantasies into reality." Thus, Illouz credits Freud with advancing "the meritocratic and voluntarist narrative of self-help." Illouz claims as a general truism that cultural ideas are more likely to catch on if they reconcile social contradictions (Illouz 2008:50). The tremendous success of Freud's ideas is due to the fact that they made seemingly sensible two countervailing demands on the modern self. Psychoanalysis provides the injunction to turn inward to search for authenticity and individuality. At the same time, individuals are called by the institutions of modernity to be outwardly rational. What Illouz

means by rationality seems to be the vocal and social examination of the self. Freud's success was not due only to the fact that he addressed the uncertainties of the self, but also because media industries were eager to build upon the themes and genres his work constructed.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the situation in Russia was not unlike that in other European countries: the asylums were overcrowded and understaffed, there was no accepted psychiatric diagnostic classification system, and there were no reliable medications. The most prominent Russian physicians interested in psychiatry (e.g., Vladimir Bekhterev, Sergei Korsakov, Vladimir Serbskii, and Ivan Sechenov) defended a neurological view of mental illness and were influenced by German neurology and physiology. Like their European colleagues, they could not very well explain, nor provide cures for, traditionally diagnosed disorders such as melancholia, mania, epilepsy, and hysteria.

It was in this situation, and against the background of a social upheaval (e.g., political terrorism and pogroms) that seemed to call for an explanation in terms of irrational forces in man himself, that many Russian researchers, in search of alternatives, turned to Freud and other psychodynamic thinkers. The Russian interest in psychoanalysis became apparent around 1910 when the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society included such Russians as Leonid Drosnes, Tatiana Rosenthal, Sabina Spielrein, and Moshe Wulff. Of these researchers, Spielrein contributed original theoretical ideas that were valued by Freud and Jung. Back in Russia, Nikolai Osipov published enthusiastic review papers on psychoanalysis as well as his own case histories. A journal, *Psychotherapy,* was almost entirely devoted to the publication of western psychodynamic research, and in 1911 Osipov and others founded the Russian Psychoanalytic Society (Miller 1998).

Thus the interest in psychoanalysis and psychodynamic thought at large was quite prevalent in imperial Russia (Currie, Kuzmina and Nadyuk 2012). And after the revolution of

1917, psychoanalysis became truly fashionable in Russia. There was hope that psychological knowledge would help to restore a national economy that had been exhausted by the wars Russia waged during the early twentieth century, to foster rapid industrial development, and to establish the collectivization of agriculture. In the 1920s, "Freudism," as the Bolsheviks labeled psychoanalytic study, by analogy with the accustomed word "Marxism," was perceived as a scientifically based promise of the real, not hypothetical, alteration of man achieved trough the reformation of his consciousness. After a time, former psychoanalyst Aron Zalkind would announce the resounding success of his pedagogical experiments in scientifically constructing a 'new man of the masses' (Etkind, Rubins and Rubins 1997).

Soviet-American Relations at the Time

This is also a very peculiar time in the history of the Russia and US relations. Politically, the relationships had been worsening since the end of the 19th century. Interestingly, historian John Gaddis saw the [perceived] lack of rationality and efficiency of the tsarist government as central to the end of friendliness that persisted throughout most of the 19th century: "…Roosevelt would have found it difficult to cooperate with the Russians, not because they were autocratic, but because they were "so corrupt, so treacherous and shifty, and so incompetent." This, in the end, may have been tsarist Russia's greatest sin in the eyes of progressive Americans: "not its despotic government, not its imperialism, but its inefficiency" (Gaddis 1978:41).

The 1920s and 1930s are the period of political "non-recognition" between the two countries. This, however, did not stop economic relations between the countries. On one side, Lenin pushed for economic ties with the Western World, in particular the US. On the other side, official Washington was eager to promote overseas trade and investment opportunities for American businessmen. As a result, extensive contacts grew up in the 1920s between individual

American firms and the Soviet government. For instance, technical aid contracts, under which foreign firms or individuals provided engineering and managerial skills for a fixed fee, were negotiated with increasing frequency in the late 1920s. It has been estimated that as many as 1000 American engineers held individual technical aid contracts during the First Five-Year Plan and many more were in Russia under contracts signed with American corporations. Especially noteworthy were the activities of the Albert Kahn Company, an industrial architecture firm which designed some 600 plants in Russia; the General Electric Company, which built the massive Dneiprostroy dam and provided other forms of technical assistance to the Soviet electrical industry; and, of course, Henry Ford, whose company virtually single-handedly created the Soviet automobile and truck industry. Thus, the overall effect of US policy during the non-recognition period came close to being the very opposite from what Washington had intended: the US inadvertently played a considerable role in laying the economic foundations of Soviet power (1978:98-103).

Towards the New Man of the Twentieth Century

Thus, the beginning of the 20th century was marked by "the displacement of the evolutionary by the revolutionary mode of thinking" and the rise of the belief in the need for active radical intervention to bring about social change (Kumar 1978:167). In these conditions, science became central to transnational institutions and routinely incorporated into policy prescriptions. Several factors were involved (see Finnemore 1996; Schofer 1999; Drori, Ramirez & Schofer 2003). The culture of Western science itself, with its strong vision of universality provided a key basis for early trans-national organizing, as did rapid professionalization (Merton 1973; Schofer 1999). But a critical factor was the rise of the instrumentalist view. As early as Bacon, people imagined science as a means to "progress" and social betterment (Hall 1983). The

twentieth century saw an unprecedented efflorescence of this worldview as a distinct cultural form, exemplified by the rise of "socially oriented science" (Schofer 1999) and the "science-for-development" visions among international organizations and development banks (Drori et al. 2003:102-3).

Likewise, the radical changes in social organization that followed the Russian revolution of 1917 were reflected in scientific viewpoints. The emerging socialist order encompassed all areas of life, including science. In addition to explaining the nature of the world, Marxism includes three other principles adopted by Lenin. One is that human knowledge flows from the objective world, which determines the categories by which people think. Moreover, because reality is defined as the material world, Lenin also asserted that science (not other disciplines) must discover facts about that reality. He labeled the use of ideas or other mental approaches to describing reality as subjective and, therefore, untrustworthy. Consistent with that view, Lenin supported the use of objective research methods and quantitative rather than qualitative methods (Bauer 1952:49). Second, consistent with the belief that knowledge flows from the objective world is the belief that thinking is influenced primarily by the social environment. In other words, society, appropriately structured, could create "the New Man." A corollary of the role of the social environment is that individuals raised in different cultural environments will differ in both the content of their thinking and the ways that they think. This view became a foundational principle of Lev Vygotsky's cultural–historical theory. A third Marxist principle that became prominent in Soviet social science research is that practice is the criterion of theory. Researchers must confirm or validate their theoretical principles through implementation. In the Soviet Union, this principle meant that researchers should establish a clear social purpose for their work by linking it to social needs (Gredler and Shields 2008).

Additionally, the emergence of new disciplines (demography, social hygiene, psychology) and new technologies of social intervention (censuses, housing inspections, mass psychological testing) greatly heightened the ambitions of reformers to eliminate social problems and refashion society. The amassing of social statistics, for example, made social problems more legible and emboldened professionals and government officials to propose comprehensive solutions. Epidemiology swelled the faith of public health officials in the revelatory powers of science and the problem-solving abilities of modern medicine (Hoffmann 2011). Likewise, historians have described the growth of the therapeutic professions as an advance in rational problem-solving. Frederick Jackson Turner saw the emerging class of professionals as neutral mediators who would transform social problems into technical problems. Sociologists have seen the rise of professions as a way to ameliorate social conflict (Edward Ross - social engineering; Veblen - leisure class and the scientific and rational culture of the engineers, and Rieff has famously termed it the "triumph of the therapeutic").

Arguably, this social context facilitated the rise of the Progressivism in the United States and Socialism in Russia. The obvious commonality between the two would be the goal of improving the conditions of individuals through government action. A driving assumption was that humanity could be perfected, that new industrial societies, required intervention to achieve those goals, and that it was the obligation of the government to do all it could to reach that goal (Ayers, Gould, Oshinsky and Soderlund 2011). In Russia, the fall of the tsar in 1917 unleashed widespread euphoria and visionary hope about the transformation of human nature. The basis of this speculation was the assumption that human nature was basically good and that bad institutions and evil political systems had prevented the expression of the good (Stites 1992). Therefore, removal of the bad institutions plus the spontaneous action of the people acting on the good within themselves could transform society (Gredler and Shields 2008). As Etkind wrote:

"In the dominant discourse of the time (1900), man was portrayed as a malleable raw material; he had no inherent properties. He was submerged in culture and formed under the purposive impact of environment, society, and science" (Etkind, Rubins and Rubins 1997:4).

The following table provides a list of the most relevant state and civil society projects working towards the goal of "perfecting human nature" in the United States and Imperial/Soviet Russia:

TABLE 1
Projects and organizations associated with the creation of the "New Man"

Fields	US 1900-1929	Late Imperial Russia – USSR 1900-1929
Government	The Progressive Era	Establishment of the Soviet Regime
Family	1909 the White House Conference of Child Welfare Standards 1921 The Sheppard-Towner maternity and infancy protection act. 1910-1918 Women's Suffrage	1917 Proclamation of Women Emancipation 1918 First All Russian Congress of Working Women 1919 The Women's Department of the Bolshevik Party is formed, the Zhenotdel 1920s "Family Modernization" 1920 Legalization of Abortion
Education	Expansions of Schools Emphasis on hygiene, physical and health education	Fight for Literacy Emphasis on hygiene, physical and health education
Work	Taylorism	Taylorism "Scientific Organization of Labor": *NOT*
Inner Self	The American Psychoanalytic Association (APsaA) 1911-now	1904 – One of the first countries to translate Freud's "Dreams" book 1910-1914 Journal "Psychotherapy" 1911 "Psychoanalytic Circle" under V.P.Sernsky
Science	1883-1940s Eugenics Movement	Eugenics Movement
Social Order	Prohibition Standardization of Time	1928 "Society for Struggle Against Alcoholism" The League of Time

	Immigration: Americanization	Internal Migration: "Peasants into Soviets"

While many targets of regulation that had no necessary moral content found themselves being struggled over in terms of moral discourses and practices, the 19th century witnessed a multitude of social reform projects (clean water, urban parks, ect) whose significance can only be understood through an appreciation of the moral imperatives that over determined their dynamic. As Hunt argues, one of the especially important forms of moral regulation is that such projects involve the formation of ethical subjectivity, or self-formation. These pursuits go to the heart of 'making-up people'. And well beyond Hacking's account of the deployment of statistical processes to classify and regroup populations through relocating them into 'new' categories such as recidivists, repeat offenders, and so on (Hacking 1986). Instead it is about acquisition of specific capacities, aptitudes, and abilities as a result of moral regulation. Alan Hunt defined "moral regulation" as the discourses that link "a moralized subject with some moralized object or practices in such a way as to impute some wider socially harmful consequences unless subject and practices are subject to appropriate regulation" (Hunt and Alan 1997:280).

The idea of the New Man, albeit usually in more relaxed forms, has been common to many respectable projects for a better life, whether religious, secular, humanitarian, or scientific. And in so far as it "aspired to create new people", the Bolshevik regime had much in common with other Western governments which shared the same transformational modernizing impulse (Hoffmann 2003:45). As Stephen Kotkin has put in his seminal work:

> Bolshevism ... must be seen not merely as a set of institutions, a group of personalities, or an ideology but as a cluster of powerful symbols and attitudes, a language and new forms of speech, new ways of behaving in public and private, even new styles of dressing, short, as an ongoing experience through which it was possible to imagine and strive to bring about a new civilization called socialism (Kotkin 1997:14).

Until recently, the central metaphor for the new Soviet man was that of "the cog in a wheel" (Geller 1988). This metaphor embodied the notion of the passive individual subsumed under the collective and implied the machine-like operation of the party and state apparatus controlling social life. Today, scholars are questioning the passive nature of the "totalitarian self" and exploring the historical evolution of Soviet notions of the self. The work of historian David Hoffmann is part of a growing consensus of seeing 'Soviet efforts to instill new cultural norms for everyday life' as 'part of long-standing aspirations throughout Europe to solve social problems and reshape society'. '...The Stalinist civilizing process was prompted by both instrumental and aesthetic considerations', Hoffmann observes. The Communist Party sought the formation of healthy, well-balanced individuals to work for the common good (Hoffmann 2003). However, historian O'Mahony criticized Hoffman's book for overdoing the distinction between Soviet collectivist values, reinforced with discipline, and western liberal individualism. He points to the fact that the great mass of people in the West were subject to quite similar disciplines. Liberal values, for the most part, were in the domain of the elites (O'Mahony 2005). Other scholars, like Igal Halfin and Jochen Hellbeck have investigated how Soviet people internalized communist values and made active attempts to reform themselves, striving for the alluring ideal of the new Soviet man (Halfin 2003; Hellbeck 2009). Scholars suggest that despite the collectivist ideology for which Soviet culture is known, cultivation of the self was in many ways congruent with the defining practices of that culture (Hellbeck 2009;1998; Krylova 2000). There is a bourgeoning literature on the nature of selfhood in the Soviet Union and its relation to the Soviet regime, including the family (Engel 1996), popular culture (Stites 1992) and the role of psychoanalysis (Goldman 1993; Rice 1993; Miller 1998).

To some extent, the hope for a more comparative analysis is redeemed by the collected volume *Language and Revolution*, devised by Igal Halfin in a broader comparative perspective

(Halfin 2002). This volume is equally interesting and uneven. Experts on the French Revolution and German Nazism commit themselves to general reviews of their subjects while Russianists go into weird Russian details. My favorite story comes from Eric Naiman who tells us about Il´ia Ivanov, who in the mid-1920s attempted to breed a New Man by hybridizing old Russian men with chimpanzees; his project was funded by Anatolii Lunacharskii's *Commissariat of Enlightenment* (Naiman 2002).

Similarly, while admitting common origins, scholars like Yinghong Cheng seem write histories that emerge largely independently in each of the countries. This issue remains a source of ambiguity throughout the scholarship, as historians leave it unclear exactly how much they see the project to create the 'New Man' as being fundamentally international in both scope and origin, how much is related to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, and how much comes from the particular cultural traditions of each particular country. In the comparative analysis by Yinghong Cheng, the Chinese and Cuban efforts are linked very clearly to both Mao's and Castro's self-conceptions as teachers and reformers of humanity, while no similar claim is made regarding Lenin, Stalin, or any other figure in the Soviet case (Cheng 2009).

A notable example of comparative-minded work in this area is the work by Alexandre Etkind who locates the idea of the transformation of human nature in the Nietzschean concept of the Superman. Human beings should not be accepted as they are. They are changeable and transitory. They should be overcome. The New Soviet Man was supposed to be fair and fearless; invulnerable to greed, pain, and love; ecstatic about the state and purged of private loyalties; unaware of his own mortality. He argues that the image of the Superman is a closer predecessor to this Bolshevik ideal than other intellectual roots that recent authors are trying to excavate, such as Orthodox rituals in Kharkhordin (Kharkhordin 1999) or more general eschatology in Halfin (Halfin 2003). In his account of these intellectual mosaics, the Populists and Bolsheviks

layered Nietzschean, Freudian, and Marxist influences onto their pseudo-ethnographical reconstructions of the "people" and "found" the desired mix in the Russian sects. He offers a variety of terms for this complex image, from the term of "Soviet subjectivity", to "the New Man", the term used by the Bolsheviks themselves or Homo Sovieticus (more recently connected to the agitation of perestroika). Etkind, though, prefers a more neutral one, "the Transformation of Human Nature." He argues that the whole Soviet experience is better understood as a great experiment with human nature, as the transformation of human nature—the idea of the New Man—was central to the Bolsheviks' ideological, educational, punitive, and medical teachings and practices:

> Whatever nonsense the Bolsheviks preached and practiced, from psychoanalytic kindergartens to eugenics to urine therapy to collectivist pedagogy, they imagined these procedures to be "scientific," not magical. But the Bolsheviks mixed industrial metaphors such as "remolding" and "reforging" with religious terms such as "regeneration" and "second birth" (more intellectual than his colleagues, Trotskii wrote about the "second edition" of mankind). The spiritual, behavioral, and corporeal change of humankind that was required by Bolshevik thinking was close to popular magic or, in the best case, to transformative versions of Christianity. (Etkind 2005:182)

CHAPTER 3: The Mental Hygiene Movement as Transformation of Human Nature

> The lower animals have a simple natural environment toward which to make an adaptation, as was also the case of early man… But modern man has a huge cultural environment to which he must adapt himself, a huge culture that is whirling through time, gaining velocity as it goes.
>
> William Ogburn's speech to the American Society of Naturalists in 1931 (Ogburn 1931).

Scholars have long argued that modern selfhood is constructed at the intersection of individual agency, the workings of state power and social and political institutions, and the cultural codes and normative discourses deployed by professionals and experts (Chatterjee and Petrone 2008). On the other side, there has been a recent proliferation of scholarship examining the impact of cultural categories and ideas, including those about modern selfhood on state policy outcomes (Campbell 2002). However, while these studies have shed light on the relationship between ideas and policy outcomes, they tend to leave unexplained the specific causal processes that shape the emergence and evolution of the ideas themselves. In response, scholars like Elizabeth Anderson began to fill this gap by examining the role of public-interest research and advocacy organizations like the Russell Sage Foundation (RSF) - in developing policy recommendations and advocating reforms that redirected state policies and practices in the early twentieth century (Anderson 2008). It is part of the broader call to understand the social-cultural aspects of scientific ideas. In this chapter, I am specifically concerned with how an increasing scientific discourse on "the New Man" drew attention to the "fragile nature of modern man" and thus facilitate the rise of therapeutic policies.

As Brian Turner has argued, disturbances in society are reflected in the metaphors by which we understand our mental and physical health (Turner 2003). In the context of the twentieth century, these developments are commonly addressed as part of the rationalization of society - a gradual movement from moral to scientific language (Morrissey and Goldman 1986). At the same time, rather than diminish the importance of moral language, moral regulation

became a key component of the 20th century. This is no less true for the rising therapeutic cultures.

In the sociological literature, therapy is usually understood as a method of social control — a means of defining and responding to deviant behavior. Unlike social control that punishes people for violating prohibitions, therapy treats individuals as victims who need help returning to normal (Tucker 1999). I prefer the term "moral regulation" over the more conventional category of 'social control' which has the disadvantage of assuming a unitary project of some primary agent (society, state or class) that imposes itself on others (Van Krieken 1991; Hunt and Alan 1997). In contrast, the example of the Mental Hygiene Movement in the US shows that moral regulation is messy; it is never unitary; its agents vary widely, and it never goes uncontested. The type of practices that the Mental Hygiene Movement engaged in developed alongside industrialized states' early efforts to craft policies and programs aimed at redressing the social problems brought on by industrial capitalism. The movement experts and social scientists provided the social information and advice which governments needed to pursue policy goals as diverse as economic growth, poverty reduction, public health, and child welfare. Particularly in an era in which American politics were dominated by patronage and interest group politics, experts like those in Mental Hygiene sought to command high credibility and influence based on their claims to non-partisan, "objective," rational social-scientific knowledge (Skocpol and Rueschemeyer 1996, O'Connor 2001).

In Section II, I argue that moral regulation in this era was about the making-up of 'new people' and I place the Mental Hygiene Movement in relation to other movements aimed at transforming people, like eugenics and mental asylum reform. Section III provides an overview of the history of the movement and its vision of its role in society. Section IV highlights how issues of morality and proper selfhood played out throughout the history of the movement.

II. Science to the rescue

As Stuart Blume observed almost forty year ago, one needs to develop an approach to understand the roles and behavior of scientists as government advisors, public advocates and the like (Blume 1974). So far, it is eugenics and asylums that have come to dominate the sociological analysis of the connections between science and the making of the 'modern subject'.

In the first case, the study of eugenics movements focused on the United States, Britain, and Germany. Eugenics is usually situated within a complex intellectual and political climate that was both fearful and hopeful - fearful of rapid social change and a rise in immigration, and hopeful about new developments in science and medicine (Hofstadter 1992). Using France as a case study, William Scheneder argues that eugenics was the self-proclaimed scientific solution the widespread perception that urban, industrial life was causing French society to decline and degenerate (Schneider 1990). As other work has shown, this perception of degeneration helped to promote eugenics in Germany, Brazil, and Russia as well (Adams 1990) .[3]

Asylums were no less important in the public policy that aimed to deal with an increasingly chaotic society. In this case, the walls of the mental hospital would serve to keep a sick society out as much as to keep inmates in. In this scheme, when the deviants finally learned

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[3] The historical and sociological literatures on eugenics have grown rapidly in recent years, owing partly to well-placed concerns about the resurgence of eugenics. For general histories of eugenics as science, social thought, and popular movement, see Carl N. Degler, In Search of Human Nature: The Decline and Revival of Darwinism in American Social Thought (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Daniel J. Kevles, In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985); Stephen Jay Gould, The Mismeasure of Man (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981); Mark H. Haller, Eugenics: Hereditarian Attitudes in American Thought (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1963); and Donald K. Pickens, Eugenics and the Progressives (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968). The history of the Eugenics Record Office, the institutional nucleus of American eugenics, is well told in Garland E. Allen, "The Eugenics Record Office at Cold Spring Harbor, 1910-1940: An Essay in Institutional History," Osiris, 2d ser., 2 (1986): 225-64. Recently, scholars have examined the relationship between the professionalization of social control and the emergence of eugenics. See especially Garland, Punishment and Welfare; Nicole Hahn Rafter, "Claims-Making and Socio-Cultural Context in the First U.S. Eugenics Campaign," Social Problems 39 (1992): 17-34, and "Eugenics, Class, and the Professionalization of Social Control," in Inequality, Crime, and Social Control, ed. George S. Bridges and Martha A. Myers (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994); Steven Noll, Feeble-Minded in Our Midst, Institutions or the Mentally Retarded in the South, 1900-1940 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); and James W. Trent, Jr., Inventing the Feeble Mind: A History of Mental Retardation in the United States (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). On the long-neglected history of eugenics in the American South, see Edward J. Larson, Sex, Race, and Science: Eugenics in the Deep South (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); and Noll, Feeble-Minded in Our Midst. For a useful comparative perspective, see Mark B. Adams, ed., The Wellborn Science: Eugenics in Germany, France, Brazil, and Russia (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

discipline and order, they would regain their freedom; and society would gain stabilizing, as well as stable, new citizens (Rothmann 1971). Historians have explored this phenomenon under the title of "nervousness". Thus, in the American context, Tom Lutz has written an "anecdotal history" of American nervousness in the beginning of the 20th century. He attributes the popularity of the discourse of nervousness to the way it lent itself to pluralistic interpretations important for a pluralistic society. He finds that it was conducive to a consumption economy and, most importantly, "it was available to individuals who were experiencing the disorienting effects of cultural and social change, and ensured that those individuals and collective changes would in turn bear the stamp of their nervous origin" (Lutz 1991:xii).

The causes of mental illnesses, most psychiatrists agreed, could be subsumed under two general headings: physical and "moral" (i.e., psychological). The physical causes - a blow to the head, a disordered organ other than the brain, various somatic illnesses - affected the structure of the brain, thereby impairing cerebral functioning. Most psychiatrists, however, were far more concerned with the "moral" causes of insanity, if only because of their inability to influence presumably unknown physiological processes (Grob 1998). Advocates for moral treatment, when it began in the Northeast during the first the first few decades of the 19th century, optimistically argued that removing the relatively few insane persons suffering from such conditions from society and placing them in an environment in which moral persuasion and kind treatment could occur, would ultimately bring about recovery, cure and reentry to the larger society. However, by the middle of the 19th century, the possibility of moral treatment had been largely diminished by increasing numbers of multi-problem, multi-ethnic insane coming to the asylum. Coming from the poorhouse, jails and various other official sources, lower class dependents - largely comprised of poor immigrant groups - each brought their own distinct cultural views and practices with them. This, in effect, eliminated the possibility that values referenced to a

common cultural perspective could be employed with any measure of success. The wide gulf between the life experience and cultural background of the alienist and his patient - even without increasing numbers - would have presented a formidable barrier to successfully applying moral treatment. However, the increasing numbers also meant that overburdened medical staff would be unable to form those close interpersonal relationships with inmates which were thought to be so instrumental for change. Under such circumstances, the notion of moral treatment was doomed from the start and despite many exaggerated claims of cure, it was largely ineffectual (Ebert 1999).

Turn-of-the-century Progressives, Rothmann argues, ascribed the failure of the asylums to their single-mindedness: it is not that all deviance represented an inability to adapt to a disordered society. It is that some deviants had suffered unhappy and destructive childhoods. They had received insufficient mothering or insufficient fathering or insufficient education or insufficient exercise or insufficient fresh air. Only expert examination of each deviant individual could reveal the causes of his or her problem and suggest a custom-made solution. Instead they proposed that panels of experts, from social workers to psychiatrists, determine the right treatment for each person (Rothman 2002).

This came at a time when WWI was seen by many to have stemmed from a European mental malaise. In this context, cultivation of mental health was seen as vital in keeping at bay the aggressive drive for war. Reflecting on the horrific slaughter consuming Europe at the time, Sigmund Freud observed in April 1915 that war was merely an instrument that stripped away illusions and layers of civility, "laying bare the primal man in each of us." The key, then, to the total barbarization lay not with the states but with the community and its individual components, which "no longer raise objections … to the suppression of evil passions, and men perpetrate deeds of cruelty, fraud, treachery and barbarity so incompatible with their levels of civilization

that one would have thought them impossible." (Freud 1915:280, 299). And over 15 years later, A. Eustace Haydon, the professor of Comparative Religion at the University of Chicago warned that:

> Our modern civilization has multiplied the number and seriousness of social ills resulting from the conflict of desires. The rivalry of man with man, group with group, nation with nation, and race with race, grows more menacing because of the parochial aspect of the earth and the amazing development of instruments of power. … No single individual can visualize the manifold ramifications of this conflict of purposes of organized groups, extending from the village community to the arena of international affairs. This maladjustment of social-economic relationship is perhaps the major evil to be mastered by modern men in their quest for the good life (Haydon 1932:539).

As a result, between the two world wars health services in Europe and America began to extend their interests from the seriously mentally disordered to the prevention of mental disorder and promotion of environmental conditions to encourage positive mental health among the normal population.

The fears and pessimism of the 1870s and 1880s had been superseded by a growing confidence in the ability to deal with human problems in a changing world. To Progressive activists of the early 1900s, whatever their ideological persuasion, the nation stood on the threshold of a new social and moral order. In this context, some psychiatrists aimed to reach beyond the boundaries of medicine to create a mental hygiene movement that sought to demonstrate the social utility and relevance of modern psychiatry (Grob 1983).

And if eugenics today is generally understood as a socially tainted "pseudoscience",[4] historians have described the growth of the therapeutic professions as an advance in rational problem solving. That is, it is often argued that mental hygiene is an example of the growing understanding of the person in terms of physiology, rather than morality, an extension of the nineteenth century vision of the "scientific society" (Magaro, Gripp and McDowell 1978).

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[4] This also ignores interconnections between eugenics and genetics and fails to see all science as socially embedded. For a full critic see Adams, 1990.

Frederick Jackson Turner saw the emerging class of professionals as neutral mediators who would transform social problems into technical problems.

Thus, the Mental Hygiene Movement provides a helpful empirical case for building on scholarly literature on therapeutic states and moral regulation, particularly in light of recent interventions in this area. This allows us to broaden the object of empirical analysis beyond the traditional focus on social diseases, eugenics and asylums. It is true that in some aspects this early twentieth-century emphasis on mental hygiene was little more than a continuation of the nineteenth-century concern with prevention. However, if nineteenth-century concepts of prevention reflected a world view based on an older religious tradition that emphasized natural law, free will, and individual responsibility, mental hygiene was explicit about its desire to wed scientific modes of thought to the power of private organizations and public authority (Grob 1983).

Confident that they possessed the requisite knowledge to prevent as well as to treat pathological behavior, mental hygienists launched a broad-based crusade to create a better society. The destiny of the American people was no longer to be left to chance or to the decisions of atomistic individuals, but was to be purposively guided in a direction that enhanced the welfare and happiness of all citizens. At the turn of the century the appealing but vague commitment to mental hygiene assumed several programmatic forms, including the creation of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene as well as a eugenics movement. The implementation, though, was often more complicated and nuanced, as we can see in the history of the rise of the movement.

The emergence of mental hygiene in the US

The literature that invokes cognitive paradigms and normative frameworks has been criticized in so far as it tends to neglect the importance of agency and actors. As a result, it is often unclear where world culture comes from and who creates it (Finnemore 1996). Ideas are not "disembodied entities floating around in a polity" (Berman 1998:22); rather, they exist inside the minds of specific actors. For this reason, actors — particularly the directors of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene — are at the center of my analysis. The archival data I use provides an excellent opportunity to "get inside the heads" of these policy experts and offer a valuable "backstage" glimpse into the political learning undertaken by these actors.

How humans would adapt to the modern environment and climate of political change was of paramount concern to scholars in the early twenties century. For instance, Chicago sociologist William Ogburn constantly stressed the importance of adapting to modernity, inventing the term *cultural lag* in the 1920s to describe the process by which humans biologically failed to keep pace with their inventions (Ogburn 1931). As Susan Currell discusses in her essay on popular self-help and eugenics rhetoric, fitting in and adapting to changes related to modern culture—to overcome cultural lag and "streamline" oneself for the future—was central to the notion of creating modern citizens who could cope with the vicissitudes of the age (Currell 2010). Even though I am mostly concerned with scholarly discourse, this was also addressed commonly in the texts that were popular at the time, distributed in schools, popular journals, and the mass media. One of the main concerns of these popular writings was with "relieving the strain" that is put on a man by the modern world, which could be achieved by a degree of relaxation of social constrains. William James demonstrated it powerfully in his "Gospel of Relaxation", when he asks

> If you never wholly give yourself up to the chair you sit in, but always keep your leg- and body-muscles half contracted for a rise; if you breathe eighteen or nineteen instead of sixteen times a minute, and never quite breathe out at that, — what mental mood can you be in but one of inner panting and expectancy, and how can the future and its worries possibly forsake your

> mind? On the other hand, how can they gain admission to your mind if your
> brow be unruffled, your respiration calm and complete, and your muscles all
> relaxed? (James 1899:200)[5]

One of the activists of the movement was Adolf Meyer, a prominent psychologist whose pervasive influence on American psychiatry stemmed from his numerous published papers, his prestige, and his students, both at Manhattan State and, especially, at Johns Hopkins. While optimistic about modern civilization and its opportunities, Meyer felt that many kinds of work, many forms of recreation, and many habits of thought and striving widespread in society were damaging to mental health (Leighton 1952). Meyer adopted the term 'biopsychiatry' to reflect his holistic approach to this issue. However, the most popular and all-embracing term was 'mental hygiene', first introduced by William Sweetzer in 1843. After the Civil War, which increased concern about the effects of unsanitary conditions, Dr. J. B. Gray, an eminent psychiatrist, envisioned a community-based mental hygiene that would operate through education, social culture, religion and involvement in national life. In 1893, Isaac Ray, a founder of the American Psychiatric Association, provided a definition of the term mental hygiene as

> the art of preserving the mind against all incidents and influences calculated
> to deteriorate its qualities, impair its energies, or derange its movements. The
> management of the bodily powers in regard to exercise, rest, food, clothing
> and climate, the laws of breeding, the government of the passions, the
> sympathy with current emotions and opinions, the discipline of the
> intellect—all these come within the province of mental hygiene.(Rossi, A.,
> Some Pre-World War II Antecedents of Community Mental Health Theory
> and Practice. Mental Hygiene, 1962, 46, 78-98). (As cited in Mandel)

Thus, mental hygienists were convinced that psychiatry should focus its attention on prevention by designing public health measures targeting individuals at risk for developing mental illness. They focused on neurosis, unhappiness, tension, and social maladjustment, conditions that had not been a major concern of psychiatrists previously. Some of them believed

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[5] The "Gospel", originally published in the "Talks to Teachers on Psychology: and to Students on Some of Life's Ideals" in 1899, is republished multiple times throughout the early 20th century.

that psychiatry should primarily focus on fostering mental health in normal individuals, which increased the domain of possible intervention even more.

It was Clifford Beers, after his release from an insane asylum, who sparked the mental health reform movement with an autobiography, *A Mind That Found Itself*. The book chronicled his struggle with mental illness and the shameful conditions he and millions of others endured in mental institutions throughout the country. Under the sponsorship of William James and Adolph Meyer, the book was published in 1908. A force with strong appeal to the lay public, the book had an immediate impact, spreading Beers' vision of a massive mental health reform movement across land and oceans.

Beers called for the formation of a permanent voluntary health agency whose prime function would be to prevent the disease of insanity by providing information about it to the public. The actualization of the movement began that same year when Beers founded the Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene. William Welch, dean of the Johns Hopkins Medical School, was also present at the founding meeting of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene (NCMH). Other prominent leaders among those who took part in the birth or early years of the NCMH were William James, Julia Lathrop, the Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Clifford W. Beers. This is how Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, the man in whose home in New Haven the society was founded, describes the meeting:

> There were only 13 people present at that meeting, out of a membership of some 88 in the society which Mr. Beers had secured, but those 13 represented the bench, the bar, the church, the school, the university, the hospital, the social worker, a patient who had just recovered from a serious mental disturbance, members of the family of such a patient, the general practitioner, the alienist, and the psychiatrist. Was it not indeed remarkable that the thirteen men and women who got together to form this organization represented in so broad a way the different factors, the different groups of people in the community, whose interest and intelligent interest, must be secured if this problem is to be successfully attacked? There were also representative citizens, public-spirited men and women, interested in this as a great public service (Stokes 1932:499).

Interestingly in comparison with Michael Sokal's exploration of psychological testing at this time period, having such a diverse group of supporters represented a step away from the growing reliance on specifically "expert" knowledge in the beginning of the 20th century (Sokal 1987). This rise of the movement from a highly varied group of people was deemed important by the participants even 20 years later. During the 1930's conference, Stokes recollects:

> Of course, scientific men with a scientific training came early in the movement, and Mr. Beers had the wisdom to welcome them…. knowing that this movement must ultimately have the direction of scientists in the field of mental disorders…. but let it nor ever be forgotten that it was this young layman who was chosen as our first leader. And to his vision, to his sense of altruism, and to his indefatigable industry, a very large share of the success of this movement is due (Stokes 1932:499).

White, the Superintendent of St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington, D.C. echoed the sentiment: "the mental-hygiene movement … was not the outgrowth of any philosophy started by a group who were bound to prove that the tenets of that philosophy were sound. It was infinitely more simple. Its objective … was in its earliest days the improvement of the care of the so-called "insane" (Glueck 1932:525).

A year later the Connecticut Society expanded to form the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. The Committee was the predecessor to the *National Mental Health Association*, which became *Mental Health America* on Nov. 16, 2006. The Society, both in Connecticut then nationally, set forth the following goals:

- To improve attitudes toward mental illness and the mentally ill;

- To improve services for the mentally ill;

- To work for the prevention of mental illness and promote mental health.

In other words, the first itiration of the Society was concentrated specifically on the treatment of mental illness. However, in no time the movement outgrew the narrow goal of improving the conditions of the asylum:

> Without neglecting to do what we can in the social reconstruction of the obviously socially troublesome minority, it is apparent that our greatest

> concern should be for the mental health … the healthy emotional
> development of those who are destined to become leaders, of one and or
> another, in the life of the community. This means that work cannot be
> confined to hospitals for mental disease, prisons, and social agencies, but that
> the most important work is probably to be done in the high schools and the
> universities (Williams 1930).

The spread of mental hygiene movement

By 1910, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene facilitated the creation of more

than 100 child guidance clinics in the United States aimed at prevention, early intervention and

treatment. In 1912 Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, who had for some time carried an interest in

psychiatric work into his work in the United States Public Health Service, became associated

with The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, and from 1915 was its Medical Director.

With his training in the Marine Hospital and Immigration Service, i.e., the United States Public

Health Service (1903-1915), he utilized the stimulus he received from Fr. William L. Russel and

Dr. Macy at the Willard State Hospital in 1903. He launched the National Committee upon a

campaign of investigation and organization which placed him in a unique position when the

United States entered the war in 1917, and he became a most valuable organizer of the

neuropsychiatric service of the Army at home and in the field. Another force arose in the

personality of E.E. Southard, who furthered these efforts in the Smith College School for

Psychiatric Social Work, and responded to the inspiration of industrial hygiene. In 1913 Mr.

Henry Phipps gave $1500 to make a study planned for three representative school districts in

Baltimore, but carried out in one only. Charles Macfie Campbell published the results in *Mental*

Hygiene. This study, the first one of the many surveys undertaken, showed that at least 10% of

the children in the school system could benefit by receiving the attention of a psychiatrically

trained physician (Campbell 1932:242).

In line with the thinking about the emerging role of local departments of public health, in

1915 Meyer envisioned community mental hygiene districts in which the services of schools,

playgrounds, churches, law enforcement agencies and other social agencies would be coordinated by mental health personnel to prevent mental disorders and to foster sound mental health (Meyer 1915).

From its earliest days both Beers and Adolf Meyer, Beers chief sponsor and advisor, envisioned the NCMH as waging an "educative war" on behalf of mental hygiene. And from the beginning the NCMH and its state and local societies, seventeen of them by 1918, were centers for the dissemination of the mental hygiene point of view. In 1917 the NCMH took an important step to implement its strategy when it established a journal, *Mental Hygiene*, a quarterly aimed at "leaders of the community" and readable by an educated but general audience. The editors wrote:

> It is our hope that *Mental Hygiene* will prove equally useful to the highly trained worker in psychiatry or psychology, the physician engaged in preventive medicine, the teacher seeing in education preparation for life, the magistrate concerned not only with the consequences but the causes of the offense before him, the parent seeking knowledge of the mechanisms by which character is built, and the student of social problems desirous of understanding the complex fabric of organized society through knowledge of those factors which mold the mental lives of individual men and women.

The same year, at the request of the Surgeon General, the NCMH drafted a mental hygiene program, which was adopted by the Army and the Navy, in preparation for the First World War. In addition, between the two world wars health services in Europe and America began to extend their interests from the seriously mentally disordered to the prevention of mental disorder and promotion of environmental conditions to encourage positive mental health among the normal population.

By 1924, the journal *Mental Hygiene* had some 5,000 subscribers. That same year it was joined by a monthly Mental Hygiene Bulletin, distributed to about 10,000 subscribers (Cohen 1983:133; Matthews 1979). Social and mental hygiene were included in areas of study for candidates for the degree of Doctor of Public Health in 1920. In the 1920s and 1930s the National Committee for Mental Hygiene launched the drive to make "personality development" the guiding principle of American education. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene

produced a set of model commitment laws, which were subsequently incorporated into the statutes of several states. As Meyer's protégé, C. MacFie Campbell, put it, "personality moved front and center . . . in the modern conception of mental disorder'" (as cited in Cohen 1983:126). This was crucial. Mental illness was not a "disease" of the brain or of the nervous system but a personality disorder, and was also more malleable than an inborn "character".

In a paper given at the Fiftieth Anniversary Session of the National Conference of Social Work in Washington, DC, May 16-23, 1923, Adolf Meyer was quite concerned that

> Man's notion of man not only was but still is in a definitely unscientific and partly anti-scientific stage, and, though in the hands of many philosophers it is at least rational, yet full of unjustified presuppositions. Among these stands foremost the idea that mentality is a feature that cannot be treated in the same objective way as the rest of the facts of the world…. Science … is a specific method of dealing with facts. … Science is man's way of bringing order into his own vision of the facts, and his vision of the facts is laid down in his language and formulations, in words and number signs, but, above all, in the practical command of the facts themselves, as shown in experimentation (1952:241).

A couple of year later, in 1926, he pressed on: "now that the North Pole and the South Pole have come so close to being properly discovered, man has at last taken courage to study his own kind with practical interest and scientific rather than mainly academic and merely moralizing methods. With practical interest and scientific methods man is today tackling his biggest and most difficult task - man's attempt to comprehend himself" (Meyer 1952). According to one of his students, this remark was typical of Meyer, with his belief that man can be studied scientifically, and a skepticism of both humanistic mysticism and of uncritical imitation of laboratory science (Leighton 1952). Like many of the movement activists, Meyer drew heavily in his approach to human problems from the traditions of natural history and clinical medicine with their emphasis on testing by multiple, accurate observations and in utilizing events in nature, pathological and otherwise, as opportunities for uncovering dynamics processes. At the same time, the transformation they were seeking was rooted in a specific moral code. In fact, in the 1920s, the scientists considered themselves the staunchest upholders of "the American way

of life" - although, paradoxically, their vision of a "sane future society" shared many features

with that of "radical social reformers": meliorism, internationalism, creativity, reason, planning,

cooperative effort, enlightenment, peace and prosperity (Kuznick 1987).

"To Transform the Yahoo Into a Man"

According to historian Sol Cohen, the mental hygiene movement in the 1920s is best

characterized by its "optimism and crusading zeal" (1983:126). In this respect, the mental

hygiene movement can be seen as a competing with eugenics by coping with social problems

through the scientific control of behavior. The difference was that unlike innate characteristics in

eugenics, "personality" was malleable, thus prompting projects towards the creation of the new

type of personality. The intellectuals overall shared with philosopher F. C. S. Schiller (1924) the

hope that "a pragmatically efficient psychology might actually invert the miracle of Circe, and

really *transform the Yahoo into a man*" (as cited in Morawski (1982:64), italics added).

Stanley P. Davies, social worker, the head of the New York State Committee on Mental

Hygiene, wrote in a paper given before the National Conference of Social Work:

> Metal hygiene is more than curative, it is more than preventative. It is a
> constructive social force. Its great mission is to become a useful part of all
> those forces in society which, from birth on, *aid in the process of changing
> us over from savages to civilized human beings* - the home, school, church,
> government, organized social work, industry and the like…. While other
> forces of public health are working to increase the quantity of life, it is the
> task of mental hygiene to improve the quality of life. (Davies 1931:280,
> emphasis added).

Among sciences, psychology was the one that was most hoped for in this respect. G.

Stanley Hall, the founder of organized psychology as a science and profession, the father of the

child study movement, and a national leader of educational reform, called the psychologist "a

sort of high priest of souls" who "is not content merely to fit men for existing institutions as they

are today" but would "develop even higher powers, which gradually molt old and evolve new

and better institutions or improve old ones" (Hall 1923:436). As Meyer put it in his address at the

celebration of the Centenary of Bloomingdale Hospital (1921), 'Psychiatry means, literally, the healing of the souls" (Meyer 1952:1). He continued:

> The extend to which we can be true to the material foundations and yet true to a spiritual goal ultimately measures our health and natural normality and the value of our morality. … Hereby we have indeed a contribution to biologically sound idealism: a clearer understanding of how to blend fact and ambition, nature and ideal - an ability to think scientifically and practically and yet idealistically of matters of real life (9).

Several decades later, Kahn, Professor of Psychiatry and Mental Hygiene at Yale University writes:

> We should not advocate in any way even a theoretical division of methods of work between natural science and philosophical science in psychiatry. … We consider it necessary … to be quite clear as to the fact that the clinic has always been and always will be the foundation for psychiatry. This is not question of strength or of academic vanity, but a simple fact. (Kahn 1932:201)

However, their vision of the "scientific" society was not far removed from moral issues. On the contrary, morality and science intertwined both implicitly and explicitly in the work of the movement leaders. It thus points both to the utopian character and to the moral fervor attached to science and scientific reasoning, including the concepts of mental hygiene.

Thus, in accordance with other leaders of the movement, James called for the establishment *a methodological program of scientific inquiry* to deal with the issues of human energy. "The human individual, warns William James again and again, "energizes below his maximum, and he behaves below his optimum. In elementary faculty, in co-ordination, in power of inhibition and control, in every conceivable way, his life is contracted like the field of vision of an hysteric subject - but with less excuse, for the poor hysteric is diseased, while in the rest of us it is only an inveterate habit - *the habit of inferiority to our full self - that is bad"* (James 1907:13, emphasis added).

In this way, the individual now has a responsibility to himself of not "being inferior to your own full self". These "energies of man", understood through the language of science as

resources can be recovered, of course. And it is the ethical concept of the "will" that is to be used to "open deeper and deeper levels of energy" (25).

Likewise, Adolf Meyer, in a public lecture delivered at the New York Academy of Medicine, under the auspices of the New York Psychiatrical Society in 1907 envisioned the need for "practical attention" to the issues of public hygiene:

> The sexual morality of the community is being put on a basis of better knowledge of the facts, as in too many cases merely abstract or ethical teachings do not affect conduct. The defects of our communities are more and more looked upon as the product of a general morality as well as the good will of the individual, as social problems demanding the help of social organization and of social science" (Meyer 1952:149).

He further argued for the blending of the scientific and the moral: 'the unprejudiced study of mental life has disclosed a whole range of mental activities which were ignored as long as the facts were divided merely between the extreme headings "the moral" and "the physical."' (152).

In this respect, the science of mental hygiene took onto itself the job of moral regulation. As a concept, moral regulation helps us to remember that scientific concerns encompass far more than the traditionally defined realms of natural and biological. It encourages us to recognize the process of subject creation at the intersection of social institutions. Sayer and Corrigan have defined moral regulation as a project of normalizing, rendering natural, taken for granted, in a word "obvious", what are in fact ontological and epistemological premises of a particular and historical form of social order (Corrigan and Sayer 1985). As Foucauldian scholars have shown, science, moral regulation and subjectification are interconnected, but this case study also shows how science is animated and legitimated by a particular moral ethos.

The Mental Hygiene Movement in particular was seeking to establish and promote the moral principles that dictate the bounds of acceptable behavior and legitimate and desirable modes of being. As Meyer read at the *Fifth Annual Meeting of the National Society for the Promotion of Occupational Therapy* in October of 1921, "we may well be able to shape for

ourselves and our patients an outlook of sound idealism, furnishing a setting in which many otherwise apparently insurmountable difficulties will be conquered - and in which our new generations will find a world full of ever new opportunity and achievement in healthy harmony with human nature" (Meyer 1952:92).

This "healthy harmony" invoked very specific moral characteristics of discipline, rationality, and order. Meyer reflected in the same:

> Somehow [occupational therapy] represents to me a very important manifestation of a very general gain in human philosophy. There is in all this a development of the *valuation of time and work* which is not accidental. It is part of the great espousal of the *values of reality and actuality* rather than of mere thinking and reasoning and fancy as characteristic of the 19th century and the present day. … we feel today that the culminating feature of evolution is man's capacity of imagination and *the use of time with foresight* based on a corresponding appreciating of the past and of the *present*. … The most important factor in this progress lies *undoubtedly* in the newer conceptions of *mental problems as problems of living*, and not merely diseases of a structural and toxic nature on the one hand, or of a final lasting constitutional disorder on the other (1952:88, italics in original).

This marriage of scientific rationality and morality is also evident in the choice of methods used to study the issues of mental hygiene. The scholars involved regularly argued for the survey as the main, if not only, method of scientific study of men. While still seeking a clearly defined mission, Beers, William L. Russell, and August Hoch adopted a strategy typical of the Progressive era. The NCMH would undertake surveys of conditions among the mentally ill which in turn would "stimulate activity among the people of the States which have been studied." Such work would also leave the Committee "in a position to give expert advice and to assist in formulating plans for ameliorating the condition of the insane throughout the country" (Grob 1983:157). The social survey by this time had become one of the major weapons of Progressives. Undertaken by trained experts, such surveys would both shed light on problems and provide a prescription for action. The underlying assumption was that an intelligent and enlightened public would accept the guidance of a rational and scientific intelligentsia. Just as

the Flexner report had been used to alter the structure of medical education, so state and local surveys would provide citizens with the knowledge required for effective action.

This has become a matter of common sense, as Thomas Szasz, one of America's most well-known, prolific, and controversial contemporary psychiatrists, argued that the medical professional, and the field of psychiatry in particular, have usurped matters which, by rights, belong to morality and politics (Szasz 1960:32). As a result, in the 1910s and 1920s, the movement formed which defined mental health and mental disorder in social and behavioral terms as adjustments to society. It provided a theoretical foundation for rational and humane treatment and care in mental hospitals, a blueprint for psychiatric research, and guidelines for the expansion of the discipline outside the asylum.

Adolf Meyer summarized these concerns well in the paper given at the Fiftieth Anniversary Session of the National Conference of Social Work in Washington, DC, May 16-23, 1923:

> The great calamity in present-day life is the loss of a sense and appreciation of points and periods of satisfaction and rest instead of the never ending craving for stimulation and excitement. … There is too much dependence on stimulation and excitement and too little activity, which leads to restful satisfaction. To help people find their place in nature and in the social fabric, to get visions of achievement rather than destructive propaganda for confidence rather than juvenile chafing and suspicion of interference where we really just want the right kind of order and self-regulation, to attain poise and to attain satisfaction under a creative rather that violently revolutionary regime - that is what most of us yearn for at heart. Are we cultivating a knowledge of mentality and of humanity that will get us there?(Meyer 1952:246)

These sentiments provided the backdrop to mental hygiene's work, making it clear that the crisis under investigation was not simply a question of health and illness. However, the tension between the biological and spiritual explanations for the crises in the US case created a range of complications for organization of the movement. For instance, in 1925, Frankwood E. Williams, Salmon's successor as Medical Director of the NCMH, sent an application to the

Rockefeller Foundation dealing with the "psychopathology of dependency." The NCMH proposed to undertake a study aimed at demonstrating that dependency in many instances was not the result of a lack of "proper opportunities" or "misfortune," but rather grew out of the inability of the individual "to accept those opportunities that have come to him or to meet the exigencies of living with any degree of adequacy, due to an inherent intellectual inadequacy in himself, to a mental or nervous disease that has taken away what adequacy he may once have had, or to personality, psychopathological in type, that would make adequate adjustment to situations... exceedingly difficult - in some cases impossible." The proposal for $30,000 was immediately rejected by the Foundation, which insisted that such a study "should more properly be supported by an organization having a general interest in social matters and social welfare." The Foundation, they added, restricted its activities to studies "having a definitely biological bearing" (1983:164).

Conclusion

American intellectuals in the beginning of the 20th century thought that society would move toward efficiency, order, and unity. Progressives were drawn to mental hygiene by the same set of intellectual commitments that drew them to reform legislation. Paramount was the reform idea that the laissez-faire approach was bankrupt. Sidney Webb (1910-1911, p. 237) said flatly, "He [scientist] must interfere, interfere, interfere!" Similarly, Frank Fetter (1907, pp. 92-93) pronounced at the AEA meetings: "Our optimism must be based not upon laissez-faire," said Fetter, "but upon vigorous application of science, humanity, and legislative art to the solution of the problem" (as cited in Leonard 2003:217). Progressive opposition to laissez faire was motivated by a set of deep intellectual commitments regarding the relationship between social science, social scientific expertise and right governance. The progressives were committed to 1)

the explanatory power of scientific, especially statistical social inquiry to get at the root causes of social and economic problems; 2) the legitimacy of social control, which derives from a holist conception of society as prior to and greater than the sum of its constituent individuals; 3) the efficacy of social control via expert management of public administration; where 4) expertise is both sufficient and necessary for the task of wise public administration. Science, guided by expert minds, would enable the control of social phenomena, primarily by adjusting people to their changing environment (Morawski 1982). This was understood as, first of all, a "truly American advance" and, as "a great wave of enlightenment [that brought] really a new conception of man - no longer a mere matter of pondering over an abstract "mind," but a courage to study the real life of man, his behavior, and the conditions which determine his successes and failures" (Meyer 1952:132). Indeed, this was acknowledged internationally: as Ed Claparede, the Secretary of the International Committee, emphasized during the First International Congress of Psychology meeting in 1929: "For us of the Old World," he said, "America has danced before our eyes for forty years as the promised land" (Langfeld 1929:366).

But at the same time, a new "land of opportunity" was gaining strength and looking towards ways to mold the perfect – Soviet – man.

CHAPTER 4: The 1920s: Intellectual Interdependence of Soviet and American Psychology.

> People must be cultivated as tenderly and carefully as a gardener cultivates a favorite fruit tree.
> Joseph Stalin, Speech at a reception of metallurgists, 1934, cited by(Hoffmann 2011:1).

Soviet society faced many problems after the devastation of two wars and the 1920–1921 famine. Infrastructure and civil services had been swept away, and major shortages continued through the 1920s. In this context the Soviet state emerged and operated within an ethos aptly named by Zygmunt Bauman as the "gardening state," (Bauman 1989) which appeared ever more universal in the wake of the Great War. This cataclysmic event brought to fruition desires for a comprehensive plan for the transformation and management of society, one that would create a better, purer, and more beautiful community through the removal of unfit human weeds. "It was, in a word, an aesthetic enterprise" (Weiner 1999:1116). The unprecedented increase in the capacities and aspirations of the state went hand in hand with the view of a society as raw material to be molded into an ideal image. The transformation - or removal - of individuals and the communities became the accepted goal of the state both in its welfare and its punitive policies.

Scholars like David Hoffman and Peter Holquist have argued that the Soviet Union represented another variant of modernity and was a legitimate descendent of the western Enlightenment (Hoffmann 2003; Holquist 2002). Of course, the Soviet Union categorized its population and resources using modern techniques of surveillance and built a massively bureaucratized welfare state. But it also sought to inculcate modern values relating to personal hygiene, gender relations, workplace ethics, and national consciousness. However, virtually all scholarly work on the Soviet self has focused on the construction of subjectivity in the Stalin period. Moreover, these works usually see the construction of the Soviet self in relation to the

general history of western Enlightenment and not as a process built of ongoing cross-cultural communication and borrowing. Rather than trying to posit the existence the Soviet self, my aim is to critically examine how Soviet psychological science used the American experience with mental hygiene to reveal and activate new motives of individuals and groups; to stimulate various forms of social activity; and to stretch the limits of people's abilities and professional skills. I look at specific inspirations for the creation of a New Soviet Man came from - in particular, the science of psychology and the mental health movement as appropriated from the United States. I argue that the self of a New Soviet Citizen was conceptualized using the model of self-reflection and self-knowledge (Foucault 1988).

During the nineteenth century, the emergence of new disciplines (demography, social hygiene, psychology) and new technologies of social intervention (censuses, housing inspections, mass psychological testing) greatly heightened the ambitions of reformers to eliminate social problems and refashion society. Epidemiology increased the faith of public health officials in the revelatory powers of science and the problem-solving ability of modern medicine. The dizzying pace of modernization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries itself fueled the ambitions of reformers, who felt the optimism of seemingly limitless human progress mixed with unease about a world changing so profoundly that ever more radical solutions were needed. The impulse to restructure society also stemmed from a widespread sense that European industrialization and urbanization had destroyed the organic unity of traditional societies. In order to recover the mythical social harmony of the past and overcome the atomization of the modern world, social thinkers of various stripes— socialists, fascists, Nietzscheans, even liberals— envisioned a more collectivist society, and a new human psychology that would befit modern industrial civilization. Marxism was distinguished by its emphasis on violent proletarian revolution as the means to overcome class divisions, but it was

by no means unique in combining Enlightenment rationalism with "Romantic Anticapitalism" in a quest for a new, harmonious social order. Even more than doctors and social scientists in Western Europe, Russian professionals simultaneously possessed enormous hopes for social transformation and persistent fears about social degeneration and chaos (Hoffmann 2011).

Though Marxism-Leninism was enshrined as the official ideology of the Soviet Communist Party, it did not provide a blueprint for the new social order that Party leaders endeavored to build. Instead, Soviet scientists and politicians relied on creative borrowing and adaptation of a variety of modern tendencies to build the so-called "New Soviet Man".

The literature on the communist new man is scattered in numerous scholarly works, but focused narratives and analyses are fewer than the importance of the topic merits. The classic works include John Kosa's *Two Generations of Soviet Man: A Study in the Psychology of Communism* (1962) and Mikhail Heller's *Cogs in the Soviet Wheel* (1988). Kosa's book discusses how the Soviet model of the new man was introduced to Eastern European peoples after World War II and how the character of the Soviet Man was modified in other lands to suit national traditions. Heller's *Cogs in the Soviet Wheel (Heller 1988)* is an excellent sociological and historical analysis of the mechanism and process through which *Homo Sovieticus* was planned and fashioned. The main value of Heller's work is in its insightful analysis of the innate drive behind the professed sociopolitical goals of the Soviet leaders (especially the founding figures of the regime) to reshape human nature, and in its systematic description of the way the regime managed to destroy traditional and institutional boundaries protecting people from state power and "atomize" them into defenseless individuals subject to remolding. One particularly interesting point in Heller's book is his conceptualization of "nationalization of time." Heller argues that, by manipulating the concept of time, the Soviet authorities established a new

temporal horizon on which people's lives were confined to this specific "past-present-future" framework.

Many authors have also highlighted the importance of the new man in understanding the ultimate goal and fundamental dynamics of communist revolution in their works on particular communist regimes. For example, Richard Pipes, in his *Russian Revolution* (Pipes 1991), highlights the issue and traces the origin of the idea of the New Man back to Enlightenment thinkers such as Claude Adrien Helvétius. Andrei Sinyavsky's *Soviet Communism: A Cultural History* (1990) includes a chapter focusing on the image of the Soviet new man, especially in official propaganda of the 1920s and 1930s.

These works show that Soviet social intervention can be seen as one particular constellation of modern state practices that arose in conjunction with ambitions to refashion society and mobilize populations for industrial labor and mass warfare. Soviet social policies reflected a new ethos by which state officials and nongovernment professionals sought to reshape their societies in accordance with scientific and aesthetic norms. This rationalist ethos of social intervention first arose in nineteenth-century Europe, and it subsequently prompted welfare programs, public health initiatives, and reproductive policies in countries around the world. Social intervention intensified with the rise of mass warfare. The tremendous mobilization demands of the First World War in particular impelled the leaders of all combatant countries to expand their use of economic controls, health measures, surveillance, propaganda, and state violence — all of which became prominent features of the Soviet system.

Amazingly, even during the Stalinist massive repressive policies, at the very moment that the Soviet government was killing hundreds of thousands of people, it was engaged in an enormous pronatalist campaign to boost the population. Even as the number of incarcerations

and executions grew exponentially, Communist Party leaders enacted sweeping social welfare and public health measures to safeguard people's well-being. Extensive state surveillance of the population went hand in hand with literacy campaigns, political education, and efforts to instill in people an appreciation of high culture. David Hoffman showed that far from seeking to subjugate society and obliterate people's sense of self, Soviet authorities sought to cultivate educated, cultured citizens who would "transcend selfish, petty-bourgeois instincts and contribute willingly to a harmonious social order" (Hoffmann 2011:11).

But along with the unique features of Soviet history, it is important to consider more universal trends associated with the coming of modernity. A number of aspects of Soviet socialism paralleled developments throughout Europe during the late 19th and 20th centuries. These included the spread of bureaucracy and state control, efforts to manage and mobilize the population, scientism and attempts to rationalize and categorize society, and the rise of mass politics. The Soviet government was similar to other European governments in its promotion of a certain version of traditional symbols and institutions, for distinctly modern purposes of disciplining and mobilizing the population. Of particular interest is the focus on transforming human beings and their consciousness. For some members of the intelligentsia, this transformation amounted to a civilizing process by which the dark masses would become enlightened, cultured human beings. The mental transformations necessary to produce loyal citizens and the physical preparations required to produce fit soldiers spurred new forms of state intervention to buttress the loyalty, health, and discipline of the population.

Psychology played an important role in this pursuit. Fifty years later the Soviet psychologist Smirnov talked about "the concentrated efforts of Soviet psychologists to work out the basic theoretical problems of psychology, to integrate it vitally into the construction of a new way of life and a new society and into the development of the national economy and culture of

our country" (Smirnov 1967:13). In other words, in the wake of the Bolshevik revolution, teaching and research in Soviet public health was fundamentally changed by the introduction of a new specialty - social hygiene - which bore some resemblance both to pre-revolutionary Russian community medicine and to German *soziale medizin* of the early twentieth century. Within a short period of time, Soviet social hygiene was established both as a discipline in the medical schools and as a research field in specialized government institutes and research centers. In these settings, with the patronage of the Commissariat of Public Health of the RSFSR social hygiene flourished between 1922 and 1930 (Solomon 1990).

In this chapter I am specifically interested in the way Soviet scientists used the American Mental Hygiene movement to design and create what they thought of as a distinctly Soviet New Man. I address how the theorization of mental hygiene practices around the elaboration models of the social and mental development of the individual enhanced the diffusion of these practices. This section on the Soviet mental hygiene movement provides the reader with a detailed picture of psychological research carried out by Soviet scientists during the early years. The study is based on state documents, scientific works (books, articles, and dissertations), and instructional literature, along with reports of practical findings and recommendations. First, I discuss relational connectedness - the direct communication between scholars in the US and the Soviet Union. Second, I argue that cultural ties were essential to these exchanges. In particular, I discuss the centrality of self-discipline in the Soviet psychology and the ways it connected to larger cultural schemes.

Diffusion of Ideas: Theory

Much social scientific inquiry seeks to specify the conditions and mechanisms underpinning the flow of social practices among actors within some larger system - most

commonly under the title of diffusion studies. Instrumentalist assumptions about science have led to a focus on economic development and industrialism as a source of science (e.g., Cole and Phelan 1999). Classic work in the sociology of science has also focused on religious culture or on the institutional and political context necessary for the growth of the scientific professions. By far the most famous explanation of this type is the "Merton Thesis", which asserts that the cultural world-views of certain Protestant sects disposed individuals to pursue scientific careers in seventeenth century England. Merton's explanation emphasized the individual level: Protestant individuals would tend to choose scientific careers. However, Merton and others also applied the general argument to the societal level, arguing more generally that the cultural understandings of Protestantism permeated societies, affecting even those who were not especially religious. This led to the claim that predominantly Puritan or Protestant societies would expand science more than societies with other dominant religions (Merton 1970). Along similar lines, it has been argued that political freedoms are necessary for the growth of science. Totalitarianism, for example, is thought to curtail the freedom of scientists, thus inhibiting the development of science (Josephson 1996). For example, Soviet science may have been impeded by structures that prevented the free exchange of ideas among scientists. Also, totalitarian ideological pressures can distort science and prevent advancement, as in the case of Lysenkoism[6] (Schofer 2004).

Others look to colonialism and economic interdependence as factors that propagate modern science. Finally, a recent alternative to the instrumentalist view comes from neo-

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[6] Lysenkoism - a biological doctrine asserting the fundamental influence of somatic and environmental factors. Trofim Lysenko was the Director of the Soviet Lenin *All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences* in the 1930s under Josef Stalin. He advocated of the theory that characteristics acquired by plants during their lives could be inherited by later generations stemming from the changed plants, which sharply contradicted Mendelian genetics. As a result, Lysenko became a fierce critic of theories of the then rising modern genetics. Lysenkoism was "politically correct" (a term invented by Lenin) because it was consistent with certain broader Marxist doctrines. Marxists wanted to believe that heredity had a limited role even among humans, and that human characteristics changed by living under socialism would be inherited by subsequent generations of humans. Thus would be created the selfless new Soviet man.

institutional researchers, who shift attention toward the international sphere (Drori 2003). Rather than viewing national science as principally driven by domestic factors, neo-institutionalists emphasize the broader social and cultural environment that shapes national policy and behavior (Schofer 2004). In their early work, Thomas, Meyer, Ramirez, and Boli link rapid diffusion of the world systems to the homogeneous cultural construction of contemporary nation-states (Thomas, Meyer, Ramirez and Boli 1987). Nations embedded in global pro-science discourses and culture increasingly adopt a fairly standardized "global model" of science, irrespective of local circumstances or needs.

However, most sociological analysis treats diffusion as a function of connectedness. They are rich in structural mechanisms: characteristic relations between source and adopter that promote diffusion. Among the classics of this genre are Mark Granovetter's *The Strength of Weak Ties* (1973) and DiMaggio and Powell's *The Iron Cage Revisited* (1991). These relational models suggest that rates of diffusion should vary with levels of interaction between prior and potential adopters. Indeed, when the adopted practice is socially meaningless (for example, in the spread of measles), physical proximity may be all that is required for transmission to occur.

Relations are, no doubt, important, but as Strang and Meyer point out, it is insufficient explanation when diffuser practices and adopter identities are rich in social and cultural meaning (Strang and Meyer 1993). The theoretical problem is that relational models under-specify the variety of effects that may be induced by interaction and interdependence. Granted, interaction can increase solidarity and similarity; it can also increase conflict and boundary formation. Where asocial processes, such as the spread of infectious diseases are concerned, relational models are more than adequate. But where diffusion involves the social constitution of identity we need to call attention to a class of quite distinct factors that act to increase and redirect the flow of social material (1993). In other words, structural opportunities for meaningful contact

cannot tell us what sort of practices are likely to diffuse, and such opportunities may lead to conflict or boundary formation as well as diffusion (Strang and Soule 1998).

The new institutionalism emphasizes the way cultural models condition behavior and pays attention to historical context (DiMaggio and Powell 1991). The core argument is that national societies are surrounded by and embedded in trans-national organizations, culture, and discourse, often referred to as "world society" or the "world polity" (Meyer 1987). This rich external environment strongly influences nation-state structure and behavior. Today, they argue, diffusion processes play a central role in contemporary explanations of the incidence of collective action and the spread of protest and tactics (Strang and Soule 1998:267).

When adoption is socially meaningful, it is common to think of actors as making different choices cognitively available to echo other, developing shared understandings, and exploring the consequences of innovation through each other's experience. Theories of diffusion emphasize the rationalities involved. This occurs in part though attention to the characteristics of practices that spread widely. A core idea is that practices are adopted to the extent that they appear more effective or efficient than the alternatives. Further ideas elaborate on conditions that facilitate rational choice: consistency with prior attributes or policies, the simplicity of the novel practice, opportunities for experimentation, and so on.

Thus, assumptions of similarity are built into almost all diffusion research. In the case of work on the Soviet Union diffusion studies have concentrated on economic, industrial, and technical questions - the assumption being that rapidly industrialized countries aim at common results. Less common are explorations of the diffusion of cultural ideologies - due to the assumption of radical cultural and political dissimilarity. But as Strang and Meyer argue (1993), diffusion is often less structured by interaction and interdependence than expected. Moreover, diffusion within cultural categories is accelerated and redirected by the theorization that is "the

self-conscious development and specialization of abstract categories and formulation of patterned relationships such as chains of cause and effect" (492).

The diffusion theory has two parts: 1) diffusion becomes more rapid and more universal as cultural categories are informed by theories at higher levels of complexity and abstraction; 2) theorization renders diffusion less structured by social relations and differences across adopters. General models facilitate meaningful communication and influence between weakly related actors, and between theorists and adopters. Diffusion may still require direct contact, but in more modest amounts. In the rest of this chapter I will explore different kinds of ties between the US and the Soviet Union at the time, and how they contributed to the diffusion of mental hygiene and its model of the New Man. I start with direct scientific communication, then proceed to discuss cultural ties, and finally show how this applied to the project of the New Soviet Man.

Relational Ties: Direct Scientific Communication

As one can see from the previous chapter, psychology in general and the Mental Hygiene Movement in particular played a very special role in the US in the beginning of the 20th century. Scientists of mentalities were called on to assist in finding and implementing ways of motivating people to achieve their full potential. While it was posed as an all-American achievement, I argue in this chapter that their findings were actively used in other countries, especially in the newly founded USSR. There was, above all, a tremendous faith in the powers of natural science - the expression "science is the religion of the Soviet Union" was frequently used to describe the atmosphere of the twenties (Bauer 1952). The intellectual interdependence was present in the case of Soviet developmental psychology at large, as well as in the cases of specific scientists (Valsiner and Veer, René van der 2000). Therefore, I aim to chart the intricate web of intellectual interdependency of Soviet and American psychology.

In the USSR in the beginning of the twentieth century, compete restructuring of the country and a new type of governance meant solving unique scientific and practical problems that brought forth nontraditional methods and, to a significant degree, reorganization of the scientific enterprise. Along with the enthusiasm for natural science went a strong emphasis on materialism, objective methods, determinism, and quantitative, as opposed to qualitative, methods of investigation.

"In order to become a moral force in society, … science had had to undergo a kind of moral transformation itself" (Ehrenreich and English 2005:77). Science thus became "a potential creator of new values and ends.... It will be seen as a means of originality and individual variation" (Dewey 1930:160). Psychology was a major force toward this end. The Soviet government officially entered the academic sphere with an essay by Lenin in March 1922 (Valsiner 1988:72). Lenin wrote that "no natural science ... can hold out in the struggle against the onslaught of bourgeois ideas ... without a solid philosophic basis" (as cited in McLeish 1975:104). The term "bourgeois ideas" included any beliefs that were not sanctioned by the Party, and the "solid philosophic basis" was dialectical materialism. Ten months later, Konstanin Kornilov, one of the key presenters at the *First All-Russian Congress of Psychoneurology*, proposed that psychological research should be "reconciled" with Marxist ideology. Kornilov's research, which included references to materialism and dialectics, held out the promise of developing an original Marxist psychology (Kozulin 1984:14). In late 1923, the government replaced the founder and director of the Institute of Experimental Psychology with Kornilov. As director, Kornilov supported various perspectives within the Institute provided that they address how they might fit within "the future system of Marxist psychology" (Joravsky, 1989:229). Kornilov began to hire new staff, including Lev S. Vygotsky, who joined the Institute in 1924 (Gredler and Shields 2008).

Of course, the reorganization of psychological science during the period generally had to be carried out quickly, under adverse conditions and with limited resources. Taking all that into consideration, the amount that was accomplished by Soviet scientists is quite impressive. It is commonly accepted that American and Soviet psychology differed in many notable ways (Newton 1938). However, recent research (Elkonin 1998), supported by this dissertation showes that these psychologies functioned in a very similar way both methodologically and theoretically. Moreover, they continuously borrowed from one another, despite numerous examples of diversity based on deep sociocultural differences.

While the roots of Soviet psychology go back to local movements, as well as German ideas of "social hygiene", the American version gained strength after the revolution. The USSR was not shy to admit that its progress was built upon borrowing. Lenin, for example, spoke of "combination" in a famous text in 1918: "We will be able to realize socialism precisely to the extent that we will have succeeded in combining the power of the Soviets and the Soviet system of management with the most recent progress of capitalism" (Lenin 1969:168). A little later, in "Foundations, or Problems of Leninism", published in 1924, Stalin writes: "American efficiency is that indomitable force which neither knows nor recognizes obstacles; which continues at a task once started until it is finished, even if it is a minor task; and without which serious constructive work is impossible…. The combination *[soedinenie]* of Russian revolutionary sweep and American efficiency is the essence of Leninism in party and state work" (Stalin 1954:111).

Even during the first years of its establishment and development, the intellectual struggle of Soviet psychology was to a great extent focused not only on domestic but also on foreign idealist and mechanistic conceptions, especially because these had definite influences on the views of certain Soviet psychologists. Behavioral psychology, i.e., behaviorism, had been one of the chief tendencies of foreign social science, especially at the very beginning of the history of

Soviet psychology. Founded at the very beginning of the twentieth century, it impressed Soviet psychologists with its materialist base in opposition to the traditional subjective psychology, which studied consciousness apart from material processes (of which it was actually an attribute), and from its connection with human behavior, chiefly (and sometimes exclusively) by self-observation as if it were the main or even, according to a few, the only method of psychology (Smirnov 1967).

In particular, Lev Rozenshtein, future leader of the Soviet mental hygiene movement listened to and discussed Adolf Mayer's report on the development of psychiatry during the International Congress of Physicians in London, 1913. As he admits in 1931, he fully supported the views of American mental hygienists (Rozenshtein 1931).

As Yasnitsky, one of the modern Russian historian of psychology notes, Soviet scientists were reading almost everything published by scholars in English and French. However, the actual citations of the foreign authors were rare. Yasnitsky attributes this to the specific "ethos of Soviet psychology that was the result of an unspoken "social contract" between the scientific community and the state" (Yasnitsky 2012). Many scientists enthusiastically welcomed the transformations carried out under slogans such as "social justice," "equality," "freedom," "brotherhood," and "international working-class solidarity." There was a strong feeling that Russia was on the threshold of societal and spiritual rebirth and that the revolution had opened up new, hitherto unimagined prospects for advancement. A spurt of scientific activity ensued. An eyewitness, Konstantin N. Kornilov, one of the architects of Soviet psychology during the first decade after the revolution, observed, "Never before in the history of Russian psychology have we seen such an outpouring of ideas, in part contradictory, perhaps erroneous, even unnecessary" (Kornilov 1928:215, as cited in Simon 1998:3). The work of psychologists was intensified for two main reasons. First, the public sector required psychological expertise for political and

economic reasons; second, changing societal conditions mandated a serious reexamination of the

theoretical, philosophical, and methodological underpinnings of the discipline of psychology.

This movement was broadly supported by international scholars. Immediately after the

revolution help came in organized campaigns for medical relief, financial support, and no less

important - the exchange of scholarly information. The following quote is from a personal

communication between Lawis Miller, who organized the National Campaign of Physicians and

Surgeons on behalf of American Medical Aid for Russia and Dr. N. Semashko:

> … we have recently decided upon plans for campaigns for medical relief that involved the reorganization of our committees to a certain extent, and which will bring the activities of our organization into new channels. …. Essentially, we are engaging in two distinct campaigns. One consists of an appeal to the entire medical profession in the US, in which we are endeavoring to secure the aid of the American physicians for their colleagues in Russia, by asking them to contribute in funds in order that medical supplies might be purchased and shipped to Russia, thereby enabling the Russian professions to properly care for some of their suffering countrymen. … The other campaign on which we are working is planned to interest all of the manufacturers and dealers both retail and wholesale in medical, surgical, hospital and other supplies in the matter of Russian medical relief, asking them for donations of their merchandise for shipment to Russia. … *we are also endeavoring to secure copies of all of the important medical publications that have appeared in this country since 1914. Accordingly, we have already started a campaign, which will take all of the publishers of medical books and journals, as well as individual authors of important works on medicine, requesting contributions of medical literature for shipment to Russian institutions.* With the aid of our new Medical Committee, we are certain that we can secure a considerable quantity of medical literature. (1922, emphasis added) (Miller 1922)

Some of the organizational archives also included the packing lists of journals and books

shipped to the Soviet libraries by American scholars. Some of the most relevant included:

The American Journal of School Hygiene: 3 copies;

American Journal of School Hygiene: 3 copies Dec. 1916; 2 cop. Dec 1919; 3 cop. Sept

1919; 6 cop. June 1920; 3 cop. Dec. 1920; 3 cop. June 1921; 3 cop. Dec. 192;

The Institution Quarterly;

Journal of Infectious diseases: June 1922 - 3 copies; Also 3 copies of each Sept 1921 to

May 1922 Inclusive; and misc. medical literature.

A year later even the New York Medical Academy joined the effort and sent 40 full copies of scientific journals on medicine and hygiene, including the *Journal of Mental Hygiene* (published in 1921, 1922, and 1923). Russian coordinator, M.Mihailkovski noted in his letter to Moscow the value of the gift, "Especially because many other countries would love to receive those journals" (Mihailkovski 1923).

In addition to literature appropriation, Soviet scientists also made scholarly visits and invited foreign scholars for knowledge exchanges - as evidenced by visa applications and financial aid communications. For instance, in 1923, the *State Academy of Psyche-Neurological Science of St. Petersburg* asked for permission from the *Central Science Committee* to invite foreign scholars to the local conference on pedology and experimental pedagogy "due to the strong interest of foreign colleagues". The invitation included scientists from more than fifteen countries, including the United States, Germany, Italy, etc. (Гос Петроградская Психо-Неврологическая Академия 1923:1)

At least during this period, scientific communication was officially supported and encouraged. The official communication between different officers of the Ministry of Health discussed that process from the position of circulation of knowledge. They proudly announced that strong ties had been established with the *American Child Health Association; National Tuberculosis Association, Mental Hygiene Association, Association for the Prevention and Treatment of Cancer*, and *Association for the Prevention and Treatment of Heart Disease* with the purpose of timely access to the latest knowledge about these issues.

Cultural Ties: Theorizing the New Man

As mentioned before, Stark and Meyer argue that linkages are cultural as well as relational. They suggest that the cultural understanding that social entities belong to a common social category construct a tie between them. To them, rational mimicking requires prior and potential adopters to be understood as fundamentally similar, at least with respect to the practice at issue. In the words of Strang and Soule (1998:276), the analysis of the cultural bases of diffusion replaces "a theory of connections with a theory of connecting".

Keeping in mind that an over-all characteristic of this period, and one that distinguishes it markedly from the era after 1930s, was a fundamental faith in free scientific debate, it is not surprising that during the immediate post-revolutionary period, Russian psychology was theoretically diverse. Strang (1993) argues that perceptions of similarity may enhance rates of diffusion as actors find themselves enmeshed in competitive emulation. As in the US, the attitude toward the application of psychology to social problems was optimistic during the early twentieth century. This attitude arose from the belief that psychologists in their laboratories would arrive at general principles of human behavior, which could then be applied to social living. Such high Party leaders as Trotsky, Bukharin, Krupskaia, and Lunacharsky displayed an active interest in both the application and theory of psychology.

Thus, while the Soviet Union actively took lessons from the US about the ways industry was organized (Fordism), it was simultaneously competing to improve human nature.

It fostered faster development of institutional structures: Soviet Russia was the first to establish The Department of Health as a branch of the central government, although it was advocated for years in many advanced countries by students of hygiene and sanitation. In particular, psychological knowledge was useful in campaigning against illiteracy, restructuring education, creating a proletarian culture, and molding the new "Soviet citizen." Rosenstein wrote "the treatment of mental disease is closely allied to their prevention, so that a large number of

preventive clinics have been established in Russia. … The public health, including mental hygiene, is a potent factor in the new legislation in Russia" (Rosenstein 1932:146).

Following the US experience, as early as 1919, Soviet reports on the fight for literacy were positioned as a question of self-discipline that depended on local self-organization - the basic principles of mental hygiene (Anon 1919).

Psychology, thus, just as in the US, was given a meaningful role in affecting cultural life. The applied specialties of psychology were the primary beneficiaries of this policy. Those areas given most impetus included psychotechnics, the psychology of management, psychohygiene, pedology, and bibliopsychology. By 1930, in Moscow alone, the 14 district committees had been expanded into forty public-health units, and each one of these, located in the various districts, dealt with the population at large. "In those forty district units there were employed 97 psychiatrists, and 15 district physicians. These physicians combine work of forty-one psychiatrists who are dealing with alcoholics, who, of course, constitute quite a problem in Russia as everywhere else" (Salkind 1932:151).

During the decade of the 1920s, three different beliefs influenced Russian psychology. They are the belief in the automatic creation of a new society, the concept of partinost introduced by Lenin[7], and Marxist–Leninist ideology. The fall of the tsar in 1917 unleashed widespread euphoria and visionary hope about the transformation of human nature. The American insistence on the importance of self-discipline overlapped neatly with the utopian assumption that human nature was basically good and that bad institutions and evil political systems had prevented the expression of the good (Stites 1992). Therefore, removal of the bad institutions plus the

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[7] Partinost, party-mindedness or Party loyalty, simply following the Party line. "Partinost", a criterion of commitment to the working-class cause of the Party, meant praising Communist ideology and the belief in a happy and prosperous future. Lenin said that "The absence of party spirit (partinost) in philosophy is nothing but despicable and disguised servility towards towards idealism." After Lenin, gradually his notion of integrating all party media of public expression into party organization was transformed into the notion that all public expression must be infused with party spirit (partinost) - unconditional party loyalty.

spontaneous action of the people acting on the good within themselves could transform society. Elimination of the nobility, therefore, was believed to "guarantee the appearance of *a new kind of person*: the liberated proletarian [worker] with new morals, culture, and rules of conduct" (McLeish 1975:15, italics added). People would be more harmonious and socially conscious than people trapped in a society scarred by social conflict (Hosking 2001:434). In addition, many had faith in the natural sciences to assist in this effort. The belief was that humans could create miracles by the free play of rational intellect (Bauer 1952:52).

The history of Soviet psychotechnics is illustrative. This applied field became so influential and prestigious that it assumed the form of a large-scale professional movement not limited to psychologists, but also composed of physiologists, hygienists, administrators, teachers, and other practitioners. Moreover, from the very beginning it was positioned as a popular movement. Dr. Rosenstein, describing the organization of psychiatric work to the group of international scholars during the International Congress of 1930, pointed out that

> The tendency of the mental-hygiene movement in Russia is to go beyond the clinic, the *sanatorium*, or *preventorium*, to get the people themselves interested in the work in industry, in schools, in clinics, and to give opportunity to the individual to have a psychiatric consultation before he develops any symptoms of mental disease, and to get advice in his own personal problems…. [F.ex. By answering] announcement that is posted in most of the factories in various parts of the district (Salkind 1932:151)

The process of restructuring psychology along Marxist lines that occurred in the 1920s and 1930s, led to all the subsequent major theoretical and methodological developments in Soviet psychology - its important achievements on the one hand, its contradictions and problems on the other. Understandably, each psychologist had a different approach to Marxism. This reflected the individual's scientific background and professional maturity, combined with the scientist's sense of social responsibility and personal integrity. Although lip service to the positions of the ruling ideology (which is what Marxist doctrine became under the proletarian government) was prevalent in the discipline, with the result that Marxist precepts were brought

indiscriminately into scientific theory, innovative interpretations of Marxist ideas flourished too. "Psychology cannot be found in ready-made form in any of the writings of the founders of Marxism-Leninism," Rubinstein pointed out, concluding "there is only one way to build Soviet psychology, namely, creative research" (as cited in Elkonin 1998:5). Viewing Marxism not as dogma, but as a system of theoretical perspectives led to spectacular achievements in Soviet psychology. The work of Boris G. Ananiev, Alexei Leontiev, Alexander Luria, Boris M. Teplov, and Dmitri Uznadze, in addition to that of Basov, Vygotsky, and Rubinstein, among others, all derived from this strategy.

Some of the trends developing in Russia and world psychology, particularly in American behaviorism, fitted in well with the general scientific ethos of the early Revolutionary period. Empirical psychology, behavioral psychology (as manifested in reactology and reflexology), and psychoanalysis coexisted with various socially oriented fields of psychology (Yasnitsky 2012). They were united by both the assumption of the sociobiological nature of processes as well as methodologies. This integration of the social and biological was a particularly important point in both the US and the USSR. In this respect, the American model of mental hygiene had a major influence on the way mental hygiene was organized in the USSR. In particular, it influenced the way the national health system was organized – including setting up specific scientific and medical institutions across the country. Beyond appropriation, thriving in the atmosphere of social change, this pluralistic situation generated intense scientific inquiry and motivated productive discussions, primarily within the context of Marxist methodology. A discussion on reactological psychology developed, the beginning of which can be traced to the appearance of a report by a group of young Communists of the Institute of Psychology in Moscow (K.K. Anson, A.V. Vedenov, A.A. Talakin, F.N. Shmyakin, et al.) entitled "On the Marxist-Leninist Rearming

of Psychology,". At the time, V.G. Anan'yev characterized it as a "concise program for the Bolshevic entry onto the psychological front."

This discussion played the chief role in the criticism of a whole genre of mechanistic conceptions in Russian psychology, as well as in foreign (American) behavioral psychology. As a result of this discussion, the object of Marxist psychology was recognized to be the consciousness, the mind, and mental processes. Serious theoretical debates concerned the main problems of psychological science, the definition of psychology, and ways of studying psychological reality, which abounded at the time (Budilova, 1972). Prominent psychologists came to consider this lack of unity a serious crisis and urged pulling all the factions together in a common theoretical-methodological framework.

The report of Kornilov to the *First All-Russian Psychoneurological Congress* in 1923 in Moscow ("Contemporary Psychology and Marxism") marked a historical epoch that distinguished itself as the beginning of the destruction of the idealist tendency in Russian psychology. In his lectures, Kornilov stressed the importance of the "sociological" (as he expressed it) aspect of Marxism. The psychology of personality, he wrote, is to be understood only against the background of class psychology, which in its turn is determined by economic and sociopolitical factors.

An important development was the prompt organization of a broad network of scientific and applied centers serving industries, the transport system, and the Red Army. Projects involved improving procedures for the selection of managers and other professional personnel, studying the social implications of fatigue, creating furniture for the workplace, and designing work regimes. Noteworthy progress was also made in the field of pedology (Elkonin 1998).

Researchers amassed new scientific data from wide-ranging studies that contributed to the systematization of Soviet psychology. The interaction of experimental science with practical

experience was found to be very useful. Moreover, scientists built up their authority by positioning themselves as pivotal players within the new regime. But the regime itself appropriated a new understanding of man to build a specific kind of state.

Consistent with the belief that knowledge flows from the objective world is the belief that thinking is influenced primarily by the social environment. In other words, society, appropriately structured, could create "the new man." A corollary of the role of the social environment is that individuals raised in different cultural environments will differ in both the content of their thinking and the ways that they think. This view became a foundational principle of Vygotsky's cultural–historical theory. Lev Semyonovich Vygotsky, a prominent Soviet psychologist, was passionately devoted to his cause, which was to develop a science of man. In a letter to one of his students, he stated, "What can shake a person looking for truth? How much inner light, warmth, support there is in this question itself!" (Vygotsky, cited in (Van der Veer and Valsiner 1991:16). Vygotsky's textbook on psychology (completed in 1924) also expressed an almost unlimited faith in the plasticity of humans that can be developed by organizing the social environment in particular. In a later essay, he prophesied that "the new society will create the new man" [and] "in the future society, psychology will indeed be the science of the new man" (Vygotsky 1994[1930]:342– 343]. In Vygotsky's view, mental functioning in the individual can be understood only by examining the social and cultural processes from which it derives. It calls on the investigator to begin the analysis of mental functioning in the individual by going outside the individual.

Alexander Luria, Vygotsky's student, colleague and a world-renowned neurologist, noted in his memoirs that "my entire generation was infused with the energy of revolutionary change ... the Revolution freed us to discuss new ideas, new philosophies, new social systems" (Luria 1979:17). Luria (1979) noted that it was very difficult, after so long a time, to recapture the

enormous enthusiasm of the research group (Vygotsky, Luria, Leont'ev, and five student-collaborators) in their weekly discussions and research projects. However, the group did devote "almost all of its waking hours to our grand plan for the reconstruction of psychology" (Gredler and Shields 2008:52). Luria argued that "In order to explain the highly complex forms of human consciousness one must go beyond the human organism. One must seek the origins of conscious activity...in the external processes of social life, in the social and historical forms of human existence" (as cited in Wertsch and Tulviste 1992:551).

Self-discipline and the New Men

To a certain extent all Soviet psychology of the twenties was behavioral psychology, in as much as it was interested in the study of man's overt actions rather that in his subjective life. A number of Soviet psychologists traced their behavioral psychology directly to American behaviorism. The most important probably were P.P. Blonskii, who specialized in educational and child psychology, and V.M.Borovskii, an animal psychology. In both countries one of the sources was animal research. In Russia this source was Pavlov's work on the conditioned salivary reflexes of dogs. Equally important, perhaps, was Bekhterev's early plea for an objective psychology, which originated in human psychology. The work of both of Bekhterev and Pavlov began at the very start of the twentieth century, and their views were well established at the time of the Revolution. Even though each rejected the label of psychologists, Pavlov calling himself a physiologist and Bekhterev referring to his school as reflexology, both addressed themselves to the same range of problems as did the psychologists, and they considered psychologists to be their scientific competitors.

In general, the Pavlovians made less of a direct assault on psychology than did Bekhterev and his students, but Pavlov's work captured the fancy of many prominent persons and

contributed to the enthusiasm for reflexology that was to make the position of psychology so precarious. After the *Second Psychological Congress*, the newspaper *Pravda,* the central organ of the Party, said that the doctrine of conditioned reflexes was one of the foundations of materialism in biology, and *Izvestia*, the government newspaper, devoted a special laudatory article to Pavlov's work. Lenin's widow, Krupskaia, wrote in 1928 that the study of reflexes would make possible the understanding of the relationship of material and psychic phenomena. Trotsky favored a fusion of Freudian theory and Pavlovian method for a correct materialist model of human behavior (Bauer 1952:55).

These behaviorists are of interest to us not so much because they upheld a particular theoretical line, but rather for the role they played in applied psychology; notably in 'pedology', the science which brought the concepts and techniques of medicine, psychology, physiology, pedagogy, sociology, and anthropology to bear on the study of the child. Pedology and industrial psychology were the two main areas of application of psychology and were to be extremely important in determining the fate of psychology in the USSR.

Some of the young psychologists like A.R.Luria and L.S. Vygotskii did interesting and original work studying reactions. In Luria's hands the method of studying reactions became a sensitive instrument for analyzing the internal dynamics of the human personality. Vygotskii and Luria, together with other younger workers at the Psychological Institute, worked out an approach to the development of the child based theory that depended on the mastering of cultural elements such as mnemonic devices, which improve the memory span. Their extended program for the study embraced both the phylogenetic and ontogenetic development of human behavior. These two scholars were in particular influenced by the German Gestaltists and American behaviorism.

The work done by Vygotskii and Luria in their investigations of the cultural development of the child was related to their interest in the role of conscious factors in behavior. Much of this work concerned the way in which man learns to control his own behavior. A present day chronicle of Soviet psychology cites these experiments as the foremost example of 'the progressive tendencies' in Soviet psychology. This fit in well with American mental hygiene ideas. The most important aspect of this new man was the ability of self-discipline, both bodily and mental. In this, mental hygiene was permeated with most of the assumptions which dominated other aspects of Soviet society - the general reliance on spontaneous processes, but especially the belief in the innate goodness of man. External discipline was considered not only unnecessary, but undesirable. Therefor the ideas of self-government and self-discipline of the American mental hygiene movement were widely appealing to the new Soviet state. Nikolai Semashko, the head of the Health Department of the Moscow City Council and the Chair of Social Hygiene at Moscow State University, for example, wrote in 1920:

> Those familiar with the superstitions of the Russian masses which the old regime fostered, will marvel at the stupendous accomplishment of the Soviet Government in the domains of personal hygiene and public health. … *The secret of the success of the work lies in the placing of the responsibility upon the workers themselves,* which is the basic principle of the Soviet system. "The workers themselves must take care of their health" is the dictum of the Commissariat. Similarly in the Red Army, menaced by the contact with diseased enemy troops, the slogan "*To be dirty is a crime against the Revolution*" aided a great deal in raising the health standard of the army. (Semashko 1920:4, emphasis added).

In other words, the model of a conscious actor who in the process of his activity strives for goals that lie beyond his contemporary situation - the image of a man who liberates himself from the constraints of the immediate present by becoming conscious, through purposive action, of the relationships in which he is involved. '… Hygiene education is not just about spreading the knowledge, but about fostering a special kind of self-discipline in each and every person as well

as whole communities, because as it is even those who are knowledgeable are often weak and violate the basic hygiene demands like smoking, spitting, etc' (Molkov 1923:42).

Another group were those applied psychologists - chiefly pedologists - who were attached to the various institutes, such as the Institute of Communist Education which was the spearhead of the Party's attempts to make psychology an effective applied discipline. Chief among them was A.B. Zalkind, who was in succession a Freudian, a reflexologist, and a denouncer of Freudianism and reflexology. The chief industrial psychologists were I.N. Shpil'rein and S.G. Gellershtein. Like the pedologists, the industrial psychologists derived most of their theory and technique from Western psychology.

One way to construct a self-disciplining man was through the application of physical exercise to the body: "Physical culture is a weapon of class struggle" (Anon 1924:11). Moreover, in the early Soviet Union the "discourse of body" provided a cultural grid that mapped the motivations of actors, relationships, and institutions in a specific way. Political actors draw on these codes to create categories of inclusion/exclusion, to define the idea of 'a new man' and to argue for a hierarchical state structure. In papers of the organizational documents for The Ministry of Physical Culture it states:

> Physical culture is not just about sport and gymnastic, it cannot be restricted to exercise. In our new understanding, physical culture has turned into a system of workers' health improvement, their physical betterment more broadly. The natural consequence is the need to connect physical culture to political education by workers' organizations. Physical education of workers is based on bio-social understandings, as it changes one's body. This is why we changed the way physical culture is organized. Instead of separate, independent youth organizations united by the type of physical exercise, and disengaged from the major professional organizations (Young Communist League), we aim to organically fuse physical education and general labor education' (Anon 1924:4-5).

These quote and the following discussion argue for a strong hierarchical relationship between state organizations based on understanding of the human body as centralized under the governance of one major organ - the brain.

> First we did think that physical culture needs to be an independent organization to fulfill its goals. But even than it was clear … that guiding organizational principle must be professional orientation … to connect physical culture to the rest of culture-related work, and with political class struggle (Anon 1924:5)

This insistence that the body is political is most visible in the way boundaries are constructed:

> Factory-based committees must supervise the activity of physical culture organizations and select their leaders. This is extremely necessary in order to prevent old-school-bourgeio athletes from sneaking into factory organizations as the leaders. The organizations should be based territorially, with a strict hierarchy, headed by the Central Bureau of Russian Union of Red Organization for physical culture. … This Union by its nature has be purely class-based organization. (Anon 1924:5-6)

Another practice focused on reading as a very special kind of practice: about a third of all the advice books at the time concentrate on reading in some shape or form: how to read books, how to read newspapers, how to lead a discussion about books, how and what to read to a specific population. It is particularly interesting in that reading is both a discipline and a means of discipline. It is about the very practice of sustained attention (one is constantly warned about the dangers of mindless reading, the importance of reading at the same time every day (Vilenkin 1925)). Yet reading is not only a discipline, but it disciplines in return – as has been argued by scholars like Neil Postman (following Marshall McLuhan) in the famous book *Amusing Ourselves to Death*. The Soviet advice books do expect the same kind of result.

Some of the prominent topics included the insistence on the political importance of books and newspapers, establishing a proper hierarchy of readers, and the use of body metaphors. "Newspaper as the most powerful collective propaganda and organization", argued activists (Vogalski 1925). One important common scheme with the mental hygiene movement is the

emphasis on the importance of providing a "toolkit of knowledge and skills" instead of teaching specific values:

> Newspaper can be an excellent means to political education. Constant reading of newspaper – often imperceptibly to the reader himself – means acquiring the toolkit of knowledge and skills that will at some point to explain any even from the point of view of communist culture."(1925) A hierarchy of readers is established in the way at the bottom of the hierarchy was entertainment, following by acquiring knowledge to the highest possible level of consciousness - the development of worldview (Borovich 1924). They need to train because "Brain fat that does not turn into brain muscle is as – if not more – harmful to human psychophysiological activity as obesity is harmful to human physical life (1924:11-12).

Another important issue for mental hygiene was time consciousness (Kössler and Muchie 1990). Its foremost proponent, P.M. Kerzhentsev, initiated a campaign to propagate time thrift: 'timely beginning of work, fixing of exact dates and times for meetings, minimizing extra-ordinary dates, minimizing interviews, conversations, discussions, accelerating the speed of work' along with economizing 'money, paper, fuel etc.' (ibid., p. 54).

The 'Time League' (Liga Vremya), founded on 30 July 1923, was a part of the manifold, and partly contradictory movement of Cultural Revolution of the period, an endeavor to foster rationalized ways of behavior congruent with social and technological progress. The League's membership rose from 4,000 late in 1923 to 25,000 in 1924. It was organized in factory cells enjoying considerable financial and political autonomy.

A disciplined way of living was linked to personal responsibility by the 'chronocard' to control members' daily time-budgets. A time-saving automatism thus acquired was to liberate the 'higher centers of the brain' for more important work: 'the so much dreaded mechanization of Man is but an expression of greater rhythmicity in entire human life' (cf . ibid ., pp . 68 et seq., 75 et seq.). The 'Time-League' was an organization explicitly outside the state and independent of the party apparatus, to enhance the aim of self-discipline which might have been eroded by the possible conveyance of 'rights through a connection of the League with the state apparatus' (ibid.,

p .87). Still, the League was to work completely under the control of the party, while claiming a minimal measure of autonomy in terms of self-discipline of its members.

Self-discipline was not limited to organizing physical and mental habits, but it meant reorganization of space with mental hygiene principles in mind. These principles are well described in the organization of the state's psychological hospitals in the US. Ebert, describing the first hospital in the US, points to how the environment was used to shape behaviors, and how better facilities were utilized as an inducement for appropriate behaviors. A good example of that is Milwaukee Superintendent White's comments to the Board in 1898, in which he describes how a new dining area was used: "The new general dining room, established in the room formerly occupied by the ironing room, with a capacity of two hundred patients, forms a most desirable arrangement, enabling us to classify patients perfectly. The room is most attractive in flowers and presents in fact the appearance of a first class restaurant: "The patients appreciate these surroundings acutely and it serves to stimulate good behavior, those in the large dining room above in order to gain admission to the lower dining room."

Attention was also paid to the social environment within the institution itself, and structured activities or amusements were frequent and diverse, including: the holding of dances, lectures, slide shows (later on movies), concerts, plays, picnics and outings to ballgames or other community events (Ebert 1999:108). Taking that to heart, Dr. P.P.Kaschenko, writing on the organization of psychiatric care in the USSR, insisted on common dining rooms, and justified it as follows: "We need that not just as a way to simplification… but also as one of the strongest and systematic ways to develop and strengthen mass order, and discipline among the sick, as well as to support their sociability. (Anon 1919).

In other words, the category of "The New Man" itself produced structural conditions for diffusion. These created what DiMagio and Powell call the pressures from the state and other

dominant organizations for "institutional isomorphism" (DiMaggio and Powell 1991). Reference groups were culturally constructed around common status and purpose in addition to the dense webs of interaction (Strang and Soule 1998). While some of the common purposes for the New Man were purely utilitarian, like the "fight for literacy", both the US and USSR cast them in terms of self-discipline and will-power.

Conclusion

Thus, in the psychologies of the twenties, man was an adaptive mechanism that responded to external forces in such a way as to maintain equilibrium between himself and his environment. Adherence to the concepts of equilibrium and adaptation was almost universal. The fact that Soviet Russia was a revolutionary state that attacked the practices and world-views of leading nations in most areas of international political and cultural relations seems not to have deterred the early activities of Soviet psychologists. In fact, Soviet scholars were explicitly interested in multiple works of western scholars, particularly behaviorism and mental hygiene. However, Soviet scholars placed emphasis on the fact that reshaping human nature would take place automatically as the institutions of society were changed.

In 1927 when the Soviet government convened its Fifteenth Party Congress to outline the First Five-Year Plan, a special section was devoted to the necessity of raising the cultural level of the Soviet people. However, when Party workers set out to fulfill the Congress's mandates, it quickly became clear that there was little agreement on what it meant to be a cultured Soviet citizen (Dunham, Sheldon and Hough 1990:120).

Still, there is considerable evidence that the Soviet Union did succeed in establishing particular patterns of subjectivity. Historians such as Jochen Hellbeck and Anna Krylova offered

compelling models of Soviet selfhood.[8] In his seminal work, Kotkin (1992) insists that the Russian Revolution brought changes deep enough to be considered a special civilization:

> Bolshevism ... must be seen not merely as a set of institutions, a group of personalities, or an ideology but as a cluster of powerful symbols and attitudes, a language and new forms of speech, new ways of behaving in public and private, even new styles of dressing, short, as an ongoing experience through which it was possible to imagine and strive to bring about a new civilization called socialism (14).

Considering that the human factor was intrinsic to all the social efforts of the early Soviet Union, it was recognized that the remaking of human personality was an integral part of the social, political, and economic revolution that Bolshevism represented. Soviet psychologists, particularly those closely associated with the party, realized that the assumption of the plasticity of the human organism was a necessary 'optimistic' premise for the goal of developing 'a new type of man'.

In particular, Bolsheviks tried to establish norms of orderly behavior, personal hygiene, "cultured" manners and speech, aestheric norms and cannons, proper sexual behavior, etc (Hoffmann 2003; Kelly 2001; Fitzpatrick, Project and Societies 2005). Based on the analysis of the Soviet advice literature, Catriona Kelly (2001) argues that texts reflected many constants of the "civilizing process". Even though Soviet modernization had institutional differences from the modernizing programs in Western countries (notably the high degree of state ownership and state coordination, and the extent of compulsion applied on the masses, including forced labor and public calling to order or shaming), Kelly concludes that the practical end in view - the construction of the literate, clean sober, and reliable workforce - was the same as in

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[8] Important works in this genre include Jochen Hellbeck, *Fashioning the Stalinist Soul: The Diary of Stepan Podlubnyi, 1931–39*, in Sheila Fitzpatrick, ed., *Stalinism: New Directions* (London: 2000) and idem., *Self-Realization in the Stalinist System: Two Soviet Diaries of the 1930s*, in David L. Hoffmann and Yanni Kotsonis, eds., *Russian Modernity: Politics, Knowledge, Practices* (Basingstoke, Hampshire, U.K., 2000); Igal Halfin, *From Darkness to Light: Class Consciousness and Salvation in Revolutionary Russia* (Pittsburgh, 2000), and *Terror in My Soul: Communist Autobiographies on Trial* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003); Oleg V. Kharkhordin, *The Collective and the Individual in Russia: A Study of Practices* (Berkeley, 1999); Amir Weiner, *Making Sense of War: The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution* (Princeton, 2001); Anna Krylova, *Soviet Modernity in Life and Fiction: The Generation of the 'New Soviet People' in the 1930s,* PhD. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2000.

industrialized countries the world over.[9] Therefore Stalinism can be seen as part of a modernity process aimed at unifying and transforming citizens.

In an essay in *Language and Revolution*, Hellbeck (2009) argues that the Bolshevik Revolution produced "a substantial growth" of practices of self-reflection and self-concern. According to Hellbeck, the classical genres of diary and autobiography were appropriated by the Soviet regime as major instruments of political self-surveillance, psychological self-reshaping, and the cultivation of "Soviet subjectivity." He speculates that diaries were propagated among the Soviets in the same way that Puritans required self-observation from their followers. However, some other scholars, most prominently Etkind strongly argue that "The Soviet Terror itself… testifies to the failure of the project of Soviet subjectivity. There would have been no need for the Terror if all these millions had enthusiastically retailored themselves". He continues by doubting the very historical usefulness of the term "Soviet Subjectivity" "There is something of a reverse cargo cult in the very concept of "Soviet subjectivity": the lost civilization left occasional traces that do not make much sense to those who find them" (Etkind 2005).

However, this approach misses the degree to which Soviet practices of the 1920s were rooted in the wider social and cultural discourses of the time, especially the connections to the American mental hygiene movement. In other words, therapeutic policies - based on the notions of self-discipline and expert knowledge - are as common in the USSR as they are in the US at the time. This points to the fact that cultural theorizing of "a new man" was more important than the type of economy. Despite the particularities of the projects of reforming humanity in each country, a broader picture emerges in which each effort ultimately rests on two primary

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[9] Moreover, Kelly shows the historical genealogy of this rhetoric. That is, the model citizen depicted in "On the Duties of Man and of Citizen" (1783) - patriotic, tidy, hard-working, open to innovation - was a family ancestor of the Soviet ideal, an ideal which was also foreshadowed in "Friendly Advice to a Young Man Beggining to Live in the World" (1765). (Kelly 2001:249-50)

principles: the sublimation of individual ambition into devotion towards communal goals and the remaking of humanity through intense self-policing.

Importantly, the emphasis on the adaptive nature of men as well as the rejection of the primacy of biological over the environmental meant that the principle of human heredity and its potential practices, whether exterminatory euthanasia or constructive eugenics, were officially repudiated in the Soviet Union from the early 1930s on. What is more, the Soviet Union was practically alone among the major countries in the 1930s in its rejection of euthanasia or sterilization of the mentally retarded, a practice that was embraced, often enthusiastically, on both sides of the Atlantic (Weiner 1999:1146).

I have noted that an important characteristic of the era was that the influence of the party on psychology was much less direct and detailed than it was to be later, allowing for a broad range of theoretical viewpoints. Of course, by the end of the 1920s, Stalin had won the power struggle among prominent Party leaders that had followed Lenin's death in 1924, and he began to remake the social fabric of Soviet Russia. In addition to initiating a crash effort to industrialize the country and forcing the peasants into farming collectives, Stalin's repression included the professions, literature, and the social sciences. Economists, engineers, professors, and others were accused of conspiring with foreign enemies. They were removed from their positions, and some were imprisoned. These events closed down the "golden age," relatively speaking, of fairly open discussion in Soviet psychology. Theoretical views in various academic disciplines were closely examined for congruence with Marxism as interpreted by the Bolsheviks (who now referred to themselves as Communists). Open discussions of the scientific model ceased, and pronouncements from the Kremlin established the legitimacy of ideas. The "very principle of professional autonomy was rejected in favor of partiinost" (Joravsky, 1989, p. 420).

As things started changing in the 1930s, many Russian scholars found themselves in very complex situations. If in the 1920s a wide variety of psychological views were expressible, after 1930 the 'schools' began to dwindle rapidly. After 1936 there was, for practical purposes, one school of Soviet psychology.

Aron Zalkind, psychologist and psychoneurologist, one of the most significant Russian representatives of pedology, provides a representative example. He organized of the 1st Pedological Congress 1927/1928 in Moscow, for which he, together with Stepan Stepanovich Molozhavy (1879-1936), compiled the Congress resolution, which appealed for a Marxist revision of pedology. In 1928 he was president of the same-year founded NKP Commission on the Planning of Pedological Research in the RSFSR and from 1928-1932 he was chief editor of the journal *Pedologiya*. He spearheaded preparations for the first General Congress on the Investigation of Human Behavior (26th of January-1st of February 1930) and gave the main lecture. However, in the ensuing ideological confrontations and amidst intense and questionable justification attempts, he came into the crossfire of criticism, was relieved of his position of chief editor at *Pedologiya*, but remained a member of the editing staff. In 1936, on his way home from the assembly at which the Central Committee Resolution on Pedology was announced, Zalkind died of a heart attack on a street in Moscow.

In his turn, Lev Rosenstein who built his career within the strong public health movement in the 1920s, lost his influence as public health initiatives became increasingly discontinued from 1932. In the early 1930s, psychoanalysis had come under increasing criticism and was officially banned from Soviet life in 1936 as bourgeois and idealist in nature (Etkind 1997).

However, this same adherence to Marxist ideology put pressure on these Soviet scientists. It also prevented Soviet involvement with eugenics as a way to create new human beings. Weiner tells a story of Herman Muller, the chief advocate of eugenics in the Soviet

Union who in his *Out of the Night: A biologist's View of the Future*, argued that with artificial insemination technology,

> In the course of a paltry century or two … it would be possibly for the majority of the population to become of the innate quality of such men as Lenin, Newton, Leonardo, Pasteur, Beethoven, Omar Khayyam, Pushkin, Sun Yat Sen, Marx … or even to possess their varied faculties combined which would offset the American prospects of a maximum number of Billy Sundays, Valentinos, Jack Dempseys, Babe Ruths, evel Al Capones. (as cited in Weiner 1999:1147)

But when Muller forwarded a copy of his book to Stalin in May 1936 and assured him that "it was quite possible, by means of the technique of artificial insemination which has been developed in this country, to use for such purposes the reproductive material of the most transcendently superior individuals, of the one in 50,000, or one in 100,000, since this technique makes possible a multiplication of more that 50,000 times," he practically sealed his fate and the fate of eugenics in the Soviet Union for the next three decades. Stalin read the book, and although he did not respond in writing or verbally until June 1937, his actions spoke for themselves. Muller escaped the Soviet Union by the skin of his teeth, but everyone else in his cohort was shot. The *Institute of Medical Generics* was disbanded, and the era of Lysenkoism and its doctrine of acquired characteristics was ushered in. In the long process of constructing a socialist society, acculturation prevailed over biology as the means of both the expansion and purification of the polity.

CHAPTER 5: The Feedback Loop: American Scholars' Reaction to Soviet Mental Hygiene

Plentiful scholarship exists on the effects in capitalist countries of communism linked to the Soviet Union, on the voyages of intellectuals and of militants toward the Mecca that was Moscow in order to discover the "light of Marxism" or simply out of enthusiasm for it. This literature also describes the fascination of the major actors in public health or industrial, administrative, or architectural rationalization for the Soviet plan and order. The stage was worldwide: a large number of areas of circulation intersected, coming into contact with, meeting, and cross-fertilizing each other, as in the example of modern architecture and functional urbanism. In fact, Michael David-Fox, historian of modern Russian and Soviet history at Georgetown University, argues that the intellectuals' tours of the "great experiment," which peaked in the turbulent stretch from the mid-1920s to the mid-1930s, must be regarded as one of the most consequential cross-cultural encounters of the twentieth century (David-Fox 2003).

On the other hand, as the Soviet regime faced many obstacles in the international arena, its diplomatic and military weaknesses can be seen as one important explanation for the extraordinary importance cultural diplomacy assumed in Soviet international strategies of the interwar period. The intelligentsia, while ever more dependent on the waxing power of the party-state, had much to offer in this realm. It possessed cultural prestige and its elite representatives were internationally renowned. With lectures, public statements, publications or even just their signatures, these figures could make what were deemed politically valuable declarations, something Party leaders and cultural administrators alike perceived as crucial to the balance of international opinion about the Soviet Union.

As a result, in the space of a few years after 1917, deeply ingrained Western representations of Russia revolving around backwardness and authoritarianism were replaced, at

least for left-leaning intellectuals, with those revolving around the futuristic "experiment" of the first socialist society. The attention to the communication network is part of an effort to move beyond the argument on whether or not Soviet Union was part of western modernity. Michael David-Fox calls to go beyond solely examining parallels or disjunctives with the "West" toward consideration of what he calls "entangled modernities," that is to say mutual appraisal and interaction across borders (2006). In this perspective, modernity is unintelligible without taking into account these circulations and their confrontations on the ground (Yves Cohen and Stephanie Lin 2009).

In this chapter I demonstrate that these communications were not limited to industrial fields or architecture, but were an integral part in the American fight for the "New Man". As early as 1923, The New York Medical Academy wrote to the Soviet Department of Communication to request a subscription to all Soviet journals on medicine, hygiene, and sanitation (Mihailkovski 1923). In its turn, The Soviet Ministry of Health sought out connections with American medical publishers with the explicit instructions to "regularly publish reports about Soviet medicine and Russian doctors" for the US scholars (Narkomzdrav 1923).

Interest grew stronger in the 1930s. To start, the US mental hygiene movement was not at its best despite some of its obvious successes. Economic depression (the crises of 1929) had a significant impact on the intellectual development of the West, when unemployment was widely blamed on the "reckless" scientific spawning of labor-saving devices, and many young scientists also found themselves without jobs. During the 1920s, mental hygienists, following Meyer's ideas, had defined mental health in social terms as adjustment - the ability to hold down a job and to make one's own living were seen as prime characteristics of adjustment and mental health. They advocated preventing activities through which, they hoped, individuals who were at risk for developing mental illness would be identified so that treatment could be administered as early as

possible through school and college mental hygiene programs, child guidance clinics, and outpatient clinics. During the Depression years, it became much more difficult to maintain that individuals were out of work as a sole consequence of their lack of mental health.

Instead, the Depression encouraged paying attention to how one's basic security was based on conditions beyond one's personal control. "Hard work no longer guaranteed a positive change in status as more people discovered that, whatever their present position, it could turn to ashes in a quick flash" (Magaro, Gripp and McDowell 1978:46). At the same time, Clarence M. Hincks, Williams's successor as medical director of the NCMH, viewed the Depression as one of the most important challenges to the mental health of the nation. Otherwise minor incidents were now perceived as insurmountable to individuals under duress (Pols 2001).

In 1933, the National Committee published *Morale: The Mental Hygiene of Unemployment* by George K. Pratt, admitting,

> The Great Depression … posed a challenge to the mental hygiene movement. The movement was based, in large part, on the idea that once people understood the causes of their emotional pain, they could end it. The emotional distress that the Great Depression brought was caused by a global economic crisis over which the average person had no control" (Pratt 1933:1).

Morale acknowledged that along with alleviating the material needs caused by the Great Depression, the government and health professionals needed to make efforts to meet the "equally vital need for relieving the emotional strains and raising the morale of those who are made insecure." The mental hygiene of "those who are reacting to fear and deprivation" was deemed a matter of concern on par with physical needs. It was an official government statement that unemployment had psychological as well as economic effects. This interest in community mental hygiene, positive mental health, interdisciplinary collaboration, and the effects of social conditions on mental health motivated mental hygienists to embrace a broader, more inclusive approach, moving it further away from psychiatry.

A group of psychiatrists and mental hygienists became actively interested in advocating social change and helping to realize a more humane society, modeled upon idealized impressions of the Soviet Union. In the 1930s, Soviet developments became than a point of mere curiosity, and attracted major interest from the American intellectual elite (Kuznick 1987). The Soviet planned economy could now be seen as a symbol of stability: there was a sharp rise in positive publications about the Soviet Union during 1931-1932. By the end of 1930, disappointment in the Soviet system became visible and the US offered critical reviews of the Soviet bureaucracy, hunger, and state terror. But still, in the 1930s the Soviet experiment was an example of alternative state structure and a symbol of the colossal possibilities of socialism.

Therefore, this chapter examines the historical context surrounding the re-introduction of mental hygiene ideas from Soviet Russia to the US in the 1930s. Cohen and Lin forcefully argue that even in the domain of the circulation of ideas, it is necessary not only to identify circulation but also to consider the entities in circulation at the level of their materiality. They specifically talk about different kinds of these entities: people, objects, knowledge, and forms (including institutional ones), none of which circulates alone; these entities circulate with at least one, if not all of the others. It is ultimately people who transport languages and objects.

Objects, in turn, are difficult to separate from the frameworks defining their use and from the know-how they imply, even though these aspects are always altered in circulation. Knowledge and forms are also always borne: through the materiality of the books, documents, and works by humans. "There is no circulation of ideas or of anything in the ether, even though more abstract entities circulate alongside what is tangible and manifest: relationships based on things, for example, or attitudes toward reality that are continually reiterated by humans on the move, and so on" (Cohen and Lin 2010).

This chapter addresses the feedback loop by looking at what or who circulates to avoid the vagueness that characterizes many studies dedicated to the circulation of ideas. Circulation of ideas takes place in the concrete practices of travel, communication, and the formation of scientific disciplines. In particular, I emphasize two main mechanisms of communication of ideas that facilitated the import of Soviet psychological research into the US: informal scholarly networks and international conferences. In part, in this chapter I rely on the series of works by A. Yasnitsky on the myth of isolation of Soviet psychology from Western trends, published in the most prestigious Russian psychological journal.[10]

Informal scholarly networks and the importation of Soviet psychology

Clarence M. Hincks, Williams's successor as medical director of the NCMH, believed that the Depression provided an opportunity for expansion through the further integration of mental hygiene into education, public health, and social work. With the social programs of the New Deal as an example, Hincks also came to advocate structural measures of social reform as more effective than individualized therapeutic efforts. At the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the National Committee in the 1934 he stated:

> Above all I look to the day when the National Committee will act as a force
> to push beyond the purely clinical approach to an emphasis upon the
> circumstances of the living of our people - to an emphasis upon the very
> structure of our civilization. If we as a country are being committed to a new
> era of social planning, then let us keep in mind mental health values as well
> as other values (Hincks 1935:8).

At the same time, the Soviet side actively encouraged the interest of American scholars. Several different agencies were formed to facilitate this kind of interaction. Before the founding of *INTOURIST* in 1929 as the central Soviet tourist agency, the *All-Union Society for Cultural Ties Abroad (*VOKS*),* founded in 1925, was a direct organizer and sponsor of international

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[10] The journal was set up in 1955 by the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, RSFSR (now Russian Academy of Education) to remain the only scientific psychological publication in Russia up to 1977. The journal's editorial board always had leading Russian psychologists.

travel. Its networks of guides, cultural programs, political sightseeing to model institutions, and customized tours served a wide variety of visitors. Embassies abroad (where VOKS representatives frequently also worked as diplomats) received numerous invitations, which were forwarded to Moscow. It managed the burgeoning number of `societies of friends' of the Soviet Union, as the variously named Russo-European cultural friendship societies were informally called, gathered information on public opinion and cultural and intellectual trends, published widely circulated bulletins on Soviet cultural life and supplied the world press with articles and photographs. At home, it received foreign intellectuals and arranged their contacts within the Soviet Union, managed cultural, scientific and book exchanges, and mobilized the domestic intelligentsia to contribute to its activities and to present the outside world with cultural information. At one point in the late 1920s, VOKS was even charged with propagating the study of foreign languages and bringing Western cultural and scientific achievements to the Soviet masses.

VOKS could also function as a kind of courier for the intelligentsia, transferring and receiving materials from outside the Soviet Union. This became increasingly important in the late 1920s as a legitimized way of contacting the outside world, and as a channel abroad for those in the provinces whose connections were limited. In a short period in 1929, for example, VOKS transferred photographs and correspondence between a scholar at the Nizhnii Novgorod Archeo-Ethnographic Commission and Henry Fairfield Osborn of the American Museum of Natural History (`I will always be glad to be useful to Osborn and VOKS', the grateful scholar wrote), located the address of Max Planck for a Soviet physicist, and, among many other similar services, managed correspondence between the Bodleian Library in Oxford and the Leningrad State Public Library (David-Fox 2002).

The number of foreign visitors VOKS handled expanded rapidly, and the political demands on the guides increased correspondingly with the general development of Soviet cultural institutions. In 1925 only 483 foreigners were received, but this jumped to 1,200 in 1926; and by 1929 and 1930, this number had increased to approximately 1,500 per year. Numerically, the most visitors came from the United States and Germany, respectively; in a six-month period in 1929, for example, 51 percent of VOKS's visitors came from the United States and 21 percent from Germany. Importantly, large numbers of Americans were uninvited "intellectual tourists" (2003:311-2). It is not surprising, as the journals directed at American scholars of mental hygiene and psychology featured multiple ads by *INTOURIST* for visiting the Soviet Union, promising access to the new land of opportunity. This particular one in *The Survey, v67* said

> All the phases of the Soviet Union are open to your inspection. Outworn institutions are being challenged. A new order is reshaping the vast and contrasting lands of the Soviet Union…. You may form your own conclusions at first hand of the industries, social work, legislation, schools, communal life, scientific institutes" (p.67, see Appendix 1).

The United States at the time was engaged in a very similar kind of work. In 1926, the *American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia* was created; within three years, that Society boasted more than 1,000 members from every state in the union (Solomon 2002:412). Different American scholars were actively engaged with the Soviet scientists at the time. Yasnitsky develops the following typology of people actively involved in the importation of Soviet psychology into the US:

1) Scientific entrepreneurs: university administration, publishers and editors, like Carl Muchinson, publisher and professor of Clark University; Adolf Meyer, professor at the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine and the leader of The Mental Hygiene movement; and Frankwood E. Williams, medical director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene (1922-1931);

2) Former students, graduate students, and interns, who studied under Soviet scientists, like William Horsely Grantt, Bronson Price, and Morris Viteles;

3) Immigrants like Gregory Rizran; Gleb Anrep; Boris Babkin; Jacon Kasanin; Eugenia Hanfman; Tamara dembo; Maria Rickers-Ovsiankina;

4) Famous scholars who were interested in Soviet science like Jean Maurice Lahy; Henry Pieron; Jean Piaget; Kurt Lewin; and Kurt Koffka.

It goes without saying that those groups were intersecting with each other.

Franklwood E. Williams, whose ideas on mental hygiene were described in the previous chapter, became one of the most prominent and outspoken professionals to embrace the Communist cause during the 1930s. At the time Williams wrote "Finding a Way in Mental Hygiene," in 1930 he had already announced his resignation from the National Committee and had come to doubt the effectiveness of its programs. He recognized that to realize the sometimes-utopian ideals of the mental hygiene movement, only the complete reorganization of American society along the lines of the science of human nature would do (Williams 1930). Like many American intellectuals before and after him, Williams traveled to the Soviet Union to find his own ideals reflected in the socialist organization of society and became an ardent and enthusiastic traveler: as a matter of fact, he visited the Soviet Union in 1931, 1932, 1935, and 1936. He joined a group of radical professionals in promoting radical measures of social change in the United States (Pols 2001).

Williams became convinced that the present economic crisis in the United States was due to the chronic disorganization of capitalism, which, he claimed, was based on a defective social philosophy advocating competition, aggression, and exploitation, all of which were detrimental to mental health. Now that he had become convinced that the roots of America's mental health problems were located in the capitalistic social structure, he concluded that psychiatry in itself

was powerless to provide a solution and could only offer temporary and ineffective respite to individuals. In the last five years of his life, Williams gave many speeches and wrote several articles about mental health care in the Soviet Union, the need for unemployment insurance in the United States, and the social responsibility of psychiatrists and physicians in general.

As Williams forcefully asserted during the annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work in 1932: "Individual, clinical methods as a method of social prophylaxis will go with its civilization. Only a hygiene of society itself will meet the situation" (as cited in Pols 2001:382). This was the first time that an explicit and radical statement on the relationship between capitalism and the mental health of individuals was expressed during the annual meeting.

Like many fellow travelers, Williams admired the Soviet Union from afar for its ability to solve the problems that baffled American society. He confided **"**I had gone to Russia to see how much of our idea they had absorbed rather than to find out what their idea might be and how they were working it out and with what success" (Williams 1932). Psychiatry in the Soviet Union was so effective, he believed, because it was inherent in the organization of Soviet society instead of being limited to individuals. He recounted the conversation with a famous Russian scholar: "Rosenstein (director of the State Institute for Mental Hygiene in Moscow) drops a remark. "The difference between mental hygiene in Russia and America," he says "is that in America you have propaganda about mental hygiene and excellent work with individuals in your child-guidance clinics and clinics in the schools and colleges, while in Russia we have mental-hygiene propaganda and *our work is with the mass rather than with the individual*" (emphasis in original, Williams 1932).

In the same article, based on his trip to the USSR he admitted: "the Russians are right in their approach to the problem [of anxiety] as a whole, for the fundamental etiology can be

attacked only indirectly and only as an accompaniment of tremendous social change" (Williams 1932). He believed that, in the Soviet Union, the problems that had been addressed by mental hygiene were on the verge of disappearing. The Soviets - so Williams thought - had been able to change human nature.

During the 1930s, many social workers (Fisher 1936; Selmi and Hunter 2001) and psychologists adopted similar views (Pols 1997). Through their involvement with relief efforts, social workers were confronted with the effects of the economic crises on a daily basis. They started to advocate political change, such as the establishment of unemployment insurance and work projects, and the provision of adequate federal relief.

The most radical social workers advocated revolution to inaugurate a Soviet-style society on American soil. Within social work, the rank-and-file movement embraced radical left-wing ideas. The spokesperson for this movement was Marry van Kleeck, Director of Industrial Studies at the Russell Sage Foundation, who at the 1934 National Conference of Social Work (NCSW) meeting in Kansas City, delivered three papers that encouraged social workers to oppose the New Deal, align themselves with organized labor, and to promote the principles of social and economic planning (Selmi and Hunter 2001), as part of a budding form of social work radicalism known as the Rank and File Movement. Other active participants include Harry Lurie (Director, Bureau of Jewish Social Research, New York City), Gordon Hamilton (Professor, New York School of Social Work), Eduard Lindeman (Professor, New York School of Social Work), Ewan Clague (Director of Research, Community Council, Philadelphia), Bertha Reynolds (Assistant Director of Social Work, Smith College), and Jacob Fisher (Editor, Social Work Today). Van Kleeck was a friend of Williams, Lurie organized an educational trip for social workers during the summer of 1936 with him, while Reynolds had been analyzed by Williams twice (Pols 2001).

Outside of social work, American scientists worked to replicate many Soviet findings in the spheres of mental hygiene and psychology. An example of the work that was built directly on Soviet psychology from 1920 to the 1930s is the work by Jacob Kasanin, who met L.S. Vygotsky, a major figure in post-revolutionary Soviet psychology, during his trip to the USSR in 1930, and continued his research in the US, co-authored with Eugenia Hanfmann (Hanfmann and Kasanin 1937). More specifically, they modified and replicated the studies concerning conceptual thinking and concept formation in schizopherenia (1942). "The Russians, Luria and Vygotsky", he said, "applying certain experimental techniques of genetic psychology, developed a very ingenious method of studying impairment of thinking in schizophernia" (Kasanin and Hanfmann 1938:2). This block-sorting test, known as either the Kasanin-Hanfmann or the Vygotsky Test, is still used to measure the ability to think in abstract concepts, especially with children, uneducated adults and special groups such as psychotic patients.

According to Yasnitsky, the scholar of Vygontsky, one cannot underestimate the importance of Kasanin's work in popularizing Vygotsky's works. He was not just citing the works of Russian scholars, but he also was the first to translate and publish Vygontsky's work in English (Yasnitsky 2012). Contemporary scholars argue that the major reason for Vygotsky's appeal in the West was his analysis of the social origins of mental processes (Wertsch and Tulviste 1992). This was exactly the topic that preoccupied American scholars in the beginning of the 20th century and was the driving force behind the Mental Hygiene Movement. This theme reemerged with considerable force in Western developmental psychology during the past 20 years, and Vygotsky's ideas have come to play an important role in this movement - again. Werth states that "there is little doubt that the renewed interest in Vygotsky's writings has had a powerful and positive influence on contemporary studies in developmental psychology" (1992:553), even while denouncing aspects of the theory like eurocentrism.

Starting from middle of 1930s, English-speaking parts of the scientific world was also actively discussing the methodological and substantive value of the study by one of Vygotsky's students and colleagues, Soviet neuropsychologist A. R. Luria "*The "Nature of Human Conflicts or Emotion, Conflict and Will: An Objective Study of Disorganization and Control of Human Behavior.*" This work was published in the US in 1932, translated and edited by W. Horsley Gantt, with a foreword by Adolf Meyer (Luria 1932). In the foreword, Meyer remarks on how Luria's work shows close contact with American works on the topic, but also shows "a much greater applicability of laboratory methods to the human being than generally expected in our environment" (vi).

The book was widely and very positively reviewed in American scientific journals, including *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences, The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, and Academic Medicine. The American Journal of the Medical Sciences* argues "as a whole, the book is an important and extremely interesting production, opening new opportunities for associated studies in medicine and psychiatry. It introduced some new viewpoints and methods that are original, not exactly in character, but rather as regards the interpretations and conceptions secured. The material might have been condensed, for the discussions come to point slowly. The book can be read with profit by all psychologists and every scientific medical thinker" (1933:866). The strongest criticism came from *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, and it had more to do with writing style than substance: "If further psychological contributions are to come, as we hope, from the new Russia, we should ask that they be adequately written." (Taylor 1934:232).

According to Google Scholar, the book was cited 459 times, which is impressive considering the above complains about the style. Even more important than the positive reviews and citation numbers, American scientists used the "Luria technique" or "Luria method" in a

whole series of research studies like Gardner (1937); Huston, Shakow and Erickson (1934); Krause (1937); Langer (1936); Reymert and Speer (1939); Morgan and Ojemann (1942); Malmo, Shagass, Bélanger and Smith (1951); Runkel (1936) - and many more.

The translator for Luria's book, W. Horsley Gantt was himself an extremely important person in popularizing Soviet psychological science in the United States. He left the United States in the early 1920s to join a medical relief mission to the fledgling Soviet Union, spent nearly five years working with Ivan Pavlov, whose work, in Gantt's estimation, ranked with Darwin's in its importance. In fact, in the interview in 1977, Gantt confides that

> Prior to my going to Russia, I saw so much confusion in psychiatry that I decided to abandon my pursuit of psychiatry. There seemed so much confusion and lack of clarity among theories. The first stage in the evolution of my thinking came from Pavlov, when I found his clarity in introducing ideas that could be experimentally tested. That contact with Pavlov and training by him with his emphasis on precision and using facts gave me confidence in the experimental method (cited in Kelly 1978:1474).

During his work he not only learned from Pavlov directly, but served as a link between the Soviet Union and American institutions by keeping regular correspondence with the Division of Medical Education of the Rockefeller Foundation. Gantt's relation with the DME began in April 1924, when he sent Pearce pre-prints of two of his articles, the first on medical education in Russia (slated to appear in the British Medical Journal) and the second on Pavlov. In a covering note, Gantt reminded the DME's director, Richard Pearce, of their meeting the previous year and volunteered to supply information for the Foundation. "I shall spend five or six months in medical work in Russia after September. ... If you would like for me to send you any special reports while I am there, I shall be glad to do so." Thus, Gantt maintained contact with Pearce, sending him offprints and raw material. At the end of 1925, Pearce suggested to the young physiologist that he contact Alan Gregg, who would be in charge of "the study of Russian conditions" (Solomon 2002:394).

After Gantt returned from the USSR, he joined John Hopkins University to expand on Pavlov's discoveries. Whereas Pavlov studied the digestive system, Gantt worked to apply the principles of behavioral conditioning to the understanding of mental disorder. He established two Pavlovian Laboratories in the United States, first at Johns Hopkins in 1929, and later at the Veterans Administration in Perry Point, Maryland. In addition, he founded and presided over the Pavlovian Society, and edited the Society's Pavlovian Journal of Biological Science (originally entitled Conditional Reflex).

His studies of medicine in Russia resulted in several books and numerous articles and speaking engagements concerning Russia and Pavlov. Fluent in Russian, he translated many scientific works and papers. He saw the work of Russian scholars as the direct answer to the researches of American scholars: "Out of the USSR… comes this record of experimental work… telling us … that we can control our behavior and showing us how… for we are gradually coming to the view expressed by a philosopher-scientist-psychiatrist that 'all human functioning must be brought within the scope of natural science'" (cited in Kelly 1978:1476).

For his research Gantt received several awards, including the Lasker Award in 1944 for his work on the experimental basis for neurosis, and the *American Heart Association Award* in 1950 for his work on cardiac conditioning. Gantt was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Medicine in 1970. He was a member and officer of numerous professional societies. Gantt was also connected to many other active participants in the American Mental Hygiene Movement. For instance, he did some graduate work under Professor Adolf Meyer and Meyer, while very critical of the extension of Pavlov's ideas into the interpretation of mental disease and normal social behavior, still worked with Gantt to develop one of the foremost centers for Pavlovian research in the United States (Leighton 1952). Several others scholars actually came and saw his work in

Pavlov's laboratory - John Dewey, the philosopher; H. G. Wells, the author, and Alan Gregg, who was the head of the Medical Section of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Another major finding of Soviet psychology that was widely used by Western scientists included works by N.E. Oseretsky, published in the 1920s. Scholars actively use so-called Oseretsky tests, an individually administered, comprehensive measure of gross and fine motor skills. In 1948, *The Journal of Consulting Psychology* published an annotated bibliography on the Oseresky tests of motor proficiency with the following justification: "Because the cooperative efforts of many students will be necessary to adapt and standardize the Oseretsky tests for an American population this bibliography is offered as a contribution to an important area of psychological research" (Lassner 1948). It was somewhat modified in later years and became known as Bruininks-Oseretsky test (Bruininks 1978) and Lincoln-Osetesky scale (Bialer, Doll and Winsberg 1974). These tests have become part of the standard repertoire of psychological diagnostics (Golz, Angel-Yeger and Parush 1998; Miyahara et al. 1998; Golz et al. 1998).

In addition, based on personal letters between scholars like Luria, Max Wertheimer[11], and K. Lewin[12], Yasnitsky points out that they were planning several works together, including publishing an edited volume (they even exchanged first drafts of papers), translating each others work, and even organizing a conference in Moscow. Even though none of these projects was realized in the 1930s, it points to the close informal networks that facilitated the circulation of ideas during the time.

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[11] Max Wertheimer, best known as one of the three founders of Gestalt psychology, was born in Prague, Czechoslovakia; studied in Germany and immigrated to the US in 1933. For the next decade, he worked at the New School for Social Research in New York City. He also had an enormous influence on other areas including sensation and perception as well as experimental psychology.

[12] Kurt Zadek Lewin was a German-American psychologist, known as one of the modern pioneers of social, organizational, and applied psychology.

Rather than straightforward claims of "adoption" approaches, we can talk about the "looping" of knowledge between the Soviet Union and the US, with scholars as scientific brokers who ensured the transfer and application of knowledge. Well into the 1940s, societies like the Benjamin Rush Society, founded by New York psychiatrists sympathetic to the Communist Party-USA, provided a forum for the reinvigoration of the US left, to be supported by white collar as well as industrial workers (Harris 1995).

Congresses and Communication

Professional congresses are important to the development of the sciences. They provide opportunities for presenting and discussing research, getting feedback and insights to shape future work, and are venues for students and new faculty to practice and hone their skills. International congresses in particular disseminate the work of scientists from around the world, and encourage information exchange across national borders (Adair, Unik and Huynh 2010). Compared to research publications that form the archive of accumulated knowledge, congress presentations are more ephemeral, providing a passing indicator of researcher and discipline activity. But they are central for making personal connections that leave their mark on the attending audience.

In the period between the two World Wars, the schedules and locations of some international congresses of psychology were disturbed by financial problems, international politics, and wars. After American psychologists failed to organize an international congress in 1913, the outbreak of World War I in 1914 and the hostile feelings that persisted for some years after the Armistice in 1918 prevented the holding of the 7th International Congress of Psychology until 1923. The 8th congress was originally planned for the United States, but the grave financial situation in Europe made it unfeasible for European psychologists to travel to the

USA, so the congress was shifted to the Netherlands in 1926. The following two congresses occurred on schedule in 1929 and 1932, and the 1929 congress in New Haven, Connecticut was the largest to date. (For the list of select conferences see Appendices 2 and 3.)

In spite of these difficulties, a review of the congresses of the 1920s and 1930s reveals the steady communication of scholars of psychology, including active participation of Soviet scientists. For instance, at the 8th International Congress of Psychology, in Groningen in 1926, out of 110 total members, 9 were from the USSR, even though it should be noted that members from the USSR were retained on the International Committee although no USSR citizen attended either the 7th or 8th congress.

However, by the late 1920s, the Soviet Union became much more active in the international scholarly scene. In this respect, the first important conference was the 9th International Congress of Psychology at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut in 1929.

The 9th International Congress of Psychology

For this conference, the American Organizing Committee did not maintain the limitation of invitations practiced at the two previous congresses; on the contrary, they adopted measures to ensure a large attendance. One was to hold the congress jointly with the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association (APA), which then had about 1000 members. The APA agreed to cover the expenses of the congress and to publish its proceedings. There were 826 regular members registered; 722 Americans but only 104 "foreign members."

The President of the 9th congress was Professor James McKeen Cattell. This is ironic because conflicts over Cattell's role were mainly responsible for the failure of American psychologists to organize an international congress in 1913. But by 1929 Cattell had outlived most of his rivals, and had become a major spokesman for psychological science. The Vice-

President of the congress was James R. Angell, a prominent functionalist psychologist, who at the time of the congress was rector of Yale University. The Secretary was Professor Edwin G. Boring of Harvard University; in the year of the congress he published the first edition of his *History of Experimental Psychology.*

Cattell devoted his presidential address to the history and present state of psychology in America, which of course derived from psychology in Europe and also from the progress of related sciences and technologies. Cattell noted that 1929 marked the 50th anniversary of Wundt's founding the first formal laboratory of psychology in Leipzig and also the 40th anniversary of the 1st International Congress of Psychology. He recounted the rapid increase in professorships of psychology and laboratories of psychology in America, and also the founding in 1892 and rapid growth of the American Psychological Association, the first national society of psychology. Cattell extolled the international congresses for advancing scientific research and promoting international cooperation and goodwill. He welcomed psychologists from around the world "and with special pleasure psychologists from Soviet Russia."

The opening address was delivered by noted psychologist James R. Angell, president of Yale University. Obviously, most of the 422 papers where presented by American scholars, but with 13 presentations the Soviet Union counted as the forth major participant, after the US (321), Germany (26), and Great Britain (17). (See Table I)

Distribution of Papers by Country at the *Ninth International Congress of Psychology* in New Haven, Connecticut, 1929.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF PAPERS BY COUNTRIES

U. S. A.	321	Switzerland	2
Germany	26	China	1
Great Britain	17	Denmark	1
U. S. S. R.	13	France	1
Canada	6	Hungary	1
Holland	5	Japan	1
India	5	Lithuania	1
Italy	5	New Zealand	1
Austria	4	Norway	1
Belgium	3	Palestine	1
Argentina	2	Poland	1
Spain	2	Sweden	1

Katherine Adams Williams, in her report on the conference classifies the papers according to subject matter, methodology, and the relative predominance of the points of view of various systems. The two tables that have papers listed by the main countries are of interest.

Table III classifies the papers according to method of treatment of the subject (Williams 1930) shows the relative parts played by reflective analysis and by experiment and research. It also answers such questions as the following: Is there a tendency toward the use of objective methods of observation as compared with introspective methods? How large a part does observation in 'real life' situations play as compared with laboratory observations? The papers listed under Traditional Method are neither clearly objective nor strictly introspective. For instance, in the traditional type of laboratory experiment the subject is often not required to give any elaborate introspective account but is merely told to do something. The observations of the experimenter are perfectly objective but the behavior is usually, according to the instructions, a sign of a fact observable only introspectively. The United States leads in all categories due to the mere fact of presenting the bulk of the papers, but the most papers are in the category of

"experiment", and the USSR is the following the US lead, while both Germany and Great Britain

lead with "analysis" papers.

Distribution of Papers According to Treatment of Subject at the *Ninth International Congress of Psychology* in New Haven, Connecticut, 1929.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF PAPERS ACCORDING TO TREATMENT OF SUBJECT

	U. S.	Germany	Great Britain	U.S.S.R.	All others	Total foreign	Total
Analysis	121	15	15	3	18	51	172
Theoretical, philosophical, and historical	22	5	3	..	5	13	35
Specific topics	72	9	9	3	13	34	106
Problems and methods	27	1	3	..	..	4	31
Experiment	118	6	2	10	11	29	147
Objective method	94	5	..	8	5	18	112
Traditional method	14	1	1	2	4	8	22
Introspective method	10	..	1	..	2	3	13
Real life observations	31	4	..	2	9	15	46
Tests	20	1	..	1	1	3	23
Combination of test and real life observation	23	..	1	..	..	1	24
Unclassifiable	2	..	..	..	..	..	2

In the following table (Table IV), K. Williams analyzed whether the main interest lay in

facts of consciousness or in facts of behavior. And if the latter, are the facts studied facts of gross

behavior, or are they physiological facts? (Williams 1930)

Distribution of Papers According to Treatment of Subject at the *Ninth International Congress of Psychology* in New Haven, Connecticut, 1929.

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF PAPERS ACCORDING TO SYSTEMATIC POINT OF VIEW

	U. S.	Germany	Great Britain	U.S.S.R.	All others	Total foreign	Total
Prime interest in							
Gross behavior	136	4	1	10	5	20	156
Physiological facts[4]	19	1	1	1	2	5	24
Behavior with interpretation in terms of consciousness	22	1	2	1	3	7	29
Correlation of stimulus and conscious response	20	3	1	..	3	7	27
Mental tests	43	1	1	1	3	6	49
Facts of consciousness	37	13	8	..	20	41	78
Unclassifiable	21	3	2	..	1	6	27

Again, the US and USSR with their primary interest in "Gross behavior" come off as more similar to each other than to either Germany or Great Britain.

The general schedule for the conference consisted of twenty-minute papers by invitation in the morning sessions; numerous symposia in the afternoon, with papers of eight minutes in length, while the evenings were devoted to lectures by a select number of distinguished speakers.

The first of the evening lectures was by Russian Dr. I. Pavlov, who presented the most important results and theoretical implications of his many years of work on the conditioned reflex. His talk was delivered in Russian, but with such enthusiasm that the audience applauded portions before the translation was given. On one occasion, the applause turned out to be for a description of laboratory apparatus. Other major Russian scholars included I. Spielrein (industrial psychology), S. Kupalov (theory of reflexes, who also worked in Cornell University); and A.R. Lurian (educational psychology).

Importantly, all the members of the congress and their families were housed in the Harkness Memorial Quadrangle and meals were served in the university dining-hall. Herbert Langfeld, one of the participants, noted after the conference: "The fact that all the psychologists lived in the same building helped to preserve the unity of the unusually large group, and the beautiful court of the dormitory offered an inviting place for many impromptu discussions, which frequently lasted into the small hours of the morning" (Langfeld 1929:366). Informal communication also included in the "informal smokers" in the dining hall, where there was also an exhibition of instruments and books and a reception by the president of Yale University, at which the members of the psychology department of Yale assisted. In addition, arrangements were made for excursions in the afternoon to the various laboratories and other places of interest in New Haven, including the Psychological Laboratory, the Psycho-Educational Clinic, the

Psychological Clinic and Fatigue Laboratory, the Medical School, the Psychopathic Hospital and the Judge Baker Foundation.

Langfeld summarized that "at the close of the congress, there was a general impression that never before had there been such a profitable exchange of views among psychologists from almost every country of the world" (1929:368).

After this conference Pavlov participated in multiple other congresses with no less success: The First International Neurological Congress (Berne, 1931); The VI Congress of Scandinavia's Neurologists (1932); The XIV Physiological Congress (Rome, 1932), and The Second Congress of Neurologists (London, 1935). Apparently, his report at that last conference was met by a loud ovation, and the discussion could only get started after a lengthy session of signing autographs (Anon 1935). Other central conferences were *The First International Congress on Mental Hygiene, 1930* and *The Seventh International Conference on Psychotechnique (Industrial Psychology)* in Moscow, Russia, 1931.

The First International Congress on Mental Hygiene, 1930, the U.S.A.

The Congress convened 3,042 officially registered participants from forty-one countries, with fifty-three countries actually in attendance, for constructive dialogue about fulfilling the mission of the Mental Health Movement (Wright 2011:45). The preamble to the American Foundation for Mental Hygiene, published in the beginning of the Congress Proceeding, outlined the goals and spirit of the movement at that point:

> Science takes exception to the law that only those whom nature deems the fittest shall survive. Nature has his hidden remedies for the torture of a broken mind of body, and science is upon the march in search of those remedies, that they may be rededicated to mankind. The knowledge so gained forms a sacred trust of civilization for the maintenance of the strong, for the refitting of the weak and sick to their health and opportunity, and for their deliverance to a useful life in the community and that pursuit of happiness, which is the proper promise of creation. In such trusteeship it is our faith that this Foundation will take its place (Shillady 1932).

This quote is indicative of where the American Mental Hygiene stands. It is still guided by the idea of integration of science into the care of mental issues, it is concentrated on the mentally ill and it references its religious underpinnings with the mention of "the promise of creation".

This congress provided the space and opportunity for the American and Soviet scientists to meet face-to-face. A special meeting was held on Saturday afternoon, May 10, in the Small Ballroom of the Hotel Willard to discuss mental-hygiene activities in Russia. A two-and-a-half hour meeting was convened at 3:45 with Frankwood E. Williams, M.D., from the United States, presiding. Dr. Rosenstein (Director of the Scientific Institute for Mental Hygiene in Moscow) and Dr. Salkind (Professor of Pedology[13] in the University of Moscow) presented two short statements, followed by questions and answers. Williams, who by this time was disenchanted with the expansive but ineffective ideals of the mental hygiene movement, discussed the need for the Soviet scientists as follows:

> When I began my work as chairman of this committee and began to think of individuals and pieces of work throughout the world that we might draw upon for this Congress, it was not difficult to think of work going on in many places, particularly in the fields of neurology and psychiatry. But mental hygiene is not alone neurology and psychiatry. Mental hygiene is neurology and psychiatry and psychology at work in the social field. Therefore, to my mind at least, there was no question but that if possible we must have some one here to represent Russia, where, apparently, from what information was available, more social experimentation was going on than anywhere else in the world at the present time. It has not been easy to get these two gentlemen upon this platform in Washington, but as I look back now at the difficulties involved, I am very glad that we went through them, because I do believe that regardless of any of our personal points of view as to the political and social philosophy of Soviet Russia which we can at least put aside for the moment, so far as psychiatric and mental-hygiene work is concerned, we have much to learn from Russia, and I feel that we have gained much here this afternoon. I think we cannot appreciate too highly the directness, the obvious frankness of the answers we have received here this afternoon from these two fine and gracious gentlemen, Dr. Rosenstein and Dr. Salkind. (Applause.) (Salkind 1932:160)

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[13] Albert P.Pinkevitch, President of the Second State University of Moscow, in his book The New Education in the Soviet Republic (John Day, 1939), speaks of pedology as follows: "Pedology is concerned with the psychological and physical development of the child from birth to maturity. It studies the biology and psychology of human growth."

In the Proceedings of the Conference, the notes on the meeting are in the beginning of the first volume, right after the welcoming addresses and history of the International Committee for Mental Hygiene.

Unlike any other panel presentations, these two papers were not open to discussion. As Frankwood Williams put it: "I believe I interpret correctly the sense of the meeting when I say that it is not opinions and speeches from the floor that we desire, but an opportunity to hear the replies that Dr. Rosenstein and Dr. Salkind may make to our questions." (144). Seventeen[14] American scientists used this chance to ask Russian presenters questions directly. The discussion centered on the success of the Soviet scientists, with question on a variety of mental health issues, from crime to child development to sex to the role of religion.

The Seventh International Conference on Psychotechnique (Industrial Psychology)

It was held in Moscow, Russia, September 6 to 13, 1931 and approximately 500 delegates were present, about 400 from Russia and 100 from 15 other countries, chiefly psychologists and engineers who were using psychological techniques in industry, with two Americans present, Dr. Douglas Fryer and Dr. Bingham. As Haeey Dexter Kitson wrote in his report on the conference in the *Journal of Applied Psychology* that "it was evident that a number of the delegates were actuated not so much by an interest in industrial psychology as by a desire to see Russia in its present stage of development" (Kitson 1931:593). He then describes how in addition to the paper presentations, an elaborate series of sightseeing trips had been arranged by *Intourist*. These included visits to factories, schools, prisons, orphanages, museums, theaters, and

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[14] Dr. B. Liber (New York City), Dr. C. Macfie Campbell (Boston, Massachussetts), Mr. Mark Plavnick (Washington, D.C.), Dr. Ettleson (Chicago, Illinois), Dr. I.M. Rubinow (Cincinnati, Ohio), Dr. Isador Hirshfield (Washington, D.C.); Miss Elizabeth Seebury (Cincinati, Ohio); Dr. Catherine Bacon (Chicago, Illinois); Dr. George M.Lott (Denver, Colorado); Dr. A. Yeghenian (New York City); Miss Edith Weller (New York City); Miss Ives (Washington, D.C.); Miss Mabel F. Martin (West Springfield, Massachusetts); Miss Margaret Smyth (Stockton, California); Miss A. Kaplan (New York City), Mr. Harry Greenston (Baltimore), and of course Chairmain William.

so forth. He stated that "perfect freedom" was given the delegates to go anywhere and talk to

anyone. He was quite annoyed by the Soviet insistence that only within communist doctrine

"proper psychology" was possible. Still, his impressions were very positive:

> A visit to the Personnel Department of the Moscow Street Railway showed a system of selecting employees that is not paralleled in many American cities. Elaborate tests are given —among them, the American Army Beta, since the majority of the applicants are illiterate. Regarding the state of industrial psychology in Russia, one receives the impression that there is a lively appreciation of the value of psychological methods in industry. So intent are the people on establishing an industrial state that they are ready to employ every means that promises to speed up production. The workers in factories appear anxious to cooperate with the psychologists and all seem bent on accomplishing the aims of the five-year-plan, which is kept before the people's minds by flaring posters and every other conceivable form of propaganda. (594)

Just three years later the Soviets participated in another conference on psychotechnics -

The Eights International Psychotechnics Congress in Prague, September 11-15, 1934. F.

Baumgarten-Tramer discussed the works of Russian representatives who argued that one should

take into consideration only the influence of social factors on the practice of one's profession.

Apparently, "vigorous polemics led to little agreement" after the presentation (Baumgarten-

Tramer 1934:621).

It is important to remember, as I noted in the beginning, that this kind of communication

was increasingly controlled by the Soviet bureaucratic apparatus. For example, the American

philosopher, educator and mental hygiene activist John Dewey arrived in 1928 with three close

relatives and delivered a favorable verdict about Soviet educational and cultural advances to the

world. His VOKS's guide's verdict was also favorable: "They all . . . are very satisfied with their

trip and with life in the USSR in general, all the way down to the details, and they more or less

understand the October Revolution and are very sympathetic to Soviet Russia." Asked by Evelyn

Dewey whether "capitalism was as horrible as it is portrayed in our [Soviet] newspapers," the

guide retorted that capitalism was obviously not horrible for Soviets but for the exploited

workers who lived under it, justifying Soviet press coverage. Indeed, in this case the report

contained more material about what the guide answered than what the Deweys asked. The guide was quizzed about the number of poor people and the poor quality of clothing, and he replied that social welfare measures prevented anyone from becoming very poor. While fabric might not yet match foreign fabric in quality, it was getting better all the time. The guide thus answered even the most trivial question according to Kameneva's, the head of VOKS, memorable 1927 injunction to the guides: "We cannot impress foreigners with our riches, despite the fact that in science we are not backward." Rather, "we can only impress foreigners . . . with our tempo and from the point of view of development." In other words, foreigners must be taught to see reality like good Soviet subjects—as it was becoming and should be, and not merely as it was (David-Fox 2003:314).

Conclusion

The eagerness of the Soviet State to legitimate its existence through intellectual authority combined with American scholars' disappointment in the capitalist system, fueled by the Depression, and helps explain the high levels of American enthusiasm. Of course, this enthusiasm for the Soviet revolution was ironic in several respects. American scholars admired the state of Soviet psychiatry as it was in 1930 and were not aware that many of those scholars soon fell into political disfavor. The realities of the late 1930s, among them Stalin's purge trials, hunger and starvation as a consequence of forced collectivization of agriculture, and woefully underfunded and over-crowed mental hospitals, passed by many American scholars at the time.

However, the data in this chapter goes against the established idea that the 1930s had been a period of inward retreat in comparison to the ferment of borrowing of the 1920s. In fact, there was an active international communication of ideas. Borrowing from the Soviet Union continued intensively throughout this period of official retreat and occurred in some of the most

important areas of the construction of the twentieth century modernity. American scientists, while having trouble understanding the Marxist jargon that was characteristic of scientific psychological discourse, still point out that to their surprise the practical application of Western and Soviet sciences were quite similar. For instance, Morris Viteles, in his overview of Soviet industrial psychology, based on first-hand observations during his eight-month trip in the middle of the 1930s, writes that the "similarities are actually much more striking than the differences" (Viteles 1938).

The identification of this Soviet moment of exchange illustrates the idea that places, even in their most strictly "local" definition, can and must be approached from the perspective of the circulations for which they are the setting. Specifically, the Soviet scholars worked with the All-Union Society for Cultural Ties Abroad (VOKS), a clearinghouse for invitations from abroad for Soviet citizens to participate in international exhibitions, conferences, exchanges, and projects of scientific cooperation.

CHAPTER 6: The Development of Therapeutic State: the Issues of Consensus and Medicalization.

As we examine the mental health movements in the US and USSR in the first decades of the 20th century, we can see that medicine has become the central restitutive agent in modern society. Both countries look for scientific authority as the answer to the "modernity problem", but they diverge in how they implement it in relation to mental health. The goal of this chapter is to explore how the framing of mental hygiene within the broader goals of society led to the different ways in which therapeutic power was exercised in the US and USSR. Both countries sought to produce compliance with mental health policies by inculcating into its populace certain types of mental practices (most notably, self-discipline), but the absence of the consensus in the US in the context of the growing professionalization of psychology meant less direct implementation in comparison to the USSR.

Social scientists have described and analyzed the way in which, increasingly, forms of private behavior have been defined as professional and medical problems, and have thereby come under therapeutic social control (Neustadter 1991). Suspicious of the power and influence of the professions, they tend to explain the expansion of the jurisdictional claim of authority made by professionals and their academic legitimators in terms of the rise of the "therapeutic state". Thomas Szasz, in the study of psychiatric influences on American law, has spoken of the emergence of the "therapeutic state" (Szasz 1997). Berger argued that it is but one aspect of the emergence of a "psychological society" (Berger 1965:41). Andrew Polsky saw the defining characteristic of this kind of state as the assumption that those people who are unable to adjust to the demands of everyday life "need expert help" in order to acquire the value structure that makes for self-sufficiency and healthy relationships (1993). In the therapeutic state, he argues,

the growth of the professions is seen as a natural, efficient, and benevolent development of social progress. Its capital is knowledge and expertise.

Most importantly, agents of the therapeutic state are institutionalized through programs and policies (Chriss 1999). In this chapter I will explore the institutionalization of the therapeutic ethos across fields. The chapter builds on the following Strang and Meyer's theoretical assumptions (Strang and Meyer 1993): first of all, the diffusion-generating power of theoretical models varies with the extent to which they are institutionalized - built into standard and authoritative, rather than highly specialized and marginal, interpretations and schemas. Second, in the context of modernity, rules and practices linked to prevailing theories of the modern are most likely to diffuse. This focus leads to an emphasis on culturally legitimate theorists: scientists, intellectuals, policy analysts, and professionals. According to Strang, the effects of theoretical models cannot be divorced from consideration of how compelling these models are to relevant audiences. Thus I argue that a broad, nationally-based idea about the efficacy and desirability of a scientifically rationalized model of mental hygiene played a critical role in its diffusion patterns. Moreover, the dynamics of accommodation and resistance within the movement itself are important to understanding the nature of the institutions and practices of mental health that finally emerged. The availability of a culturally-unifying framework and scientific consensus led to a more ready diffusion of mental hygiene in the USSR, while in the US the lack of consensus and the lingering tradition of charity prevented the optimum flow of information, and it was institutionalized in the field that was able to produce a high amount of theoretical consensus - education.

Conventional accounts tend to treat ideas as a background factor that matter only when brought to fore by other things, such as ideologically-motivated elites or changes in the (inter)national environment. The "cultural turn" in political sociology brought a new attention to

the role of ideas. In this spirit, I specifically argue that ideational consensus plays a central, vital, and independent role in the success of diffusion and implementation of scientific ideas. Consensus generates powerful new ideas that shape and constrain policy. Ideational consensus opens and closes space for elites to pursue the expansion of their ideas. In doing so, it defines the likelihood that certain policies, like re-structuring of education system, will be seen as more or less acceptable for the goal of raising a new kind of citizen. As a result, in some areas the involvement of therapeutic methods was viewed as appropriate, even required, to advance the well-being of the nation. At other times, the same methods are viewed with suspicion (factory work in the US).

The hypothesis was put forward by Strang and Meyer (1993) that where adoption is highly prestigious, because the practice is obviously modern and the community values modernity highly, relationally central actors initiate adoption. Moreover, the more successfully theorized a diffusing practice is, the less its diffusion will be relationally structured. An easily communicated, strongly legitimated innovation requires less local promotion and mutual sense-making than a practice that is hard to understand and motivate. Thus, where practice is less obviously modern or the community devalues modernity, it will be the "marginal men", those relatively unconstrained by community norms that adopt early. In the words of Strang, practices that accord with cultural understandings of appropriate and effective action tend to diffuse more quickly than those that do not (Strang and Soule 1998:278). In this case study it means that if leaders of the American movement were much more suspicious of the role of the science - a less "modern" vision of the society, especially with the whole-hearted embrace of scientific progress in the USSR - it would affect the diffusion and institutionalization of the movement.

The leaders of the movements in the two countries generally supported similar ideas, but they justify their claims to expertise in somewhat different ways. In both the US and USSR,

science was seen as not just a significant moral compass, but was positioned as possibly the only answer to modern issues. However, the vision of a malleable human being resonated more strongly with Soviet understandings of how human beings interact and work together than with the more bounded, individualistic understanding of the individual that dominated American academic theorizing.

At the same time, theoretically articulated models of human motivation stressing individual properties provided a more persuasive basis for specific kinds of innovation in the United States, helping to produce widespread psychological profiling, and aptitude testing and counseling for the victims of job burnout.

This can be seen in the following two trajectories. Consider, for instance, how two contemporaries described the role of the movement in society as they envisioned it in the beginning of the twentieth century:

> We can see that a well-planned mental hygiene can purify social life, sweeten family life, and give valuable assistance in the fields of law, industry, and education. (Emerson 1932:208), the United States.

> People's nervousness is becoming a social disaster and it is reflect on the life of the whole country. The interests of the USSR demand maximum creativity and endurance from all workers in order to fight the currant challenges and built a new future (Grombah 1929:3), the U.S.S.R.

Certainly, they share a great deal. Yet in their own way, these quotations, of which we find many equivalents, encapsulate some of the most interesting differences in the purpose and nature of the movement in the two countries. The first of them is in the scope of the movement. While the USSR scientists envision a new future, the leading scholar of the US movement adds "well-planned" as a qualifier and is concentrated on specific fields in the absence of a swiping cultural idea. Moreover, structural hygiene measures depended on the infiltration of mental hygiene ideals in society; the cooperation of virtually everybody was needed to realize the ideals of mental hygiene. However, gathering this kind of support proved to be unreachable in the

context of American society for several reasons. First, the mental hygiene movement split internally when part of it adopted a strictly medical vision of mental issues. Second, they failed to foster a cultural consensus over some the most central issues: the nature of the individual and the idea of public good in relation to mental hygiene.

Divergences and Boundary Setting in the American Mental Hygiene Movement

As I have discussed in the earlier chapters, mental hygiene in the US enjoyed the support of a wide range of societal actors. Moreover, during the 1920s, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene vigorously encouraged the participation of non-psychiatric professionals in its program. It persistently sought the participation of social workers, psychologists, teachers, general practitioners, and others to fight and prevent maladjustment. And for the founding of the National Committee, consensus appeared to prevail within its ranks. There was little internal dispute over strategy and tactics. But while forming these alliances appeared to be a good idea, in practice these relationships were rather tenuous. In fact, the eclectic nature of these ties proved to be volatile under the stresses of the Depression. Sydney Tarrow, sociologist of social movements, argued that the ability of the movements to link themselves to social networks is necessary for the movements to succeed. However, they do not have a culturally unifying idea to bring them together. These widely varying networks introduced an incredible amount of contradictory logics in this alliance, and made it prone to frequent shifts. The alliance forged this way was fraught with a variety of tensions, not the least of which was the tension between the professionalization of psychology and the voluntary basis of the organization. American leaders saw themselves mainly as academics, while Soviet scholars emphasized a much broader view of their function. In the US it meant attention to the boundaries between scientific and non-scientific communities:

> …our greatest enemies are over-enthusiastic, untrained friends. We of The National Committee for Mental Hygiene of the United States of America have always sought to keep the work entirely in the hands of experts and specialists and have discouraged any and all efforts of popular initiative, no matter how helpful they might seem." (Emerson 1932:208)

Similarly, while Williams believed that training of mental hygienists needed to be significantly expanded beyond the confines of medicine, he was reprimanded for his advocacy of lay analysis by the New York Psychoanalytic Institute, which wanted to limit psychoanalysis to physicians (Pols 2001). Stanley P. Davies, a social worker by profession and the head of the New York State Committee on Mental Hygiene, in the paper before the National Conference of Social Work by the assistant secretary of the New York Charities Aid Association confirms that this feeling was common:

> Those who believe that mental hygiene is oversold…, fear … the development of misguided, half-baked, even though well-intentioned ventures in mental hygiene and also open a wide field for quacks and charlatans who are only too ready to exploit all possibilities…. Some of the best psychiatrists … want to call a halt to mental-hygiene propaganda…. A demand has been created out of all proportion to the services we are able to deliver. … On the opposite side of the fence are those trained in publicity and public relations, frankly unlearned in the intricacies of psychiatry, but possibly more skillful in interpreting popular psychology. They believe that it is both impossible and undesirable to stifle the widespread interest in everything psychological, and see not only the necessity but the opportunity to harness and direct that interest for the individual and social good. (Davies 1931:253)

His solution is to call for the institutionalization of mental hygiene as a state-run program. That is, he argues that to be done on a sufficiently wide scale, this preventive and early treatment program must be largely a responsibility of state mental health departments:

> Most of these departments are ready and willing and reasonably well equipped to assume this responsibility if our legislators will provide sufficient appropriations for organizing the program. Here in itself is one of the most important educational jobs that can be undertaken for mental hygiene: the creation of a strong public opinion that will make itself felt by legislative bodies and lead to the appropriation of liberal sums for community mental-hygiene work (Davies 1931:254).

Meanwhile, in the absence of state institutionalization, competition ensued between different institutions and confusion developed about the role of each specific organization. In

1930, Dr. Edward T. Devine (New York City), one of the participants at the International Conference, still urged

> To clear our minds as to the division of work, we need to have an understanding whether it is the duty of the state, of the municipality, of the church, of industry itself, of voluntary organizations, to one thing or another. I am not seeking any particular kind of monopoly for one kind of institution or another, but we need to clear our minds and have a better understanding, which everyone can agree to, that tis particular thing shall be done by industry and that by voluntary agencies and this other thing by the state, and we need much discussion of the division of work in this field (264-5).

In particular, medical psychiatrists within the mental hygiene movement were concerned with the adverse impact of the Depression on their profession. They conducted surveys to investigate how mental hospitals faired at the time. They concluded that the Depression, by itself, did not have any marked effect on the incidence of mental illness. The economic downturn had not caused an increase in insanity. Most importantly, the report's authors concluded that the incidence of mental illness appeared to be unrelated to economic conditions, suggesting that it was a condition, not particularly affected by economic, social, or cultural factors. As a result, they felt justified to support increasingly an biological view of mental illness.

Yet, as we know (Inoue 2006), professionalized logic involves only experts, who are supposed to hold the key to specialized knowledge and offer the certified service of healthcare; in other words expert-based care is defined in terms of scientific medical advances and professional criteria for care. The occupational prestige of physicians has always been high, and over time many persons in various lines of work have attempted to emulate the work, style, or rhetoric of physicians in hopes of capitalizing on that prestige (Chriss 1999). To defend themselves against what felt like the ongoing encroachment of non-medically trained personnel into psychotherapy, psychiatrists tried to recast psychiatry as a legitimate medical procedure that should be performed only by licensed physicians.

Adolf Meyer, his student Franklin G. Ebaugh, and Edward A. Strecker first advocated a licensing board for psychiatrists in 1928 (Pols 2001). After much debate and planning, the

American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology was established in the fall of 1934 as a collaborative effort on the part of the American Psychiatric Association, the American Neurological association, and the American Medical Association. Clarence M. Hincks, medical director of the NCMH from 1931 to 1939, actively tried to have the best of both worlds. In 1931, he established a Division on Psychiatric Education within the NCMH to promote the integration of psychiatry within the medical curriculum and the improvement of the quality of psychiatric education on both the undergraduate and post-graduate levels.

By institutionalizing licensing and certification, improving psychiatric education, and arranging funding for psychiatric research, the group embraced a thoroughly medical conception of mental illness. This constituted a significant retreat from the broad conception of mental disorder as maladjustment, which had been advocated by Adolf Meyer, James Williams, and Clarence M. Hincks during the previous 30 years. In doing so, they promoted a more medical image and a much clearer view of the limits of the domain of psychiatry. But at the same time, they significantly decreased the scope of psychiatric intervention and limited themselves to cases, which, as it turned out later, proved very hard to cure.

The nature of the individual and the Consensus Issues

Culturally, we can see the absence of consensus in the US on multiple levels: over the nature of the individual; over the desired outcomes; and the very necessity of organized action for mental health.

Individual character as hereditary (biological)

The vision of a person as a "thing in itself" and the weakness of the idea of the public good served to undermine the possibility of consensus for the mental hygiene movement in the US.

As Frankwood Williams, the Medical Director of The National Committee for Mental Hygiene plainly put it: "An individual starts with a certain hereditary potentiality" (Williams 1932). As the eugenics movement appealed to many in the early 1920s as an attempt at a scientific management and control of social pathology which was seen to be caused by innate lack of intelligence, the mental hygiene movement stepped forward as a competing manifestation of the same impulse— the attempt by scientists, professionals, and experts to cope with social problems through the scientific control of behavior. The primary cause of social pathology was not innate feeble-mindedness. The cause lay in the personality.

In the words of Williams, the Medical Director of The National Committee for Mental Hygiene:

> My point is that really the life of the individual, in a very fundamental sense, is lived within himself; that nothing can hurt the individual from outside, or, for that matter, help him; that the only person who can hurt, or help, any individual is himself; that an individual for his hurt or help can respond only to those things to which he is capable of responding by reason of his own psychic economy (Williams 1932)

These two aspects - extreme individualism and the hereditary nature of character - resulted in a conflict within the movement over the preferred outcome. This indicated a broader issue that the movement faced in the US: the weakness of the idea of public good.

Even though Haven Emerson, M.D. Professor of Public-Health Administration, College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City, tried to bring the idea of public good into the discussion, the attempt did not catch on with the mental hygiene community:

> The extent of our present information and its many incompletenesses will perhaps best appear if we deal with the probable incidence of nervous and mental disorders in the several age groups as these are commonly considered in the administrative practice of public health to-day (Emerson 1932:212).

When the "public good" made it into the conversation, it was consistently framed as a mere necessity that results from inadequacy of private attempts to cope with mental illness.

Adolf Meyer's attempt to recognize mental illness as a public issue, as limited as it was, still was met with resistance:

> Through sheer necessity there always have been certain community ways, and by and by actual community facilities, for the care of outstanding mental disorders, when they grow beyond the capacity of the individual and the family to meet both the emergencies and the protracted developments", he argues (Meyer 1932:237)

In response, Dr. Edward T. Devine (New York City), was adamant that the success of the movement was to be defined not as establishment of institutional systems of support, but the reliance of the individual on himself or herself:

> Dr. Adolf Meyer… says that the test of the organization of any community from the social point of view is whether those who need any particular service can easily find it. Dr. Meyer and the others would agree that in order to measure up to this test you do not need to increase the number of institutions - at least that is not the only way of doing it. … it is a good thing to increase the number of people who by eugenic marriage and a wise social organization, a good economic and industrial order, by developing their own resources and their own capacity for adjusting their thought to the environment and conditions, will not need to go to the institutions for pathological conditions" (264).

Even Frankwood Williams was not capable of seeing if the promoted values could constitute a "public good":

> Qualities of goodness or badness are injected into these things by men on the basis of social result. We look toward the time when what is socially good or socially bad can be determined with some degree of objectivity. But that time is not yet. The determination of social results as good or bad is not upon a basis that can give any degree of confidence, for these determinations now express not so much what is necessarily food or bad as the needs of the individuals who make the determinations, elaborate them into rules of conduct, promulgate them and contend for them. (Williams 1932)

As a matter of fact, there were only two ways in which the idea of the "public good" was addressed. One, through the language of religion, and two, in the discourse of educators. Religion was by far a more widespread and taken for granted way of framing the ideal of the public good. A good example of it is the notes from the closing meeting of the conference by Mr. Edwin R. Embree, President, Julius Resonwald Fund, Chicago: "Very appropriately, in this section of the closing meeting, we are devoting our attention not to gross mental collapse, but to

spiritual values, to the question of leisure-time activities, to the relation of the whole matter to the public, and how the public can be brought to see this relation" (Embree 1932:530).

The absence of the strong culturally unifying idea of the "public good" resulted in the US scientists calling for more research instead of taking direct social action. Even as late as 1940, during the presidential remarks opening the second National Conference on Family Relations, Adolf Meyer attributed the slow pace of the development of the "science of man" to the lack of agreement on the basic facts and their interrelation in the field of human nature and functioning. He argued that "many of these facts are much better handled by practical critical common sense than by the erudite, who should learn first what we all can agree on, free of doctrinal tangles and the prejudicial splitting up and fragmentation, and as close as possible to the vigor and, at the same time, sound criticism of the common sense of the proverbial man from Missouri" (Meyer 1952:501).

And even though, with the help of the State Charities Aid Association, the first official psychiatric social worker, Miss Elizabeth Horton, was appointed as early as 1906 (New York State), it wasn't until 1946 that The "National Mental Health Act," which created the National Institute of Mental Health, passed as a result of Mental Health America's advocacy. Adolph Meyer summarized his disappointment well in his speech of 1952:

> Our American communities are probably the most individualistic aggregates of population. Mostly descendants from constitutional dissenters and nonconformists, temperamentally jealous of government, we form communities divided from top to bottom into the most individualistic groups. … Our standards, punctilious in dress and fashion and table manners, are outspokenly individualistic and deficient in common ideals and solidarity, in the very essentials of religious, civic, business, and intellectual life. The one common principle seems to be the primitive scheme of boss-system and one-man power, which makes one person responsible for good and for bad and releases all other individuals of further responsibility. Under this conditions it is somewhat difficult to think of a Utopia such as I insist on dreaming about. (Meyer 1952:195).

Another significant outcome was the creation of voluntary organizations and private foundations dedicated to the elimination and prevention of disease by the application of a combination of environmental changes and techniques to modify human behavior. Throughout much of the nineteenth century responsibility for the resolution of social problems rested with state and local governments and, to a lesser extent, with relatively small voluntary societies supported by private philanthropy. By the turn of the century, private foundations, including but not limited to those established by Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, were beginning to assume a more important policy role. Such organizations had their greatest impact upon science and medicine, where funding was of critical importance in directing institutional development, education, and research in particular directions.

Finally, sociologists Jana Grekul, Harvey Krahn and Dave Odynak argued that the situation of larger and more mental health institutions, more social workers and mental health "experts", the growing tendency to "medicalize" social problems, and the growing power of professionals, facilitated the segregation and sterilization laws and programs which were implemented in close to thirty states in the 1920s and 1930s (Grekul, Krahn and Odynak 2004).

Organizing Russian Mental Hygiene Movement
In contrast, a major aspect of the Russian cultural heritage from the time of the tsars stemmed from the concept of total loyalty to the government. Included in the concept were placing the common good above one's personal welfare and engaging in active obedience by willingly relinquishing one's abilities and possessions in service to the state (Gredler and Shields 2008). One influence of this credo on psychology was an emphasis on the study of collective and inter-individual psychological events. An example is the Russian interpretation of Darwin's theory of evolution. The central Darwinian principal is that new species appear and either adjust to the environment or die out. It is sometimes expressed as "survival of the fittest." However,

"the law of tooth and nail in the animal kingdom at large" ran counter to the Russian view of mutual cooperation in the collective. Disagreeing with inter-individual competition as the engine of evolution, the Russian view identified mutual aid and the cooperation of organisms as essential in adapting to the environment. The Russians maintained that only those animals that acquire habits of mutual assistance would undoubtedly be the fittest.

That also had an influence in how the Russian mental hygiene movement was able to organize consensus for its projects. Dr. Rosenstein, the Director of the *Scientific Institute for Mental Hygiene* in Moscow, stated confidently that the development of mental hygiene or psycho-hygiene in the Soviet Union was "closely bound up with the special conditions of public-health service which in our country is based upon the principles of preventing disease and protecting and improving the health of the working masses, with a view to raising the psycho and physical value of every working man and women, every one engaged in the building up of the new life" (Rosenstein 1932:145). Discussion of every aspect of the movement in the USSR was tied directly to the larger goal of "a new man": in terms of physical education one argued that "physical education, gymnastics, and sport are not the end in itself, but a method in a new class war" (Plenum ЦККС 1922); in terms of raising levels of sanitation we read how "sanitation education is not just about the spread of knowledge, it is directly connected to the questions of upbringing, aiming at principal self-discipling of every single person" (Molkov 1923); or factory work - "we know that monotony is tiring and oppressing and does not allow for the development of human potential" (using the point to critique Fordism)" (Grombah 1929).

Moreover, in the USSR, the more common metaphor was that of war, that came with the sense of urgency and clearer ideas of the expected results. As one of the leaders of the movement wrote:

> The nervous system is much like the central processing board that receives tens and hundreds of messages from everywhere at the same time. You can compare it to the main headquarters during the war or with the state

> government, which receives a variety of information and has to make a
> decision and give directions to avert danger and get maximum benefit from
> the current changing environment (Grombah 1929:6).

Coupled with the concept of the individual as essentially good, it facilitated the cultural consensus and implementation of the mental hygiene policy.

Religion as Public Good
Even though the language of religion was the main frame available for the idea of "the public good", it was not strong enough to encourage action because it came with conservative ideas about the nature of the "individual" and the "disease" and thus further discouraged action. In that understanding, the individual was an essentially conflicted entity, torn between good and evil and "disease" as suffering that is necessary for the development of an individual. For instance, Charles P. Emerson, Professor of Medicine and Dean of the Indiana University School of Medicine; President of The *National Committee for Mental Hygiene* (for 5 years), presider over the Session A, May 6, 1930, spent better half of his address on the warnings in connection to mental hygiene:

> We have tried to learn a lesson from the success of physical hygiene, which
> has already eliminated so much of disease. Yet every great movement, no
> matter how rich its assets, has also its liabilities, and to control these is as
> much the duty of the reformer as to exploit its assets. Diseases, physical and
> mental, have from the very beginning of history been important factors in the
> evolution of human civilization. The suffering caused by sickness, the
> consciousness of the uncertainty of life, and grief over the untimely deaths of
> relatives have ever been the foster mother of life, sympathy, humility, pity,
> and faith. They have been prime factors in the development of human
> character. They have made man serious in the present, hopeful of the future,
> dependable for those dependent upon him, charitable for the unfortunate.
> They have made man more earnest in his daily tasks, more moral in his ways,
> and certainly more interested in a life to come. The elimination of the
> presence and fear of so much disease has already, we feel, tended to weaken
> these emotions and may have made man individualistic, over-confident, and
> careless in his moral as well as religious life. To check the maturing of any
> regrettable fruit those gentler spiritual qualities often forgotten by those who
> are over-confident and proud of their strength, may be one of the duties of
> our mental-hygiene societies (Emerson 1932:208-9)

In the similar vein, Williams questioned,

> Whether as times goes on we shall occupy ourselves so much in fighting evils or in protecting individuals from temptations. These things cannot touch an individual except as he need them. The crux of the whole matter is not in the Thing, but in the need. Good or bad, what precisely is the need and why? ... I can see no other way by which social progress, in anything but a most superficial sense, can come - not through the keeping away of temptation, but through the creating of men and women for whom these things can have no meaning (Williams 1932).

Dr. Piltz's (1932) response to these assertions was enthusiastic: "If we compare the most important and most essential traits of man with the fundamental and most characteristic biological traits of animals, we shall see that, in their general outlines, for a human being we find, first and foremost, a combination of traits such as intellect, moral worth, and religious feeling - traits that distinguish man from the beast."

The role of religion actually became the major point of contention in the meeting of the Soviet and American scientists during the First International Congress. The question came from several of the scholars, apparently perplexed by the very idea: Dr. A. Ettleson (Chicago, Illinois) asks "Do psychiatrists in Russia consider that religion is or is not essential to a proper integration of the personality?" Chairman William states that "the same question is put in this way by Mr. Harry Greenston, of Baltimore: "At this morning's session we heard much about spiritual values in relation to psychiatry. Do I understand that Russia has divorced religious ethics and religious teachings altogether in its development of psychiatry?" (in response to Salkind 1932:153).

In response, Dr. Salkind acquainted his audience with the resolution adopted at the meeting of the Russian Behavior Congress, that "religion in its various manifestations is a rather harmful factor for the development of the individual, in the sense that it interferes with the adjustment of the individual to reality. It creates a certain amount of fear in the individual. It allows the individual to adjust himself to reality, but perhaps in an adjustment that is not altogether desirable" (1932:148). The essential point of view was that religion was to be considered as a psychopathological phenomenon. In his turn, Dr. Rosenstein, unequivocally stated, "At the present time religion is a hindrance in the development of mental-hygiene work in

the population. In that sense it becomes very harmful and is looked upon as a pathological phenomenon" (1932:149). Added to that, in the USSR there was a large degree of coherence and dialog between the leaders of these seemingly very different disciplines. In particular, there was a high degree of coherence secured through common bio-social terminology and based on common methodology (prominently - survey methods). Prominent field scientists at the time (Vygotskii) noted low degrees of competition of scientific ideas and high levels of cooperation and intensive exchange of ideas.

The Soviet state was formed at a moment of total war, and wartime institutions and practices of mobilization became the building blocks of the new political order. State interventionist practices developed across Europe during the First World War, but in constitutional democracies they were subordinated to the preexisting order once the war was over. In the Soviet Union, these practices became institutionalized without any traditional or legal constraints. The revolutionary origin of the Soviet state also meant that there were fewer limits on the ambitions of political leaders in their quest to reshape society. In fact, the main tenets of dialectical materialist philosophy - wherein the mind is regarded as the property of highly organized matter, a function of the nervous system, and a product of brain, and the personality is considered to be socially determined - facilitated institutionalization of early Soviet psychology.

For instance, according to one of the psychologists, Blonskiy, a genuinely scientific, materialist psychology should be a biological science that studies the behavior of living creatures from the viewpoint of evolution and expresses this in precise mathematical formulas. At the same time, Blonskiy regarded scientific psychology also as social psychology. The division of psychology into social and individual he considered absurd. The basis on which human behavior is built, wrote Blonskiy, is social production (Smirnov 1967).

Thus, the success of early Soviet psychology can be attributed to widely ranging deterministically oriented science, largely concerned with the effect on behavior of the long-range stimuli of the biological and social environment, and to a much more narrowly confined discipline which is specifically saddled with the task of describing as well as training a new generation of men "endowed" with initiative and responsibility. In the course of this evolution, the theoretical constructs of associational psychology have been discarded in favor of more dynamic conceptions of man's relation to his physical and social environment. In place of the tendency to present man "as a hollow shell of his psychological self, as no more than a convenient meeting place in which biological and sociological factors worked out their interrelationships" (Smirnov 1967:15), there has emerged the model of a conscious actor who in the process of his activity strives for goals that lie beyond his contemporary situation - the image of a man who liberates himself from the constraints of the immediate present by becoming conscious, through purposive action, of the relationships in which he is involved. Moreover, the form of the Soviet government— a dictatorship that functioned extrajudicially and acknowledged no moral claims beyond its own authority— meant less internal contradiction for activists.

Mental Hygiene in the Education System

Historians in the West have documented the powerful effects of modern state schooling from the nineteenth century onwards on the organization and experience of childhood, childrearing, and parenthood. It is where those social and moral norms of modern childhood were fashioned, and it was from here that they spread (Rousmaniere and de Coninck-Smith 1997). During the First International Congress of Psychology meeting, 1929, William John Cooper, who came from Alaska to New Haven for the purpose of representing the national

government spoke fondly about the great value of psychology to education (Langfeld 1929). According to the medical director of the NCMH, F. Williams, "as emotional habits and ways of reacting to situations were obviously formed in childhood,… childhood was the "golden period of mental hygiene" (Williams 1930:9).

Even more importantly, schools served as disseminating sites for the new norms, which were taken up and lived by children, parents, and teachers. The field of education displayed a high amount of enthusiasm for mental hygiene from the very beginning and was relatively free of dividing issues on the nature of the individual or the role of the movement. In other words, the alliance between teachers' and administrations' goals from the new system of education with the cultural assumptions of the Mental Hygiene movement allowed for a successful institutionalization of relevant policies. Scholars have been clear for a long time that education is by no means merely "instruction" and transmission of information. Education shapes our values, beliefs, and who and what we become. "It's a primary mode of enforcing social control of the nation's citizens… A key purpose of modern state schooling has been the formation of conduct and beliefs" (Boler 1999:xiv).

Modern school discipline encompasses conditions and practices that promote the self-regulation of adults and children, and the cultural repertoires or discourses within which we come to see ourselves as certain kinds of persons. Such forms of discipline have as their object the production of self-disciplined individuals who adhere to explicit and implicit rules of conduct and norms of conscience as if they were their own (Rousmaniere and de Coninck-Smith 1997). However in the case of mental hygiene it was important that the involved parties had a vocal and clear consensus over the role of education and wanted mental hygiene to play its part. The deep distrust towards "nonscientific" parenting is evident in Williams's obviously strongly felt statement, published in 1930:

> Parenthood is the only profession, if you will, that can be practiced in America without definite instruction and preparation. Any one may become a parent. One learns, therefore, on the job, and not only on the job, but on the job while preoccupied at the same time with may other time and energy-consuming jobs. There is no more inadequate method of learning than this, nor one more wasteful of material (Williams 1930:15).

In his turn, H.E. Chamberlain, M.D., the Director, Child Guidance Clinic, Minneapolis argued that educators had been quick to seek the services of other professions to assist them.

> They have accepted the health or hygiene program from the medical profession; they have welcomed the standardization and classifications, individual and group, presented by the psychologists; and have begun to favor the home and community evaluations devised by sociologists. The individualization of the student, superior, normal, or inferior intellectually, robust, average, or impaired physically, is the emphasis progressive education stresses. Since the task is, indeed, enormous and the responsibility put upon public school administrators is great, it is natural and judicious, then, that educators have called upon another profession, psychiatry, likewise interested in the development and ultimate adaptation of the individual. (Chamberlain 1932)

W. Carson Ryan, Jr., Professor of Education at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania summarized the attitude in one quick sentence: "Public schools… cannot escape the responsibilities for mental hygiene' (Ryan 1932:373).

The two initial strategies of mental hygiene's involvement in the field of education were parent education in mental hygiene and revision of school policies. In the first case, through its child guidance clinics and the Bureau of Child Guidance, the flagship of the child guidance movement (Dreyer 1976), the NCMH encouraged parent education, demonstrated parent education, disseminated parent education, and entered into liaisons with the major parent-oriented interest groups like the Child Study Association of America, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the American Association of University Women, and the National Council on Parent Education (Cohen 1983). Stanley P. Davies argued that these societies together with local groups had been able to carry out a much more extensive educational program with parents than could have been accomplished by the unaided efforts of organized national and state mental

hygiene societies. He also pointed out that "much of the stimulus to parental education … has come from the organized mental hygiene movement (Davies 1931:280).

The spread of clinics was particularly rapid. In the 1920s each year added about 200 hours of weekly service (Stevenson 1932:275). In 1931 alone, child-guidance and mental hygiene clinics treated some 50,000 children and 36,000 adults, what Dr. George S. Stevenson, the director of the National Committee's Division of Community Clinics, saw as 'a hopeful measure of public recognition of the need and value of preventing mental ill-health, undoubtedly the country's greatest public-health problem" (1932:684). There was no confusion over the idea of "public good" here. Very matter-of-fact, he (1932:268) places clinics within the framework of community: "Child guidance is one phase of guided community growth. Its work, while administratively distinct, is functionally not at all separable from other community work".

Furthermore, it seemed relatively easy to make a leap from local to global importance of mental hygiene for children. Unlike other aspects of the movement that sought to carefully outline the specific contributions (as discussed earlier), imagination of public benefits reigned unconstrained in this case: "The phenomenal growth of the child-guidance movement in this and other countries fully justifies the belief that this movement is responding to a very important and very widespread need in contemporary civilization" (Glueck 1932:535).

But even Stevenson felt the need to preface his support for clinics by emphasizing that their role is secondary to traditional institutions:

> The first line of defense has been and always will be the school, the church, the court, the social and health agencies and the parents themselves, who must continue to eat the brunt responsibility by cultivating their own mental hygiene and enlarging their capacities for doing mental-hygiene work on their own account. Child guidance clinics are "to help them help themselves," for consultation on difficult cases, educational and training centers, and leadership in community team-work. (Stevenson 1932:684)

The other key strategy was its involvement in schools, including the revision of discipline methods. Formal schools have demanded certain patterns of conduct from children, teachers,

administration, and parents. Over time a narrow range of behaviors, beliefs, and values have come to be seen as evidence of good teaching and learning. When Haven Emerson, M.D., Professor of Public-Health Administration, College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City, talked about public health he specifically talked about the importance of education and public schools in ensuring this ideal. (Emerson 1932). Even more, Dr. Robinson, the Director of the Department Of Child Guidance at Newark Public Schools, NJ argues:

> Mental hygiene and progressive education are synonymous. The most important mental hygiene workers in the community are in the public schools and are the educators, and particularly is this so in the modern city. The public schools are decidedly interested, as far as modern education is concerned, in the happiness of the pupil. The public schools are interested in the happiness of the pupil in school and out. Modern education is not interested in the careful and planned character development of the child, speaking in the aggressive interfering sense, but it is interested in the pupil's enjoyment of his present life (Rank 1932:147).

Compared with constraining and overly controlling forms of discipline, this kind of moral regulation may require no direct physical contact and may not appear as punishment or as exercise of authority and power. Instead, as Rousmaniere and coauthors had argued, this kind of regulation entails "the discipline of personal identities and the shaping of conduct and conscience through self-appropriation of moral beliefs about what is right and wrong, possible and impossible, normal and pathological" (Rousmaniere and de Coninck-Smith 1997:4). The significance and power of this "moral regulation" hinges on its social organization as a web of self-imposed forms of conduct and self-monitoring practices. Thus, argues Boler, the control of emotions in education occurs through two primary ideological forces: explicit rules of morality, strongly influenced by Protestant values; and explicit values of utility and skills measured through the "neutral" gaze of social sciences which frames the virtuous student in terms of efficiency and mental health (Boler 1999). In other words, the mental-hygiene movement targeted the "overemotional" student as the major cause of social ills.

This strategy in particular is associated with the rise of the "therapeutic state". In a series of historical analyses of seventeenth-century France, Mukerji has trained her attention on the under-appreciated dimensions of the emergence of the modern French state: the engineering of a technological infrastructure in the form of roads and canals and the transformation of the natural environment via the management of forests and the planting of royal gardens. Mukerji has described how the art of governing depends not just on what Foucault called biopolitics but also on "geopolitics," whereby the state uses technological means to transform the land into both a resource for administration and a symbol of state power (Mukerji 1994). The case studies of the mental hygiene movement point to another type of power that is widely appropriated by a modern state - so called therapeutic policies. In this case, the state extends its power not just over geographical and biological activities of people it aims to represent, but also of their mental capabilities. However, we are talking not about the top-down approach, but about the interplay among a wide array of social actors, including psychologists, popular leaders, and educators.

Still, Rousmaniere matter-of-factly connects moral regulation specifically to capitalism. It is within the framework of capitalism that the construction of the individual is historicized. However, the evidence points to the fact that the Soviet Union at the time - decidedly anti-capitalist style of a economy - was no less therapeutic, and was actually more successful in implementation of these ideas. As one of the lead scientists, N.H. Semashko, put it:

> Those familiar with the superstitions of the Russian masses which the old regime fostered, will marvel at the stupendous accomplishment of the Soviet Government in the domains of personal hygiene and public health. … The secret of the success of the work lies in the placing of the responsibility upon the workers themselves, which is the basic principle of the Soviet system. "The workers themselves must take care of their health" is the dictum of the Commissariat. Similarly in the Red Army, menaced by the contact with diseased enemy troops, the slogan "To be dirty is a crime against the Revolution" aided a great deal in raising the health standard of the army (Semashko 1920:4).

This quote emphasizes several particularities of the Soviet case: the spread of the self-discipline ideology into a variety of fields as well as, again, the availability of common

ideational consensus over goals that fostered such development. It is also no wonder that education was at the center of public discussion about the development of Russia. This went back to the ideas of the narodnikin (a liberal movement of the 1860s and 1880s that called on the intelligentsia to educate workers and peasants) and to the thought of moral leaders such as Tolstoy, who opened a school for peasant children on his estate, taught there himself, and wrote textbooks for his pupils. In the early twentieth century the project of pedology took off in Russia, following its development in the United States and some other European countries.

One of the founders of pedology as a separate study was G. Stanley Hall, who was also instrumental in the development of modern educational psychology. As a matter of fact, the term "pedology" itself was suggested in 1893 by an American researcher, Oscar Chrisman. At the end of the 19th century, pedology as a comprehensive study of the child became active in Europe as an attempt to create a study of children in the manner of the natural sciences. In Imperial Russia a prominent developer of the field was Aleksandr Nechayev (Александр Петрович Нечаев) in St. Petersburg, who in 1901 created a laboratory of experimental pedagogical psychology. In 1909 a Pedological Society was organized by Professor Kazimierz Twardowski in Lviv, Austro-Hungary (now Ukraine). In 1910 a similar society was organized in Kraków. In 1911 the first World Congress in Pedology was held in Brussels, Belgium, with attendants from 22 countries.

Soviet pedology is traditionally thought to be founded on the efforts of Vladimir Bekhterev; in particular, in 1918 he founded the Institute of Pedology as part of the psychological institutions united into the Institute for Study of Brain and Psychical Activity. Pedologists in St.Petersburg elaborated sophisticated techniques of observation and instructed nurses and teachers in kindergartens how to make observations. This science was intensively pursued in the 1920s-1930s in the Soviet Union, with the support of the leadership. A journal *Pedologiya* ("Педология") was issued. According to the Commissar's orders, people who

worked as pedologists should be employed as teachers in primary schools or re-educated to take other teaching positions. All this took place, however, more in the context of the debates about what part psychology would play in a modernized Russia rather than in the context of the existing school system. Finally, a resolution of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, so-called pedology decree of 1936, halted this and indeed threatened the existence of psychology as an academic and occupational field (Baker 2012). The story of what happened is complex, as the 1930s were years of extreme, and frequently violent social change and decisions, taken at the center often had chaotic and arbitrary effects. As in other fields of mental hygiene, pedology relied on clinical-like studies of early childhood and was eventually transformed into a system of testing. Unlike in the US, school-testing in the USSR was largely opposed by teachers, who saw it as interference in their domain. The ministry of education took teachers' side in the Soviet conflict and developed a strategy "to restore rights" that, teachers argued, pedologies had taken over. The decision to get rid of tests was also influenced by the fact that incorrect testing unjust to some schoolchildren; more importantly, there was accumulating evidence that the beneficiaries of testing were, as a matter of fact, always children from relatively advantageous backgrounds. What in the US could be used to legitimize the status quo went against the idea of "a new man" in the USSR. Importantly, where psychologists did apply tests, they assumed cultural explanations for inequality.

For instance, one aspect of child study was the use of IQ tests. The prevailing belief was that such tests could aid in the discovery of hidden talents in lower-class individuals. However, the tests were much more effective in detecting deficits than talents, and large numbers of the children of workers and peasants were identified as needing special classes. The Central Committee accused psychologists of "willful bias", and a 1936 decree of the committee banned all psychological testing, publications, and journals. Vygotsky's writing, which included his work

with children with mental and physical problems, was effectively banned for 20 years (Gredler and Shields 2008). The area of social behavior left open to scientific investigation had gradually narrowed in the course of the establishment of a "socialist" society. Once, with the era of the Five-Year Plans, the Soviet regime set out upon the large-scale transformation of the physical and social environment - and, thereby, inevitably assumed a rising responsibility for the conditions of social living - it could no longer tolerate the wide empirical investigations of environmental influences in which the psychologists of the twentieth century indulged. Comparative studies of the IQ's and attitudes of various ethnic and social groups, empirical investigations of workers' responses to industrial situations now became a thing of the past. The attention of Soviet psychologists was diverted from the examination of the abilities and attitudes of adults to the study of man's potentialities and to the training of the young.

By the 1930s, all areas of psychology had to display ideological conformity and to prove loyalty to the regime. In this period more than 300 pedologists and teachers, including members of the Commissariat of Education and the Commissar himself, were repressed and some of them disappeared. The term "pedology" was eliminated from academic use; all educational institutions that contained the word in their titles were closed or renamed. "Pedologist" became a synonym for the counter-revolutionary, the saboteur. Because a national debate about education had for decades been tied up with the fate of psychology, this had consequences across the whole field. In this context, Soviet theoreticians were more concerned to discuss the failures of "bourgeois" psychology than to address the needs of practitioners working with children. The major psychological journals ceased publication in the period of 1932-1934, and after these years, publication facilities for psychological research were very sparse until 1946, when the serial publications of the *Academy of Pedagogical Sciences* were inaugurated.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined how institutional challenges fostered by competing notions of moral and scientific etiology and treatment of mental illness slow down the incorporation of mental health ideas into the state.

As previous chapters show, Mental Hygiene in the US did enlist a range of supporters - from religious, to educational institutions, to scientists. Before the 1930s, activists of the mental hygiene movement had been able to keep internal tensions from erupting. During the trying years of the Depression this proved no longer possible. In particular, psychiatrists sought to divest themselves of mental hygiene activities, which were seen as unscientific and ineffective. They also wanted to limit the participation of non-psychiatric professionals. At the same time, a group of mental hygienists inspired by Soviet scholars, were intent on expanding their activities and proposed far-reaching programs of community mental hygiene, which would safeguard the mental health of the population. These programs were bold and made psychiatry coextensive with community organization. With such divergent ideas as to the place of psychiatry in American society and the nature and role of psychiatric intervention, it had become impossible to maintain a disciplinary consensus.

Thus, in the US we see a high degree of conflict over the role of mental hygiene: different social fields take on different positions (education vs general public value), and a person understood as a "character" takes the blame. I argue that the lack of ideational consensus - or cultural theorizing (Strang) leads to fading out of mental hygiene by the Cold War period (Cohen 1983). He writes that the "NCMH is no more and the mental-hygiene movement qua movement is but a shadow of its former self" (1983:143).

In addition, demographically, American mental hygiene lost impetus from the race-based immigration quotas of the 1920s, and from the subsequent Depression Era decline in fertility.

Already stalled by World War I, the immigration of the eastern and southern European peoples that were seen as inferior was effectively terminated by eugenics-inspired immigration restrictions, notably the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the Immigration Act of 1924. The Immigration Act's quotas reduced immigration from southern and eastern Europe, which averaged 730,000 per year in the decade before World War I (1905-1914), to a mere 20,000 persons per year (Leonard 2003:217).

As a result, mental hygiene was still relegated to an avant-garde movement, while in the USSR it quickly became not just mainstream, but was incorporated into a larger movement towards the "New Man". However, there was one field in the US that was able to institute mental hygiene to the point of basic restructuring of the field itself - the field of education, where it has left the strongest legacy to this day.

CHAPTER 7: The Social Vaccines of the 21ˢᵗ Century: Self-esteem, Emotional Intelligence, and Grit Movements.

> We'd crossed some weird Foucauldian threshold into a world in which authority figures pathologize children instead of punishing them.
> Weil "In the defense of the wild child" 2013

In the beginning of the 20ᵗʰ century much attention from scientists and education activists focused on bringing up a "New Man", one who has high self-esteem, able to withstand the demands of the modern way of life. In combination with a growing new image of American children as precious, fragile, and vulnerable, by the late 1980s the idea of mental hygiene had transformed into the self-esteem movement and is currently re-imagined in terms of "grit". Despite different terminology, these current developments show that some important concepts from the mental hygiene movement have become entrenched in the contemporary culture. In this chapter, I used government reports, news articles, and books to outline some of the ways in which mental hygiene presents itself in modern debates.

Consider this reflection by David Brooks, a conservative newspaper columnist:

> In Lincoln's day, to achieve maturity was to succeed in the conquest of the self. Human beings were born with sin, inflected with dark passions and satanic temptations. The transition to adulthood consisted of achieving mastery over them. You can read commencement addresses from the 19th and early 20th centuries in which the speakers would talk about the beast within and the need for iron character to subdue it. Schoolhouse readers emphasized self-discipline. The whole character-building model was sin-centric (Brooks 2008).

Brooks has it right, with one important caveat: The emphasis on self-discipline isn't just an historical relic. Today we are spared the florid and exhortatory rhetoric, but a few minutes online reminds us that the concept of self-discipline is alive and well in contemporary America – to the tune of three million hits on Google. And it is also a key element in the character education movement.

Following in the footsteps of Eva Illouz's study of therapeutic culture (Illouz 2008), this dissertation concentrated not on the critique of the psychological discourse, but on how and why

this specific language of self was produced, woven into the social fabric, and how it was used in daily life to shape relationships. Similarly, I do not ask whether the therapeutic injunction to narcissistic "self-realization" erodes moral commitments or whether the therapeutic confession is subjection to power "by other means." This task has been accomplished by others, and I prefer to examine the therapeutic discourse from the standpoint of what it is called upon to perform, namely to build coherent selves able to withstand the pressures of modernity, and facilitate social relations in general. However, I question the overreliance on economic explanations (neo-liberalism) for the rise of therapeutic culture. Instead, I look at the social alliances and the patterns of diffusion across cultures to provide a fuller picture of the rise of the modern self. Crucially, therapeutic discourse transcends national boundaries, political cultures, and economic systems and thus constitutes a "transnational" language of selfhood. And perhaps more than any other cultural formation, the therapeutic discourse illustrates the ways in which culture and knowledge have become inextricably imbricated in contemporary societies.
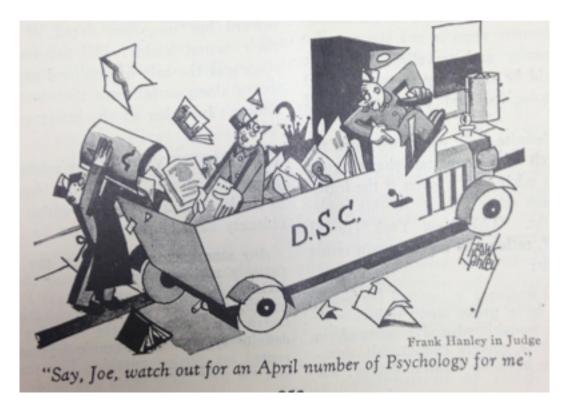
The therapeutic discourse has traversed the entire twentieth century, only gaining in strength and scope. Illouz points out that the importance of therapeutic culture is precisely in that it helps us "do things" - cope with and resolve practical questions. While Illouz never directly discusses the mental hygiene movement, it is an important piece of the puzzle that satisfies all the requirements Illouz puts forward: it helps to make sense of an actor's social experience (aka rapid economic transformation, demographic patterns, immigration fluxes, downward mobility, status anxiety); provides guidance about uncertain or conflict-ridden areas of social conduct (e.g. sexuality, love, or economic success); and is circulated in social networks. This chapter addresses some of the ways in which the cultural structure of therapy survived and became reinforced throughout the American twentieth century, in particular the process by which this cultural structure persists and endures in the contemporary world.

Rather than making my argument strictly in terms of "path dependency", that is pointing to the structuring impact of past events, I see the development of therapeutic culture throughout the 20th century in terms of "path generation". "Path generation refers to the creation of a new path or to significant deviation from an existing path through the succession of small, sometimes apparently inconsequential steps, through the aggregation of multiple decision points and critical junctures" (Djelic 2008:500). Path generation is a process, and potentially a long-drawn and slow one at that. To this end I would like to examine how the unique style of mental hygiene in the United States influences how the state deals with contemporary relevant issues. Specifically, I would like to first examine how the history of mental hygiene influences American education and parenting styles.

Strang argued that the "diffusion-generating power of theoretical models... varies with the extent to which they are institutionalized - built into standard and authoritative, rather than highly specialized and marginal, interpretations and schemas (Strang and Meyer 1993:495). Institutionalization played the major role in educational development, as shown in the previous chapter. But in the case of the US, the extraordinary resilience of the therapeutic discourse can be explained not only by its incorporation into some of the central institutions of American society, but also by the fact that it has been able to recruit a vast number of social actors and cultural industries, including self-help, "emotional intelligence", and "self-esteem". As I have shown in the previous chapters, one of the distinct characteristics of the mental hygiene movement was blurring of the distinction between the highbrow language of scholars and the language of popular culture. Psychology is undoubtedly a body of texts and theories produced in formal organizations by experts certified to produce and use it. But it has also become a body of knowledge diffused worldwide through a wide variety of culture industries: self-help books, workshops, television talk shows, radio call-in programs, movies, television series, novels, and

magazines have all been essential cultural platforms for the diffusion of therapy throughout U.S. society and culture. In fact, a significant number of professional psychologists have easily and happily crossed the boundary dividing specialized knowledge and popular culture and prefer to be located at the boundary line between the two. From the very beginning of their profession, American and Soviet professionals turned to the culture industries to make their voices heard. The case of mental hygiene shows the breakdown of the distinction between the scholarly work and the self-help book and the ways in which it plays out today. All of the above have been and continue to be central sites of diffusion of therapeutic knowledge, making that knowledge an essential part of the cultural and moral universe of contemporary middle-class Americans.

In the case of the US, the development of the therapeutic voluntary sector is no doubt the most significant way this type of subjectivity functions today. However, it came with its own challenges, as proponents of the mental hygiene movement were very well aware a whole century ago. For instance, Stanley P. Davies, the assistant secretary of the *New York Charitities Aid Association*, discussed in his paper given before the *National Conference of Social Work* a cartoon that shows the city trash collectors atop their truck busily unloading household refuse, while the one calls to the other "Say, Joe, watch out for an April number of Psychology for me":

Frank Hanley in Judge

"Say, Joe, watch out for an April number of Psychology for me"

In the discussion he bemoaned that psychology has become

> Popularized, not to say vulgarized…. psychoanalysis is the topic of smart conversation… In the columns of daily newspapers, on the bright jackets of books, in the works of fiction and popular science, in magazine features and stories, in the cleverest ads, in the ultra-modern pages of The New Yorker, and in every problem play on Broadway, mental hygiene confronts us in some guise or other. … We may deplore this popularization. We may see all manner of evil in the smattering of misinformation, which passes for mental hygiene. … This is a fact that we must face. …(Davies 1931:253).

He warns about "the development of misguided, half-baked, even though well-intentioned ventures in mental-hygiene and opening a wild field for quacks and charlatans who are only too ready to exploit all possibilities":

> In another and even more serious way mental hygiene may be oversold… is … through the use of the kind of propaganda hitch, even among intelligent, reasonably normal people, creates an over-awareness of mental processes, and a tendency to self-analysis and self-excuse in psychiatric terms... Especially is this true of the interpretation by the layman of all that is written on the diseases and symptoms of the mind and nervous system. Readers with a taste for self-diagnosis look within themselves for signs… They become unduly aware of their own nervous and mental mechanisms, which doubtless would function much better without so much attention. They observe in themselves what they believe to shortcomings in personality, and built up terrific feelings of inferiority, if not an inward but unspoken dread of insanity. Where then is their mental health? (1931:254)

He finishes the rant with "Specific individual problems in mental hygiene cannot be handled properly through general publicity, such as newspaper or magazine columns, no matter how qualified the editor of the column may be" (280).

Despite his plea, starting in the 1930s, the Mental Hygiene movement increasingly abandoned Meyer's psychobiological perspective by defining mental disorders in terms of either physiological or emotional disturbances. Psychiatrists increasingly defined mental illness in strictly medical terms, and the social issues raised by the Depression were irrelevant to them. Mental hygienists in their turn came to define mental health in terms of emotional adjustment. Some mental hygienists criticized society for its failure to meet the emotional needs of individuals and proposed measures of social reconstruction to change that. Others, however, increasingly focused on the emotional problems of individuals in private psychotherapy while ignoring the role of actual life situations and broader social conditions - what came to be known as privatization of social problems. The most vivid examples here are those that concern the changes in education and parenting, especially the rise of "self-esteem" and "self-discipline", often to be achieved through "emotional intelligence".

Throughout the 20th century the emphasis on the individual became more and more pronounced at the expense of social explanations - the tendency that we saw developing in the American mental hygiene movement as a result of group conflict. What we saw was the rise of the "politics of feelings", rooted in the ideas of mental hygiene, but stripped of any meaningful engagement with the social cases of the issues. The concept of "emotional intelligence" is one of such cases, introduced by popular science and psychology as "emotional quotient" or the new version of "IQ". Megan Bowler, a Professor in the History and Philosophy of Education, argues for a direct overlap of the early-twentieth-century mental-hygiene movement with the contemporary popularity of emotional intelligence. According to her "through the increasing

authority of cognitive science and the applied use of behavioral psychology we are faced with a new conception of the moral individual: a self premised as biologically predisposed to make the "right moral choice" if properly educated and has resulted in "Emotional Literacy Curricula" (Boler 1999). Today, we most often talk about it in terms of the self-esteem and 'grit' movements in education and parenting.

Self-esteem and Grit as Policy

The "self-esteem movement" of the 1980s and 1990s claimed to have discovered a magic bullet that would prevent any number of psychological disorders, from depression to eating disorders. For the first time ever, parents were being told that the way they parented - whether they praised their children or not - could make a crucial difference in how much self-esteem their kids had, and thus how successful and happy they would be. Psychologists everywhere were persuaded that if only we could help people to accept and love themselves more, their problems would gradually vanish and their lives would flourish. They would even treat each other better. As a matter of fact, in 1986 Gov. George Deukmejian of California signed into law a piece of legislation that created "The State Task Force to Promote Self-Esteem and Personal and Social Responsibility." The aim of this study group, in the words of its creator, Assemblyman John Vasconcellos, was to discover how self-esteem is "nurtured, harmed, rehabilitated." In the final report, *Toward a State of Esteem*, California Department of Education argued that self-esteem contributes to six areas of society: (1) family (parenting, child abuse, teenage pregnancy); (2) education (Schools and academic failure); (3) substance use and abuse; (4) crime and violence; (5) poverty and chronic welfare dependency; and (6) the workplace.

In perfect harmony with William James, assertions that the individual has a responsibility to himself and society of not "being inferior to your own full self", Gov. Deukmejian wrote in a

letter to an elementary school: "I believe that success begins within a person. People must have confidence and courage to confront the challenges that lie ahead in order to achieve their fullest potential. A sense of self-worth and importance is vital to an individual's success and fulfillment" (California State Department of Education 1990:4). In the perfect example of how history repeats itself, Neil Smelser, Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Berkley excitingly reassured Task Force chairperson, Andrew M.Mecca that "…the work of the Task Force is historically unique, and may well be pointing the way to developing a new arsenal of instruments with which to deal with some of the most serious problems of contemporary civilization, and to better our citizens' capacity to improve our individual and collective well-being".

Much like the apocalyptic feeling that energized the mental hygiene movement in the beginning of the 20th century, Andrew Mecca, the Chairman of the Task Force, warned "Today our nation is faced with epidemic levels of social problems" (9). So the Task Force was supposed to be a "social vaccine" to "…cure… many of the major social ills that plague us all today" (10). In the report, the Chairman emphasizes several of the notions that were central to the mental hygiene movement almost a century ago: the "preventive nature" of this cure; the appropriation of the language of hard sciences (referencing medicine and physics); and the idea that we are now in the position to change human nature. The following quote is a perfect summary of this position, and may as well come from William James' writings:

> As we approach the twenty-first century, we human beings now for the first time ever have it with in our power to truly improve our human condition. We can proceed to develop a *social vaccine*. We can outgrow our past failures - our lives of crime and violence, alcohol and drug abuse, premature pregnancy, child abuse, chronic dependence on welfare, and educational failure… We can unlock the secrets of healthy human development. (10, emphasis in original).

They argue that self esteem is the "likeliest candidate for a social vaccine", defined as "appreciating my own worth and importance and having the character to be accountable for myself and to act responsibly toward others" (18), and "the lack of self-esteem is central to most

personal and social ills plaguing our state and nation as we approach the end of the twentieth century". (21)

Following the footsteps of mental hygiene, they identify early childhood as the most decisive time in a person's life ("the family must be the first and fundamental focus of our attention… all parenting practices need to be examined and questioned", p.62), and suggest parenting classes and school programs to develop healthy self-esteem. They further argue "Crime, violence, homelessness, and drug addiction are vanishing in the face of the *social vaccine* of self-esteem" (28, italics in original). Even more importantly, they place the locus of responsibility solely on the individual: "…changing the way we treat ourselves and each other depends on you, on your commitment and action" (30).

Toward a State of Esteem became California's best-selling state document of all time, at 60,000 copies. Maryland and Virginia have copied the California model, establishing their own, state-funded task forces. In addition, governors or legislators in Arkansas, Hawaii, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Washington and Missouri were considering efforts to further the self-esteem movement. Within next couple of years, these ideas were presented at a meeting of the National Council of State Legislators in Nashville, Tennessee and the U.S. House of Representatives' Committee on Children, Youth and Families. Same year, 1986, associations like *the National Council for Self-Esteem* were created (since 1995 - *the National Association for Self-Esteem*) with the purpose to "promote and fully integrate self-esteem into the fabric of American society so that personal worth, responsibility and integrity become paramount and commonplace in families, schools, the government and the workplace" (NASE Board 1986)

California-born ideas for implementing inner fitness, as outlined in the task force's final report, were also spreading internationally. Politicians like Democrat Vasconcellos discussed self-esteem on an Australian talk show. People from Spain, England and Canada have been

inquiring about the task force's work. And, the NASE I just discussed has an international council composed of two representatives from each of over 70 countries.

> I can tell you, the rest of the world is looking at what the task force has done in California," enthused Danny Walker, a special assistant for drug education to Louisiana Gov. Buddy Roemer, one of about 300 people attending the task force's final, two-day "summit conference" in Sacramento. "I think the task force may be appreciated more out of the state than it is in California." In addition to policy, self-esteem became a familiar theme in books, on talk shows, in schools, parenting literature, television shows for young kids, and even coloring books. And on the surface, the campaign to raise children's self-esteem worked. Jean Twenge, a psychology professor at San Diego State University, collected data showing that self-esteem among children dramatically increased during the 1980s and 1990s (Twenge 2006).

There was, of course, a push back to the movement. For example, John Leo, writing in an issue of U.S. News & World Report, suggests the movement may be becoming "the dominant educational theory" in the country, one that is

> ..on a collision course with the growing movement to revive the schools academically.... When the self-esteem movement takes over a school, teachers are under pressure to accept every child as is. To keep children feeling good about themselves, you must avoid all criticism and almost any challenge that could conceivably end in failure (Leo 1998:172).

The Task Force was shut down in 1990, and twenty years later, observers are hard pressed to find any evidence that the self-esteem task force solved any problems. In an article in the Los Angeles Times in 2005, psychologist Roy Baumeister, once a forceful and outspoken champion of fostering children's self-esteem, regretted his earlier assertions. (Baumeister 2005) After the American Psychological Society commissioned him and several other experts to wade with an open mind through the enormous amount of published research on the subject and to assess the benefits of high self-esteem, they found that high self-esteem in schoolchildren does not produce better grades, nor makes adults perform better at their jobs. People with high self-esteem do not make better impressions, stronger friendships and have better romantic lives than other people. Self-esteem does not predict who will make a good leader. It was widely believed that low self-esteem could be a cause of violence, but in reality violent individuals, groups and nations think very well of themselves. They turn violent toward others who fail to give them the

inflated respect they think they deserve. Nor does high self-esteem deter people from becoming bullies: it is simply untrue that beneath the surface of every obnoxious bully is an unhappy, self-hating child in need of sympathy and praise.

Finally, American students' performance is not impressive when they are tested through the Program of International Student Assessment (PISA) for their ability to not only understand but also apply their knowledge. The benefits that they did find were that people with high self-esteem are generally happier and less depressed than others, and high self-esteem also promotes initiative. So Baumeister ends his article by offering a new approach: "Forget about self-esteem and concentrate more on self-control and self-discipline. Recent work suggests this would be good for the individual and good for society - and might even be able to fill some of those promises that self-esteem once made but could not keep" (2005).

"Got Grit?"

And in fact, this has become the new buzz phrase in education: "Got grit?". In summer of 2012, the National Research Council released a report entitled *Education for Life and Work: Developing Transferable Knowledge and Skills in the 21st Century*. In this report, the Committee on Defining Deeper Learning and 21st-Century Skills laid out a research-based framework of the critical competencies and recommendations for research, policy, and practice. It points to three broad domains of competence: cognitive, intra-personal, and interpersonal. Grit, tenacity, and perseverance are at the center of the intra-personal domain, which involves "the capacity to manage one's behavior and emotions to achieve one's goals" (Pellegrino and Hilton 2013:3-3). As a result, around the nation, schools are beginning to see grit and self-control as key to students' success — and just as important to teach as reading and math. "This quality of being able to sustain your passions, and also work really hard at them, over really disappointingly long

periods of time, that's grit," says Angela Duckworth, a psychology professor at the University of Pennsylvania who coined the term "grit" — and won a MacArthur "genius grant" for it (Duckworth and Seligman 2005).

Duckworth makes it very clear "underachievement among American youth is often blamed on inadequate teachers, boring textbooks, and large class sizes. We suggest another reason for students falling short of their intellectual potential: their failure to exercise self-discipline" (2005:945). Most recently, she extended these findings in the proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences to say that "Interventions addressing self-control might reduce a panoply of societal costs, save taxpayers money, and promote prosperity" (Duckworth 2011:1639). In her own work, she references Sir Francis Galton, who invented the term eugenics in 1883, for the distinction he made between those with the capacity to resist "the hourly temptations" and those pursuits which bring momentary pleasure but are immediately regretted.

The Obama administration is now on the "grit" bandwagon. A 2013 report from the Department of Education suggests that kids are learning to "do school," but aren't learning the skills they need in life (Shechtman et al. 2013). The solution is a "new growing movement" to shift educational priorities to promote not only content knowledge, but also grit, tenacity, and perseverance. As a matter of fact, the report picks up on Duckworth's quoting William James, one of the main proponents of the *Mental Hygiene Movement* from 1899, that some school work will be "repulsive and cannot be done without voluntarily jerking back the attention to it every now and then" (p. 179, as cited in 2013:25).

One of the studies that keeps coming up in the contemporary discussion is the classic "marshmallow test" by Walter Mischel in which preschoolers chose between eating one marshmallow right away and having two if they could wait. They found that the amount of time preschoolers could delay the impulse to eat a marshmallow placed in front of them was

correlated not only with their SAT scores many years later, but also their emotional coping skills in adolescence (Mischel, Shoda and Rodriguez 1989). This study has been cited 1,563 times in scholarly literature! Duckworth replicated this study and extended it to show that children who waited longer were happier, more relaxed, and better at handling stress (Duckworth, Tsukayama and Kirby 2013).

While one could expect that "self-esteem" and "self-discipline" movements would contradict each other at some level, in fact, they are seen as complementary. For instance, Sandra Aamodt, a former editor in chief of Nature Neuroscience, and Sam Wang, an associate professor of molecular biology and neuroscience at Princeton, the authors of "*Welcome to Your Child's Brain: How the Mind Grows From Conception to College*" try to reconcile the self-discipline approach and the pursuit of self-esteem. As they wrote in The New York Times op-ed:

> Fortunately for American parents, psychologists find that children can learn self-control without externally imposed pressure. … The key is to harness the child's own drives for play, social interaction and other rewards. Enjoyable activities elicit dopamine release to enhance learning, while reducing the secretion of stress hormones, which can impede learning and increase anxiety, sometimes for years…Effective approaches for building self-control combine fun with progressively increasing challenges. … When children develop self-control through their own pursuit of happiness, no parental hovering is required (Aamodt and Wang 2012).

As it happens, these ideas spread quickly, relying on the cultural context established over a hundred years ago. The pattern of diffusion also follows the development of mental hygiene, with schools being the most enthusiastic adopters. For instance, Jason Baehr, a philosophy professor at Loyola Marymount University, recently launched the *Intellectual Virtues Academy* in Long Beach, California. It is a charter middle school that is a kind of petri dish for grit, along with other so-called virtues like intellectual courage and curiosity. The Lenox Academy for Gifted Middle School Students in Brooklyn, N.Y., a public school, has been trying to make kids grittier for the past three years. Some schools, reports NPR, even grade students on "growth mindset" and "grit" (Smith 2014). And just like the self-esteem movement, the grit approach

emphases that it "plays to traditional American strengths", while providing innovative solutions to current social problems.

One particular program has been getting attention in terms of promoting "grit" values: KIPP, the *Knowledge Is Power Program*, a national network of free, open-enrollment, college-preparatory public charter schools, started in 1994. There are currently 141 KIPP schools in 20 states and the District of Columbia serving 50,000 students. Their motto is "Work hard. Be nice." They see the development of character as equally important to them as the teaching of rigorous academic skills. KIPP is working with Duckworth to focus on seven character traits: zest, grit, self-control, optimism, gratitude, social intelligence, and curiosity. They discuss children's development in terms of the "character lab" and produce "character growth charts" and "character report card" for assessment (see App 6). The *Grit Report* reproduces the chart as well. Other charter programs have implemented similar programs (e.g., the Mastery Charter Network, the New York City private Riverdale Country School) and these programs became a focus of teacher professional development in the Relay Graduate School of Education in New York City.

In the spirit of the policy, private foundations have initiated programs intended to push the frontiers of theory, measurement, and practice around these factors. In the last couple of years, for example, *The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Raikes Foundation, the Lumina Foundation, the Stupski Foundation, the Spencer Foundation, the Moore Foundation*, and *the MacArthur Foundation* have all initiated programs to research and promote "grittiness". Multiple programs were developed including Penn Resilience Program (PRP) and United States Army Master Resilience Trainer (MRT) Course.

Moreover, these factors have taken the stage in the popular media, indicating their appeal to the general public. There have also been recent articles, newscasts, and blogs on the subject of these non-cognitive factors in *Time Magazine, The New York Times Magazine, National Public*

Radio, Mind/Shift, and *the Marshall Memo*. A mass of popular books has been published as well. For instance, in September 2012, Paul Tough's book, *How Children Succeed: Grit, Curiosity, and the Hidden Power of Character*, was released and received wide national attention. According to the book's overview, it "introduces us to a new generation of researchers and educators who, *for the first time, are using the tools of science to peel back the mysteries of character*…he uncovers the surprising ways in which parents do—and do not—prepare their children for adulthood" (Tough 2013:book sleeve, emphasis added). That is, he is repeating almost verbatim the sentiment of the proponents of the mental hygiene movement one hundred years ago.

The general recommendations that these programs boil down to are common disciplining practices like learning a second language, aerobic exercise, martial arts and mindfulness practices. But some of the techniques go back specifically to the Mental Hygiene movement and its connection to the Soviet scholars. For instance, *Tools of the Mind* was created in 1993 to train teachers to help preschool students develop self-regulation and executive functions using techniques developed by Lev Vygotsky (e.g., Vygotsky,1978). The *Grit Report* discusses these tools at length as evidence that together, self-regulation and executive functions are responsible for a student's ability to control their thinking and behavior, with strong connections to working memory, impulse control, problem solving, and mental flexibility. Leaders of *Tools of the Mind* (often called *Tools*) believe that learning and early development is best accomplished through play and sustained attention, especially when it is social and students construct information for themselves. The pedagogical strategies employed are aimed at sustaining attention and persevering in challenging activities. One key pedagogy is dramatic play, which involves planning, sustained attention, and multiple roles for different students. Today, the *Tools of the*

Mind curriculum and professional development are in 18,000 pre-K and kindergarten classrooms across the country.

The justifications for these programs keeps going back to the idea of modernity as overwhelming: "American children", says the *Grit Report*, "in the 21st century need support as they navigate a variety of challenges unprecedented in history" (75).

Thus, the importance of self-discipline is threaded through the work of key researchers who not only study self-discipline but also vigorously insist on its social importance. In other words, the science of today, in particular psychology, is closely intertwined with morality. This often blinds researchers to the negative outcomes of their study. For instance, the education report does acknowledge potential risks and costs to grit: "grit can be detrimental when it is driven by a fear-based focus on testing and college entry" (VIII), but leaves it at "further research is needed".

Some scholars were more open in their push back to this "new fad". Education writer Alfie Kohn sees the obsession with self-discipline as deeply flawed: "To inquire into what underlies the idea of self-discipline is to uncover serious misconceptions about motivation and personality, controversial assumptions about human nature, and disturbing implications regarding how things are arranged in a classroom or a society." (Kohn 2008) He points out that the consequences of impulsivity are not always negative, a high degree of self-control tends to go hand-in-hand with less spontaneity and a blander emotional life, and, in some cases, with more serious psychological problems. He notes that self-discipline may as well "reflect a fear of being overwhelmed by external forces, or by one's own desires, that must be suppressed through continual effort" (2008).

Thinking back to the Marshmallow study, recent research shows that the real story of these studies is a good deal more complicated. For starters, the causal relationship was not at all

clear, as Mischel acknowledged. The ability to delay gratification might not have been responsible for the impressive qualities found ten years later; instead, both may have resulted from the same kind of home environment (Mischel, Shoda and Rodriguez 1989). Furthermore, what mostly interested Mischel wasn't *whether* children could wait for a bigger treat – which, by the way, most of them could (Funder and Block 1989) – and whether waiters fared better in life than non-waiters, but *how* children go about trying to wait and which strategies help. It turned out that kids waited longer when they were distracted by a toy. What worked best wasn't "self-denial and grim determination" but doing something enjoyable while waiting so that self-control was not needed at all (Mischel, Shoda and Rodriguez 1989).

Looking at the Angela Duckworth and Martin Seligman studies more closely, the conclusion is more dubious. For one thing, all of the children in this study were eighth graders at an elite magnet school with competitive admissions, so it is not clear that these findings can be generalized to other populations or ages. Self-discipline was mostly assessed by how the students described themselves, or how their teachers and parents described them, rather than being based on something they actually did. The sole behavioral measure – making them choose either a dollar today or two dollars in a week – correlated weakly with the other measures and showed the smallest gender difference.

Overall, it is unclear what this emphasis on emotional self-control even accomplishes. In 2007, Greg Duncan, a professor of education at the University of California at Irvine, did an analysis of the effects of social and emotional problems on a sample of 25,000 elementary school students. He found that emotional intelligence in kindergarten was completely unpredictive (Duncan et al. 2007). Children who started school socially and emotionally unruly did just as well academically as their more contained peers from first through eighth grades. David

Grissmer, at the University of Virginia, reran Duncan's analysis repeatedly, hoping to prove him wrong. Instead, he confirmed that Duncan was right (Grissmer et al. 2010).

In other words, this "lets fix the kids" attitude follows logically from the belief that kids need fixing. A "comprehensive approach [to character education] is based on a somewhat dim view of human nature," acknowledges William Kilpatrick, whose book *Why Johnny Can't Tell Right from Wrong* contains such assertions as: "Most behavior problems are the result of sheer 'willfulness' on the part of children" (Kilpatrick 1993:96, 249). Many prominent proponents of character education share his views. Edward Wynne says his own work is grounded in a tradition of thought that takes a "somewhat pessimistic view of human nature" (Wynne 1989:25).

This conflict over human nature divided the mental hygiene movement in the beginning of the 20th century and it looks like "the dark side" proponents won. A powerful essay by Elizabeth Weil in the *New Republic* posits that "American Schools Are Failing Nonconformist Kids." The new ideal student, she says, is a compliant "good citizen" who keeps her head down and who "doesn't externalize problems or talk too much or challenge the rules too frequently or move around excessively or complain about the curriculum or have passionate outbursts" (Weil 2013). In addition to the medicalization of the movement, it also contributed to the rise of the percentage of school-aged children diagnosed with attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) (Akinbami, Liu, Pastor and Reuben 2011).

Helicopter Parenting

In addition to school, mental hygiene has been taken up by the voluntary sector, in particular self-help parenting, to the point that scholars and journalists have started asking if it is possible the parents are doing too much. Back in 1931, Davies cautioned that popularization of mental hygiene may have a dark side: "At the times we have gone so far in impressing parents,

especially mothers, with their terrific responsibilities and the tremendous significance of everything that happens in the first six years of the child's life that we are in danger of creating more mental and nervous problems among parents than we have succeeded in preventing among children" (Davies 1931:280). He was right.

In the 1990s, sociologist Sharon Hays famously argued that contemporary cultural model of socially appropriate mothering takes the form of an "ideology of intensive mothering…. a gendered model that advises mothers to expend a tremendous amount of time, energy, and money in raising their children" (Hays 1996:15). She dates this back to the 1930s, when authority figures 'demanded' intensive mothering and recommended methods that were child-centered, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labor-intensive, and financially expensive.

In 2001, sociologist Frank Furedi made a compelling argument in *Paranoid Parenting* that children who are over-socialized or wrapped up in cotton wool tend to grow up to be fairly incompetent adults. They don't learn to negotiate risk or manage their relationships properly (Furedi 2001). His brief inspection of the pages of *The Nursery World* from the 1920's and 1930's shows that that generation was already haunted by many of the doubts, worries and preoccupations that torment fathers and mothers today. A frequently discussed topic was: 'Is my child's development normal? Child tantrums, shyness, aggression, jealousy, thumb-sucking, nail-biting, refusal to sleep, were regularly raised in letters from concerned parents. Many begged an answer to what the publication's agony column called 'a problem as old as parenthood itself - that of how to get them to obey us'.

Reading the worries of parents published in the 1920s, the overall impression is something like this: 'Family life is fine, but there is just this one little thing that we need to sort out.' Today the discussions in parenting magazines suggest that family life is far from fine, that

most parents feel out of control and that everything is up for question. Instead of a specific concern, parents seem to be suffering a more general loss of confidence.

The parents who write to magazines today do not give the impression that they are troubled by one aspect of child-rearing. Many seem overwhelmed by the sheer scale of troublesome issues confronting them. These days it seems that every little issue - how to toilet-train a child, when you can leave them home alone, whether to force them to eat their greens - is made into a bigger problem by an overall crisis of parental nerve. This suggests that there must have been some major changes in the way that adults negotiate the task of looking after youngsters, exactly what Davies cautioned against.

Fear for children's safety has come to dominate the parenting landscape. It can be summarized in the perception of dangerous that children face today. This gap between adult perceptions and the reality of the risks faced by children is confirmed by multiple studies in the Anglo-American world (Staempfli 2009; Rudner 2012; Prezza, Alparone, Cristallo and Luigi 2005). The overall conclusion is that parental anxieties tended to be significantly out of proportion to many real risks.

Following this emphasis on intensive parenting, there has been a recent surge of attention to the rise of "paranoid" or "helicopter" parenting as contributing to this deficit of grit. For example, recent articles in the *New York Times* portray parents who drop their children off at college and refuse to leave, attending classes with their children for the first week of school, intervening in roommate disputes, and calling professors or administrators when a child gets a lower- than-expected grade (Gabriel 2010). This depicts parents who are highly invested, extremely concerned for the well-being of their children, and well-intentioned. Dan Griffin, family therapist, wrote for a popular blog that "we live in an era of cheerleaders" (Griffin 2014).

Following popular culture, scholars started to examine the relations between helicopter parenting and other forms of parental control (namely behavioral and psychological control) during emerging adulthood to determine if helicopter parenting is a distinct form of parental control, and how it affects children's wellbeing (Somers and Settle 2010; Schiffrin et al. 2013; Padilla-Walker and Nelson 2012; Montgomery 2010; LeMoyne and Buchanan 2011). Arguably, what is unique about this style of parenting is that it represents parenting that is high on warmth/support, high on control, and low on granting autonomy. We can actually document its emergence statistically: according to husband-and-wife economists Garey and Valerie Ramey, starting in the 1990s parents began spending significantly more time with their kids (Ramey and Ramey 2009).

But what really stands out in the Ramey's findings is a clear distinction between college-educated parents and everybody else. Prior to 1995, college-educated moms averaged about 12 hours a week with their kids, compared to about 11 hours for less-educated moms. By 2007, though, the figure for less-educated moms had risen to nearly 16 hours while that for college-educated moms had soared to 21 hours. Similar trends were observed for fathers: the time that college-educated dads spent with their kids rose from 5 to 10 hours, while for less-educated dads the increase was from around 4 hours to around 8 hours. So while the time parents spend with children living at home has increased across the board, the trend has been especially pronounced among highly-educated households.

However, the results seem to show that there indeed is such thing as "too much of a good thing". That unsettling possibility is suggested by a paper published last year in the *American Sociological Review*. The study, led by the sociologist Laura T. Hamilton of the University of California, Merced, finds that the more money parents spend on their child's college education, the worse grades the child earns (Hamilton 2013).

A separate study, published the same month in the *Journal of Child and Family Studies* and led by the psychologist Holly H. Shiffrin at the Mary Washington University, finds that the more parents are involved in schoolwork and selection of college majors — that is, the more helicopter parenting they do — the less satisfied college students feel with their lives (Schiffrin et al. 2013).

Conclusion

It is true that character education is as old as education itself. Down through history, in countries all over the world, education has had two great goals: to help young people become smart, and to help them become good. But now it is often argued that by the middle of the 20th century, schools deliberately chose to back away from the traditional role of character educators (Sojourner 2012). However, this chapter shows that character education is still alive, though merged into the scientific language of self-discipline and emotional intelligence. Therapy has become a cultural phenomenon, something that incites us to interpret our day-to-day existence along particular lines according to a very clear meaning system. It gives us a vocabulary to make sense of our day-to-day existence and is therefore very powerful (Füredi 2004).

As a result, exploration of the workings of modern subjectivity and personhood inexorably leads to a consideration of the of rise therapeutic ethos. Ideas about the character of personhood, what motivates people to act, how their minds work and how they display their emotions are reflected in the modern psy-sciences. The therapeutic that emerged in the relatively short period from World War I to World War II became both solidified and widely available after the 1960s. In turn, the prevailing norms of emotion, individual behavior and vulnerability are underpinned by the particular account that a culture offers about personhood and human potential. This dissertation is essentially an essay in the history of ideas. It is partially a history of

a mental hygiene movement, partially a study of the pattern of social change in the two countries, largely an analysis of changing conceptions of human nature under the conditions of social change, and to a certain extent an inquiry in the way scientific communication travels and are incorporated in societies. In addition to tracing the scientific activities of psychologists in the Soviet Union and the United States during the early twentieth century, the dissertation compares the development of psychological science in the two nations, which were antipodes socially, ideologically, and politically. It is paradoxical, therefore, that the research has led us to conclude that these psychologies, originally at variance with respect to their values and aims, functioned in more or less the same way under similar crisis conditions.

Soviet and American practices of mental hygiene sought to transform individuals and to discipline the population as a whole. However, rather than see them as a direct outcome of economic demands in each country, it is important to put these disciplinary efforts in their pan-European context, as similar processes took place across Europe. In the broadest sense these efforts represented an attempted to manage and order societies in a rational and productive way.

Sociologist Zigmun Bauman famously argued that modernity can be primarily characterized by ambiguity. According to him, the modern struggle for order "is a fight of determination against ambiguity, of semantic precision against ambivalence, of transparency against obscurity, clarity against fuzziness. Order is continuously engaged in the war of survival"(Bauman 2013:164). On the other hand, Frank Furedi argued the role of therapeutic culture was exactly cultivating this vulnerability. His problem with therapy culture is that it tells human beings that we cannot and should not expect to be able to handle challenges and adversity on our own:

> In a sense it incites us to feel ill. I consider therapy culture to be a public health problem. Particularly with children – the minute a child is remotely energetic you get the Ritalin tablets out, give them an overdose of Ritalin. All these people coming to schools saying 'these children are depressed', whereas they're quite entitled not to be happy that day…. " (Furedi 2003).

He argues that the normalization of stress constitutes part of a wider pattern of constructing a form of personhood whose defining feature is its vulnerability. Terms like depression, addiction and trauma are routinely designated to describe people's encounters with the problems of every day life. From this perspective, it follows that people find it difficult to cope and that they are therefore unlikely to be able to forge satisfactory relationship to one another and their communities. Hence the need for a therapeutic solution and intervention. Therapists have assumed the role of relationship experts and have succeeded in establishing a demand for their services in virtually every institutional setting.

This dissertation looks at therapeutic culture as arising from this kind of pressure and in response to increasing modern vulnerability. Over time, though, it came to reinforce vulnerability instead of solving it. Moreover, responsibility for this increasingly resides in the choices made by autonomous and free individuals; government and private organizations would educate individuals rather than dictate their behavior. Indeed, in many accounts the growth of therapeutic culture is associated with the process of individuation, which is reflected in a rise of individualism and a shift of focus towards a preoccupation with the self. As a description of a broad pattern, this interpretation serves to underline an important cultural trend, which is the privatization of identity. However, terms such as individualism and the self are much too general to illuminate the question of just what kind of an individual and just what kind of a self is under discussion. Social judgments and values that are both historically and culturally specific inform ideas about the constitution of the self (2002)**.** In other words, the pursuit of specific types of self contains a profoundly anti-individualistic dynamic. Despite its individualistic orientation, therapeutic intervention such as counseling often leads to the pursuit of the standardization of people instead of encouraging a self-determined individuality.

Early twentieth-century mental hygienists, by way of contrast, held different views. Disease was a product of environmental, hereditary, and individual deficiencies; its eradication required a fusion of scientific knowledge and administrative action. It is not just that attending to individuals rather than environments hampers our ability to understand. Doing so also has practical significance. Specifically, the more we fault people for lacking self-discipline, and spend our efforts helping them to develop the ability to control their impulses, the less likely we are to question the structures (political, economic, or educational) that shape their actions. There is no reason to work for social change if we assume that people just need to buckle down and try harder.

Continuities – discontinuities: conclusion

The twentieth century project of remaking humanity constitutes a 'world historical phenomenon' (Cheng 2009:223). Based on analysis of transnational scientific networks, circulation of scientific ideas, and mobility of scientists, this dissertation argues that the Mental Hygiene movement was not just a fad about the transformation of the liberal subject, but it has a transnational cultural history.

Science played a key role in defining both the optimism and the pessimism of modernity. On the one hand, it was constantly "discovering" — naming, defining, measuring, quantifying, investigating — new problems, new threats. On the other hand, it was also constantly "discovering" solutions to those problems, new fields of inquiry and expertise and new technologies to contain and resolve them. Science was the language both of crisis and of design; in it, each implied the other (Dickinson 2004). Thus, the dizzying pace of modernization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries fueled the ambitions of reformers, who felt the optimism of seemingly limitless human progress mixed with unease about a world changing so profoundly that ever more radical solutions were needed. The impulse to restructure society also stemmed from a widespread sense that European industrialization and urbanization had destroyed the organic unity of traditional societies (Hoffmann 2011).

This dissertation is principally about manageable cultural subjects formed and governed through institutions and discourses. The institutions and discourses work by inscribing particular competencies and incompetencies onto subjects. As a result, this period witnessed the proliferation of specific visions of selfhood. Depending on the social area they are coming from, the metaphors vary from Marx's "revolutionary," Baudelaire's "dandy," Nietzsche's "superman," Weber's "social scientist," Simmel's "stranger," Benjamin's "flaneur", and "human motor". At the same time, pragmatists like William James, Charles Horton Cooley, and George Herbert Mead

turned away from the transcendental self of philosophical reflection to formulate the new concept of an "empirical" self – the notion that who and what we are is established in everyday interaction. The self was now a social structure, as Mead put it, even if it was located within the individual. The self is now understood not as a bounded quality of the individual but as a fundamentally social phenomenon, where concepts, images, and understandings are deeply determined by relations of power.

As Strang has argued, the flows of social elements in a wider system are enhanced by the rise of universalized and integrated models of the "modern". These argument give importance to legal, and especially professional and scientific, cultural materials (Strang and Meyer 1993). Thus, N.S. Eisenstadt and many other scholars of modernity have argued that the cultural and political program of modernity, and more specifically Western modernity, entailed distinct ideological as well as institutional premises. The cultural program of modernity in particular entailed some very distinct shifts in the conception of human agency, and of its place in the world: ""It carried a conception of the future characterized by a number of possibilities realizable through autonomous human agency" (Eisenstadt 2000:3). Such autonomy implied, according to Eisenstadt, reflexivity, exploration, and active mastery of nature, including human nature. The idea of multiple modernities, in its turn, presumes that the best way to understand the contemporary world - indeed to explain the history of modernity - is to see it as a story of continual constitution and reconstitution of a multiplicity of cultural programs. These programs are carried forward by specific social actors in close connection with social, political and intellectual activists.

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century a consensus was constructed around the belief that the most effective means to manage a growing array of social and personal 'pathologies', including poverty, crime, juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, insanity,

feeblemindedness, prostitution, and venereal diseases, lay in the systematic development and application of scientific knowledge to their prevention and treatment (Brown, 1977; Davin, 1978). In North America attempts to develop and apply scientific knowledge to the problems of mental health and mental illness took place, in large part, under the auspices of the National Committees for Mental Hygiene, formed in 1909. But this discourse of therapy was an *international* one, and the similarities between the US and the Soviet Union were unexpectedly close, not least because of the ties between the two countries, which included frequent and close communication among scientists. Thus, Bolshevik Marxism was not alone in its refusal to accept human nature and society as they were. As Stephen Kotkin recently argued, the Soviet Union was involved in processes not specific to Russia, from the spread of mass production and mass culture to the advent of mass politics, and even of mass consumption, in the decades after 1890. Over the next two decades, that vision acquired institutional forms which had some important resemblances to, and many important differences from, both liberal projects, such as the United States, Great Britain, and France, and other forms of anti-liberal modernity, such as Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperial Japan (Kotkin 2008).

The tension between nature and nurture was encoded within the larger pan-European view of modernity whereby political authorities increasingly sought to define and manage virtually all critical public and private spheres. By the late 1930s the transformation of society had already been established as a cross-ideological phenomenon, involving liberal, socialist, and fascist policies alike (Weiner 1999).

The mechanisms of this, though, require further investigation. First, scholars have argued that policy makers play follow the leader by mimicking the countries that appear to be doing best (Haveman 1993). However it tends to investigate the cases of clear dominance and thus cannot speak to the cases of shifting global powers. Second, it is unclear what kind of experts are the

most consequential and in what social conditions. This dissertation points to the importance of consensus (both substantive and methodological) among different types of expert groups for successful policy implementation. Finally, when analyzing policy diffusion among countries, the scholars tend to rely on perceived similarities among countries (Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett 2007). Experts and policy makers alike rely on a traditional understanding of what kind of state should engage in what kind of policies. It has become an accepted point that countries that see themselves as members of subglobal groupings based on history, culture, language, level of development, or geography may copy one another's policies because they infer that what works for a peer will work for them. This has led to scholars to compare cases that are high on "socio-cultural linkages" and so-called "psychological proximity", i.e. Great Britain and the United States (Waltman 1980). Moreover, there is a long history of books and articles about political interference with science in the Soviet Union. They have been devoted almost exclusively to demonstrate the fact of political intervention to illustrate that the Soviet system operated according to an entirely different set of values than Western science (Bauer 1952).

Instead, this dissertation addresses these issues from the angle of the rise and spread of the Mental Hygiene Movement in two radically different social settings - in the United States, where it originated and whence it was propagated along with various other 'American methods' of social management, and in early Soviet attempts to adapt mental hygiene to a project of development with socialist pretentious.

In the US and Russia the peak of the debates over the social and political implications of theories of human mental abilities occurred in the mid-1920s. Scientists in each of these countries were aware of ongoing debate in the other. The twentieth century gave rise to unprecedented advances in science and technology that both fostered and impeded intercultural communication. Post World War II relations between the United States and the Soviet Union

became dangerously tenuous; protecting national security interests translated into imposing severe restrictions on contact and communication between people of both nations - the concomitant result of which contributed to wide spread cross-cultural misunderstanding and stereotypes. While such restrictions on contact disappeared almost overnight following the collapse of the Soviet Union, overcoming long-held stereotypes and misunderstandings has proven to be an ongoing challenge. This research seeks to foster understanding between the cultures of the United States and Russia by analyzing common historical patterns, in a hope that this can question the ultimate positioning of the cultures as "The Other".

Thus, this dissertation outlines the following commonalities between the two countries:

- The intellectual sources of the mental hygiene and associated movements, the political contexts after WWI with strong Social Democratic tendencies, fear of degeneration, Freudism and Darwinism, all shaping the perception of the transition from an agrarian to an industrialized society.

– The mental hygiene discourse in the two countries shares the same components, like belief in the scientific approach and interest in making it a popular, rather than purely scientific, endeavor.

In other words, mental hygiene movements in both countries were performing a particular kind of cultural work by providing "correct ways of being modern". That is, it provided followers with means of thinking about themselves, defining certain aspects of a social reality, dramatizing its conflicts, and recommending solutions (Tompkins 1986).

However, the institutionalization of mental hygiene followed different paths, mainly due to the lack of agreement among American activists on the nature of the individual and the scope and purpose of the movement. As a result, the movement basically split into the medicalized and voluntary spheres. The 1960s in the US were a watershed for the growth of the therapeutic state,

with the advance of the Great Society and such developments as the expansion of the definition of emotional injury in personal injury law and the rise of the "values clarification" movement in public education.

The 1990s may have signaled a broader acceptance of therapeutic assumptions. Values clarification, for example, preceded the more successful "self-esteem" movement that gained widespread acceptance in education by the 1990s, even among some conservatives. Today, we see the rise of the new "grit" movement following the same patterns.

Finally, it is important to note that a major omission in this work is the issue of the harsher methods used to remold humanity, especially in the Soviet case. My discussion of the mental hygiene project argues that it was based on the idea that humanity was infinitely malleable, but in practice each of the regimes found whole population groups - economic, ethnic, and religious ones - that it did not wish to incorporate into the creation of the 'New Man'. In fact, the destruction of undesirable elements through massive purges and violence was an essential part of the re-creation of humanity, as well as another international inheritance from the Enlightenment shared by many states in the early twentieth century.

The point here is that the construction of Soviet socialisms, which has so often appeared as a thoroughly domestic and national history, triggered a process of intense mutual appraisal by Soviets and Westerners. The origins and technologies of Soviet violence were not divorced from those of other modern "gardening states". In order to recover the mythical social harmony of the past and overcome the atomization of the modern world, social thinkers of various stripes— socialists, fascists, Nietzscheans, even liberals— envisioned a more collectivist society and a new human psychology that would befit modern industrial civilization.

In the 1930s, the Soviet State was eager to legitimate its existence through intellectual authority, and combined with American scholars' disappointment in the capitalist system, this led

to high levels of American enthusiasm about Soviet mental hygiene. Borrowing from the Soviet Union continued intensively throughout this period of official retreat and occurred in some of the most important areas of the construction of this twentieth century modernity. American scientists, while having trouble understanding the Marxist jargon that was characteristic of scientific psychological discourse, still point out that to their surprise the practical application of Western and Soviet sciences were quite similar.

Of course, the refusal of the Soviet party-state to recognize any self-imposed restrictions on its aspirations and practices certainly set it apart from liberal democracies. That is, Marxism was distinguished by its emphasis on violent proletarian revolution as the means to overcome class divisions, but it was by no means unique in combining Enlightenment rationalism with "Romantic Anticapitalism" in a quest for a new, harmonious social order. Yet this quest itself was rooted in the modern secular state's assumption of responsibility for the spiritual, social, and physical well-being of its subjects.

Today we are witnessing a strong policy interest in therapeutic approaches to governance on both local and global levels. On the local level, policy-makers are now considering "large-scale programs aimed at self-control to improve citizens' health, wealth, reduce crime, … save tax-payers money, and promote prosperity" (Moffitt et al. 2011:2693–2698). On the global level, in 2005 Vanessa Pupavac wrote about the influence of social psychology on international development policy. She argues that the Western world, concerned with the destabilizing impact of development, is switching its support for an industrialization model of development to a new, therapeutic model, in the hope of creating more democratic societies. This dissertation draws attention to the dangers of ignoring the social contexts of knowledge application by placing therapeutic governance into a global perspective.

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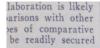
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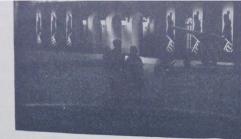
Appendix 1 The Survey, V.6

Hall of Columns, Moscow

All the Phases of the Soviet Union
Are Open to Your Inspection

Outworn institutions are being challenged. A new order is reshaping the vast and finely contrasting lands of the Soviet Union, stretching from Arctic Seas to ancient Oriental cities, inhabited by 200 distinct nationalities speaking 165 different languages, and diversified by huge mountains, broad valleys, and mighty forests.

You may form your own conclusion at first hand of the industries, social work, legislation, schools, communal life, scientific institutes. Travel is easy, comfortable, inexpensive, and you may go where you please, see what you please.

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Special tours of unusual interest: **Arctic** ice-breaker cruise; deluxe express to **Turkestan**; tour to grand opening of **Dnieprostroy Dam**; Industrial Tours; Round the World in Sixty Days via the Trans-Siberian Express.

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TRAVEL IN
SOVIET RUSSIA

Tours

THE DRAMA LEAGUE TRAVEL BUREAU (11 West 44 Street

Appendices 2: List of International Conferences of Psychology, 1889-1937 (IC

1889: First International Congress of Psychology

1892: International Congress of Psychology, London

1896: International Congress of Psychology, Munich

1900: International Congress of Psychology, Paris

1905: International Congress of Psychology, Rome

1909: International Congress of Psychology, Geneva

1920: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Geneva

1921: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Barcelona

1922: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Milan

1923: International Congress of Psychology, Oxford

1927: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Paris

1928: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Utrecht

1930: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Barcelona

1931: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Moscow

1934: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Prague

1937: International Congress of Psychology, Paris

Appendices 3: List of International Congresses of Applied Psychology (IAAP)

1920: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Geneva

1921: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Barcelona

1922: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Milan

1927: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Paris

1928: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Utrecht

1930: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Barcelona

1931: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Moscow

1934: International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Prague

Appendix 4: Important Dates for the Mental Hygiene Movement, the US

1909 - Five years after his release from a primitive "insane asylum," Clifford Beers, formed the U.S. National Committee for Mental Hygiene" and called for a network of mental hygiene societies throughout the world."

1909 - Society Establishment of Mental Hygiene

1919 - With funding from the Commonwealth Fund and the Rockefeller Foundation, Clifford Beers "formed the predecessor of WFMH [World Federation for Mental Health], the International Committee for Mental Hygiene (ICMH). Other supporters were Clarence Hincks, M.D., of the Canadian Medical Association, Adolph Meyer, M.D. of Johns Hopkins Hospital; and psychologist William James of Harvard.

1929 - P.L. 70-672 established 2 Federal "narcotics farms" and authorized a Narcotics Division within PHS.

1930 - P.L. 71-357 redesigned the PHS Narcotics Division to the Division of Mental Hygiene.

1930 - The ICMH's *First International Congress on Mental Hygiene*, held in Washington, D.C., founded the International Committee for Mental Hygiene. The Congress drew more than 4,000 participants.1

1934 - The American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology was established as a collaborative effort on the part of the American Psychiatric Association, the American Neurological association, and the American Medical Association.

1939—P.L. 76-19 transferred PHS from the Treasury Department to the Federal Security Agency.

1946—P.L. 79-487, the National Mental Health Act, authorized the Surgeon General to improve the mental health of U.S. citizens through research into the causes, diagnosis, and treatment of psychiatric disorders.

1949—On April 15 National Institute of Mental Health was formally established;

1955—The Mental Health Study Act of 1955 (Public Law 84-182) called for "an objective, thorough, nationwide analysis and reevaluation of the human and economic problems of mental health." The resulting Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health issued a report, *Action for Mental Health,* that was researched and published under the sponsorship of 36 organizations making up the Commission.

Appendix 5: Important Dates for the Mental Hygiene Movement, the Soviet Russia.

1903. At the International Congress of Medicine, held in Madrid, I.P. Pavlov spoke on ""Experimental psychology and psychopathology of animals. This marks the beginnings of Pavlov's work on conditioning.

1906. First All-Russian congress on educational psychology.

1907. Foundation, by V.M. Bekhterev, of the Psychoneurological Institute in St. Petersburg.

1910. At the First All-Russian congress on experimental pedagogy, A.F. Lazurskiy proposed the method off "natural experiment" that became popular in the twenties, especially in educational and child psychology.

1913. Second All-Russian congress on experimental pedagogy.

1914. Official opening of the Psychological Institute, founded in 1912, associated with Moscow University, and directed by G.I. Chelpanov.

1918. Publication of V.M. Bekhterev's Obschiye osnovaniya refleksologii [The General Foundations of Reflexology].

1920. Initiation of the journal Voprosy izucheniya I vospitania lichnosti [Problems of the Study and Formation of Personality], edited by V.M. Bekhterev and V.P. Osipov (1920-1922), V.P. Osipov (1926-1928), and V.P. Osipov and A.S. Griboyedov (1928-1932). The journal did not appear in the years 1923-1925.

1921. Publication of K.N. Kornilov's Ucheniye o reaktsiyakh cheloveka: Reaktologia [The Study of Human Reactions: Reaktologiya], as one of the formulation of "objective psychology."

1923. First All-Russian congress on psycho-neurology, at which K.N. Kornilov called for the application of Marxism in psychology. Reorganization of the Moscow Institute of

Psychology, associate with the faculty of Social Sciences of Moscow State University and placed under the direction of K.N. Kornilov.

1924. Second All-Russian congress on psycho-neurology.

1926. First edition of K.N. Kornilov's Uchebnik [Textbook of Psychology, Presented from the Point of View of Dialectical Materialism].

1927. All-Union Conference on the physiological psychology of human work and occupational selection.

All-Russian conference on pedology. (A field originally viewed as a comprehensive, multidisciplinary science of child development, Soviet pedology came to claim the status of the sole orthodox "Marxist science of the child.")

1928. Institution of the journals Psikhologiya [Psychology], edited by K.N. Kornilov (1928-1931) and V.N. Kolbanovskiy (1931-1932); Pedologiya [Pedology], edited by A.B. Zalkind; and Psykhofiziologiya truda I psikhoteknoka [Psychology of work and psychotechnology], edited by I.N. Shpil'reyn.

1930. All-Union Congress on the study of human behavior.

1931. Discussions concerning "reactological Psychology".

All-Union congress of psychotechnology.

Seventh international congress on psychotechnology.

1932. Cessation of the journals *Voprosy izucheniya I vospitania* lichnostu [Problems of the Study and Formation of Personality], Psikhologia [Psychology], and Pedologiya [Pedology].

1934. Publication of L.S. Vygotsky's *Myshleniye I rech* [Thought and Speech].

1936. Decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, *"O pedologicheskikh izvrascheniyakh v sisteme narkomprosov" [O pedological Perversions in Education]*.

This was the end point in a critique of Soviet pedology initiated in the early thirties, invoking mechanistic treatment of child development in terms of "biogenesis" or "sociogenesis," disregard of Marxist-Leninist psychology as 'subjectivist,' and fascination with inadequately validated test methods for the selection of pupils.

Appendice 6: KIPP's Character Chart

Source: KIPP website, available at http://www.kipp.org/our-approach/character

character**lab**

What is a Character Growth Card?

The CGC is a school-based assessment developed to help middle school teachers provide students with formative feedback on skills that researchers and teachers alike have linked with success. We believe these questions are a useful springboard for teaching and learning activities related to a young person's development of character skills. It is not appropriate for diagnosing or comparing children. We do not yet have evidence that it is a valid tool for evaluating programs or schools.

The skills on this card fall into three major categories: social character, which facilitates harmonious relationships with other people and is exemplified by social intelligence and gratitude; achievement character, sometimes termed performance character, which facilitates the achievement of personal goals and is exemplified by grit; and intellectual character, which facilitates learning and is exemplified by curiosity. Some skills relate to two categories. For example, self-control is both interpersonal and an achievement strength; zest is both interpersonal and a learning strength; and, finally, optimism relates both to achievement and learning.

Why these skills?

The skills and behaviors on this card have been shown either to contribute to success in school and life, or are important ends in themselves in the context of K–12 education.

For each of these skills, there is at least some evidence that they can be cultivated, thus making them an especially important target for families and educators interested in supporting student growth and development.

How should I use this card?

When working with children, adults who use this tool find it helpful to:

· *Discuss the differences and similarities between their scores and a child's self-ratings for each skill area.*

· *Return to this card on a quarterly basis as a way to emphasize that over time, these skills can grow and change.*

· *Discuss whether scores have changed over time and a child's perceptions about the source of this change. Has the child's behavior changed? Or perhaps have the child's personal standards changed? For example, children who become more aware of self-control skills may wish to change their self-control rating after several months of personal observation and reflection, even if their behavior itself has not changed much.*

· *Discuss different situations or environments when ratings might be different than the norm. For example, a child might say that he or she is normally a 5 on self control, but when it comes to playing on the baseball team, he or she would give herself a 1 or 2 in this area.*

Again, please note that this card should **not** be used to diagnose or compare children, nor to compare schools or programs. Rather please use it to help children focus on their own growth and development in these areas, and as a conversation starter.

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Appendices 7: List of programs with the intention of fostering grit, tenacity, and perseverance

Thinkertools Inquiry Curriculum (http://thinkertools.org/)

Reading Apprenticeship (http://www.wested.org/cs/ra/print/docs/ra/home.htm)

The Student Success Skills (http://www.studentsuccessskills.com/) program

The Penn Resiliency Program (http://www.ppc.sas.upenn.edu/prpsum.htm)

The U.S. Army Master Resilience Trainer Course (http://www.jackson.army.mil/sites/vu/pages/273)

Principal Dominic Randolph of the New York City private school Riverdale Country School (http://www.riverdale.edu/)

The KIPP Charter Network (http://www.kipp.org/)

The Mastery Charter Network (http://www.masterycharter.org/)

The Relay Graduate School of Education (http://www.relay.edu/) in New York City.

California's Azusa Pacific and its Noel Academy for Strengths-Based Leadership and Education (http://www.apu.edu/strengthsacademy/).

Envision Charter School (http://www.envisionschools.org/) in San Francisco.

Quest to Learn (http://q2l.org/), Chicago and New York City.

The Middleshift Initiative, funded by the Raikes Foundation.

Coalition of Essential Schools (http://essentialschools.org/).

Turnaround (http://turnaroundusa.org/), New York City and Washington, D.C

The Small Schools Workshop (http://smallschoolsworkshop.wordpress.com/).

Compassionate Schools Initiative (http://www.k12.wa.us/CompassionateSchools).

The Breakthrough Collaborative (http://www.breakthroughcollaborative.org/).

College Track (http://www.collegetrack.org/main/).

KIPP Through College (http://www.kipp.org/ktc).

OneGoal (http://www.onegoalgraduation.org/).

Student Success Academy (http://www.studentsuccessacademy.com).

Galileo Learning Science Camps (http://www.galileo-learning.com/).

Girls Inc (http://www.girlsinc.org/).

Project Exploration (http://www.projectexploration.org/).

Cognitive Tutor (http://www.carnegielearning.com/)

ASSISTments (http://www.assistments.org/)

Wayang Outpost (http://wayangoutpost.com/)

Reasoning Mind (http://www.reasoningmind.org/)

Knewton (http://www.knewton.com/)

Agilix (http://agilix.com/)

ClassDojo (http://www.classdojo.com/)

Kickboard (http://kickboardforteachers.com/)

SimSchool (http://www.simschool.org/)

Brainology (http://www.mindsetworks.com/)

Transforming Engagement of Student Learning in Algebra (TESLA) (http://teslahgse.wordpress.com/)
Self Authoring (http://www.selfauthoring.com)
 The Learning Kit Project (Winne et al., 2006) (http://www.learningkit.sfu.ca/)
CogMed (http://www.cogmed.com/)