Psychologists Defying the Crowd: Stories of Those Who Battled the Establishment and Won by R. J. Sternberg. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2003. 296 pp. $29.95 (paper). ISBN 1-55798-919-2.

The American Psychological Association recently published this edited volume by Robert Sternberg (2003) with its intriguing title *Psychologists Defying the Crowd: Stories of Those Who Battled the Establishment and Won.* The stated goal of this work is to "show young (and even older) investigators in psychology that defying the crowd can pay off in science and in a scientific career'' (p. xii). To this end, Sternberg provides the reader with first-hand accounts by sixteen well-known psychologists who shaped their fields or subfields. These authors are Elliot Aronson, Ellen Berscheid, Kelly D. Brownell, John Garcia, Howard Gardner, Jerome Kagan, Elizabeth F. Loftus, William J. McGuire, Walter Mischel, Ulric Neisser, Robert Perloff, Paul Rozin, Roger N. Shepard, Dean Keith Simonton, Edward Zigler, and Robert J. Sternberg himself. Each was asked to answer eight questions, the first three being: "How have you defied the scientific, clinical, or political establishment in your area?'', "why did you do this?'', and "what kinds of opposition did you encounter?'', followed by questions dealing with the costs and benefits of being defiant, what the author would have done differently, and advice for those considering similar paths of defiance (p. xii).

The resulting chapters of about twenty pages are, without exception, readable and interesting and they are written at a level suitable for undergraduate students in psychology—or any interested reader for that matter. They are included without any organizing structure, as Sternberg simply presents the chapters in alphabetical order of the contributors' names. However, it is not difficult to identify some distinct groups of chapters.

For instance, there are initially accidental rebels like Berscheid who stepped on a landmine when she tried to extend the usual research on interpersonal attraction to include what sometimes comes next: romantic love. This happened to draw the ire of Senator Proxmire who awarded her the first "Golden Fleece Award'' in 1976, which nearly cost Berscheid her job and which made her a strong proponent of the academic tenure system. Similarly, by expressing doubt about repressed memories, Loftus received vehement attacks not only from recovered-memory patients but also from sources to which Loftus appears sympathetic in many other respects. Some of the attacks described in the chapter are truly nasty, and the chapter will serve to remind the reader about the intense controversies that psychological research can arouse and how little such attacks deal with the substance of such research. Similarly vehement reactions resulted from Brownell's idea to consider a tax on junk food to improve this country's toxic [food] environment. For this proposal, Brownell was designated as a "Food-Nazi'' and he is being lambasted to this day for his ideas by a well-known overweight right-wing AM radio talk show host.

Most other chapters describe ways in which its authors have defied other researchers and academics. Sometimes this crowd consists of just one powerful person. For instance, Elliot Aronson provides a very useful and interesting summary of his research in cognitive dissonance, including his insight that the self-concept needs to be considered in its application. Festinger, Aronson's advisor and the originator of cognitive dissonance theory, was not pleased with his modifications and the chapter describes how Festinger eventually came to appreciate Aronson's point of view. In several other chapters the crowd consisted of several largely anonymous people (i.e., the "field" in which the research was performed or the journals that were sometimes slow in publishing the results). Thus, Kagan recounts how one of his early articles angered some of his peers because it challenged the notion that environmentally produced retardation in infancy was permanent. Aronson, and especially Kagan, additionally provide interesting personal reflections on their work and their views on standing out. Such themes can also be found in chapters by Gardner, Sternberg, and Zigler. The most advice-oriented chapter is by creativity researcher Simonton who presents his own career as a case study in defying crowds while simultaneously providing valuable information to others who would like to attempt similar career moves.

I suspect that most readers will quickly identify their favorite chapters, and mine are those by Mischel, Garcia, Rozin, Neisser, and Sheppard. Next to Aronson and Kagan, these authors provide the most detailed accounts of their research and it is easy to recognize why the intellectual power of their ideas reshaped entire fields within psychology and why their work still defies large crowds of psychologists today.

For instance, Mischel describes how against common sense and mountains of research he refused to ignore the apparent discrepancy between personality characteristics and behavior across different situations. Instead he asked the crucial question: "What if the problem is not just with bad methods and poor data but also with wrong assumptions?" (p. 141), which eventually led to the realization that consistency emerges only when personality and situation are taken into account simultaneously. Similarly, in his work on conditioned taste aversion, Garcia demolished two central behavioristic assumptions by showing the law of effect and the law of contiguity could easily be broken in a conditioned taste aversion paradigm. Moreover, his work had real-life applications in the preservation of crops and explaining anorexia in adolescent girls.

Rozin's work is equally compelling, not so much because it upset extant theory, but rather because it courageously addresses topics whose importance was largely unknown. This author takes delight in showing that the study of food, cravings, disgust, and magical thinking are all related and well worthy of study, despite psychologists' often provincial notions of what constitutes psychology. The chapter by Neisser is similarly delightful because it contains very frank appraisals of his own work. For example, with respect to the lack of success of his second major book, *Cognition and Reality,* Neisser admits it

having flaws "but so did *Cognitive Psychology,* and it went up like a rocket" (p. 171). At the same time, the "father of cognitive psychology" admits great admiration for Gibson's decidedly non-cognitive ecological approach, leading to his work on naturalistic memory. Finally, Sheppard provides a description of his famous mental rotation experiments and his scaling methods. Most importantly, however, he is not afraid to take large areas of psychology to task by writing an eloquent summary of his arguments for the necessity of abstract theory in psychology. According to Sheppard, we arrive at general psychological laws by "thinking deeply about the general nature of problems any cognitive agents face in the world" and these "are based on mathematical structures ... which are very remote from our everyday 'folk-psychological' understandings" (p. 230).

I must confess that it took some effort to arrive at the intended mind-set to read *Psychologists Defying the Crowd* because the authors discussed above are the very people who, in my mind (and I assume in the readers' minds), largely defined the field of psychology over the past decades. Their names and accomplishments are described in detail in introductory textbooks, and now these authors are to be seen as rebels despite the fact that most are (and long have been) successfully associated with prestigious coastal US universities. For a while, I had to remind myself that the book's subtitle is stated in the past tense ("those who battled") and that the chapters are the accounts of those who "won". So, this is not a book about current underdogs in psychology. Once I adopted the proper historical perspective, the book provided unique insights into the work and thinking of some of psychology's éminence grise.

While the authors' defiance is intellectually courageous, it should be clear that their rebellions remain well within the boundaries of psychology as traditionally defined. Thus, most of the topics that are routinely discussed in the *Journal of Scientific Exploration* are simply never mentioned. It would have been nice, for instance, to see a chapter by Daryl Bem—one the few mainstream psychologists of a stature comparable to the chapters' authors—on the reactions of the field to his work with Honorton. Nevertheless, anyone with more than a passing interest in general psychology will find this book rewarding to read.

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Thinking Beyond the Brain: A Wider Science of Consciousness edited by David Lorimer. Edinburgh, Scotland: Floris Books, 2001. 287 pp. £14.99 (paper). ISBN 0863153577.

This is a book that convincingly argues the importance of subjective, phenomenological experience, values, theories, and explanations, and that these