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Environmental Psychology

Doctoral Examination

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INTRODUCTION

This literature reviews two topics. The first topic examined is, "Mad Annals: Consistent Attempts at Reform and Abolition throughout the History of Institutions". The second topic is "On the Road toward Liberation: Slavery, Oppression, Racism, and the Black Power Movement". Both of these topics are prefaced with a selection of readings to introduce a) the way I look at their dimensionalized realities using the lens of Environmental Psychology in Mental Institutions, and b) the frame of reference, or "Theoretical Frameworks" that are relied on to formulate the organization of materials found.

Even though much of Environmental Psychology began its work in institutions, it has been consistently ignored. The social theory and environmental psychology of institutions reveal highly manipulated environments that lose sight of humanity. Caplan (1967) carves out an historical example of this in how early tent treatment worked well and institutionalized tent treatment failed. Certainly, Foucault's (1965) Panopticon illustrates how the power of gaze becomes intoxicating while Goffman (1961) maps out the structure of power within institutions. The dawn of investigations into institutions probably surfaced sometime near the beginning of their establishment. The Asylums Managers Logs of the Utica State Lunatic Asylum consistently included social constructions for barbaric practices such as restraint devices and seclusion. In the 1960's, an academic interest in the practices of mental institutions came into focus. Cohen and Struening (1964) found that the attitudes of staff toward the people they oversaw affected outcomes of treatment confirming a social atmosphere within the institution. The Ward Atmosphere Scale (Moos and Houts, 1968) showed that inmates and staff had wildly different opinions about the same issues. Ellsworth and Moroney (1972) proved the importance of autonomy and independence for people confined in institutions. For environmental psychologists, the concepts of privacy, territory, and freedom of choice are major factors for positive outcomes for people in institutions. In taking down the glass wall of a nurses' station, Edwards and Hults (1970) found inmates experienced that ward more positively and showed that staff perception of their own behavior in the environment is not congruent with reality. Architecture-Research-Construction, Inc. (1985) rebuilt the built environments of institutions, to humanize the environment by for example, creating private bathrooms. Children subjected to psychiatric institutions are deprived of age-appropriate developmental tasks and environments. The Red Room (Rivlin & Wolfe, 1985) illustrates the limited amount of freedom of choice that young people in institutions are afforded and how all behaviors of these children (including their choice of the color red for the room) becomes pathologized by those in positions of power. While these findings are significant they are tightly framed within theory.

At the heart of this academic exploration is a theoretical framework of activism. It works within Alinsky's Rules (1971) differentiating strategies from tactics, and means from ends. Audrey Cohen's call for access to education, feminism, and social justice heavily influence the interpretation (Grant and Riesman, 1978). I am using a deliberate method to work across time and space grounded in Cohen's dimensionalized approach toward a constructive action (Cohen, 1988/1975a, 1988/1975b). Zerubevel's (2003) visual method of organizing mass amounts of information across time has created a roller-coaster image of materials found thus far. With peaks of resistance and lulls of oppression, domination and control in the hands of power needs close monitoring (Foucault, 1995). Because someone is in a position of power or thought to be an authority does not render them always correct, lest we forget Aristotle was a proponent of slavery (Saunders, T. Trans. 1981). This is particularly true within the

field of psychiatry (Playle and Kleely, 1998). Finally, a dialectical (Vygotsky, 1978) systems theory analysis (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1977) of rules and resources (Giddens, 1984) in a forced (Minkowitz, 2007) life-space (Lewin, 1943) offers a new paradigm for resistance to oppression, which was at the base of my first topic.

TOPIC ONE

The first topic, mad annals: consistent attempts at reform and abolition throughout the history of institutions, is important to my future work because it produced evidence of control over those labeled mad and their fight for civil and human rights across time. This historical inquiry of "Moral Treatment" in 19th century lunatic and insane asylums is vast. Historical perspectives varied wildly (Foucault, 1965; Grob, 1994) and were rooted in everything from social values (Porter, 2002) to uncovering lies of "science" (Whitaker, 2002). Interpretations of staff practices and training illustrated hierarchical controls (Brimblecombe, 2005; Nolan, 1993) were often steeped in racism (Byum, 2000). As early as the 1850s civil commitment laws sprouted (Dwyer, 1988) including the ability for a friend to begin commitment proceedings (Journal of Insanity, 1852). Justifications of abusive practices as a public responsibility are routinely found in this literature (Asylum Manager Logs, 1851-1860).

In America, the birth of the Asylum System resulted from advocacy done to close down the poor and almshouses when their justifications failed (Dix, 1844; Trattner, 1994). There is evidence of a tension of what the new system should look like and fights between pro-asylum users and anti-asylum lunatics liberationists existed (Norgren, 2007). In defense of dimensions of moral treatment, these asylums were meant to be places of hope and reform (Muckenhoupt, 2003). However, they became places of control and decay (Beam, 2001; Sitton, 1991). Women faced particular challenges in the asylum system and these were largely grounded in whatever oppressions women in the general population were subjected to (Geller & Harris, 1994). As women in the general population defied their assigned role (Norgren, 2007), so too did women who were in the assigned role of madwoman, lunatic, or mental patient, in their own voices through actions and publications (Davis, 1855, 1860; Geller & Harris, 1994; The Opal, 1851-1860; Wood, 1994). In explorations into the writings of those who have been deemed mad, there is evidence that *The Opal* (1851-1860) influenced popular culture (Eannace, 2001; Reiss, 2008, 2004; Tenney, 2006).

The 19th Century terms of madness, lunacy, and insanity are synonymous with the modern terms of mental illness and psychiatric diagnosis. Psychiatrists in the 19th century were referred to as Alienists. In the 19th century there was a Lunatic's Liberation/Anti-Asylum Movement akin to the modern day Mental Patients Liberation /Antipsychiatry Movement (Tenney, 2006). Psychology throughout time has been in battle with them all and Vygotsky (1929, 1927) predicted the war between Psychology and Psychiatry. There is evidence that no matter where you look, the same story can be found. Psychiatry versus Psychology states that the problem is within the biological realm of disease (Cooper, 2007; Eaton & Peterson, 1969; Studd, 2006; Torrey & Yolken, 2003). Some psychologists suggest that extreme emotional states (Breeding, 2000) are spurred by a crisis or epiphany that is spiritual (Baily, 1991/1932, 1995/1942; Campbell, 1971; Jung, 1958/1957), sexual (Freud, 1961; Reich, 1994), or existential (Laing, 1990, 1959, 1967) in nature. Yet other divisions of the field promote the idea of flawed personality (Morrison, 1989; Seligman, 1992/1975), emotions as something that can be controlled (Lewinsohn et al, 1986/1978) and if not controlled, often culminate in suicide (Belcher, 1979).

Despite evidence of the benefit of a voluntary service relationship with the mental health system (Onken, 2002) government-regulatory responsibility a century and a half later is still talking about how it is going to end its

controversial practices (Asylum Managers Logs, 1851-1860; New Freedom Commission, 2003). Anti-psychiatry's polyvocal platform has expanded greatly with psychologists (Bassman, 2007; Breeding, 2000; Canning, 2007; Le Francios, 2006; Liebert & Gavey, 2006), psychiatrists (Breggin, 2008, 1991; Glasser, 2004/2003; Read, et al 2004; Szasz, 1974/1961), and users and survivors of psychiatric atrocities (Bassman, 2007; Clay, 1994; Hall, 2007) banding together to promote an end to forced psychiatric procedures and confinement.

Many in these fields have tackled the question of schizophrenia and it is unresolved. The Vermont Longitudinal Study (Harding et al, 1987) and other works that have pointed at the flaws of the diagnosis of schizophrenia (Harding & Zahniser, 1994; Hopper, 2007) often go ignored. The efforts of Torrey and Yolken (2003) marking pregnant women handling cat feces as the catalyst for onset of schizophrenia in the unborn child have not been challenged even though there remains a wealth of debate about the diagnosis and its treatments (Bernheim et al, 1979; Gosden, 2001; Harrison, 1999). A movement to completely abolish the diagnosis of schizophrenia is underway, as simply having it removed seems to improve outcomes for people assigned schizophrenic. (Bentall, 2006; Hammersly & McLaughlin, 2006; Romme et al, 2006).

Ourstories of commitment or narratives that individuals have published concerning their personal experiences in asylum and psychiatric systems have been disparaging toward systems of confinement consistently through 300 years of history [ourstory] (Chase, 1868; Chamberlin, 1998; Hornstein, 2005; Millet, 2000/1990; Trull, 1891). The analyses of ourstories by professionals, however limited compared to the larger literature of the field (Andreson, et al 2003; Mancini, 2007), are deeply rooted in language games (Genova, 1995; Morrison, 2006) when compared against analyses made by those in the field of psychology are "out" as having been assigned a psychiatric label (Cohen, 2005; Ridgeway, 2001). Stage models developed to explain Black identity (Cross, 1971, 1978, 1991; Parham, 1989) hold as their end liberation, whereas stage models of recovery defined by professionals are problematic -their end stage: compliance with psychiatric treatment (Andreson et al, 2006). The works of those subjected to forced psychiatry reveal how assigned identities are socially constructed (Deegan, 1993; Laurel, n.d.; Morrison, 2003). Goffman addresses the phenomena of oppression of inmates in Asylums (1961) and the weight of the stigmata of being assigned mad (1963).

The revolution and struggle for the liberation of a people is evident within the history of institutions (Colletti, 1972; Chamberlin, 1985; Declaration of Principles, 1982) as it has been evident for other oppressed groups (Cross, 1971; Friere, 2000/1970). For those working inside of the system in the Alinsky (1971) tradition, movement toward a nonviolent revolution for human rights is paramount (National Council on Disability, 2000; MindFreedom International, 2005; United Nations, 2006, 1989, 1979, 1965, 1948). Small advances such as restraint reduction begotten from legislative and regulatory change occasionally make their way down from the ivory tower of administration to the wards (Allen et al 2002; Currier et al, 2002; D'Orio , 2004; Tardiff, 1984). Szasz (1998/1977, 2004) criticize these advances and thinks of it as "prettifying plantations". All too often, dating back to the 19th century, forced psychiatric procedures are constructed as interventions to the benefit of public safety and not public health (Houston, 2006; McCandless, 1978; Terbenche, 2005).

Recent liberation psychology confirms what earlier liberation psychologies discovered: power is important (Cross, 1971; Fox, 2008; Fryer, 2008, Prilleltensky, 2008). Through art, healing, and action research, this reinvigorated psychology challenges the dominant culture of the field (Christenson et al, 2008; Doss, 1999; Duran et

al, 2008; Newbrough, 2008). Competing alternatives to traditional psychiatric services became formalized in the 1970s with participation in the construction of government-funded mental health services (Vallentine, 1989) as well as self-help and mutual assistance organizations (Chamberlin, 1978; Harp & Zinman 1987). Early user and survivor research demonstrated efficacy of the models (Campbell & Schraiber, 1989; Nelson, et al, 1998) that continue to grow to the present time (Deegan, 1995, 2004; Campbell & Leaver, 2003; Harp & Zinman, 1993), although remain largely unacknowledged by the traditional fields of psychology and psychiatry.

Despite evidence of its struggles and contributions found through this literature review, the psychiatric survivor's movement is currently under attack as not even existing (Emerick, 2006; Rissimiler & Rissimiler, 2006a). As members of the movement fight back (Chabasinski, 2006; DelVechio, 2006; Lehrman, 2006; Oaks, 2006; Sowers & DelVechio, 2006; van Tosh, 2006) offering its deep history (Chamberlin, 1990; Everett, 1994) to authors who refuse to accept it (Rissimiler & Rissimiler, 2006b) and a journal, *Psychiatric Services*, who will print the argument but not correct it.

Despite this struggle to even be recognized by the traditional psychiatric industry, the research is clear: user and survivor input into policy and planning works and it is consistently thwarted (Auslander, 1998; Campbell, 1997; Colesante, 2005; Kalinowski & Penney, 1998; Tenney, 2001; The Opal 1851-1860). .

At the present time, the Capabilities Approach offers solutions from an awakening in economic theory (Sen, 1999) that has been adapted to disability studies (Mitra, 2006; Hopper, 2007; Hopper & Bergstresser, 2007; Nussbaum, 2000; Robeyns, 2006). This is hopeful to environmental psychologists because Sen's approach hints at the environment and efforts of extending the model to include the physical environment are underway.

One theme that continued to emerge throughout this literature was oppression that African Americans faced, resisted, and overcame. As I see so many parallels between the experiences of psychiatric slave (Szasz, 1977, Tenney, 2008) and Black liberation psychology, I wanted to further investigate it.

TOPIC TWO

On the Road Toward Liberation: Slavery, Oppression, Racism, and the Black Power Movement became the focus of my second topic as so many of the readings I found through the mad annals had to do with oppression that African Americans have endured and resisted throughout American history.

Polarized political and cultural forces contextualize the mid-19th century. The decade before the Civil War was stewing in a divided social structure that was bound to break down (Holt, 1978; Potter, 1976). Little innovation contributed to the tension in a time before ambient luxuries were a reality though the advent of the sewing machine made it slightly harder to distinguish social class by clothing for the talented seamstress/homemaker (Bode, 1972; Gale, 1993). In the post-Civil War Reconstruction, legislation institutionalized a deep oppression (Edwards, 2007) that was only enhanced in the Jim Crow Era (Godsil, 2006; Wilson, 1965).

Even though many from the North came with the best of intentions to improve the lives of Freed Men, reforms of Reconstruction failed under deep oppression. Woodson (1919, 1933) discussed the failures of education and white skin privilege. Education reforms highlight insidious racist beliefs. But chart's (1980) argument was that the South needed teachers who could teach, as there were already schools and a desire to learn, not people to encourage Free People to want to learn, which is what came. Though individuals fought and movements were spurred to change the social fabric of mid 20th century America, segregation persisted (Hill, 1995; Opotow, 2008;

Hoelscher, 2003). For those Whites who defied social wisdom, the prohibition of interracial relationships was legislated and punishable (Johnson, 2006; Wallenstein, 2005).

Rationalizations for domination by those in positions of power are plentiful. In the 19th Century, "Science" was used for the control of a people. Africans who were brought to the United States to be enslaved were of concern to medical doctors. Rush (1799) who suggested that the reason for the skin being black was due to a mild form of leprosy and Cartwright (1851) who described two psychological diseases, Drapetomania which caused slaves to run away and Dyskethsia Aethiopica which caused one to exhibit 'rascality'. Jackson (2001) discusses these and other oppressions that African Americans have had to endure over time. Szasz (2002, 1998/1977) also makes comparisons between the experience of people in the psychiatric system and the experiences of those held in slavery. The accepted level of racism in medical journals from the 19th century is appalling. One would think that doctors would not be allowed to take such banal positions. The birthing of the Modern Census or Seventh Census of the United States is a result of 19th Century Census statistics being used as a pro-slavery propaganda campaign (Jarvis, 1842, 1852a, 1852b; From the New York Observer, 1851-1852). A handful of academics have tried to unravel the ethics and method of the matter (Litwack, 1958; Regan, 1973; Steckel, 1991; Tenney, 2008). However, resistance to this oppression is formidable even though punishable by death. Some research suggests the purposes of Slave Narratives are to motivate social change and enhance personal power (Donaldson, 2008; Laurel, n.d.; Whooley, 2006). Webber's (1978) review of over 6,000 such accounts produced a multifaceted worldview of those forced into slavery that included various types of resistance.

The 20th century's shameful history of "Science" as treatment ranged from the eugenics of the Third Reich (Annas & Grodin, 1992; Mitscherlich & Mielke, 1949) to the controversial procedures of Electroconvulsive Treatment (ECT), insulin shock, occipital frontal lobotomy, and other tortures called help (Grob, 1994; Penney & Stastny, 2007, Whitaker, 2002). Milgram's classic study on obedience to authority illustrates the complications of power and the human condition (Milgram, 1973, 1974, 1981). Commons et al confirm that although informed consent is required to commence procedures, it is rarely met to the spirit or the word of the decree (2006).

The lack of oversight of research has been a central concern for many years. Despite the Nuremberg Code and other developing codes of ethics, researchers continued to call what they were doing "Science" and began to pretend to have input. The Public Health Syphilis Study (formerly known as the Tuskegee Study) is a clear example of institutional racism (Jones, 1991/1983; Gallagher, 2001; Noah, 2003; Randall, 2006; Washington, 2007) while more recent, subversive types of racism, both individual and institutional remain and are challenged (Bobo, 1988; Geronimous & Thompson, 2004; Smith, 2005). From Drapetomania (Cartwright, 1851) to the racial disparities found in programs of involuntary outpatient commitment (Commeu & Allhar, 2001; New York Lawyers for the Public Interest, Inc., 2005; Tenney, 2008; Vander Stoep & Link, 1998) no matter where one looks racism is evident in systems of confinement.

The responses to and analyses of racism and discrimination are broad. How one goes about the business of a social movement matters. From Alinsky's (1971) roadmap to working inside the system and Auerbch (2005) review of those strategies to Yeager's (2006) call to put the pressure on the system from the outside, how one goes about creating social change has been the subject of many (Cleaver, 1999; Doss, 1999; Jacobs, 1970; Miller, 2003; Morris, 1999).

The Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is a perfect example of why how one goes about a movement matters (Grant, 2001; Jeffries, 2006; Hayden & Bowes, 2003; Urban, 2002; Wilkins, 2007). As SNCC moved from a platform of nonviolence to one of Nationalism, the power of the students' movement of young and old people moved mountains (Bond, 2000; Finely, 2006). The Black Panther Party emerged as people became frustrated with the lack of progress society was making (Williams, 2008; Witt, 2008). The Black Panther Party was militant for a reason: survival in the struggle for an end of oppression of all Black people and **all** oppressed people (Black Panther Party, n.d.a, n.d.b.). Doss (1999) and Phu (2008) both discuss visual techniques employed to meet the end goal. In both SNCC and the Black Panther Party, Black women had to fight the power inside and outside of the Black Power Movements to gain their voice (Jennings, 2001; Flemming, 1993; Williams, 2008).

Compadres and allies in the Yellow Power, Red Power, Youth Power Movements and the Yong Lords faced similar fights as those in the Black power movements and responded similarly, by devising organizations of power. Icons of Black culture work to raise social consciousness and create social change (Angelou, 1969; Dorinson, 1997l Hurston, 1990; Wright, 1993). From these shifts in consciousness, a new Black Power emerges in the 1960s (Fanon, 1967, 1963) creating academic explorations of Liberation Psychology and Nigrescence Theory (Cross, 1971, 1978, 1991; Pindergughes, 1969; Parham, 1989). Out of this, Black Studies developed as an academic specialty despite resistance (Cross, 1991; Olzak, 2008) while access to equal education for African Americans remains unmet (Pittinsky, 2005; Woodson, 1990/1933). Race-based discrimination is a reality that has been discussed as a stressor experienced by African Americans (Ahulwalia, 2003; Chatman, 2005; Geronimous & Thompson, 2004; Jones, et al, 2007). Salience of group identity is important and it can be negatively affected by social judgments, which affect one's personal identity (Cross & Cross, 2008; Strauss & Cross, 2005; Yip, 2006).

The final portion of this literature review connects back to the Mad Annals in a most significant way. A recent history of African Americans, racism, and mental health reveals a double whammy for those involved with mental health systems (Jackson, 2008). Gee (2002) and Utsey et al (2000) point to individual and institutional race based discrimination in mental health for African Americans and its negative effects on well-being. The New York Public Lawyers for the Public Interest (2005) and Tenney (2008) find institutional racism in court-ordered services. Groundbreaking programs as described by Secker and Harding (2002) work to address the daily effects of racism before considering psychiatric diagnosis. Perceptions of users of the program are extraordinarily positive.

In conclusion, the whole of these two topics clearly indicates that it is time the broader fields of psychology and psychiatry learn from their histories, lest they continue to make the same mistakes that have occurred for centuries. The industries of oppression deeply intertwined with personal and societal economies must be exposed and shut down. We must work to eliminate oppression to end the serious tolls it takes on individuals and systems. Society and the environments in which we exist will improve only with an agenda fully focused on human rights. I am taking all of this information with me in my future work, which hopes to utilize Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1977) transforming experiment on the macrosystem of mental health by investigating the environmental psychology of user and survivor organizations. .