

# Learning About Love the Hard Way

Deborah Blum talks about Harry Harlow, the notorious primate researcher who transformed modern parenting.

*by Karl Giberson*

Like all great teachers, Harry Harlow was sometimes thought-provoking and sometimes just provoking. At his best he was both. Knowledge, especially that special type that illuminates the mystery of our humanness, is a precious commodity. Who could have thought that picking up a child and hugging it was a magical act? Who knew that this simple natural gesture could strengthen a newborn immune system? Even now, a half century after a detached Harlow first watched his orphaned primates clinging to their artificial cloth mothers, we don't understand the complex process that transforms emotional security into physical health. And, at a more profound level, we still do not understand the boundaries that we should erect around ourselves, as we contemplate the various ways that we live and love and learn in this most complex and mysterious world.

The greatest teachers do not leave their students with answers. The greatest teachers leave their students with questions of their own, questions that send them off into the lab, the library, the unexplored scientific wilderness on searches of their own. In this sense, Harry Harlow was the greatest of teachers. His legacy lies not in the territory that he explored himself, although that was considerable. No, his legacy lives on in the vast unexplored wilderness where his intellectual heirs tramp about enthusiastically in search of their own answers.

**&S:** Tell me how you decided to write about primates. **Deborah Blum:** Animal research says a lot about us. We're the number one species on the planet, more powerful than any other, and we take these animals out of their homes and use them the way we want to. So the decisions we make in animal research say an awful lot about us. I really spent this last decade doing biology of behavior and moving in and out of primate research because they are such a complicated interesting prism for a lot of issues.

**&S:** If we imagine somebody doing Harlow's research today it would seem terribly cruel.

In the last few decades we've witnessed a number of delightful Disney pictures featuring animals, and we've got stories about monkeys being able to speak sign language now. In a sense they've become our lovable cousins. Were monkeys simply clinical animals to Harry Harlow—and does that help us in defending his work? **\_DB:** That's exactly right; he had an entirely different ethic about animals. You can see the simplicity with which he made his decisions. How do we deal with the terrible social isolation of depression? In order to understand it, we need a model of isolated depression. Look at monkeys. They are social animals. That was his reasoning. Today you couldn't do those experiments because we look at that bigger ethical picture. He's definitely a product of the past.

**&S:** And yet the fact that he was so comfortable generalizing his results to human beings means that he did see that monkeys were very much like us. **\_DB:** That's why I love him. It's a fabulous subject because he's so slippery and complicated and morally ambiguous. When you read Harlow's research papers, they are fabulous, because they have an incredible notional punch to them. Monkeys are living, breathing beings in his papers. He understands how much they can suffer, and he goes ahead with his research anyway. And that's where you have to swallow and say, 'Ok, he has made this moral decision that these animals are going to suffer. He will occasionally say, 'This was incredibly painful to watch' or 'We really destroyed these animals and we know it.' Even so, every animal was put through rough therapy. He didn't recover all of them. Some of them died of pure misery. He's such an unlikely standard bearer for the message of love. He makes you wonder, 'Just what are we willing to pay for knowledge?' But in his time the only way to really persuade people how much affection mattered was this research. Am I willing to pay that much? Can I say, 'Yes, I want this information, gulp, I'm willing to do this?' Or do I say, 'No, I wouldn't even sacrifice these 16 monkeys to find out.'

**&S:** Is Harry Harlow typical for a male of his time? You describe him as distant from his own children. Did that make easier for him to be distant from his primate subjects? **\_DB:** To some extent he's typical. This was a period in which it was perfectly acceptable for men never to be home. At that time a male university professor had a blank check to live his job. And Harlow had a really hard time building close relationships. Even though he loved people, it seems he was never truly, fully emotionally attached with anyone. That emotional separation allowed him to put all of his energy into ideas.

**&S:** There's a scientific mythology that knowledge should be pursued for its own sake. And there's a much more pragmatic view, that we can use this knowledge to make the world a better place. If Harlow's goal was to transform the process of childrearing, his work becomes more sympathetic. **\_DB:** What he really liked to do was upset apple carts and challenge dogma! The idea that monkeys can think, or children need love, was completely rejected by his profession at the time. He was a wonderful fighter, really good

taking an idea and powering it up. But he really believed that science is supposed to be used. It matters; it should be part of everyday life. One of his postdocs called him a blue-collar scientist. So when he took on the subject of love, he went out and talked to anybody who would listen. And you see him say, as any good scientist would, “Well, if the mother-child relationship matters so much, don’t others?” And he then goes on to study social isolation.

**&S:** For me, the most disturbing part of your book was the information about early orphanages. The number of children that died from mere neglect is terrifying. It made me think, ‘If Harlow’s work did anything to mitigate the problems in these orphanages, then all of it is totally justified. And why are animal rights activists coming out and saying somehow he was cruel to a small number of monkeys, when in fact thousands of babies were dying in orphanages from the same treatment?’ **\_DB:** His work definitely did change the way that we deal with children. Since the book has been published I’ve actually had nurses from different hospitals come and talk about their wards for orphaned children. One was a hospital in which they had used the same mattresses for so long, the mattresses had a hollow in them and the children just fell into the hollow, and could hardly turn their bodies. All they ever saw was the ceiling. Harlow’s work was this enormous wedge in forcing people to admit that this didn’t work. His work has illuminated all kinds of things in the way we deal with kids.

**&S:** Scientific research is sometimes like being in a war, where people are dying and you make decisions that in the heat of the battle seem cruel, but in the larger picture, you’re trying to save lives. **\_DB:** We take his research for granted now. We act as if, ‘Hug your child, touch matters, love matters,’ is something that came down on stone tablets with the dawn of human evolution. We forget how hard people had to fight to get that idea through.

**&S:** This revolution in psychology is really very recent. Do we really understand it fully? I’m thinking back to when my daughter was born, in 1989, and she was whisked away by the doctor and they put a little wool hat on her head and put her in the nursery with all these other babies. We had to stand out there looking in. Should that baby have been in a room with my wife and me? **\_DB:** A healthy baby should be in the room with the parents. We’re retarding this lesson really slowly. People from my parents’ generation talk about how their mothers wouldn’t pick them up because they were afraid that they would ruin them. I get people who say, ‘My husband thinks that I’m coddling our three month old baby. Is it OK? Do you think I’m ruining him?’ I don’t think we’ve shaken off our ideas about this at all.

**&S:** You kind of need to have one generation die and the next one come along. Our world today is run by people that were probably raised in the pre-Harlow paradigm. Do you think that, as a new generation of children takes over — a generation that was treated a little more

vingly — that our world will change? **\_DB:** Yeah, I do think that. Harlow said, ‘Guess what? Being there matters, and I’m not going to kowtow to any political stuff at all, I’m just going to tell you that that’s part of your job.’ People hated it, and I think some people still hate it today. My parents are always saying to me, ‘You’re not hard enough on the kids, you’re not strict enough on the kids,’ or my mother’s favorite, ‘You apologize too much to your children.’ We are in this interesting evolution in the culture of parenting. Personally, I’m really glad to be on this side of the revolution.

**&S:** Normally when scientific revolutions occur, they overturn common sense. When Galileo was arguing that the Earth was moving, people said, “Well, no, that can’t be it. It violates common sense.” But Harlow’s revolution is a return to common sense. **\_DB:** Common sense is a wonderful filter for science.

**&S:** Are there areas of science today where you see other moral ambiguities? **\_DB:** Science is full of moral ambiguities. Take environmental science. It tells us that we should stop destroying forests. Trees support all kinds of species and the long-term health of the planet, and we’re clearing the map at an incredible rate. However, if you look at the countries where the remaining large forests are, there are some very poor people who cannot survive except by forest destruction. So what’s right and wrong? Psychiatric medication is another powerful example. If you are going to argue that violent aggressive behaviors are biological in origin, and you want to fix those behaviors with drugs, do you end up medicating the violence out of the poor and desperate? The intersection of science and life is loaded with moral ambiguities. I love gray ethical issues, frankly, where there are no perfect rights and wrongs.