

Nina Ridenour papers

Section 46, Pages 1351 - 1380

Nina Ridenour's papers consist of correspondence; press releases and other publicity materials; book reviews (both those for her own books and reviews written by her); manuscripts and draft versions, sometimes with annotations and corrections; comments and critiques; biographical data; bibliographies; reading and research notes; reference materials; a grant application; outlines and lecture notes; invitations; newspaper clippings; scripts; books, pamphlets, and other publications; and other related materials. Some correspondents include Menninger family members and Menninger Clinic staff, Aldous Huxley, Clara Beers (Clifford Beers' widow), and Abraham and Bertha Maslow, among others.

Topics in these materials include publications and publishing (especially Ridenour's books *Mental Health in the United States--a 50-Year History*, *Mental Health Education: Principles in the Effective Use of Materials*, and *Health Supervision for Young Children*); mental health education; the play "My Name is Legion" (based off Clifford Beers' autobiography and co-written by Ridenour and Nora B. Stirling); the American Theatre Wing's community plays, for which Ridenour wrote numerous discussion guides; children's mental health; term papers Ridenour wrote while in school; professional organizations and professional positions with which Ridenour was associated, especially the Ittelson Family Foundation; consciousness; extra sensory perception (ESP)/parapsychology; and other related topics.

The materials span Ridenour's career, though the bulk come from the 1950s and 1960s and provide an excellent overview of her work and professional interests and concerns.

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-11-

If the theory is accepted that suicide is one form of aggression turned inward, the figures on suicide, apart from being astounding themselves, take on new meaning. According to Menninger's figures, there are 22,000 suicides a year in the United States. This means that a suicide occurs 60 times a day, or once every 24 minutes. This is twice as frequent as in some European countries, and is everywhere more frequent than murder. It is more common among males, although women try to commit suicide more frequently than men. It varies in direct proportion to age, being twice as frequent among men of 40 as among men of 20. There is no such variation among women. It is more frequent ^{in the spring} than at any other season, more frequent among single than among married people, more common in urban than in rural areas, more frequent in time of peace than war, and more common among Protestants than Catholics.

Among primitive peoples are to be found tribes where competition and other forms of aggression directed against each other are not part of the cultural pattern. Notable among such peoples whose patterns have been described as the Zunis of Ruth Benedict (2) and the Arapesh of Margaret Mead (23.) The Arapesh is described as an easy, gentle, receptive person, placid, contented, unaggressive, non-initiatory, non-competitive, responsive, warm, docile, and trusting. The Mundugumors, on the other hand, are a highly aggressive and hostile people, whose success depends on their capacity for violence. They are ruthless, aggressive, positively sexed, undisciplined, masculine.

Bases of Aggression.

The divisions given below - physical, biological, situational, social, psychological, and multiple - are established more as a convenience in handling the material than as representing rigid differences in points

-12-

of view. To be absolutely literal, one would probably need to place all theories under the last heading "Multiple" because no author would insist on one origin to the exclusion of all others. However, these differences do represent difference in emphases in the points of view of the various authors, which in turn goes back to the way they conceived their problem and approached it. The chances are that in most instances if any one investigator were criticizing the work of another, he would be more likely to place the same emphasis that the original investigator did, rather than the emphasis which he may have arrived at from his own approach.

These divisions are not by any means mutually exclusive. "Physical and biological" here covers all behavior traceable to physical phenomena, and behavior which appears to be an unlearned reaction, and which in most instances is characteristic of the species and can be demonstrated to have definite survival value. "Situational" applies to the immediate situation. "Social" and "Psychological" likewise are easily confused if the dichotomy is pushed too far, but in general refer to the difference in behavior which is frankly conditioned by the cultural pattern, and that in which the behavior appears to be the response to an emotional reaction of the individual. In the latter the emphasis is on individual differences and emotional responses; in the former it is on reaction to environment and external situations, and is usually characteristic of a given group.

PHYSICAL AND BIOLOGICAL

Many different investigators feel that physical factors are at least partial determiners of aggression. Among physical factors, those most often mentioned are differences in size, and lack of food.

-13-

Size

As to size, Maslow says that it is impossible to be sure of the influence of size, but that if there are marked differences in size, the larger will dominate. In every case if one animal is considerably larger, he will be the overlord; if the difference in size is not great, the dominance may be determined by other factors. In the opinion of the present writer, part of the conclusions in Maslow's fourth study (The Determination of Hierarchy in Pairs and in a Group) are vitiated by the fact that he was unable to control the size of his experimental animals. He found a practically perfect hierarchy, but there were considerable differences in weight in his animals. In a study of animals of the same size and weight it is likely that the dominance patterns might be more complex, probably more like that of birds, where circularity or triangularity is found. Schjelderup-Ebbe thinks that sometimes size and strength determine despotism, but not always.

Starvation

Maslow found that the effect of starvation was to heighten and sharpen the dominance of the overlord. Bender and Schilder class together deprivation of love and of food, and find that these deprivations increase aggressiveness in children.

Endocrine and Constitutional

Levy's conclusion (20) in the study of 33 cases of Frolich's syndrome was that the characteristically submissive behavior was due to constitutional factors. It could not be explained by the early life history, by a psychological response to the obesity or the hypogenitalism, or by the maternal attitude. Coming from a psychiatrist who is psychoanalytically inclined, a conclusion like this has even more weight than it might from another investigator.

-14-

In study of the sucking reflex and social behavior of pups, Levy (19) also stressed constitutional factors. In a little^{er} of 6 pups, 2 were left with the mother, 2 were fed by bottles with small holed nipples, and two others with large holed nipples. The long-time feeders had 80 minutes of sucking daily, and the short time feeders 13 minutes. The short time feeders differed from the other 4 pups in developing sucking movements and noises, sucking their own bodies, objects, and other dogs. They were slower in eating, got less sleep, and were more restless. One of the short feeders became aggressive, and the other submissive. Levy considers that a functional defect was established in these two pups by depriving them of normal sucking activity, and that the reason one reacted to this with increased aggressiveness and the other with increased submission was due to constitutional differences. His theory is that the difficulty produced by the sucking deficiency brought into play and enhanced the innate personality responses of the animals, intensifying the aggressive behavior of one and the submissive behavior of the other. He thinks it possible that the aggressive response as a typical mode of behavior on the part of the one animal may have resulted from accidental factors, greater initial strength, or better coordination, or greater oral tension; that is, certain undetermined factors early in life may have favored the development of aggressive responses. "Such factors, a number of them innate, would not militate against the theory that fundamental personality differences, like aggression and submission, may rest on constitutional differences." He concludes that the handicap increased the tendencies, aggressive or submissive, previously manifested.

-15-

Bender, Keiser and Schilder, in spite of their tendencies to make most interpretations psychological, also recognize constitutional factors. Keiser and Schilder say that in some cases of criminals a native physical weakness or some abnormality is so stressed that the individual is forced physically into a submissive role. They also say that aggressiveness "undoubtedly has foundations in organic structure, and variations may be constitutional." Organic processes influence the general output of energy; the hyperkinetic child shows increased aggression. The mid-brain appears to be the most important factor, as in encephalitis. The aggression on an organic basis is mostly more diffuse, whereas psychic traumas lead to an aggression in relation to specific situations.

Fremont-Smith (9) refers to the greater aggressiveness of male animals, and the fact that this is usually attributed to the function of the gonads, as demonstrated by castration. The ox is gentle compared with the bull, and the gelding compared with the stallion.

The work of Cannon and Bard comes to mind here, in which it was found that after removal of the cerebral cortex the slightest stimulus caused display of rage, and that if the cerebral cortex was removed from one side of the brain only, the animal was especially susceptible on the side of the body released from cortical control. The relation between rage and aggression is obvious.

Frank (8) comments on the way in which the child is frequently disturbed physiologically by emotional reactions as anger, rage, and grief, and the way in which these impel him to act destructively against things, people and himself. "In other words, the emotional reactions of the child are normal physiological functions that call for regulation and

-16-

patterning so that the child may be freed from their urgency and disturbance."

Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb refer to insecurity, or the physiological reaction of fear as the "Greatest common divisor" in aggressive behavior, and the necessity for studying social behavior in a bio-social setting.

Although any discussion of instinct, especially from the psycho-analytic point of view, might seem more properly to come under the "Psychological" heading, rather than under this one, in one sense it does belong here, because whatever other controversies may rage around the concept "instinct", no one will question their survival value. Hendricks (13) makes this more clear than most analysts. He says that the instinctual systems may be classified according to their aims in three groups: (1) ego instincts, whose aim is nutrition and self-preservation; (2) destructive or aggressive instincts, whose aim is hostile activity which injures, pains or kills; and (3) sexual or love instincts, whose aim is to touch, to experience pleasurable sensations, or their psychological equivalents, to create, receive and give. (Hendricks is, of course, using instinct with the connotation drive, or urge.) The psychoanalytic theory of instincts is a kinetic concept which parallels the conception of thermodynamics in hypothecating a constant and indestructible energy which expresses itself either in biological or psychological functions. For example, the usually aggressive patient who becomes depressed, retains the same amount of antagonism, but turns it against himself instead of others.

Situational

Observers of animals especially stress the importance of the immediate situation in determining dominance. Schjelderup-Ebbe says that when two birds meet, one of three things happens: (1) both become offended,

-17-

they fight, and the defeated bird is subordinate; (2) one becomes frightened, the other not, and the latter becomes the despot without a fight; (3) both are frightened, and the one that conquers his fear first becomes the despot.

Maslow states that an apparent "sizing up" process goes on during the first moments of meeting and that it is during these moments that dominance is established.

Maslow found that after a study of dominance in pairs, when the animals were placed in larger groups, new behavior emerged that was unpredictable from the data on the pairings. The reason for this is that certain behavior is definitely a function of the size of the group. "A group of three is a different kind of group." Sometimes an animal that was dominant in a pairing might be beaten by alliances of subordinates. In one instance an animal that was at the bottom of the dominance hierarchy in pairing proved most vicious in a group of four, and then again later became subordinate to one. Various observers of children's behavior, especially Lois Barclay Murphy, constantly stress the necessity of judging behavior only in the light of the total situation.

Updegraff (33) comments that "research has indicated that the momentary status of (all) three variables is important -- the individual observed, the other person or persons involved in the social contact and the circumstances under which the contact takes place."

Huxley (14) implies by analogy that situational factors may not be given sufficient weight in the study of aggression, when he quotes (source not indicated) some details about the prevalence of certain

-18-

psychoses in Scandinavia. He says that the morbidity of schizophrenia declines in those parts of the country in which the schizothyme type predominates, and increases where the proportion of cyclothymes is considerable. "In other words, the inward-turning person tends to go crazy more often and more seriously when surrounded by extraverted good-mixers, than when surrounded by people like himself." (This is an interesting idea but would need careful checking as to validity before it could be given complete credence.)

Psychological

The psychoanalytic school, being inclined as it is to skip lightly over the effect of cultural pattern, would have a great deal to say on this point, but was not, unfortunately, explored in any detail. No doubt their point of view is well summarized by the statement which Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb make about Isaacs (15) that she "sees hate, hostility, and aggression as fundamental aspects of the personality, rooted in primary egocentric attitudes."

Keiser and Schilder, although stressing especially educative and cultural forces, as will be noted below, also comment on the importance of the organization of the ego, which may be impaired either by libidinous conflicts in childhood, or by structural impairment. Bender and Schilder say further that aggression is traceable to a sense of possession of power and feelings of rivalry. The child wants to possess everything and will defend this attitude with hostility and aggression. They feel that aggressive behavior is inseparably linked with feelings of inferiority and insecurity. They found no instance in which over-indulgence in childhood provoked aggressive behavior.

-19-

Social or Cultural

Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb present rather a good summary of the interrelation between cultural emphases and the characteristic personality responses in studies on aggression, which is, in brief, somewhat as follows: Our individualistic culture emphasizes success, recognition, accomplishment, and the power of adult authority. Success may stimulate aggression. But aggression may also appear as a compensation for insecurity. Depending on the total situation, aggression may mean either confidence or the want of it. Insecurity, aggression, aspiration, and achievement are all closely related to one another and to the ego structure of the individual.

In a study of the interrelation between home factors and the behavior of pre-school children, Hattwick (12) found a positive relation between inadequate attention in the home and aggressive types of behavior. At the same time they are aggressive, these children feel insecure. The children whose homes reflect over-attentiveness are liable to display infantile, withdrawing types of reaction.

Assuming that jealousy has some relation to aggressive behavior, Sewall's (31) material is interesting in showing that specific factors associated with jealousy are age differences of 18 to 48 months, small number of children in the family, limited income, older mothers, over-solicitousness on the part of the mothers, and poor adjustment of parents. Only 10% of children in well-adjusted homes were jealous compared with 63% in poorly adjusted. Caille (5) found that most of children's resistant responses were given to other children, and most of their acquiescent responses to adults; this was thought to be due to children's lack of "technique" and not merely an aspect of authoritarian as opposed to competitive relationship.

Nina Ridenour papers

-20-

Keiser and Schilder feel that "a fundamentally causative factor (in criminal behavior) seems to be our socially conditioned concepts regarding masculinity and femininity. A male needs to fight off any sense of femininity by physical activity -- a masculine trait". They feel that the ideology plays an extremely important part, as when the individual values physical fitness or prowess greatly, or when the environment approves of illegal violent behavior. Aggression is increased, they say, "by (1) enforcement of passivity (including excessive fondling of the child by adults) (2) severe punishment (3) deprivation of love and clothes (4) and anything which may threaten discomfort or destruction." They constantly stress the power of educative forces and of ideology, and the necessity of modifying these if aggressiveness is to be controlled.

It is Mead, of course, who gives us such a remarkably colorful picture of the conditioning of the social personalities of the two sexes. First she describes the three primitive groups: the Arapesh -- maternal and feminine, cooperative, unaggressive, responsive to the needs of others, sex not considered a driving force; the Mundugumors -- ruthless, aggressive, positively sexed, undisciplined, masculine; and the Tchambuli -- with a reversal of the sex attitude of our own culture, the woman the dominant, impersonal, managing partner, the man less responsive, emotionally dependent. This suggests the conclusion, Mead says, that if those temperamental attitudes which we have regarded as feminine, such as passivity, responsiveness, willingness to cherish children, can so easily be set up as a masculine pattern in one tribe, and in another outlawed for both, have we any basis for regarding such aspects of behavior as sex-linked? She goes even further in saying that the material suggests that many, if not all, of the personality traits we call masculine

-21-

and feminine are as lightly linked to sex as clothing. She feels that human nature is "unbelievably malleable."

Multiple

In fairness to all of the above-quoted investigators, it should be stated again that everyone of them could just as properly, or strictly speaking - more properly - be placed under this heading than under one of the more specific ones. Not one author rides his own cause-hobby to the exclusion of others. Probably most of them would resent finding their work placed under some one specific heading, and hasten to point out that they recognize various causes or bases of aggressive behavior. Let it be said once more that the above divisions represent emphases only, and not rigid theories or hypotheses.

Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb point out over and over again the necessity of studying social behavior "in a bio-social setting." They quote Klineberg's (17) point of view about the impossibility of dissociating biological and cultural influences. He points out that culture includes diet, tempo of work, social activity, and that these may affect the bio-chemical aspects of the organism that are reflected in basal metabolism, blood pressure, etc.

Levy refers to both constitutional and experiential factors. Bender, Keiser and Schilder, as has already been pointed out, recognize "constitutional factors and organic lesions," psychological factors such as the "organization of the ego", social and cultural factors such as "educative forces," and "ideology," which include also more immediately situational factors.

Maslow says that dominance can be envisaged "as an 'attitude' to the determination of which a dominance drive core (physiological in nature) would contribute, but which is also a delicate balance or

-22-

resultant of the effects of this putative drive, the immediate social situation, the previous experience of the animal, his physical state of hunger, thirst, etc., and the physiological state of the partner animal."

Developmental Aspects of Aggression.

Many investigators have studied, or at least commented on the difference in the form of aggression at different ages and levels of development in animals and children. Schjelderup-Ebbe remarks that young despots are more cruel than old despots, and that there is never any pecking among young birds until the age of despotism arrives. Maslow comments that dominance behavior is blurred in the young, and also that it is temporarily in abeyance during play.

Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb say that from studies we know that the child whose aggression is developed early is likely to be more stable in personality than the shy, dependent, unaggressive child. The latter in our culture is almost certain to go through a period of aggressiveness and may develop a pattern of an ambivalent sort which includes both marked submission and marked domination in different situations.

Observers of children find dominance from a very early age, and find that it varies with the family constellation. Buhler (4) finds that from six months on a definite relationship is established between children. Children who dominate by intimidating or attacking as opposed to children who inspire, encourage, or lead, can be distinguished from 8 to 10 months on. Features of the earliest leadership tendencies are that (1) the child in no way loses his balance in the presence of the other infant, whom he may console if weeping; (2) he leads the play in initiating gestures or activities. The leader is characterized by initiative, organizing ability, conformity. Buhler quotes one Winkler-

-23-

Hermaden who characterizes the types of leadership observed in German and Austrian Youth movements as sovereign, pedagogue, and apostle -- words which are practically self-explanatory.

Bender and Schilder find that the youngest age groups express their aggression freely, either verbally or in play; other groups are more inhibited, and need either play or other indirect methods by which they can express their unconscious aggression. In younger children there are no discrepancies between their actual behavior and their answers to questions; older groups may show a high verbal morality, but their aggression finds expression in play and tends to become more unconscious and repressed.

Levy, in his study of hostility patterns in young children, presents some interesting material on their self-redeeming behavior. In play situations constructed to release the feelings of children in a sibling rivalry experiment, it was shown that the child's response to the mother-baby combination, when hostile, is felt chiefly as an urge to destroy by an immediate primitive release in the form of biting, crushing, and tearing. Checks to this impulse are already manifest at the three and four year levels. Once the hostile behavior is set in motion, it runs a well defined course, felt by the child as a "push" or "compulsion" to act -- along the prescribed lines of the pattern. Following the release of hostile feelings through an attack on the subject, the child must pursue one of three kinds of self-redeeming behavior. These consist of self-punishment, equal in amount to the hostility displayed; of attempts to make good the damage done, but restoring the object to the prebellum stage; and of various defensive measures, such as lies, evasions, and justifications.

-24-

(It is pointed out by the present writer that such self-redeeming behavior is not by any means limited to small children.)

In line with these experimental observations of compensation for aggression is Menninger's theory of asceticism as a compensation for aggressiveness. In making his point, he mentions the fact that Hitler abstains from alcohol, tobacco, meat, and marriage; Mussolini never drinks hard liquor or alcohol, is a vegetarian, has not smoked since the World War, takes neither tea nor coffee but only a beverage brewed from the leaves of the linden tree; Trotsky drinks no alcohol, eats meat only once a week, does not smoke, and has forbidden anyone to smoke in his presence. If it is true that "a man's greatness appears to depend on his homicidal capacity," Menninger comments that "perhaps these powerful men maintain their psychological equilibrium by compensating for their aggressiveness by this asceticism."

Measures of Aggressiveness.

Both Schjelderup-Ebbe and Maslow say that it is possible to recognize the dominant animal by inspection. Schjelderup-Ebbe says that despot birds thrive, look stout and contented; those having nearly all others over them are thin, restless, and pine away. In magpies it is possible to conclude which bird is high and which is low in the dominance hierarchy by the brightness of their plumage and their cleanliness. Maslow says that the dominant animal has a cocky, aggressive, confident air, and struts about whereas the subordinate animal slinks. The dominant animal stares fixedly and ferociously where others avoid his gaze; the subordinate ones retire to the rear of the cage if food is handed out. Maslow constructed a quantitative measure of dominance by throwing bits of food and seeing how much of it was preempted by the dominant animal, especially if it was placed closer to the subordinate.

-25-

Several investigators, notably Lois Barclay Murphy, have developed ingenious techniques of observing and recording observations of the behavior of young children.

Moore and Gilliland (25) attempted the measurement of aggressiveness by having college students rated on aggressiveness by students and faculty, selecting the highest and lowest 15%, and submitting them to laboratory tests. The tests were eye control in personal interview, word association tests, and fear distraction tests, including distraction by staring, by electric shock, and by presentation of a snake. There was considerable difference between the average score of the aggressive group and of the unaggressive group. (The trouble with this technique, according to the experience of the present writer with some of these same tests, is that although as an exploratory device they may look promising in the laboratory, they fall down in life situations for the reason that one is then working with an unselected group rather than the more clearly defined extremes, and the tests have no validity in identifying individual differences in the large middle range.)

Control of Aggression

On the whole, these investigators are to be distinctly commended for the reserve, moderation and caution with which they make suggestions for the control of aggression. One or two wax mildly moralistic in spite of themselves. Several are rather optimistic. None go off on a tangent or ride a hard theory. Some are slightly naive. Fremont-Smith apparently takes pleasure in considering the mongoose, which, he says, illustrates the intellectual control of aggressive impulses. The mongoose, it seems, tempts the cobra to strike again and again while he dances out of the way; the cobra gradually becomes so fatigued that the mongoose needs only

-26-

to sit on his haunches and lean back out of the way, until he sees his way clear to an effortless victory.

Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb are (properly) enthusiastic about the efforts at experimental training aimed to increase self confidence of children and consequently the ascendance-level of their behavior. One example of this is Jack's work in which non-ascendant children were submitted to training situations in which they were given information and opportunity to use selected material. They showed dramatic change in the direction of aggressive reactions when they were placed in a situation in which they themselves actually had the superior position because of special practice, even tho their submissive patterns in the early group had been consistent over a period of time.

Willoughby (34) makes a refreshing attempt to arrange in a more or less continuous series the phenomena which he regards as efforts of the organism to resolve tension or anxiety. Anxiety, he says, is the most prominent mental characteristic of Occidental civilization, to which, however, it is not confined. He does not discuss aggression in particular, but his material is pertinent because it is known that there is a relation between anxiety and aggression (even though the nature of the relation may not be understood as yet.) Willoughby's series of anxiety controls (29 different ones are discussed) range from fantasy, drug effects, superstition, dreams, hallucination, through phobias, myths, magic, religion, obsessions, to psychotherapy, art, construction, and science. He discusses the social significance of anxiety control, and then evaluates the adequacy and preferability of modes of anxiety control. Much of what he says could be applied to the expression of aggression.

In 1933 Albert Einstein addressed to Sigmund Freud (7) some questions which were in part as follows: ".... Do hatred and destruction

-27-

satisfy an innate human drive which ordinarily remains latent but which can easily be aroused and intensified to the point of mass psychosis? And is it possible to modify psychic development in such a way as to produce increasing resistance to these psychoses of hatred and destruction?" Freud answered, describing the pleasure in aggression and destruction, placing the urge to destruction on a biological basis, and concluding, "For our present purposes then it is useless to try to eliminate the aggressive tendencies in man." Menninger refuses to let this pessimistic note pass unchallenged, and correctly points out what is perhaps the best possible answer, that "Freud has not lived as if he thought it were useless."

Mead concludes that "the knowledge that the personalities of the two sexes are socially produced is congenial to every program that looks forward towards a planned order of society." Her recommendation is that a civilization should recognize, train, and make place for many and divergent temperamental endowments, thus building on endowments, rather than selecting by sex as ours now does, and attempting to extirpate in some individuals the same traits it tries artificially to create in others.

Bender, Keiser and Schilder offer a succinct summary of needs which is in line with the broadest thought of the day, a satisfying combination of anthropological, sociological, biological, and psychological emphases: "If we want to prevent aggressive crimes we must bring human beings into situations which would allow them to retain their self-esteem. We must give them the opportunity of identifying themselves with a constructive society; we must bring them into surroundings which support the organization of the ego. We must also liberate the individual from the wrong

Nina Ridenour papers

-28-

conception that only activity and aggression are valuable; we must clarify their ideologies concerning masculinity and femininity. We must not ask that they should completely repress their aggressiveness. We should provide methods so that their aggression will find an outlet in play and fantasy and in constructive work. If we do so we shall perhaps not only prevent criminal aggressiveness but also neurosis."

One of the most profound and most clearly expressed points of view is found in Wolf (35) who summarizes the thesis of this paper in saying that "only by recognizing aggression as one of the fundamental traits of human nature and learning more about the way it works and the possibilities for its redirection will we ever make progress with the whole problem." She continues "It is possible, for example, that certain provisions for the expression of anger and aggression in childhood may act as a genuine catharsis -- that far from stimulating and giving license to the use of force, they may under certain conditions afford an avenue by which the all too human desire to hurt or to dominate others may be drained off into harmless channels..... It is true that there is a point at which such games may cease to be cathartic and become instead stimulants to fantasies of cruelty." She sounds a clear-headed warning, "There is more and more evidence that the world today belongs to the hard of heart and the narrow-minded. In the degree to which children really learn the lessons of human decency, they will be handicapped in the competitive race for success. It is for this reason that if we decide to make the choice of peace, we must be prepared to educate our children to remold human attitudes and institutions prevalent today. Further than that a child should have an opportunity while still young to resolve successfully some of the conflicts which center around the hostile tendencies of infancy and early childhood..... Only a race set free from its

Nina Ridenour papers

-29-

anxieties, fears, and infantile hostilities can be clear-headed enough to think its way through the intricate problems of social organization which it must master in order to make a better world."

Nina Ridenour papers

-30-

Summary

Of method and point of view

It is assumed that in the study of any trait or characteristic, the most fruitful fields of investigation will be the behavior of animals, of children, of primitive people and of mental disorder. In this paper, material from these fields is presented on each aspect of the problem when available. There is of course a great deal more material which could not be read for lack of time. The material which was considered most valuable from the point of view of this paper was that on animal behavior, because here it is possible to analyze the trait under consideration without the confusion of cultural pattern. The material least valuable was that of observation of the behavior of children, especially of the type summarized at length by Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb, most of which is not referred to either in the body of the paper or in the bibliography. The reason for the relative valuelessness of this appears to be the narrow and limited point of view of many of the orthodox psychologists undertaking such investigations. Psychoanalytic material is touched on briefly and incompletely, but is considered a fruitful source for further exploration if for no other reason than that it suggests fresh approaches to the problem. Criticisms of psychoanalysis are known and accepted, but the fact remains that analysts continue to investigate vital and important problems with crude instruments, while many orthodox psychologists stick to trivial problems with refined instruments. It is interesting to see new liasons between objective and psychoanalytic techniques. Levy's carefully controlled experiments on sibling rivalry are a case in point, and Maslow's deductions about the way in which some of his observations bear out psychoanalytic theory. Other liasons are outside the scope of this paper, such as Murray's work, and the experiments now under way at Yale.

Of findings

Judging by the fact that two thirds of the material read for this paper was published since 1933, aggression is a subject of rapidly increasing interest. Investigators do not disagree with each other for the reason that no two approach the problem in the same way. For the same reason it is rarely possible to compare or contrast points of view. Data presented here merely attempts to set forth accurately the points of view of different investigators on the various aspects of the subject.

Nature

Aggression is recognized as being related to many different types of behavior, ^{the nature of the relationship} not defined in any of the material reported here. Aggression turned inward is conceived as the explanation of suicide, and according to Menninger's theory, of suicide equivalents. Among criminals, it is found by some investigators to be a reactive state resulting from a

Nina Ridenour papers

-31-

sense of passivity; in children it is related to anxiety and the sense of power. Infra-human primates show characteristic syndromes of dominant behavior characterized especially by bullying and by masculine behavior regardless of gender. In any two birds of the same species, one individual invariably has precedence over the other.

Extent

Heirarchy of dominance has been demonstrated in monkeys, apes, birds, and children. Dominance behavior is not, however, universal in infra-human primates. Among children, oldest children tend to lack aggressiveness and only children show the most. Women show less aggressive behavior presumably because they are or believe they are physically weaker, and because aggression does not enhance the prestige of women and is not demanded by social custom. There is a high rate of suicide in the United States, 22000 cases a year, and suicide is everywhere more frequent than murder. Among primitive people there are tribes where competition and other forms of aggression do not enter into the cultural pattern.

Bases

Practically all investigators recognize the likelihood of constitutional factors in the motivation of aggression. Among animals, size is a factor, but not always the determining factor in dominance. Deprivation of food increases aggressiveness. The immediate situation is extremely important in determining dominance between pairs of animals. Aggression is often conceived as one of the fundamental aspects of the personality rooted in the instindual system. Feelings of inferiority and insecurity are inseparably linked to aggressive behavior. Educative and cultural forces are constantly stressed, especially because of our own competitive culture.

Developmental

In birds, young despots are more cruel than old. Among infra-human primates, dominance behavior is blurred in the young. In children, dominance varies with the family constellation, and can be observed as early as 6 months. Young children are less inhibited than older ones in expressing aggression. Self-redeeming behavior in children is characterized by self-punishment, restitution, and evasion or justification.

Measurement

In birds and infra-human primates the dominant animal can be recognized by inspection. Laboratory tests on college students differentiated groups of high and low aggressiveness.

Control

Experiments with children have been successful in increasing self-confidence and raising their ascendance level. An evaluation of

Nina Ridenour papers

-32-

the adequacy and preferability of modes of anxiety control suggests analogies with aggression. Freud is quoted as saying that "it is useless to try to eliminate the aggressive tendencies in man" but it is pointed out that "he has not lived as if he thought it were useless." Mead thinks that the personality traits we call masculine and feminine are "as lightly linked to sex as clothing" and that civilization should recognize, train, and make place for divergent endowments. Other writers also stress the importance of clarifying ideologies concerning masculinity and femininity, and the relative desirability of aggressive and passive behavior. The thesis of this paper is summarized in the statement by Wolf that "only by recognizing aggression as one of the fundamental traits of human nature and learning more about the way it works and the possibilities for its redirection will we ever make progress with the whole problem."

-33-

Conclusions

The chief conclusion is stated in the last sentence above. There are many new and stimulating approaches to the problem, some more, and some less fruitful. The field of animal behavior especially has much to contribute. There should be further investigation of dominance syndromes in infra-human primates, in birds, and in other species. There should be clarification of the relationship between dominance and aggression, and of the difference between dominance behavior directed toward the same species and toward different species, or in situations involving the obtaining of food. There is need for analysis of the relationship between different forms of aggressive behavior, probable motivating factors such as anxiety and insecurity, and the causes of these in turn.

Not only is there need for research along these lines, but for coordinating the results of research already published. Many investigators appear oblivious of the other work which bears directly on their problems.

Nina Ridenour papers

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PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN SOCIAL REFORM:
DELINQUENCY AND CRIME.

Nina Ridenour
Social Psychology
235.4

May 4, 1939.

FOREWORD

Selection of Subject

The subject assigned, "Psychological Factors in Social Reform" appeared so appallingly colossal that the writer felt obliged to break it down and take some one sub-division of the problem of social reform. The sub-division selected, "Delinquency and Crime," was still large enough to permit only the most superficial scratching of the surface after weeks of reading. It is a subject which appeared especially pertinent at this time because it is only within the last decade that the breadth and depth of psychological factors in crime have been fully recognized -- which is not to say fully understood -- but, ^{are} only now ready for truly critical and profound study.

Plan of the Paper

A number of representative authorities in the field were selected and their points of view presented here in considerable detail, with comparatively little critical comment by the writer. From the various facts, theories, and emphases offered by these authors, an outline for suggested reform was compiled.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN SOCIAL REFORM:
DELINQUENCY AND CRIME.

"When he was sentenced at the bar
The court was drowned in tears,
To see a child so soon cut off
All in his tender years."

It was about a hundred years ago that a reporter thus described this heart-rending London court scene. At this period it was still ^{an} assumption that "justice" demanded treating all offenders alike. If the offender happened to be a child, the situation might call forth a few tears as described above, but it would not soften the inexorable workings of the law.

This assumption was related to a still more fundamental one, that criminals, like sinners, were theological problems. (5) Both were considered perverse free moral agents who had deliberated violated the will of God. The criminal had also defied the law of the land, and deserved savage punishment. The full responsibility of the criminal for his own conduct was assumed, and the person who prescribed and executed the punishment was believed to be serving God. These assumptions naturally provided little incentive to look into the problem of the causation of crime from a naturalistic or humane point of view. The rise of criminology, with its special emphasis on the causes of crime, had to wait on the development of a new intellectual perspective and the accumulation of scientific knowledge to undermine the ancient theological approach.

Although present treatment of juvenile delinquency represents great progress over the past, it is still far from adequate. In fact,

-2-

it might even be questioned whether some of the things we now permit to happen to children may not, by a more enlightened standard in another century, appear fully as gross and crude as the capital punishment of children now does to us. In spite of the relatively large amount of knowledge acquired by modern scientific research, practice has not kept pace with theory. This is indicated by the following description of conditions today as reported by the delinquency committee of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection (20):

"The aims of the last generation have profoundly influenced the treatment of juvenile delinquency, and the present-day emphasis on scientific study of the child as a basis for understanding and dealing with his problems has received widespread theoretical acceptance. Nevertheless, the treatment of the delinquent child still frequently violates the principles of humanitarianism and is characterized by the 'common-sense' or 'trial-and-error' policy, rather than by scientific consideration of the causes of his failure to conform to the requirements of society. There are still widespread, inadequate school procedures for dealing with truancy and behavior problems; unnecessary arrests; detention in police stations and jails; juvenile courts, presided over by poorly paid judges not especially prepared or selected for children's work and without the services of an adequate number of qualified probation officers;