

KLAUS HOLZKAMP AND THE RISE AND DECLINE OF GERMAN CRITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

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This history of German Critical Psychology focuses on the works of its most significant representative, Klaus Holzkamp (1927–1995), and reconstructs the development of his ideas, critiques, and results. For historical–systematic reasons his work is divided into a precritical period (until 1968), a critical–emancipatory period (1968–1972), a critical–conceptual period (1973–1983), and a subject–scientific period (1984–1995). Social movements and internal problems of traditional psychology are identified as factors in the rise of his psychology, whereas the decline of Critical Psychology in the 1980s and 1990s is attributed to social developments, limitations of a systematic–foundational framework, and the emergence of alternative critical approaches. Despite these problems the article shows that Holzkamp is an eminent theoretical psychologist who has made significant contributions to psychological knowledge.

North American books on the history of psychology (e.g., Fancher, 1996) acknowledge widely the contributions of German psychology but usually recognize pioneers and approaches only before 1933. This emphasis has legitimacy on one side but certainly represents a shortcoming on the other: It is correct that after 1945 an Americanization of West German psychology (Métraux, 1985) left German mainstream psychology without an internationally established German identity. But even after 1945 genuine German approaches were emerging that deserve international recognition. One of the most substantial approaches is German *Critical Psychology* (CP), known mostly for its founder and promoter, Klaus Holzkamp (1927–1995), a significant figure in postwar German psychology and one whose monographs inaugurated heated discussions in the psychological community.¹ To understand the nature of his critical–psychological framework, which differs substantially from North American mainstream psychological thought and methodology, it is necessary to identify, from a synchronic point of view, general characteristics of CP.

CP represents a *system model* of psychology. CP's notion of a foundation of psychology (Holzkamp, 1983) originates from an 18th- and 19th-century concept of science that has been criticized by research-oriented scientists and, more recently, by postmodern philosophers and sociologists of knowledge. Holzkamp personifies the German conceptual, foundational, and systematic tradition, as do Kant, Hegel, and Marx. Staeuble (1985) distinguished the two approaches to

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¹A complete list of Holzkamp's works can be found in the *Journal Forum Kritische Psychologie*, Vol. 36, pp. 180–193. The list is based on Jaeger and Osterkamp (1987).

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