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„Skinner vs. the German Spirit"

How national thought styles relate to foreign ideas
per example of B.F. Skinner's educational reception
in the German language area

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List of Abbreviations

BB	Barbara Benett
BRD	Bundesrepublik Deutschland
DDR	Deutsche Demokratische Republik
DFdVidV	*Die Funktion der Verstärkung in der Verhaltenswissenschaft* (Skinner, 1974a)
EaV	*Erziehung als Verhaltsformung* (Skinner, 1971a)
e.g.	exampli gratia
Ed./Eds.	Editor(s)
Epi.	Topic Category: Epistemology
et al.	et alii; et aliae
etc.	et cetera
Excl.	excluded, excluding
f.	folio (and the following page)
ff.	and the next pages
Fig.	Figure
FZ	*Futurum Zwei* (Skinner, 1970/1976)
HS	Topic Category: Human Subjectivity
ibid.	ibidem
i.e.	id est
Imp.	Topic Category: Implications
incl.	including
JvFuW	*Jenseits von Freiheit und Würde* (Skinner, 1973a)
Lear.	Topic Category: Learning
MC	Main Categories
Mis.	Topic Category: Misconceptions
p./pp.	page/pages
PA	Topic Category: Practical Application
PISA	Program for International Student Assessment
SOR	Stimulus-Organism-Response, Stimulus-Organism-Reaction
SORKC	Stimulus-Organism-Response-Contingency-Consequence
SORC	Stimulus-Organism-Response-Consequence
SR	Stimulus-Response, Stimulus-Reaction
TL	Skinner's *Traveling Library*
TL_ORG	Skinner's Original Publications incl. in TL
TL_GER	German translations of Skinner's publications & their reprints incl. in TL
TP	Total Publications
US, USA	United States (of America)
vgl.	vergleiche
vs.	versus
WiB	*Was ist Behaviorismus* (Skinner, 1978)
WumV	*Wissenschaft und menschliches Verhalten* (Skinner, 1973)
z.T.	zum Teil
z.B.	zum Beispiel

I. Introduction

> "*By questioning the control exercised by autonomous man and demonstrating the control exercised by the environment, a science of behavior also seems to question dignity or worth. A person is responsible for his behavior, not only in the sense that he may be justly blamed or punished when he behaves badly, but also in the sense that he is to be given credit and admired for his achievements. A scientific analysis shifts the credit as well as the blame to the environment, and traditional practices can then no longer be justified. These are sweeping changes, and those who are committed to traditional theories and practices naturally resist them*" (B.F. Skinner, 1971).[1]

Burrhus Frederic Skinner (1904-1990) was a much-lauded American psychologist, author of more than 200 publications[2] (including the words above as well as the critically discussed utopian novel *Walden Two*), and social philosopher who taught and researched at Harvard University from 1958 to 1974. Notably, his significant contributions to social theory, philosophy of science and psychology have historically been subject of much international discussion.[3]

However, this thesis will show that especially among educators and even education scientists who belong to the German linguistic cultural community, B.F. Skinner does not have the best standing. While he is internationally mentioned for his foundational research on learning theory as one of the most influential psychologists/scientists of the 20th century (Graham, 2000; Bördlein, 2005), if Skinner is at all remembered in German academia, it is mostly for his work with animal experiments and programmed instruction (Bördlein, 2005). Eminent authors from *geisteswissenschaftlich* education sciences claim their field to have justifiably forgotten about Skinner and his education technology, as they dismissively sweep both under the rug of educational discourse (Tenorth, 2019). Hence, this case study of the German reception of a

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[1] All publications by Skinner referenced in this thesis and the German publications under analysis are summarized in a separate bibliography in section V.

[2] Two examples serve well to depict the extent of Skinner's work: The bibliography of Skinner's primary-source works and those reprinted in Skinner's collections and texts published on the B.F. Skinner foundation's website by Nathaniel G. Smith & Edward K. Morris (1993) is 62 pages long. Maria Andery et al. (2004) analyzed eight prior listings of Skinner's published work including books, articles, book reviews, abstracts, letters to editors, and interviews, including information on republication. Their list presents 295 entries of references, of which they directly checked 269.

[3] Especially linguist Noam Chomsky and humanistic psychologist Carl R. Rogers took public issues with Skinner's stance that have themselves become a subject of analysis (MacCorquodale, 1970; Geier, 1977; Braun, 1983; Andresen, 1991; Ickler, 1994; Palmer, 2006; Virués-Ortega, 2006; Chance, 2007; Kany & Schöler, 2014; Gudmundsson, 2018; Pléh, 2019). This is mentioned because it appears that to understand Skinner and his ideas, one needs to understand how he was misunderstood – or rather: the contextual and historic interrelation of misconceptions and radical behaviorism's traveling.

foreign idea and its figurehead aims to explore how Skinner's ideas were related to from an educational perspective. Subsequently, this thesis investigates how idiosyncratic interpretations of Skinner's theoretical considerations may have contributed to the critical local reception of his philosophy of science known as radical behaviorism.

A review of respective literature revealed that Skinner's long-term reception seems to be of little concern to German social sciences – in the last twenty years, only two German academics (Ickler, 1994; Bördlein, 2005) published about it, specifically:

Linguist Theodor Ickler (1994) took an informal yet comparative approach analyzing B.F. Skinner's theories and their German interpretations, concluding parodically that there are two different 'Skinners' entirely: B.F. Skinner, the actual person and psychologist and his actual theories; and another person who appears to share the same biographical data, a misconceived "Skinner" who is habitually referenced as a mere secondary or tertiary source (ibid.). The idea that there are different conceptual 'Skinners' was of particular interest for this study's design as Thomas Popkewitz' (2005) study of how with the traveling of his texts, pragmatism's figurehead John Dewey became many "different 'deweys'" (ibid., p. 6) specifically addresses the phenomenon of an ideological figurehead as a *conceptual personae*.

In the second German article on Skinner's German reception, Christoph Bördlein (2005), professor of clinical psychology, refers to 'Skinner' and 'behaviorism' as emotive words that nearly everyone has an opinion on, adding that it is usually not a good one. Though the author does not elaborate on why German noses are turned up at their mentioning, he discusses misconceptions of Skinner's work and how they appear to influence its reception over time. Bördlein (2005) further describes that in the 1980s, the subject of Skinner was submerged by the wave of an alleged paradigm shift in psychology – the so-called 'cognitive turn'. Since then, Skinner is so rarely lectured about that nowadays, many students of psychology appear to know little, if anything, about the American psychologist and his theories (Bördlein, 2005).

Against this backdrop, questions of interest become whether a shared *thought style* (Fleck, 1979) contributes to the German disdain for Skinner described in literature (Ickler, 1994; Bördlein, 2005) – and how to go about locating such a thought style. Additionally, this paper will inquire about the role of misconceptions in the German conceptualization and reception of Skinner and radical behaviorism.

Thereby, this thesis' specific research interest lies not only in narrowing the apparent gap in research regarding B.F. Skinner's and radical behaviorism's general reception by the German linguistic community, but also in considering how *national thought styles* factor into the equation. In doing so, this effort contributes to one of general education science's main research

fields, namely the study of the development and influence of thought systems in their specific historic, cultural, and national contexts. Against the backdrop of postcolonial, poststructuralist and postmodern theories philosophically challenging the continuation of science's eurocentric history, internationalization[4] becomes a subject of scientific discussion (Tröhler 2003; 2018). As social sciences adapt to an increasingly interdependent and poststructuralist view of subjectivity, difference and inclusion, German educational sciences are described to struggle for their position on an international stage (Tröhler, 2012; 2014; 2018; Stieger, 2018; 2020). Since educational discourse is conducted within national frameworks (Tröhler 2011), it is determined by *national grammars* (Tröhler, 2003) like *Bildung*, "the linchpin of an educational discourse that presupposes universal validity, but in reality, stays a national affair" (Stieger, 2020, p. 155).[5] Therefore, the specifics of these national frameworks, including the predominating *national epistemology* (Fox, 2020), will be elaborated on accordingly in later sections.

This notion leads to the upcoming section, which focuses on the thesis and methodological considerations to studying B.F. Skinner as a representative of the Western idea of (Neo-) behaviorism, specifically as a *conceptual personae* and *traveling library* (Popkewitz, 2005), as well as their respective reception in the German speaking realm of social sciences. By following Thomas Popkewitz' example, this thesis aims to examine in detail how B.F. Skinner (and thus, radical behaviorism) were received and *perceived* from an educational perspective.
Furthermore, it will be investigated whether the yet little researched German reception of B.F. Skinner's radical behaviorism is embedded in a larger scientific debate about

a) the legitimacy of humanitarian 'science',
b) the unity and general philosophy and methodology of science, and
c) reduction via mechanisms.

Therefore, this study assumes that the *thought style* of *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* continues to loom over contemporary German educational sciences that find themselves at the intersection of social sciences and the humanities. It is then expected that the American idea of radical behaviorism, and especially its aspects that address education, would be just as ill-received in the German language area as other foreign concepts like pragmatism were (Tröhler

[4] Defining internationalization as a "decisive claim for progress within educational discourse" requires "a historical self-awareness of our own traditions and languages" as a precondition for "international discussion among scholars" for a better understanding of "different or foreign arguments" (Tröhler, 2003, p. 778).

[5] Though much has been written on *Bildung*, one especially comprehensive work is Rebekka Horlacher's comparative cultural history of *The Educated Subject and the Concept of Bildung* (2016). Especially her depictions of *Bildung* as a national construct and means of social distinction provide thorough insight into a concept of education that has been described as untranslatable.

& Oelkers, 2005; Popkewitz, 2005; Tröhler, Schlag & Osterwalder, 2010): If pragmatism's popular representative John Dewey performed as an "antihero foreigner" violating "the *geist* of the nation" (Popkewitz, 2005, p. 5), how did German authors conceive B.F. Skinner, "the behaviorist who has received the most attention from philosophers, fellow scientist and the public at large" (Graham, 2000)?

Since the study of an American psychologist's ideas' German reception could also contribute to an improved comprehension of the interrelations of philosophies of science and theories of education, it is relevant to more than just the field of education. To specify: the study of how national thought styles and their particular concepts of subjectivity relate to the reception of foreign ideas facilitates a better understanding of how these conceptualizations and theories of education relate to each other on an international stage and what conflicts arise on the basis of underlying and inherently differing concepts of subjectivity.

In addition, and as discussed at greater depth subsequently, this thesis hypothesizes that the German reception and conceptualization of foreign ideas is defined by the predominating national thought style. Successive sections of this introductory chapter include the thesis, methodological considerations, and method, as well as the relevant theoretical background.

The second part of this paper contains three main sections of results of an analysis of more than half a century of German publications discussing B.F. Skinner's behavioristic ideas. Its first section *Taking Turns at Skinner* covers contextual, historic, and linguistic aspects of discourse analysis, while the second section and third section focus on Skinner as a *conceptual personae* (Popkewitz, 2005) in the context of relevant topoi and *national grammars*. The final chapter is dedicated to a conclusionary outlook on the implications of this thesis's findings.

1.1 Making the Case: Thesis

This thesis assumes to close gaps in research regarding the role of national epistemologies in the reception of foreign ideas, as well as about the interrelation of misconceptions and miseducation about behaviorism in general as well as regarding the reception of behaviorism by the German linguistic community, specifically. Furthermore, the case of B.F. Skinner's German reception will be shown to be part of broader epistemological debates about the unity, philosophy, and methodological validity of natural, social, and humanitarian sciences. More specifically, Skinner's reception in *Geisteswissenschaften* will be shown to not only be embedded in scientific debates regarding the general unity and methodology of science, but also in the discussion about the scientific validity of humanitarian methodology. Underlying this debate, on the other hand, are conceptions of human subjectivity as particular thought styles

which in turn appear to be subject to national concepts of human subjectivity.

It appears that due to the *national epistemology* (Fox, 2020) of German idealism in *Geisteswissenschaften*, foreign ideas are received critically by principle and that ideas with humanistic notions are received more benevolently than others. This is relevant to education sciences, as there has also been surprisingly little research of how national thought styles and foreign ideas relate to each other on an international scale based on national concepts of desired ideologies and culturally shared values and beliefs, as well as how this affects educational discourse and thereby, the field of education.

Consequently, the working thesis can be summarized in the following statements:

> *National grammars* like *Bildung* are indicative of the predominating *national epistemology.* In combination with indicators of misconceptions about a particular foreign idea, they can be used to study the phenomenon of ideologically motivated intellectual gatekeeping against (specific) foreign ideas.

Even more specifically, this study hypothesizes that

> Skinner's educational reception in German humanities is defined by the predominating *national thought style* and its underlying concept of human(istic) subjectivity which stands in opposition to radical behaviorism's thought style and concept of the human subject.

The subsequent research process will be guided by the following research questions:

- ✓ How are thought styles and *national epistemologies* related to the reception of foreign ideas?
- ✓ Which *national grammars* are indicative of German *Geist*?
- ✓ How are Skinner and radical behaviorism talked about in German publications citing Skinner's work?
- ✓ What indications of German misconception/misteaching of Skinner's ideas can be identified? (How) Can they be contextualized?
- ✓ How is the topos 'cognitive turn/cognitive revolution' used in arguments against radical behaviorism?
- ✓ How are Skinner and radical behaviorism conceived methodically (in comparison to *Hermeneutik*), morally (in relation to Skinner's/radical behaviorism's *Menschenbild*), and theoretically (in comparison to the predominant ideology of *Bildung*)?
- ✓ Since 1965, how were B.F. Skinner and his idea of radical behaviorism received in *Geisteswissenschaften*?

Relevant methodological considerations are described successively.

1.2 Making the Case: Methodological Considerations & Method

To conduct the study at hand, it will be necessary to elaborate in section 1.3 on this thesis' arguments regarding (national) thought styles, national epistemologies, the traveling of ideas and *Geist*'s gatekeeping role in the reception of foreign ideas by addressing the first two research questions. Additionally, Popkewitz' (2005) approach to an ideological figurehead as a *conceptual personae* and *traveling library* is central to the study design because of parallels between pragmatism and behaviorism as well as Dewey and Skinner, respectively. Most notably, those are that both American ideas affected the way the world perceived education and that both figureheads' words were translated and transformed in a way that allows for many different conceptions of the writers and their ideas. The beginning of the time frame to be examined was set to 1965, marking a broader German establishment of conceptual Skinner per publication of the first German translations of his works.

In a first step, two sets of data were collected that were cross-referenced for completion:

1) A bibliography of Skinner's publications referenced by German authors in the respective timeframe (= the *traveling library* (short: TL), categorized into original publications by B.F. Skinner (short: TL_ORG) and German translations & their reprints (short TL_GER), as attached in section V.)
2) Available texts by German authors referencing Skinner's *traveling library*[6]

While the second set of data, a total of 325 publications, is used to build a database to collect relevant information, (e.g.: title, author(s) names, year of publication, tracking of citations of the TL_GER, number of references to Skinner in text, type of publication, field/discipline, author affiliation, up to five topoi, as well as comments), the bibliography of Skinner's publications that were translated into the German language serve as a starting point for the creation of B.F. Skinner's *traveling library*.

The next relevant consideration is which part of the collected material to work with. Since Robert Cowen (2006; 2009) points out that translation affects the transformation of ideas, it would be valid to study the translation and transformation of Skinner's library as it traveled – but in following Popkewitz (2005), it was clear that reading radical behaviorism historically means reading *about* Skinner instead of 'telling the truth' about him. Additionally, studying the transformation of Skinner's work would neither account for the purposes it traveled to Germany nor facilitate the study of its *geisteswissenschaftlich* interpretations. Therefore, it is assumed

[6] Apart from availability, criteria for inclusion of texts were defined as follows: a) connection to German linguistic community per language of publication, author affiliation or institutional affiliation; and b) connection or relevance to social sciences and humanities per title, topic, author or institutional affiliation.

that the way Skinner was translated into German language did transform his ideas to some degree, thus affecting the way he and his ideas were perceived and successively received, though this study does not further consider the *How* of this. Since a "language of behaviorism" (Jensen & Burgess, 1997) and its particularities that may be lost even in translation to English have not been sufficiently studied and the transformation of ideas is a different phenomenon than their reception, this thesis' primary set of data (subsequently referred to as 'the material') to work with are the over 320 German publications referencing Skinner's work. Because of the large amount of data, not all analyzed texts will be discussed at length. Instead, it was decided to pick and discuss exemplary writings for the various analytic categories, whose selection criteria will be discussed with the respective data.

Since this study's aim is to examine the role of national epistemological power in the *geisteswissenschaftlich* thought collective's reception of a foreign idea, Stephanie Fox's (2020) three-fold approach to discourse analysis will be adopted with some modifications to work with the selected material. As discussed in subsequent sections addressing the first two research questions, Fox (2020) uncovered how national thought styles come to gain institutional power by working from Ludwik Fleck's (1979) sociology of knowledge, Daniel Tröhler's (2011) linguistic approach inspired by John G.A. Pocock (1987) and Ferdinand de Saussure (1916/2016) as well as Michel Foucault (1969/1973).

By turning to Pocock (1987) and de Saussure's (1916/2016) differentiations between *langue* and *parole*, due attention is given to how social sciences have been affected by the linguistic turn (Tröhler & Horlacher, 2019; Tröhler & Fox, 2019). In highlighting the "linguistic constitution of reality" (Fox, 2020, p. 197) this approach treats texts not only as "products of specific historical contexts" but also as "ideological contexts for linguistic practice" as suggested by Whatmore (2017, p. 42). Therefore, the study at hand will check the data to be analyzed for specific *paroles* as indications of German-national (idealistic) ideology: *Bildung*, *Hermeneutik*, and *Menschenbild*.[7] With the addition of Foucault's (1969/1973, p. 185) perspective on 'discursive formation', this study takes into account that "institutional solidification of strategic power relations is also embodied in *academic* (education) institutions,

[7] To filter and reduce the large amount of data, the following criteria were defined:

- Filtering for *Menschenbild* consisted of noting

a) whether the text generally made use to the term, which was taken as an indication of thought patterns indicative of the predominating *national epistemology*; and/or

b) whether the term was used to along with specifications about Skinner's (or the Skinnerian) *Menschenbild*.

- Because *Bildung* is so very embedded in the German language, it was decided to only analyze those texts which included the key word in their titles.
- As it would have been beyond the scope –and is of little relation to the subject of this thesis – to screen all analyzed texts for uses of the word, it was decided to consider only those few publications which clearly took a hermeneutic approach or position in their respective titles.

where, consistently, the respective 'realities' manifested in according epistemologies have been produced" (Fox, 2020, p. 197). The implications of this are plentiful for this thesis, which thus considers its research interest being a case of

a) political power relations between nation(-states) like the divided Germany post World War II and its respective occupants,

b) epistemological power relations between German idealism and American/pragmatic thought[8], and

c) 'factual' vs. *geisteswissenschaftlich* science.

Taking political and national aspects into account means analyzing data in regard to how these political power relations may factor into the German reception of behaviorism – because the German reception of Skinner during the Cold War must have somehow been affected by its respective occupants: the USA in the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (short: BRD) and the Soviet Union in the *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* (short: DDR).[9] Although the according data is not expected to go towards Skinner as a *conceptual personae,* it will be useful for historical contextualization and the examination of whether/how radical behaviorism compares to German epistemology. Considering epistemological power relations in addition to the political dimension means again turning to specific national grammars as indications of the predominant thought style in respect to how they relate to the foreign idea. Finally, the third dimension of power addresses how per linguistic practice, *Geisteswissenschaften* discursively position themselves as a valid science.

Because national aspects of epistemological differences only become apparent in comparison (Fox, 2020, p. 194), before describing Skinner as a *conceptual personae*, the context in which he was received must be considered. Therefore, to fully examine radical behaviorism's reception in German humanities is to look beyond how its figurehead B.F. Skinner was conceived per discussions of his *traveling library*. Therefore, this thesis' main objective is the contextualization of the data to be analyzed. Successively, this study's methods were comprised in view of these methodological considerations, taking an explorative, yet systematic approach to answering the research questions.

Subsequently, Figure 1 displays a visualization of this study's design.

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[8] The relationship between behaviorism and pragmatism is complicated. Though there are important differences, there are many similarities as pointed out by Leigland (2004). Willard Van Orman Quine, another prominent representative of pragmatism, and B.F. Skinner were close friends who influenced each other's philosophy of science to some degree (Malone, 2001). One thing they have in common is that both their names were turned into adjectives to describe their respective particular thought styles: *Quinean* and *Skinnerian*.

[9] However, it is important to keep in mind that from 1949 on, the BRD was essentially free while the DDR was subject to the Communist agenda until the end of the Cold War in 1989.

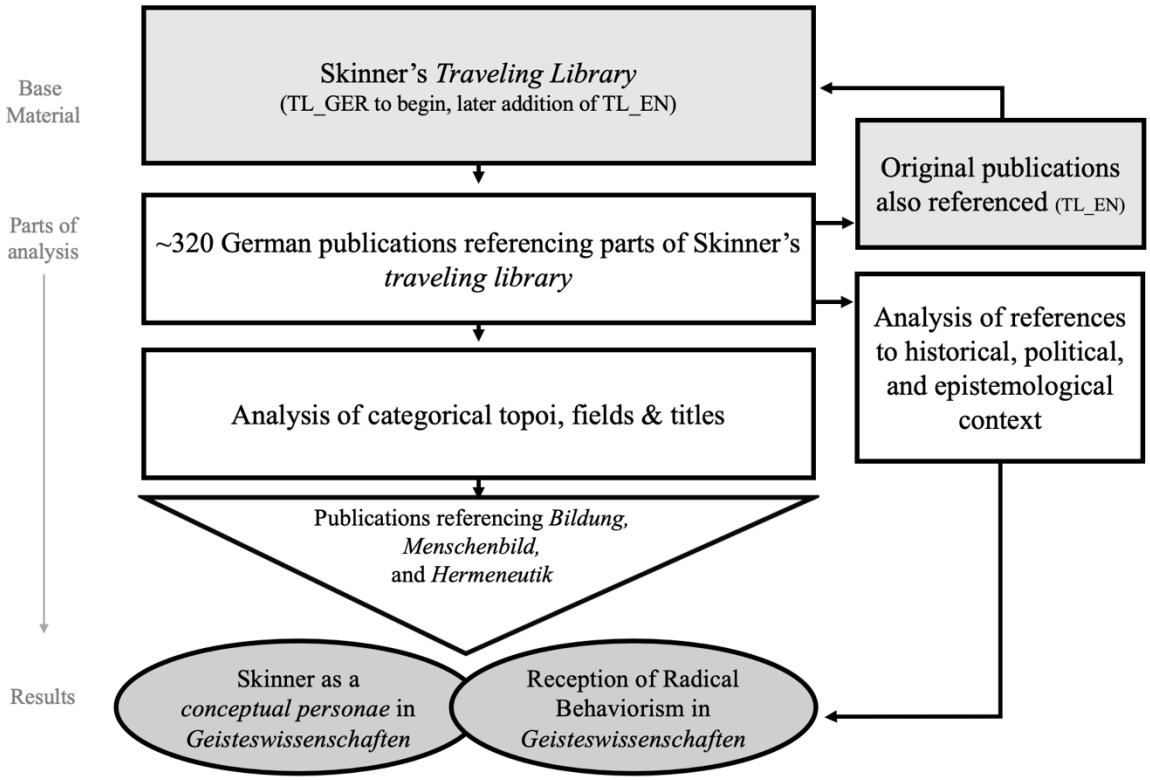

Figure 1: Study design for examining Skinner as a conceptual personae and the reception of radical behaviorism in Geisteswissenschaften

Apart from providing the theoretical background in section 1.3, this process involves the following steps of producing results:

1) **Rough analysis:** Reading texts and collecting respective data
   - Mentioning of Skinner in text, by name and citation
   - Context (historic, linguistic) (as subject of section 2.1)
   - Abstraction of up to five topoi per text, prioritized by relevance to both the respective publication as well as this thesis. Topoi were chosen as they can be considered both from a rhetorical as well as a literary perspective.[10]
   - Respective references, both for completion of the TL as well as for later contextualization
   - Selection of exemplary publications
2) **Detailed analysis:** Contextualization & Interpretation (see part II)
   - Analysis of collected topoi: Abstraction of thematic categories (see section 2.1.3.1, 2.2.1 – 2.2.2)
   - Systematic analysis of thematic categories (cross-decade, categorical topoi, analysis

[10] In classic Greek rhetoric, a topos refers to a topic or category to delineate the relationship between arguments or ideas. From a literary perspective, topoi are used to identify common themes among writers. Both aspects appear applicable in the case at hand.

of topoi indicative of evident misconceptions[11]) and the most frequent topoi that emerge as significant in German discourse relating to the research interest (see sections 2.2 and 2.3)

- Contextualization and interpretation of selected texts (see 2.1, 2.2, 2.3)
- Systematic analysis of texts containing national grammars *Bildung, Hermeneutik, Menschenbild* (see 2.3).

Results are expected to shed light on Skinner as a *conceptual personae* in *Geisteswissenschaften* as well as how a national(ized) thought style may shape the German reception of radical behaviorism. Before turning to the analysis, the theoretical background and contextualization of this thesis will be elaborated on in the subsequent section 1.3.

1.3 On thought styles, thought collectives and the traveling of ideas.

Becoming aware of one's own traditions and language as a prerequisite for the participation in international scholarly discourse may facilitate a better understanding of "different or foreign arguments," Tröhler (2003, p. 778) suggests. If successful internationalization is assumed to depend upon such an awareness (ibid.), this must surely include the critical reflection of whether and how our language and traditions affect how academics are "doing science" (Beaufaÿs & Krais, 2016) altogether and the *extent* to which predominating national thought styles shape the scientific reception of ideas.

Therefore, the broader issue this thesis aims to study by analyzing the *geisteswissenschaftlich* reception of the American scientist B.F. Skinner and his philosophy of science known as radical behaviorism is how particular thought styles relate to incoming foreign ideas based on underlying ideologies of human subjectivity. Accordingly, this section will establish the home ground and further specifics of why the reception of B.F. Skinner's radical behaviorism in *Geisteswissenschaften* is used for an exemplary case study of how national thought styles shape epistemology. To reflect on the possible effects a particular way of thinking may have on one's science, one should first understand the theoretical framework around thought styles, thought collectives, national particularities in thinking, and the traveling of ideas. The upcoming sections are structured to provide these relevant insights regarding this thesis' research questions as follows: The first one centers on the general area in which the specific research

[11] Since the role of educational materials in the transfer of misconceptions about B.F. Skinner and his radical behaviorism is particularly relevant for this paper, the best-documented misconstructions of radical behaviorism (Todd & Morris, 1983; DeBell & Harless, 1992) will be compared with topoi abstracted from the material. Topoi that match these misapprehensions will be collected in the thematic category 'Misconceptions' and analyzed accordingly.

interest is embedded – thought styles, thought collectives and their characteristics that are relevant for a thorough comprehension of the research topic. What happens when thought collectives are confronted with a foreign idea has been studied rather well, for example with the global reception of pragmatism. Consequently, subsequent sections of this thesis' first chapter highlight relevant approaches to the study of traveling ideas and examine respective phenomena.

1.3.1 Thought styles, thought collectives and nationalism

An important inspiration for the development of epistemological reflection was Microbiologist Ludwik Fleck's (1979) theory of *thought styles* and *thought collectives* combines sociological, historical, and psychological approaches to study how scientific knowledge originates and circulates between different collectives. Fleck's (1979) theory of thought styles and thought collectives assumes that between various collectives, scientific facts materialize through a process of constantly circulating and interchanging thoughts. Therefore, "any attempt to legitimize a particular approach as the correct one is at best of limited value, since it is inextricably bound to a thought collective" (ibid., p. 35). While collectives are considered to carry thought styles, individuals belong to several collectives. Hence, the circulation of thoughts – or mutual interaction of different styles – becomes possible within even one individual. Particularly relevant to this thesis is that collectives apparently serve to attenuate or reinforce certain thoughts (Fleck 1979, p. 42).

Because the development of individual subjects is central to educational research, it is studied from different theoretical perspectives. In German-national discourse, the subject as an autonomous agent is considered constitutive to pedagogical thought while consecutively appearing as an effect of sociosymbolic formations in social studies (Wrana et al., 2015, p. 239). In this context, German authors (Forneck, 1992; Meyer-Drawe, 1996; Ricken, 2006) describe poststructuralist notions like Foucault's (1974, p. 384) doublet of transcendental and empirical subjectivity[12] and its continuation by Judith Butler (1998/2006; 2001) as fundamental to modern thought (Wrana et al., 2015, p. 230).

Modern thought, however, is not a universal concept but rather succumbs to historical and national particularities which are handed down and administered by a *thought collective* with institutional power (Fleck, 1979; Tröhler, 2018; p. 173)[13], a materialization of the specific

[12] Foucault's describes humankind's struggle between what can be empirically observed and the unseizable or transcendental constructs.

[13] In his discussion of "international provocations to national thought styles in education", Tröhler (2018) asserts that Foundations of Education research may only achieve international relevance and academic legitimacy upon "the development of a virtuosity when dealing with thought patterns", as this facilitates the analysis of "how

thought style (Fleck, 1979). Most importantly, in the context of this thesis, *nationalism* is understood as an institutionalized power-connected discourse practiced by thought collectives (Fox, 2020, p. 197).

One such thought collective is that of German *Geisteswissenschaften*, though it is important to point out that the Germans' concept of *nation* is not one of State "but rather a linguistic cultural community" (Tröhler, 2003, p. 768). Accordingly, this thesis assumes that traces of a national thought style can and will be found in publications from different German-speaking countries including Austria, Switzerland, Luxembourg, and Germany as well as former parts of German-speaking empires (Ther, 2015). Successively, national thought patterns become a subject of interest.

1.3.2 The thought collective of German *Geisteswissenschaften* as a linguistic community, their thought style, thought patterns and national grammars

Upon analysis, the discourse of the thought collective of German *geisteswissenschaftlich* education has been described as "a rather diffuse conglomerate of divergent positions – having a common denominator of politicized, histrionic, and aestheticized slogans – that transcend scientific borders to both incorporate and reinforce dominant mental dispositions and movements in society" (Tröhler, 2003, p. 761f.). These dominant mental dispositions display in a way that characterize German thought as essentially dualistic, its underlying dualisms being Empiry and *Geist*, Plurality and Unity, and Outward and Inward (ibid.).

But what is *Geist*? Simply put, "Geist is the German word for something which in English means both 'mind' and 'spirit'. In other contexts, it also means 'ghost', 'essence', 'intellect', 'esprit', 'atmosphere' and even a kind of alcohol" (Drechsler, 1997, p. 67). Translating it as 'Spirit' results "in the meaning of German spirit as specific moments in Germans at a given point in time" (ibid., p. 65) with a "positive connotation: Spirit as something intellectual, perennial, good" (ibid., p. 69). While "most applicable to an individual *Geist*" (ibid.), "it is also present in a national *Geist* in the sense of the nation's specific intellectual makeup and climate" (ibid.). For the purposes of this paper, there are three dimensions to the term's interpretation: a literal, a national, and a linguistic-ideological level on which *Geist* appears as a *parole* of German idealism.[14] For example, in arguing that National Socialism was "somehow un-

knowledge is generated and traditionalized in the tension field between power and linguistic plays" (Tröhler, 2018, p. 187).

[14] Historically, the linguistic-ideological implications of *Geist*, nation and German-ness can be traced back to Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), icon of German idealism, and his publication *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (1808).

German" (Drechsler, 1997, p. 65), contemporary German identity appears to be affected by the Holocaust. Accordingly, this chapter will further address not only German particularities, but also that particular terms – or rather *national grammars*[15] like *Geist* – transformed in response to political collapse. If since this collapse, "just the invoking of something called 'German' is (…) something that *a priori* and necessarily bears the connotation of illegitimacy" (Drechsler 1997, p. 65), how does *Geist* as a representative of the collective German mind and spirit factor into this equation?

There appears to be "no direct English translation of this word" which implies "that the concept of *Geist* alone is something profoundly and/or specifically German" (ibid.). However, as this paper will show, it is not solely *Geist* that is untranslatable and distinctly *German.*[16]

Just as characteristic for German thought is the adaptation and interpretation of ideas that fit into the German national ideology with a strict rejection of "whatever seemed to be foreign" (Tröhler, 2003, p. 767). It has further been argued that the rejection of Western science cost *geisteswissenschaftlich* educationalists "other meaningful alternatives and the opportunity to develop a new language of education" (ibid., p. 768), thus foregoing a chance at internationalization as described earlier. This self-perceived ideological "supremacy of the German people and the German personality" is further described as lying "in the qualities they were claimed to possess: naturalness, simplicity, unspoiled-ness, and innocence" (ibid., p. 770). Since superiority is usually established in comparison, the question becomes whether German ideology remains supreme even as the international scientific conception of human subjectivity shifts toward a more postmodern perspective.

A final and particularly relevant characteristic of German educational thought as a national thought style and the *geisteswissenschaftlich* thought collective is the already mentioned concept of *Bildung* (Tröhler, 2003; 2018; Stieger, 2018; 2020; Buchardt & Fox, 2020) as one of the key *paroles* of a *national epistemology* (Fox, 2020) and *national grammar* (Tröhler, 2011; Tröhler & Fox, 2019; Stieger 2020).[17] As argued earlier, the use of particular national

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[15] National grammars are described as determinants of present educational discourse and the *geisteswissenschaftlich* paradigm of education as based upon "philosophical orientation towards German Protestant metaphysics, the metaphysical view of *Geist*; political orientation towards German Romanticism and, therefore, skepticism regarding democracy; skepticism about modernity as a whole and modern science in particular; the assertion of the autonomy of education from social, economic, and political contexts" (Tröhler, 2003, p. 760ff). Furthermore, "national particularities" (Tröhler, 2012) in form of the concepts of *Bildung* and the German spirit (*Geist*), and their foundational concept of the human subject are characteristic of the German educational thought collective or national thought style as an anti-Western ideology.

[16] Fittingly, Drechsler (1997, p. 66) elaborates that "the definition of 'German' can be left pleasantly vague, and as all vague definitions, it is going to be much stronger for being so".

[17] As such, it can best be understood in context of Tröhler's (2011) approach at uncovering *languages of education* as a way of 'reading' thought styles as 'languages'. Following John Pocock's (1987) differentiations between the culturally emerged system of meaning known as *langue* and concrete speech acts as particular *paroles* which are

grammars like *Bildung, Hermeneutik* or *Menschenbild* will be considered as indication of *Geisteswissenschaften's* German thought style.

Bildung has been described as fundamental to German educational science as well as an alternative to contemporary empiricism in education research (Horlacher, 2016) – and even sarcastically as a *panacea* (Stieger, 2020). To grasp *Bildung* as a German particularity and even national grammar, one must understand it as "a kind of gravitational force at the center of educational discourse, used to support very different positions, arguments, and objectives" (Horlacher, 2016, p. 1) because "the foundation of the concept is shaky, its meaning fuzzy" (ibid.). Although *Bildung* differs conceptually from other national concepts of education, it apparently influenced the development of *Geisteswissenschaften* and thereby, modern humanities.

According to Mette Buchardt and Stephanie Fox (2020) who studied *Social histories of* Bildung *between universal and national ambitions and global emergences*,

> *„Bildung* can be understood as the goal, way and ideal of as well as the 'tool' for a cultivation process that the human being has to go through in order to become an individual and to gain 'personality'. That this cannot only be stimulated or achieved through scholastic education can be observed e.g. in the romantic and today still world-widely known phenomenon of the *Bildungsroman* (*Bildung* novel) – a literary genre for personal and moral growth – and also by the fact that this concept is concerned about the soul of the human which in the pedagogical sense alone is not really tangible" (Buchardt & Fox, 2020, p. 133).

It is important to point out that an adequate depiction of the century-long *bildungstheoretisch* discourse lies beyond the scope of this thesis. What can be said is that the multifaceted and dualistic idea of *Bildung* is profoundly embedded in, if not itself characteristic of the German thought style (Tröhler, 2018) and "a fundamental component in the construction of a distinct German identity or even superiority" (Stieger, 2020, p. 154).

In her Master thesis and a subsequent article, Sophie Pia Stieger (2018; 2020) takes a closer look at how national particularities of German thought style and the thought collective of German educational scientists are affected by their discipline's struggle against its international irrelevance. Her analyses of educational discourse portray the contemporary Transformational Theory of *Bildung* as a political attempt to protect the fleeting superiority of a national philosophy of education whose rhetoric implicitly claims universality (Stieger, 2018; 2020).[18] *Bildung* has further been described as "an epitome of the German *Geisteswissenschaftliche*

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based on de Saussure (1916/2016), Tröhler's (2011) model offers a methodological framework of analyzing the utterances, and thus the reasoning and ideological character, of unique thought styles. As Fox (2020) points out, his facilitates a discourse analysis that considers not only specific historical contexts that result in the production of texts, but also that ideological contexts are shaped by linguistic practice.

[18] At this point, it should be noted that *transformatorische Bildungstheorie* emerged in response to *Geisteswissenschaften* being challenged by internationalization and poststructuralist theory (Stieger, 2018, 2020).

Pädagogik (Humanities education), an offspring of German Idealism" that spread and became "as epistemologically as culturally dominant" (Fox, 2020, p. 204). One of its means in achieving this was another national particularity that could also be described as part of a national epistemology: *Hermeneutik*.[19]

But before diving into national epistemologies as national-cultural patterns of "thought, ideals of and aspired identifications between the individual, the nation and the state in the network of relations between nationalism and education" (Fox, 2020, p. 196), it is important to elaborate on one of *Geisteswissenschaften*'s more critically disputed approaches to science. As mentioned in the introduction, another particularity of German thought that is relevant to this thesis (but failed at sustainable universal relevance) is the concept of *Hermeneutik* famously associated with names like Schleiermacher and Dilthey.

Dominant in the 19th century after distinct faculties of natural sciences were established in various locations, Dilthey's further development of Schleiermacher's hermeneutic methods was seen as "an attempt to legitimize the disciplines that had been moved to [the] new faculty" (Leezenberg, 2018, p. 155) of *Geisteswissenschaften.* In contrast to semantics and pragmatics, hermeneutics "because of its German idealist framework, is strictly distinguished both from linguistics and from empirical cognitive psychology" (ibid., p. 183).

During the 19th century, "hermeneutics gradually developed from a doctrine of *verstehen* into a method specific to the humanities" (ibid., p. 184) which were, at the time, a conglomerate of disciplines significantly struggling for scientific legitimacy. Contemporary hermeneutic approaches have, however, moved on from Schleiermacher and Dilthey, and usually reference Gadamer's concept of a hermeneutic circle that "focuses on the experience of artworks rather than on their analysis" (ibid., p. 205). Because of this, they have "repeatedly been accused of a fundamentally unscientific or anti-scientific attitude" (ibid., p. 207).[20] The methodological argument between hermeneutical and structuralist approaches peaked in the structure-agency debate in the social sciences as a "general confrontation between methods that favour structures and approaches that explain actions in terms of human consciousness" (ibid., p. 270).

To summarize, *Bildung* and *Hermeneutik* are pillars of *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* that share with German idealism a crucial notion of inwardness which has become part of a national-cultural pattern that stops neither at academics nor scientists. German idealism, like

[19] According to Stephanie Fox (2020), a *national epistemology* consists of "particular ways to think about the world, both enabled and restricted by national(ist) ideologies as a cultural thesis about distinct commonalities and togetherness" (ibid., p. 193).

[20] Hence it should go without saying that hermeneutics will not be the method of choice for the thesis at hand – but rather serve as a means of locating *Geist* in the literature to be subsequently analyzed.

epistemological philosophies such as English utilitarianism and empiricism, American pragmatism, as well as French positivism and rationalism, can be viewed as a manifestation of nationalized thought patterns, since "the national identification in each case is no coincidence but an expression of the equivalence between nation and epistemology" (Fox 2020, p. 196). Using a linguistic approach inspired by Tröhler (2011) and J.G.A. Pocock (1987), such epistemologies can be understood as a "linguistic configuration of a particular thought style" (Fox 2020, p. 197). Thus far, key concepts have been identified and elaborated on as particularities of a distinctive national thought style that must be considered when studying the *geisteswissenschaftlich* thought collective's reception of foreign ideas.

1.3.3 *Geisteswissenschaften* on an international stage: Taking issue with a foreign *Menschenbild*

While ultimately, this thesis asks about why *Geisteswissenschaften* received B.F. Skinner and his ideas in the way they did, the phenomenon of his dismissal should be viewed as being embedded in a larger ongoing methodological debate between the humanities, the social and the natural sciences about a general philosophy of science. Central issues of this greater debate are mainly what constitutes science in general and whether science can be unified.[21] Considering that the "factual and formal sciences, the technologies, and the humanities are all research fields producing knowledge" (Mahner, 2007, p. 543), it is argued "they should all be included in a broad conception of science" (ibid.). Exemplary of this is "the German intellectual tradition, where the name of almost any field of knowledge is dignified by the ending '-wissenschaft' (-science), including the humanities which are called *Geisteswissenschaften* (sciences of the mind)" (Mahner, 2007, p. 543). The humanities' scientific domain is that of ideas and artifacts. "Consequently, the humanities are open to the influence of subjectivist philosophies like phenomenology and hermeneutics" (ibid., p. 540), which is where national grammars become particularly relevant because:

[21] Particularly interesting reads in this regard are Mahner (2007), Bechtel and Hamilton's (2007), as well as Leezenberg (2018), as they provide extensive insight into scientific debates about a general unity and philosophy of science as well as comprehensive background on the relationship between scientific disciplines with special consideration of whether and how boundaries between them are maintained, broken or bridged. Mahner (2007) explains the aims of the humanities to be cognitive, practical or both, and points out that "the 'sciences of the mind' (Geisteswissenschaften) have been regarded as descriptive (idiographic) rather than law-finding (nomothetic)" (ibid., p. 542). The humanities are described to place much less value on universalism as they "are much more inclined towards relativism, because many cultural items cannot be evaluated independently of the personal and cultural characteristics of their creators: they must be seen and understood in context" (ibid., p. 542). Especially Mahner's (2007, p. 523ff) elaborations on epistemic fields, their ontological and epistemological assumptions, and methodological principles are valuable for a general, yet thorough comprehension of epistemology.

> "Despite science's claim to universal, not local validity, the educational discourse is conducted within national frameworks. To this day educational reasoning falls back on certain motives, that from a specific national(ized) tradition of thought. As discursive frameworks that order 'reality' in a certain way, national grammars still guide our (moral) interpretations of phenomena, our ideas of scientific practice, or attitudes towards education" (Stieger, 2020, p. 155).

Authors from different fields have pointed out that these linguistic particularities of German thought appear to have played an influential role it in the development of *Geisteswissenschaften* and accordingly, modern humanities. On the issues that arise out of the influence of subjectivist theories, it has been said that "the more aspects of the much straighter scientific outlook are adopted, the better the chances of bridging a humanistic field with a scientific one" (Mahner, 2007, p. 540).

Such bridging is particularly imperative for interdisciplines, described as "a merger of fields attempting to approach a common domain from a unified point of view rather than from different angles" (Mahner, 2007, p. 537), "conceived of as the intersection of two or more fields" (ibid.). Against this backdrop, modern education science could be viewed as an interdiscipline at the intersection of social science and the humanities.[22] As such, German educational sciences have a long tradition of succumbing to the paradigm of *Geisteswissenschaften* and the national thought style centering on *Geist* and *Bildung* as elaborated earlier.

Since the early 19th century, the German humanities have presented "historically stable topoi of a 'Bildung' that is decidedly 'free' and 'scientific'" (Hamann, 2015, p. 180) which "are elements of a strategy of academic positioning and distinction that favors the humanities" (ibid., p. 180). However, the term *Geisteswissenschaften* does not represent a defined unit of disciplines but rather a discursive label that is continuously actualized by conflictual self-reflection (ibid., p. 181).

The birth of modern humanities was midwifed by German agents like Humboldt and his university reforms, Schleiermacher's Hermeneutics, and Dilthey's concept of the humanities (Horlacher, 2016; Leezenberg, 2018; Buchardt & Fox, 2020; Stieger, 2020). The commonality between them is that they all share the above-mentioned stable topos of a free and scientific *Bildung* as described by Hamann (2015) above. Yet, human and social sciences' development was concerned with the "interaction of internal (or conceptual) and external (or societal and

[22] A brief history of the establishment of education science goes as follows: In the early 1800s, Humboldt reformed the German universities. In 1835, the new Prussian system was even adopted briefly in the US, though there it conflicted with local libertarian, state-skeptical thought. After the German universities opened to the general public in 1914, in 1917 education science was first established as *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* and developed from there on. In their early days, "universities supported the introduction of education as an autonomous field of study, as long as it was not experimental, empirical, or psychological" (Tröhler, 2012, p. 157).

cultural) factors" (Leezenberg 2018, p. 155), as well. Thus, not only new discoveries, concepts, ideas, or methods explain "the 'modern humanities revolution'" (ibid.), but it rather

> "was also made possible, if not desirable, by societal and political factors such as the rise of modern bourgeois society, nationalism, and colonial expansion. Conversely, however, new academic ideas about spirit, culture, and *Bildung* partly contributed to the formation and development of present-day European and Western society and of the colonial world, partly as a result of their institutionalization in the university and the modern nation-state" (ibid.).

However, German influence on the humanities diminished with World War II, as the national and global perception of German *Geist* transformed due to the Holocaust.

> "Radicalizing nineteenth-century thinking about peoples or nations, race, and *Geist*, the Nazis saw Germany as a cultural nation with a unique spiritual mission, which was threatened from the outside by the crude materialism of both capitalist America and the communist Soviet Union, and from the inside by non-Aryan and other elements seen as polluting the moral values and racial purity of the German Aryan Master Race. The German sciences never fully recovered from this blow" (ibid., p. 156).

Thus far, *Geisteswissenschaften's* role in the development of contemporary humanities has been discussed to consider how the German thought style appears to influence the reception of the specific research interest. One of the main international points of critique of B.F. Skinner's radical behaviorism – which also applies to postmodernism – is the (alleged) Anti-Humanistic notion of the idea (Freeman & Locurto, 1994).

This line of criticism is often found in discussions of postmodern theories, whose commonalities with Skinner's theories have been a subject of scientific discussion in other fields (Freeman & Locurto, 1994; Wolpert, 2005; Pfeifer Flores et al., 2011). Yet in the 1990s, there was an apparent shift as the German reception of French poststructuralists became more favorable (Fernandez, 2003). An analysis of poststructuralist and behaviorist scientific discussion explains that in comparison, Skinner's reception was less fortunate because "much of poststructuralist discourse bears within it a moral stance that, precisely in virtue of its implicit humanism, remains more alluring for many than behaviorist discourse could ever be" (Freeman & Locurto, 1994, p. 55). The sticking point is that the underlying ideology of subjectivity as a *human* quality appears to make or break the reception of ideas, particularly where the German linguistic community on their humanist home ground is concerned. As discussed earlier, this thesis assumes that the German ideology of subjectivity is a humanist notion, and that the German linguistic community has a long tradition of criticizing the Anti-Humanism of foreign thinkers. Thus, the question is whether and if so, how the German thought style – or "the *geist* of the nation" (Popkewitz, 2005, p. 5)[23] – acts as an ideological and intellectual gatekeeper.

[23] Popkewitz' text addresses the first level of *Geist* and word plays at the second, but not the third.

An interesting case of German idealism – to put it in contemporary terms – 'canceling' an idea because of its underlying ideology of subjectivity is the 18th century German critique of Julien Offray de La Mettrie's mechanical determinism (Rumore, 2016). In this context, it is again essential to consider the greater issue at hand: That the German reception of La Mettrie was not only a case of how critically Germans tend to receive foreign ideas in general, but also embedded in a larger, critical scientific debate about reduction via mechanisms.[24]

Skinner's foundational research in learning theory (whose specifics will be discussed further in the one of the following sections) is one popular example of reduction via mechanisms. While both the American psychologist and French materialist more than a century before him were received with significant German resistance, an important difference between them is that the nature of La Mettrie's mechanistic reduction was explicitly ideological while Skinner's was primarily methodological. However, they share the same fate – from a German point of view, their outrageously reductive approaches appear to somehow attack the sacred core of humanity. Thereby, the German reception of La Mettrie's work *L'Homme-Machine* (1748/1960) is one example of the national tradition of gatekeeping against any mechanistic notion of subjectivity which German humanities disdainfully refer to as a 'mechanistic *Menschenbild'*.

A defining characteristic of German-national *paroles* appears to be how hard they are to translate and how embedded they are in the different faculties of *Geisteswissenschaften*. An example of this is the ideological term *Menschenbild*, which has been called foundational in that it addresses a general concept of humankind (Wössner, 1963; Westphalen, 1967) – which could literally be translated as 'the image of mankind'.[25] As such, it is an essentially humanistic, idealistic, and most of all, dualistic concept which methodologically implies that society's diversity is dependent on the respectively prevailing concept of mankind (Westphalen, 1967, p. 500). Therefore, it can be argued that the dualistic *Menschenbild* of German idealism shaped the concept of *Bildung* as well as *geisteswissenschaftlich* epistemology. Against this background, it is of little surprise that German sciences would meet with great resistance any

[24] From the perspective of general epistemology, German fear of mechanistic reductions seems overly dramatic, as their central feature appeals "to a lower level than the phenomenon being explained" (ibid.). Hence, the aim of mechanistic explanations is "to explain why a mechanism as a whole behaves in a particular fashion under specific conditions. *This strategy in no way undermines the reality of the phenonomenon being explained*; rather, it begins by treating the phenomenon as something that really occurs when the mechanism operates in a particular set of environments" (Bechtel & Hamilton, 2007, p. 406; own emphasis). As the functions of a mechanism are dependent upon environmental conditions, mechanistic explanations "focus on the mechanism's context, not just its internal configuration" (ibid., p. 410). Bechtel and Hamilton (2007) point out that "unlike theory-reduction accounts, *mechanistic reductionism neither denies the importance of context or of higher levels of organisation nor appeals exclusively to the components of a mechanism* in explaining what the mechanism does" (ibid., p. 410; own emphasis). However, because La Mettrie's ideologically motivated *L'Homme Machine* aimed to deny the existence of a soul, his reductions were considered especially problematic by the humanities.

[25] Though such a simple literal translation, of course, fails to grasp the true German-ness of *Menschenbild* and all its layers.

concept of man or education that subtracts *Geist* from the equation. One aspect of what makes the German criticism of La Mettrie exemplary for this thesis is the topos 'mechanistic *Menschenbild'*, and that it served as a scientific case to study the origin and translation of an idea (Whimster, 2006; Jooken & Rooryck, 2011; Rumore, 2016). Moreover, the early German reception of La Mettrie created a solid precedence for rejecting ideas based on the *Menschenbild* they conveyed.[26]

Even apart from its mechanistic reductions, the German linguistic community reproaches Skinner's Anti-Humanism while indulging at least some poststructuralist theories.[27] Following up on Mark Freeman and Charles Locurto (1994), this thesis asks not why but *how*

> "is it that behaviorism is so often seen as some sort of megalomaniacal conspiracy to demean and debase the human spirit while poststructuralism, for all its proclamations about what this human spirit is not, is often lauded for its courageousness in placing us 'subjects' more off-center than some might care to admit?" (ibid., p. 39).

Since 1972, the off-center placement of subjects and the consideration of environmental factors have become progressively more important to the social sciences, so that the introductory statement by B.F. Skinner may now appear much less threatening than at the time of its first publication. Given that the effects of human behavior occupy a large part of social sciences and specifically discourse analysis, it's an interesting phenomenon that the foundation Skinner laid with his empirical framework for a functional analysis of behavior appears to be widely overlooked. Though there are some sociological and educational texts pointing out the value of Skinner's ideas for the social sciences, most current publications referring favorably to Skinner's philosophy of science stem from the steadily blooming, but isolated field of Behavior Analysis. Therefore, the question becomes how traveling ideas and national epistemologies like German idealism relate to each other on an international stage.

1.3.4 National epistemologies and the traveling of ideas

As mentioned earlier, Stephanie Fox's (2020) methodological approach to identifying national epistemologies pioneers the efforts this paper intends to continue. Fox's (2020) work is significant for this thesis in that it establishes German idealism as a national epistemology, uncovers how nationalized thought manifests in discourse as social practice, and studies the transnational traveling of national ideas.

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[26] Although this thesis does expect to find additional similarities in the *geisteswissenschaftlich* reception of La Mettrie and B.F. Skinner, its aim is not a comparative study of the two. Rather, its goal is to study how a Western idea fared in an environment that against this historic background could be described as ideologically hostile.

[27] However, this study does not extend on past comparisons of behaviorist and poststructuralist theory but looks to analyze how Skinner and his ideas were received in the German speaking realm.

Fox (2020) argues that the national character of ideas can be identified by key-terms like *Bildung* whose defining characteristic is "substantial impossibility of translation and, therefore, their uniqueness and national embeddedness" (ibid, p. 193f.). That the English *education*, French *education* and German *Bildung* neither share identical meanings nor implications exemplifies "core differences within the cultural ideologies that are silently expressed by the terms which have imbibed particular ideological, that is as a rule national, shapes during the long 19th century" (ibid.).

Drawing on comparatist William K. Cummings (1999), Fox (2020:199) points out that only six nation(-states) from the global North, namely Germany, France, Japan, the Soviet Union/Russia, the United Kingdom, and the USA, developed unique epistemologies in their education research and how they differ "with regard to their epistemological power in knowledge-production" (Fox, 2020). Reasons for the travelling of epistemologies appear to go beyond a general transnational transfer of scientific ideas as suggested by Cowen (2009)[28], in that they are rather "fundamental for understanding the prevailing epistemological situation in a particular space" (Fox, 2020, p. 199).

From Cowen's (2009) perspective, "the work on postcolonialism (and education) is an excellent example of the transformations which are occurring from the base of initial imperial 'transfers' and 'translations'" (ibid., p. 323). Furthermore, and highly relevant for the historical context of this thesis, "transfer, translation and transformation can be seen in their most intense (time-compressed) form when there is a collapse (and rapid redefinition) of a political boundary and of political vision. One such stage for the drama of transfer, translation and transformation is the end of wars, as, for example, with […] the multiple Germanies after 1945, and the collapse of 'East' Germany some decades later" (Cowen, 2009, p. 324).[29] While Cowen's methodology facilitates a comparative analysis of the travelling and shapeshifting of ideas, it does not account for the purpose of their traveling.[30] However, Fox's (2020) discourse analysis indicates that

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[28] Cowen's (2009) comparative approach to *The transfer, translation and transformation of educational processes* refers to his prior conceptual work:

"(a) *transfer* is the movement of an educational idea or practice in supra-national or trans- national or inter-national space: the 'space-gate' moment, with its politics of attraction and so on;

(b) *translation* is the shape-shifting of educational institutions or the re-interpretation of educational ideas which routinely occurs with the transfer in space: 'the chameleon process'; and

(c) *transformations* are the metamorphoses which the compression of social and economic power into education in the new context imposes on the initial translation: that is, a range of transformations which cover both the indigenization and the extinction of the translated form" (Cowen, 2006, p. 566).

[29] In this context it is interesting that *transformatorische Bildungstheorie* emerged in response to *Geisteswissenschaften* being challenged by internationalization and poststructuralist theory (Stieger, 2018; 2020).

[30] It is also important to note that while the transformation and shapeshifting of German ideology is an interesting topic, this thesis' aim lies not in reconstructing them but rather in highlighting some of the constants of ideological German-ness in relation to how they contribute to German nit-picking at foreign epistemologies.

"the two major reasons or purposes of travel can be called travelling 'by invitation' and 'as occupation'. Both of these purposes convene a substantial amount of power, yet in ways that differ from each other in *holding* power and *exerting* power" (ibid., p. 199).

The first of these purposes, "'travelling by invitation', is more likely to happen in (epistemologically) strong nation(-state)s that have developed unique national educational ideas into which the invited travelled idea becomes integrated in various ways" (ibid.), such as

- *epistemological implantation* which "indicates situations when foreign ideas become discussed in or even implemented into a 'unique' national thought style while staying (more or less) contextualized as foreign thought – a common practice in international research" (ibid.) or
- *epistemological appropriation* which "describes situations where it became more and more obsolete to contextualize the foreign travelled ideas within their national roots of origin" (ibid.)

Exemplary of this "approach is the rise and success of French poststructuralism and deconstruction associated with French philosophers like Foucault, Derrida and Deleuze, especially in North America" (ibid.), where "original ideas become indigenous in a new national context by imitating the 'mental climate' (p. 33) of the original thinkers" (ibid.).

The purpose of the second form of travelling ideas *as occupation* or *epistemological colonialization* is "described as an exportation of a national epistemology to a foreign destination where it starts to spread. This case is more likely to happen in (epistemologically) weak(er) nation(-state)s" (ibid.). Considering Cowen's comments on "the drama of transfer, translation and transformation" (2009, p. 324) in Post-World War II Germany, one aspect this thesis aims to shed light on is how Skinner's behaviorism being an *American* idea travelling in the wake of pragmatism shaped its reception in German humanities. Therefore, German idealism and American pragmatism will subsequently be discussed as national epistemologies whose linguistic expressions of nationalized thought patterns could be considered a means of epistemological persuasion.

1.3.5 Powerful national epistemologies: German Idealism and American Pragmatism

Thus far, this chapter has elaborated on German Idealism as a style of national thought, its most distinctive patterns and how this national epistemology gained institutional power per the establishment of *Geistenswissenschaften* in a way that "partly contributed to the formation and development of present-day European and Western society and of the colonial world"

(Leezenberg, 2018, p. 155). As such a national epistemology, German idealism travelled in a way that it is still mentioned when modern humanities' and even general science's international development are discussed. Indeed, its exemplary and ongoing intellectual occupation of Austria – which is part of the German linguistic community – was facilitated by

> "the notion of *Bildung*, the epitome of the German *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* (Humanities education), an offspring of German Idealism, [which] started to spread and become as epistemologically as culturally dominant. The concept of *Bildung*, together with its German-national epistemology of, in its origins, German Idealism, would come to stay prevalent until today" (Fox, 2020, p. 204).

To study how the thought collective of *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* related to foreign ideas, it is important to elaborate on the Anti-Western dimension of its ideology. As reconstructed by Tröhler (2012), the German thought collective took its a significant Anti-Western ideological turn after its defeat in the Great War with Ernst Troeltsch's (1923) arguing in line with Fichte (1808) that the essence of German-ness could never be understood by foreigners, especially not through a "Western Europe and American way of thinking" (Troeltsch, 1923, p. 4). During the Weimar Republic (1918-1933), Eduard Spranger, Herman Nohl and Wilhelm Flitner "constituted the *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik"* (Tröhler, 2012, p. 159) and consecutively constructed a theory of *Bildung*, which also implied

> "that the Western world did not understand the German mission. On the occasion of the memory of the founding of the German Reich in 1871, Spranger talked about the influence of the neo-humanism (the German poets and thinkers around 1800) on the rise of the German national consciousness" (ibid.).

For the context of this thesis, the significance of the mentioned influence of neo-humanism cannot be emphasized enough, as its remnant traces were and may still be instrumental to the German reception of foreign ideas. This evolving concept "of *Bildung* was a polemic notion against the scientific and economic developments in France and England when it became popular towards the end of the eighteenth century and described the uniqueness of the German culture as opposed to the Western civilization" (ibid., p. 162), to the extent that its polemic has even been described as "an inherent characteristic of the German theory of *Bildung*" (Tröhler 2012, p. 150). These polemics continued through the 20th century as well since Germany's second defeat and subsequent occupation by allied forces did not serve to minimalize the Anti-Western notions of its ideology. Instead, it seems to have further cemented the great German ideology and identity as being "misunderstood by all the other peoples" (Spranger, 1923, p. 3). For the purposes of this paper, further implications of the Anti-Western aspects of German ideology are best illustrated per example of the German reception of American pragmatism, "the influential American philosophical current that only accepts philosophical concepts and distinctions to the extent that they help in solving concrete problems" (Leezenberg, 2018, p.

88). This figurative current of pragmatism has been subject of various studies into the transfer, translation, and transformation of ideas as well as international discourse.

American pragmatism can be described as another powerful national epistemology (Fox 2020)[31] in that it has been particularly influential to modern education as elaborated on in works like *Pragmatism and Education* (Tröhler & Oelkers 2005), *Pragmatism and Modernities* (Tröhler, Schlag & Osterwalder, 2010) and *Inventing the Modern Self and John Dewey. Modernities and the Traveling of Pragmatism in Education* (Popkewitz, 2005).

Pragmatism's defense of a close relationship between learning and democracy is mostly accredited to the work of one of its early figureheads, John Dewey (1859-1952) (Shook, 2010). Since the predominating theory of *Bildung* did not concern itself much with learning or democracy, Dewey's pragmatist concept of education was not received well in the realm of *Geisteswissenschaften* (Popkewitz, 2005; Tröhler & Oelkers, 2005; Tröhler et al., 2010; Tröhler, 2012).[32]

Popkewitz' (2005) work is particularly relevant for this thesis because his methodological approach to constituting the traveling of pragmatism was to consider how Dewey as educational pragmatism's figurehead was *conceived* through studying how Dewey's writings as a *traveling library* were translated and successively transformed in other nations. Popkewitz' perspective "advances the notion of Dewey as a 'conceptual persona', that is, an embodiment of theses about the modern self, conceived (…) as a 'purposeful agent of change in a world filled with contingency'" (Rodriguez, 2008, p. 72).

While the phrasing 'a world filled with contingency' has a smack of behaviorism to it, Popkewitz' (2005) notion of Dewey as a *conceptual personae* – who, to some cultures became an "indigenous foreigner" (ibid., p. 9) – and as a *traveling library* offers a framework for the analysis of scientific discourse regarding how "ideas are historicized as cultural practices" (ibid., p. 8).

Given that pragmatism was widely rejected by the German educational thought collective, it seems fair to assume that its inner-American competitor behaviorism was received just as cautiously to the extent that Skinner was considered a foreigner who never became indigenous

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[31] Pragmatism's national particularities can be described as a fundamental "reasonable, virtuous cooperation in the social 'outer' world" (Fox, 2020, p. 196), anti-dualistic materialism, pluralism in practice and defense of a close relationship between learning and democracy (Shook, 2010). However, it is important to note that there are not yet many authors publishing on how national particularities factor into epistemology as this has only recently emerged as an aspect worthy of scientific analysis.

[32] As Tröhler (2012:162) points out, „Dewey's (1915) *German Philosophy and Politics* can be read as a polemic against Germany". The feeling appears to have been mutual, as Eduard Spranger notably called "Dewey's pragmatism despicable" (ibid.). Considering that Spranger was influential to the establishment and development of a German theory of *Bildung* and the new discipline of *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*, pragmatist approaches to a general theory of education appear doomed to fail in the German linguistic community.

to his German audience. While the emerging and isolated field of behavior analysis does offer some reception research on behaviorism, in education science there is little to be found on the subject. It appears that behaviorism, indeed, is at odds with the nation's *Geist*.

1.3.6 The thought style of Behaviorism and an American idea's implications for education

When considering how the *geisteswissenschaftlich* thought collective received radical behaviorism, it important to note that many reproaches of Skinner's philosophy of science have been shown to be based on or include misconceptions about it (Skinner, 1974; DeBell & Harless, 1992; Todd & Morris, 1992; Lamal, 1995; Arntzen et al., 2010). One particularly relevant example of a common misconception of behaviorism is that it is said to have been surpassed by a *cognitive turn* in psychology, in which Skinner's counterpart Noam Chomsky is often claimed to have played a vital role (Leezenberg, 2018; Pléh, 2019; O'Donohue & Kitchener, 1999).[33] The story goes that with the emergency of cognitive studies, the behavioristic paradigm became outdated as psychology and other sciences turned toward cognitivism, instead. However, extensive analyses have shown that rather than being a true Kuhnian revolution of science (Friman et al., 1993), falsifying behaviorism in the Popperian sense or being more progressive from a Lakatosian perspective (O'Donohue et al., 2003), since the 1970s this so-called cognitive *revolution* or *turn* in psychology has been a mere, but persistent myth (Hobbs & Chiesa, 2011).

One of the questions this thesis therefore assumes to answer is whether and how the literary topos 'cognitive turn' was used as *Geisteswissenschaften*'s knockout argument against behaviorism (and thereby one justification for their discarding it). However, Skinner's intellectual legacy endures, with contemporary behaviorism growing out of his work (Baum, 2003; Bryant et al., 2013). Indeed, analyses of empirical citations (e.g.: Dixon et al., 2007) have shown Skinner's book *Verbal Behavior* (1957) has remained relevant at least through 2004, while a general citation count of Skinner's works (Thyer, 1991) showed "*no evidence of a decline in the absolute number of such citations*" (ibid.; own emphasis). The most widely known and most often referenced misinterpretation of behaviorism (Jensen & Burgess, 1997)

[33] The Handbook of Behaviorism (O'Donohue & Kitchener, 1999) opens with the words: "Why publish a book on behaviorism? Behaviorism is dead, killed by the cognitive revolution", whose murderous "centerpiece here, no doubt, was Chomsky's critique of Skinner's Verbal Behavior" (ibid., p. XIX). Even Chomsky's German Wikipedia page claims him to be an actuator of the 'cognitive turn' as his "attack" of behaviorist theory contributed to the rise of cognitive science. This position appears to persist not only in the mainstream of the internet, but also in scientific publications, and especially in the humanities as shown by example of Leezenberg (2018, p. 86f).

appears to be Noam Chomsky's (1959) review of Skinner's *Verbal Behavior* (1957).[34]
The question of whether this one linguist's stance also shaped the German reception of Skinner as well will have to be revisited in the results. More immediate is the question of behaviorism's epistemological assumptions and how they relate to education. As suggested by its name, behaviorism seems to concern itself primarily with the scientific study of human behavior and secondarily with the design of reliable methods and valid parameters to do so (Bryant et al., 2013, p. 91) and as such can be seen as an attempt at creating a factual science of human behavior. Yet B.F. Skinner made sure to point out that "*Behaviorism is **not** the science of behavior; it is the philosophy of that science*" (Skinner, 1974, p. 208; own emphasis).

Skinner's philosophy of science is known as *radical behaviorism* or *neobehaviorism*. To stay with short words, behaviorism began with Ivan Pavlov's Associationism and classical conditioning: a relatively simple Stimulus-Response model (short: SR-model). As this "failed to fully explain the maintenance of human behavior, neobehaviorism presented the field with operational models that analyzed the motivation of behavior" (Bryant et al., 2013, p. 91). What was new about neobehaviorism was that it also took the operations of the organism into account, thus evolving into a Stimulus-Organism-Response model (short: SOR model). B.F. Skinner took the model a step further by following Thorndike's (1898) law of effect[35], thus also studying the causes of an action and its consequences. What came to be known as early behavior analysis led to the Stimulus-Organism-Response-Consequence model (short: SORC model) as well as theories about contingencies, and thus, operant learning or conditioning.[36] The basics of operant conditioning are surprisingly simple, yet still appear as a source of much confusion and many misconceptions, as mentioned in the introduction. Because Skinner's research was concerned with the lawfulness of behavior, it *had* to be basic and reductive.

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[34] Jensen and Burgess (1997) emphasize that "distortions and misinterpretations of the principles and methodology of Skinner's radical behaviorism occurred throughout his life. Averaging 18 citations per year for the last 10 years, according to the *Social Sciences Citation Index* (1995), the most widely referenced misinterpretation is perhaps Noam Chomsky's (1959) review of Skinner's (1957) *Verbal Behavior*" (Jensen & Burgess, 1997, p. 222). The authors go on to state that "Chomsky, lacking an understanding of Skinner's radical behaviorism, spent much of his time attacking theories of drive reduction and S-R principles, both of which are unrelated to the functional analysis of verbal behavior" and that "contrary to the mythology perpetrated in many textbooks, Chomsky did **not** prove or even demonstrate Skinner's analysis to be faulty" (ibid., p. 223, own emphases).

[35] The principle of the law of effect is that behavior (a response) that is followed by a pleasant consequence will likely be repeated, while unpleasant consequences result in its repetition being less likely (Thorndike 1898). With the concepts of *reinforcement* and *extinction*, Skinner rephrased it to behavior being a function of its consequences, weakening or being extinguished through contingent punishment or lack of reinforcement, and strengthening through contingent reinforcement.

[36] "Operant conditioning employs the model of positive and negative reinforcement and punishment and extinction" (Bryant et al. 2013, p. 92). "The expressions positive and negative are not used in their traditional definitions; instead, they are used to explain the scientific thought of adding or subtracting a pleasant or unpleasant stimulus in effort to affect a directional change of a behavior" (ibid.). In an experimental setting, affecting such directional change as predicted is usually referred to as 'controlling' it.

Therefore, Skinner's primary method consisted of animal experiments with pigeons and rats in what came to be known as a 'Skinner-Box' or 'operant conditioning chamber': a reduced environment in which an animal can be rewarded (reinforced) or punished for engaging in certain behaviors (i.e.: rats pressing levers, pigeons pecking at keys, e.g.: Skinner, 1948a). According to Skinner, behavior is dynamic, active, and results in a reciprocal behavior-environment interchange and is generally not described as simple or machine-like (Skinner, 1953; 1974). This is emphasized, because although Skinner studied the mechanics of behavior by methodically reducing them to their functional core, he neither viewed man as a machine nor denied inner processes. Rather, "Skinner's radical behaviorism embraced both public behavior and the private parts of our experience, those psychological activities that are not yet accessible by empirical observation" (Jensen & Burgess, 1997, p. 222), specifically those "typically referred to as cognitive processes" (ibid.) which include "thinking, perceiving, the self, feeling and emotion, and knowing" (ibid.).

Robert Jensen' and Helene Burgess' (1997) analysis of "how academic folklore has become the medium which reproduces misconceptions from one generation of scientists to the next" (ibid., p. 223) is particularly relevant for an educational perspective on behaviorism's impact as they studied persisting myths about behaviorism in psychology, focusing on "those writers whose distortions of B. F. Skinner's ideas find their way into psychology textbooks" (ibid.). Their study falls in line with Todd and Morris' (1983) findings on miseducation about behaviorism per evaluation of

> "introductory psychology textbooks as well as textbooks in social, cognitive, personality, and developmental psychology. They documented a variety of misconceptions including (a) a near-exclusive focus on nonhuman animals, (b) a rejection of phylogenetic contributions to behavior, (c) the absence of activity occurring inside the skin, (d) a simplistic view of language development, and (e) the limited applicability of behavioral principles" (Jensen & Burgess, 1997).

A more recent analysis by C.S. DeBell and D.K Harless (1992) whose criteria were also used by Erik Arntzen et al. (2010) described the following, slightly adjusted misconceptions of behaviorism regarding: "(a) the role of physiology and genetics in behavior, (b) the extent to which all behavior can be conditioned, (c) the uniqueness of the individual, (d) the use of punishment in controlling behavior, and (e) the existence of internal states" (DeBell & Harless, 1992, p. 68).

Given that different studies from its native fields of psychology and behavior analysis (Todd & Morris, 1983; 1992; DeBell & Harless, 1992; Jensen & Burgess, 1997; Sheldon, 2002; Arntzen et al., 2010) have brought attention to the transfer of misconceptions about behaviorism through education, the question becomes whether this could be a global phenomenon – or at least one

that manifests in other nations just as well. Another relevant question is: If even American psychologists apparently do not 'get' behaviorism, can German *Geisteswissenschaftler* who appear to harshly judge any conveyed image of mankind that falls short of the German ideal be expected to grasp this foreign and monistic concept? Coincidentally, there are presently no analyses of misconceptions about behaviorism within the German linguistic community.

Before contributing to the narrowing of this research gap, it is necessary to briefly consider radical behaviorism's relevance to education science. While B.F. Skinner's views on education are best explained by the man himself (Whiteley & Skinner, 1972), his contributions to – and "enormous responsibility in the field of" (Bryant et al., 2013, p. 93) – education are comprehensively summarized from an educational perspective by Larry Bryant et al. (2013) in the *Handbook of Educational Theories*. The innovative terminology of positive and negative reinforcement and punishment wasn't only critical to the newly emerging field of studying behavior, but also "advanced behaviorism language" (ibid.) per its implications for educative practice. These implications can be explained by the following example:

> "if an educator wanted to increase a student's on task behavior they may select a positive reinforcement to increase the student's on task behavior (i.e., adding a pleasant stimulus, such as giving candy for independent seat work); and if the educator wanted to decrease a student's behavior, they could use a positive punishment (i.e., adding an unpleasant stimulus, such as scorning a student for not completing seatwork). Likewise, if an educator wanted to increase a student's on task behavior, they may select to use negative reinforcement to address the student's on task behavior (i.e., subtracting an unpleasant stimulus, such as quieting down the class during independent seatwork); or an educator could employ a negative punishment to decrease a student's excessive off task behavior (i.e., subtracting a pleasant stimulus, such as taking away free time)" (Bryant et al., 2013, p. 92f).[37]

However, it is important to point out that while Bryant et al. (2013) provide a great overview of education's perspective on behaviorism, their perspective is limited by its disregard of radical behaviorism's continued development to Empirical Behaviorism (Bijou, 1999), which significantly contributed to developmental psychology in that it specifically considers the

[37] The intentional application of reinforcement and punishment is often described as manipulative. While the ethical dimension of this as addressed by Beirne & Sadavoy (2019)'s *Understanding Ethics in Applied Behavior Analysis* reaches beyond the scope of this thesis, this will be addressed anecdotally: One of my educators, a German psychologist and teacher named Kirsten Cordes, said in one of her seminars "You can't not condition." By this, she meant that because we are social beings, the things we do as educators while teaching act as reinforcers or punishers on students whether we intend them to or not (i.e.: certain students may feel uncomfortable when a teacher looks at them while others may find the attention reinforcing). Bryant et al. (2013)'s above example is given to understand the experimental application of reinforcing/punishing principles – while outside the Skinner-Box, becoming mindful of individual reinforcers and punishers facilitates their application in a functional (and thus, more 'natural' and less manipulative) way by resorting to functional social reinforcers instead of obvious (and often disruptive) additives like candy or tokens. Because authenticity (as in transparency of intentions) apparently acts as a reinforcer for humans as social beings, its absence (or subtraction) can act as a strong (negative) punisher even in the presence of other reinforcers. Therefore, the key to ultimately being controlled from the outside lies in realizing that reinforcers and punishers are *always* at play and that true autonomy lies in an overlooked degree of freedom: Choosing how to respond to them.

interactive dimension of human behavior. The authors' account of behaviorism's contemporary state of validity should therefore be taken with a figurative grain of salt, especially under consideration of this: Their stating that behaviorist approaches limit "the learner to a passive role in the learning process" (Bryant et al., 2013), can be interpreted as a transfer of misconceptions about behaviorism to education (e.g., "absence of activity inside the skin" (Todd & Morris, 1983) or "denied the existence of internal states" (DeBell & Harless, 1992)). Additionally, Bryant et al. (2013) fail to mention that behaviorism's contributions to education also included experiments regarding programmed instruction and the development of teaching machines. These respective discoveries were foundational for the development of computer-based learning as well as specific training programs for various purposes. As initial experiments with these new methods were mechanistically reductive by design, their contemporary relevance and applicability are described as limited (Tröhler, 2013; 2016). Yet, experiments with programmed instruction were popular during the 1960s and 1970s not only in the USA and the Soviet Union (Boretska, 2019), but also in the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* part of Germany as well as Switzerland (Horlacher, 2015; Tröhler, 2016). This goes to show that B.F. Skinner's ideas were not just received critically in and by the German linguistic community.

1.3.7 Brief summary

To summarize, the first two research questions can briefly be answered as follows:
The reception of foreign ideas relates to their compatibility with predominating national epistemologies in the sense that reception seems dependent on compatibility to the respective national ideology and dominant epistemology. In an analysis of discourse, national grammars like *Bildung* or *Menschenbild* can then be seen as indicators of particular national concepts of human subjectivity like the German *Geist*.
Furthermore, it has been shown that *Geisteswissenschaften* have traditionalized the rejection of foreign ideas because of their *Menschenbild* falling short of the German ideal. Since World War II was detrimental to the international perception of German-ness and its ideals, German idealism's relevance does not seem universally sustainable. And as if the holocaust's scientific aftermath hadn't been enough, German thought is not just challenged ideologically, but also methodologically as the scientific validity of *Geisteswissenschaften*'s subjects and approaches is called into question.
While these issues are raised independently of this thesis' specific research interest, the case study at hand seems to be embedded in broader scientific discourse as mentioned in the introduction and depicted in Figure 2 below.

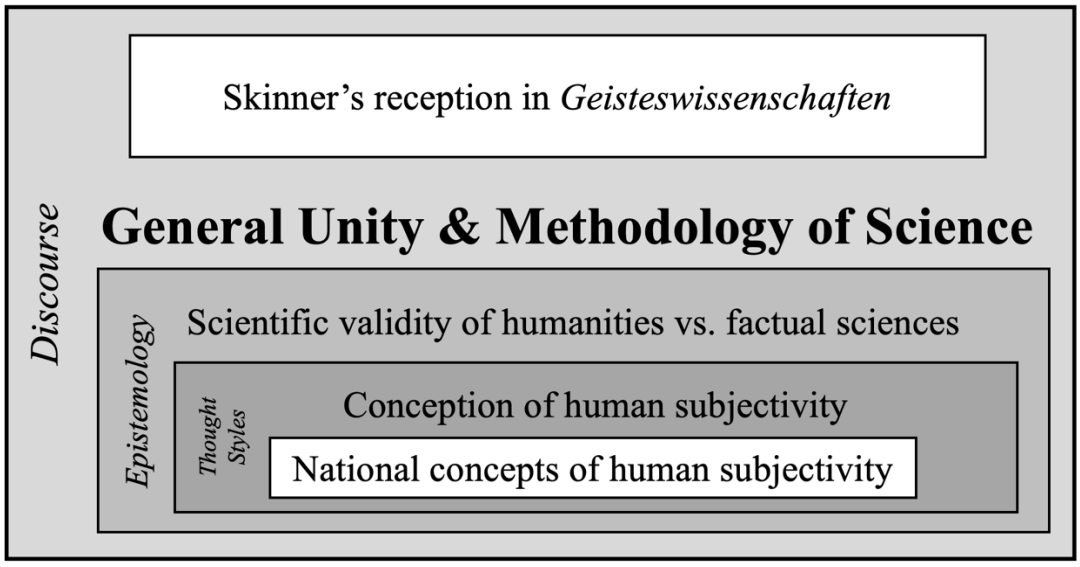

Figure 2: How the case of Skinner's reception in Geisteswissenschaften is embedded in scientific discourse and shaped by thought styles

Against this background, radical behaviorism could be perceived as a direct threat to German thought which makes the study of its reception even more interesting. Skinner's reception in *Geisteswissenschaften* is not only embedded in epistemological discourse, but also in the debate about the scientific validity of humanitarian methodology which is entrenched by conceptions of human subjectivity as shaped by (national) thought styles. Having elaborated on the political and epistemological power relations affecting our case, it is time to turn to the material itself.

II. Skinner vs. the German spirit: Results

This chapter answers the research questions (as presented earlier in section 1.1) regarding how Skinner and behaviorism are talked about in German publications, what indications of misconceptions of Skinner's ideas can be identified and contextualized, the use of the topos 'cognitive turn' in relation to radical behaviorism, how Skinner and radical behaviorism are conceived methodologically, morally, and theoretically, as well as how they were received in *Geisteswissenschaften*.

The section *Taking turns at Skinner* first turns to the data, and then considers historical and political context before taking a linguistic turn at the material. An analysis of the topos 'cognitive turn' will also be part of this section and serves as a bridge to the second section *Skinner as a conceptual personae,* which addresses how Skinner as the representative of radical behaviorism was conceptualized in *Geisteswissenschaften*.

2.1 Taking turns at Skinner

The first part of results is structured to consider Skinner's German reception not only from a broad perspective, but also to zoom in on those issues most relevant to the study at hand.

2.1.1 Turning to the data

Even though it pales in comparison to Smith & Morris' (1993) 62 pages long bibliography of Skinner's original publications, Skinner's *traveling library* is quite impressive and, if how steadily it is referenced even in a hostile environment like the German realm is any indication of its significance, appears to remain relevant even decades after its author's passing.

Further citation analysis revealed that five of the 325[38] available German texts that were analyzed for this master's thesis were published between 1965 and 1969, 26 from 1972 to 1979, 34 from 1980 to 1989, 20 from 1990 to 1999, 101 from 2000 to 2009, 133 from 2010 to 2019, and 6 in 2020. This is depicted in Figure 3 below.

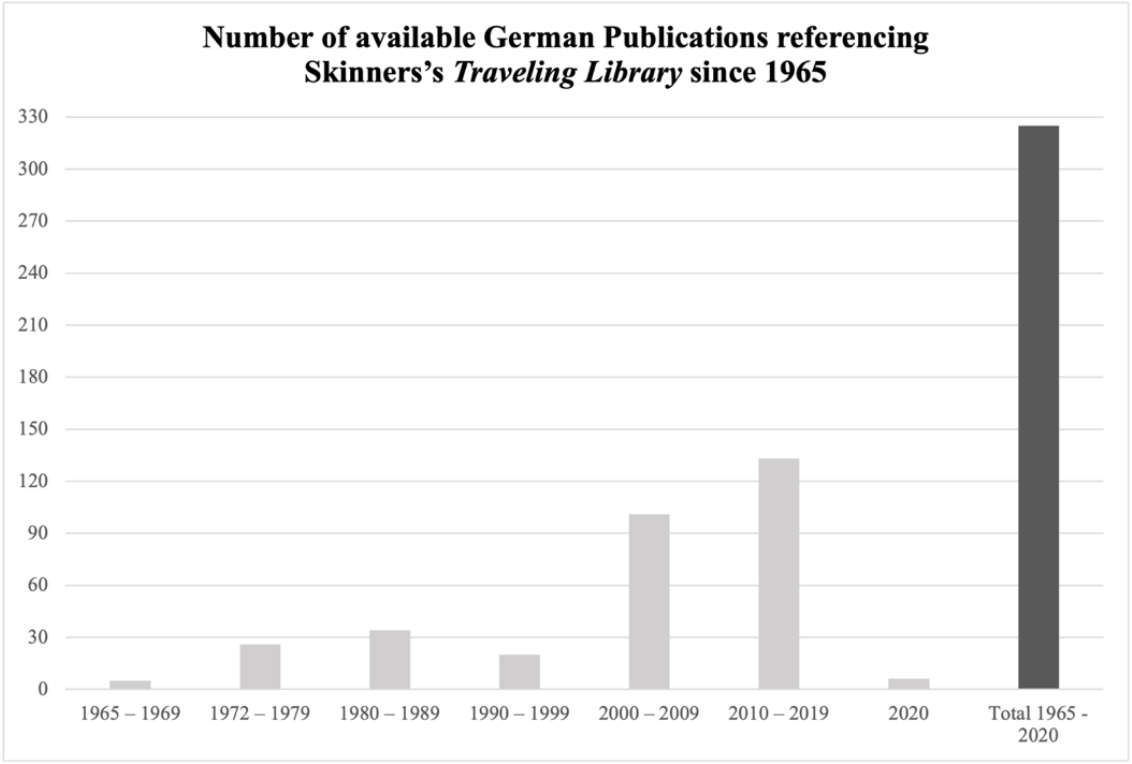

Figure 3: Number of German Publications referencing Skinner's Traveling Library.

Though it was expected that recent publications would be more readily available than those

[38] The number of publications citing the German section of Skinner's *traveling library* is noted at ~320 because the total of 325 includes five texts (Ausubel, 1974a, 1974b; Fromm, 1973; Rogers, 1984; Thomas & Feldmann, 1992) that themselves are translations which reference available German translations of Skinner's publications. Though this was not a research objective and therefore not specifically tracked, some of them, like Rogers (1984), Ausubel (1974a, 1974b), and Fromm (1973), were also mentioned in German discussions of radical behaviorism's implications for subjectivity as conceived from a humanitarian or humanistic perspective.

predating the 1980s, the rather large number of references to Skinner in the last two decades was still surprising. Taking a literary and literal turn at Skinner, his German publications and their various reprints were referenced a total of 464 times in the 325 texts that were analyzed.

The most references were made to *Jenseits von Freiheit und Würde* (1973a) and *Wissenschaft und menschliches Verhalten* (1973) by nearly a respective third of authors, the novel *Futurum Zwei* (1970/1976a) with 53 citations over the last few decades, *Erziehung als Verhaltensformung* (1971a), *Was ist Behaviorismus* (1978), and *Die Funktion der Verstärkung in der Verhaltenswissenschaft* (1974a) as displayed in Figures 4 and 5. While the mere number of references says little about each publication's significance, it does show which of Skinner's works German authors liked to reference most frequently since 1965.

***German Title* (Year of initial publication in Germany), [*Original title,* Year of initial publication]**	**Number of references**
Warum wir Lehrmaschinen brauchen (1965e). [*Why we need teaching machines*, 1961b)]	2
Lehrmaschinen (1965). [*Teaching machines*, 1958/1961a]	10
Die Wissenschaft vom Lernen und die Kunst des Lehrens (1965a). [*The Science of Learning and the Art of Teaching*, 1954]	19
50 Jahre Behaviorismus (1965b). [Behaviorism at fifty, 1963a)	3
Eine funktionale Analyse sprachlichen Verhaltens (1965d). [Chapter 1 from *Verbal Behavior*, 1957]	3
10 Jahre Lehrmaschinen (1965f). / *Ein Jahrzehnt Lehrmaschinen* (1971b). [*Reflections on a decade of teaching machines*, 1963b]	10
Kritik psychoanalytischer Begriffe und Theorien (1965g). [*Critique of psychoanalytic concepts and theories*, 1954]	6
Denken und Lernen (1967); with Werner Correll.	16
Futurum Zwei (1970/1976a). [*Walden Two*, 1948; *Walden Two* with new preface, 1976]	54
Analyse des Verhaltens (1971), with J.G. Hollard. [*The analysis of behavior*, 1961]	13
Erziehung als Verhaltensformung – Grundlagen einer Technologie des Lehrens (1971a). [*The technology of teaching*, 1968]	47
Eine funktionale Analyse des Sprachverhaltens (1972). [Chapter 1 from *Verbal Behavior*, 1957]	4
Jenseits von Freiheit und Würde (1973a). [*Beyond freedom and dignity*, 1972]	95
Wissenschaft und menschliches Verhalten (1973). [*Science and human behavior*, 1953]	90
Die Funktion der Verstärkung in der Verhaltenswissenschaft (1974). [*Contingencies of Reinforcement*, 1969]	40
Was ist Behaviorismus (1978). [*About Behaviorism*, 1974]	43
Walden Two: Die Vision einer besseren Gesellschaftsform (2002). [*Walden Two*. With a new preface by the author, 1976]	9
Total	**464**

Figure 4: Table display of number of German references to individual German works from Skinner's Traveling Library since first publication.

The table in Figure 4 above shows how many texts referenced each of Skinner's German publications. That the total number is larger than 325 is owed to the fact that some of the texts

referenced more than one German publication from the *traveling library*.[39] Subsequently, Figure 5 displays Skinner's top six German publications in order of number of references to them.

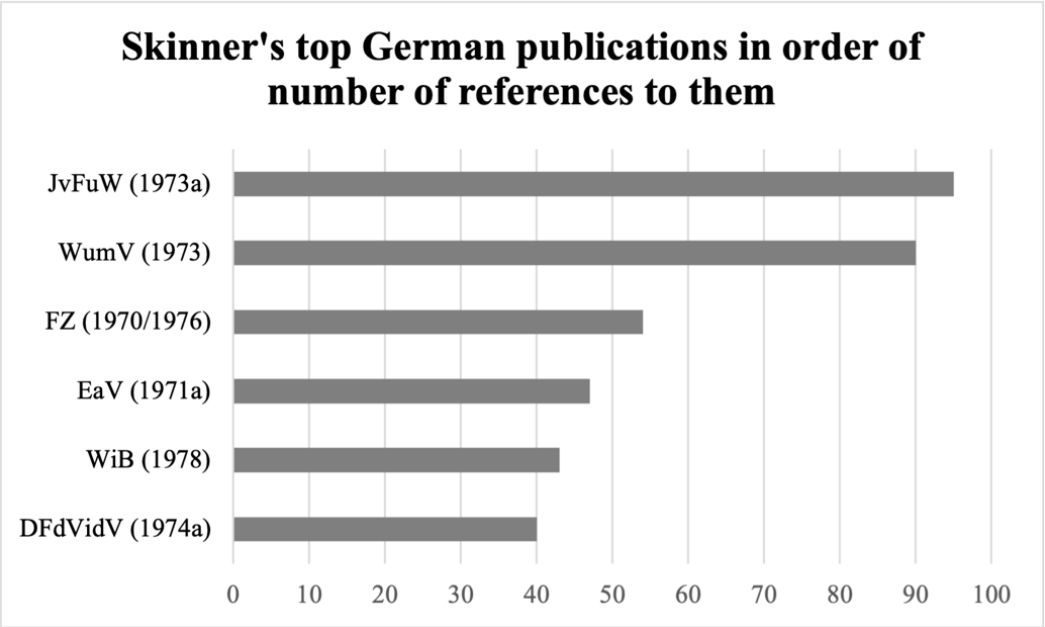

Figure 5: Skinner's top German publications by number of references to them.[40]

Moving along with the citation analysis, a first examination of German discourse suggests that Germans do not appear to have forgotten about Skinner at all[41]: Within the 325 publications that were analyzed, Skinner was mentioned by name a total of 2562 times.[42] Just what German authors had to say about him will later be considered in the section 'Skinner as a *conceptual personae*'.

Among the 325 different German texts, there were a total of 103 articles or book chapters, 175 books (some of which were originally dissertations that were published afterwards), seven

[39] The citation count regarding *Futurum Zwei* (1970/1972/1976) is the collective count of citations of Martin Beheim-Schwarzbach's translation in different reprints. The same goes for the citation count of Ingrid Schüßler's translation *Die Wissenschaft vom Lernen und die Kunst des Lehrens* (1965a).

[40] For Figure 4, titles from the TL_GER were abbreviated as follows: JvFuW: Jenseits von Freiheit und Würde (1973a), WumV: Wissenschaft und menschliches Verhalten (1973), FZ: Futurum Zwei (1970/1976), EaV: Erziehung als Verhaltsformung (1971a), WiB: Was ist Behaviorismus (1978), DFdVidV: Die Funktion der Verstärkung in der Verhaltenswissenschaft (1974a).

[41] Instead, it appears that Bördlein's (2005) anecdotal remark about everyone having an opinion to state about Skinner might have some truth to it.

[42] In all conscience, the counting was done to the best of this author's ability. In digital texts, the counting of named references was facilitated by the search option, while (often antiquary) hard copies of more than 100 sources had to be sighted carefully page by page. While ten authors used Skinner as a scientific reference without mentioning him at all, 114 authors mentioned him once, 40 mentioned him twice, 24 mentioned him three times, 25 used his name four times, 16 used his name five times, nine used it six times in their texts, 13 used it seven times, and four authors each used it eight, nine, eleven and twelve times. Three authors each mentioned Skinner 22 and 32 times, respectively. Another two authors each correspondingly used his name 14, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 30, 40, 56, and 110 times. Single authors referred to Skinner by name 13, 16, 20, 26, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 47, 52, 53, 54, 55, 63, 85, 88, 92, 115, 124, 198, 365, and even 406 times in their respective texts.

diploma theses, and 40 dissertations which referenced parts of Skinner's *traveling library*. Regarding the fields and disciplines they were published in, the data base allowed for the tracking of up to three fields per publication, ranging from broader genres like Social Science, Humanities, and Natural Sciences to specific research fields like Disability Studies.[43] The broad range of publications validates Bördlein's (2005) statement that indeed, not only does 'nearly everyone' have something to say about Skinner, but also that even in Germany, his work appears relevant beyond the field of psychology. Upon further analysis, one important question to pursue will be whether indications of German *Geist* can be found not only in *geisteswissenschaftlich* texts, but also in those stemming from sciences that are deemed more 'factual'.

Translations, Translators, and Impact

Ingrid Schüssler's translation of *The Science of Learning and the Art of Teaching* (Skinner, 1954) seems to be of lasting impact, as it appeared in Correll (1965), Weinert (1967) and Eckart (2013). Over time, it was cited by 19 of the 325 different publications that were analyzed. With 53 citations since its first publications, Martin Beheim-Schwarzbach's translations of *Walden Two* (Skinner, 1948/1976) also fared rather well. Edwin Ortman, however, takes the crown, as his translations of Skinner's *Science and Human Behavior* (1953), *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971) and *Contingencies of Reinforcement* (1969) collectively make up 225 of 464 total citations of Skinner's German body of work (see Figures 4 and 5 for individual publications among the top citation counts).

In line with Cowen (2006, 2009), this thesis assumes that the way Skinner was translated into German must have also transformed his ideas to some degree and thus affected how they were received (see section 1.3.4). Although this thesis will not consider this further, Figure 6 provides an overview of translators and Skinner's publications as found in the *traveling library* (see attachment TL_GER for further details). It shows that a total of fourteen translators contributed to the German part of Skinner's *traveling library*.

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[43] 141 of the analyzed texts were categorized as concerned with Education, 38 of them with Education Science and 37 with Pedagogy, specifically. 94 texts fell in the broad field of Social Science, while 63 came from Psychology. 48 texts came from philosophical backgrounds or faculties while 15 each came from Applied Sciences and Economics. 13 publications each came from the Humanities and Sociology, and 12 from Social Work. Eight texts each came from Mathematics, Linguistics, Epistemology, Cultural Anthropology and Computer Science. Additionally, seven publications each fell into the categories Natural Sciences and Medicine. Out of six texts that came from Theology, two were written by Catholic Bishops. Five texts came from Political Science and four from Law Studies. Three texts each were categorized as Popular Science, Ethics, Continued Education Studies, Comparative Literature, and Biology. Two publications each came from the fields of Family Research, History, and Media Pedagogy. Additionally, a total of 16 single texts each came from Behavior Science, *Berufs- und Wirtschaftspädagogik*, Bioethics, Disability Studies, Gender Studies, *Heilpädagogik*, Inclusion, *Nachrichtenpsychologie*, Psycholinguistics, Special Education, *Spezielle Pädagogik*, Sports Science, *Sonderpädagogik*, and even Technology.

Translator	Title of German translation.
Eike Schmitz	*Lehrmaschinen* (1965). *Eine funktionale Analyse sprachlichen Verhaltens* (1965d). *Erziehung als Verhaltensformung – Grundlagen einer Technologie des Lehrens* (1971a).
Lilli Meinecke	*Fünfzig Jahre Behaviorismus* (1965b) *Eine Fallstudie zur wissenschaftlichen Methode in der Psychologie* (1965c)
Ingrid Schüßler	*Die Wissenschaft vom Lernen und die Kunst des Lehrens* (1965a, 1967a). *Warum wir Lehrmaschinen brauchen* (1965e). *Zehn Jahre Lehrmaschinen - Ein Rückblick* (1965f).
Gerlinde Schuster & Lutz Ebring	*Kritik psychoanalytischer Begriffe und Theorien* (1965g).
Martin Beheim-Schwarzbach	*Futurum Zwei* (1970). *Futurum Zwei: Die Vision einer aggressionsfreien Gesellschaft* (1972). *Futurum Zwei: Die Vision einer aggressionsfreien Gesellschaft.* Neuausgabe (1976a)
Irmela Florin	*Analyse des Verhaltens* (1971, with J.G. Holland).
R. Lindau & K. Heipcke	*Ein Jahrzehnt Lehrmaschinen* (1971b).
Friedrich Griese	*Eine funktionale Analyse des Sprachverhaltens* (1972).
Edwin Ortmann	*Wissenschaft und menschliches Verhalten* (1973). *Jenseits von Freiheit und Würde* (1973a). *Die Funktion der Verstärkung in der Verhaltenswissenschaft* (1974a).
Klaus Laermann	*Was ist Behaviorismus* (1978).
Christian Spiel	*Mit 66 Jahren: Lebensfreude kennt kein Alter* (1985, with M.E. Vaughan).
Harry Theodor Master	*Walden Two: Die Vision einer besseren Gesellschaftsform* (2002).

Figure 6: Overview of translators responsible for the German section of Skinner's Traveling Library

With this notion, the next section will further consider historical context and the political powers at play as told in the texts that were analyzed.

2.1.2 Historical and political context

This thesis picks up its timeline in the 1960s, which is when a wider German reception of Skinner's works was facilitated by translations of some of his original publications as shown in the table above. Historically, this puts us right in the middle of the scientific, social, and political aftermath of World War II: A time in which German-ness was tinctured with bad taste because the Nazi agenda and its propaganda had manipulated and killed millions of people. Against this background, it seems only logical that Germans would be equally interested in Utopia and fearful of total control. Amid the Cold War, Germany was dealing with being divided, and B.F. Skinner was busy researching at the University of Harvard and debating Humanistic psychologist Carl Rogers. Although the question of how the debates with Rogers affected

Skinner as a *conceptual personae* as well as his reception is an interesting one, it will have to be revisited in later parts of this paper.

As for further historical context: From 1963 to 1964, Werner Correll, a German professor of psychology at the University of Gießen, joined Skinner's research team.[44] When Correll returned to Germany, he brought with him such great enthusiasm for teaching machines and Skinner's philosophy of science, that his book *Programmiertes Lernen und Lehrmaschinen* (1965; reprinted in 1966 and 1968) contained translations of seven of Skinner's articles. Among them was a translation of *The Science of Learning and the Art of Teaching* (1954a) that would be reprinted in Franz Weinert's (1967) *Pädagogische Psychologie* (which was reprinted seven times until 1974) and in Georg Eckart's (2013) *Entwicklungs- und Pädagogische Pychologie. Zentrale Schriften und Persönlichkeiten*. In the same year, a translation of Skinner's (1954) *Critique of psychoanalytic concepts and theories* was published in Ernst Topitsch's (1965) *Logik der Sozialwissenschaften*, which was reprinted a total of ten times all the way until 1993. In 1966, Skinner accepted an invitation Correll extended and gave a guest lecture at the University of Gießen.[45] In 1967, Skinner and Correll co-authored *Denken und Lernen. Beiträge der Lernforschung zur Methodik des Unterrichts*, which was reprinted in 1969 and 1971.

Figure 7 shows a corresponding visual timeline of color-coded events and publications relevant for this paper. The original publications that are included in it (as well as in subsequent timelines) are part of Skinner's *traveling library* (see TL_EN as attached) and were also referenced by German authors in the texts that were analyzed for this thesis.

[44] Though many days were spent researching whether Correll's research assignment to Harvard was part of a politically motivated American academic exchange program, this information could not even be acquired by contacting the late professor's kind daughter Dr.in Cathrin Correll.

[45] Though Werner Correll apparently was inspired by Skinner, upon inquiry his daughter revealed that the early pedagogic reception of behaviorist theory was rather reserved, and to Correll's great disappointment so hostile that he ultimately left academics for management psychology – a field in which he was not only successful but also appreciated. Sadly, the academic hostility persisted even beyond Correll's death in 2018, as exemplified by Tenorth's (2019, p. 299) polemic account of how affordable Correll's books are on antiquary platforms.

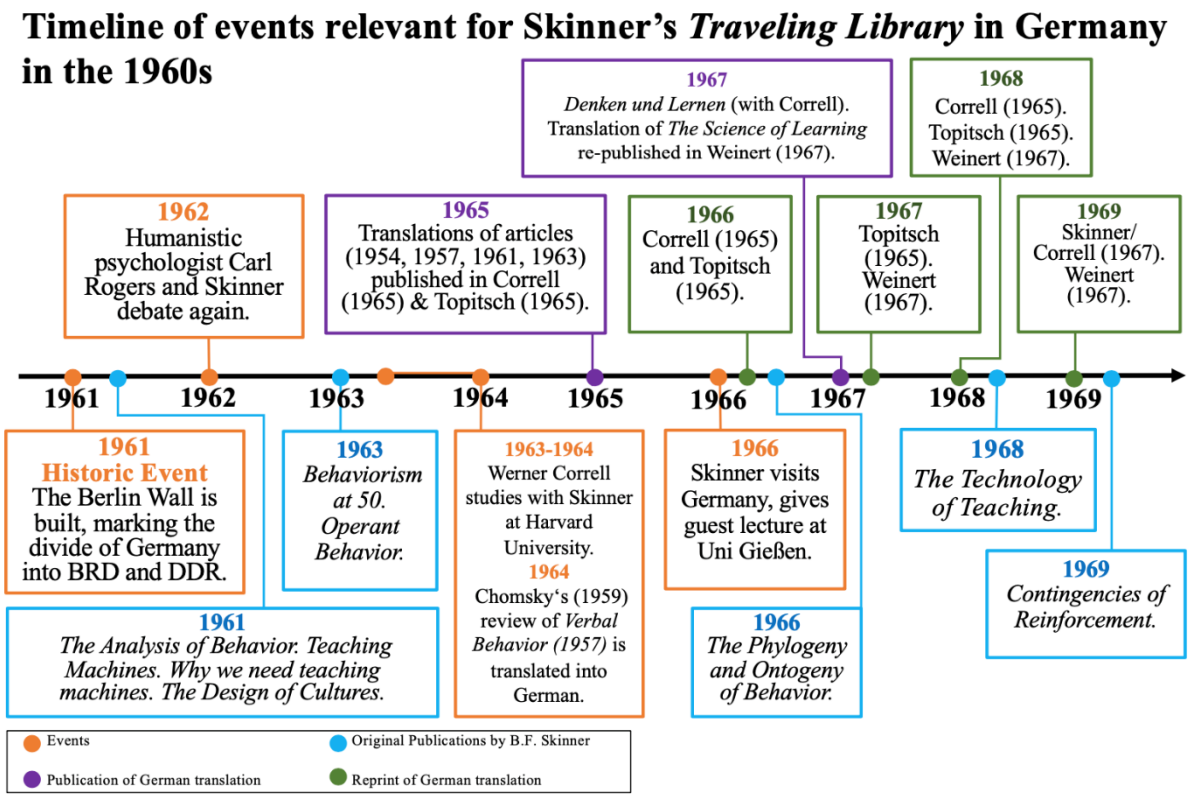

Figure 7: Timeline of events and publications, 1960s.

It appears that German interest in Skinner's research and particularly programmed instruction peaked in the 1960s and 1970s. In the BRD, which was occupied by the US, many authors conducted their own research with teaching machines as well as various training programs,[46] which suggests that radical behaviorism's traveling to Germany was in some part facilitated by intellectual occupancy (Fox, 2020; see section 1.3.4).

That Germany was divided during the Cold War had other implications as well. In the DDR, which was occupied by the Soviet Union, authors appeared to be especially critical of Skinner's behaviorism. The Communists found programmed instruction so promising that in 1961, they even invited Skinner to Moscow (Boretska, 2019). And yet, though the DDR-occupying Soviet Union quite literally invited behaviorist thought, in their part of Germany it was met with resistance that peaked in Walter Friedrich's *Zur Kritik des Behaviorismus* (1979).

This briefly goes to show that the German reception of Skinner is complexly affected by many political power relations during the Cold War. Even though it may have been different in the BRD and the DDR, a common denominator might be that to some degree, the German reception of Skinner's behaviorism must have to some degree been aimed at as well as influenced by its respective (ideological) occupants. During the 19070s, German translations of *Walden Two*

[46] Apart from Werner Correll's (1967; 1968; 1972; 1978) publications on teaching machines and Westmeyer's (1973) attempt to domesticate radical behaviorism, Paul Innerhofer's (1977) *Münchner Trainingsmodell* is an example of a training problem that is also discussed later in the material (e.g.: Große Siestrup, 2010; Toepell, 2010).

(1948), the first chapter of *Verbal Behavior* (1957), *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971) and many other of Skinner's works as well as reprints of German publications from the 1960s were published. In 1972, the American Humanist Society honored Skinner with its 'Humanist of the Year' award, never once mentioning any Anti-Humanist implications of his work. Figure 8 below displays a color-coded timeline of events and publications relating to Skinner's reception in Germany in the 1970s.

Timeline of events relevant for Skinner's *Traveling Library* in Germany in the 1970s

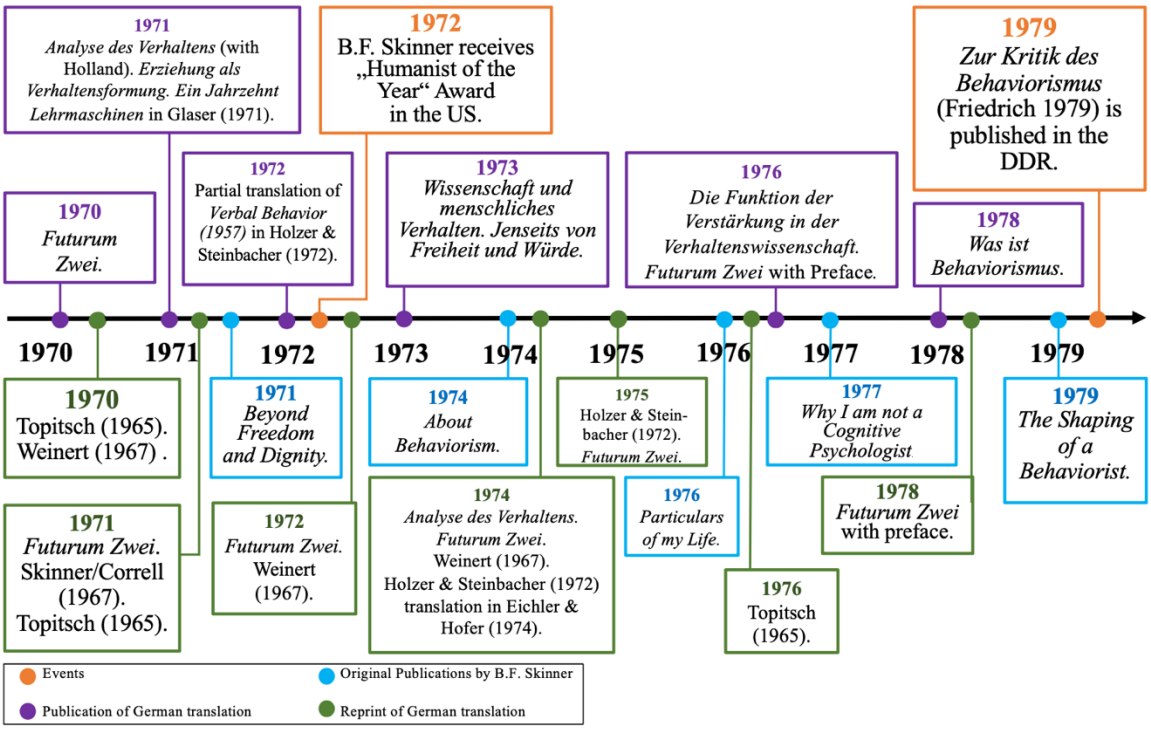

Figure 8: Timeline of events and publications, 1970s.

Whether *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971) was too outrageous for a German audience or perhaps Skinner's German flame just burned out is yet another question this thesis intends to shed some light on with further analysis.[47] At any rate, the data shows that after the publication of its German translation in 1973, only four other texts of his were translated and published in Germany. Although 95 authors (29%) have cited it since its first publication, *Jenseits von Freiheit und Würde* (1973) was not reprinted until 2018 when it was consecutively released as an ebook. In 1976, *Contingencies of Reinforcement* (1969) and *Walden Two. With a new preface by the author* (1976) were published in their respective German translations. Until 1988, *Futurum Zwei* (1976a) would be reprinted six more times. Although Skinner kept publishing in English even beyond his official retirement in 1974, after 1978 brought the German translation of *About Behaviorism* (1974) which was reprinted once in 1982, there were

[47] Given that nearly a third (95 of the ~320) texts made a direct reference to *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (Skinner 1971), it is Skinner's most widely received German publication (see Fig. 4 and 5).

seven years in which no new German translations of his work were distributed until *Enjoy Old Age* (Skinner/Vaughan 1985) was published in 1985. Figure 9 shows a visual timeline of color-coded events and publications relating to the German reception of B.F. Skinner during the 1980s.

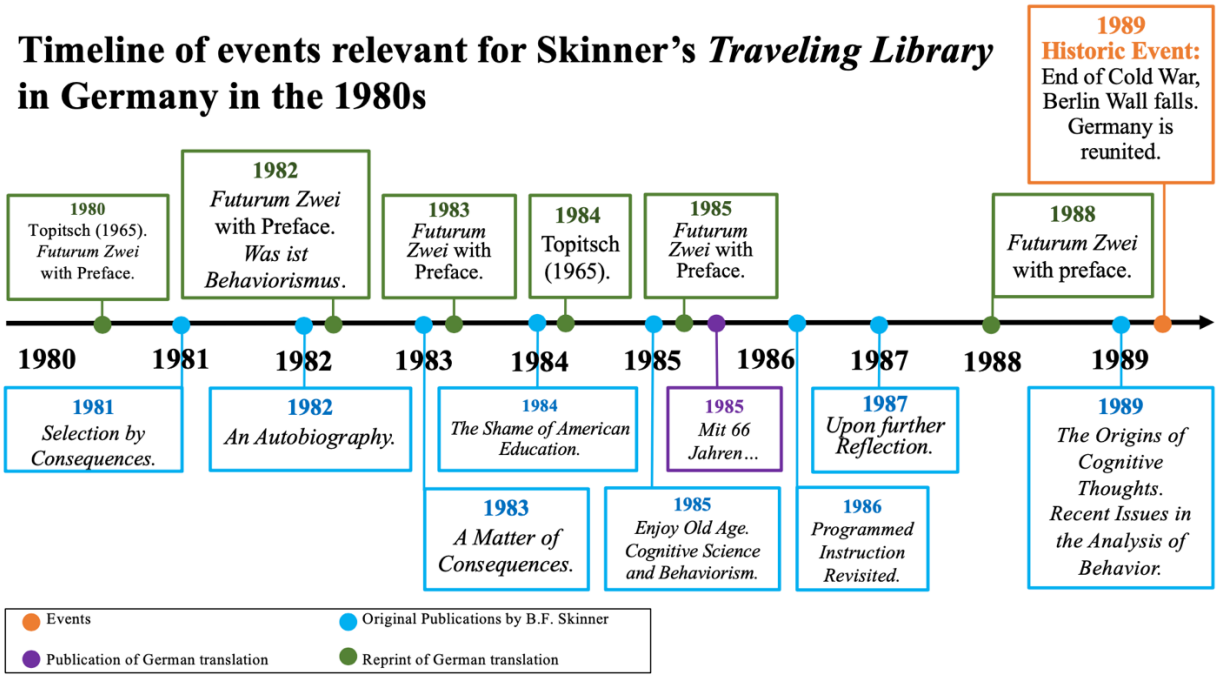

Figure 9: Timeline of events and publications, 1980s.

Skinner passed in 1990. In 1993, Topitsch (1965) was reprinted a tenth and final time, marking the last German publishing of Skinner for seven years. In 2002, a small German publishing house, FiFa-Verlag, printed a new translation of *Walden Two* (Skinner 1948/1976), which had a new title as well. However, as indicated by Figure 5, because it was only cited nine times in the last ten years, it does not appear to be particularly well-known. Furthermore, that German authors stably cite Martin Beheim-Schwarzbach's antiquary translations – despite a more current translation's availability[48] – may validate Ickler's (1994) statement regarding Skinner's mostly being referenced as a secondary or tertiary source. Thereby having set the scene, it is time to return to the data and see what the authors in the analyzed texts had to say about historical and political power relations that may have shaped Skinner's German reception.

[48] In the 1970s, seven authors cited *Futurum Zwei* (1970/1972/1976). In the 1980s, five authors did. In the 1990s, four authors cited it, two in 2000, and nine from 2002 to 2009, when the more current translation had already been published. From 2010 to 2019, 25 German authors took reference to Martin Beheim-Schwarzbach's 1970/1976 translation.

2.1.2.1 Historical and political context as discussed by German authors

References to historical or political context in proximity to references to Skinner were found in more than 20 of the German publications that were analyzed. A first and chronological account considers these aspects as supplemented by the material.

The 1960s.

In his book about the history and theory of teaching materials, Klaus Wolf Döring (1969, p. 246) writes about how programmed instruction arrived in the BRD about six years after the publication of *The Science of Learning and the Art of Teaching* (Skinner, 1954). While Döring (1969, p. 246) does not provide information on the specifics of this, he does note that German discussions about programmed instruction were heated, especially from 1962 to 1964. In his opinion, educational and political discourse were enriched by the addition of a volatile subject that fueled many emotions, was based on many positively and negatively biased opinions, and without doubt brought substantial new impulses to the development of learning and teaching materials (ibid.). The author further points out that discursive practice regarding programmed instruction took a turn in the mid-1960s when a wide array of German publications about it facilitated the objective study of education technology (ibid.). The German hype about Skinner's programmed instruction was so great that in 1965, even school administrations began looking into it (ibid.).

The 1970s.

A linguistic perspective on behaviorism and foreign language education (Hassan, 1973, p. 321) agrees with Döring's (1969) account of how impactful Skinner's *The Science of Learning and the Art of Teaching* (1954) was in the establishment of BRD interest in programmed instruction. However, Ali Hassan's (1973) take on programmed instruction is much more acute than Döring's. Hassan (1973) criticizes a strong behaviorist influence of foreign language education methods in the 1970s, which indicates German resistance to the time's epistemological power relations.[49] In accordance with this, Hassan (1973, p. 323) also discusses behaviorism's

[49] Skinner's *Verbal Behavior* (1957) and Chomsky's (1959) critique of it complicated Skinner's relationship with linguistics. German linguistics present a special case of this, since only the first chapter of *Verbal Behavior* (1957) was translated (Skinner 1965d, 1972; see Figures 5 & 6), after a narrative of Chomsky's successful refutation had already been established. Collectively, these two translations (Skinner 1965b; 1972) were only cited by seven German authors while a great many more took reference to Chomsky (1959). Additionally, 22 publications referenced Skinner's (1957) original text (Correll, 1972; Westmeyer, 1973; Geier, 1977; Groeben & Scheele, 1977; Sallinger, 1980; Schneewind, 1982; Braun, 1983; Sigl, 1986; Thomas & Feldmann, 1992; Ickler, 1994; Ardjomandy, 2004; Bördlein, 2005; Klotz, 2008; Kaufmann, 2009; Kany & Schöler, 2014; Mack et al., 2014; Bollmann, 2016; Seitz, 2018; Kunze-Pletat, 2019; Cursio, 2019; Schöler, 2020). Further information on linguistic context will be provided in section 2.1.3.

pragmatist roots and announces that the particularities of German language defeat the behaviorist method (ibid., p.326). Furthermore, Hassan's critique of behaviorism is not only riddled with misconceptions about radical behaviorism, but also serves as an example of how in the reception of B.F. Skinner, national presumptions as mentioned by Döring (1969) may contribute to a German lack of differentiation between Watson's and Skinner's behaviorism.[50] Consecutively, this lack of distinction may be explained by

a) A tendency to mere secondary or tertiary references to Skinner as noted by Ickler (1994)
b) Rejection-by-proxy, for example by reference to Chomsky's rebuttals of Skinner's work
c) Opposing epistemologies or, more specifically, opposing concepts of human subjectivity.

Due to the linguistic origin of Hassan's (1973) publication, it is particularly puzzling that he would base his critique of Skinner's influence on *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971) instead of *Verbal Behavior* (1957) or one of the two German translations of its first chapter (Skinner, 1965d, 1972). Without further cogitating the language barrier that Skinner's original texts certainly must have posed to most Germans, that German authors turned to his popular science publications instead of his scientific work could be taken as an indication of a history of epistemological power relations affecting his reception in the *Heimat* of *Geisteswissenschaften*.

Indeed, it appears that *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971) in its 1973 translation offended Germans to the extent that many authors' narratives made their rejection of Skinner's outrageous thoughts very clear[51]. An example of this is Wilfried Kuckartz (1974) critique of pedagogic technology[52], whose subtitle "Education in the face of human endangerment" (ibid., own translation) shows just how threatened Germans felt by what they perceived to be implications of Skinner's thought style. Kuckartz' (1974, p. 27) notes that by 1974 and way of programmed instruction, Skinner's technology of behavior had gained sufficient ground in the BRD. However, whatever traction behaviorist thought had gained was apparently not made to last as the author points out that meanwhile, the Skinnerian misinterpretation of mankind should suffice for the rejection of his mechanistic approaches (ibid., p. 41). Putting rather bluntly how violated German authors felt by the radical behaviorist's thought style, Kuckartz' (1974) does

[50] While Hassan's critique of behaviorism (1973) mentions Skinner by name 30 times, it also includes 31 citations of Watson additionally to mentioning Watson's name nine more times throughout the text. A comprehensive account of radical behaviorism's history from Watson to Skinner as well as the differences between them can be found in Susan M. Schneider and Edward K. Morris' (1983) respective article.

[51] And how could they not find it offensive, given that the BRD's constitution's first article points out the sanctity of human dignity: '*Die Würde des Menschen ist unantastbar*' (Art.1 GG, 1949). Although after the holocaust, Germans could hardly defend German-ness, they could – and did, vigorously – step up as defenders of dignity and what it meant to them.

[52] Kuckartz (1974) mentions Skinner 52 times throughout his book by reference to three of Skinner's German publications: *Erziehung als Verhaltensformung* (1971), *Futurum Zwei* (1972) and *Jenseits von Freiheit und Würde* (1973).

not even refrain from accusing Skinner of "a notorious contempt for and rape of the very life within humankind" (Kuckartz, 1974, p. 40f; own translation).

As indicated by Martin Fromm's (1977) dissertation about social learning in comprehensive schools, it appears that by the late 1970s, Skinner was becoming a persona non grata just as Carl Rogers' client-centered humanistic approach to psychology was gaining traction in Germany. Apart from pointing out growing German interest in nondirective and social learning approaches to education (Fromm, 1977, p. 233), Fromm's work is interesting because in the context of behavior modification, it not only cites some German polemics about education technology (ibid., p. 258), but also raises the issue of the scientific and figurative human likeness to rats – or to put in in particular German terms: the "*Rattenebenbildlichkeit des Menschen*" (ibid., p. 260-263; own emphasis).[53]

In this context, it is important to keep in mind that the practice of constructing enemy images with the goal of dehumanizing perceived threats, for example via rat metaphors, was part of the Nazi agenda against the Jewish population (Pörksen, 2005; Kremer, 2012; Salzborn, 2014).[54] Against this background, it must have been particularly aggravating to the German perception of Skinner's findings that his experiments with pests like rodents and pigeons – "which essentially demeaned mankind to a higher form of rat" (Fromm, 1977, p. 258; own translation) – could be key to finding actual human agency in the contingencies of social life (Fahrenberg, 2007, p. 74).

"Skinner's ultra-positivistic conception of science" (Friedrich, 1979, p. 161; own translation) was heavily criticized in the DDR, as well. Walter Friedrich calls his contribution *Zur Kritik des Behaviorismus* (1979) "DDR-psychology's first systematic attempt at joining the critical discourse about behaviorism" (Friedrich, 1979, p. 8; own translation).[55] Friedrich further raises the issue of a lack of systematic and critical analyses of behaviorism even beyond the DDR (ibid.), a brief note which goes to show how limited access to outside (i.e.: American or BRD) literature must have been for Eastern Germans during the Cold War. Communist influences are evident throughout Friedrich's (1979) work, for example in frequent laudatory references to

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[53] As far as the general phenomenology of metaphors and human behavior is concerned, Robert D. Romanyshyn's (1975) article provides a comprehensive account of it. Further insight into the usage of metaphors in political and ideological speech is provided in Bernhard Pörksen's chapter on *Die Metapher als Mittel der Feinbildkonstruktion* (2005).

[54] In a footnote on the introduction to his critique of education technology, Kuckartz (1974, pp. 97ff) makes note of the complicated relationship between education and propaganda, thereby adding yet another dimension to German fear of Skinner's approach to education.

[55] Friedrich's (1979) phrasing regarding discourse serves as an example of DDR eagerness to participate in discursive practice as described by Schöttler's (1997, p. 136f), who comments on how DDR-scientists who were most eager to enter discourse saw their intellectual work threatened by exclusion. Thereby, their talking about discourse evaluation is actually a call for 'justice' and 'ethics' of discourse (ibid., p. 137).

Lenin and Marx. Mentioning Skinner 365 times throughout his 307 pages of text, it becomes evident that Friedrich (1979) really has a vicarious bone to pick with the American psychologist's ideas. What makes his work interesting is not so much Walter's critique of radical behaviorism, but rather that it is specked with many literal jabs at American imperialism, capitalism and the BRD, which serve as further indications of the times' political power relations. Additionally, in dedicating an entire chapter to the critique of Stimulus-Response reductivism, Friedrich's (1979) book serves as an example of rejection-by-proxy of Chomsky's (1959) misconceptions about Skinner's work.

The 1980s.

By 1980, the political power relations had shifted to a point where Heinz-Joachim Heydorn, one of the founders of *Kritische Bildungstheorie,*[56] declared the US as the true winners of World War II due to the successful internationalization of their educational standards (Heydorn, 1980, p. 136). Even though ultimately, attempts to establish an American system of education failed in West Germany, they were much more successful in Japan (ibid.). Under pressure to also succeed at internationalization, in Heydorn's (1980) opinion, it was about time for Germany to revise its national concept of *Bildung*.

If Heinz Alfred Müller's book *Das Selbstbewußtsein des Lehrers* (1981) is any indication, it appears that Skinner's thought style was not just offensive to Germans, it also threatened the self-confidence of German teachers (Müller, 1981, p. 9). It appears that the perceived anti-humanist notions of Skinner's ideas served to raise German interest in Humanistic psychology which held the human 'self' in much higher esteem (ibid.). However, the concerns Müller (1981, p. 9) voices about behaviorism's denial of consciousness are not only yet another example of common misapprehensions of radical behaviorism, but also of how commonly those misconceptions appear to be held by German authors.

Another German educator, Wolfgang Hilligen, describes his book *Zur Didaktik des politischen Unterrichts* (1985) as an attempt at providing comprehensive and practical insight into the large number of complex studies that were published on didactics during the 1970s to facilitate pedagogic reflection and the planning of instruction. On planned instruction, Hilligen (1985, p. 100) mentions that the two dominant schools of thought at the time were the Skinnerian approach as facilitated by Werner Correll in the BRD, and the cognitive approach. Under reference to Correll as well as *Jenseits von Freiheit und Würde* (Skinner 1973a), Hilligen's

[56] Against the backdrop of the establishment of alternate terms like socialization and qualification during the 1970s, German education scientists began to question the necessity of a philosophy of *Bildung* altogether. Heydorn's *Kritische Erziehungstheorie* can be described as an attempt to move past the epistemological influence of *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* (Stieger, 2018, pp. 55ff).

(1985) subsequent reprimand of SR-theory (which he falsely accredits to Skinner) points out that self-reflection cannot be facilitated by a behavioristic approach. Thereby, Hilligen (1985) serves as another example of the German practice of citing Skinner as a secondary reference while consecutively conveying misconceptions about radical behaviorism as Ickler (1994) suggested.

Towards the end of the 1980s, Skinner and his rats were not only becoming a joke to German psychology, but also one it taught to its students. This is exemplified by a comic printed in the textbook *Einführung in die Psychologie* (Lück, Rippe & Timäus, 1989)[57], which displays a human hand throwing food into a tube above which a bulb is lit. On the other side of the tube, separated from the hand by a wall, an upright black rat is pulling a lever connected to the light source. The black rat's other arm is around a white rat that hovers in front of the tube.[58] Little upright lines over the standing black rat's head indicate its enlightenment. The caption reads: "Comic about operant Conditioning: 'Look at how I've conditioned him! Every time I pull the lever, Skinner tosses some food'" (Lück et al., 1989:146). Figure 10 displays this comical image along with the respective caption as it appeared in the psychology textbook.

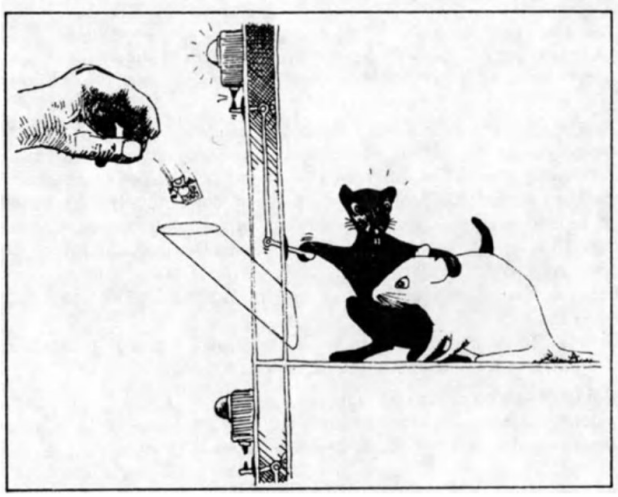

Abb. 30: Comic zum operanten Konditionieren:
„Schau mal, wie ich den konditioniert habe! Jedesmal, wenn ich den Hebel drücke, wirft der Skinner Futter 'rein"

Figure 10: Comic from Einführung in die Psychologie (Lück et al., 1989, p. 146). © Springer VS/Springer Nature.[59]

[57] Because Lück et al. (1989) only reference the original publication of *Science and Human Behavior* (Skinner 1953), their textbook is not part of the 325 texts this study primarily analyzed. Yet, given the German history with rat metaphors in the dehumanization of perceived threats as discussed earlier, a necessary side objective became to briefly research why German authors appear not to take Skinner's *Rattenpsychologie* seriously.

[58] Against the backdrop of German propaganda's history, the question of whether the rats' colors are intended to incite racial fears appears valid though its pursuit would lead too far off-topic. With Hassan (1973, p. 331f.) at least one German author made note of behaviorism's implications for conservative US racial politics. Revisiting Skinner's (1971) introductory statement, a behaviorist approach would shift blame and credit away from the individual to their environment. Another possible interpretation would be that the white rodent represents the German *Geist* which is being 'shown the way' by a dark manipulator. At any rate, it appears that an enlightened rat could be a threat of sorts – at least if it is assumed to demean or patronize the *Geist* of the nation.

[59] Reproduced with permission from Springer Nature.

Its punch line appears to be that the social engineer Skinner is being manipulated by one of his research animals – thus deeming his work ridiculous, at best.

The 1990s.

In the meantime, the Cold War had ended, Germany was reunited, and the German rejection of Skinner seemed firmly established as Skinner's deterministic take on human consciousness in the context of perspectives on freedom and human subjectivity was discussed in a book about political problem fields of modernity (Loewenstein, 1990).

Eight years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, concerns about German youth were subject of Dietmar Kress' *Zum Aufbau der Jugendhilfe und Jugendarbeit in den neuen Bundesländern* (1997). While it only makes one minor reference to Skinner (Kress, 1997, p. 25), its foreword by Nando Belardi adds an important historical perspective which may serve as an explanation for why most of the texts that were available for analysis come from the BRD rather than the DDR by commenting on how prior to the '*Wende'*, the DDR was not of much concern to West German social science but that the opening of DDR-archives started a downright boom of studies (Kress 1997, p. 9).[60]

The 2000s.

By the turn of the millennium, the narrative of cognitivist approaches superseding behaviorism had become so widely accepted among German authors that even the meeting report of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Psychologie*'s 100-year anniversary convention makes positive note of the "*'Wieder'-Besinnung auf die 'vergessenen' Grundlagen der Psychologie"* the cognitive turn brought with it (Allolio-Näcke, 2005), as if arguing it often enough would make it true.

The narrative of cognitive succession is also carried forth *outside* the humanitarian sciences, which is exemplified by Rolf Messerschmidt and Regina Grebe's (2005) economic perspective on education technology between euphoria and disenchantment. While the authors do mention Skinner as a forefather or modern e-learning, they describe a practical failure of behaviorist approaches in the 1970s (ibid., p. 35). During the 1960s and 1970s, assumptions based on the ideology and theory of *Bildung* were particularly influential to German interest in Skinner's education technology (ibid., p. 60). While the US focused on the efficiency and individualization of learning, Germany was primarily attracted to the objectivization of instruction by automatization (ibid., p. 66). Despite programmed instruction's renaissance during the 1980s and 1990s, the traction gained by cognitivist approaches ultimately led to

[60] Additionally, Kress' book (1997) includes several chapters on the history of youth studies, *Jugendhilfe* and *Jugendarbeit* in the BRD and DDR, making it a valuable resource for a sociological understanding of German youth politics during and after the Cold War that lie beyond the scope of this thesis.

behaviorism's eventual scupper in Germany (Messerschmidt & Grebe, 2005, p. 66). With its foreign and innovative "*Begriffs- und technizistische Vorstellungs-welt*" (ibid., p. 67), programmed instruction nudged German pedagogy to question its assumptions – but since it did not originate from the predominant traditional *Bildungssystem*, its practical applications were met with great reservation and even resistance (ibid., p. 66). Therefore, and despite the enthusiastic development of over a hundred different programs for different schools during the 1960s, programmed instruction in Germany is contemporarily described as a peripheral phenomenon only (ibid., p. 67; Hierdeis, 2007, p. 47f).

This may in part explain why Skinner's relevance in Germany is often described as being only peripheral, as well. Exemplary of this is Jochen Fahrenberg's account of psychological, biological, intercultural, and religious takes on *Menschenbilder* (2007). Despite his atheism, Skinner's contributions were considerable to the development of modern morale and ethics (ibid., p. 14) because they announced a substantially new *Menschenbild* (ibid., p. 72). However, because of this *Menschenbild*, the general public and many other psychologists perceived Skinner to be a soulless scientist whose *Rattenpsychologie*[61] degraded mankind by negating key terms of cultural conceptions of self (Fahrenberg, 2007, p. 78f). Additionally, Fahrenberg (2007) points out that because of this, no matter how enduring Skinner's scientific relevance may be on a global scale, he was never beloved by Germans (ibid., p. 84). Accordingly, behaviorist positions were never widely represented in Germany (ibid., p. 71). Particularly interesting about Fahrenberg's (2007) work is that it makes note of how both *Jenseits von Freiheit und Würde* (Skinner, 1973a) and *Walden Two* (Skinner, 1948/1976; 2002) shaped the (German) perception of Skinner's *Menschenbild*. Thus, many misunderstandings probably originate from a lack of differentiation between Skinner's *Menschenbild* and his definition of behaviorism (Fahrenberg, 2007, p. 76).

Recent developments.

A decade into the new millennium, there was even brief talk about a renaissance of the behaviorist theory that had been declared dead in view of cognitive psychology (Haag & Streber, 2012, p. 65). And yet, Michael Lenz (2012) indicates that German discourse still seems focused on at least implicitly criticizing Skinner's *Menschenbild* based on his fictional work *Walden Two* (1948/1976). This notion is validated by Alexander Kochinka's *Behaviorism is not dead, it just smells funny* (2014)[62], which points out the paradox of behaviorism's

[61] The term *Rattenpsychologie* makes several appearances throughout the material, for example in Friedrich (1979, p. 213), Fahrenberg (2007, p. 78), and Bruder (2009, p. 103).

[62] Kochinka's (2009) article appeared as part of the book *Behaviorismus und Erkenntnistheorie im psychologisch-historischen Kontext* (2009) edited by Wolfgang Mack, Helmut Lück, Karl-Heinz Renner & Uwe Wolfradt.

consecutive failure and success. While Kochinka (2014, p. 52) accredits behaviorism's failure to the 'real world' rejection of its visions as articulated by *Walden Two* (Skinner 1948; 1976a), he sees its true success in its take-over and shaping of academic psychology. Additionally, Skinner's *Menschenbild* – or conceptions of it – also influenced modern medicine, specifically behavior therapy and psychotherapeutic medicine (Egger, 2015). Part of this lasting influence lies in that humanistic psychology – which draws from existential philosophy and religious approaches – originated as a counter movement to behavioristic positions (ibid., p. 209). Egger (2015, p. 208) further points out that although those behavioristic positions seem opposed to humanist ideals, they are validated by current neurobiological studies. Even in mathematics, Skinner's crucial role in the development of software-based training is noted along with behaviorism's persistent flourishing in the fields of behavior therapy and behavior economics (Vohns, 2017, p. 64).

However, by example of Johannes Twardella's *Konstellationen des Pädagogischen* (2018, p. 41) the sovereign territory of *Pädagogik* appears to uphold a tradition of critically and secondarily referencing Skinner whilst affirming allegations of behaviorism's succession by science's 'cognitive turn' (see sections 1.3.6 and 2.1.3.1). While one perspective from Social Work and Counselling spins a similar tale about the alleged cognitive turn's role in the demise of B.F. Skinner (Wälte & Borg-Laufs, 2018, p. 34), it also devotes a chapter to the value and implications of his SORC-model (ibid., p. 131ff.). Although it lies beyond the scope of this thesis because it does not mention Skinner, Wälte and Borg-Laufs (2018) book also includes an extensive chapter on the German history of counselling which comments on how influential Rogers' humanistic psychology was to it.

By showing that indications of a national thought style in the shape of German *Geist* can be found across publications from different disciplines, the above accounts of Skinner's history of relevance to different scientific fields validate and contextualize this thesis' assumptions as described in previous chapters. Moreover, further analysis of the issues raised through the discussion of these accounts makes it necessary to also take a linguistic turn at the material.

Because many of the different topoi and narratives that came with the material's supplements of historical and political context go to Skinner as a *conceptual personae*, they will further be discussed in the according later section.

A summary of the above analysis ties in neatly with prior findings as discussed in section 1.3: During the Cold War, though remaining a linguistic community, Germany was divided to the extent that the DDR was isolated through Soviet occupation. Therefore, BRD scientist hardly had access to DDR-studies or perspectives. During the 1960s and early 1970s, there was an indisputably great BRD interest in what behaviorism had to offer for a German conception of

Bildung. Yet, from the mid-1970s throughout the 1980s, the German narrative on Skinner turned increasingly more hostile. An analysis of the political aspects that were supplied by the material shows a dichotomy of politics between nation states as well as academic or epistemological politics. For one, it appears that after its 1989 reunion and complete independence, Germany wanted – or needed – to shed remnants of American aides or (ideological) occupancy as represented by radical behaviorism's artefacts.[63] Consecutively, the reunion did not come as easy to Eastern and Western Germany as most would have wished – thereby adding intra-German politics and power relations into the mix that must have also played some role in the continued German reception of Skinner. Intra-German politics were not just concerned with the reunion (or the division's aftermath), but also with the necessity of reforming *Bildung* against this backdrop – meaning the actual education system, on the one hand, and *Bildungstheorie*, on the other. These could be seen as consecutive German attempts to internationally establish not only their political, but also their ideological independence.

Summary and Implications.

Some forty years after World War II, Germany seemed determined to shed its Nazi-past though relics of it remained in the shape of some linguistic practices (e.g.: using rodent metaphors for propaganda purposes with the intent to dehumanize perceived opponents). These practices did apparently not stop at scientists, as they were even taught to aspiring German psychologists via textbooks (Lück et al., 1989, p. 146). Though this practice per se is not indicative of the *geistes-wissenschaftlich* thought style, its underlying elitist notions and obvious polemics against foreign thought evidently are (see section 1.3). Emphasizing its epistemological power within the German linguistic community, the nation's *Geist* seems to loom over even the natural sciences and other disciplines deemed more 'factual' than the humanities.

As for epistemological power relations, the material raises the issues of *Bildung* vs. pragmatism, behaviorism vs. cognitivism, behaviorism vs. linguistics (and nativism, specifically), and behaviorism vs. humanistic psychology at a time when on an international stage, *Geisteswissenschaften* had to argue their validity as a science while US education seemed to conquer the world (see section 1.3).

By calling into question the scientific validity of terms like dignity, Skinner apparently stirred

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[63] A historic perspective considers artefacts to be "a valuable source of historical evidence, particularly for historians who are interested in the interplay of ideology and power. Artefacts are approached from the epistemological position that they cannot be value neutral. The countless artefacts we see and use in daily life constantly reinforce or contradict our beliefs, values and self-identities. It is in reaction to this constant push and pull with the artefacts around us that we form, maintain and re-form our understandings of the world and of ourselves" (Hepworth, 2016, p. 280). Accordingly, German interest in and the subsequent discarding of behaviorist artefacts like teaching machines underlines the issues of epistemological power relations rising from intellectual occupancy.

up a metaphoric hornet's nest. It seems that even to this day, German authors from all disciplines readily swarm out in defense of their Queen, the sacred German ideal *Würde*.[64] Regarding the ongoing analysis of German discourse, these historical, political, and epistemological power relations will be considered determining factors of Skinner's reception in *Geisteswissenschaften*.

2.1.3 *Geist*'s discursive role: Taking a linguistic turn

Taking a linguistic turn at the material means considering the specific *langue* and *parole* relevant to the analysis of Skinner's reception in Germany. Because prior studies (see section 1.3.6) as well as this study's initial data suggest that Chomsky's (1959) linguistic refutation of *Verbal Behavior* (Skinner, 1957) was relevant in that it apparently influenced the concurrent and subsequent reception of Skinner's ideas far beyond the field of linguistics, German material stemming from linguistics was chosen as a starting point for determining setting factors of and *paroles* or topoi relevant to Skinner's German reception.

Regarding linguistic publications, 26 of the ~320 German publications that were analyzed included information immediately relevant to the linguistic aspects of this thesis' research questions by including *Sprache* in their titles (15)[65], stemming from the field of linguistics (8)[66], or referring to linguistic aspects of his reception in proximity to references to Skinner without falling into the prior two categories (3) (Geier, 1977; Friedrich, 1979; Oldemeyer, 2005).
Several commonalities were identified amongst these publications:

- Sixteen of the 26 texts concerned with linguistic aspects do without primary reference to Skinner's specifically linguistic publications (1957; 1965d; 1972).[67]
- Twelve of them are specifically concerned with (foreign) language acquisition.[68].

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[64] Considering that Skinner's work contributed to a new perspective on inequality (and by implication, also elitism), partially explains why apart from its scary potential regarding human manipulation, it incited Soviet interest even during the Cold War and is often referred to in proximity to Marx. Though this was not specifically tracked during analysis, it did emerge as a theme worthy of future pursuit.

[65] (Topitsch, 1965; Schweizer, 1973; Schneider, 1983; Wimmer, 1988; May, 2001; Teepe, 2005; Ghirardo, 2007; Klotz, 2008; Friedrich, 2010; Heber, 2010; Toepell, 2010; Kany & Schöler, 2014; Deters-Philipp, 2018; Wunder, 2020; Schöler, 2020).

[66] (Hassan, 1973; Sigl, 1986; Geier, 1993; Ickler, 1994; Prechtl, 1999; Benkert, 2001; Pinar & Pinar, 2015; Seifert, 2016).

[67] (Topitsch, 1965; Schweizer, 1973; Geier, 1993; Schneider, 1983; Wimmer, 1988; Prechtl, 1999; May, 2001; Benkert, 2001; Teepe, 2005; Ghirardo, 2007; Heber, 2010; Friedrich, 2010; Toepell, 2010; Seifert, 2016; Deters-Philipp, 2018; Wunder, 2020).

[68] Foreign language acquisition: Hassan (1973), Schneider (1983), Teepe (2005), Ghirardo (2007), and Seifert (2016); language acquisition in general: Sigl (1986), May (2001), Klotz (2008), Friedrich (2010), Kany & Schöler (2014), Pinar & Pinar (2015), and Schöler (2020).

- Seven of these linguistic publications discussed aspects of programmed instruction.[69]
- Six of them reference Chomsky's (1959) rebuttal of Skinner's (1957) *Verbal Behavior*[70]
- Six of them explicitly question the applicability of SR-principles.[71]

This brief initial analysis further revealed that the topoi of programmed instruction and SR-principles appear to be of importance to a respective fourth of the 26 authors concerned with linguistic implications of radical behaviorism. Nonetheless, less than half of these 26 authors base their critiques on Skinner's linguistic work.

Upon the analysis of these publications, one particularly noteworthy finding emerged: In a footnote of her published dissertation, Heidi Seifert (2016, p. 145) discusses a mechanistic and reductionist *Menschenbild* like Skinner's, which supposedly "degrades humans to solely reactive beings and considers the human brain as a black box, thereby completely blending out mental and internal processes" (ibid.) by reference to a 1974 reprint of *Die Wissenschaft vom Lernen und die Kunst des Lehrens* (Skinner, 1965a) in Franz Weinert's *Pädagogische Psychologie* (first published in 1967). A brief analysis of the according source revealed that even in its translation, Skinner (in Weinert, 1967/1974, p. 247) claims no such thing – which revives Ickler's (1994) implicit question whether some of the German authors who convey misconceptions about the American psychologist's work ever bothered to read any of it.[72]

Apart from how German authors conceived his *Menschenbild*, another influential factor appears to be 'the hopeless dispute' (Geier, 1977) between linguist Noam Chomsky and B.F. Skinner which is mentioned in nine per cent (29) of the 325 analyzed texts.[73] In 18 of these texts, 'Chomsky vs. Skinner' even appears as one of five main topoi.

While these results may validate previous findings about Chomsky's role in the spreading of misconceptions about radical behaviorism (as discussed in section 1.3.6), they surely point to German interest (if not active participation) in Skinner's alleged scientific demise. This interest is further underlined by Chomsky's rebuttal being translated into German a year before *Verbal*

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[69] (Hassan, 1973; Friedrich, 1979; Benkert, 2001; May, 2001; Oldemeyer, 2005; Teepe, 2005; Friedrich, 2010).

[70] (Geier, 1977; Friedrich, 1979; Sigl, 1986; Ickler, 1994; Kany & Schöler, 2014; Schöler, 2020).

[71] (Hassan, 1973; Geier, 1977, 1993; Friedrich, 1979; Sigl, 1986; Oldemeyer, 2005).

[72] As Ickler (1994) points out, even a German translation of Skinner explicitly refutes the notion of organisms as black boxes: "*Ein Organismus ist selbstverständlich* nicht *leer und kann folglich* nicht *als eine black box angesehen werden*" (Skinner, 1978, p. 239; own emphasis). Nonetheless, German authors like Seifert (2016) remain firmly convinced that Skinner denied the occurrence of mental processes. However, this study is neither about checking the accuracy of German author's references nor about telling the truth about Skinner. Instead, its focus lies in identifying factors that influenced his German reception, for example how the predominating national epistemology appears to affect scientific practice.

[73] (Geier, 1977, 1993; Groeben & Scheele, 1977; Sallinger, 1980; Eppinger, 1983; Schwarz, 1986; Sigl, 1986; Groeben et al., 1988; Drinkmann & Groeben, 1989; Thomas & Feldmann, 1992; Ickler, 1994; Gruen, 1997; Prechtl, 1999; Humbert, 2003; Bördlein, 2005; Klotz, 2008; Klünger, 2010; Kommer, 2010; Karst, 2012; Walach, 2013; Wittmann, 1981; Angelstein & Gleau, 2014; Hartung, 2014; Mack et al., 2014; Kany & Schöler, 2014; Bollmann, 2016; Becker-Carus & Wendt, 2017; Cursio, 2019; Schöler, 2020).

Behavior (Skinner 1957) was first and even then, only partially, published in Germany (Skinner 1965d). Werner Kany and Hermann Schöler's (2014) chapter on Skinner and Chomsky takes a different route than most of the other mentioned German publications by not only portraying both men as protagonists of language acquisition studies, but also in its attempt at correcting misconceptions about Skinner's theoretical assumptions. Thereby, the authors point out the enduring relevance of Skinner's work by reference to contemporary analyses:

> „While an understanding of Skinner's Verbal Behavior and the development of a research program has required decades, it does seem that there is considerable evidence that the theory has led to important new information about a key component of language: how experience contributes to the expansion of verbal behavior and the emergence of novel verbal behavior. The dissemination of this work to the range of language scholars and psychologists will likely contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of language. While recent evidence and interpretations of that work has (sic!) extended the range of what verbal behavior is about, all of that work grew from Skinner's treatment of language as behavior. It seems increasingly evident that Skinner was right: it may be his most important work" (Greer, 2008, p. 378).

Yet, according to the above data, because of Chomsky, almost ten per cent of German authors appear subject to a contradictory opinion on Skinner's significance to human sciences. Apart from being defeated by Chomsky, specifically, there are also allegations about a cognitive revolution's role in radical behaviorism's scientific downfall.

2.1.3.1 Cognitive Turn

"*Finally, the tables are starting to turn*
Talkin' 'bout a revolution" (Chapman, 1988)

Just like Tracy Chapman's (1988) popular song soothed its listeners, the tale of a cognitive revolution (see 1.3.6) seems to somehow comfort German authors: At some point in the 1970s, the scientific world turned away from behaviorism to indulge in cognition, or so they claim. While it is an interesting question how the urban myth of a cognitive turn (Friman et al., 1993; O'Donohue et al., 2003; Hobbs & Chiesa, 2011)[74] gained a foothold within the German linguistic community, one of this thesis' research objectives lies in studying its argumentative function as a topos in the *geisteswissenschaftlich* reception of Skinner. In the collection of each German publication's five main topoi in the discussion of Skinner and his radical behaviorism, the database was supplemented with notes as well. Because only those text passages that

[74] Hobbs & Chiesa (2011) address some of the issues raised about the term's validity (Hobbs & Burmann, 2009), with Hobbs main arguments being that psychology's interest in cognitivism is historically stable, and that behaviorism neither took over nor disappeared, because its methodological assumptions were widely integrated.

discussed Skinner were subject of immediate analysis, not all publications were read entirely.[75] In the analyzed material, the topos cognitive turn first appears in immediate connection to Skinner in Sabine Stehle and August-Wilhelm Scheer's *Gestaltungsoptionen multimedialer Off- und Online-Lernsysteme aus pädagogischer Sicht* (1997, p. 4). Ironically, it is also accompanied by the misreading that from a behaviorist perspective, learners were considered passive. Sonja Draschoff (2000, p. 8) shares this conceptualization, extends a timeframe ranging from the 1950s to the 1960s for the alleged paradigm shift, and accredits it to Jean Piaget's and Jerome S. Bruner's works. Until 2009, fourteen more texts[76] allege some sort of cognitive paradigm shift. A brief analysis of them lead to the following findings:

Gerd Mietzel (2001, p. 20f), a source for other authors like Mittelstädt (2005) and Pott (2019), writes about the 'cognitive turn' in his chapter on 'learning as a passive way of acquiring knowledge', thereby consecutively misconceiving Skinner's work. Sigmar-Olaf Tergan and Peter Schenkel (2004) make no mention of Skinner in their text, and their very brief discussion of behaviorist applications takes place in the context of a paradigm shift towards cognitive and constructivist approaches (ibid., p. 32). Dietmar Weber (2005, p. 39) writes about a so-called "*kognitionsbiologische Wende*" and per example of Chomsky questions the human applicability of findings based on animal experiments. Konrad Bundschuh's textbook *Heilpädagogische Psychologie* (2008) comments on a cognitive shifting of the predominating *Menschenbild* (ibid., p. 186) and Skinner's SORKC-model's role in psychology's 'cognitive turn' (ibid., p. 272). Fitzgerald Crain's (2008, p. 229) article may misconceive Skinner's ideas, yet it mentions that behaviorist approaches have not disappeared at all (ibid, p. 231). Eike Bohlken & Christian Thier's textbook *Handbuch Antropologie. Der Mensch zwischen Kultur und Technik* (2009) has three authors alleging a *kognitive Wende* in proximity to their discussion of Skinner (Bruder, 2009, p. 102f; Walter, 2009, p. 140; Scheunpflug, 2009, p. 372).[77] In yet another textbook, Jürgen Raithel, Bernd Dollinger & Georg Hörmann (2009, p. 71) name Bruner, Robert Gagné and David Paul Ausubel (1974) as originators of the alleged cognitive turn. The mentioning of Ausubel (1974) is interesting, because his concept of 'meaningful learning' in its translations

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[75] Therefore, the total number of 26 publications that include the topos of a cognitive turn, revolution or paradigm shift within psychology may be larger than indicated by this analysis, because only those mentions of it in proximity to the respective discussions of the American psychologist's work were noted respectively. In proximity means in the same sentence, paragraph, or within the line of argumentation (no more than a page before or after) authors mention Skinner by name and/or citation. However, several other texts referred to the topic, for example Groeben & Scheele (1977) monography about such a paradigm shift as well as subsequent texts (co-)authored by Groeben that will be discussed in later sections. Still, considering the topos' 26 specific appearances in connection to Skinner serves as a means of explanation regarding how science moved past radical behaviorism and its respective artefacts programmed instruction, teaching machines and Skinner-Boxes.

[76] (Mietzel, 2001; Allolio-Näcke, 2005; Pauls, 2004; Tergan & Schenkel, 2004; Weber, 2005; Osterloh, 2007; Bundschuh, 2008; Crain, 2008; Bruder, 2009; Scheunpflug, 2009; Walter, 2009; Lück, 2009; Raithel et al., 2009).

[77] Bruder (2009, p. 103) even engages in the *Rattenpsychologie* rhetoric (see section 2.1.2).

to *sinnvolles Lernen* or *sinnvoll-rezeptives Lernen* was particularly intriguing to German authors.[78] The reason for this persistent, transdisciplinary German coherence to the myth of a cognitive paradigm shift within psychology is offered in Lück's (2009) *Geschichte der Psychologie*: *Strömungen, Schulen, Entwicklungen* with the author's concession that the term 'turn' sooner applies to American than to European and especially, *German* psychology, which *always* attributed greater relevance to "*wahrnehmungs-, gestalt-, ganzheits- und denkpsychologische Strömungen*" than the US (ibid., p. 178; own emphasis). Accordingly, the renunciation of a thought style alleging human learners' passivity came particularly easy to Germans (ibid.). Nonetheless, since analyses of primarily US literature (Friman et al., 1993; O'Donohue et al., 2003; Hobbs & Chiesa, 2011) suggest that there never was a true Kuhnian, Popperian or Lakatosian shift of psychologic paradigms towards cognitivism because evidently, psychology never turned away from it in the first place; the question of interest becomes the topos' rhetoric function and/or consequences. In accordance with Lück (2009, p. 178), it appears that the declaration of a general cognitive turn within the sciences serves to legitimize the German retirement from further indulging behavioristic sentiments.

From 2010 to 2020, ten more publications would widely maintain allegations of Skinner's (often so-called 'passive') conception of learning being surpassed by a cognitive paradigm shift within psychology.[79] A closer analysis of these publications reveals that Susanne Toepell (2010) credits the term 'cognitive turn' to an earlier 2002 edition of Helmut E. Lück's *Geschichte der Psychologie* (2009). Franz Schaller (2012) assumes a slightly different narrative than previous authors in that he describes Skinner's (1953) work as an attempt to unbolt behaviorism for an ensuing cognitive turn (Schaller, 2012, p. 112). Kany & Schöler (2014) suggest a 'cognitive turn' within linguistics since language acquisition studies shifted their focus towards the cognitive generation of structures (ibid., p. 487).[80] Ingrid Latzko and Brigitte Hesse's book *Diagnostik für Lehrkräfte* (2017) includes a chapter on the return of classic behaviorist learning principles. The authors point out that "the discrediting of behaviorism and its fall into oblivion after the 'cognitive turn'" left teaching personnel "at a loss of rapidly

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[78] Though this was not specifically tracked during the analytic process, it was noted that at least two other texts mentioned and/or referenced Ausubel in proximity to Skinner (Ihlenfeld, 1987; Wilde et al., 2003). Furthermore, and as discussed in 2.1.1, the German translation of Ausubel (1974, 1974a) critically refers to Skinner's TL_Ger as well.

[79] (Toepell, 2010; Schaller, 2012; Kany & Schöler, 2014; Hesse & Latzko, 2017; Theunissen, 2017; Bucher, 2018; Hellwig, 2018; Twardella, 2018; Wälte & Borg-Laufs, 2018; Schöler, 2020).

[80] Kany and Schöler's (2014) suggestion of a cognitive revolution *within linguistics* seemed thought-provoking enough to briefly research. With István Kenesei (2013), one other author makes a similar and more elaborate argument for such a paradigm shift within the field of linguistics. However, there do not appear to be any studies providing specific evidence for this. Instead, even Kany and Schöler's (2014) article suggests that *Skinner's Verbal Behavior* (1957), and therefore, a behaviorist approach to language acquisition remain relevant for linguistic studies to this day.

effective means of intervention" (Latzko & Hesse, 2017, p. 254). For a critique of this, they refer to Herbert Goetze's book *Schülerverhalten ändern. Bewährte Methoden der schulischen Erziehungshilfe* (2010). This reference is noteworthy, because Goetze too, writes about a so-called cognitive turn (Goetze, 2010, p. 66). However, because he does so in another subchapter than the one mentioning Skinner, his publication was not included among the 26 texts alleging a cognitive paradigm shift's role in radical behaviorism's German reception. However, as Goetze's (2010) text is also included in the 325 total publications that were analyzed, it does underline the earlier point that rhetorically, the narrative of a 'cognitive turn' may be more firmly established than this study's data suggests.[81] Finally, Hermann Schöler (2020) not only alleges a 'cognitive turn' within the social sciences but also calls it a Kuhnian paradigm shift (ibid., p. 66).[82] What makes Schöler's chapter on theories of language acquisition noteworthy in this context is not only its recent publication, but also his comment that many of Chomsky's misinterpretations have become traditionalized via psychologic textbooks (ibid.). Furthermore, Schöler (2020) emphasizes that the discarding of Skinner's methodological approach was based on the *inaccuracy* of this critique.

At any rate, the data gained from this sample of publication shows that from 1997 to 2020, the topos of a cognitive paradigm shift appears to be historically stable in German publications across different fields, for one. Secondly – and more importantly for this thesis – in these 26 texts, it exclusively represents and *legitimizes* the German disdain for Skinner's body of work. Regarding the research questions, this means that in the context of B.F. Skinner's German reception, the topos 'cognitive turn'

- Is not limited to psychology textbooks.
- Often demeans the enduring and transdisciplinary impact of Skinner's body of work.
- Is often accompanied by references to Chomsky.
- Serves as one indication of misconceptions about Skinner's work.
- Is often convoyed by other misconceptions about radical behaviorism such as its conceiving learners as passive or 'empty'.
- Across different disciplines, appears historically stable in the last twenty years.
- Appears to validate the assumption of the predominating national epistemology, and thereby

[81] Another example of this is Annika Pott's (2019) book from the field of mathematics. If assuming this rhetoric were to be taken as an indication of German *Geist*, it would point to the national epistemology of German idealism having some hold even over presumably more 'factual' sciences. Yet, Pott also mentions the 'cognitive turn' several pages after referencing Skinner, which is why her publication was also not included in the total of 26 authors connecting an alleged paradigm shift to Skinner's reception. However, her work is interesting because it too, includes a few misconceptions of radical behaviorism and gives references for their origins like Mietzel (2001/2009) which does happen to use the categorial topos in immediate connection to Skinner.

[82] Again, a brief search revealed no studies providing evidence of a Kuhnian paradigm shift within the social sciences.

- Serves to legitimize the predominating national epistemology.
- Can be seen as indicative of this national epistemology.

Moreover, these results point to a lack of citation analyses providing evidence of the existence of such a paradigm shift occurring in other disciplinary fields. In line with Lück (2009), it seems fair to assume that even when they were somewhat enthusiastic about Skinner, neither German psychology nor *Geisteswissenschaften* were never in any real danger of straying from cognitivism.[83] Instead, the German discourse about Skinner's radical behaviorism has historically been accompanied by 'biased conceptions' of it (Döring, 1969), which only underlines German authors' adherence to their national epistemology. Yet, as only nine per cent of authors evidently retained the topos 'cognitive turn' in this context, the question becomes which other topoi appear in the German conception and reception of B.F. Skinner and his radical behaviorism.

2.1.4 German authors turning on Skinner: A summary

These first samples (historical & political context, linguistics, and the topos 'cognitive turn') from the material served to concurrently provide further insights and induce further topoi worthy of exploration. The information that could be gathered suggests that from the late 1960s, Skinner's German reception was characterized by bias and misconceptions (Döring, 1969) and became increasingly and openly hostile towards the mid-1970s (Kuckartz, 1974). These inaccurate conceptions of behaviorism (Schöler, 2020) appear to have been traditionalized not just through psychology textbooks, but also across different fields and disciplines, and through all kinds of publications. Apart from allegedly being surpassed by a 'cognitive revolution', other relevant topics of discussing Skinner as indicated by these initial analyses are programmed instruction, teaching machines, learning theory, Skinner's *Menschenbild*, his methodology, the applicability of SR-theory, growing German interest in humanistic psychology, his novel *Walden Two* (1948/1976), his rats, his impact, and his attack of 'the sacred German ideal *Würde'* (Bruder, 2009, p. 103; own translation).

[83] In this context, it appears noteworthy that in their citation analysis, Friman et al. (1993) point out that psychoanalytic authors "are cited more in the arts and humanities than are authors in behavioral or cognitive psychology". However, as their analysis was limited to the US this may not equally apply to German arts and humanities. One cognitive psychologist who German authors do frequently like to cite in the analyzed material is Albert Bandura, whose theory of social learning (1971) is often claimed to have been initiative of a 'cognitive revolution'. Bandura is mentioned in this context, because his perspective will become particularly relevant to the later discussion of German presumptions about Skinner's philosophy of science. Although this was not tracked specifically, it appears that more than 70 different German texts made some sort of reference to Bandura.

Skinner's *Menschenbild* – or whatever German authors assumed it to be[84] – is described to have been particularly influential to his German reception due to a prevalent lack of differentiation between his philosophy of science and (German conceptions of) his *Menschenbild* (Fahrenberg 2007). Therefore, to answer the remaining research questions, additional analysis entails another turn at the material to categorize different topoi, and further examine the development of German conceptions of B.F. Skinner and his radical behaviorism.

2.2 Skinner as a *conceptual personae*

The second part of the results focuses on Skinner as a *conceptual personae*. Its first section takes a closer look at the material and provides data on different topoi, their frequency and stability. The second section highlights those topoi deemed most significant to the study at hand by contributing to the characterization of how German authors conceptualized Skinner. The third section focuses on conceptual Skinner regarding his methodology concerning human subjectivity (in comparison to *Hermeneutik)*, his morals as called into question per 'his' *Menschenbild*, and his theory's implications for *Bildung*; thereby examining his reception in *Geisteswissenschaften*.

2.2.1 Categorical analysis of topoi in Skinner's German reception

The working steps for the initial categorical analysis of topoi in Skinner's German reception consisted of four steps:

1. Abstract topoi from material
2. Abstract main categories from topoi
3. Summarize topoi in categories
4. Check inclusivity and validity of main categories by comparing the publications included in the categories with the database

After examining all the different topoi and lines of argumentation that were abstracted from the material and collected in the database, they were summarized categorically. In this process, the six main categories were abstracted by summarizing individually phrased topoi into larger subcategories whenever the material allowed for it. This resulted in six main topic categories

[84] The most thought-provoking aspect of the German term *Menschenbild* is that it usually speaks to what an author per its implications *assumes* someone else's *Menschenbild* to be. In accordance with the national epistemology of German idealism, this is usually done from an elitist humanist perspective. What makes the case of Skinner's alleged *Menschenbild* so paradox beyond its mentalistic dimension, is that it much sooner applies to *interpretations* of his work's implications than to how he himself saw humans and their potential agency.

relevant to this thesis, namely: Practical Applications, Epistemology, Implications, Human Subjectivity, Learning, and Misconceptions. Furthermore, findings include a great many sub-categorical topoi.[85] Because the research interest lies in the general German reception of Skinner's radical behaviorism as well as in studying how *Geist* factors into the equation, a next step involved closer analysis of these main categories and the topoi they contain.[86]

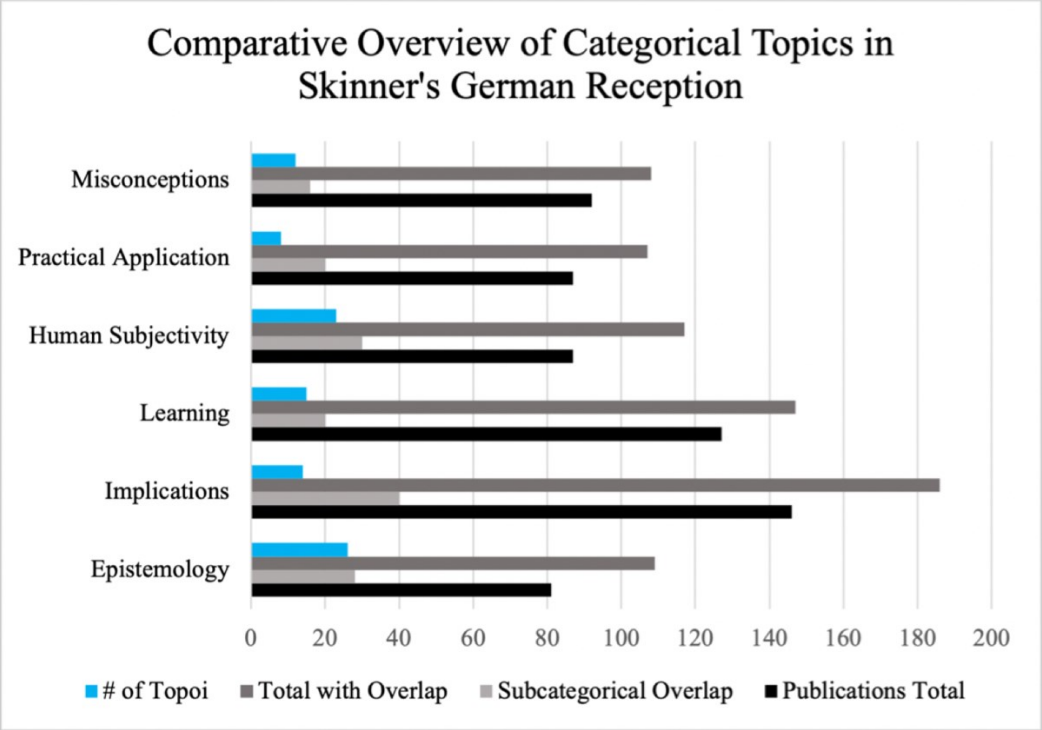

Figure 11: Comparative overview of main topic categories, total number of publications and topoi, as well as sub-categorical overlap and total publications with overlap per category.

[85] Although some individual sub-categorical topoi could theoretically fit in more than one main category, significant effort went into designing the main topic categories in a way that avoided overlap of sub-categorical topoi among the different categories by choosing the category that fit best regarding the research questions.

[86] Each main topic category contains between 81 and 148 publications, and between eight and 26 sub-categorical topoi. In every category, there were some publications that contained more than one of the sub-categorical topoi. This resulted in 'sub-categorical overlap' of categorical topoi which accounts for differences between the total individual topoi and the total publications per category.
With 148 publications and an overlap of 54 publications maintaining two or more sub-categorical topoi, the category 'Implications' emerges as the general topic most important to German authors. It was named in respect to the most common feature of the 14 different topoi it contains. Although many topoi that appear in other main categories also discuss implications of Skinner's work, selectivity was key to manage the large amount of data for this project. Thematically and historically, the implications of Skinner's work are closely related to 'Learning', the second largest category which contains 127 different publications, 20 of which include two or more of its 15 sub-categorical topoi. The third-largest category 'Misconceptions' was named in accordance with those misapprehensions identified by Todd & Morris (1983) and DeBell & Harless (1992). It contains a total of 92 publications, sixteen of which contain more than one of the twelve sub-categorical topoi that will subsequently be shown to be mis-conceptualized by German authors. Because of their significance for this thesis, its sub-categorical topoi make up their own thematic category although most of them could have been matched to another main topic category.
The fourth-largest topic category is 'Human Subjectivity' with 88 publications, 30 of which contain two or more of its 23 sub-categorical topoi. It is closely followed by the category 'Practical Application', which tallies 87 publications, 20 of which include more than one of its eight sub-categorical topoi. The final category 'Epistemology' contains the smallest number of publications but the largest number of topoi. It is comprised of 81 publications best relating to epistemology, 28 of which contain two or more of its 26 sub-categorical topoi.

Figure 11 above shows a graphic comparison of the total number of publications per main category, number of sub-categorical topoi, sub-categorical overlap, and the total publications with overlap. The inclusion of the total publications per category enlarged by multiple mentions of sub-categorical topoi exemplifies how general topics like 'Human Subjectivity' are stretched more by German authors than the material would indicate without accounting for publications containing multiple sub-categorical topoi.

Validation of Main Topic Categories

In a next step, the publications in the categories were analyzed regarding the decade they were published in. A comparison with earlier data from 2.1.1 (see Fig.3), shows that from the five texts published in the 1960s, a total of three publications appeared in three of the main topic categories, while the other two contained topoi not relating to the principal topics.[87] Out of the 26 different texts that were published in the 1970s, all but one (which makes no direct mention of Skinner) appear in at least one of the six main topic categories. From the 34 texts published in the 1980s, 30 matched at least one of the main topic categories.[88] Out of the twenty texts that were published in the 1990s, all but two[89] appeared in at least one of the main six topic categories. From the 102 publications originating in the 2000s, only three texts were not matched to one of the main six categories.[90] Finally, out of the 138 texts published in the 2010s and 2020 (summarized as 2010s+ in Figures 12 and 13 below), only seven texts could not be ascribed to one of the principal six topic categories.[91] That a total of ~94,2 percent of the 325 analyzed publications could be assigned to at least one of the six main categories thereby validates the process of abstracting topoi and categories directly from the material.[92] Figure 12

[87] Given that the sample from this decade is so small, and that Skinner is only mentioned once by four of five authors, it is not surprising that only half of the main categorical topics were addressed in them.

[88] Of the other four publications 'missing' from the 1980s, one is superordinate, in that it contains one categorical text and would therefore count twice in this category. Another publication is an alternate text from the same book that contains no relevant topoi. The remaining two publications only mention Skinner in their bibliographies, but not their texts.

[89] One of the 'missing' publications from the 1990s is Theodor Ickler's (1994) foundational article on how German authors conceive Skinner. Given that it inspired this thesis' research concept and was already discussed in introductory chapters, it is excluded from further analysis. The other text was not assigned to one of the main six topic categories as it comments on Skinner vs. Chomsky (as discussed in 2.1.3). The topos 'Skinner vs. Chomsky' was not included in any of the main categories, because it represents the intersection of epistemology and misconceptions about radical behaviorism. As such, it bridges these two categories of main topics.

[90] Two of these three texts were previously discussed – Bördlein (2005) in the introductory chapters and Ghirardo (2007) in the earlier discussion of linguistics and paradigm shifts (see 2.1.3). The remaining text does not mention Skinner in the text.

[91] Three of these texts only referred to Skinner in their respective bibliographies, and the remaining four made only one respective reference to Skinner, neither of which matched the main topic categories.

[92] Of the 19 publications (~5,8 percent) that could not be matched with one of the leading topics, seven (~2,2 percent) only mention Skinner in their respective bibliographies, and four (~1,2 percent) have already been

provides a table overview of decades and publications included in main categories (MC), excluded publications (Excl.), and total publications (TP). As mentioned earlier, publications from 2020 were added to the decade named '2010s +'.

Decade	MC	Excl.	TP
1960s	3	2	5
1970s	25	1	26
1980s	30	4	34
1990s	18	2	20
2000s	99	3	102
2010s+	131	7	138
Total	**306**	**19**	**325**

Figure 12: Publications included in Main Categories (MC), Excluded (Excl.), and Total Publications (TP) per decade.

The subsequent Figure 13 shows the distribution of German publications assigned to one of the six principal topic categories by decade. The respective categorical totals are equivalent to those discussed earlier (see Fig. 11).

	Imp.	Lear.	Mis.	HS	PA	Epi.
1960s	1	-	-	-	2	1
1970s	13	9	10	9	8	6
1980s	12	10	6	17	1	9
1990s	7	5	4	11	2	10
2000s	47	37	30	18	38	27
2010s +	68	66	42	33	36	28
Total	**148**	**127**	**92**	**88**	**87**	**81**

Figure 13: Cross-decade distribution of publications discussing the six main topics.[93]

2.2.1.1 Perspectives on conceptual Skinner: Cross-decade analysis of publications appearing in four or more categories

An interesting finding in the cross-decade analysis of the material were publications that appeared in four or more categories in their respective decades. Due to their comparatively broad perspective on conceptual Skinner, these texts will be significant for further analysis when discussing relevant sub-categorical topoi.

discussed. The remaining eight texts (~2,4 percent) discuss topoi that could not be matched to one of the main six categories.

[93] For better readability, the categorical titles were abbreviated in the table: Implications = Imp., Learning = Lear., Misconceptions = Mis., Practical Application = PA, Human Subjectivity = HS, Epistemology = ES.

In the 1970s, Friedrich (1979) appeared in all six categories.[94] As already discussed in 2.1.2.1, the analysis of Friedrich's book *Zur Kritik des Behaviorismus* (1979) was impeded by the author's mentioning Skinner 365 times throughout its 307 pages of text. However, relevant topoi were identified that will be discussed in the according later parts of this study.

Hans Westmeyer's book *Kritik der psychologischen Unvernunft* (1973) appeared in four of the categories: Implications, Learning, Human Subjectivity, and Epistemology. Westmeyer, a "known German behaviorist" (Drinkmann & Groeben, 1989) would go on as a professor at the Freie Universität Berlin's department of psychology and education from 1976 until his retirement in 2011. Although Westmeyer dedicated his (1973) book to Skinner, his focus lies on elaborating his own work, framed as an homage to his American idol. Its value for this thesis lies not only in how Westmeyer (1973) sets the stage for radical behaviorism in Germany, but also in Westmeyer's attempts at domesticating an American idea which reveal a connection that will become relevant in later sections discussing specific topoi. This connection appears in the shape of an emerging antagonist who loudly rejected Westmeyer's work: Norbert Groeben.[95] Despite a brief literary attempt to bridge their epistemological differences, behaviorist Westmeyer and hermeneutically oriented Groeben would take very different routes. In the following decade and a half, Groeben insisted on the German shedding of behaviorist notions[96], thereby demonstrating that any indulgence in behaviorist notions was as just as

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[94] Given that the database allowed for the identification of up to five topoi, it may seem odd that texts would appear in six categories. This is readily explained by the fact that as mentioned earlier, the topoi categorized as obvious misapprehensions could have been matched to other categories. This will be elaborated in the subsequent analysis and discussion of the category 'Misconceptions'.

[95] Groeben, a professor of psychology from the University of Heidelberg and of literature at the Universität-Gesamthochschule Siegen, not only appears as at least one author of publications particularly critical of Skinner (Groeben & Scheele, 1977/2000; Groeben, 1981; Treiber & Groeben, 1983; Groeben et al., 1988; Drinkmann & Groeben, 1989), but is also connected to other critical authors who appear in the material like Arno Drinkmann (Schermer & Drinkmann, 2018) and Klaus Hurrelmann (2006; Hurrelmann & Bründel, 2003), whom he co-authored publications with that are not part of the material. Though this was not tracked specifically, various publications that were analyzed cite different texts from Groeben. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to test this specifically, it is assumed that generally, authors who cite Groeben's texts (e.g. Westermann, 2000; Neveling, 2008; Klünger, 2010; Große Siestrup, 2010) would also view Skinner critically. Groeben's lasting influence at his former Universities of Heidelberg and Siegen is indicated by the affiliations of two other authors (Benkert, 2001; Toepell, 2010) whose publications have already been discussed in section 2.1.3. Judging from these known examples, Groeben could be considered an influential representative of German *Geist* – or its predominating epistemology. Historically, Groeben's conceptualization of Skinner presents limited to topoi related to the author's core subjects human subjectivity and epistemology, as well as his evident misapprehension of radical behaviorist theory.

[96] This shedding may be further underlined by a particularly peculiar interpretation of learning theory's implications for pubescent identities, an article that came out of a different department of Westmeyer's faculty at the FU Berlin before he retired in 2011. In taking a development-psychological approach, Ursula Kessels, Lisa M. Warner, Julia Holle and Bettina Hannover (2008) arguments of how positive feedback on performance somehow threatens developing identities, they underline that even within the field of psychology, behaviorist approaches are often not understood sufficiently. While Kessels et al. (2008) reference a lot of their own work, they apparently never consulted Westmeyer, which once more underlines the German shunning of behaviorism, even if a domesticated version were to be found next door.

offensive to German authors when proposed by one of their own.

In the 1980s, three publications each appeared in four of the six main categories. The Skinner-related content of Harald Kerber & Arnold Schmieder (1984)'s sociology textbook categorically fit Implications, Learning, Misconceptions, Human Subjectivity, and Epistemology. Of the three articles in it mentioning Skinner, Klaus-Jürgen Bruder's (1984) chapter on behaviorism (1984) surfaces as the most relevant for this thesis, especially considering this author's antagonistic conception of Skinner (Bruder, 1984; 2009; Bruder & Bruder-Bezzel, 1988). Furthermore, Kerber & Schmieder (1984) emerge as an example of a German textbook that includes evident misconceptions about behaviorism that will be discussed in the according later section. Michael Eppinger's (1983) dissertation on Skinner categorically appeared in Implications, Learning, Human Subjectivity and Epistemology, mentioning the American psychologist's name a total of 406 times. Therefore, like Friedrich (1979), its topoi that are relevant for this thesis will also be discussed in the according subsequent sections. Additionally, Sigl's (1986) book on linguistics (as already discussed in 2.1.3) tallied the categories Implications, Misconceptions, Human Subjectivity, and Epistemology.

In the 1990s, R. Murray Thomas & Birgitt Feldmann's textbook on child development (1992) appeared in all six categories, but no other publications discussed four or more of the main topics. As mentioned in 2.1.1, Thomas & Feldmann's publication presents a special case because it is itself a translation of an American psychology textbook.[97] Moreover, Feldmann is named not only as translator, but also as co-author on the cover. This is significant, because this is an American textbook whose inclusion of evident misconceptions falls in line with findings of American miseducation about behaviorism (as discussed earlier in section 1.3.6). Moreover, by her inclusion of various exclusively German sources, Feldmann's attempt to nationalize the textbook's content apparently goes beyond mere translation. As the later analysis of Thomas & Feldmann's (1992) specific topoi will show, she seems to have contributed a little bit of German *Geist* as well.

In the 2000s, yet another textbook, Konrad Bundschuh's (2008) *Heilpädagogische Psychologie*, appeared in all six topic categories as well. Additionally, Fitzgerald Crain's chapter on participation (2008) appeared in five categories, thematically excluding only Human

[97] In addition to other German sources, this textbook (Thomas & Feldmann 1992) references seven of Skinner's German publications, including Skinner & Correll (1967), which was only published in German; as well as the novel *Futurum Zwei* (1972). Thomas and Feldmann's German textbook comparing different theories of child development was first published in Germany in 1986, and reprinted unchanged three more times in 1989, 1992 and 1994. Its last reprint of an updated edition was in 2002.

Subjectivity. Bernhard Bolle's (2008) book on school counselling tallied four categories, thematically excluding categorical topoi of Misconceptions and Epistemology. Helmut Lück's account of the history of psychology (2009), which became "a standard lecture at many Universities" (ibid., p. 10; as already discussed in section 2.1.4), also appeared in four categories, thematically excluding topoi relating to categorical Misconceptions and Human Subjectivity.[98]

In the 2010s, Ernst Oldemeyer's book on dialectics (2010) appeared in all six of the main topic categories. Franz Schaller's published dissertation (2012) tallied five categories, thematically excluding only epistemological topoi. Another seven publications each fit four of the main categories: Herbert Goetze's (2010) textbook on changing student behavior thematically excluded topoi from the categories Implications and Human Subjectivity, an article on the ethology of religion by Ina Wunn, Patrick Urban and Constantin Klein (2012) excluded topoi of Practical Application and Epistemology; Erich C. Wittmann's textbook on math didactics (1981) did not contain topoi of Human Subjectivity and Epistemology; Helmut Reuter's psychology textbook (2014) did not appear in the categories Learning and Misconceptions; Dirk Stederoth's (2015) philosophical book on freedom did not appear in the categories Misconceptions and Epistemology; Walter Herzog's (2016) article on the technological reduction of schooling did not appear in Learning and Human Subjectivity, and Jochen Krautz' (2019) article on teaching thematically excluded the categories Implications and Epistemology.

Findings from the cross-decade analysis of 18 publications appearing in four or more categories further revealed five German textbooks miseducating about Skinner (Wittmann, 1981; Kerber & Schmieder, 1984; Thomas & Feldmann, 1992; Bundschuh, 2008; Goetze, 2010), with only one textbook appearing in categorical Misconceptions. Furthermore, the cross-decade analysis indicates that publications by authors like Norbert Groeben[99], Walter Herzog (1979; 2012; 2016) and Klaus-Jürgen Bruder (1984; 2009; Bruder & Bruder-Bezzel, 1988) should also be analyzed for their specific topoi.

What the cross-decade analysis correspondingly shows is that out of 325 publications, only 5,5 percent of German authors even attempt to receive Skinner from a perspective that includes

[98] Furthermore, and as discussed in 2.1.4, Lück (2009) serves as one example of 26 German publications who misconceived the occurrence and influence of a so-called 'cognitive turn' in (American) psychology. While this is an evident general misapprehension (Hobbs & Chiesa, 2011), it is not categorized as a categorical misconception of radical behaviorism, which only summarize topoi that fall in line with those defined by Todd & Morris (1983) and DeBell & Harless (1992). Therefore, the topic category 'cognitive turn' (as discussed in section 2.1.3.1) remains a stand-alone category at the intersection of the main topic categories Misconceptions and Epistemology.

[99] (Groeben & Scheele, 1977; Groeben, 1981; Treiber & Groeben, 1983; Groeben et al., 1988; Drinkmann & Groeben, 1989).

more than three of the already closely related six main topics. These categorical topics will now undergo an even more detailed analysis of their respective topoi as well as indications of a national(ized) thought style.

2.2.1.2 Main topics and sub-categorical topoi

The main topics in Skinner's German reception appear to be his work's implications and practical application, learning, human subjectivity, and epistemology. Additionally, obvious misconceptions about Skinner's work as identified by Todd & Morris (1983) and DeBell & Harless (1992) became evident in 28 percent of the analyzed 325 publications, which underlines why they comprise their own thematic category. In a next step, each of the main topic categories will be more closely analyzed to identify those categories and topoi most relevant to how German authors conceptualized Skinner.

For each category, this process involved the following steps:

1. Analysis of sub-categorical topoi
2. Identification of up to five sub-categorical topoi significant for thesis
   a. Selection of up to five publications representative of said topoi for closer analysis
3. Identification of up to five publications referring to more than one of the sub-categorical topoi, chosen per significance to thesis

2.2.1.2.1 Implications

Step One: Of the 146 publications discussing various aspects of implications of Skinner's work, 40 contained more than one of the 14 sub-categorical topoi.[100] Because of the limited scope of this master's thesis, the next step involved further reducing the material to be analyzed in this context as described above.

Step Two: Three sub-categorical topoi presented as particularly important to this thesis: 'Control', 'Walden Two', and 'Manipulation'.

'Control' was chosen because in line with Fahrenberg's observation of a German lack of differentiation between Skinner's scientific position and his *Menschenbild* (2007, p. 76), how German authors conceived Skinner's scientific concept of control is expected to affect how they conceive him as a scientist or *conceptual personae*. Furthermore, it is a topos that may well be

[100] 49 texts discussed 'Reinforcement', 37 'Instruction', 36 'Control', 21 'Walden Two', 16 'Manipulation', 13 'Reinforcement & Punishment'; seven each 'Diagnostics' and 'Intentions'; three each 'Punishment', 'Ethics', 'Dressur' and 'Drill'; and two each discussed 'Feedback' and 'Implications'. This results in 186 individual references to one or more of the 14 different sub-categorical topoi.

accompanied by misconstructions of Skinner's philosophy of science that are not as evident as categorical Misconceptions (see section 2.2.1.2.3). The earliest appearance of 'Control' as a noted topos in the material is in 1973. It also presents as historically stable.[101] Through the prior cross-decade analysis, the publications by Thomas & Feldmann (1992), Bruder (1984) in Kerber & Schmieder (1984), and Herzog (2016) have already been identified as significant for further analysis.

Since Fahrenberg (2007) also pointed out that the reception of Skinner's novel *Walden Two* (1948/1976) affected the German perception of Skinner's *Menschenbild*, the topos 'Walden Two', included in 21 publications, was chosen as the second in line for an in-depth analysis. Indeed, it appears that 'Walden Two' is often discussed not just regarding its implications, but also to the novel's core subject Utopia (which appears as a topos of the topic category Human Subjectivity in section 2.2.1.2.4). However, just like Fahrenberg (2007) suggested, *Walden Two* (1948) does not appear to be understood as a work of fiction, but as representative of Skinner's intentions – or what German authors *thought* them to be.

As a topos, 'Walden Two' makes its earliest appearance in Kuckartz' (1974) book (as discussed for historic context in section 2.1.2.1). While it also appears in Bruder (1984), its discussion in Egon Schwarz (1986) recension of Skinner's novel appears particularly significant for further analysis.[102] Additionally, its appearance in Oldemeyer (2010) was selected for further analysis due to that publication's implication in the cross-decade analysis. The fourth text selected for in-depth analysis of the topos 'Walden Two' was Friedrich W. Kron, Eiko Jürgens and Jutta Standop's popular textbook *Grundwissen Pädagogik* (2013).

The third and final topos chosen for further analysis from this category is 'manipulation'. For this thesis, its value as a topos lies in its long history that is best summed up by Albert Bandura, who is known (and apparently, liked much better by German authors) for his social learning theory:

[101] Considering the the specific *paroles* used in addressing the topos 'Control' shows that as a sub-categorical topic of 'Implications', 'Control' appeared in many expressions for the 36 authors discussing it: 25 times as such, twice with sub-categorical overlap to the topos 'Intentions', and singularly as 'potential of total control' (Faulstich, 2003), ''veiled' control' (Bruder, 1984), 'failure to control' (Sigl, 1986), 'social control' (Thomas & Feldmann, 1992), 'control, gained' (Egger, 2015), 'techniques of control' (Mack et al., 2014), 'ambitions to control' (Herzog, 2016), 'the goal being control' (Hesse & Latzko, 2017) and 'hedonistic control' (Seitz, 2018).

[102] Though this was not tracked specifically, it served as a source for some other German authors discussing this specific topos, the earlier discussed topos 'Utopia', or 'Skinner as an author', which appeared as a separate topos not matched to any of the main categories.

> "Traditional theories of reinforcement have been almost entirely concerned with demonstration of how behavior can be regulated by directly experienced conseqeuences (sic!) arising from external sources. *Out of this circumscribed research interest grew the unfortunate impression that behavior theories view man as a manipulable automaton with hardly any self-regulatory capacities*" (Albert Bandura, 1971, p. 20; own emphasis).

Bandura's observation not only connects the topoi 'control' and 'manipulation', but also touches on a general lack of differentiation between neobehaviorism and its traditional roots. Moreover, Bandura's use of the term 'automaton' implies an Input-Output understanding of learning in authors who broach the issue of manipulation in this context. Thereby, the topos 'Manipulation' appears closely related to 'Control', the upcoming thematic category Learning (see 2.2.1.2.2), as well as a type of *Menschenbild* it is assumed to imply.

Another important dimension of the topos 'manipulation' lies in the rhetoric power it holds. The aftermath of World War II appears to have raised German sensitivity for manipulation. In addition to this, possible misunderstandings of Skinner's scientific concept of control may well affect the German perception of his intentions for mankind. However, these underlying processes result in linguistic practice that itself has been called into question:

> "By associating the term behaviorism with odious images of salivating dogs and animals driven by carrots and sticks, critics of behavioral approaches *skillfully employ Pavlovian conditioning procedures on their receptive audiences to endow this point of view with degrading properties*. The fact that valuation of places, persons, and things is affected by one's emotional experiences, whether they be fearful, humiliating, mournful, or pleasurable, does not mean that such conditioning outcomes reflect a base animal process. To expect people to remain unaffected by paired experiences is to expect them to be *less than human*. Moreover, to be sensitive to the consequences of one's actions *indicates intelligence rather than subhuman functioning*" (Albert Bandura, 1971, p. 14; own emphases).

For discourse analysis, the true significance of the topos 'manipulation' therefore lies in its rhetoric potential to manipulate, especially when paired with topoi from other categories that transport images with potentially dehumanizing properties such as the topoi 'animal experiments', 'rats', 'pigeons' (category Practical Application, see 2.2.1.2.5) or 'conditioning' (category Learning, see 2.2.1.2.2.).

In the 16 texts discussing 'manipulation', the topos makes its earliest appearances in a translation of Erich Fromm (1973).[103] A year later, it appears in Kuckartz (1974; see 2.1.2.1), whose conception of Skinner can hardly be described as well-intended. In the 1980s, Dietrich von Engelhardt and Heinrich Schipperges' (1980) book on connections of philosophy and medicine, which made only one mention of Skinner, employed the topoi 'Control',

[103] Erich Fromm's (1993) work, which like Thomas & Feldmann (1992) is a translation of a book originally published in English, is also seen as particularly influential in the German speaking realm. This is underlined by Fahrenberg (2007) contrasting Skinner's *Menschenbild* to other influential psychologists', among them Fromm.

‘Manipulation’ and even go as far as to discuss “the expropriation of man” (v. Engelhardt & Schipperges, 1980, p. 16; own translation). In the 1990s, ‘manipulation’ appears in Thomas & Feldmann (1992). In the 2000s, Hannelore Faulstich-Wieland’s and her husband Peter Faulstich’s (2006) textbook on education science stuck out as particularly relevant with its discussion of ‘manipulation’, because the material suggests them (Faulstich, 2003; 2005; 2013; Faulstich-Wieland & Faulstich, 2006; Faulstich-Wieland, 2015) to be in line with other authors described as antagonists in Skinner’s German reception. That their textbook also appears with evident misconceptions makes it even more significant for further analysis.

Step Three: Among the publications discussing more than one of the sub-categorical topoi relating to implications of Skinner’s radical behaviorism were Kuckartz (1974) and Sigl (1986), which have already been subjected to analysis in sections 2.1.2.1 and 2.1.3, respectively. Another known contender appears with Thomas & Feldmann (1992) in the 1990s. The final publication selected for further analysis of its discussion of categorical implications of Skinner’s work was Herzog (2016), which also appeared as potentially significant in the cross-decade analysis.

Overall, a deeper analysis of the category ‘Implications’ underlines that the German view of radical behaviorism’s implications seems to be shaped by authors’ perception of Skinner’s *Menschenbild*, which in turn is habitually not differentiated from his scientific considerations. Out of the 148 texts in this category, twelve were chosen whose topoi will undergo further analysis in section 2.2.2.

2.2.1.2.2 Learning

The second largest thematic category was ‘Learning’, consisting of 127 texts. 20 of them contained more than one of its 15 sub-categorical topoi, most of which were summarized as one of two broader topics: 73 publications discussed ‘operant conditioning’ and 51 ‘learning theory’ in a wider sense, resulting in a total 147 individual references to categorical topoi and 20 texts containing more than one categorical topos.[104] Given that Skinner’s work with operant conditioning was foundational to his development of learning theory, under closer consideration the category’s topoi seem of little significance to this thesis’ remaining research questions because they present as historically stable and address what could be considered

[104] Five publications each mentioned ‘laws of learning’ and ‘mechanical learning’. ‘Operant learning’ and ‘SORKC’ were mentioned by two texts each. These were supplemented by singular mentions of ‘learning principles’ (Schermer & Drinkmann, 2018), ‘associative learning’ (Schaller, 2012), ‘contrast to social learning’ (Greubel, 2017), ‘reactive learning’ (Jäger, 2004), ‘technological learning’ (Krautz, 2019), ‘conditioning’ (Nett et al., 2002), ‘S-O-R’ (Fromm, 1977), ‘technology-based learning’ (Sturm & Igel, 2005), and ‘conditioned learning’ (Kraus, 2008).

common knowledge about radical behaviorism. Instead, a brief inspection of its singular topoi underlines previous evidence of German biases against radical behaviorism. While Skinner's contributions to SOR- and SOR(K)C-models is only discussed by a total of three German publications, at least eleven publications consider his approach to learning be technological or even mechanical. These results fall in line with previously discussed findings about the German tradition of refuting foreign ideas per assumption of their *Menschenbild* being reductive and, more importantly, mechanistic (see section 1.3.3, the German reception of La Mettrie). Furthermore, these findings underline results from the previous category as they connect to Bandura's (1971; see section 2.2.1.2.1) account of how critics of behavioral approaches per their combination of certain topoi unscrupulously condition their receptive audiences. Moreover, literature suggests that statements on 'operant conditioning' may likely contain misconceptions about the extent to which behavior can be conditioned (DeBell & Harless, 1992). However, as an according review would involve the individual checking of all 73 references to 'operant conditioning' as well as any publication containing the terms 'conditioning/conditioned', it was decided to skip this analysis and instead examine topoi from the category 'Learning' only if necessary for context of subsequent sections.

2.2.1.2.3 Misconceptions

Step One: Noted in 92 publications, evident misconceptions about Skinner's work as identified by Todd & Morris (1983)[105] and DeBell & Harless (1992)[106] make up the third-largest thematic category which contains 12 sub-categorical topoi.[107] Categorically, the topic of 'internal states' in their various described expressions appears closely related to topoi relating to the category Human Subjectivity (see section 2.2.1.2.4). However, because they were matched with evident misconceptions as identified by Todd & Morris (1983) and Debell & Harless (1992) they were tallied accordingly. This suggests that about 28,3 per cent of all 325 analyzed publications contain at least one clear fallacy about radical behaviorism.

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[105] To briefly recap from section 1.3.6: Todd & Morris (1983) identified five evident misconceptions of Skinner's work by sampling American textbooks: "(a) that it focuses primarily on the behavior of nonhuman animals, (b) that it is totally environmentalistic, (c) that it views organisms as 'empty' or as 'black boxes' (though with occasional reference to intentionality), (d) that is espouses a simple and naive theory of language and language acquisition, and (e) that it is limited in its usefulness" (ibid., p. 155).

[106] To also summarize from section 1.3.6: By testing undergraduates, graduate students and faculty in psychology, DeBell & Harless (1992) also identified five evident misconceptions of Skinner's work regarding: "(a) the role of physiology and genetics in behavior, (b) the extent to which all behavior can be conditioned, (c) the uniqueness of the individual, (d) the use of punishment in controlling a behavior, and (e) the existence of internal states" (ibid., p. 68). Therefore, publications containing the individual topoi 'punishment' or 'control' from the previous category 'Implications' may well also contain misapprehensions of Skinner's work.

[107] These twelve topoi are: SR-theory, applicability to humans, omission of inner-psychic processing, verbal behavior, black box, disregard of consciousness, discarding mental phenomena, passivity, tabula rasa, intrinsic motivation, theoretically limited, and passive learning.

27 texts discuss 'SR (Stimulus-Response/Reaction) theory', which matched Todd & Morris (1983) (b) or (c), and DeBell & Harless (1992) (b), (c) or (e), as this topic omits the role of the organism in neobehaviorist theories. Furthermore, these 27 texts fall in line with misconceptions about behaviorism transported by Chomsky's (1959) rebuttal of Skinner (as previously discussed in sections 1.3.6, 2.1.3 and 2.1.3.1) and were therefore not assigned to the previous category Learning. 24 texts call into question Skinner's work's 'applicability to humans', which implies most misconceptions identified in previous studies. 16 German texts discuss some sort of 'omission of inner-psychic processing', which could be matched with Todd & Morris (1983) (b), (c), or DeBell & Harless (1992) (c) and especially (e).

Nine publications each are concerned with 'verbal behavior'[108] and 'Black Box'. The topos 'Verbal Behavior' matched Todd & Morris (1983) (d), while 'Black Box' was matched with both Todd & Morris (1983) (c) and DeBell & Harless (1992) (e). Additionally, two publications mentioning the topos 'Tabula Rasa' fit the same criteria as 'Black Box'. Seven publications discussing Skinner's 'disregard of consciousness' fit the same criteria as 'omission of inner-psychic processing'. The same goes for the five publications mentioning Skinner's 'discarding mental phenomena' and two publications mentioning 'intrinsic motivation'. Four texts discussing 'passivity' of subjects and one text discussing 'passive learning' were matched with Todd & Morris (1983) (b) and (c), as well as DeBell & Harless (1992) (a), (b), (c) and (e). Finally, two texts discussing radical behaviorism's 'theoretical limitations' were matched with Todd & Morris (1983) (e).

In total, this results in 108 individual mentions of categorical topoi that can be considered indicative of misapprehensions. Out of the total 92 publications contained in this category, 16 contain more than one of the twelve categorical topoi. In the next step, this material will be reduced to select publications for detailed analysis.

Step Two: In the selection of up to five topoi for further analysis, it was decided to exclude 'verbal behavior' and 'SR-theory' as their implications have already been discussed at length in previous sections (see 1.3.6, 2.1.3 and 2.1.3.1). The topos 'theoretical limitations' was also excluded because it appears in only two publications and is usually implied when the issue of applicability is raised.

The identification of evident German misconceptions of Skinner is crucial because it seems to affect the German perception of Skinner as a *conceptual personae*. Therefore, it was decided

[108] The detailed analysis of the material reveals that generally, German authors differentiate between *Handlung* and *Verhalten* (action and behavior) to the extent that the mere concept of verbal behavior is rejected for being simplistic, often by proxy of Chomsky (1959).

to summarize the remaining categorical topoi in four topics for further analysis in the next section: (1) applicability, (2) negation of internal states (summarizing the topoi regarding alleged omissions of 'inner-psychic processing', 'consciousness', 'mental phenomena', and 'intrinsic motivation'), (3) clean slate (summarizing the topoi Black Box & Tabula Rasa), and (4) passivity (summarizing the topoi 'passivity' and 'passive learning'). Since sufficient argumentation for these topics' relevance for further analysis has already been provided above, the selection of publications for further analysis can progress.

Figure 14 provides an overview of the five main misconceptions emerging in the material, of which 'applicability' and 'internal states' were selected for a more detailed analysis.

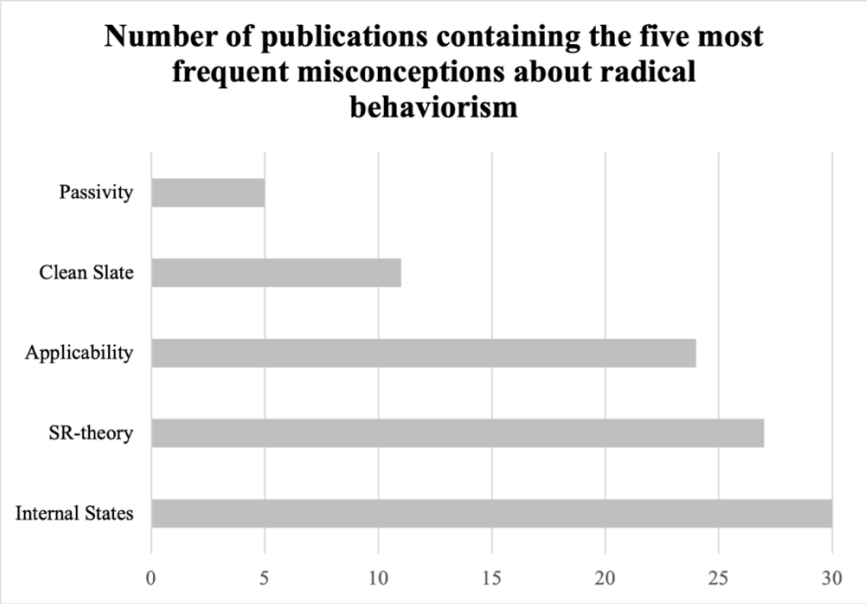

Figure 14: Number of publications containing the five most frequent misconceptions about radical behaviorism.

The topos 'applicability' makes its earliest appearance in Martin Fromm's (1977) dissertation on social learning in schools and is accompanied by the topos "rats and pigeons" (see category Practical Application, 2.2.1.2.5), remaining a stable topos throughout the 1970s.[109] With Fromm (1977), Groeben (1981, Humbert (2003), and Bundschuh (2008), four texts were selected for detailed analysis of the topos. Given their national epistemology's inherent dualism, it was expected that German authors would be concerned about the third topic sub-category, Skinner's 'negation of internal states'. By summarizing the according topoi, 30 texts are shown to question the American psychologist's esteem of a figurative national German

[109] In the 1980s, it first appears in an article by Norbert Groeben (1981), who has already been identified as a potential German antagonist of Skinner's, and later in Sigl (1986). In publications from the 1990s, it does not appear as a topos – however, the topos SR-theory does, quite a bit. In the 2000s, it first reappears in Ludger Humbert's dissertation *Zur wissenschaftlichen Fundierung der Schulinformatik* (2003), where it is accompanied by the topoi 'radical Skinner' (not included in any main categories), 'operant conditioning' (see category Learning, 2.2.1.2.2) and 'no autonomy' (see category Human Subjectivity, 2.2.1.2.4). Notably, the topic of questionable applicability also appears in Bundschuh (2008), which has already been selected for in-depth analysis.

treasure.[110] Through them, the topos 'negation of internal states' presents historically stable. With Herzog (1979), Wimmer (1988) and Hof (2018), three publications were selected for a more extensive review of the topos' implications for Skinner's German reception.

The third topic 'clean slate' comprises the two topoi 'Black Box', which tallies 9 publications,[111] and 'Tabula Rasa', mentioned in two texts (Crain, 2008; Nauenheim, 2016). As discussed in section 1.3.6, Skinner did not assume any organism to be void of inner processes.[112] Therefore, there is no need for a deeper analysis of publications discussing these two topoi, since thematically, they are closely related to presumptions about 'internal states', and other topoi touching on the upcoming category 'Human Subjectivity'.

The fourth and final categorical topic 'passivity' was also excluded from closer analysis, because in summarizing four texts discussing 'passivity', specifically, and one publication commenting on 'passive learning', it comprises a total of only five publications. Moreover, it turns several evident misconceptions (Todd & Morris, 1983; DeBell & Harless, 1992) into one knockout argument of a topos, which like the topic 'clean slate' appears to be affected by German authors' impressions of Skinner's *Menschenbild* and thereby, their conception of human subjectivity.

Step Three: In addition to the publications already selected for further analysis of categorical topoi indicating evident misconceptions about Skinner's philosophy of science, those texts containing more than one of these topoi are applicable for closer inspection. In the 1970s, Geier (1977; as discussed in section 2.1.3) contains three of them: 'verbal behavior', 'SR-theory', and 'doubt of applicability to humans'. A close and already familiar runner-up is Eduard Sigl (1986), who shares two of Geier's (1977) misconceptions: 'verbal behavior' and 'doubt of applicability to humans'. Thomas & Feldmann (1992) again appear as contenders for detailed analysis per the topoi 'SR-theory' (ibid., p. 189) and 'use of punishment in controlling behavior' (ibid., p. 192; misconception (d) as identified by DeBell & Harless (1992), which was

[110] Its first appearance as a topos occurs as 'denial of consciousness' in Hassan's (1973) linguistic article that has already been subject of analysis (see section 2.1.3). In an article by Walter Herzog (1979), it appears as 'denial of inner-psychic processes.' In the 1980s, it materializes in Klaus-Michael Wimmer's (1988) book in the context of other topoi such as 'subjectivity' (see category Human Subjectivity, 2.2.1.2.4) and Skinner's being 'forgotten' due to his 'doubt of inner-psychic processing'. Its final appearance in the material as 'neglect of cognitive processes' is in an article by Barbara Hof (2018).

[111] (Groeben, 1981; Sander et al., 2008; Goetze, 2010; Schott & Ghanbari, 2012; Pinar & Pinar, 2015; Seifert, 2016; Hof, 2018; Twardella, 2018; Cursio, 2019).

[112] Out of the eleven texts discussing this topic, only one was revealed to right this common misunderstanding: The textbook *Handbuch Medienpädagogik* edited by Uwe Sander, Friederike von Gross and Kai-Uwe Hugger (2008) points out that Skinner did not conceptualize organisms as black boxes but rather as *active* learners. With the logical exclusion of Sander et al. (2008), the remaining ten German publications discussing this topic could be shown to mis-conceptualize Skinner by employing the topoi 'black box' or 'tabula rasa'.

accounted for under the abbreviated topos 'punishment' in the first topic category Implications).[113] In the 2000s, Bundschuh (2008) also appears with two misconceptions per the topoi 'passivity' and 'applicability'. However, Peter Faulstich emerges as the decade's author with the highest count of misconceptions: 'passivity' (Faulstich, 2003), as well as 'SR-mechanics' and 'omission of inner-psychic processing' in the education science textbook he co-authored with his wife (Faulstich-Wieland & Faulstich, 2006) as well as a potential idiosyncrasy regarding the concept of control (Faulstich, 2005, p. 530).[114] In the 2010s, Marcus Balzereit (2012) appears with three evident misconceptions per the topoi 'fight against consciousness and introspection', 'SR-theory' and 'Black Box'.

2.2.1.2.4 Human Subjectivity

Step One: Thus far, the collected data suggests that most evident misconceptions about Skinner's philosophy of science appear to be related to conceptions of human subjectivity that are themselves subject of the predominating national epistemology. The category Human Subjectivity tallies a total of 88 publications which collectively contain one or more of its 23 sub-categorical topoi.[115] Among them, the most frequently mentioned topos is 'Skinner's *Menschenbild*', which appears in 21 different texts, nine of which include these key words explicitly. Fifteen publications each discuss Skinner in the context of 'subjectivity' and 'freedom'. The topic of 'autonomy' is mentioned in 13 different German texts, while ten discuss 'Utopia'. The topos 'morale' appeared in seven publications,[116] 'values' in six. Given that dignity has been described as a national sanctity (Bruder, 2009, p. 103) and that *Jenseits von*

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[113] This raises the valid question whether the three publications commenting on 'punishment', or the 13 texts discussing 'reinforcement & punishment' from the prior category 'Implications' share DeBell & Harless (1992) evident misconception (d) and should have thus been allocated as such. However, as this thesis' main goal lies not in the identification of all German misconceptions of radical behaviorism but in studying how the national epistemology influences the reception of this particular foreign idea and its figurehead, it suffices to show that the identification of evident misapprehensions depends upon close inspection of each individual text.

[114] Though this was not tracked specifically, at least two publications who referenced texts by Faulstich included evident misapprehensions as well: van der Geest (2007) contains the topoi 'omission of inner-psychic processing' and 'SR-theory', while Köppel (2008) questions the approach's 'applicability' (however, a misconception that does not appear to originate from Faulstich).

[115] These 23 topoi consist of: 'Skinner's *Menschenbild'*, 'subjectivity', 'freedom', 'autonomy', 'utopia', 'dignity', 'morale', 'values', 'action vs. behavior', 'subject as a product of learning', 'degradation', 'active agents', 'awareness', 'influence of exogene influences', 'expropriation of man', 'Fremdsteuerung', 'Homo Clausus', 'man as machine', 'mechanistic *Menschenbild*', 'mechanistic thought', 'responsibility', 'Skinner's *Weltbild*', and 'religion'. While the first five topoi were the most frequent, five texts were concerned with issues of 'action vs. behavior', and three articles by the same author discussed the 'subject as a product of learning' (Roer, 2009; 2010; 2012). Two publications discussed 'degradation' while singular texts contained the remaining topoi.

[116] Morale has been described as a central concern of German idealism (Vetö, 2018, pp. 187ff) and appears closely related to religious topics. In the analyzed material, ‚morale' makes its earliest appearances in Ludwig Roithinger's (1985) book on anthropological ethics and morale, and an article by Catholic bishop Anton Losinger (1992) as 'morale: replacing ethics with behavior technology'. The topos 'morale' is also retained by Schillinger (2006), Horster (2011), and Andresen et al. (2013). Furthermore, it singularly appears as 'deconstruction of morale' (Bielefeldt, 2011) and 'destructant of morale' (Schreiber, 2013).

Freiheit und Würde (1973a) was referenced by 95 different publications (see Figure 5 in section 2.1.1), it is somewhat surprising that the topos 'dignity' emerged as one of five notable topoi in only nine of the 325 total texts. Including an overlap of thirty publications containing more than one of these 23 categorical topoi, this results in a total of 108 individual references to topics of 'Human Subjectivity' in the 88 texts tallied in this category. Therefore, it is crucial to emphasize that

a) most topoi contained in the category 'Human Subjectivity' are essential if not sacred to German idealism and

b) were also addressed in Skinner's *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971).

Step Two: The second step in the categorical analysis involves reducing the material for further analysis. Therefore, the four most frequent categorical topoi 'Skinner's *Menschenbild'*, 'subjectivity', 'freedom', and 'autonomy' were selected for a detailed analysis, which assumes that topoi relating to 'Human Subjectivity' are often accompanied by presumptions Skinner addressed in *About Behaviorism* (1974). Considering this thesis' limited scope, the remaining topoi were excluded because their contributions to the further characterization of the German conception of Skinner's ideas are assumed to be superfluous and therefore, neglectable.[117]

How German authors discussed 'Skinner's *Menschenbild'* will become subject of analysis in the later section 2.2.3, which zones in on the difficulties that arise due to radical behaviorism's clash with the predominating national epistemology of German idealism as indicated by specific national grammars.[118]

In the fifteen publications discussing freedom, the topos appears simply as the key word 'freedom' in nine texts, but also in combination with other topoi.[119] For example, two of the

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[117] The topos ‚utopia' frequently appears accompanied by the topos 'Walden Two' from the priorly discussed category 'Implications', therefore further analysis seems redundant. The other topoi are retained by less than ten texts.

[118] Among the fifteen publications discussing 'subjectivity', the topos makes its earliest appearance in the German translation of Erich Fromm's (1973) work *Anatomie der menschlichen Destruktivität,* along with the topoi 'values' from this category, 'manipulation' and 'reinforcement' from the earlier discussed category Implications (see 2.2.1.2.1), as well as 'operant conditioning' from the category Learning (2.2.1.2.2). In the 1980s, Bernhard Treiber and Norbert Groeben's (1983) article contains the topoi 'subjectivity' and 'denial of autonomy' from the category Human Subjectivity (see 2.2.1.2.4) as well as the topos 'control' from the first topic category Implications. In the 1990s, Bedrich Loewenstein's book *Problemfelder der Moderne* (1990) contains the topos 'subjectivity' along with 'denial of consciousness' and the topos 'Determinism' from the final topic category Epistemology (see 2.2.1.2.6). In the 2000s, it appears as the single topos of a singular reference to Skinner in Otger Autrata (2009) article on prevention of youth violence. In the following decade, Heiner Bielefeldt's (2011) book defending human dignity discusses two categorical topoi in his singular reference to Skinner: his 'deconstruction of morale' in the context of 'subjectivity'.

[119] Three publications discuss 'freedom & dignity' (Schneewind, 1982; Bolle, 2008; Klünger, 2010) in appositions like 'abolition of freedom and dignity' (Schneewind, 1982) or 'overthrown by freedom and dignity' (Bolle, 2008). Two of the fifteen texts commenting on 'freedom' in the context of Skinner each also discuss the categorical topoi 'Skinner's *Menschenbild*' (Braun, 1983; Kunze-Pletat, 2019) or 'autonomy' (Gruen, 1992; Hacker, 2008).

texts discussing 'freedom' also made mention of the topos 'Skinner vs. Rogers' (Braun, 1983; Kunze-Pletat, 2019), and thereby serve as a direct indication of the German preference of humanist(ic) approaches to human subjectivity and freedom because they are much closer to the predominating national epistemology.[120]

In the material, 'freedom' first appears as a topos of Kurt Krenn's theological article *Eine profane Beschreibung des Bösen* (1976). The author, who would go on to become a Catholic bishop, implicitly raises the issue of 'Skinner's *Menschenbild'* by criticizing how Skinner addresses the sacred subject of 'freedom' – an issue Protestants, Catholics and atheists agreed on. In the mid-1980s, the topos 'freedom' appears throughout the German translation of Carl Rogers (1984) book on his client-centered approach to psychology which contains Rogers' reprimand of Skinner's philosophy of science. Because 17 publications favorably contrast Rogers' humanistic approach to his compatriot Skinner's, Rogers' (1984) translation emerges as significant for further analysis in the subsequent section 2.2.2.

In the 1990s, Arno Gruen's (1992) book on autonomy, which mentions Skinner a total of five times, contains the topos 'freedom' along with the categorical topos '(denial of) autonomy' and 'reductivism' from the final topic category Epistemology (see 2.2.1.2.6). In the subsequent decade, only one text appears with the topos 'freedom': Claudia Hacker's (2008) diploma thesis on psychology and utopia also mentions the categorical topoi 'Utopia' and '(loss of) autonomy', as well as the topos 'Walden Two' from the first category Implications (see 2.2.1.2.1). The final publication selected for further analysis of its comments on 'freedom' is Dorothea Kunze-Pletat's book *Personenzentrierte Pädagogik* (2019).[121]

The fourth and final topos selected from the topic category 'Human Subjectivity' was 'autonomy', as discussed in 13 different publications. Much like the topos 'freedom', it appears central to both German idealism and Skinner's *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971) and may therefore well be another source of misunderstanding between competing epistemologies.

Indeed, a closer analysis of the topos 'autonomy' emphasizes that in the context of our research

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[120] Indeed, out of 325 publications, 17 share the theme of comparing or contrasting Skinner and Rogers – and clearly show German authors favor the *Menschenbild* Rogers' approach implies (Westmeyer, 1973; Fromm, 1977; Schmidtke, 1978; Hinte, 1980; Fritz, 1982; Braun, 1983; Rogers, 1984; Ihlenfeld, 1987; Iwers-Stelljes, 1997; Pauls, 2004; Reichert, 2004; Fahrenberg, 2007; Bundschuh, 2008; Faulstich, 2013; Agostini, 2016; Kunze-Pletat, 2019; Pfisterer, 2019).

[121] Although she only references *Erziehung als Verhaltensformung* (Skinner, 1971a), the author mentions Skinner 40 times throughout her book. In addition to the topos 'freedom', Kunze-Pletat (2019) also mentions the topos of 'Skinner's *Menschenbild'*, the debates between Skinner and Rogers, and the topos 'Power' which will become subject of analysis in the final category Epistemology (see 2.2.1.2.6). Furthermore, 'freedom' is also mentioned along with the topoi 'Manipulation' from the first category 'Implications' in two texts (Braun, 1983; Hacker, 2008), while Braun (1983) and another publication (Vinnai, 1993) each also discuss the topos 'control' (see category Implication, 2.2.1.2.1).

subject, it is never just 'autonomy' but rather its denial or loss per Skinner.[122] Since this brief analysis demonstrates that the topos 'autonomy' consequently appears as Skinner's misinterpretation of its German value, in-depth analysis of individual texts appears unnecessary. Moreover, how German authors tackle the topos 'autonomy' in their discussion of Skinner implies idiosyncratic presumptions about an organism's role in radical behaviorist theory.

Step Three: Because the initial analysis of the category 'Human Subjectivity' revealed that most publications containing one of its four most frequently addressed topics contain more than one categorical topos, the selection of more texts to analyze from this category appears superfluous.

2.2.1.2.5 Practical Application

Step One: Historically, the German narrative about the practical application of Skinner's work has already been established in previous sections (see section 2.1): German interest in it peaked during the 1970s and subsided sometime thereafter due to an alleged 'cognitive turn' in the social sciences. The thematic category Practical Application comprises 87 publications containing at least one of the eight sub-categorical topoi 'programmed instruction', 'teaching machines', 'Skinner-Box', 'animal experiments', 'rats', 'rats & pigeons', 'pigeons', and 'educative practice'. The categorical analysis suggests that these topoi predominantly appear in historical or epistemological context, in the discussion of implications of Skinner's work which usually relates to the thematic category Learning (see 2.2.1.2.2), and/or his (German) reception over time.

Furthermore, except for the topos 'educative practice', the categorical topoi can be described as focused on one of two subjects:

> (a) the technological application of Skinner's work (per the topoi 'programmed instruction' and 'teaching machines', concerning a total of 75 of the 107 references to categorical topoi within the 87 texts in this group) or
>
> (b) its application in animal experiments (per the topoi 'Skinner-Box', 'animal experiments', 'rats', 'rats & pigeons', 'pigeons', concerning 30 references within the categorical texts).

[122] This is exemplified in the material, as 'denial of autonomy' appears in five of the thirteen texts (Maier, 1981; Treiber & Groeben, 1983; Gruen, 1992; Kress, 1997; Wetz, 2005), 'loss of autonomy' in two texts (Groeben et al., 1988; Hacker, 2008), and singularly as 'abolition of autonomy' (Schmidtke, 1978), 'fictious autonomy' (Heinz, 1981), 'wiping out of autonomy' (Bayertz, 1995), 'no autonomy' (Humbert, 2003), 'doubts moral autonomy' (Andresen et al., 2013), and 'turn away from autonomy' (Stederoth, 2015).

A particularly interesting finding emerged upon closer analysis of topoi relating to the practical application of Skinner's work: At first glance, most of them appear to be neutral in that they address what could be considered 'common knowledge' about this thesis' protagonist Skinner. However, in the material they often stand in implied contrast to the predominating national epistemology. This becomes evident in publications containing topoi relating to animal experiments and especially rats (see German usage of rat metaphors as discussed in section 2.1.2.1), as they are often accompanied by evident misconceptions that emerged in the concurring prior category. Correspondingly, publications commenting on technological aspects of the practical application of Skinner's work often criticize its mechanical and reductive approach as indicated by evident misconceptions regarding the role of 'consciousness'.[123] Overall, this initial analysis of topoi relating to the practical application of Skinner's work shows German authors to conceive Skinner as a representative of education technology and dubious experimental work with non-human animals.

Step Two: Due to its role in educational discourse, out of the categorical topoi only 'Skinner-Box', contained by 16 different texts, emerged as relevant of further inspection. Its first appearance is in Bernhard Rosemann and Sven Bielski's textbook *Einführung in die pädagogische Psychologie* (2001), where it is introduced with the drawing of a drooling rat pressing a button and appears along with 'programmed instruction, failed', as well as the topoi 'Reinforcement & Punishment' (from the category Implications, see 2.2.1.2.1), and 'operant learning' from the category Learning (see 2.2.1.2.2).[124]

Throughout the 2000s, the topos 'Skinner-Box' appears in several different publications, among them dissertations and more textbooks like Bundschuh (2008). It also remains stable in the subsequent decade.[125] Martin K. Schweer and Jörg Schulte-Pelkum's textbook

[123] 56 German texts discussed the practical application of Skinner's work via the topos 'programmed instruction' which appears to be a historically stable across different fields and disciplines. A plunge in the 1980s could indicate the German turn away from Skinner and thereby serve to approximate the ending of German indulgence in radical behaviorism's education technology. The 19 texts commenting on 'teaching machines' are predominantly concerned with educational aspects. Another 16 German publications include remarks on the 'Skinner-Box', which mostly appears as a subject of educational and psychological discourse. Five texts discuss 'rats' while four texts comment on Skinner's work with 'rats and pigeons'. Two texts each elaborate on Skinner's work with 'pigeons' and the practical application of his findings to 'educative practice'. This results in a total of 107 individual references to topoi tallied in the category Practical Application, as 20 publications contain more than one of the eight categorical topoi.

[124] Klaus Hurrelmann's popular *Einführung in die Sozialisationstheorie* (2006) mentions Rosemann & Bielski (2000/2001) in the context of the practical applications of Skinner's "programmiertes Lernen" (Hurrelmann, 2006, p. 64). *Pädagogische Psychologie* is often also referred to as *Lernpsychologie*, for example in Hurrelmann & Bründel (2003, p. 25) and is not considered a particularly popular field of German humanities (Tenorth, 2019).

[125] The topos 'Skinner-Box' also appears in twelve other publications that were not selected for further analysis in this category: Teepe (2005), Müller-Enbergs (2006), Hug (2007), Bolle (2008), Bruder (2009), Klimesch (2009), Schaller (2012), Stederoth (2015), Hößler (2017), Vohns (2017), Roupetz (2018), and Weiss (2019).

Psychologische Grundlagen professionellen Handelns in sozialen Berufen (2013) describes a classical experiment involving a pigeon in a ‚Skinner-Box'. Though they reference a few of Skinner's scientific publications, the authors recommend reading the recent German translation of Skinner's novel *Walden Two* (2002*)*. Schweer & Schulte-Pelkum (2013) mention Skinner seven times throughout their textbook and evidently misconceive him to deny inner-psychic processing. Their other topoi consist of 'animal experiments' and 'operant conditioning'.

The most extensive discussion of the Skinner-Box was found in Christian Becker-Carus and Mike Wendt's textbook *Allgemeine Psychologie. Eine Einführung* (2017), a text that in contrast to most of the material is refreshingly unbiased and accurate except for the evident and quite common presumption that "Skinner propagated so-called SR-psychology" (ibid., p. 7, own translation). Throughout the textbook, Skinner is mentioned 39 times, predominantly in the context of 'learning theory' and 'operant conditioning', topoi of the category Learning (see 2.2.1.2.2).

The final text selected for further analysis of its comments on the 'Skinner-Box' is Kristian Folta-Schoof and Britta Ostermann's textbook *Neurodidaktik* (2019). It only mentions Skinner's name twice: once in the context of learning theory and operant conditioning, and once in the discussion of other scientists' use of the 'Skinner-Box' (ibid., p. 100). In its very brief account of Skinner's role in the development of modern approaches to didactics, the textbook serves as an example of how insignificant it has become to German authors.

Step Three: Because four of the five texts retaining the single topos relevant for further analysis mention more than one of the categorical topoi, no other publications need to be selected for further analysis.

2.2.1.2.6 Epistemology

The final topic category comprises 81 texts retaining one or more of the 26 categorical topoi relating to epistemological considerations. The comparatively large number of topoi in this category is owed to 18 of them being contained by three or fewer publications.[126]

[126] With 26 texts, almost a third of these 81 publications mentioned the topos 'cognitive turn' (as previously analyzed in section 2.1.3). Another 21 texts mentioned Skinner in the context of 'reductivism', while 'Determinism' was discussed in eight publications. The topos 'Determinism' first appears in Kuckartz (1974) and resurfaces several times throughout the 1990s (Loewenstein, 1990; Losinger 1992; Stehle & Scheer, 1995; Wildfeuer, 1998) and the early 2000s (Braches-Chyrek, 2002; Donner-Widdel, 2006). Six texts discussed 'Power', which was deemed an epistemological topos due to its elemental role in discourse analysis. Five publications each mentioned 'behavior analysis' and 'circular argumentation', while four texts critically pointed to 'positivism'. Three publications each contained the categorical topoi 'biologism', 'causation', 'empiricism', 'epistemology', and 'metaphysics'. Two texts respectively employed the topoi 'causality', 'cybernetics', 'methodology', 'operationalism', 'pragmatism', and 'uni-directionalism'. Finally, single texts contained the topoi 'homogeny',

In a second step, this material will be reduced for the next level of analysis.

Step Two: Because the most frequent epistemological topos 'cognitive turn' has already been subjected to analysis, it was excluded from further scrutiny. Excluding topoi contained by fewer than three publications resulted in eleven remaining topoi, out of which 'reductivism', 'power', and 'positivism' were deemed most relevant for this thesis.

Because of the German tradition of criticizing reductive approaches to human subjectivity, the topos 'reductivism' was selected for further analysis. Among the 21 publications addressing it, it makes its earliest appearance in Norbert Groeben and Brigitte Scheele's *Argumente für eine Psychologie des reflexiven Subjekts. Paradigmawechsel vom behavioralen zum epistemologischen Menschenbild* (1977), whose foreword now appears almost ironic in its hypothesis of a Kuhnian paradigm shift away from behaviorism. Groeben and Scheele (1977) mention Skinner a total of 32 times throughout their book which contains another epistemological topos 'circular argumentation', as well as evident misconceptions indicated by the topoi 'limited theory' and 'awareness unaddressed'. Accusingly, 'reductivism' reappears in Sigl's (1986) book that also contains evident misconceptions, and another known contender for further analysis, Thomas & Feldmann (1992). Furthermore, 'reductivism' is also a common topos in all included publications by Peter Faulstich (2003; 2005; 2013; Faulstich-Wieland & Faulstich, 2006) and appears in Herzog (2016), which emerged as particularly relevant in the cross-decade analysis.

The topic of 'power' was addressed in six publications, which include a few texts already discussed or identified relevant for further analysis in prior categories (Kuckartz, 1974; Lück, 2009; Oldemeyer, 2010; Kunze-Pletat 2019). Analysis of the respective text segments indicates a focal issue concerning Skinner's concept of control.[127]

The final epistemological topos selected for further analysis was 'positivism', which was

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'monism', 'normativity', 'scientism', 'tautology', 'social darwinism', and 'totalitarianism'. This results in a total of 109 individual references to topoi relating to 'Epistemology', as 28 texts contain more than one of the 26 categorical topoi.

[127] The respective text segments read as follows:

- "diese von Skinner behauptete und in ihren Macht- und Manipulierungschancen erschreckende weitestgehende Kontrollmöglichkeit des Verhaltens" (Kuckartz, 1974, p. 29),
- "Psychologie entwickle sich zum Machtinstrument über Hilflose und Kinder" (Lück, 2009, p. 127f),
- "Das zwischenmenschliche Verhalten ganzer Gesellschaften soll mittels dieser Prinzipien durch eine Gruppe von Kontrolleuren ‚geplant' und ohne Machtausübung gelenkt werden können" (Oldemeyer, 2010, p. 202),
- „Skinner verharmlose das Problem der Macht" (Kunze-Pletat, 2019, p. 117).

The two remaining publications are Wilhelm Kempf's article *Soziale Motivation und Persönlichkeitsentwicklung* (1985), which mentions Skinner once in the context of 'power' along with the uncategorized topos 'Sozialtechnologie'; and Arno Gruen's book *Der Verlust des Mitgefühls* (1997), which mentions Skinner six times and contains the topoi 'denial of dignity', 'alienation', 'reductivism' and 'abuse of power'.

subject of four different publications (Hassan, 1973; Kraus, 1975; Bruder, 1984; Bruder & Bruder-Bezzel, 1988). Since Hassan (1973) has already been subjected to analysis in previous sections (see 2.1.3) and Kraus (1975)[128] does not reference Skinner by name in his text, the two publications by Klaus-Jürgen Bruder (1984; Bruder & Bruder-Bezzel, 1988) remain for further analysis from this category.

Step Three: Because of the small number of selected topoi and publications containing them, there is no need for closer inspection of publications containing more than one categorical topos, especially since section 2.2.3 will specifically consider epistemological factors of Skinner's *geisteswissenschaftlich* reception.

2.2.1.3 Brief summary of insights gained through categorical analysis

One of the remaining research questions to be answered was how Skinner and radical behaviorism were talked about by German authors. The categorical analysis led to the identification of eleven topoi deemed particularly relevant for the German conception of B.F. Skinner, most of which appear stable since the 1970s. Several of them that were not categorized as evident misconceptions about Skinner's philosophy of science (e.g.: punishment, autonomy, manipulation, Skinner-Box, reductivism, subjectivity, control) turned out to imply or be accompanied by presumptions about the role of the organism or the existence of internal states in radical behaviorism. These findings directly go to two other remaining research questions about the identification of misconceptions or misteaching of Skinner's ideas and their contextualization. Moreover, misunderstandings of Skinner and his ideas were identified in several textbooks, most of which came from the field of social sciences.

Figure 15 provides an overview of the eleven topoi most relevant for the German conception of B.F. Skinner and the number of publications containing each of them.

[128] Kraus (1975) makes only bibliographical reference to Skinner. He does, however, discuss the tabula rasa principle and in this context states "*Die Tabula-rasa-Positivisten des ideologischen Strukturalismus haben persönlich ausgiebig Humanismus, humanistisches Ethos und vielfältiges Wissen"* (Kraus, 1975, p. 168). This appears to be a coded 'He who must not be named'-reference to Skinner, especially in consideration of it being followed by comments on Chomsky and computer metaphors (ibid.).

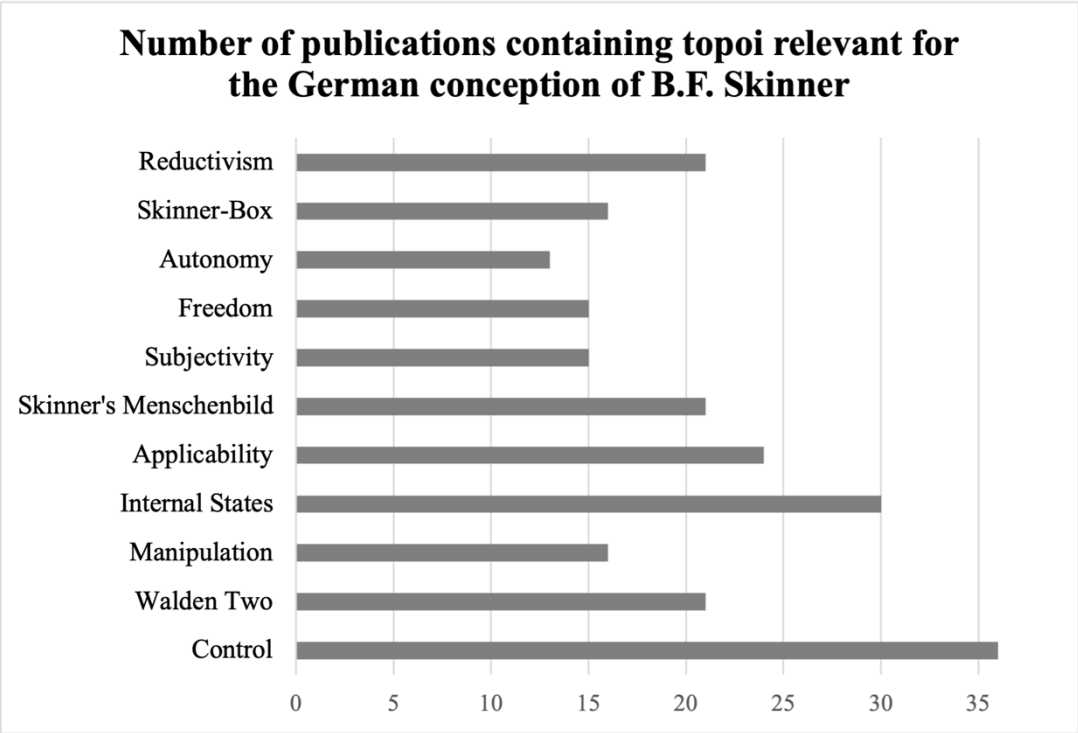

Figure 15: Number of publications containing topoi relevant for the German conception of B.F. Skinner

The following section will dive further into the German conception of B.F. Skinner per analysis of texts selected for closer inspection.

2.2.2 The German (Mis-)Conception of B.F. Skinner

One finding that emerged during the categorical analysis was that compatriot critiques from David P. Ausubel (1974, 1974a), Noam Chomsky (1959) and Carl R. Rogers (1984) and their German translations have apparently influenced Skinner's German reception by legitimizing common misconceptions, for example about the role of SR-theory, the negation of internal states, and Skinner's concept of the organism or individual.

The material also includes two other German translations of originally American publications that cannot strictly be considered compatriot critiques. One is *Anatomie der menschlichen Destruktivität* by Erich Fromm (1973), who spent his life living in Germany, Switzerland, and the US. Furthermore, Fromm's humanist body of work could be interpreted as containing at least some aspects of German idealism. The other text by Murray R. Thomas and Birgitt Feldmann (1992) has been mentioned several times throughout the categorical analyses of topoi and is not considered a strict compatriot critique because its translator appears as a named co-author and apparently contributed at least some literature if not her own interpretations.

Moreover, our findings show that Chomsky's critique still performs quite well where citations are concerned, Fromm (1973) was reprinted several times every decade until the 2000s, and Rogers also still has quite a German following. Ausubel is referenced steadily by various

German authors, while a more recent edition of Thomas & Feldmann's (1992) textbook was last reprinted in 2002. Thus, it appears that the German audience receives Skinner's compatriot critics much more benevolently due to the humanist and idealist notions of their ideas, which could also be considered their approach to human subjectivity. A question whose answer unfortunately lies beyond the scope of this thesis is whether German authors welcomed Skinner's compatriot critics' texts so warmly *because* of their (mis-)conception of radical behaviorism.

The value of including translations of compatriot critiques in analyzed material lies in the verification of general misunderstandings of Skinner's philosophy of science and their traveling. Furthermore, it appears that German interest in behaviorist contributions to educational practice probably rose out of intellectual US-occupation rather than by invitation, which explains why most German authors conceptualized Skinner skeptically at best. In contrast, the German translations of American authors whose ideas contained discernible humanist notions may perform better than Skinner's because their ideas were not perceived as occupying.

Moreover, it appears that the 'language of behaviorism' in its particular understanding of presumably common terms like 'control' fails to translate well even to its native tongue English. Thus, it is not surprising that the translation of radical behaviorism into a "language of education" (Tröhler, 2011) would also fall short in accuracy.

Indeed, the analysis of topoi revealed that all topic categories evidently included more or less evident misconceptions about radical behaviorism. This in turn raises the question of whether the German audience could judge fairly the epistemological concerns raised by Skinner, if their conception of his philosophy of science – and its figurehead as a *conceptual personae* – were so often erroneous, that Ickler (1994) suggested German authors must be discussing an entirely different idea or person altogether. As per usual, the figurative devil hides in the details and in the case of B.F. Skinner's reception in *Geisteswissenschaften*, Germans appear to get many of them wrong. Thus, skepticism and devaluation of foreign ideas appear as characteristics of the predominating German epistemology, which not only affects most scientific disciplines, but also authors from most German-speaking countries. Therefore, the details of the extensive analysis of topoi are to be explored briefly.

The earliest work that emerged as relevant in the cross-decade analysis of topics was Westmeyer (1973), who writes in his foreword: "Für Personen, die für bestimmte Objekte nur bestimmte Worte reservieren, mag in der Tat eine Welt zusammenbrechen, wenn z.B. SKINNER das Verhalten von Menschen und Ratten in derselben Theorie behandelt"

(Westmeyer, 1973, p. 8).[129] Accordlingly, Westmeyer predicts that

> "SKINNERS (1948, 1953, 1969, 1971) teils sachlichen, teils kritischen, teils utopischen gesellschaftstheoretischen Ausführungen könnte *eine innovative Funktion für ein verändertes Bild von Mensch und Gesellschaft* zukommen. So wird man *ohne weiteres* sein ‚Beyond Freedom and Dignity' (1971) dem *emanzipatorischen Erkenntnisinteresse unterordnen* können, obwohl oder *gerade weil* es auf Extrapolationen gesicherter experimenteller Forschungsergebnisse beruht" (Westmeyer, 1973, p. 14; own emphasis).[130]

Relevant about Westmeyer's work is that

> a) the author obviously referenced and read Skinner's original publications, as only *Denken und Lernen* (1967) from the TL_Ger appears in the bibliography; and
>
> b) it must have been written before the 1973 German translation's publication of *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (Skinner, 1971).

Indeed, once the translation became available, the German audience would conceive Skinner's partly utopic *Menschenbild* not as factual, but as detrimental to his findings' potential for innovative approaches to human subjectivity.

Westmeyer's (1973) work supports this thesis per its comments on the interrelation of psychological *Menschenbilder* and empirical science. He considers the study of the lawfulness of behavioral contingencies to *enhance* their technological and emancipatory relevance, *especially* in their applicability to control and manipulation (ibid., p. 138f; own emphasis). Westmeyer (1973, p. 138) argues that although Holzkamp and Habermas intended society to restrict manipulation and control, the achievement of this does not appear possible without control and manipulation. The author continues that Skinner found a programmed environment aspirational because he considered it the most suitable means of eliminating the abuse of power due to its potential of individual counter-control (ibid., p. 139). Though Westmeyer (1973) recognized the relevance and potential of Skinner's concept of counter-control, the analysis of publications containing the topoi 'control' and 'manipulation' reveals that most other German authors did not. By commenting on the utopic implications of Skinner's scientific concept of men, Westmeyer (1973) addresses a phenomenon that Fahrenberg (2007) pointed out, as well: Skinner's novel's contributions to how a broader German audience conceived him and its cross-links to other topics. This is best illustrated by the four texts selected for analysis of the topos 'Walden Two': Bruder (1984), Schwarz (1986), Oldemeyer (2010) and Kron et al. (2013).

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[129] Own translation: "For persons who reserve specific terms for specific objects, a world may be shattered when, for example, Skinner covers the behavior of humans and rats in the same theory" (Westmeyer, 1973, p. 8).

[130] Own translation with own emphasis: "Skinner's (1948, 1953, 1969, 1971) partly factual, partly critical, partly utopic explanations of social theory could acquire *an innovative function for a changed image of men* and society. Without more ado, his 'Beyond Freedom and Dignity' (1971) will be *subordinated to emancipatory epistemological interests*, in spite or because of its extrapolations of established experimental findings" (Westmeyer, 1973, p. 14).

Klaus-Jürgen Bruder, professor of psychology, wrote his habilitation on behaviorism, thus qualifying to contribute a three-page article on behaviorism in Kerber & Schmieder's textbook *Handbuch Soziologie* (1984). Bruder (1984) states that with *Walden Two*, Skinner claimed the realization of man's utopic dreams through the systemic application of conditioning techniques (ibid., p. 62). "Yet Skinner drew his conclusions not from empirical findings, but from positivist biases which behaviorism continued as *Propaganda der sozialen Kontrolle*" (ibid., p. 63; own translation and emphasis), Bruder closes. Later publications by Bruder (2009; Bruder & Bruder-Bezzel, 1988) show that his position on Skinner's work and ideas – which evidently contained misconceptions regarding radical behaviorism and SR-theory, internal states, and the concept of control (Bruder, 1984, p. 62f) – became increasingly antagonistic (Bruder, 2009; see Skinner's *Rattenpsychologie* as discussed in section 2.1.3).

The second publication selected for analysis of its topos 'Walden Two' is Egon Schwarz' (1986) article about the novel, which was included in a literature anthology on utopia. Schwarz (1986) comments that although Skinner was not clumsy with words, he was not a "Litterateur" (ibid., p. 220) of whom great literary works were to be expected. Although Schwarz' comment focuses on Skinner the author and his fictious work, he does mention that the same principles Skinner tested on pigeons and rats in his laboratory represent the fundament of *Walden Two*'s social programs (Schwarz, 1986, p. 228). This article suggests that from a literary perspective, Skinner's novel deserved laudation because it strengthens man's utopic aspirations:

> "Viel schlimmer als alle Fragwürdigkeiten Skinners wäre die Resignation, die wunsch- und widerstandlose Unterwerfung unter das, was ist. Durch den Verzicht auf Utopie gingen Freiheit und Menschenwürde viel drastischer zugrunde als durch alles, was Skinner sich ausgedacht hat" (ibid., p. 230).[131]

How the topos 'Walden Two' cross-links to other topics can further be illustrated by the analysis of Ernst Oldemeyer's *Dialektik der Wertorientierungen. Studien zu einer europäischen Geisteshaltung* (2010), which also emerged in the cross-decade analysis because it contains topoi from all six categories. Oldemeyer's (2010, p. 202) introduction of Skinner is accompanied by evident misconceptions regarding SR-theory. Thus, the author finds little merit in *Walden Two*'s utopia (ibid., p. 202f). Also, Oldemeyer's (2010, p. 203) critique of Skinner's concept of control demonstrates how the national *Geisteshaltung* affects the reception of foreign epistemologies, their implications and practical application based on differing concepts

[131] Own translation: "Resignation, the contended and unresistant submission to the existing conditions, would be much worse than all of Skinner's dubieties. Freedom and dignity would perish more drastically at the renunciation of utopia than at everything Skinner thought up" (Schwarz, 1986, p. 230).

of human subjectivity.[132] It appears that the topos 'Walden Two' serves to demean Skinner's scientific work due to the fictious nature of his utopic literary aspirations. This notion is supported not just by the exemplary texts already discussed, but also in educational textbooks like Kron et al. (2013)'s textbook *Grundwissen Pädagogik,* which was published and (re-) printed nine times between 1988 and 2013. In their pedagogic textbook's final edit and publication, Kron et al. (2013, p. 187) suggest that the educational management of environmental conditions was only possible under the utopic conditions of Skinner's novel. Describing radical behaviorism as integrative of pragmatism and positivism (ibid., p. 84f), they do point out that Skinner did not deny the existence of internal processing, though they explain his science by quoting from his novel. Remarkably, Kron et al. (2013) do without evident misconceptions by explaining Skinner's ideas mostly with his own words and emphasizing that self-control was the key to breaking the circle of reinforcement (ibid., p. 93).

However, explaining Skinner's scientific work with his work of fiction seems to have some tradition, as further exemplified by Thomas & Feldmann's (1992) textbook comparing theories of child development. The authors explain Skinner's take on human development with examples from his novel. Yet, misconceptions become evident not only when Thomas & Feldmann (1992, p. 100) suggest that consequences alone served to 'control' behavior, but also in their conclusion on neobehaviorist theory's applicability,[133] which reveals Feldmann's personal conviction that Skinner's *Menschenbild* somehow falls short (Thomas & Feldmann, 1992, p. 212). Furthermore, the authors connect the application of behaviorist theory and 'manipulation' in two different passages of their book (ibid., p. 17, 206).

Apart from Bruder (1984) and Thomas & Feldmann 1992, the third publications selected for analysis of the topos 'control' was Walter Herzog's (2016) article on the technological reduction of school and education in the US, which also emerged as relevant in the cross-decade analysis due to it containing topoi from four of the six main topic categories. Herzog, a professor of *Pädagogik*, specialized in *pädagogische Psychologie* at the Universität Zürich, is featured in the material with two other texts as well: an article from 1979 as well as a textbook from 2012. The first of Herzog's texts critically mentioning Skinner is particularly interesting because it addresses the core of a general misunderstanding between humanitarian approaches and Skinner's philosophy of science: a fallacy on the issue of human subjectivity. From the perspective of the predominating national epistemology, "in **understanding objectivity as an**

[132] Indeed, radical behaviorism approach to human subjectivity (i.e.: what behaviors, conditions and contingencies 'make' an individual) appears inconceivable to more than just a German audience.

[133] Thomas & Feldmann's (1992, p. 210ff) personal bottom line on radical behaviorism draws from citations of Chomsky (1959; as well as his misconceptions as discussed in sections 1.3.6, 2.1.3, and 2.2.1.2.3) and compatriot antagonist Erich Fromm (1973).

antipode to subjectivity, science's goal must inevitably become the elimination of all forms of *Interpretationsleistung"* (Herzog, 1979, p. 298; own translation and emphasis). Because interpretation appears as a core objective of *Geisteswissenschaften*, Skinner's call for objectivity in psychology apparently sounded like a declaration of war on their idealist epistemology itself. While it lies beyond the scope of this thesis to find where this peculiar interpretation of objectivity originates, it does explain the crux of the issue. From the assumption that objectivity was an antipode to subjectivity, it was only a small step to conclude that threatening the *Geist* of the nation must go along with the denial of consciousness.

Rather than critically reflecting national concepts of human subjectivity like freedom and dignity and strengthened by the belief in a 'cognitive revolution', the German audience would decide to move beyond Skinner's basally utopic ideas altogether. Indeed, Herzog (1979, p. 298) assumes Skinner to eliminate internal states from psychology overall, thereby reducing it to the mere analysis of behavior. Drawing parallels between Skinner and La Mettrie's approaches to mankind, Herzog's textbook *Wissenschaftstheoretische Grundlagen der Psychologie* (2012) criticizes Skinner's "homogenizing thought" which "does not differentiate between man and animal nor types of behavior" (ibid., p. 127; own translation). Although the behaviorist's work contains claims to the contrary, Herzog (2012, p. 91) interprets *About Behaviorism* (1974) to imply Skinner studied man as if he were a machine and could be analyzed and built as such. Herzog's (1979; 2012) conception of Skinner continues in his later discussion of Skinner's *Kontrollambitionen* resulting in a *Kontrollparadigma* in German, Austrian and Swiss schools (Herzog, 2016, p. 132). However, and most relevant to this thesis, Herzog (2016) recaps the German conception of behaviorism in an essential merging of the topoi 'manipulation' and 'control': "*Manipulation und Kontrolle bilden gleichsam die Essenz der behavioristischen Psychologie*" (ibid., p. 120; own emphasis).

The analysis of remarks on Skinner and 'manipulation' begins with Erich Fromm's *Anatomie der menschlichen Destruktivität* (1973), which also appears as a source for Thomas & Feldmann's (1992) respective comments. From Fromm's psychoanalytic perspective, Skinner's neobehavioristic attempt at turning the science of psyche into a mere science of behavior manipulation (Fromm, 1973, p. 18) seemed ridiculous.[134] In a passage also quoted by Feldmann & Thomas (1992), Fromm reveals the idealist entitlement to stand above base conditioning processes: "*Es muss Impulse im Menschen geben, die der Macht der Konditionierung Grenzen setzen*" (1973, p. 59f). It appears that in taking offense and calling

[134] Incidentally, Fromm's book (1973, p. 59) includes the joke about rats conditioning Skinner that was later depicted in a German textbook on psychology (Lück et al., 1989, p. 146; as discussed in section 2.1.2.1).

Skinner a naïve optimist (Fromm 1973, p. 61), humanitarian authors miss completely how Skinner's concept of counter-control addresses this very dimension.

This is further illustrated by another text selected for analysis of its comments on Skinner and 'manipulation': Dietrich von Engelhardt and Heinrich Schipperges (1980) book on connections between philosophy and medicine in the 20th century. Criticizing Skinner for preferring the manipulable over the unattainable, the authors misconceive Skinner to deny the existence of internal states, thereby essentially dehumanizing mankind (ibid., p. 16).

Another instance of 'control' and 'manipulation' appearing together in an educational textbook was found in Hannelore Faulstich-Wieland and Peter Faulstich's textbook *BA-Studium Erziehungswissenschaft* (2006). The couple conceive Skinner as a 'black-box' 'SR' behaviorist (ibid., p. 34) whose control of stimuli deemed human learning manipulable (ibid., p. 35). Defining an enigmatic German criterion for scientific theory, Faulstich-Wieland and Faulstich declare Skinner's work inappropriate as a theory of learning due to its aptitude of being caricatured (ibid., p. 36), which is exemplified in the material by Fromm's literary joke (1973) and its caricature in a German psychology textbook by Lück et al. (1989, p. 146).

Per the former examples, the topoi 'control' and 'manipulation' represent two sides of the same *Pfennig*, coined to inflate the currency of radical behaviorism. Hence, most German authors addressing these topoi appear to consecutively condition their respective audiences to contest Skinner's ideas. However, the German conception of these ideas' implications appears to be based on fallacies just as often – some of which were abstracted from the material and summarized categorically for further analysis.

In the category of evident Misconceptions, fifteen publications emerged as relevant for further analysis. In the material, the topos of Skinner's work's 'limited applicability to humans' first appeared in Martin Fromm's chapter on the "*Rattenebenbildlichkeit des Menschen"* (1977, p. 260f; see section 2.1.3). Yet, it is an article by antagonist Norbert Groeben (1981) that emerged as particularly significant for this thesis, not only because of the fallacies it contains but also because many of them appear as self-quotations.[135] Based on these self-quotations, Groeben (1981, p. 19) argues against the validity of Skinner's theory. Additionally, Groeben's article contains evident misconceptions regarding the existence of internal states as well as the 'Black Box' model (ibid., p. 18f). However, what Groeben's text really exemplifies is a thought collective of German authors potentially inclined to misconceive Skinner's ideas because of how they conceived "*ein 'behaviorales' Subjektmodell*" (ibid.).

[135] These self-quotations contain Groeben & Scheele (1977) as well as other publications not included in the material, among them a text featuring Bernhard Treiber, who does reappear later in the material (Treiber & Groeben, 1983).

This German concept of objective observation as an antipode to human subjectivity can be further carved out by turning to Eduard Sigl (1986), in whose text it becomes evident that the German audience conceived Skinner's philosophy of science to be polemic, at best: "Skinner pflegt seine Polemik gegen den 'Glauben' an Freiheit, Denken, Ideen stets in wissenschaftstheoretischer Form vorzubringen" (Sigl, 1986, p. 246). Some of the author's evident misconceptions about[136] as well as most of his linguistic critique of Skinner's ideas could be traced back to Chomsky (1959) (Sigl, 1986, pp. 226f, 240), underlining once more that misconceptions are also ideas that travel.

The phenomenon of such 'traveling misconceptions' is further exemplified by one of the 26 publications discussing Chomsky's rebuttal of Skinner (see section 2.1.3), Ludger Humbert's (2003) dissertation in computer science. Making only one mention of Skinner, "the most prominent and radical representative of applying behaviorist assumptions to educative practice" (Humbert, 2003, p. 37; own translation), the author points out that "Besondere Beachtung hat die von CHOMSKY vehement *bestrittene Übertragungsmöglichkeit von im Labor durchgeführten Tierexperimenten auf menschliches* und hier insbesondere auf verbales *Verhalten* gefunden" (ibid.; own emphasis). Thus, the topic of radical behaviorist theory's applicability to human behavior appears closely related not only to human subjectivity, but also the topics of animal experiments and the topos 'Skinner-Box', as well as misconceptions regarding SR-theory and the dualistic differentiation of 'action and behavior'.

The issue of applicability of findings gained from animal experiments with pigeons and rats in Skinner-boxes is also raised in Konrad Bundschuh's *Heilpädagogische Psychologie* (2008, p. 73),[137] which suggests in two different passages that Skinner's approach implies the constant danger of manipulation (ibid., pp. 73, 273). In the following chapter 'Critical Remarks', Bundschuh (2008) comes to a popular German conclusion about the applicability of Skinner's theories falling short on human subjectivity: "Die Ergebnisse von Tierversuchen – in Käfigen, z.T. unter Extrembedingungen durchgeführt – auf den Menschen zu übertragen, kann in dieser Verallgemeinerung dem Wesen des Menschen nicht gerecht werden" (ibid., p. 277). Subsequently emphasizing the pedagogic understanding of the practical application of behavior theory, instead of choosing a best practice example, the author describes an instance of completely nonsensical modification systems for entire classrooms – „*völlig unsinnige Modifikationssysteme für ganze Klassen*" (Bundschuh 2008, p. 277).

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[136] Upon analysis, misconceptions became evident regarding the role of internal processing as and the applicability of the concept as well as verbal behavior (Sigl, 1986, p. 68f).

[137] The textbook which addresses all six of the main topic categories, was first printed in 1992 and appeared in four editions until 2008.

Evidence of another traveling misconception that can also be traced back to American literature is the idea that Skinner's radical behaviorism negated the existence of internal states, inner processing, or consciousness, specifically. Apart from texts already discussed (Hassan, 1973; Herzog, 1979), this topos appears in Klaus-Michael Wimmer's book *Der Andere und die Sprache. Vernunftkritik und Verantwortung* (1988), who interprets "some" to doubt the existence of "*Innerlichkeit*" (ibid., p. 162). In the according footnote, Wimmer quotes from *Jenseits von Freiheit und Würde* (1973a) and concludes that "although in some people, Skinner's work incited faith in the realizability of pedagogic utopia, nowadays said euphoria has subsided and almost been forgotten" (ibid., p. 334; own translation). Wimmer's (1988, pp. 162, 334) work serves as another example of German authors

(a) treating Skinner as a "He Who Shall Not Be Named", meaning that only the inspection of the according footnote revealed that his ideas were called into question.[138]
(b) taking issue with their (or, by extension, Chomsky's) interpretation of radical behaviorist theory's implications for human subjectivity, a so-called rejection-by-proxy.
(c) taking issue with Skinner's work on account of statements from *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971).
(d) 'forgetting' radical behaviorism and moving on from it.

This is further exemplified by Barbara Emma Hof's article *Der Bildungstechnologe* (2018), in which she condenses two evident misconceptions and several categorical topics in a single sentence: "Skinners Lernbegriff an der Schnittstelle von Theorie, Experiment und Anwendung vernachlässigte kognitive Vorgänge als Tätigkeit in der 'Black Box'" (ibid., p. 40). Hof's text examines the role of education technology in German pedagogy and education science through studying the "'Realtypus' des 'Bildungstechnologen'" (ibid., p. 27), characterizes Skinner as connecting behaviorism and education technology (ibid., p. 40), and describes how German interest in programmed instruction fell with the 'cognitive turn' (Hof, 2018, pp. 39, 42f). Accordingly, the analysis of the category 'Practical Application' indicates that generally, German authors discussed Skinner's education technology much more often than his animal experiments. At any rate, German interest in education technology ceased, and the *Realtypus Bildungstechnologe* disappeared while media pedagogy prevailed (Hof, 2018, p. 44f). Thus, with *Medienpädagogik* a German victor emerges out of the epistemological contest against Skinner's technological approach to human subjects. This explains why pertinent authors like

[138] Though it was not specifically tracked how many texts only mentioned Skinner in their footnotes, there is a record of ten publications only referencing him bibliographically. With Kraus (1975) as discussed in the categorical analysis of topics concerning 'Epistemology', there is one other known example of a German author choosing to only mention Skinner this ominously.

Christian Swertz (2012) emphasize "that emancipatory media pedagogy has a history of criticizing Skinner's behavioristic and, most of all, utopic, concept" (ibid., p. 12; own translation) which Swertz interprets to be "a *persiflage* of Schleiermacher" (ibid.), the *geisteswissenschaftlich* icon.

The analysis of German publications that contain evident misconceptions about radical behaviorism has substantiated this thesis' assumptions about the role of conceptual differences regarding human subjectivity in the German reception of foreign ideas. These assumptions were further validated by examining publications containing more than one evident misconception as well as several authors arguing various fallacies over years or even decades. Consequently, the material suggests the German conception of B.F. Skinner – and by extension, education technology – to *characteristically* be based on subjective and epistemological misconceptions about radical behaviorism.

Therefore, topoi relating to the category 'Human Subjectivity' will be examined to further validate this thesis' notions about the role of conceptual subjectivity in the German reception of B.F. Skinner. Although Skinner's *Menschenbild* appears to be defining of his German reception, the postponement of its analysis to the subsequent section 2.2.3 (due to *Menschenbild* being a national grammar) further underlines how national epistemologies may function as powerful ideological gatekeepers. As a topos, it still appears in several of the texts that were selected for further analysis from the category 'Human Subjectivity'.

The topos 'Subjectivity' first appeared in Fromm (1973), who stated neobehaviorism conceptualized psychology without studying subjective events (ibid., p. 53), admitting in the corresponding footnote that Skinner did not deny their existence (ibid., p. 546), a concession the author however deems to be little more than a polite bow to the soul or psyche (ibid.). Representing the thought collective around Norbert Groeben, its appearance in an article by Treiber & Groeben (1983) is particularly interesting. Much like Groeben (1981), the authors' conception of an epistemological *Subjektmodell* relies on citations of Groeben's previous work and takes issue with predominating empiric models:

> "Erst seit dem zweiten Weltkrieg ist auch den Forschenden zunehmend deutlich geworden, daß mit dieser Konzentration auf die Geltungsprüfung von Theorien ein ganz bestimmtes Menschenbild, eine spezifische (Menschen-)Sicht verbunden ist; dieses Menschenbild läßt sich als das ‚behaviorale Subjektmodell' explizieren (vgl. ausführlich Groeben & Scheele 1977): darin wird der Mensch verstanden als ein Subjekt, das unter der Kontrolle der Umwelt(-reize) steht" (Treiber & Groeben, 1983, p. 163).

Thereby, the article by Treiber & Groeben (1983) serves as an example of how closely related the German conception of human subjectivity is to the idealistic *Menschenbild* of its national epistemology. Indeed, from a German perspective, it seems hard to imagine one without the

other. Therefore, the German audience evidently tends to receive foreign ideas whose approach to human subjectivity differs from its predominating national conception not just critically, but fallaciously.

This finding is further supported by the passage in Bedrich Loewenstein's book (1990), which comments on empiricism's negation of consciousness and subjectivity from a *geisteswissenschaftlich* perspective (ibid., p. 197). Again, Skinner is not mentioned in the text, but only in the according footnote. The same goes for an article by Otger Autrata's (2009) article on the prevention of youth violence, which is particularly interesting because it serves as an example of secondary reference to Skinner with consecutive rejection-by-proxy of primary sources. The respective passage reads:

> "Man merkt der personenbezogenen Prävention sowie auch der Verhaltensprävention die Nähe zur psychologischen Schule des Behaviorismus an (66). Die Verhaltensprävention und personenbezogene Prävention nimmt die Idee des Behaviorismus auf, dass allein die Verhaltensänderung eines Menschen im Mittelpunkt steht. Dass dabei aber menschliches Handeln sich in Möglichkeitsräumen abspielt, begründet und funktional ist, bleibt dabei unberücksichtigt (67)" (Autrata, 2009, p. 245).

The according footnote 66 (ibid.) cites known Skinner-adversary Klaus-Jürgen Bruder in a book by Günter Rexilius that could not be retrieved for analysis, as well as *Jenseits von Freiheit und Würde* (1973a). The subsequent footnote 67 (Autrata, 2009, p. 245) cites Klaus Holzkamp's (1983) traditional German standard issue for psychology – which is interesting because Holzkamp's bibliography reveals his critique of behaviorism to not include a single behaviorist source. What could be gathered from this information is evidence of another thought collective of well-established German authors (e.g.: Groeben, Drinkmann & Treiber, as well as Bruder, Rexilius & Holzkamp) whose subjective and epistemological misconceptions of radical behaviorism are maintained by later generations of social scientists.

This is further demonstrated by Heiner Bielefeldt's contemporary theological perspective, who mentions Skinner in his chapter titled "*Zur 'Unhintergehbarkeit' des Verantwortungssubjekts*" (2011; a title all the stronger for being untranslatably German):

> "Eine andere, eher **szientistische** als skeptizistische Linie **radikaler Moralkritik** führt von La Mettries '*homme machine*' über den Darwin-Schüler Ernst Haeckel in die **behavioristische Moraldekonstruktion**, wie sie Skinner unter dem **programmatischen Titel** *Jenseits von Freiheit und Würde* vorgelegt hat" (Bielefeldt, 2011, p. 93; bold emphasis BB).[139]

Apart from linking La Mettrie and Skinner, Bielefeldt (2011) addresses a topic central to human

[139] While German reproaches on account of scientism are rare in the material, the categorical analysis revealed them to be a subject of some epistemological concern. Though this was not tracked specifically, the respective bibliographies (Bielefeldt, 2011; Schreiber, 2013) suggest that authors using the term 'scientism' instead gravitate towards Jürgen Habermas' critical theory.

subjectivity as conceived by German authors (and perceived to be under attack by radical behaviorism's manipulative programming): freedom.

Freedom has been described as a core figure of German idealism's duality (Vetö 2019, p. 2), which explains why German authors continue to defend it vehemently. In connection with Skinner, the topos first appears in the material in the later Catholic bishop Kurt Krenn's theological article *Eine profane Beschreibung des Bösen* (1976), who writes "Für Skinner sind es die tabuisierten Größen von Freiheit und Würde, die ein fortschrittsgerechtes Verhalten des Menschen behindern und den Menschen ‚autonom' erhalten" (ibid., p. 210). In his discussion of Skinner's work, Krenn (1976, p. 210f) sees distinctive German values at risk of abolition.

Yet even compatriot atheists took issue with Skinner's take on freedom, autonomy, and human dignity. One of them became well-known as a founder of humanistic psychology. Thus distinguished, the material suggests Carl R. Rogers' approach to be much more popular with a German audience than Skinner's. In a chapter titled 'Der Mensch ist unfrei', Rogers (1984, p. 212) takes Skinner's epistemological critique of assuming an inner homunculus' freedom (1953, p. 447; 1971, p. 196) out of context. Instead of debating Skinner's (1953) methodologic demands, Rogers (1984, p. 213f) discusses his opponent's animal experiments and their implications for freedom as an aspect of human subjectivity. The rest of Rogers' (1984) critique falls in line with other authors who take issue with Skinner's philosophy of science on account of his utopic novel.

The material further shows that after almost two decades of refuting *Jenseits von Freiheit und Würde* (1973a), a German narrative of having moved past Skinner's radical behaviorism was well established. Yet, the German defense of 'freedom' continued even though Skinner had already been defeated. With Arno Gruen (1992; 1997), another German psychoanalyst exemplifies this by commenting on the topos 'freedom' twice in his book *Verrat am Selbst. Die Angst vor der Autonomie bei Mann und Frau* (1992):

> "Indem die Dimensionen des menschlichen Erlebens auf diese Weise auf ein lapidares »fiat« (es sei!) reduziert werden, ist es kein Wunder, daß ein **B. F. Skinner** (1972) diese zu *Input*- und *Output*-Charakteristiken vereinfachen kann, ohne Möglichkeiten für Freiheit und Würde" (Gruen, 1992, p. 26f; original emphasis).
>
> "Der amerikanische Psychologieprofessor **B. F. Skinner** und seine Schule, die die Verhaltenspsychologie in der ganzen Welt nachhaltig beeinflußte, befaßt sich mit dem Menschen, als ob Freiheit und Würde gar nicht existierten: Der deutsche Titel eines seiner berühmtesten Bücher heißt JENSEITS VON FREIHEIT! Aber indem der Mensch dann tatsächlich zu dem wird, wie man ihn sieht, beweisen wir die Wissenschaftlichkeit solcher Prämissen. Auf diese Weise wird der Mensch homogenisiert und simplifiziert" (Gruen, 1992, p. 60f; original emphasis).

Gruen's later book *Der Verlust des Mitgefühls* (1997) widely maintains this narrative by

following Chomsky's (1959) line of argumentation to support it (Gruen 1997, p. 364), showing once more how epistemological misconceptions about theoretical reductivism shape the German conceptualization and thus, reception of B.F. Skinner.

The final publication selected from the category 'Human Subjectivity' due to its discussion of Skinner and 'freedom' is Claudia Hacker's diploma thesis *Psychologie und Utopie* (2008) from the University of Vienna, which heavily relies on Egon Schwarz' (1986) literary review of *Walden Two* (1948). Her one-page chapter titled *Freiheit in Walden Two* consists of a quotation of Skinner illustrating "die Spannung zwischen Freiheit und Determination" (Hacker, 2008, p. 149), a quotation of Schwarz' accusation Skinner's system would result in dictatorship and totalitarianism, as well as a reference to another novel 'substantiating' these claims. It is followed by her thesis' conclusion, which points out that Skinner's unintentionally dystopian approach results in the sacrifice of personal individuality and loss of autonomic freedom: "Dystopische Ansätze sind auch in Skinners behavioristischem Utopieentwurf evident, wenn auch nicht von ihm gewollt: das Opfer der persönlichen Individualität gepaart mit dem Verlust der Freiheit im Sinne der Selbstbestimmung" (Hacker, 2008, p. 151).

This example shows that freedom and autonomy are not only closely related, but so central to the German concept of human subjectivity and its idealist roots, that the German audience had no choice but to read Skinner's demands of scientific objectivity as polemics. His assumption of freedom's association with choice and the absence of coercion instead of being an inner phenomenon stand in direct contrast to the predominating national epistemology's dualism, as German idealism taught the nation's *Volk* to aspire to an emancipation of *Geist* rather than body. By contrast, French *citoyen* per their respective national ideas approached emancipatory and subjective theory very differently.[140] The analysis of the category 'Practical Application' further supported these findings by showing that German authors were more interested in education technology than animal experiments. Furthermore, the German discussion of Skinner's animal experiments and their applicability to human subjects appears especially biased.

The straw that essentially broke the figurative camel's back was Skinner's sacrilegiously daring suggestion that a monistic approach to human psychology could produce relevant findings even for subjective and emancipatory epistemologies.

In the final category 'Epistemology', ten mostly already familiar texts discussing reductivism

[140] While the French and the German thought collectives approach subjectivity differently, they share disdain for radical behaviorism. According to an analysis by Richelle et al. (2006), "French-speaking Europe has not been especially receptive to Skinner's radical analysis of behaviour" (ibid., p. 1), but rather "ignored the theoretical and epistemological contributions of radical behaviorism" (ibid., p. 3).

(Groeben & Scheele, 1977; Sigl, 1986; Thomas & Feldmann, 1992; Herzog, 2016), power (Kuckartz, 1974; Lück, 2009; Oldemeyer, 2010; Kunze-Pletat, 2019) and positivism (Bruder, 1984; Bruder & Bruder-Bezzel, 1988) were selected for further analysis, as they appear to substantiate previous findings about epistemological reception being shaped by national concepts of subjectivity. Additionally, the analysis of epistemological topics showed the case of Skinner's German reception to be embedded in larger debates about empiricism, the unity of science and the validity of humanitarian methodology. In line with Skinner's critics, Groeben & Scheele (1977, p. 126) discuss the impact of reductive *Menschenbilder* as models of subjectivity and imply objective approaches to social realities to be inhumane (ibid.). Thereby their publication further supports the earlier finding that German authors consider objectivity to somehow antagonize subjectivity.[141]

As the majority of these categorical texts selected for further analysis has already been discussed at length in previous sections,[142] their common themes will be briefly summarized: Through the bifocal lenses of an idealist's concept of subjectivity, the scientific reduction of human experience appears as an epistemological-ism to be rid of, most often appearing as reductivism, scientism, biologism, determinism, or objectivism. Furthermore, in this context, the discussion of 'power' consistently appears along with focal issues concerning Skinner's concept of control (see 2.2.1.2.1 and 2.2.1.2.6). If not for its reductivism, German authors also criticized Skinner's philosophy of science as positivist.

Two texts by Klaus-Jürgen Bruder (1984; Bruder & Bruder-Bezzel, 1988) illustrate the German perspective on the interrelation of Skinner and positivism. The first suggests Skinner's perspective on control – which Bruder coincidentally misconceives completely – "ist natürlich keine Schlußfolgerung aus Ergebnissen empirischer Untersuchungen oder Experimenten (des Behaviorismus), sondern die (philosophische) Vorannahme und das Programm des Positivismus" (Bruder, 1984, p. 63). Four years later, the author also makes a clear connection to education technology in his discussion of Skinner's radical behaviorism as representative of both positivism and a technocratic turn of education:

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[141] On this note, Groeben & Scheele (1977) are referenced in the conclusion of Walter Herzog's previously discussed article *Zur Kritik des Objektivismus in der Psychologie* (1979), which led to this finding in the first place. In addition, this illustrates a phenomenon that was not further examined, but is nonetheless notable in this context: German irritation at scientific objectivity is indicated in the material as several texts imply it to be some kind of conspicuous -ism, exemplifying German outrage by discussing *Objektivismus* rather than *Objektivität* (Groeben & Scheele, 1977; Herzog, 1979; Geier, 1977; Heyder, 2000; Mittelstädt, 2005; Bruder, 2009; Raithel et al., 2009; Schaller, 2012; Agostini, 2016; Seitz, 2018; Cursio, 2019; Pott, 2019) and *Verwissenschaftlichung* rather than *Wissenschaft* (Kuckartz, 1974; Schneider, 1983; Rexilius, 1988; Faulstich-Wieland & Faulstich, 2006; Ghirardo, 2007; Balzereit, 2010; Friedrich, 2010; Weyers, 2013; Hof, 2018; Tenorth, 2019).

[142] (Sigl, 1986; Thomas & Feldman, 1992; Herzog, 2016; Kuckartz, 1974; Lück, 2009; Oldemeyer, 2010).

> "Es galt damals, die modernste herrschende Psychologie zu kritisieren, und das war noch der Behaviorismus, besonders der von Skinner. Und dieser stand sowohl für den Positivismus in Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft, als auch für die technokratische Wende in der Bildungsreform, die von der (pädagogischen) Psychologie mitgetragen wurde" (Bruder & Bruder-Bezzel, 1988, p. 173).

Bruder's contributions to various textbooks (1984; Bruder & Bruder-Bezzel, 1988) serve as an example of epistemological power relations at play, as positivism maintained "that the social sciences should be modelled on the natural sciences" (Halfpenny, 2005, p. 571), resulting in the so-called *Positivismusstreit* in the 1960s and 1970s. This epistemological dispute among German sociologists is described as a continuance of the *Methodenstreit* that occurred in the early 20th century (Széll, 2005, p. 575f).[143] In view of these continuous debates, Skinner's philosophy of science appeared yet another powerful positivist nuisance in a never-ending argument about *Geisteswissenschaften*'s scientific validity.

Brief Summary

The categorical analyses of various topoi that appear in German discourse have revealed that most German authors conceptualize Skinner as a force to reckon with, a metaphoric wrecking ball to their national epistemology's foundation, a manipulative adversary to German idealism's subjective core. Furthermore, the ideological exclusion of logical empiricism appears as a contributing factor to the evident and wide German misconception of B.F. Skinner on account of radical behaviorism.

Post-World War II, intellectual US occupancy may well have contributed to German curiosity about Skinner's approach to education and, especially, education technology. One the one hand and as indicated by its many reprints, aspects of *Walden Two*'s (1948/1976) utopia were quite interesting to a broader German audience. Yet whatever appeal Skinner's work may have had pales when confronted with the German audience's reluctance to consider a world beyond their core principles *Freiheit* and *Würde*. Rushing to defend human subjectivity from this perceived threat, the German misconception of radical behaviorism often appears in the shape of rather subjective theories about his scientific theory (e.g.: that Skinner denied the existence of internal states and processing) and its implications (e.g.: regarding control and manipulation).

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[143] Originating in 18th century France, positivist philosophy was revived by the Vienna Circle in the 1920s and 1930s. When the majority of the group's members migrated to the US for political reasons in the 1930s, neopositivism or logical empiricism traveled with them. Since then, its variants dominate "mainstream Social Sciences", "especially in the Anglo-Saxon world. Their utilitarian, pragmatic orientations, the dominance of the natural sciences (…) make it difficult to realize a critical theory of society" (Széll 2005, p. 576). Adding another layer to this epistemological dispute, the case of the Vienna Circle underlines *Geist's* power as an intellectual occupant in Austria, because neopositivism's epistemological success apparently depended on its migration to more receptive thought collectives. Thus, the ideological exclusion of logical empiricism appears as a limiting factor of Skinner's German reception.

The final section of results will therefore focus on national grammars' role in educational discourse, answering the final remaining research questions about Skinner's reception in *Geisteswissenschaften*.

2.2.3 Ghostbusting: National grammars' implications for educational discourse

The final research questions to be answered concern the methodological, moral, and theoretical German conceptualization of Skinner in relation to specific national grammars as indicators of the predominating national epistemology: *Bildung*, *Hermeneutik* and *Menschenbild*.
Therefore, the last section of results is dedicated to the discussion of Skinner in publications in which these national grammars appear.

2.2.3.1 *Scheitern an Subjektivität*: Skinner in the context of *Bildung*

As discussed in section 2.1.1, 141 of the 325 texts related to general education science. A peculiar aspect of German educational discourse are the many different appearances and aspects of *Bildung,* as illustrated by the various forms the key word takes among the 28 publications including it in their titles.[144]
The four most common themes among these 28 texts are education technology (12)[145], education theory (7)[146], education in a broader sense (7)[147], and –much less frequently – subjectivity (Sallinger, 1980; Neveling, 2008). Subsequently, those texts discussing education technology and education theory will exemplarily be analyzed for indications of the predominating national thought style and whether this seems to affect radical behaviorism's German reception.
In the context of *Bildungstechnologie*, this thesis' previous sections have revealed a narrative of German (and cognitive) success over instruction's objectivization within but also outside

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[144] In ten of these titles, the key word appeared in its shortest form *Bildung*. Another four times, it appeared as *Ausbildung*; twice each as *Weiterbildung*, *Bildungstechnologie*, *bildungstheoretisch* and *Bildungswesen*; and singularly as *Bildungsinhalte*, *Bildungsbegriff*, *Ausbildungsbotschaft*, *Bildungschancen*, *Bildungsstandards*, *Fortbildung* and *Bildungsforschung*.

[145] Education technology was a main subject of twelve texts that included the key word 'Bildung' in their titles (Hildebrand, 1969; Haefner, 1984; Messerschmidt & Grebe, 2005; Mittelstädt, 2005; Bösche, 2014; de Vincenti & Hoffman-Ocon, 2016; Heider-Lang, 2016; Pfeiffer, 2017; Hof, 2018; Krautz, 2019; Wunder, 2020). Two texts that are excluded from further analysis are Hildebrand (1969), who treats Skinner as a mere footnote, and Haefner (1984) who only bibliographically references Skinner's work.

[146] Seven texts whose titles include the key word 'Bildung' center on *Bildungstheorie* (Heydorn, 1980; Bolle, 2008; Höblich, 2010; Schott & Ghanbari, 2012; Tröhler, 2014; Wimmer, 2014; Cursio, 2019).

[147] Broader aspects of education were discussed in another seven of the 28 texts (Faulstich, 2003; Disler, 2005; Brandlmaier et al., 2006; Müller-Enbergs, 2006; Kauffeld, 2010; Löw Beer, 2016; Maiwald, 2018).

humanitarian fields of study (Messerschmidt & Grebe, 2005; see 2.1.2.1). Furthermore, behaviorism's objectivism is commonly described as a limiting factor of its theories' applicability (see section 2.2). Thus, it is not surprising that even in the context of education technology, a fourth of the respective publications[148] mentions Skinner's work only very briefly. As a result of decreasing interest in education technology, the *Realtypus Bildungstechnologe* perished, while media pedagogy prevailed (Hof, 2018; see section 2.2.2). The incongruity between education technology and *Bildung's* aim at inner aspects is further exemplified by an article by Andrea de Vincenti and Andreas Hofmann-Ocon (2016), who studied the relationship of programmed instruction and Swiss education reforms. In their conclusion, the authors name benefits and unintended side effects of attempts "*einer technologischen Lenkung des Sozialen*" (de Vincenti & Hofmann-Ocon, 2016, p. 93f): While such steering may increase safety, transparency, and accessibility, as well as minimize risks associated with instructional practice, in the authors' opinion it could also diminish local culture, autonomous problem solving, creativity, polyvalence and trust, as well as result in the erosion of intrinsic motivation and ethical attitude (ibid.).[149] Much like Herzog's (2016) contribution (see section 2.2.2), de Vincenti and Hofmann-Ocon's (2016) article is another example of a common theme within educational texts: German authors taking issue with school reforms, PISA, and empiric approaches to education and schooling, with respective arguments supported by allegations of behaviorism's long-term failure. Another text from the material, Jochen Krautz' (2019) pedagogic article exemplifies this line of argumentation particularly well. Krautz' (2019, p. 75) chooses a sharp tone in his article's introduction, which criticizes a technological approach to education and shows the interrelation of subjective freedom, *Bildung* and *Menschenbild*:

> "Erziehen und Bilden als Kunst im Sinne der *téchne* und demgemäß den Lehrer als *artifex* zu verstehen, erweist sich als Fundamentalkritik an der seit den 1960er Jahren gängig und seit PISA hegemonial gewordenen Art und Weise, Schule und Unterricht als technologischen Regelkreis sowie Lehrer und Schüler als Objekte entsprechender Steuerungstechniken zu verstehen und zu behandeln. Insofern bietet sich mit dem Modell der Kunstlehre auch die Möglichkeit, ein Selbstverständnis von Lehrerbildung neu zu betonen, **das dem personalen Menschenbild und dem Bildungsauftrag der Verfassungen sowie der schulgesetzlich verankerten pädagogischen Freiheit der Lehrerinnen und Lehrer zu entsprechen vermag"** (Krautz, 2019, p. 75; bold emphasis BB).[150]

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[148] (Hildebrand, 1969; Haefner, 1984; Pfeiffer, 2017; Wunder, 2020)

[149] Some of the authors' concerns – for example regarding intrinsic motivation or loss of autonomy indicate implicit misconceptions of behaviorist theory. Furthermore, and even though some are phrased to the contrary, the conclusions drawn in the article point to issues with how/what data related to aspects of education is collected and interpreted, and not so much with technological approaches to education.

[150] Due to its untranslatable German(-ness), an accurate translation of this text segment cannot be provided.

Illustrating the German tradition of receiving Skinner predominantly secondarily or tertiarily pointed out by Ickler (1994), Krautz' (2019, p. 79ff) commentary on behaviorism draws on Herzog (2012; 2016), including evident misconceptions about Skinner's work's applicability as well as radical behaviorism's perspective on inner processing.

Thereby, Krautz (2019) serves as a contemporary example of several relevant findings relating to Skinner's German reception that are implicitly indicative of the predominating national epistemology as elaborated on in prior sections:

- Hostility towards foreign ideas, exemplified in the case at hand by moral questioning of evidence-based approaches to education, schooling, teaching, students, especially if any kind of 'Steuerung' is involved. This usually serves to prove the (moral) superiority of the alternative presented by the publication at hand. Key words like 'Menschenbild', and/or 'rats' are popular in this line of argumentation.
- Reception-by-proxy: Secondary reception of Skinner and radical behaviorism, with some cherry-picking of sources who drive the preferred line of argumentation as pointed out by Ickler (1994), often including the assumption of those sources' misconceptions.
- A tradition of assuming and thus, reproducing misconceptions about the unpopular idea
- An issue of methodology that could be affected by a shared perception of empiric approaches and technological metaphors as threatening aspects of subjectivity.

On one hand, these examples of how Skinner's work is treated in educational discourse point to a frequent and obvious connection of subjectivity, *Bildung*, education technology and programmed instruction that is supported by this thesis' previous analyses. On the other hand, three of the twelve texts centering on education technology include topoi indicative of evident misconceptions about behaviorist theory (Kauffeld, 2010; Hof, 2018; Krautz, 2019; see categorical misconceptions as discussed in section 2.2.1.2). That a troubling fourth of educational literature on education technology includes evident misconceptions about its foundational theory raises questions about how discursive practice trans-disciplinarily empowers the predominating national epistemology by enabling the maintenance of fallacies over several generations of scientists. Consequently, the seven publications including *Bildung* in their respective titles which focused on *Bildungstheorie* are considered to answer the remaining research question about how Skinner and radical behaviorism were conceived, and thus received, theoretically.

Prior historical analysis (see 2.1.2.1) has shown that programmed instruction as the figurative show-dog of radical behaviorist theory led to a productive questioning of pedagogic assumptions (Messerschmidt & Grebe, 2005) and subsequent reforms of German education as well as German education theory. However, the practical application of behaviorist ideas was

met with a reservation that would ultimately shape the chosen German narrative about its founder and his foundational theories.

The earliest of these seven texts, Heydorn (1980; as discussed in section 2.1.2.1) supports this interpretation of the various data discussed in this thesis' previous sections. In line with most other German authors, Heydorn (1980, p. 92) criticizes Skinner for delivering the *biologistic* foundation for *social-darwinistic* approaches to education which resulted in untoward changes and consecutively, German "*Reformüberdrüssigkeit"* (ibid.).

Just how little relevance Skinner's work had for *Bildungstheorie* is explained in Bernhard Bolle's book *Das Lernberatungsgespräch im bildungstheoretischen Blickwinkel* (2008), whose elaborations on the role of rats in foundational learning theory's animal experiments are in part based on Faulstich (2005) (Bolle, 2008, p. 46). The book further exemplifies the crucial role subjectivity plays even in the theoretical German reception of radical behaviorism: "Erst wenn eine Sinnperspektive des Lernens (Bildungstheorie) eröffnet wird, kann man das Lernen überhaupt erst beurteilen" (ibid., p. 47).[151] The human subjects' free will, the capacity to reflect on choices defines their personhood: "macht seine Personhaftigkeit aus, die mehr ist als bloße Individualität" (ibid., p. 48). Hence behaviorist theory was rejected "um die Freiheit der reflexiven Durchbrechung von Reiz-Reaktionsmechanismen zu wahren" (Bolle, 2008, p. 48). However, much like Faulstich (2005) and many other German authors before him, Bolle (2008) does not answer how stimulus-reaction-mechanisms are to be broken reflexively if their scientific discussion is consistently avoided.

Yet, in the context of education theory, Skinner was not just discussed in relation to programmed instruction and learning theory, but also socialization. In Davina Höblich's published dissertation (2010), Skinner is mentioned briefly in the context of socialisation theory – or rather a *controlling* idea of socialization: "einer kontrollierenden (vgl. u.a. Skinner 1978) […] Vorstellung von Vergesellschaftung" (Höblich, 2010, p. 47); an interpretation that may have been affected by primary sources like Hannelore Faulstich-Wieland (2000/2015) whom Höblich (2010, p. 47) also cites in this context.

In their book *Bildungsstandards, Kompetenzdiagnostik und kompetenzorientierter Unterricht zur Qualitätssicherung des Bildungswesens* (2012) aimed at researchers, practitioners, politicians and students of education science, Franz Schott and Shahram Azizi Ghanbari discuss the educational aftermath of the shock that came with the introduction of PISA (ibid.). Their disdain of "behavioristischer Lernzieloperationalisierung" (ibid., p. 116) on account of human

[151] Own translation: "Only establishing a *Sinnperspektive* of learning (Bildungstheorie) enables learning to be evaluated" (Bolle, 2008, p. 47).

subjectivity is made clear in their discussion of Skinner which this thesis' prior analysis of topoi has shown to include evident misconceptions about the role of inner processing in radical behaviorism. This results in the authors explicitly distancing themselves from what they understand to be "Skinners Sichtweise" (Schott & Ghanbari 2012, p. 116).

That programmed instruction rather than Skinner's contributions to social philosophy so quickly raised (and lost) German interest is also discussed in Daniel Tröhler's (2014) analysis of how its affinity for tradition may have contributed to German education science's being so unpleasantly surprised by the emerging international ideology that eventually brought PISA. Michael Wimmer's (2014) account of pedagogy as a science of the impossible draws parallels between Skinner and Rousseau, namely that both authors addressed their ideas of education via works of fiction and shared the opinion that society taints mankind (ibid., p. 246f). Although Wimmer's (2014) elaborations on Skinner appear rather benevolent in comparison with most other texts, the author conceives tyrannical control as characteristic of Skinner's concept of freedom (ibid., p. 246, 255).

Thereby, Wimmer's (2014) conclusion serves another example of how the failure to translate what could essentially be considered *behaviorist grammars* – in this case, Skinner's methodological understanding of 'control' and 'freedom' – defines the German reception of radical behaviorism. Additionally, it appears that even in translation, the predominating national epistemology's powerful subjective aspects avert that a German audience consider any different, possibly sacrilegious *Lesart* of familiar key terms.[152] These probably irreconcilable epistemological and methodological differences often limit the German discussion to Skinner's work being „out-dated", as exemplified by the final text up for analysis in the context of *Bildungstheorie*, Michael Cursio's essay *Bildung durch Wissenschaftstheorie* (2019)[153] which assumes this preferred German narrative while consecutively pointing behaviorism out as a thought style, not a method:

> "Nun gilt der Behaviorismus heute konzeptionell als überholt, aber zu der Zeit, in der er die dominante Forschungsrichtung war, haben seine Vertreter ihn nicht als ‚Denkstil' oder ‚Paradigma' zu relativieren vermocht, sondern sie sahen ihn als die wissenschaftliche Methode schlechthin" (Cursio, 2019, p. 50).

However, although authors like Cursio (2019, p. 66) like cling to this epistemological knockout argument, radical behaviorism is neither outdated, nor did its methodology generally disappear

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[152] The few German authors who did dare consider a different reading of Skinner (among them Westmeyer (1973) and Correll (1966, 1967, 1972, 1978)) were met with an animosity (e.g.: Groeben & Scheele, 1977; Herzog, 1979; Groeben, 1981; Treiber & Groeben, 1983) that in Correll's case even outlives them (Tenorth, 2019).

[153] Cursio's essay (2019) was previously mentioned in sections 2.1.2 (in the context of Chomsky as an influence in Skinner's reception), 2.2.1.2.3 (regarding evident misconceptions), and 2.2.2 (in the context of German authors taking issue with objectivism). Accordingly, see footnotes 49, 73, 111, 141, and 146.

due to an alleged 'cognitive turn' in science. The question of why in the context of *Bildung*, Skinner's ideas are so readily dismissed on account of a fictional paradigm shift and its traditionalized reiteration may be answered by considering that common misconceptions and the myth of a cognitive revolution serve to validate the predominating national epistemology. With this notion, this thesis turns to the analysis of Skinner's reception in the context of another German concept, *Hermeneutik*.

2.2.3.2 *Verstehen und Nicht-Verstehen*: Skinner in the context of *Hermeneutik*

Given that the conglomerate of national methodologies known as hermeneutics' aim was considered "fundamental to contemporary theories of education because they are guided by the same concerns", namely the "interpretation, understanding, and the related issues of translation, communication, and information exchange", including "practices of interpretation and theories of understanding, where both involve intellectually comprehending the meaning of things and justifying that meaning to others" (Dyer, 2010, p. 413), these thesis' findings regarding the German reception of B.F. Skinner are particularly puzzling as the data suggests that even hermeneutically oriented scholars like Norbert Groeben never read Skinner with the intention to comprehend, instead justifying its absence by alleging a cognitive turn away from behaviorism that never actually happened.

Thus, the question becomes how Skinner is discussed in texts that focus on hermeneutics, specifically. During respective examinations, only three out of the 325 texts that were analyzed in this thesis emerged with the key word *Hermeneutik* in their respective titles (Schurz, 1995; Ghirardo, 2007; Marx, 2010).

Robert Schurz' book *Negative Hermeneutik – Zur sozialen Anthropologie des Nicht-Verstehens* (1995) addresses the social anthropology of what the Austrian philosopher who studied and taught in Darmstadt considers „the art of not-understanding" (ibid., p. 206). In his introduction, Schurz (1995, p. 9ff) points out that *Hermeneutik* operates in close relation to *Bildung* and human subjectivity. The text only mentions Skinner once in a footnote in which the author questions learning theory as such – "wobei es überhaupt fragwürdig ist, ob es sich bei jener um eine Theorie handelt" (ibid., p. 113), adding that "contingency might as well be translated as *Beliebigkeit*" (Schurz, 1995, p. 113; own translation).[154] Thus, by raising non-comprehension to an artform (while unironically misunderstanding learning theory in the development of his

[154] Ironically, Schurz' (1995) bibliographical data on the cited work by Skinner (1974a) appears incomplete.

theory of non-understanding), Schurz (1995) serves as a noteworthy example of what could be a national understanding of intellectual comprehension and interpretation.

For different reasons, the discussion of Skinner in Cinzia Ghirado's (2007) dissertation from the Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaftliche Fakultät der katholischen Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt is also notable. This thesis' previous analyses of topoi (see section 2.2.1.2, especially 2.2.1.2.4: the categorical analysis of texts containing topoi relating to human subjectivity) suggest that Catholic affiliations may contribute to a rather skeptical reception of Skinner's work.[155] Thus, the finding of Ghirardo's (2007, p. 130, 194) two unbiased references to Skinner as well as her accurate interpretations of his studies' implications for educational practice emerged as a rather surprising outlier.

Much like the other two hermeneutic texts, the third publication, Johannes Marx' article *Rationalität, Hermeneutik und Neurowissenschaften* (2010) also does not waste much space discussing Skinner, whose behaviorist stand on human psychology is mentioned only supplementarily to a number of comments on Paul Churchland's neuro-scientific position (Marx, 2010, p. 78).

Since this sample of hermeneutic publications amounts to less than one per cent of the total analyzed publications, no significant conclusions can be drawn from it. In the three respective texts, Skinner was only mentioned briefly as a secondary source. In these brief discussions, only Schurz' (1995) conception of Skinner's work appeared with a potential bias that may be indicative of the predominating national thought style. Other similarities between the three texts are limited: The key word *Bildung*, said to be operative for *Hermeneutik* (ibid., p. 9), appears in only two of the three texts, while the final term considered central to Skinner's German reception *Menschenbild* appears in none of them.

Thus, the final section of results will consider how Skinner's work was conceived morally.

2.2.3.3 On *Geist's* moral high ground: Skinner and the *Menschenbild*

In the realm of *Geisteswissenschaften*, *Menschenbilder* matter. Or, to put it differently, usage of the national grammar *Menschenbild* (as presented in the introductory section 1.3.3) may serve as an indication of German idealist influences in a publication. Moreover, during an initial analysis of historical context (see section 2.1.2.1), the topos 'Skinner's *Menschenbild'* emerged

[155] This is exemplified by publications by Catholic leaders (Krenn, 1976; Losinger, 1992) or authors like Arno Drinkmann (Drinkmann & Groeben, 1989; Schermer & Drinkmann, 2018), who teaches psychology at Ghirardo's university. However, none of them are cited in Ghirardo's (2007) dissertation.

as potentially influential to Skinner's German reception. In total, 32 texts were identified which contained the national grammar *Menschenbild*. These were comprised through prior analyses. Of the 23 publications covering the topos ‚Skinner's *Menschenbild'* (see categorical analysis of Human Subjectivity in section 2.2.1.2.4), ten texts containing the exact key words were selected for further analysis of subjective and moral aspects of Skinner's reception in *Geisteswissenschaften*.[156] Additionally, and throughout the numerous former text analyses, 22 more publications emerged as including the key word *Menschenbild,*[157] resulting in the total of 32 texts for further consideration, whose authors all hold affiliations to social if not humanitarian sciences. The set of data is comprised of textbooks, books, articles as well as dissertations.

In the material, the historically stable term first appears in Westmeyer's (1973) discussion of how biases „build the foundation for the formation of whole *Menschenbilder* in psychology" (Westmeyer, p. 12; own translation), which leads up to the exposition that

> "Skinner (1971) z.B. hat gezeigt, wie weit unsere Gesellschaft und ihre Institutionen von dem vorherrschenden (Ideal-) Bild vom autonomen, freien, selbstverantwortlichen und in seinen Einstellungen, Handlungen und Entscheidungen von der Umwelt weitgehend unabhängigen Menschen geprägt ist" (Westmeyer, 1973, p. 12).[158]

In the case at hand, the predominating bias is indicated by German authors' clear preference of a humanistic *Menschenbild*. Westmeyer's observation of how Skinner's methodological reductions challenged the reigning ideal of autonomous man seems accurate in light of *Menschenbild's* subsequent appearances in the material.

In Groeben & Scheele's (1977) monography, it applies to elaborations of the authors' issues with the dynamics the behaviorist model of subjectivity developed: "Dabei muss man sich im Klaren sein, dass auch solche reduktionistischen (im Sinn der Reduktion um reflexiv-intentionale Zielentwürfe) Menschenbilder innerhalb und durch die jeweiligen Forschungsprogramme eine Realisierungsdynamik entwickeln" (ibid., p. 114). Interestingly, several of Groeben & Scheele (1977)'s arguments against the behaviorist *Menschenbild*

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[156] Of the 23 texts which addressed the topos of 'Skinner's *Menschenbild'*, ten authors' phrasing matched the key words exactly (Friedrich, 1979, p. 258; Fritz, 1982, p. 186; Braun, 1983, p. 95; Nunner-Winkler, 1984, p. 399; Thomas & Feldmann, 1992, p. 212; Fahrenberg, 2007, p. 75f; Egger, 2015, p. 207; Wingchen, 2014, p. 62; Faulstich-Wieland, 2015, p. 84f; Gisbertz, 2018, p. 314).

[157] The predominating national epistemology of German idealism is indicated by the national grammar *Menschenbild* which appears in another 22 texts discussing Skinner (Westmeyer, 1973, pp. 12, 136f; Groeben & Scheele, 1977; Groeben, 1981; Montada, 1983; Eppinger, 1983, pp. 67,100; Treiber & Groeben, 1983; Groeben et al., 1988; Drinkmann & Groeben, 1989; Losinger, 1992, p. 238; Reichert, 2004, p. 223; Wetz, 2005; Bundschuh, 2008; Bolle, 2008; Neveling, 2008, p. 145; Klünger, 2010; Carnau, 2011; Schaller, 2012; Reuter, 2014; Schermer & Drinkmann, 2018; Cursio, 2019; Pfisterer, 2019; Kunze-Pletat, 2019).

[158] Own translation: "For example, Skinner (1971) has shown how much our society and its institutions are characterized by the predominating (ideal) image of autonomous, free, responsible man whose attitudes, actions and choices are extensively independent of his environment" (Westmeyer, 1973, p. 12)

reappear in various later publications[159] that jointly indicate the presence of not just a thought style, but also a thought collective.

By the late 1970s, the German thought style's diminishing political and epistemological power becomes particularly evident. For example, the political topic of Skinner's imperialistic *Menschenbild* emerges several times in Walter Friedrich's (1979) extensive critique of behaviorism: "Auf die Zufriedenheit durch Systemanpassung, auf das Ausnutzen der positiven Verstärker kommt es im Menschenbild Skinners an", which is conscutively described as „Menschenbild der imperialistischen Gesellschaft" (Friedrich, 1979, p. 218). Furthermore, Skinner's concept is interpreted to serve "der Begründung und Durchsetzung einer Variante des bürgerlich-imperialistischen Menschenbildes" (ibid., p. 224). On an epistemological level, not just the reductivism of Skinner's concept, but also his deterministic approach to human subjectivity was criticized. Friedrich (1979) argues that there is no reception of Skinner's learning theory without consecutive assumption of his *Menschenbild,* and vice versa: „Mit der Rezeption der Lerntheorie Skinners wird auch sein Menschenbild übernommen. Sicher gilt auch umgekehrt: da Übereinstimmung mit dem Menschenbild Skinners besteht, wird seine Lerntheorie rezipiert" (Friedrich, 1979, p. 258). Thereby, Friedrich (1979, p. 258) serves a possible explanation for why the German reception of Skinner's learning theory so often results in the distancing from his *Menschenbild*: to reassure the respective audience of a publication's epistemological loyalty to the nation's *Geist*.

Consecutive analysis revealed several similarities among texts discussing Skinner that included the national grammar *Menschenbild*:

1. An ever-present subjective, if not moral dimension, indicative of idealist ideology, represented by
2. Skinner's *Menschenbild*'s shortcomings implicitly justify German authors' unwillingness to comprehend an oppositional epistemology, and often serve as grounds to offer their own work as a better alternative. This phenomenon is exemplified by – however, not at all limited to – publications by the thought collective around Norbert Groeben.
3. Skinner's *Menschenbild* in direct opposition
    a) to concepts of human subjectivity – an observation that applies to most publications in this set of data.[160] This opposition becomes particularly evident when subjectivity,

[159] These later publications include several works (see section 2.2.1.1), among them six that also include the key word *Menschenbild* (Groeben, 1981; Treiber & Groeben, 1983; Groeben et al., 1988; Drinkmann & Groeben, 1989; Neveling, 2008; Schaller, 2012).

[160] Nine texts (Groeben & Scheele, 1977; Groeben, 1981; Treiber & Groeben, 1983; Groeben et al., 1988; Bundschuh, 2008; Neveling, 2008; Klünger, 2010; Gisbertz, 2018; Cursio, 2019) discussed Skinner's *Menschenbild* in the context of human subjectivity on a more general level, four each mentioned freedom (Fritz, 1982; Eppinger, 1983; Losinger, 1992; Wingchen, 2014) and control (Braun, 1983; Kerber & Schmieder, 1984;

freedom, autonomy and/or control are mentioned, illustrating once more that apparently, Skinner's 'language of behaviorism' falls short in translation.

b) to his "Antipode Rogers" (Fritz, 1982, p. 186), as exemplified by five texts from this set of data.[161]

c) to a humanistic *Menschenbild,* as demonstrated by four texts from this set of data,[162] as well as

4. A strong tendency to uphold what could be considered national presumptions which can easily be exposed as evident misconceptions, for example about the organism's role in radical behaviorist theory as indicated by mentioning of 'passivity' and/or 'action vs. behavior' in the context of practical science.[163]

A small sample of quotations from publications that employed the national grammar *Menschenbild* in their discussion of Skinner will underline these findings.

Hannelore Faulstich-Wieland's (2015) textbook serves an example of not only the moral dimension of Skinner's German reception, but also of how national presumptions affect both their interpretation as well as their conceptualization of Skinner's utopic novel:

> "Besonders deutlich wird das Menschenbild des Skinnerschen Behaviorismus in seinem Roman ‚Futurum II'" (ibid., p. 84). „Die im Roman als heftige Diskussionen um Demokratie, Faschismus, Verhaltenskontrolle u.ä. ausgeführten Erörterungen zeigen, wie sehr es sich um ein autoritäres, wenn nicht faschistisches Bild handelt" (ibid., p. 85).[164]

The German interpretation of Skinner's *Menschenbild's* nationally presumptuous, moral dimension is further exemplified in a Viennese dissertation that offers up its own metatheory of pedagogy:

> "Wer mit dem Menschenbild nicht zufrieden ist, das in der Erziehung eine auf den Menschen zugeschnittene Dressur sieht, damit sich der Mensch gesellschaftskonform und

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Klünger, 2010; Faulstich-Wieland, 2015), while autonomy was the prominent theme in two publications (Groeben et al., 1988; Reuter, 2014).

[161] In this set of data, five texts contrast Skinner's and Rogers' *Menschenbild* (Fritz, 1982; Braun, 1983; Reichert, 2004; Kunze-Pletat, 2019; Pfisterer, 2019). An example of this is found in Braun (1983): „Mit Rogers' Menschenbild sind – anders als mit dem Menschenbild Skinners – Manipulationen nicht vereinbar" (ibid., p. 95).

[162] Four texts explicitly juxtapose Skinner's and humanistic *Menschenbilder* (Fahrenberg, 2007; Bolle, 2008; Klünger, 2010; Reuter, 2014, p. 202).

[163] Within this set of data, issues of Skinner's *Menschenbild* are addressed in the context of assumed 'passivity' in two texts (Kerber & Schmieder, 1984; Bundschuh, 2008), while '*Handlung vs. Verhalten'* appears in five publications (Kerber & Schmieder, 1984; Groeben, 1981; Montada, 1983; Losinger, 1992; Neveling, 2008). Categorical analysis of 'Misconceptions' already identified three of these publications (Groeben, 1981; Kerber & Schmieder, 1984; Bundschuh, 2008) as well as six others from this set of data (Groeben & Scheele, 1977; Friedrich, 1979; Thomas & Feldmann, 1992; Carnau, 2011; Wingchen, 2014; Cursio, 2019) included topoi indicative of evident misapprehensions of radical behaviorist theory. Thus, at 37.5 per cent (12 of 32 publications) in this set of data, the frequency of fallacies among publications that include the national grammar *Menschenbild* appears higher in comparison to previously discussed sets of data.

[164] Own translation: "Skinner's behavioristic Menschenbild becomes particularly evident in his novel 'Walden Two'" (Faulstich-Wieland, 2015, p. 84). "Through intense arguments over democracy, fascism, behavior control etc. the novel's extensive elaborations portray an authoritarian if not fascist image" (ibid., p. 85).

> sozialverträglich verhält, steht vor dem Problem, Alternativen zu suchen und gegebenenfalls selbst anzubieten" (Klünger, 2010, p. 362).[165]

Consistent with previous findings regarding the role of topoi relating to human subjectivity, radical behaviorist ideas are rejected not just because they are misconceived. Instead, it appears that the national understanding of *paroles* like *Freiheit*, *Würde*, and *Autonomie* – essentially 'grammars of *German* subjectivity' – may be the reason for the rejection of foreign ideas that employ these terms differently: Because of their national epistemology, German authors may not be able to read these terms in a way that is intentionally not *geisteswissenschaftlich*.

Consecutively, German authors observe Skinner to conceive (their concepts of) freedom and dignity as

> "störende Merkmale, die der verhaltenstechnologischen Dimensionierung humaner Akte im Wege stehen und deren wissenschaftliche Faßbarkeit stören. Auf programmatische Weise wird darum die Beseitigung der letzten Freiheitsrelikte aus dem Menschenbild ins Auge gefasst" (Losinger, 1992, p. 238).[166]

The material further suggests the same reasoning may apply to how German authors observe Skinner to approach – or omit – the(ir) concept of autonomy as well, resulting in a mechanistic understanding of his *Menschenbild*. This can be exemplified by an excerpt from Jörg Schlee's contribution to Norbert Groeben, Diethelm Wahl, Jörg Schlee & Brigitte Scheele's compilation *Das Forschungsprogramm Subjektive Theorien* (1988).

> "Autonomie, Reflexivität und kognitives Konstruieren werden nicht thematisiert, sondern dem Menschen implizit oder explizit abgesprochen (vgl. Skinner 1973, 1974; Westmeyer 1973). Es resultiert – in der Tradition des Behaviorismus – ein mechanistisches Menschenbild" (Schlee, 1988, p. 13).

This paragraph's reappearance in Neveling (2008, p. 144) [167] further suggests deliberate continuation of these national presumptions – without actual consideration of the original material that is extensively criticized. In this way, implicit and fallacious misconceptions

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[165] Own translation: "Whoever is unhappy with a *Menschenbild* that considers education a training tailored so humans behave compliantly and acceptably in society, is confronted with the problem of searching for alternatives and, where appropriate, offering their own" (Klünger, 2010, p. 362). Note: The term *Dressur* is generally used for (trick) training of animals, for example horses (i.e.: *Dressurreiten*) or circus animals, so its use implies radical behaviorist's limited or ethically questionable applicability to human subjects, especially when paired with the topic of conforming compliantly. In addition to Klünger (2010), *Dressur* also appears in Schaller (2012) and Seitz (2018) in this way.

[166] Own translation: "interfering features that bar the behavior-technological dimensioning of human actions' way and disturb their scientific tangibility. Therefore, it considers a programmatic method of eliminating freedom's last relics from any conception of man" (Losinger, 1992, p. 238).

[167] Demonstrating the longevity of Groeben's subjective theories, Neveling's *Primat des Subjekts* (2008) is a published dissertation which also references several other publications by the thought collective around Norbert Groeben as well as texts by Walter Herzog. The section's phrasing suggests Skinner is used as a secondary – or actually, tertiary – reference only: "Innere Prozesse, wie sie bei der Handlungskonzeption konstitutiv angenommen worden sind, werden nicht nur *nicht thematisiert, sondern implizit oder explizit als nicht bedeutsam angesehen (vgl. Skinner 1973, 1974; Westmeyer 1973)"* (Neveling, 2008, p. 144; own emphasis for comparison with Schlee's paragraph above).

become traditions that are sustained by new generations of humanitarian scientists. While the antagonistic conceptualization of Skinner's *Menschenbild* can be traced back to Groeben (Neveling, 2008, p. 145), its continuation appears to be facilitated by the predominating national epistemology's underlying concepts of human subjectivity. Furthermore, subjective theory's epistemological power is underlined by Schlee's (1988) mere secondary and Neveling's (2008) tertiary referencing of Skinner.

Indications of erroneous national presumptions are also found in German sociology textbooks, as exemplified by a section from Gertrud Nunner-Winkler's (1984) article on norms that demonstrates not just the epistemological relevance of Menschenbild, but also how essential the differentiation of *Handlung* and *Verhalten* is to German authors:

> "Diese [begriffliche Gleichsetzung normbefolgenden Verhaltens mit konditioniertem, sanktionsvermeidendem,] hängt mit dem deterministischen Menschenbild, wie es etwa Skinner explizit vertritt, zusammen: Der Mensch ist passives Objekt, seine Handlungsentscheidungen sind (…) determiniert" (Nunner-Winkler, 1984, p. 399).[168]

Furthermore, it demonstrates an implication of conforming compliancy and manipulation to be quite persist both over time as well as across different fields of social studies. With this example, subjective epistemological characteristics of the national grammar *Menschenbild* circle back to a national methodology of understanding – or understanding of methodology, as Nunner-Winkler worked and published with Jürgen Habermas, figurehead of modern *Hermeneutik* who argued for *herrschaftsfreien Diskurs*.

Yet, this thesis' analyses show that German discourse appears firmly under *Geist*'s subjective authority, with its inherent dualism resulting in a double standard when it comes to the reception of B.F. Skinner and radical behaviorism: an idea so foreign to the predominating national epistemology, that rather than indulging it, it had to be rejected pro forma. Ever loyal to the nation's *Geist*, German authors fail to question how their own ideology may affect their reception of foreign ideas. Instead, they assume a narrative of epistemological aporia on account of presumably oppositional concepts of subjectivity and conclude there can be no complete science of man – at least not on *Geist*'s moral high ground where German idealism reigns firmly: "Die Aporie zwischen behavioristischem Menschenbild, das am Ideal einer vollständigen Wissenschaft vom Menschen orientiert ist, und einem Menschenbild, das von der Idee menschlicher Freiheit geleitet wird" (Eppinger, 1983, p. 100).

Thus, as indicated by national grammars and grammars of *German* subjectivity, German

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[168] Own translation: "The conceptual equation of norm-compliant and conditioned, sanction-avoidant behavior goes back to the deterministic *Menschenbild* Skinner represents explicitly: Man is a passive object, his decisions to act are (…) determined" (Nunner-Winkler, 1984, p. 399).

idealism's underlying dualistic concepts of human subjectivity serve to support a tradition of national presumptions about foreign *Menschenbilder*. Thereby, these *paroles* can be interpreted to "continue to determine the educational discourse of the present" (Tröhler, 2003, p. 760).

III. *Geist* as an ideological gatekeeper: Conclusionary reflection and discussion of results and their implications

This thesis set out to study the ongoing German reception of American psychologist B.F. Skinner, which – due to the limited scope of a master's thesis – turned out to be quite an undertaking.

Using several research questions for a rough as well as a detailed analysis of 325 German texts published between 1965 and 2020 and their citations of Skinner proved particularly useful in exploring the material, as well as the abstraction of topoi and main general thematic categories of German discourse relating to the research interest. Summarizing clusters of topics in thematic categories served to confirm this paper's focus on thought styles and their underlying concepts of human subjectivity. Thereby, this thesis has shown that that one similarity between pragmatism and radical behaviorism may be how both Western ideas were received rather critically by the German linguistic community. However, a significant difference between the two is that while the reception of pragmatism in Germany has been well studied (Popkewitz, 2005; Tröhler et al., 2010), apart from Christoph Bördlein's (2005) article, there are hardly any publications to be found on the specific reception of behaviorism in the area. Instead, the question of national particularities of different epistemologies emerged as a particularly thought-provoking and little researched aspect of a general philosophy of science. Drawing on Foucauldian discourse analysis, this thesis suggests that instead of being "justifiably forgotten" by *Geisteswissenschaften* as hinted by Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (2019), Skinner's contributions to education science were undermined by agents of the nation's *Geist*.

Furthermore, it was argued that national grammars can indeed be taken as indicative of a predominating national thought style and its perseverance both across time as well as most scientific disciplines, including those deemed more 'factual' than the humanities (e.g.: mathematics, computer science, natural sciences). Moreover, this national thought style shaped the German reception of B.F. Skinner and his philosophy of science due to presumably oppositional concepts of subjectivity. The material provides extensive evidence of not just a national 'language of education' in German discourse (Tröhler 2003; Tröhler & Fox, 2019), but also a national 'language of subjectivity", indicated by *paroles* (de Saussure, 1916/2016; Pocock, 1987) or potentially even *grammars* of German idealist subjectivity, such as

Autonomie, *Freiheit*, *Subjektivität*, *Sinn*, and *Würde*. This wide-ranging discourse analysis revealed that Skinner was predominantly related to from a particular, national perspective. In addition to analyzing the role national grammars like *Bildung*, *Hermeneutik* and *Menschenbild* played in Skinner's German reception, dualistic concepts of subjectivity as well as elitist notions (e.g.: demeaning Skinner's work, questioning its applicability based on human subjectivity), and discussing radical behaviorism as a Western, American or pragmatist idea were also taken as and shown to be indicative of a national epistemology and its according ideology.

The special consideration of historical, political, and epistemological context proved to be a crucial aspect of this thesis' methodology, allowing for the identification of several setting factors to Skinner's German reception, such as political and epistemological power relations, the particularities of national thought styles like American pragmatism/radical behaviorism and German idealism, the traveling of radical behaviorism, the German translation of Skinner's work, as well as its interpretation in view of these setting factors.

The first setting factors this analysis reviewed were historic developments and political power relations. Historically and politically, Skinner's German reception can be described as a by-product of physical and intellectual US occupancy of the BRD, since the material treats it accordingly. This is indicated by two significant shifts in Skinner's German reception from 1965 to 2020.

From the mid-1960s to mid-1970s, radical behaviorism's education technology was quite popular in the BRD. However, US *epistemological colonization* (Fox, 2020) ultimately failed along with brief attempts at *epistemological implementation* (e.g.: Correll, 1965, 1966, 1972, 1978; Innerhofer, 1977; Westmeyer, 1973) so that radical behaviorism never reached a point of wide *epistemological appropriation*. While Skinner was received critically even in this time regarding his work's and its implementation's moral implications, German hostility toward it increased significantly after the publishing of *Jenseits von Freiheit und Würde* (1973a). With this first shift to hostility, German indulgence in radical behaviorism's education technology and Skinner's work could have ended. And yet, German authors continue its reception to this day, although to them, he never managed to become an "indigenous foreigner" like pragmatist Dewey did in several countries (Popkewitz, 2005).[169]

This is indicated by a second shift just as German-speaking countries succumbed to PISA, suggested by the early 2000 reemergence of a topos first raised by Groeben & Scheele (1977):

[169] Coincidentally, countries that adopted Dewey as an indigenous foreigner seem to score better in PISA than those like Germany that didn't.

A ‘cognitive turn’ away from behaviorism, further substantiating the now established national narrative of having moved beyond Skinner’s American education technology. Its appearance across different disciplines depicts the subject of an alleged ‘cognitive turn’ as a topos deemed suitable for “the fabrication of national minds” (Tröhler, 2020) and to keep social sciences from ghosting *Geist.*[170] As such, this rhetoric appears to complement and substantiate the preferred national narrative of the successful and international cognitive defeat of a former occup(i)ant (idea): *Bildungstheorie* knew and knows better than to implement and rely on means of questionable ethics and such limited applicability. Accordingly, those German authors who attempted to implement radical behaviorist theory like Werner Correll and Hans Westmeyer, were heavily criticized if not shunned by their disciplines while authors like Norbert Groeben and their subjective approaches appeared to triumph.

As far as epistemological setting factors go historically, the case of Skinner’s German reception was shown to be embedded in larger ongoing debates about epistemological power relations, especially concerning an international shift away from the German-ness of *Geisteswissenschaften* towards the broader conception of social sciences, as well as general debates about the unity of science and the scientific validity of humanitarian methodology. For German education science, since the implementation of PISA this means progressively having to deal with empiric approaches to the subject of *Bildung* – itself essentially subjective – and how to keep it from being reduced to mere ‘education’.

Both dualism and elitism are considered characteristic particularities of German thought that contribute to national presumptions about foreign ideas in general. However, not just behaviorism, but also misconceptions about it travelled as demonstrated by the German reception of Chomsky (1959), Fromm (1973), Rogers (1984).

The findings indicate that on account of presumably aporetic concepts of human subjectivity, misconceptions about radical behaviorism were not only received more benevolently than Skinner’s ideas but, especially in the cases of Chomsky (1959) and Rogers (1984), were more successful at becoming “epistemologically appropriated” (Fox, 2020) where Skinner’s philosophy of science was not. Consecutively, post-structuralist notions of Skinner’s work (Freeman & Locurto, 1994; Pfeiffer Flores et al., 2011) were lost on the German audience, although like La Mettrie’s *L’Homme-machine* (1748), his ideas were criticized in the German tradition of disapproving of foreign ideas because of their mechanistic or reductive

[170] ‘Ghosting’ colloquially refers to a contemporary dating practice of abruptly disappearing from a person’s life without providing a reason for it, usually includes cutting off all contact and communication. Especially in view of PISAs standardized testing, there may also have been a revival of German bitterness about Skinner’s lasting universal impact.

Menschenbild (Bielefeldt, 2011; Herzog, 2012; Reuter, 2014). However, the material does indicate that Skinner's ideas are appropriated epistemologically in one aspect: pointing out how the influential American psychologist's ultra-objective theories' applicability was (universally) considered to fall short on account of human subjectivity usually legitimizes the national thought style if not the alternative the respective author proposes instead of them – or the author's presumptions about them.

Since even Skinner's early German reception is described as presumptuous (Döring, 1969), its remaining so further speaks to the predominating national epistemology and its implications for scientific practice and peer review of various types of publications, ranging from articles over monographies to dissertations. Where scientific practice is concerned, it does appear that Skinner is often only cited secondarily while antagonistic (or, from a German perspective: protagonist) literature is discussed more extensively. Conceptually, German authors seem to perceive Skinner as a representative of American education technology and reductive empiricism, if not manipulative conditioning practices. Detailed analysis led to the identification of several national presumptions about Skinner that can be traced back to a national understanding of human subjectivity indicated by a 'language of subjectivity' and its respective *paroles*. As such, this *langue* presents as historically stable, overting progressively once the US occupancy of the BRD ended.

In addition to these national presumptions, analysis revealed evidence of several scientific fallacies in the German reception of radical behaviorist theory, which all appear as historically stable topoi in its German discussion. While some of these misconceptions persist even in American psychology (Todd & Morris, 1983, 1992; DeBell & Harless, 1992; Friman et al., 1993; Jensen & Burgess, 1997; Hobbs & Chiesa, 2011; Arntzen et al., 2010) and thus, may have travelled just like or even with radical behaviorism,[171] due to national presumptions German authors may have been more inclined to adopt them into the national narrative (i.e.: Skinner omits inner-processing/considers us no better than rats, we're so much more *geistreich* than that, ergo we welcomed the 'cognitive turn'/cognitive psychology and subjective theories instead).

Indeed, what could be shown to be evident misconceptions were so implemented in Skinner's German reception, that instead of studying Skinner as a *conceptual personae* (Popkewitz, 2005), the extent of his German mis-conceptualization imposed itself as a focal point of detailed analysis. Although this thesis explicitly set out not to tell the truth about Skinner, it ends up

[171] Judging from the the examples of Chomsky (1959); Fromm (1973) and Rogers (1984), they apparently did.

demonstrating that because of the predominating national thought style and its underlying concepts of human subjectivity, German authors apparently do not like to.

Thus, the German interpretation of Skinner's work appears radically different from the meaning its author intended. The meaning German authors constructed in their reception of Skinner suggests the person they are discussing to be a different 'Skinner' altogether (Ickler, 1994). This study's findings suggest that the 'language of behaviorism', especially specific behaviorist *paroles* like 'control' and 'counter-control' did not at all translate into the national 'language of subjectivity'. Especially where *paroles* shared by both 'languages' (like control or freedom) are concerned, radical behaviorism and German epistemology appear to clash. Against the backdrop of national socialism as well as the subsequent communist occupation of the DDR, conformity and compliance were principally understood in a context of social and political pressure that ultimately resulted in public manipulation and dictatorship. Accordingly, instead of recognizing control and counter-control as key elements for understanding large-scale manipulation as well as its respective punishers and reinforcers and that such control could be counter-controlled by developing a type of *conditioning literacy*, the development of such a literacy was prohibited by construing Skinner's foundational work to be fundamentally manipulative and pointing out its limited applicability.[172] Moreover, it appears that *Wissenschaftsskepsis* and a vulnerability to buy into – what could in contemporary lay man's terms be called – Fake News (like the urban myth of a 'cognitive revolution') are also historically stable characteristics of *Geist*'s subjects, the German linguistic community. Hence, the community that so harshly criticized Skinner for his reductions of human subjects ultimately set the scene of his reception by conceptually reducing him to the unflattering caricature of an experimental psychologist (Fromm, 1973; Lück et al., 1989, p. 146).

In consideration of the various setting factors (e.g.: historic developments, political & epistemological power relations, the traveling of radical behaviorism as occupation including some epistemological spreading, its reception history in view of the predominating national thought style and its national 'language of subjectivity' with according national presumptions, common misconceptions about radical behaviorism and their traveling) and how the German audience interpreted Skinner's work and conceptualized him in this context, the question becomes how a national epistemology as indicated by distinctive markers and characteristics of the predominating national thought style (i.e.: *Geist*) acts as an ideological gatekeeper. When

[172] Even media pedagogy preferred to make a tradition of criticizing radical behaviorism (Swertz, 2012) rather than considering that radical behaviorist theory could contribute to its focal interests media literacy and media competence.

Skinner's preposterous suggestion of a methodology *Jenseits von Freiheit und Würde* (1973a) ostensibly demeaned the national understanding of human subjectivity, German authors earnestly enlisted as *Geist*'s gatekeeping agents.

This study's data indicates that Geist's ideological gatekeeping strategies consist of "employ[ing] Pavlovian conditioning procedures on the receptive audience" (Bandura, 1971) by associating Skinner/radical behaviorism "with odious images" (ibid.), and the application of specific punishment and reinforcement strategies, exemplified by

- **'Positive Punishment' of foreign thought:** Adding unpleasant linguistic or epistemological elements, such as
    - Addition of degrading properties, resulting in dehumanization (e.g.: topos 'rats', specifically Skinner's *Rattenpsychologie* (Friedrich, 1979; Fahrenberg, 2007; Bruder, 2009) or figurative *"Rattenebenbildlichkeit des Menschen"* (Fromm, 1977))
    - Ridicule (e.g.: Fromm, 1973; Lück et al., 1989)
    - Addition of negative attribution/ (ad hominem) attacks (e.g.: Kuckartz, 1974), usually based on cherry-picking at Skinner's publications
    - misconception (e.g.: see section 2.2.1.2.3)
- **'Negative Punishment' of foreign thought:** subtracting a positive reinforcer, such as citation, epistemological implementation, or epistemological appropriation, e.g.:
    - By exclusion (mentioning only in bibliography, not mentioning by name in text, footnote only, etc.).
    - 'forgetting' (e.g.: Wimmer, 1988; Tenorth, 2019).
- **'Negative Reinforcement' of foreign thought:** Removal of unpleasant elements, such as nagging directed at
    - Skinner's non-concept of human subjectivity, indicated by cessation of said nagging in the 1990s, presumably due to the reunion of the two Germanies and the removal of respective intellectual occupants.
    - German appropriation of radical behaviorist epistemology as demonstrated by Werner Correll's biography (e.g.: Tenorth, 2019) and Groeben's persistent critique of Westmeyer (1973).
- **Differential 'Positive Reinforcement' of alternative, more subjective approaches:** Adding pleasant linguistic or epistemological elements to presumably more compatible ideas discussed in the same context as Skinner's, including
    - Addition of positive attributions for the respective alternative (e.g.: Carl R. Rogers' humanistic psychology and client-based therapy)

- *Epistemological appropriation* of respective alternative ideas (e.g.: Ausubel, 1974/1974a; Chomsky, 1959).
- *Epistemological implementation* of respective alternative ideas (e.g.: Ausubel, 1974/1974a; Chomsky, 1959; Bandura, 1971).

These gatekeeping strategies are apparently not just successful at framing the narrative of Skinner's German reception and *transforming* his works' intended meaning, but also at shaping several generations of scientists from the German linguistic community. Skinner's ongoing German reception can then be explained like this: Once the figurative snake's venomous teeth had been pulled, German authors could safely continue to drag the beast out and showcase how effectively *Geist* had tamed it. When it became clear that Skinner and, more importantly, US occupancy had been defeated, the authorities on subjectivity consecutively stopped nagging and instead assumed the preferred German narrative of having successfully moved past radical behaviorism's reductive education technology.

Apart from a select few, German authors have hardly received Skinner at all since the firm establishment of a preferred national narrative. Instead, they traditionally receive this narrative's conceptual 'Skinner', and consequently turn scientific into polemical discourse. Thereby, the predominating national thought style affects both linguistic and scientific practice: As generations of students from German speaking countries are miseducated about B.F. Skinner's radical behaviorist theory and its implications, they are consecutively taught to discredit or discard it without much further consideration.

This thesis' arguments' implications are plentiful: The case of B.F. Skinner's German reception shows foreign ideas are received presumptuously by principle. In this context, ghostbusting then means to develop a sensitivity for how a predominating national epistemology and its underlying concepts of subjectivity act as setting factors of a foreign idea's *Lesart*. Studying how German authors reduced Skinner's philosophy of science to a point where misunderstanding it seemed inevitable further demonstrates how foreign arguments are transformed in view of a national epistemology's 'language of subjectivity'. When relating to foreign ideas on an international stage, German scientists should be particularly careful to consider how independently of their respective disciplines, the subjective national frameworks of *geisteswissenschaftlich* discourse may shape their attitude, scientific practice, and especially their interpretation of phenomena.

For the field of education science this means it did, indeed and successfully, turn away from radical behaviorism and instead discuss the national persiflage that was epistemologically implemented in its place. Since education sciences are concerned not just with the theory of

education but also with how its epistemology translates to other fields, this thesis offers several points of reference for subsequent in-depth research regarding the traveling of behaviorism, the general traveling of misconceptions about ideas, German misconceptions about radical behaviorism, the 'language of behaviorism' and its translation and transformation, national 'languages of subjectivity', and how ideological gatekeeping affects epistemology. Scientists can only discard national presumptions (instead of foreign ideas) if they become aware of them and the effect these presumptions have on the reception and transformation of foreign ideas.

As far as reflecting on methodology and method goes, both far exceeded the scope of a master's thesis, since about 200 of the 325 texts underwent detailed analysis as indicated by the list of references. However, had the material been limited, the (educational) relevance of studying Skinner's German reception could have hardly been argued as well, and the most important findings would have been lost: How radical behaviorism's *geisteswissenschaftlich* reception, characterized by the epistemological implications of the German (mis-)conception of Skinner's work and his *Menschenbild*, seems to contribute to the traditionalized national miseducation about not just Skinner and his philosophy of science, but also about a paradigm shift in psychology that never happened. In unironically and reliably repeating the myth of being above and beyond such base conditioning, its subjects reveal *Geist*'s true epistemological power: shaping its subjects' thinking to assume humankind's sublimity of mind and reject foreign ideas that presumably fall short of German ideals.

IV. References

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VI. Attachments

Abstract (English)

The ongoing reception of B.F. Skinner and his radical behaviorist philosophy of science emerges as a yet-little researched aspect of German discourse. Taking national grammars as indications of the predominating national epistemology of German idealism, this discourse analysis takes on the phenomenon of ideologically motivated intellectual gatekeeping against specific foreign ideas, further hypothesizing that the national thought style and Skinner's oppositional concepts of human subjectivity shaped the reception of radical behaviorism in German humanities.

The material consists of 325 texts published between 1965 and 2020 that referred to Skinner's German publications. Results comprise the first complete bibliography of B.F. Skinner's German publications and their reprints, as well as an extensive contextualization of historical developments and the traveling of radical behaviorism, political and epistemological power relations at play. Furthermore, results include an analysis of main themes in the German discussion of Skinner, a detailed analysis of topoi abstracted from the 325 German publications and what these topoi reveal about the German (mis-)conceptualization of B.F. Skinner and his ideas. Results conclude with the analysis of how specific national grammars and their predominating national epistemology factor into radical behaviorism's German reception.

Collectively, these respective results indicate not only that *Geist* indeed acts as an ideological gatekeeper, but also extensively demonstrate the conflicts that arise from inherently differing concepts of subjectivity. Thus, this study facilitates a better understanding of how national thought styles with their particular concepts of human subjectivity and theories of education relate to one another discursively – or not.

Abstract (German)

Die andauernde deutsche Rezeption B.F. Skinners und seines radikalen Behaviorismus zeigt sich als ein kaum erforschter Aspekt des geisteswissenschaftlichen Diskurses. Die These der vorliegenden Diskursanalyse betrachtet ‚nationale Grammatiken' als Indikatoren des vorherrschenden nationalen Zugangs zu Wissenschaftstheorie und untersucht demzufolge ideologisch motiviertes intellektuelles Gatekeeping gegen spezifische fremde Ideen. Ausgehend von der Annahme, dass das dem dominanten, deutschen Denkstil zugrundeliegende Subjektivitätsverständnis sich oppositionell zu Skinners verhält, wird in der Arbeit argumentiert, dass und wie dieses Konzept menschlicher Subjektivität die deutsche Rezeption des radikalen Behaviorismus beeinflusst und unterminiert.

Das analysierte Material besteht aus 325 zwischen 1965 und 2020 publizierten Texten, welche Skinners deutsche Publikationen zitieren. Die Ergebnisse bestehen aus der ersten vollständigen Bibliografie Skinners deutschsprachiger Publikationen und deren teils zahlreichen Nachdrucke sowie einer umfassenden Kontextualisierung historischer Entwicklungen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung politischer und epistemologischer Machtverhältnisse. Ergänzt wird diese Kontextualisierung durch eine Analyse der Hauptthemen der deutschen Diskussion Skinners sowie Erkenntnissen zur Verbreitung Skinners Philosophie. Darüber hinaus untersucht eine detaillierte Analyse der vom Material abstrahierten Topoi deren Rolle in der deutschen (Mis-) Konzeptualisierung Skinners und seiner Wissenschaftstheorie. Eine abschließende Feinanalyse behandelt, wie sich spezifische ‚nationale Grammatiken' und damit die ihnen zugrundeliegende, vorherrschende nationale Epistemologie auf Skinner beziehen.

Indem sie die Konflikte beleuchten, die aus einem derartig gegensätzlichen Subjektivitätsverständnis resultieren, weisen die gewonnenen Erkenntnisse zusammen darauf hin, dass der deutsche *Geist* Skinners radikalem Behaviorismus als ideologischer Torwächter begegnete. Damit ermöglicht diese Arbeit ein besseres Verständnis des diskursiven (Nicht-) Verhältnisses von Bildungstheorien und nationalen Denkstilen mit ihren spezifischen Konzepten menschlicher Subjektivität.