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Dieser im Frühjahr 1984 abgeschlossene Artikel wird im "Handbook of Environmental Psychology", herausgegeben von Daniel Stokols und Irwin Altman bei Wiley, New York, erscheinen. Da die Publikation dieses mehr als 40 Kapitel umfassenden Werkes jedoch nicht vor Ende 1985 oder Anfang 1986 zu erwarten ist, stellen wir die vorliegende Fassung zur Diskussion und würden uns über kritische Anmerkungen freuen.

This chapter was written for Daniel Stokols and Irwin Altman (Eds.) "Handbook of Environmental Psychology" to be published 1985 or 1986.

Comments are welcome.

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1. The cultural, historical, and philosophical background[2)]

1.1 Environmental or ecological psychology?

Science as any other cultural activity will not only be made possible, facilitated or inhibited according to the general social and cultural climate of a given society; it is also, in theory and research, an effort to answer the questions and challenges of a society at a given time. Although we hold that this is true for all science, we shall restrict the thesis of cross-cultural variation in scientific theorizing and research to the social and behavioral sciences as part of which we consider environmental psychology. To report on and to discuss a branch of science in a given country demands a brief introduction into the cultural, historical, and philosophical background which, as a rule, is different in different countries (and epochs).

It is a fact that in North America "environmental psychology" is the comprehensive term for the field of study dealt with in this "Handbook", while psychologists in Germany prefer "ecological psychology" (briefly, "ecopsychology") as the more comprehensive or basic term to "environmental psychology", which sometimes is used as the term for a more technological branch or correlate of eco-psychology (cf. Kaminski 1976; 1978a). This difference is not due to a different verbal usage. On the contrary, a psychology of the environment had officially been introduced into the system

of psychology in 1924 (Hellpach 1924; cf. below) while the term "ecological psychology" dates from the seventies only. That the new field was baptized ecological rather than environmental psychology was due to a decision which, in turn, is intelligible for the outsider only when we look back at the historical background.[3)]

1.2 The roots of ecological psychology

Historiographers of science have become wary of fixing dates for the beginning of a field of research or of a discipline, and they are equally sceptical of so-called predecessors. Since ecological psychology did not begin in any given year, but over a long-drawn period of time, from the turn of the century to the sixties, we will have to deal with roots in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

We shall distinguish between roots

(1) in biological ecology

(2) in metereobiology

(3) Kulturkritik and urban studies

(4) phenomenology

1.2.1 Biological ecology

Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919), a biologist and philosopher, perhaps best-known for his "biogenetic law", established ecology as a branch of biology in his "general morphology of organisms" (Haeckel 1866) as the study of the relationships of organisms and the outer world, from which developed the

two branches of the ecological study of single organisms or species of organisms (autecology) and--more important for the future social ecology--the study of different natural communities (biocenoses) in their habitat. Since there was an immediate transfer of these early Haeckelian categories to the human ecology of the Chicago School (Park, Burgess, & McKenzie 1925; cf. Hawley 1950) and to the subsequent social ecology (Mukerjee 1940), we shall merely keep in mind that ecology had become an established branch of biology when, at the turn of the century, "Umwelt" was introduced as a technical term into the life sciences.

Here another linguistic note is required. Occasionally, in contemporary literature, the German word "Umwelt", for which the average dictionary gives "environment" as the equivalent, remains untranslated (cf. Goffman 1972, mainly the chapter "The Umwelt", cf. Harré 1979, 193-196; also the entries "Umwelt" in English & English 1958 and in Harré & Lamb (1983). This is, of course, not explainable by reference to a typically or allegedly typical German phenomenon, but to a specific usage. Umwelt is "the circumscribed portion of the environment that is meaningful and effective for a given species and that changes its significance in accordance with the mood operative at a given moment" (English & English 1958, 568). In other words, "Umwelt" is not environment, but "environment-as-experienced-and-acted-

upon" (Graumann in Harré & Lamb, 1983, 647).

Basically in this sense, "Umwelt" was introduced as a theoretical construct into biology by Jacob von Uexküll (1864-1944) when he first contrasted Umwelt and Innenwelt, i.e., the surround and the innerworld of an organism or species (von Uexküll 1909). While developing a theoretical biology (von Uexküll 1920; 1973) in opposition to mechanistic conceptions of life, von Uexküll made Umwelt more than the mere sum of surrounding conditions of influences. Umwelt was theoretically construed as the counterpart to, and complement of, a subject-organism, together constituting a dynamic whole. This whole was described as a "functional circuit" (Funktionskreis) (Fig. 1).

(Insert Fig. 1 about here)

The structure and functioning of an organism is matched by the structure and functioning of its object. To the structure of a sense-organ there corresponds a sense-quality of the object which has (sensory) cue-function for the organism. Equally, the organism's effector-organ is matched by motor cues which the object provides (for this organism). Subject and object are thus corresponding elements of one functional circuit. This means, on the one hand, that one and the same object will have different sensory as well as motor cues for different species, on the other hand that, biologically seen, there is no objective environment with

"affordances" for any organism which may identify and use them. There are only species-specific Umwelten of differential meanings.

The meaning (or semiotic) character of Uexküll's Umwelt was theoretically so important that he developed a "theory of meaning" of his own (von Uexküll 1940). Uexküll, the man who had fought anthropomorphism in animal psychology, has established subjectivity in biology. Nevertheless, he was far from being a phenomenologist, nor could he ever sympathize with behaviorism. Still, the psychologist whose conception of the relationship between organism and environment comes closest to Uexküll's subjective biology is E.C. Tolman (1958) in his theory of sign-gestalten. His strictly behavioral definitions of objects in terms of the behaving organism as discriminanda, manipulanda, and means-end-expectation, depending on the prevailing behavior and the structure of the organisms, are close relatives of Uexküll's sensory and motor cues of objects. Uexküll's work gave the German word "Umwelt" (which had been in general use since around 1800) this precise subjective meaning, which was taken up by social scientists inside and outside Germany. When psychology overcame its first elementaristic stage and came to theorize in terms of Gestalten and other wholes, a rapprochement between Uexküll's conception of Umwelt and molar structural theory in psychology was due (see below). In a general sense, ecology came to

refer to analyses of individuals and groups in their natural habitats, mainly to the interactions and interrelationships between individuals or groups and their meaningful surrounds, i.e., Umwelten.

1.2.2 Metereobiology

That weather and climate, different landscapes, like the mountains or the wide open spaces, have their differential impact on people's experience and behavior, that they elate or depress their moods, etc., has been part of the common stock of popular knowledge for a long time. Again, it was in the nineteenth century that attempts were made to transform such lore into science. More and more biological/physiological processes and states were studied with respect to their (often periodical or cyclic) dependence on metereological, climatic, geographical, or even cosmic factors.

Psychological questions became inevitable. Does the annual cycle influence creativity, crime, suicide? Is emotionality susceptible to sudden changes in atmospheric pressure? Does the frequency of rape rise with air temperature? It was questions like these, first asked by non-psychologists, which led to the conception of a "geopsychology" at the beginning of this century (Hellpach 1911).

1.2.3 Kulturkritik and urban studies

When the process of civilization became marked by the dual feature of industrialization and urbanization toward

the end of the last century, an essential part of the concomitant critique of civilization (Kulturkritik) concentrated on the big cities and on urban life. The public attitude toward cities has always been ambivalent, which is still reflected in contemporary urban studies (cf. Fischer 1976; Pfeil 1972). Cities were not only places where to find freedom, individualism, art, political power, and novelties; they were, in an inverse perspective, also seen as places of anonymity, isolation, artificiality, deviance, décadence, and disease. But were those praises and accusations valid? Was all this urban reality or mainly prejudice? Empirical, first of all statistical, studies of urban phenomena took a very long time to corroborate or contradict the (basically moral) discourse about city life. Besides epidemiology it was mainly sociology, whose history is closely related with urban phenomena (Pfeil, op.cit.), where a non-evaluative approach to city-life was tried. Partly under the influence of French scholars like Comte and Durkheim, who had shown the way to an empirical solution of sociological problems, it was Simmel (1903), Sombart (1907) and Thurnwald (1904) whom we owe the first studies in urban sociology in Germany. Many of the phenomena dealt with in those studies were regarded as social-psychological problems, at least as far as the individual experience of the new type of the urbanite or metropolitan was concerned;

psychology, the new science, though academically older than sociology, was challenged to take over.

1.2.4 Phenomenology: Philosophy of the life-world

When the first sociological treatises on the city came out, phenomenology was only beginning to be what much later could become a metatheoretical framework for the study of man-environment relationships. But there was, from the beginning, the key concept of intentionality which brought the person-as-subject and its personal world (or Umwelt) inextricably together. Skipping the history of the concept (and of the phenomenological movement, cf. Spiegelberg 1972) we mean by intentionality that in experience and behavior, in consciousness and action, we are related or referring to something which we posit as existing independently.

The whole of our intentional objects at a given time (but strictly within the limits of being meant or intended) is what phenomenologically may be called Umwelt, our intentional environment. The central idea is then that for a human being or person to exist is to be situated in a "life-world", Husserl's term for the immediately experienced reality of our everyday activities and our natural (i.e., prescientific) attitude (Husserl 1970; Schütz 1962). To the degree that phenomenology (mainly Schütz's) is the philosophy of the total sphere of individual daily experiences (of persons,

objects, and events), it is apt to become an optimal metatheory for any psychology which focusses on the person-environment relationship rather than on individuals and "their" behavior or experience.[4)]

There are other fields of research and practice which have contributed to the emergence of modern ecological psychology as, for example, geography, ethology, anthropology, system-theory, and--last not least--planning and architecture. But they are less historical roots than contemporary impacts. They deserve mentioning when we try to describe the most recent development. Before we do that (in section 2) it is of interest to note that there have been studies in environmental psychology since the beginning of this century which, in their own way, prepared the ground for present research.

1.3. Early beginnings of environmental psychology

Just as the preceding one, this paragraph will have to be selective and biased: Selective in focussing on the most important contributions, and biased in emphasizing those approaches which for the English and American reader will be less familiar. Before we concentrate on urban psychology and geopsychology we should discuss the first systematic and programmatic conception of environmental psychology of 1924.

1.3.1 Hellpach's program of environmental psychology of 1924

Briefly after World War I one of the most ambitious

enterprises of scientific publishing was launched, Abderhalden's huge "Handbook of biological methods", several volumes of which were reserved for psychology, pure and applied. "Pure psychology" consisted of three books, two of which presented methods of individual psychology, the third volume was titled "Psychologie der Umwelt" (Environmental Psychology) and edited by W. Hellpach (1924). It is safe to assume that Willy Hellpach (1877-1955) became the editor because by then he was already known as an expert on natural influences on mental life (see next paragraph). Besides, Hellpach was a liberal politician who held high offices in the government of the state of Baden, minister of education 1922-1925, state president 1924/25. Later he even ran for president of the German Reich, but failed.

As the subject-matter of the new branch of pure(!) psychology Hellpach (op.cit., 110) regards "the mind as it is dependent upon its factual environment". The Umwelt, in turn, "as far as it has effects on human mental life" may be conceptualized in three "circles":

(a). Humans are surrounded by nature, i.e., soil, air, light, weather, woods, mountains, plains, rivers and lakes, etc. These "geopsychological facts" (ibid.) may have two kinds of effects on the human mind, either as immediate, sensory impressions or as tonic influences which affect the organism and, thereby, mental states.[5)]

(b) Humans are further "surrounded" by fellow-humans. They are part of a community. The effects originating in other people are called "social-psychological facts". The ensemble of these facts is social Umwelt.

(c) Finally, there is a "world" which has been made by humans in cooperation with their fellow-humans, the world of books, laws, states, buildings, institutions of all kinds, which altogether have effects on our mental life. This circle, the objectivation of social life, is the world of cultural-psychological and historical facts: Umwelt, then, impresses and influences us as natural, social and cultural (historical) environment. Later (Hellpach 1977, 5) the cultural branch of environmental psychology was specified as "tectopsychology", that is the study of all effects from "room and furniture, house and hall, street and place, road and vehicle".

Instead of discussing the various methods (mainly observation, statistics, and experiment) Hellpach presented in 1924, it is more instructive to see whether and how this programmatic system was realized. In a certain analogy to Wundt's monumental life-work we can state that it was mainly Hellpach himself who did it by means of research monographs and textbooks some of which were widely read. They cover the three branches of environmental psychology, geo-, socio- and tectopsychology of which we will consider the first and the last, while social psychology, in the modern view, is not

a part of environmental psychology. But as we shall see later there is a growing awareness that social psychology is in need of "more ecology".

1.3.2 Geopsychology

The first treatise on "geopsychological phenomena" was published by Hellpach (1911) under this title. The book is presently in its eighth edition and still selling under the title "Geopsyche". Translations were made into French, Dutch and Spanish. An American edition had been planned but, according to Hellpach, became victim of the declaration of war in 1941. The four major parts (and chapters) of geopsychology are the impressions and influences on experience and behavior of weather, climate, soil, and landscape. Since Hellpach was a very thorough and systematic man, almost no geopsychological factor, be it on the macro-, the meso-, or the micro-level, escaped his attention and system. So we find anything from the unsettled problem of possible effects of periodic sunspot activity, the lunar and the menstrual cycle, to the more "earthly" effects of colors and shapes of landscapes, from the effects of extreme environments as the tropics and the arctic, to the influences of artificial climates of cities and the microclimate of our beds. Since Hellpach was also a very critical man, who believed in final proofs by empirical, possibly experimental methods, a considerable part of his geopsychology remained programmatic

--up to this day.

Since the scientific community in Germany (and Europe) has been served with the latest in geopsychology for almost half a century by Hellpach himself, we have here at least one case of continuous tradition in environmental psychology, and there were and are others working in this field.

1.3.3 Urban psychology

The other case, also largely represented by Hellpach, is urban psychology. What today we have come to call the typical stimulus-overload of urban experience and its variants of information/attention/decisional/communication overload (Milgram 1970; Saegert 1976; Deutsch 1970), is usually traced back via Louis Wirth's theory of urbanism (Wirth 1938; 1970) to Simmel's notions of the "intensification of nervous stimulation" and of the "heightened awareness" of the metropolitan (Simmel [1903] 1970, 778). Whereas Simmel's notions, owing to his prominent status in sociology and to translations of some of his publications, became internationally known, it went almost unnoticed that, also in agreement with the Zeitgeist, Hellpach in 1902 had introduced the term of Reizsamkeit, i.e. heightened stimulability, to characterize the city-dweller's proneness to overstimulation, the normal state of what popularly and clinically is called "nervousness" (Hellpach 1902).

In his later analysis of urban experience (Hellpach 1939) this typical mental state of the urbanite is explained by a permanent "sociophysical constraint". The nature of this constraint is described in terms of the typically urban phenomena of crowds, crowding, haste, and continuous change.

They are sociophysical facts since they refer to the dense physical togetherness of inhabitants of large cities, crowded in tight spaces, hurrying along without taking notice of one another (op.cit., 69). The crowded situation is not restricted to streets and places, but is found in shops, department stores, railway stations, post offices, banks, streetcars, subways, and busses: "Like human beings their vehicles crowd and hurry along" (ibid.). Masses, crowding, haste, and constant change also characterize urban dwelling: innumerable and large blocks of housing projects, highrise buildings, hundreds of anonymous co-tenants, frequently changing subtenants and nightlodgers.

The permanent hurry in which metropolitans seem to be is not, Hellpach insists, just a "bad habit" or mere pretense: "Haste is an essential characteristic of metropolitan existence" (ibid.). For, in order to come to grips with the many affairs they have to deal with, urbanites have to cope with frequent as well as quick changes. This set to deal with things speedily tends to generalize into other areas where speed is not required or even out of place, as in the realm of leisure. But "tempo" in all walks of life has become second nature for the inhabitants of large cities.

A necessary correlate of the speed of urban life is vigilance, the second characteristic of the typical urbanite. The higher the speed and the quicker the change the more

important it becomes for the urbanite to be ready for sudden changes, be they opportunities or accidents. Hellpach (op. cit., 70) holds that the perceptual style of the city-dweller has become different from a country-dweller's: Acute observation, quick apprehension and processing without delay have replaced deep processing and long-term retention. Both speed and vigilance are concomitants of the urbanite's "stimulability" due to the sociophysical constraints of city-life.

Another feature of urban experience Hellpach labeled "social alienation". Ever-changing impressions and situations will not result in familiarity, neither of things nor of persons. Metropolitans never get to know the thousands whom they pass every day. Their contacts are functional and superficial. Nodding acquaintances and anonymity are the rule, familiarity as well as enmity are exceptions. It is ultimately the interactions of the crowd, the tightness of place, the need for quick changes requiring alertness, from which follows alienation with respect to persons and things (Hellpach, op. cit., 74). The tension resulting from these conflicting factors is stated in a formula meant to summarize the social psychology of living in cities:"Sensory vigilance with emotional indifference" (ibid.).

Even if levelling seems to be inevitable in large crowds of people, Hellpach warns us against the stereotype of mass-life in cities. "Subjectivism" alias individualism

is in the metropolitan milieu facilitated to a degree that no small town or village would tolerate. Again, the "liberating" effect of the urban environment is ambivalent: freedom means both independence and isolation.

It is true that many of Hellpach's statements about the urban experience may have been premature generalizations from observation or from the critical discussion of theories of the city. But it is equally true that since the turn of the century we have had sociopsychological descriptions and interpretations of living in cities which, in principle, have not been rejected but rephrased, refined, and, partly, corroborated by subsequent empirical research.

Although there has been more continuity in geopsychology than in urban psychology, Hellpach was not the only psychologist to be interested in urban problems. There is at least one other student of the urban life-space who deserves mentioning: Martha Muchow. She had become a student of William Stern's in Hamburg before World War I. Later she joined his staff in 1920. After the dismissal of William Stern and Heinz Werner by the Nazis in 1933 and the subsequent disbanding of the Psychological Institute, she committed suicide (Zinnecker 1980; Wohlwill 1983).

Her and her brother's study of the "Life-space of the urban child" (Muchow & Muchow 1935) is the earliest research monograph in ecological child psychology. Although Kurt

Lewin, before his emigration to the United States in 1933, had already published his conception of the "psychological life-space" (Lewin [1931a], 1935) as well as his early field theoretical ideas about the environment as a field of forces (1931b), Martha Muchow's concept of "Lebensraum" (life-space) owes its existence and its theoretical core to Stern and Uexküll (Muchow & Muchow, op.cit., 10). Stern's "personal world", for which the major dimensions are "personal space" and "personal time" (cf. Stern 1938), may be regarded as the "personalistic" equivalent of Uexküll's subjective and specific "Umwelt" [6]. Heinz Werner, Stern's junior colleague at Hamburg and one of Martha Muchow's mentors, had succeeded in combining these conceptions for the purpose of developmental psychology (Werner 1957), and for a long time Muchow's study remained Werner's (only) model for an ecologically oriented investigation in child psychology. Since J. Wohlwill only recently has made the American public familiar with Muchow's study (Wohlwill 1983), it will suffice to refer to the three research perspectives which Muchow used to structure the life-space of the children of Hamburg-Barmbeck: (1) The "space in which the child lives" was identified by individually filled and completed maps of Barmbeck, (2) the "space which the child experiences" by means of a mixture of interview/ questionnaire, essay and graphic methods. Finally, (3) the

"space which the child lives"[7], i.e., the actual behavioral space of children of different schools and ages (3-14 years), required observational methods. One of the major findings is that "lived space" (3) is much more child-specific than "experienced space" (2) or the more "cognitive"space"(1) of the first study.

Martha Muchow also did other ecological studies, e.g., a geopsychological one on the effects of the maritime climate, especially of the beach, on children's mental life (Muchow 1929). However, with regard to the evaluation of an ecologically oriented psychology (not only of development), Martha Muchow's life-space study is the more important pioneering piece of work. She left it unpublished when she discovered that there was no more personal space for her to live in.

For the rest, there was no continuity in urban psychological research till after the second World War.

1.3.4. Psychotechnik and applied psychology

Very briefly we should point to the fact that there has been one other, relatively continuous, tradition which still today contributes to environmental psychology in the broadest sense, viz., that part of applied psychology which deals with the diagnosis and optimization of the relationship between people and various professional environments: Psychotechnik. The term, originally introduced by William Stern (1903), was defined most broadly by Hugo Münsterberg

(1914)[8] as the science of the practical applications of psychology in the service of "cultural tasks" (education, health, law, art, economy, science), but was later narrowed to what today is treated under the title of ergonomics, mainly the systematic analysis and optimization of person-machine-systems or of work in general. Since the work-environment on which Psychotechnik focussed was a special case of people-environment relations, it is legitimate and consensually acknowledged to consider this branch of applied psychology a precursor to modern environmental psychology.

2. Contemporary ecological psychology

2.1 Incentives for a new beginning

It would be a task of its own, though not in the frame of this "Handbook", to describe and assess the reestablishment of psychology in postwar Germany. Since this has not yet satisfactorily been done, we must restrict ourselves to singling out a few impulses and trends which, in our opinion, led to the emergence of modern ecological psychology in Germany. Of the incentives for a new psychology of the environment we shall briefly discuss four, two of which come from outside psychology: (1) Effects of the postwar reconstruction of German cities, (2) the growth of environmental concern, (3) the growing uneasiness about the "ecological validity" of a predominantly experimental psychology, and (4) the advent of environmental psychology

in the USA.

2.1.1 Architecture and planning: Negative after-effects of postwar reconstruction

The most visible effect of World War II on what remained of Germany was the destruction of the cities. Since a considerable part of the population was literally homeless (one quarter of all prewar dwellings had been destroyed), one of the first requirements in the years after 1945 and, mainly, after the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949 was the massive reconstruction of cities and industries. It is now a historical fact that the concentrated effort of a whole nation, substantially aided by some of its former enemies and new allies, above all the United States, has economically been very successful.The irrational term of the "economic miracle" refers to this success. Within a surprisingly short time the housing emergency (Wohnungsnot) was allayed. That millions could be housed again, including the poorest and more than eight million refugees from the Eastern provinces, was made possible by huge subsidized housing projects (sozialer Wohnungsbau) in practically all German cities, frequently at their peripheries, thus giving birth to new suburban areas and satellite towns. Planners and architects competed for the most modern/esthetic, "functional", "human", economic solutions--and for the corresponding prizes, awards and honoraria. It was only after years of occupancy

that the shortcomings of the quick and sometimes bold planning and the equally quick and sometimes negligent building of the new structures became evident in public. The new towns, suburbs, and satellite towns were criticized as inhuman, inimical to children and the aged, isolating housewives, stimulating vandalism and crime, etc. The pride in the building part of the "economic miracle" turned sour. But what was more important is that physical objects like buildings, blocks, streets, squares, means of transportation, which had always "surrounded" us, were gradually discovered as Umwelt, as allegedly determining, but at least as constraining, inhibiting, or facilitating human modes of experience, of patterns of behavior and, mainly, of communication. For the first time, the psychology and psychopathology of planning and architecture became publicly recognized. In the beginning it was, of course, journalists, writers, and politicians (of the opposition) who articulated the criticism and many a naive theory of architectural determinism. One of the first psychologists who effectively bewailed the "inhospitality of our cities" was Alexander Mitscherlich (1965), a psychoanalyst and social psychologist. After the publication of his widely-read pamphlet, interactions between planners, architects and social and behavioral scientists became less exotic than before, although not normal. But, as a rule, psychologists who were confronted with questions about, and claims for,

psychological prerequisites - or even norms - for building apartment houses for families having many children, homes for the aged, etc., were at a loss for rational answers. They had not been trained to give them. In some universities it was students of architecture who felt the need to know more about psychology and sociology and demanded that these disciplines become part of their curricula. Sociology, because of a stronger tradition in urban sociology, was better prepared to step in than psychology. Consequently, it was social psychologists, trained in both disciplines, who in the beginning dared to enter the new, i.e., neglected field (Irle 1960).

2.1.2 The growth of environmental concern

Another reverse side of the relatively steep curve of growth in urbanization and industrialization, including the concomitant motorization, was and is the shrinking reserves of space in land and water, and of energy. Years before the phrase of the "limits to growth" (Meadows et al. 1972) became a catch-word and a topic of heated discussions, an awareness was growing that growth, so far a term of definitely positive connotation, has its drawbacks and "side-effects". This change of consciousness was not a continuous process but as social representation developed by leaps and bounds whenever "the environment" got into the news. There had always been noise and pollution, mainly in high-density and industrial areas like the Ruhr,

but they were accepted as the inevitable costs of economic growth and affluence. It was only the unprecedented sharp increase in industrial, traffic and aircraft noise, and in air and water pollution, accompanied by a series of disasters, blown up by mass media, that brought the environment-as-problem in focus.

The environment, which had always been "there", changed from ground to figure. Stress, a favorite catchword of the era of reconstruction, adopted the meaning of environmental stress. This "discovery" of the environment as stressor in the sixties brought forth psychological questions which to answer psychology was challenged but, in most cases, unprepared.

2.1.3 The growth of methodological concern within psychology

The third current which contributed in a very specific way to the emergence of ecological psychology in Germany originated in the discipline itself. If we describe it as a growing concern over a methodological bias which favors laboratory experimentation and tends to disregard or, at least, belittle problems of ecological validity, one may argue that this has been an almost universal concern: "Crisis" articles filled many professional journals in most (Western) countries. Yet in two important respects the situation in postwar Germany was different.[9]

After 1933 the country had not only been deprived of a

strong group of excellent psychologists who were forced to leave Germany, it was also cut off from the international exchange of persons and ideas, which had been very strong until 1933. One of the effects was that psychology in Germany was hardly influenced by what may briefly be called the behaviorist and operationist movement (between the thirties and the fifties). One is tempted to say "on the contrary": After the exodus of the emigrants a metatheoretical orientation prevailed which was marked by holism, emotionalism, even substantialism[10], with a preference for characterology[11] (cf. Wellek 1954) and for methods of Geisteswissenschaft rather than science (a forerunner of what some today call humanistic psychology [Graumann 1981]). When this kind of psychology was carried over into the postwar period by psychologists who could retain their academic positions after 1945, the counter-reaction of the younger generation was a shift to the most hard-minded kind of neobehaviorism then available and to an overemphasis on quantitative methods. The idea was to make up for the years of isolation as quickly and thoroughly as possible. It is then not surprising that this belated and impetuous "honeymoon" was followed by qualms of various kinds. Since the sixties we have had a whole literature of psychological self-criticism, partly associated with, and stimulated by, the student movement. One of the new or newly proclaimed goals

then was to make psychology better prepared to cope with the essential problems of our social and physical environment. Better prepared in theory and methods: "molar" instead of "molecular" behavior, complex natural instead of artificially simplified lab situations, representative instead of systematic designs (Brunswik 1947) were solicited. The general quest for more meaningfulness pointed to a socially and ecologically enriched psychology.

2.1.4 The advent of American environmental psychology

All these trends, currents and undercurrents became reinforced, channelled and multiplied by the reception of "the emerging discipline of environmental psychology" in America, as Wohlwill (1970) introduced it in the "American Psychologist". Those psychologists, of course, who had already been interested in ecological problems had been familiar with earlier American contributions as, e.g., Bailey et al. (1961), Barker (1963; 1965), Barker & Wright (1955), Sommer (1967; 1969), as well as with British and American "architectural psychology" (Lynch 1960; Bailey et al., 1961; Taylor et al. 1967). But, as historiographers of science would have predicted, it was only with the institutionalizing acts of publishing a specialized journal, viz. "Environment and Behavior" in 1969, a comprehensive reader (Proshansky et al. 1970), and a critical review (Craik 1970), that a broader reception set in.

2.2 The "foundation"

If one takes similar institutional criteria to mark the beginning of modern ecological psychology in Germany, 1974 would be the year. According to Kaminski's English review of environmental psychology in Germany (Kaminski 1978a) from which we will take many informations, the year 1974 was marked by two facts: The first doctoral thesis in the new field was published (Kruse 1974). In her thesis the author presented the early research work of American environmental psychology and criticizing its lack of theoretical foundation she made use of phenomenological conceptions of the life-world and of lived space, with a view to developing key-concepts for a theory of what was then still called man[12]-environment interaction. The major event of the year was, that at the occasion of the biennial conference of the German Psychological Association (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Psychologie) "Umweltpsychologie" appeared on the agenda for the first time. Kaminski had been asked to organize a symposium as well as a paper session dealing with basic conceptual and methodological issues as well as applied topics (cf. Kaminski 1976).

The symposium not only took the occasion to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Hellpach's introduction of

"environmental psychology" (Graumann 1976). It was also then that the suggestion was made to reserve the term Umweltpsychologie for the psychological investigation of environmental problems, such as noise, pollution, energy consumption, etc., and to use the term "ecological psychology" for the more fundamental analyses of people-environment interactions. While the idea to distinguish between a more comprehensive and basic ecopsychology and a more technological subdiscipline of Umweltpsychologie has not found general agreement, it has been widely accepted in Germany not to establish and cultivate a new psychological eco-discipline, but to penetrate all fields of psychology with the ecological viewpoint, i.e., to pay closer attention to those stimulus, sample and procedural parameters which control the (ecological) representativeness (validity) of our findings. This, of course, does not only demand greater concern for natural or everyday settings, natural groups, and field or non-reactive methods. It also requires a theoretical orientation which, from the beginning, focusses on potential person-environment interactions rather than on the traditional individual homo psychologicus --a pledge which to redeem will take resolution, energy and time.

After this first official meeting of a group of scholars who stated their interest in problems of the spatial and material, the natural and human-made environment as basis,

moderator or object of human experience and behavior, it did not take very long till ecological psychology became "institutionalized", and became part of the general environmental research enterprise which in the beginning had been almost exclusively dominated by natural science approaches (cf. Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft 1976).

Prepared by means of several workshops and special symposia (cf. Kaminski 1975a; Eckensberger 1976b; Graumann 1978) a Special Research Program was established by the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft = German Science Foundation) in 1978. In its first five-year period of funding, nineteen different research projects which will be described below, were granted. The program has in the meantime been extended.

Besides, the research group also organized several symposia and workshops on different subjects, most of them with guests from neighboring fields, some of them with international experts for the various topics: After a first general discussion about "Psychological aspects of environmental research" (cf. Kaminski 1975a) other meetings took place in which respresentatives from various disciplines of psychology outlined ecological perspectives for their specific fields, thus arguing for an ecological enrichment of psychology as a whole (Graumann 1978). Methodological issues of ecopsychology were topics of another series of

workshops focussing on field methods (1979), methods of simulation (1982), including a planning-game on housing for the aged (1980), and techniques of evaluation (1983). Centering on conceptual problems psychologists discussed "eco-systems" with biologists and geographers (Eckensberger 1976a; Eckensberger & Burgard 1977). One of the workshops dealt with the concept of "behavior setting", its theoretical and methodological implications and further developments (Kaminski, in press; Saup 1983).

Parallel and rather independent of these "founding" activities, the advancement of ecopsychology in Germany was promoted by the ecological initiative taken by developmental psychologists. The discussion of "ecological factors in human development", was carried over from the United States and from international conferences (cf. e.g., Thomae & Endo 1974) into Europe. It was taken up at the Third Biennial Conference of the International Society for the Study of Behavioral Development in Guilford, England in 1975 (cf. McGurk 1977). In 1976 a symposium was organized at the conference of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Psychologie on "Environmental and Developmental Psychology" (Walter 1977), which was then followed by other workshops and conferences (cf.,e.g., Walter & Oerter 1979). A number of publications, paper collections as well as literature reviews and position statements reflect the broad spectrum of approaches in this field (Eckensberger 1979;

Thomae & Endo 1974; Trudewind 1978; Walter 1975; 1977; 1980; 1981; Walter & Oerter 1979).

The great variety of topics, methodological and conceptual approaches could also be demonstrated for ecopsychological research in general, when a first survey of ongoing research in the mid-seventies was published (Kruse 1975a).

The following paragraphs intend to present some of this variety. We cannot and do not plan to give a complete review of research, but rather take up the thread from the preceding paragraphs and confess bias and selectivity.

Resuming the topics which were shown to contribute to the development of modern ecopsychology we shall first discuss ecopsychological research on urban problems, an area so widely defined that it will encompass the majority of research topics. We shall then refer to the growth of environmental concern and the research on those environmental problems which people are concerned about. It will become apparent that, except for problems of noise, the social-science perspective on typical environmental problems, which are so extensively addressed in American research, e.g. energy consumption and saving, or problems of littering, recycling, etc. has not resulted in substantial research in Germany.

A third paragraph will address "ecological perspectives" in traditional fields of psychology with a major stress on

the ecological movement in developmental psychology, most of which goes under the label of "Sozialökologie".

2.3 Research areas

2.3.1 Architecture and planning

As we pointed out above, the rapid and massive reconstruction of cities being destroyed in World War II, the planning of new towns and satellite towns, the quick planning and construction of thousands of houses and apartments brought about many problems, first for the inhabitants, finally for planners and architects. The "crisis of urban society", characteristic of the late sixties, was to a large degree a crisis of urban planning and housing. This situation opened the opportunity for critique, recommendations, for improvement and for integrative efforts of those disciplines which dealt with environmental planning and design, on the one hand, and those which focussed on the behavior and experience of users, their housing needs and satisfactions, their environmental perceptions and cognitions, their locomotions and communicative networks, etc., on the other hand. There were, of course, a few psychologists, and psychoanalysts in particular, who raised their voices and objected to the "inhospitality of our cities" (Mitscherlich 1965), criticized the ideologies of city planners (Berndt 1968) and modern "functional"

architecture in general (Berndt et al. 1968) and spoke up again and again in lectures, (architectural) journal articles and expert statements for humane cities and housing (Mitscherlich 1971). But, these exceptions notwithstanding, it was mainly sociologists who responded to the urban crisis, developed "new" theories of urban life (e.g., Bahrdt 1961; 1968), began empirical studies of various urban and housing problems, such as problems of highrise buildings (Herlyn 1970), new towns and suburbs (Dorsch 1972; Heil 1971; Weeber 1971; Schwonke & Herlyn 1967; Zapf et al. 1969). A closer cooperation between sociology and urban planning was pleaded for (Siebel 1967; Schmidt-Relenberg 1968; Zinn 1970), and first outlines were given for an architectural sociology (cf. Thurn 1972) and a sociology for architects (Feldhusen 1975; cf. also Pieper 1979).

In sociology, these approaches were ventured roughly a decade before psychologists entered the discussion with planners and architects (Franke 1967; Harloff 1973; Kaminski 1973b; 1975b; 1979b; Kruse 1974; Dirlewanger et al. 1977; Geisler 1977; 1978; Molt & Rosenstiel 1978; Graumann 1979; Fischer 1981a;b).

One of the first psychologists working in the field, which was later recognized as architectural psychology, was Franke in Nuremberg. He and his research group directed their attention primarily to residential areas and the way these were experienced by inhabitants, visitors, planning

experts, and local government officials (Franke 1969; Franke & Bortz 1972; Bortz 1972; Franke & Hoffmann 1974; Franke 1974; Franke & Rothgang 1975; Franke 1976; Klockhaus 1975; Tiedtke 1980; Bauer 1981 etc.). The method preferred is a specifically adapted semantic differential which they also succeeded to make popular among architects and planners (cf.Franke 1969; 1974; Markelin & Trieb 1975; Trieb 1974).The Nuremberg group has recently extended this approach to studies of landscapes, their æsthetic and recreational value and the impact of change (cf. Bauer et al. 1979a;b). Providing methods for the improvement of citizens' participation in the planning process is another goal of this group (cf. Franke & Hoffmann 1978). A recent DFG-research project worked toward this goal by optimizing planning documents. One of the findings was that lay people were superior to municipal experts as to the prediction from planning documents when these were easy to grasp (Franke et al. 1982; 1983).

When sociologists and psychologists began to plead for a social and behavioral analysis of the built environment, of urban design and architecture (BM Bau 1978; Franke 1974; Fischer 1981a;b; Geisler 1977; Graumann 1979; Kaminski 1973b; 1975b; 1979b; Zinn 1970), of the world of things (e.g. Boesch 1971; 1976; 1978; 1980; 1983; Graumann 1974; Joerges 1977; 1981; Linde 1972), of technology and

technological change (Joerges 1981; Jungermann 1982a; b; Kruse 1981a) they found assistance from some of the more progressive architects and planners (e.g. Dirlewanger et al. 1975; Durth 1977; Garbrecht 1976; 1981; Heidemann 1972; Joedicke 1977; Joedicke et al. 1974; 1975; Markelin & Trieb 1974; Trieb 1974), landscape architects (e.g. Nohl 1974; 1975; 1978; 1980), and human geographers (e.g. Höllhuber 1979), but also critique (e.g. Joerges 1977).

It is worth mentioning, however, that the first evidence of a cooperative effort of psychology and planning (regional science) was an investigation by Heidemann & Stapf (1969) who studied time and activity budgets, home ranges and social networks of urban housewives in a North-German city (cf. also Stapf & Heidemann 1971; Heidemann 1972).

When urban sociologists began to analyse and to study problems of urban sprawl, of living in postwar cities they often made use of psychological conceptualizations, but only sometimes explicitly. Their empirical approach was, however, still sociological rather than psychological. One of the major issues was the conception of "neighborhood". Implied was the question, whether and how neighborhoods can be planned, an issue which has attracted much attention as well as critique (cf. Hamm 1973; Klages 1958; Lorenzer 1969; Pfeil 1963). Neighborhood variables and relations are still of interest as empirical problems of urban sociology (e.g. Bahr &

Gronemeyer 1977; Keim 1979; Schubert 1977; Vierecke 1972). It was only recently that social and developmental and clinical psychologists "discovered" the impact of neighborhoods, of sociotopes (cf. below) and other milieus--defined in both objective and subjective terms (Walter 1981; Kommer & Röhrle 1983).

A further topic related to the neighborhood issue is place-relatedness or spatial identity. From the mid-sixties on (Treinen 1965) it has remained a central topic for a number of studies (Schwonke & Herlyn 1967; Lenz-Romeiss 1970; Becker & Keim 1972; Bodzenta et al. 1981). All these studies were sociological. It was only after Harold Proshansky (1978) introduced his term of "place-identity" that social psychologists broadened the scope of these studies. A DFG-research project conducted by Graumann & Schneider (cf. Graumann & Schneider (in preparation); Graumann et al. 1981; Schneider & Weimer 1981) investigates the relationship between the psychological identity of, and citizen's identification with, urban areas. Loss of place-identity as a result of change of place (moving) is seen as a critical life event by Fischer & Fischer (1981), Fischer (1982), whereas Hormuth (in a DFG-projekt at the Psychological Institute, University of Heidelberg) tries to find out how change of place affects one's self concept. Furthermore the hypothesis is tested that there are people who make use of a change of place in

in order to modify their self-conception (cf. also Hormuth 1983; 1984).

Several other studies have examined change of place, residential choice or relocation (Harloff 1973; Höllhuber 1977; 1982; Klochkaus in a DFG-project in the Psychological Institute, University of Erlangen-Nürnberg). Höllhuber, whose field was human geography, studied the influence of mental maps on the choice of a residential area. Klockhaus was only partly successful in finding a "fit" between residential satisfaction of people and specific personality variables, such as stages in the life-cycle or personal well-being (cf. also Klockhaus & Habermann-Morbey 1982a).

A related area is the cognition, perception or, more generally, the experience of housing areas, neighbourhoods, cityscapes down to architectural features of facades. In addition to the numerous research studies done by the Nuremberg group, Waterhouse (1972) studied the effects of physical alterations of urban areas in Berlin on attitudes and values as related to other personal variables. Sauter (1983) was interested in the impact of optical and acoustical factors on the evaluation of residential areas. Schneider (1981), of the Heidelberg group, compared data from verbal and nonverbal methods differentiating between urban objects of high and low semantic load (residential areas vs. facades).

Also in Heidelberg, Oster (1982) comparing cab-drivers with non-professional motorists, investigated interference effects in driver's spatial orientation while using city-plans. Prepared by early structuralist (Doelle 1913) and later

information-theoretical analyses (Bense 1968; 1969), students of semiotics turned to urban structures as to their semiotic, "syntactic", symbolic character (Schwarz & Werbik 1971; Becker & Keim 1972; Maderthaner 1978; Krampen 1979; 1981).
Housing and residential satisfactions were topics of studies by Lantermann (1974) who concentrated on solidarity and social balance, and by Pawlik (1976a) who observed effects of participatory planning. In an action-theoretical framework Kasper & Krewer (1982) studied objective in relation to subjective indicators of quality of life. Recently, psychologists got engaged in housing-experiments (alternative housing, solar architecture, living with plants) (Franke 1982; Kaminski 1982; Krampen 1981b, c; Weichardt 1981).
Special housing and residential needs were studied

--with respect to children and adolescents (Baumann & Zinn 1973; Zinn 1981),
--with respect to older people (Lantermann 1976; Schmitz-Scherzer et al. 1976),
--with respect to the physically disabled (Bürk & Strehlke 1982; Day 1981a; 1982),
--with respect to long-term in-patients (Welter 1976; 1978),
--with respect to vagrants (Geisler 1981; Krebs 1971).

The school is another environment serving special "users". Psychological aspects of modern school-design (open-plan school) have been studied by Schmittmann as part of an extensive research project of the Institut für Schulbau at the University of Stuttgart (Schmittmann 1977; 1981; König &

Schmittmann 1976).

Relatively little research has been done so far in the field of apartment living, furniture style and arrangement (cf. however Silbermann 1963; Peel 1980; 1982; Thoma 1980).

The street as environment has been studied from various perspectives. Molt and his group at Augsburg University used a modification of Barker's behavior setting approach to typify city streets (Molt et al. 1981; 1983). Other projects were concerned with aspects of security (Erke 1975; Erke & Zimolong 1978; Schenk & Schmidt 1972), especially of children (Flade 1981b, c; Limbourg 1976; Günther & Limbourg 1976) and of older people (Mathey et al. 1976). Finally, means of transportation and travelling (Held et al. 1981), traffic noise (Kastka 1976; 1981a; b; c; Schuemer & Schuemer-Kohrs 1983; in press; Knall & Schuemer 1981) and traffic calming became objects of study (cf. Molt et al. 1981). As a major mode of inner-city locomotion walking has been studied extensively by Garbrecht (1981). A social psychology of space and locomotion was presented by Kruse & Graumann (1978).

The space-relatedness of social problems has been of interest to a wide range of social and environmental sciences (cf. e.g. Beorchia & Engels 1983; Herlyn 1980; Hubbertz 1979; Kommer Kommer & Röhrle 1983; Vaskovics 1982). The problem of criminal behavior in urban settings has been dealt with in a series of ecopsychological studies (Rolinski 1980; Flade 1981a; 1983a; b; 1984; Keim 1981; Bundeskriminalamt 1979). The school as a preferred target of vandalism is the

topic of a research project by Klockhaus & Habermann-Morbey (1982b; 1984), while A. Mummendey and her group at Münster University take the school setting as a vantage point for the study of aggression (e.g. Bornewasser et al. 1982; Mummendey et al. 1982).

Spaces for outdoor recreation, particularly play areas for children, are also addressed as important facets of urban life. Here we find user analyses, mostly of children in various types of play areas and recreational environments (Bierhoff 1974; Bierhoff et al. 1977; Höltershinken et al. 1971; Otterstädt 1962; Schmitz-Scherzer & Bierhoff 1972; Schmitz-Scherzer et al. 1974; Seidel 1975), a more general social psychology of leisure-time activities in recreational environments (Nohl 1980; Schmitz-Scherzer 1974; Winter 1980a; b; 1983), as well as applied research for the improvement of the design of recreational environments (Nohl 1974; 1975; 1978; 1980). The vantage-point, originating in landscape architecture has been the so-called need for environmental complexity and variation (cf. also Fischer & Wiedl 1973; 1979; 1981), which Nohl tried to convert into planning recommendations for outdoor spaces. Except for such aspects of leisure research and of landscape modification by land reform, referred to above (Bauer et al. 1979a), the natural environment, which was Hellpach's favorite geopsychological topic, is only gradually attracting ecopsychological interest (cf. Kruse 1983b; Spada et al. 1983).

2.3.2. Environmental problems and concern

Whereas environmental problems have increased in number and impact since the sixties, and although this development has been

accompanied by an intensification of environmental concern (cf. 2.1.2.), the number of pertinent psychological studies has lagged behind. Still, the major types of environmental problems have gradually solicited psychological research, but actually only to the degree in which they have been "impressions" rather than mere "influences" to use Hellpach's (1971) traditional distinction between what comes to our awareness through the senses and what merely affects our "physiology". So noise has become the foremost research topic, as it always had been of industrial-psychological interest, e.g. in Psychotechnik (cf. Schick 1981; Schick & Walcher 1983 for an overview). The impact of road traffic and railway noise (Kastka 1976; Kastka & Buchta 1977; Knall & Schuemer 1981; Schuemer & Schuemer-Kohrs 1983;) as well as aircraft noise (Rohrmann et al. 1978) has been extensively studied in both natural and experimental settings. In experiments on effects of traffic noise on learning and other "regulatory activities" Schönpflug and his Berlin group succeeded in increasing the ecological validity of their experimental data by using realistic simulations of work-places (Schönpflug & Schulz 1979; Schulz 1981; Mündelein & Schönpflug 1984). The theoretically and methodologically interesting relationship between noise and loudness has recently been approached under the category of annoyance (Kastka 1981a; in press; Rohrmann 1983 ; for measurement problems also see Hawel 1967; Rohrmann 1981). The relation between production of and annoyance by noise was examined by Day (1981b; 1983). Applications of such basic research may paradigmatically be taken from studies of subjective and objective

effects of noise-barriers (Kastka 1981b; c).

Another type of environmental pollution which in high-density and industrial areas usually occurs and is studied together with noise, is odor (cf. Kastka 1978; 1982).

Very often annoying noise and odor are considered to be environmental stressors. We cannot enter into a critical discussion of the very broad stress-category which permits of the most diverse phenomena to be subsumed as "stressful". But we have to refer to one of the major stress phenomena: crowding. The many problems of density and crowding, topics almost over-researched in the USA, have only recently begun to attract the attention of German psychologists. A first review of the field was presented by Kruse in 1975a. Schultz-Gambard (1979; 1983) did empirical research, reviewed theoretical models and offered suggestions for application. He has also just started a research project on the impact of naturally occurring density-situations in a university hall. A conceptual and empirical investigation of crowding was done by Streufert et al. (1980; cf. also Streufert & Nogami 1979). In a recent study Six et al. (1983) used a simulation-technique for the analysis of intercultural differences between German and American experiences of crowding, replicating and extending a study by Arkkelin & Veitch (1978).

Although crowds and crowding are so closely intertwined in everyday urban experience, theory and research have strangely

enough kept them apart. The former has traditionally been dealt with in social (collective) psychology whereas problems of crowding were studied from an ecological viewpoint. Recently, however, the neglected relationship has been analyzed by Kruse (in press) and crowding is being accepted as an authentic topic in social psychology textbooks (Graumann & Kruse 1984; Kruse 1983; Schultz-Gambard 1983).

Another environmental problem, which only recently has been anchored in psychology, is energy shortage (cf. Bergius 1982; 1984). Alternative energy technologies as well as nuclear power plants have become objects of attitude research (Hoffmann et al. 1975; Spada et al. 1977; Spada & Wraage 1980). Topics from natural hazard research, combined with findings from the field of decision-making, have been applied to the study of risky technologies and risk acceptance (Jungermann 1982a; b).

It will probably take some time before the behavioral science perspective on environmental problems will gain wider public recognition. A one-year radio university course "Mensch und Umwelt" (Funkkolleg 1982) was almost exclusively concerned with natural science, technical and political aspects of the people-environment relationship.

There is a growing literature about social-science perspectives on environmental protection (Fietkau 1981; Kaminski 1973; Kruse 1983b), environmental concern (Amelang et al. 1977; Fietkau & Kessel 1981b; Fietkau et al. 1980; Kley & Fietkau 1979; Winter 1981), and environmental learning and education

(Bolscho et al. 1980; Eulefeld 1981; Eulefeld et al. 1981; Fietkau & Kessel 1981a; Lehmann 1981; Minsel & Bente 1981). The International Institute of Environment and Society in Berlin has conducted an "International Environment Survey" in Berlin, Bath, and Buffalo (Fietkau et al. 1980). Besides many local citizens' initiatives there is a strong ecological (or environmental) movement politically active (the "Greens") for the protection of the environment, encouraging citizens to be more active in the defense of Umwelt. This activity has in itself become a social science topic (cf. Fietkau & Hübner 1978; Prester et al., in press; Rammstedt 1981; Rohrmann 1983).

How environmental knowledge is acquired has become the object of a DFG-sponsored project by Spada et al. (1983). The related question of ecological thinking and problem-solving has been taken up by Dörner (1975; 1982; 1983; Dörner et al. 1983).

2.3.3 Ecological perspectives in psychology

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, environmental psychology in Germany was not only the result of psychology being confronted with and challenged by environmental problems. It was also, in a very basic sense, the outcome of a theoretical reorientation after the postwar wave of behaviorism had ebbed away. A lot of theorizing and modelling in ecological psychology is very closely related with the gradual and still ongoing transition from theories of behavior to theories of action. Traditionally, action has been the more comprehensive

term for the active and interactive relationship of subjects with their social and material reality, and was mainly used in philosophy and sociology. It used to be contrasted with the more impoverished S-R-theoretical term of behavior, since action is goal-directed, meaningful, and systematic. As such it is, in principle, the more appropriate concept for the complexities of everyday activities in natural settings, while "behavior" appears to be the adequate term for the highly restricted activities of organisms in lab settings. An exception may, however, be seen in naturalistic studies of behavior, e.g., of spatial behavior (Ahrens 1969 with field vs. lab method). So from the very first theoretical reflections and discussions action-theory became a kind of leitmotiv among ecopsychologists (Kaminski 1973a; 1978a; b; 1983; Boesch 1971; 1976; 1978; 1980; 1983; Fuhrer 1983a; b; Lantermann 1980; Oerter 1979; Winter 1983). Kaminski's theoretical thinking as to an ecological action theory, even though originating from the area of problem-solving, is closely but critically linked to Barker's notion of a "stream of behavior" and "behavior setting" (e.g., Kaminski, in press). For structural as well as pragmatic reasons models of action were related to, and partly derived from, models of problem-solving. The obvious pragmatic reason is that a good part of behavior in natural settings is of the problem-solving kind.

The association between problem-solving and action models had been facilitated by the elaboration of modern problem-solving models. It was mainly Dörner and his associates who,

by means of ingenious simulation-techniques had succeeded in bringing experimental problem-solving very close to everyday reality, thus increasing the ecological validity of his findings in a significant way (Dörner 1975; 1982; 1983; Dörner et al. 1983). In order to solve problems subjects in his experiments had to understand the systematic character of an environment, e.g., its ecological balance, or they were bound to fail. In the same vein Spada and his group analyzed the manner in which subjects acquired knowledge about ecological systems (Spada et al. 1983).

The more active emphasis put on the person in theories of action (as contrasted with the notion of a stimulus-controlled organism) also brought together models of action and of interaction as the latter had been discussed in the long-drawn person-situation controversy (cf. Lantermann 1978; 1980; Pawlik 1978; Pawlik & Buse 1982).

A kindred, more comprehensive, but less formalized, approach to the person-environment interaction, is to be found in phenomenological psychology. It is the emphasis on the bodily nature of the subject, who is intentionally related to a material, social and historical environment, which suggests a metatheoretical framework for ecopsychological problems (Fischer 1979; Graumann 1974; Graumann & Schneider, in preparation; Kruse 1974). Efforts have been made to recover socially meaningful objects and spaces for a largely interpersonal, but "immaterial" social psychology (Kruse 1978; in press; Kruse & Graumann 1978). A paradigm for this endeavour is the study of privacy (Kruse 1980).

Proceeding from rather unstructured methods, such as in-depth interviews, to more structured approaches, such as multidimensional scaling and Rep Grid techniques, it had been attempted to analyse personal constructs of privacy of individuals who differ e.g. as to state of the life cycle, to housing conditions, and professional status.

In the research areas of life-span development and socialization the ecological perspective was adopted early, but found different conceptualizations. As a pioneer for an ecologically oriented developmental psychology Bronfenbrenner (1976) found a positive and lasting reception, resulting, e.g., in a German contribution to the international research project on "Ecology of Human Development". Even before, Coerper, Hagen & Thomae (1954) had directed a large government-sponsored longitudinal study of the German "postwar child", in which psychologists, pediatricians, sociologists cooperated in order to find out possible (detrimental) effects on children's physical and mental health of the German postwar setting.

Today the notion of ecological orientation or perspective is quite common in developmental psychology, but it is also a heterogeneous conception. The different meanings of ecology were discussed by Eckensberger (1978; 1979), Trudewind (1979), Walter (1975; 1977; 1980; 1981); Walter & Oerter (1979); Wohlwill (1981). The variety of meanings comes from the fact that sometimes the emphasis is placed on the social rather than the physical, on the objective rather than the subjective or experiential environment. Mainly in the study of socialization

the stress is sometimes more socio- than psychological. It may, however, be possible to distinguish between three conceptions: (a) In a more traditional sense developmental psychologists study the impact of social milieu factors on child development, but "enriched" by physical objects (toys, child-rearing devices, etc.) (Wendt et al. 1971). Based on taxonomies of family and school environments, Trudewind (1975; Trudewind & Husarek 1979) studied the differential effects of specific environmental conditions on single variables, e.g., learning, achievement motivation. (b) In a more modern sense life-span developmental psychologists conceive of environment as the totality of social and physical forces acting upon the development of an individual at a given stage. It is mainly the "social ecology" of the family (in different social strata, under different economic conditions, with different parental styles, attitudes and "family climates") (cf. Engfer 1979; Lukesch & Schneewind 1978; Schneewind & Engfer 1979; Schneewind et al. 1983) and of the school ("school climate") (Dreesmann 1982) and the university (Dippelhofer-Stiem 1982) which was to account for various forms of socialization. The life-span scope of the new psychology of development requires differential analyses of age-specific environments, e.g., for adolescents (Baacke 1976; Hübner-Funk 1981; Thomae & Endo 1974) and for the aged (Lehr 1976; 1979; Lehr & Olbrich 1976; Thomae 1976). (c) In its broadest sense "social ecology" refers to the life-spaces of individuals, as originally used by Muchow: the streets, blocks, and neighborhoods, contributing to "street

socialization" (Zinnecker 1980; Projektgruppe Jugendbüro 1975; 1981; cf. also Walter 1981). Another, more sociological conceptualization and a different methodological approach will be found under the category of "sociotope". The term was coined in accordance with the original biotope which refers to a region uniform in environmental conditions and in its population for which it is the habitat. As contrasted with the more phenomenological "life-world" or "life-space", the sociotope is objectively defined by statistics and census-data (Bargel et al. 1977; 1981; Mundt 1980).

It is mainly this expansion of environmental units into "regional" ones which attracts the interest of applied psychologists: in the fields of counseling, intervention and education (Fischer 1978; Fischer & Wiedl 1979; Kaminski 1979a; Kaminski & Fleischer, 1984; Schulz-Gambard 1978) and of mental health (Fischer & Stephan 1983; Heim 1978; Kaminski 1978c; Kommer & Röhrle 1983; Schultz-Gambard 1983). For some of these authors ecological psychology blends with, or comprises community psychology (Kommer & Röhrle 1983). Also the first environmental psychology conference in Austria (cf. Janig et al. 1982) focussed on the application of psychological knowledge to coping with environmental problems.

While in many developmental and clinical studies the use of the term "ecological" does not necessarily indicate conceptual and methodological clarity, for others the environmental problems or the ecological challenge has meant a methodological task, mainly as to the development of so-called field

methods (Kaminski & Bellows 1982; Pawlik & Buse 1982) and the compatability and comparability of experimental and field data (Mündelein & Schönpflug 1984; Pawlik 1976; Schönpflug & Schulz 1979). Considering the traditional sociocultural conception of Umwelt in German psychology, the impact of cross-cultural methodology is not surprising (Eckensberger 1976a; Eckensberger & Kornadt 1977).

3. Prospects for the ecological perspective in German psychology

If the authors of this review have been somewhat successful, then the present situation of environmental psychology in Germany should, seen from a distance, not be too much different from the international scene. Under closer scrutiny, however, differences should be seen which are due to a different history. Also, if it is true that to understand the present better one should know the past, then the same should be true for the future, only more so.

Invited by the editors of this Handbook to conclude the review with a "prospective appraisal of future developments", given one's country's "unique cultural and theoretical orientation", we felt we should emphasize whatever is unique or culture-specific in an otherwise international and trans-cultural enterprise. That is why we were elaborate in the specific, but restrictive in the common contributions to environmental psychology.

We also believe that we have brought forward what is necessary and justifiable for a prospective appraisal, viz., an account of what has been going on and is being planned in this

field of research. Borrowing two terms from linguistics, we would venture two kinds of prospective appraisal: (a) on the surface structure, and (b) in the depth-structure--an analogy which also borrows that the latter is considerably more speculative than the former. Accepting this risk, we would dare to propose that on both levels the evolution of an ecologically oriented psychology will make further progress.

(a) On the surface level there is, first of all, the steadily increasing stock of research within and outside the DFG- and government sponsored projects. There have, however, for some time been cuts in the various research budgets, as everywhere but the readiness to sponsor is there and the attitude, in general, positive.

Three major publications are in preparation or in press which should help in the establishment of ecopsychology: (1) a 6000-item documentation of international literature in environmental psychology (Kruse & Arlt 1984), (2) an encyclopedic dictionary of key-concepts in ecopsychology (Graumann et al., in preparation); and (3) a two-volume Handbook of Ecological Psychology, within the new "Encyclopedia of Psychology". The first volume to be edited by Kruse, addresses the more general and basic aspects of eco-psychology (as outlined at the beginning of this chapter), whereas the second volume, edited by Kaminski, deals with specific environments and their users as well as environmental stress and strain.

Since curricula in ecopsychology have been firmly established at some German universities (cf. Kaminski 1978a), prospects for the field in terms of research, teaching, and training should be called good. Not so good is "the market"; openings for ecologically trained psychologists are still scarce, as one would expect a few years after the field's institutionalization.

(b) It is almost impossible to predict the development of what, by analogy, we have called the "depth-structure". Here we again have to refer to the basic theoretical interest of some German psychologists who, in the seventies, set about reorienting psychological research toward greater ecological representativeness. We have called this the ecological perspective, a viewpoint which may benefit all fields of psychological research and, ultimately, may enrich psychology as a whole. To be better able to describe and to account for experience and behavior in terms of person-environment relationships or interactions has so far turned out to be a goal worth pursuing. We expect that the historically attested "subversive" nature of "ecology" gathers and maintains its stimulating force in Germany -- and elsewhere.

At present one gets the impression that two major technological developments which are gradually changing both the environment and people's awareness of their Umwelt, find increasing interest among psychologists. One is the ever-increasing armament which although meant to better defend the country paradoxically renders everybody's immediate en-

vironment more vulnerable, attackable, dangerous. For psychologists this means a growing concern with risk-perception, awareness of threat and a new quality of environmental stress. The second type is the near-omnipresence of computers and the invasion by new and more media. To the degree that our environment becomes more "electronic" it becomes more informational. Mainly the home environment is changig into two opposite directions (a) toward more interaction with more home or personal computers, (b) towards more consumption with video, cable and satellite TV bringing more entertainment for everybody. Both developments imply their own social and psychological problems.

NOTES

1) Since we understand that in this "Handbook" there are no special reports on environmental research in the German Democratic Republic, Austria and Switzerland we have tried to include such relevant publications from German-speaking countries as came to our attention. It may be that eco-psychological research in the GDR is underrepresented in our survey since whatever there is comes under categories from industrial psychology or ergonomics, which are only partly incorporated in our review.

2) Understanding that this "Handbook" will be mostly read by Americans or English speaking readers, the authors of a chapter on environmental psychology in Germany are confronted with a specific, although familiar, problem. References to German publications are inevitable, but not very helpful to those who do not read this language. Since this is the rule rather than the exception, we have tried to refer to English translations or original English publications of German authors wherever possible: The reader should, however, be cautioned with respect to the time-lag between the original or first German communication of an idea and its late English version, which very often was due to the compulsory emigration of German psychologists when Hitler seized power in Germany and, five years later, in Austria. Since it is the policy of this "Handbook" to introduce the reader into the historical and philosophical underpinnings of contemporary theories and research, the authors will have

to refer to German literature, mainly of the first three decades of this century, the English version of which--and that means accessibility to the American reader--came only very much later, and may, in the notorious cases of German emigrants in the thirties, meanwhile have become part and parcel of the American tradition.

3) Ökologische Psychologie (briefly: Ökopsychologie), in the internal terminology of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (West Germany's national science foundation) also: Psychologische Ökologie (Psychological ecology). This merely verbal difference is not related with the distinction made by Brunswik between "psychological ecology" and "ecological psychology", his two branches of "environmental psychology" (Brunswik 1943). "Environmental psychology" is consistently translated by "Umweltpsychologie".

4) One other feature of phenomenology, viz. its insistence on the bodily nature of the subject of all intentional acts, has been explicated in a phenomenology of space (cf. Bollnow 1963; Kruse 1974). For the impact on the psychology of spatial experience and behavior the American reader is referred to Straus (1962), Spiegelberg (1972), and van den Berg (1955).

5) The reader may be reminded of Koffka's distinction between geographical and behavioral environment (Koffka 1935) with behavior occurring in the latter only. But for Hellpach there is one nature only, yet with two different types of impact on the organism: by means of "impressions" (another word for immediate experience) and of "influences" which cause physiological changes in the organism which, in turn, may be experienced.

6) While Wm. Stern was chairman of the Psychological Institute of Hamburg University, Jacob von Uexküll had a very modest "Institute for Environmental Research" (since 1926). According to Stern there was a lively exchange and communication between both institutions.

7) The transitive use of "live" (leben) is set off from erleben (experience) in agreement with Stern's personalistic psychology (Stern 1938) and with the phenomenological conception of "lived space" (von Durkheim 1932).

8) Münsterberg wrote this first German textbook of Psychotechnik when he was already professor at Harvard.

9) For a limited account of the situation of psychology in the sixties see Graumann (1972).

10) Substantialism in psychology is a doctrine that behind all mental phenomena there is a mind-substance.

11) Characterology was a European branch of the psychology of personality emphasizing character theory and diagnosis.

12) Now, in accordance with the new anti-sexist regulations, usually person-environment.

(ad Kruse/Graumann)

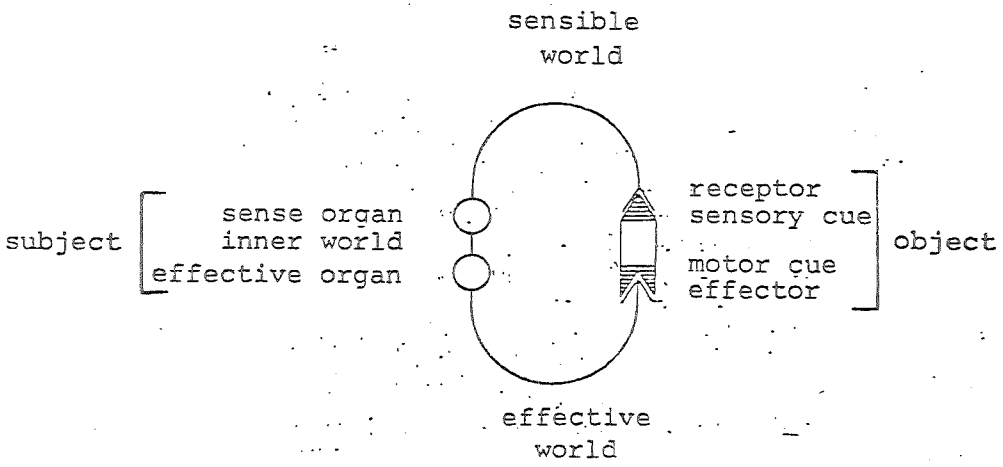

Fig. 1: The inner-world and Umwelt components of the "functional circuit" (after J. von Uexküll, 1973, 158).

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