Werner's Relevance for Contemporary Developmental Psychology

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Heinz Werner's contributions to contemporary developmental psychology are considered in terms of 3 major books that form the cornerstones of his enterprise. The fit or lack of it between Werner's theory and current practices of developmental psychologists is evaluated, and the tensions between his theory and those practices are identified. The core issue explored is the relation between what Werner identified as a developmental "topic" and the means by which topics are studied in practice. The mismatch between the Wernerian topic and the topics in the field is then used as a way of identifying the relevance of Werner's theory to contemporary developmental issues and as a way of identifying some of the misinterpretations of his works.

When a field formally undertakes an examination of its past. it is often a way of finding its present. The search for history accomplishes, intentionally or not, two related goals. On the one hand, the past is constructed so as to legitimize the present by giving it a history, grounding some current practices and understandings in a tradition, leading from the past, that seems to point to the present. The present is then seen as an extension of the fundamental insights of that past. On the other hand, finding a history can be a way of relegating figures of potentially contemporary relevance to "history" and, bence, outside of the domain of current interests. In both of these senses, finding one's history is really a way of constructing oneself in the present. These processes are particularly apparent in the '80s and '90s, during which this process of selective construction is seen at an accelerated pace, with figures at temporal distance treated as contemporaries and some more historically proximal thinkers put in the past as historical relics.

At the outset then, I must confess a certain tension in presenting Heinz Werner as part of a historical series of articles. I am not sure that he belongs there. In many senses, although he is currently mostly forgotten, those of us who trained with him or who occupied the same departmental space cannot treat him as part of history. In some respects, Werner was a very modern thinker whose theoretical views were so at variance with normal professional practices that his message is yet to be heard.

Werner died in 1964, approximately 30 years after Vygotsky and 16 years before Piaget. If you attempt to judge Werner's impact on the field from the volume of citations in current references in journals, books, or book chapters, it would seem that his psychology has had little impact. In cases in which he is cited, it appears that his views have been transcended by better information or more modern conceptualizations. Many of the remaining citations of Werner put him even more firmly in the past by putting his work on the wrong side of areas of contemporary consensus, particularly with respect to what are presented as his views about psychological functioning in non-Western

societies (e.g., LCHC (Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition), 1983).

Particularly in comparison to his rough contemporaries, Vygotsky or Piaget, Werner seems to have precipitously faded from view. The volume of references to Vygotsky has been increasing, markedly it seems, in recent years. New volumes on Vygotsky continue to appear (Moll, 1990; Wertsch, 1985, among many others), and new translations of his works are forthcoming. Volume I of the Plenum Press translation of the Russian edition of Vygotsky's collected works appeared in 1987. with four more volumes forthcoming. Piaget is still an obligatory comparison point to frame, at the least, a systematic alternative to current positions. New volumes of Piaget's work have appeared in French as late as 1990-Morphismes et outegories: Comparer et transformer [Morphisms and Categories: Comparison and Transformation] and as late as 1987 in English - Possibility and Necessity: Vol. 2. The Role of Necessity in Cognitive Development.

In contrast, Werner's last publication, Symbol Formation, coasthored with Bernard Kaplan, appeared in 1963. Werner is seldom cited in mainstream literature, and there is very little in the way of secondary scholarship devoted to working out, clarifying, or otherwise integrating his views within the context of contemporary debate. A chapter dedicated to Werner's theoretical ideas was dropped somewhere between the 3rd and 4th editions of the Manual of Child Psychology:

All of this could be understandable as the inevitable result of the passage of time since Werner's last publication. As publications become more and more historically remote, they come to be cited less and less. Interestingly, thanks to the historical factors and the vagaries of posthumous editing and translation, developmental psychology in the United States is, at this moment, currently witnessing a reversal of normal historical process. Some very old manuscripts are seeing the light of day for the first time and appearing with current publication dates. There are good reasons for this. Vygotsky, for example, had published in the (then) Soviet Union and was sufficiently controversial so that much of his writing did not go public, in English or in Russian. Therefore, discovery of Vygotsky is, in part, trub a contemporary discovery. But people are not simply

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