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Abstract	Ruth Millikan argues that there is no “legitimate phenomenology of experience”: that there is no method—not even a fallible or partially reliable one—for accurately describing our experiences in the first-person. The reason is that there is no method for checking that the ideas we think we have about experience are about anything at all. Like phlogiston, there may be no such things as the properties we take experience to have.	

Chapter 3

From Phenomenology to the Self-Measurement Methodology of First-Person Data

Gualtiero Piccinini and Corey J. Maley

Ruth Millikan argues that there is no “legitimate phenomenology of experience”: that there is no method—not even a fallible or partially reliable one—for accurately describing our experiences in the first-person. The reason is that there is no method for checking that the ideas we think we have about experience are about anything at all. Like phlogiston, there may be no such things as the properties we take experience to have.

Millikan’s problem with phenomenology is threefold. First, we need a substantive theory of ideas in order to explain how we can know about or describe our experience (unless we think that ideas are somehow “given” in perception, a view that—nowadays anyway—virtually nobody holds). Phenomenology cannot be well grounded without such a theory. But then, the substantive theory that Millikan believes can do this job employs an assumption about ideas that is incompatible with the assumptions of phenomenology. Roughly, phenomenology assumes that the units of experience can be validated at one time and from one perspective, while Millikan makes the plausible case that “adequate empirically-based ideas” must be validated over time and across perspectives. Finally, Millikan sketches a theory that explains “what is really going on when people *think* they are describing their phenomenal experience.” The upshot of Millikan’s theory is that the phenomenology of experience is explained away.

The central figure in Millikan’s theory is the *unicept*, what she calls “the fundamental units of cognition.” Although they are similar to concepts, unicepts are not concepts, not even in the regimented sense used in psychology. Unicepts are not shared, and even if two people have a unicept about the same thing, there is no guarantee that they have access to the same information about that thing. So what *is* a unicept? Roughly, a unicept is that bit of our mental apparatus that allows us

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AQ1

to perform amazing feats of object constancy. It is Adam's unicept of his mother that allows him to recognize her by her voice, her face, her gait, and so on, all in imperfect sensory conditions. Unlike having a concept of something, having a unicept of something implies that one has the ability to recognize and reidentify the thing that the unicept is about.

Millikan offers a speculative but compelling story about the evolution and development of unicepts for ordinary perceptual properties. We know that in the visual system, there are detectors for various properties: there are edge-detectors, color-detectors, motion-detectors, face-detectors, and so on. Some of these, like face-detectors, are further downstream and take input from upstream detectors. Millikan suggests that, in a similar way, there are detectors for simple object properties, which could then feed into a mechanism for combining these into "proto-unicepts." Once we add in the ability to deploy proto-unicepts in propositional judgment and communication about objects, we have unicepts of properties and relations: a real candidate for a basic unit of cognition.

Modern science has changed the kinds of inputs available to our unicepts, Millikan argues, showing some of our unicepts to be chimerical. Where we once thought that certain relations objectively held among colors, suggested by their apparent similarity, we now know that this is not the case. It would simply be a mistake—as Millikan puts it—to think that the similarity between unicepts for two colors indicates similarity between those colors, just as similarity between the words "cat" and "rat" does not indicate similarity between cats and rats. And as previously mentioned, we have, via the sciences, methods for determining whether our unicepts refer to anything at all (such as phlogiston), or to more than one thing (such as heaviness into weight and mass). In sum, with the methods of empirical science, we can determine whether our unicepts are genuine, referring to one thing and one thing only, and whether the relations that seem to hold among unicepts in our experience reflect objective relations among the things represented. As Millikan puts it: "the likelihood that one's unicept of a thing is nonempty and univocal goes up with the variety of ways one knows to reidentify that thing so as to confirm one's judgments. It goes up with the variety of perspectives from which one is able to identify that thing. And it goes up with the number of occasions on which one finds opportunity to test a unicept's input methods against one another."

The problem with phenomenology, according to Millikan, is that there is no way to validate unicepts that purport to refer to properties of our experience. In the case of ordinary unicepts referring to public objects and properties, we compare different judgments under different conditions, and judgments made by different people, in an attempt to insure that all such judgments converge on one and the same public objects and properties. If they do, their unicepts are validated. But in the case of experience there are no public objects or properties to be referred to, so there is no way to compare our judgments under different conditions, let alone judgments by different people, to insure that all such judgments are about one and the same thing. Thus, there is no way to validate unicepts that purport to be about experience, which is what phenomenology requires. Thus, phenomenology is impossible.

What remains possible, and what Millikan embraces, is *heterophenomenology*— 74
 a methodology articulated and defended by Dennett (1991, 2003, 2007). Millikan 75
 does not explain how heterophenomenology gets around the failure of phenomenol- 76
 ogy. We will now sketch how her reasoning might go. 77

Heterophenomenology holds that when subjects utter first-person reports, which 78
 purport to describe their experiences, the heterophenomenologist must remain neu- 79
 tral as to their truth value. Instead of interpreting first-person reports as reports about 80
 experience, the heterophenomenologist interprets first-person reports as descriptions 81
 of the subjects' *beliefs* about their experience. About such beliefs, subjects are 82
 deemed incorrigible.¹ The heterophenomenologist can then use the appropriately 83
 interpreted reports as evidence that, in combination with other scientific evidence, 84
 can ground a theory of consciousness. According to Dennett, heterophenomenology 85
 is the method scientists currently follow when they use first-person reports as 86
 sources of data. 87

From Millikan's standpoint, what seems important is that the heterophenome- 88
 nologist avoids any direct inference from first-person reports to the properties of 89
 experience. Whatever subjects utter in purporting to describe their experience is 90
 reinterpreted by the heterophenomenologist as expressing *beliefs* about experience. 91
 As a consequence, the heterophenomenologist need not take any unicepts to refer 92
 to properties of their experience. Since the heterophenomenologist remains neutral 93
 about the truth value of the subject's utterances, she avoids the problem that affects 94
 phenomenology. 95

Like Millikan, we doubt the viability of phenomenology. But unlike Millikan, 96
 we will argue that there is a way to validate unicepts that describe our experience. 97
 As a result, while we agree with Dennett that first-person data are public data 98
 on a par with other scientific data, we maintain that heterophenomenology can 99
 be improved in such a way that first-person data can be interpreted in terms of 100
 (typically) conscious mental states. 101

We grant that there is a sense in which unicepts that purport to be about our 102
 experiences lack a public object or property that can guide comparisons between 103
 judgments. But the same holds for unicepts that are legitimately employed in 104
 the sciences to refer to objects and properties that are not directly observable— 105
 unicepts for electrons, neutrinos, black holes, and the like. Physicists manage to 106
 validate unicepts for electrons, neutrinos, and black holes, while invalidating—and 107
 eventually rejecting as empty—unicepts for phlogiston, epicycles, the ether, and the 108

¹Unfortunately, Dennett is somewhat equivocal about the status of the subjects' beliefs about their experience. Sometimes he describes them as the causes of first-person reports, which presumably means they are real, while at other times he describes them as merely constituting a fictional heterophenomenological world narrated by the subject. This makes Dennett's claim that subjects are incorrigible equivocal between a substantive empirical claim about the causes of first-person reports, which we take to be false, and a claim that is true by definition about the fiction narrated by the subject, which is true but trivial (cf. Schwitzgebel 2007).

like. By the same token, it may be possible for subjects to validate their uniceps 109
for at least some properties of experience while, perhaps, invalidating and thus 110
eventually rejecting others. 111

How might that work? Consider a child learning to use mentalistic language, say, 112
the word 'sad'. She can observe public manifestations of sadness in her and other 113
people's facial expressions, posture, gestures, tone of voice, etc. She may be told that 114
she looks sad or is acting sadly and asked why. By engaging in conversations about 115
sadness, she may begin to notice that something about her experience correlates 116
with her public manifestations of sadness, and she may begin to use the term 'sad' 117
to refer to that aspect of her experience. By engaging in conversations about sadness, 118
initially based on overt manifestations of sadness, she will be able to compare 119
different judgments under different conditions, and judgments made by different 120
people, eventually becoming reliable at insuring that such judgments converge on 121
one and the same property of her experience. She can do the same thing for other 122
mental state uniceps (cf. Piccinini 2003, Section 2). 123

The crucial difference between the process of unicept validation we just sketched 124
and phenomenology is that phenomenology is generally assumed to be conducted 125
by a single subject working on her own, whereas unicept validation requires the 126
public coordination of judgments by different people based largely on publically 127
observable manifestations of mental states. We may think of mentalistic unicept 128
validation on the model of instrument calibration. 129

One of us has argued that, when we do the methodology of first-person data, 130
rather than thinking of the subjects who generate first-person data (through either 131
first-person reports or other first-person behaviors) as observers reporting on what 132
they experience, it is better to think of these subjects as self-measuring instruments 133
(Piccinini 2009). On this view, it is not the responsibility of the subjects in scientific 134
studies to eliminate biases or to determine how reliable they are; rather, that is 135
the responsibility of the investigators, just as it would be their responsibility with 136
any other scientific instrument. Furthermore, it is the investigators' responsibility 137
to make sure that their instruments produce data that can be checked by other 138
investigators in a public way. Thus, first-person data need not be private (which 139
would be antithetical to scientific investigation), but can be public in the same way 140
that data acquired via any scientific instrument is public. 141

This self-measurement methodology of first-person data improves on heterophe- 142
nomenology in a number of ways (for more detailed discussion, see Piccinini 2010): 143

First, we should not be tempted into thinking that the first-person reports 144
central to phenomenology must concern consciousness. Many psychologists use 145
first-person reports to study things other than consciousness, such as memory or 146
morality; and even if many of these phenomena are conscious in the sense that 147
subjects are reporting on conscious mental states, there is no *a priori* reason to rule 148
out that first-person reports can be about unconscious phenomena, interpreted and 149
described by trained psychologists. Further, one should not be tempted into thinking 150
that first-person *reports* exhaust the sources of first-person data. Scientists routinely 151
use subjects' button presses as sources of data about a variety of psychological 152
phenomena, where the subjects may be human or non-human primates. 153

Another way in which we break from heterophenomenology is that we reject 154
agnosticism about first-person reports. We think it best for scientists to take subjects' 155
reports at face value, treating such reports as one would in an everyday context. 156
People are not generally agnostic about whether what others tell them is true; rather, 157
they use their best judgment to decide whether and to what extent to believe other 158
people, or whether to reinterpret their claims in appropriate ways. Determining 159
whether we should doubt or reinterpret someone's claims is a matter of using 160
whatever other evidence we have at hand. This practice is not infallible: there are 161
pathological liars, for example, who lie without any particular reason that we might 162
discover. But if we were to always withhold judgment about whether people were 163
truthful, we would never learn anything from their first-person behaviors, and this 164
holds true in the scientific use of first-person reports as well. 165

We also reject the heterophenomenologist's suggestion that first-person reports 166
can only tell us about subjects' beliefs. Rather, first-person reports can tell us about 167
other kinds of mental states, which subjects may or may not have any beliefs about. 168
It is problematic to ascribe a person who reports that she feels, say, ashamed with 169
nothing more than a *belief* that she feels ashamed. She may have such a belief, but 170
that belief may not have been the cause of her report: she may have formed the belief 171
after expressing the report. The idea that all first-person reports are caused by beliefs 172
and that all first-person reports express beliefs (and only beliefs) is unjustified: 173
what causes first-person reports (and first-person data more generally) is an open, 174
empirical question. Much like the previous point, it is better to take what first-person 175
reports are about at face value. And again, there may be special reasons to doubt that 176
a person who says she is ashamed is actually ashamed, but in general it is inadequate 177
to infer only that such a person merely believes she is ashamed. 178

Having rejected the heterophenomenologist's interpretation of first-person data 179
solely in terms of beliefs, we also reject the heterophenomenologist's insistence 180
that the subject be deemed incorrigible about such beliefs—and hence about her 181
“heterophenomenological world”. First-person data often give us useful information 182
about experience, and about mental states more generally, but there is nothing incor- 183
rigible about first-person data any more than there is something incorrigible about 184
any other data. It is up to psychologists and neuroscientists to investigate which 185
first-person data are reliable about which mental states under which circumstances. 186

Our final point responds to Dennett's claim that heterophenomenology licenses 187
the same experiments as phenomenology. On the contrary, a sound methodology 188
of first-person data makes a significant difference to scientific practices. Unlike 189
traditional phenomenology, which relies on the introspecting subject to avoid 190
biases and errors (a dubious expectation), we recommend that psychologists and 191
neuroscientists who collect first-person data exert the utmost care and rigor in 192
eliciting, processing, and interpreting their data. Of course, this is not a surprising 193
recommendation: we should expect all scientists to exercise such care when it comes 194
to their data and their instruments. But there are specific steps that can and should 195
be taken in the case of first-person data. A sound methodology can help to uncover 196
and highlight them. 197

If Millikan's account of unicepts is correct, then she seems right about phenomenology: individual observers are simply not in a position to validate their mentalistic unicepts and the apparent relations among them from inside their minds (nor could they ever be in such a position). But if we are right, subjects can still validate their mentalistic unicepts with the help of others and by observing public manifestations of their mental states, possibly under the guidance of psychologists and neuroscientists who use them as subjects. As a consequence, first-person data may be used in scientific studies of mental phenomena. When circumstances allow it, first-person data may be interpreted directly in terms of experience. Like other investigations into how scientific instruments work, Millikan's theory—if correct—might shed light on some fundamental limitations of first-person data. But that will depend on the phenomenon being investigated, plus whatever other information we can marshal about that phenomenon.

In conclusion, there is a difference between the phenomenology of experience, which—we agree with Millikan—is a flawed methodology, and the scientific study of phenomenal experience. If we are right, the latter is a legitimate part of science, to be conducted in accordance with the self-measurement methodology of first-person data.

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AQ2

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