

Nina Ridenour papers

Section 49, Pages 1441 - 1470

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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Date: 1926 - 1977 (bulk 1950s-1960s)

Callnumber: Menninger Historic Psychiatry Coll., Ridenour, Boxes 1-7

KSHS Identifier: DaRT ID: 223273

Item Identifier: 223273

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BOOK REVIEW

THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS SOCIETY

The Psychodynamics of Primitive
Social Organization

by Abram Kardiner, M.D.

with a foreword and two
ethnological reports

by Ralph Linton

N.Y.: Columbia University Press
1939. Pp. 503 + xxvi

Nina Ridenour

120.52

March 29, 1940

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7/15/52

THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS SOCIETY

by Abram Kardiner, M.D.
and Ralph Linton.

REVIEWER'S OPINION

This is the worst good book I ever read. There ought to be a law about outlines. If a book refuses to yield at least some faint semblance of orderly presentation the author should be popped into solitary confinement until he straightens out the mess. The place for free association is the analytic couch, not a book to be poured over by conscientious and bewildered students. This book reads as if it might have been dictated in the ten minute intervals between appointments. The author modestly calls it (503 pages) an "essay". Not bad, for this suggests some 20th century Bacon or Chesterfield jotting down his inspirations, "Thoughts on Primitive Peoples", or "De Rerum Anthropolgica."

The lack of organization is infuriating. It is unfortunate that the author does not emulate his able colleagues, Horney and Mead. He does not obey the most rudimentary rules of presentation. Over and over he will announce a list to be discussed, and then fail to follow it. There is no order, no sequence, no continuity. There is not a consistent recapitulation or a summary in the whole book. There is a certain amount of repetition but this is more often confusing than clarifying. The exposition of Freud is almost surely the most baffling set forth to date. Definitions, rarely attempted at all, are execrable when they are offered. Ego is defined (p. 19) as "the sum total

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of all its adaptive processes subjectively perceived." (Italics mine.) Definition of instinct: "The word 'instinct' is used in the sense with which Freud uses it in all his works, and is the English equivalent of the word Trieb" (p. 12).

As to the content and the ideas, the reviewer feels totally incapable of criticism. So many of the concepts are profound that when others are obscure, there is the suspicion that perhaps they are just a little profounder. Many passages can be challenged, few frankly disputed. Ideas are involved, confused, badly stated, apparently inconsistent, but never without a kernel of truth, leaving one skeptical, perhaps, but not scoffing, and always stimulated.

This book is at least one full course in anthropology. It needs to be re-read and re-read. The wealth of material presented is almost unbelievable. It ~~sharpens~~ sharpens the observation and stimulates to new speculation. It leaves the reader craving order in the fascinating chaos offered, and whets the appetite for more. One book like this is a greater contribution to the study of behavior than any 50 books in orthodox psychology.

PLAN OF THE BOOK

The material for the book grew out of a series of seminars at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute, in which psychology and social anthropology collaborated. The author is a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst; the collaborating author, who presented the ethnological reports on Marquesan and Tanala cultures, an anthropologist.



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In the review, most space is devoted to those parts of the book which are unique. The reviewer has striven for a little more appearance of organization than is in the book, but not for the consistency that might be expected in the review of a different kind of book. Rather, as if it were a picture, there has been attempt at a few broad strokes outlining the setting, and then development of bits of the great wealth of detail, without much effort at filling in the middle ground or relating the parts to each other.

FOREWORD (by Linton)

Culture is defined as "the sum total of the attitudes, ideas, and behavior shared and transmitted by the members of a society together with the material results of such behavior, i.e., manufactured articles." (p.v) Basic personality structure "represents the constellation of personality characteristics which would appear to be congenial with the total range of institutions comprised within a given culture." (p.vi) To a certain extent it is the common denominator of the personalities of the individuals who participate in a culture.

"The institutions with which the individual is in contact during his formative period produce in him a type of conditioning which eventually creates a certain type of personality. Conversely, this personality type, once established, determines the reactions of the individual to other established institutions with which he comes in contact, and to innovations. Changes in certain institutions thus result in changes in basic personality structure, while such

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basic personality changes, in turn, lead to the modification or re-interpretation of existing institutions." (p.vii)

INTRODUCTION

An institution is defined as "any fixed mode of thought or behavior held by a group of individuals (i.e. a society) which can be communicated, which enjoys common acceptance, and infringement of, or deviation from which, creates some disturbance in the individual or in the group" (p.7).

The most useful information "is that obtainable from the effects of institutions which govern the satisfaction of those prime biological needs, hunger and sex. A second valuable source is to be found in disciplines..... A third from the study of reactions of the individuals to needs which are accentuated or created by the culture, needs for prestige, status, etc. " (pp.9-10)

BASIC ORIENTATIONS

This chapter attempts to establish the viewpoint "that the individual stands midway between the institutions which mold and direct his adaptation to the outer world, and his biological needs, which press for gratification" (p.17) It rejects the theory of the derivation of institutions from "instincts".

The balance of this chapter of 65 pages promises to discuss the organization of the family, basic disciplines, forms of mastery, conflicts, aggression, forces holding society together, and life goals and ideals. There are many little gems in the content which are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushes of chaff.

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They are like Gratiano's words in that it takes all day to find them, but they differ in that they are worth the search.

PRELIMINARY STUDIES

This chapter outlines a few salient points in Trobriand and Zuni cultures, and discusses folklore and myths. It contributes little to the uniqueness of the book.

SECURITY SYSTEMS AND BASIC PERSONALITY STRUCTURE

This chapter continues with other cultures - Zuni, Kwakiutl, Chuckchee and Eskimo. The section on basic personality structure is less clear than the foreword.

MARQUESAN CULTURE

The Marquesans are a Polynesian people who, since being forced to submit to white domination, have voluntarily ceased to breed. There are some villages populated entirely by adults of middle age on up, no children. In good seasons there is plenty of food, but an occasional drought may last as long as three years, may cut the population by one-third, and may bring the natives to cannibalism. Craftsmanship is highly developed and a craftsman, or tubunga, is a man of importance. Most economically important work is done by men. The group is wealthy by primitive standards. Family ties are loose, except for the relation between the child, and the mother's brothers and father's sisters. Social rank is determined by primogeniture. The household is polyandrous, usually with two or three men to one woman. The ratio of men to women is

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2½ to one. The head of the household is outranked by his eldest son from birth. Principal classes are the chief, the inspirational priests, the ceremonial priests, important warriors, and craftsmen.

Pregnancy brings prestige, and is frequently feigned. Failure is attributed to fanaua, which are the spirits of dead men who became the familiars of women, helping them and injuring other women at their bidding; they never operate against men.

Children wear no swaddling clothes, and in infancy are fed by having food poured on their faces. The rearing of children is largely in the hands of men. The nursing period is short, partly because women pride themselves in the firm beautiful shape of their breasts. Sex play is regular among children from the earliest period, and children are often masturbated to quiet them.

Tattooing is extensive, covering the body in men, and from the waist down in women. Any idea of exclusive sex possession is lacking. There is little if any expression of jealousy by men. Deities are personification of natural forces, and gods of human origin. Wars and raids are constant.

ANALYSIS OF MARQUESAN CULTURE

Focal points in Marquesan culture are food anxiety, the numerical disparity between the sexes, and the character of the basic disciplines.

According to our standards (and others!) there ought to be jealousy among the men, because of the shortage of women, and women's role in the household. Factors tending to prevent jealousy

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are children's opportunity to observe one woman caring for the sexual needs of several men in his own household, the absence of prohibitions as to sexual aim, and the chief husband's use of his wife as a decoy to attract desirable men as second husbands. The author thinks that a more fundamental reason is that jealousy would disrupt the whole productive system. A result of the overemphasis on male solidarity is that because of suppressed jealousy, hostility is displaced onto women.

In the basic disciplines, the child is not breast fed and feeding methods are harsh. Anal training is gradual, without punishment. The sex impulse is given free exercise. Some results of these are that sex development is unobstructed, with no evidence of potency disturbances, and the absence of an abnormal inflation of the parental image, as seen in attitudes toward deities. In any culture, the individual expects a superior being to aid him, and will utilize the same techniques which he has learned from experience in winning protection from parents. Among the Marquesans, loyalty to a deity is contingent upon good deeds performed. Should the god fail, this is not interpreted as an evidence of anger which must be propitiated, but as a sign of inefficiency, and the group is free to shift its loyalty to another deity. This is regarded as a direct consequence of the fact that the child has several protectors in secondary husbands; if one fails, another helps.

The relation of the child to the mother is different. She fails as a protective influence. The woman's role, first as mother and later as sexual object is a frustrating one. There is much indirect evidence that longings for protection and love are

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Marquisan

PRIMARY INSTITUTION	BASIC PERSONALITY STRUCTURE	SECONDARY INSTITUTION
Male-Female Ratio $2\frac{1}{2}:1$ Maternal neglect	Anxiety -Fear of being eaten up	Hostile representation of woman, vehini-hai
Jealousy of men Expressed Suppressed	Only when drunk Security in men Hatred of women	Suicide and love murder Male solidarity Taboos against women
Relation of Sexes Male	Fear of exploitation by women Sexual dissatisfaction Interfeminine hostility	Homosexuality vehini-hai Fanauha and familiars Sorcery against women, fanaua
Female	Fear of having child stolen	Pseudocyesis
Food Scarcity Subsistence techniques	Rational methods Food anxiety Hypochondriacal fears Fear of disintegration Fear of being eaten up Food a means of en- hancing ego	Multiple naming Food taboos Embalming Cannibalism Technique of deification
Basic disciplines Absence of sexual re- strictions or insist- ence on obedience	Unrestricted sexual development Super-ego: sense of shame	Absence of potency dis- turbances Absence of parental in- flation Ease of relations to deity Precocity Children's gangs Kaiol
Social Mobility Primogeniture	No anxiety of exploit- ation by men Prestige conflicts attenuated	Male solidarity: exchange of advantages Checks on prestige
Rank		
Property Communal Personal	No anxiety - property not a means of en- hancing ego	No theft except food Prestige - good feeder

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not satisfied. In folklore the woman is represented as cannibal, seductress, thief of child's food, and exploiter of children and men.

The author considers that anxiety about food, due to its scarcity at times, leads to constellations from which are derived secondary institutions, such as multiple naming, myths of successive rebirths, embalming, cannibalism, establishing of a food feeder as a measure of prestige, and much feasting with emphasis on bulk. Conflict centers around the child, who is both hated, as one who eats the parents' food, and desired because of the scarcity of children.

It is possible to trace a continuous series between the conscious systems, such as the external reality of the scarcity of women, back through institutions and experiences reaching back to infancy, to account for ultimate attitudes, such as absence of jealousy.

THE TANALA OF MADAGASCAR

The Tanala live in villages divided into wards owned and operated by lineage. There are rigid conventions about property and inheritance. The two types of property are money and cattle. Cattle are raised almost solely for prestige, not for utilitarian returns. The oldest son has the largest share of the inheritance. Marriage is within the village but outside the lineage.

The nursing period for the child is prolonged. The child is carried on the mother's back. As there are no diapers, the child constantly soils the mother. This is an incentive for premature

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sphincter discipline, which is usually begun at two or three months, and continence is expected at six months.

Principal rivalries are between brothers. Younger brothers are dependent on the father and older brother for gifts and have little prestige. Homosexuality and transvestites are common. Ghosts are individualized. "Tromba", a neurotic seizure indicated by extreme desire to dance, is not unusual. "Ombiasy" are medicine men who work with destiny. A charm always has two parts, the object, and a set of rules for its success. There is little crime. Social categories are prescribed by birth and sex, but there are no difference in housing, clothing, and food, for those with and without prestige. The Tanala are defensive but not warlike, poor in aesthetic sense and craftsmanship.

The Betsileo are a neighboring group with a culture which is identical in the main except that their subsistence is through a wet rice cultivation, instead of dry rice cultivation as the Tanala. Differences are traceable to change in production methods from dry to wet rice cultivation. Some of these differences are rudimentary social classes based on economic differences, lineages with nothing but ceremonial importance, more apprehension, and more crime.

ANALYSIS OF TANALA CULTURE

Features worthy of note in Tanala culture are (1) primary institutions similar to our own, thus providing opportunity to observe simpler types of secondary institutions which derive from the basic personality structure created by the primary institutions; (2) the presence of checks on the drastic effects of some primary institutions

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by the substitution of convenient practical mores to offset the letter of the conventions, thus introducing plasticity and leeway for the individual; (3) the fact that though the oppression (according to our standards) of a large segment of the population is quite severe, the group seems reasonably contented; (4) the opportunity to observe the effects of changes in the productive system (from dry to wet rice cultivation) on the social organization.

Institutions resembling our own are the general character of family organization, the supreme position of the father, and the general character of the basic disciplines. Institutions differing are polygamy, unusual privileges and prestige of oldest son, completely immobile social status of younger sons, a different subsistence economy, and peculiar values in which prestige economy is expressed.

The author considers that insistence on early sphincter control is related to premature development of responsibility, sense of obligation, and obedience, which later manifest themselves as conscientiousness, fear of disobedience, and unswerving loyalty.

Laxity about enforcing the sex mores dulls the edge of the prohibition, thus permitting circumvention. For example, the woman is considered permanently impregnated after first intercourse with her husband, and as having children automatically, thus offering opportunity for diminishing the significance of marital fidelity. This evades the clumsy paternity issue which would unleash hostility.

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The level of prestige and status for younger sons depends on vying with each other in winning paternal favors. The basic disciplines predispose to an attitude of obedience to win awards. The only attitudes possible toward the father are hatred or submission. Hatred is easy to suppress in view of the father's ability to confer favors. This renders ingratiating the dominant technique of adjustment. A check is found in the belief in ghosts which must be propitiated by sacrifice.

There are two avenues of expression of defiance of submission to the father or older brother without aggression: the individual may become an omiasy or a warrior. Acquiescence in the submissive role does not always result in successful adaptation. The phenomena of tromba, a form of major hysteria, is most frequent in younger sons, occasionally in women. Homosexuality is another evidence of unsuccessful combat with father or older brother. Neither occurs in the head of the household or oldest sons. In other words, the ambitious may become either warrior or omiasy; the failures hysteric or homosexual.

The use of compulsive rituals as cure is traced to premature existence on obedience in anal training. Proof of the effectiveness of institutions is seen in the absence of magic and of crime. Of special interest are the role of younger sons, who permit themselves to be exploited, although they suffer only in prestige. There is a strong feeling against ostentation and display. The author says that the reason is obvious, because one who displays wealth or flaunts enjoyment can expect hostility. The author thinks



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Tanda

PRIMARY INSTITUTION	EGO STRUCTURE (son)	SECONDARY INSTI* TUTION	CHECKS
Patriarchal Family			
Absolute to power of father	Hatred-repressed	Fear of ghosts - cause illness	Propitiation by food sacrifice
Impose discipline	Submission	Immobility of lineage cult	
Exploit	Ingratiation	Loyalty to dead	Reward for repression of hatred
Frustrate needs (subsistence)		Concept of illness due to sin (displeasing god)	
Basic Disciplines			
Oral - nursed long		Cleanliness	
Anal - Continent at 6 months	Obedience to discipline rewarded	Insistence on compulsive act as part of cure	
Sexual - Object and aim taboos	Denial of importance of sex	Oedipus Tales - repressed female hatred	One intercourse keeps woman pregnant
Sibling Inequality			
	Sibling hatred	Fear of magic	Taboo against use in lineage
	Aggression repressed	Blood brotherhood-homosexuality	
	Aggression expressed	Ombiasy; warrior	Can control fate Can control property
	Crime	Law	Severity of punishment
	Acquiescence	Belief in fate Tromba-mnamosavy	Fate can be controlled Neuro-Psychosis
Subsistence Economy	Work for reward of love and subsistence	Smooth working of economy	
Plenty	No food anxiety	Submission rewarded	
Communal land	No differentiation of labor	No rituals for rice Emphasis on diligence	
Prestige Economy			
Social Immobility	Uselessness of strife Jealousy	Deification and control over others Tromba-fate	Many checks on ostentation Illness and absence of support
Property laws	Property as means of enlarging ego Deification-Lineage cult	Rage of gods Law	Punishment Malevolent magic

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that the ingratiation technique is effective among the Tanala because the younger sons get what they want, and that the aggression which is held in check would be released should the rewards become incapable of realization.

Evidence of this is found in the Betsileo where the conflict between brothers is increased because the fathers' resources are limited. With the change to wet rice cultivation among the Betsileo, there was a change in the significance and function of the father, a new series of loyalties and hostilities developed, the significance of property was augmented, and the ingratiation technique became more uncertain. Increase in anxiety is seen in oppression and poverty unknown in Tanala culture.

"The comparison of Tanala and Betsileo confirms the usefulness of the separation between primary and secondary institutions. The primary institutions are those which create the basic and inescapable problems of adaptation. The secondary institutions are creations of the result of the primary institutions on basic personality structure." (p.345)

PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY; A METHODOLOGICAL REVIEW

Roughly speaking one can differentiate three types of psychological technique: behaviorism and the reflexologies, which draw chiefly on behavioristic units; topology which draws on analogical constructs; and psychoanalysis, which draws chiefly on constructs derived from direct experience. (Here follows a rambling and incoherent discussion of these techniques, in which the only



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interesting point is the criticism of topology.) "The basic difficulties in the topology of Brown are those consequent on "explaining" psychological phenomena with the aid of constructs based on mathematical analogies. The procedure is justified by the hope that there is no essential difference between biological, psychological, and physical phenomena..... ... Constructs are difficult enough to handle when they are derived from direct experience or from behavior. To make constructs based on analogies with processes in physics, on the assumption that such constructs are more accurate, removes us so much the further from our source material and greatly diminishes our chances of extracting any really new knowledge from it." (p.368-369)

A large part of this chapter is devoted to an exposition, (and an extremely bad one) of Freud's social psychology. The principles brought by Freud which were new to psychology were: a teleological principle; a genetic, developmental, or ontogenetic viewpoint; dynamics; and a principle of continuity in personality (p.382). The author's criticisms of Freud may be summarized in the statement that "the only features which do not work out in actual practice are those based on the instinct theory and those derived from parallelism between phylogeny and ⁿotogeny" (p.403).

PSYCHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES AND TECHNIQUES

In this chapter is a discussion of primary and secondary institutions (p.471) which would have been helpful in the first chapter. "Among the primary institutions are family organization,

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in-group formation, basic disciplines, feeding, weaning, institutionalized care or neglect of children, anal training, and sexual taboos including aim, object, or both, subsistence techniques, etc. Among the secondary institutions are taboo systems, religion rituals, folktales, and techniques of thinking. A primary institution is one which is older, more stable, and less likely to be interfered with by the vicissitudes of climate or economy. To this the one exception is subsistence technique, which must be considered primary, although abrupt changes in it can take place in any culture."

Most of the chapter is a discussion of reaction to frustration, and further development of the theory of the basic personality structure. (All very confused).

CONCLUSIONS

Most of the conclusions have been stated in the section on reviewer's opinion. In brief it may be said that this is an inspired book, rich in content and almost painfully stimulating. It is confusing and confused. The author needs some stern discipline in how to express himself, and probably also in his thinking. The day may come - and we hope it will - when we look back with both amusement and awe to the pathfinding chaos of this book.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF PSYCHOLOGY

A Study in Values

Nina Ridenour
Philosophy of Education 150.4
April 4, 1940

Good paper.
RK
7/2/72

THE PHILOSOPHY OF PSYCHOLOGY

A Study in Values

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF PSYCHOLOGY

A Study in Values

THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the existing philosophy of psychology and to attempt to point the direction from which a more constructive philosophy of psychology is likely to emerge.

POINT OF VIEW OF THIS PAPER

The point of view expressed here grows out of the conviction that a large proportion of academic psychology is arid, sterile, valueless. One reason for this appears to be that psychology has not thought through a philosophy of its own. Much of this wasted effort in psychology is unnecessary. A philosophy is needed to give direction. Evolving a philosophy of psychology is a peculiarly difficult problem but it is worth the attempt.

DEFINITIONS

Academic psychology

This expression (usually called merely psychology hereafter) is used for want of a better term, to describe that field of study and investigation which conforms roughly to the following criteria:

- (1) Principal content of most courses in departments of psychology in colleges and universities.
- (2) Chief interests of most members of the American Psychological Association.
- (3) Subject matter of the greater proportion of articles in "Psychological Abstracts".

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- (4) Topics acceptable as research for the degree of doctor of philosophy in psychology in most departments of psychology.

Any topic fulfilling these four criteria would fall within the realm of rigid, classical, orthodox psychology - academic psychology as defined here. This field is important because it constitutes by far the greatest amount of both teaching and research which goes on in the name of psychology.

It is difficult to define the field of psychology because of its amorphous outlines and overlapping borders. Psychology in the larger sense includes the major contributions of psychiatry and the psychiatric approach to problems of personality development, psychoanalysis, mental hygiene, progressive education, parent education, and much from sociology and anthropology. The proposed outlines of academic psychology are somewhat crude, and are jagged about the edges, but they are adequate for discussion.

Philosophy

Philosophy is a way of thinking. Its purpose, when applied to a specific problem, is to give perspective, to aid in obtaining a view of the whole, to give direction to further thinking. Implied as a way of thinking about any problem is a way of thinking about what is important. It is this which needs to be a first step in developing any philosophy.

Value

A value is here defined as that which is important. The definition of value as interest, used by Dewey (1) and Perry, (2) is not accepted here, because that is not the important think about value. The important thing is whether it is important, which leads

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directly to the difficult question, "Important for what?"

An important thing to be established about value is whether there are any values which are immutable - values for all men at all times under all circumstances. These are to be distinguished from qualified values (interests), such as work, play, love, happiness, at-oneness, etc. There are times when the absence of each of these may lead to a greater quantity or a finer quality of itself or some other value. This means that at any given moment it is difficult (perhaps impossible) to judge whether either the presence or absence of any apparent value is a true value. If it is leading in the direction of an immutable value, then it is a true value, and itself partakes in part of immutability.

The nearest to an immutable value appears to be the growth, or development. This is not entirely satisfactory. One reason is that it assumes "progress" or some related concept as a value, which is debatable. Another reason for dissatisfaction lies in the impossibility of judging at any given time in which direction growth lies.

On the other hand, it is satisfactory for several reasons, one of which is that it assigns a role to pain, suffering, unhappiness, and limitation. Another is that it is necessary, for consistency's sake, to accept some kind of progress as value, just as it is necessary to live as if free will were established, regardless of the epistemological considerations which may be advanced to the contrary. Growth is progress in pure form, uninterpreted. Value as growth abolishes the dichotomy of intrinsic and instrumental values, (1, Ch.XVIII) because all values are instrumental.

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Psychology is to be examined here from the point of view of what is important for the growth of the individual and his society.

PSYCHOLOGY AS VALUE

Psychology, as the writer sees it, needs to be defined and delimited from the point of view of the values accruing to the results of its investigations. The writer's definition of psychology is "the study of human behavior". This is preferred to other definitions such as "mental activity" (which sounds passive), or "the science of mind" (two objectionable words). The expression "study of behavior" implies immediately the goal of prediction and control, and suggests emphasis on problems of what to do about behavior. The word behavior is not of course used in a behavioristic sense, meaning only observable behavior; it includes feeling, thinking, and all that enters into unconscious motivation. By saying "human behavior", the study of animal behavior is not ruled out entirely, but is included as a legitimate part of psychology only when it is related to human behavior. When it is studied for itself alone, it becomes biology, not psychology. This is another line that cannot be drawn rigidly, but it can be to some extent.

If the purpose of the study of behavior is to control it, a few goals should be stated. These are not highly controversial and might be called the elimination of undesirable conditions, such as crime, war, poverty, and the establishment of desirable conditions such as happy, effective individuals, some measure of harmony, prosperity.

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Psychology as defined, then, has certain responsibilities. These are to contribute to the solution of problems of behavior. If it is to make a constructive contribution it will be obliged to pursue a certain course. This is the meaning of the word "ought" when applied to psychology; ought is identical with "necessary in order to make a constructive contribution." If psychology goes off at a tangent it will not make a contribution. This is worse than waste, it is a deflection of desperately needed energy.

The world is falling to pieces about us, and psychologists study the reflexes of bantam roosters.

MISTAKES OF ACADEMIC PSYCHOLOGY

Failure to differentiate important and unimportant behavior.

The writer believes that the first mistake which psychology is making is that it assumes that since behavior is the field of its investigation, all behavior is worth investigating. Rarely is the criticism heard of a major problem "It was not worth doing". It is not that this would be considered bad taste, but rather that it might reflect on the perspicuity of the critic. Every other kind of criticism is acceptable - that the study was not valid, not reliable, not controllable, not scientific, in fact generally lousy. But it is highly unusual to hear the criticism which at times may be devastatingly profound, "So what?" Wells says "Pious Athenians didn't cut down olive trees and left wing psychologists don't talk about instincts." (3) He might have added: "Right wing psychologists don't ask embarrassing questions about value."

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It is true that there are many pitfalls in attempting to evaluate any contribution to science. Some say it cannot be done. The present writer says that more effort at doing it would be salutary. Too many problems are selected for expedience, effect, or unanalyzed interest, and not for importance. Too many dissertations are written with materials pulled from a mouldering file, and poked and hammered into some semblance of a legitimate problem. Too many animal psychologists have selected that field because they like to putter with tools, and too many clinical psychologists select that field searching for a solution of their own personal problems.

Psychology which does not weigh importance finds itself failing to differentiate trivial problems and fundamental ones. Color blindness is placed on a par with rivalry as a legitimate field for investigation. Tactile discrimination, rote learning, reaction times, just noticeable difference, startle patterns, visual illusions, - these preempt the place of problems in causes of crime, war, poverty, and problems in personality development, such as jealousy, competition, quest for power, rationalization, resistance to authority.

Of course the argument can be made that all behavior is equally important. Paulsen says (4, p. 230) "Whoever regards the stimulation of the palate as the highest content of life cannot be refuted. And if a man should happen to have no feeling whatever for the distinctions of value between the different modes of life, if they all struck him as equally important or equally unimportant, no line of reasoning could create such a feeling in him." This point

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of view is not given serious consideration in this paper.

In a stimulating article developing some of these points Murray (5) gives a humorous description of activities in a typical psychology department, adding "From all this web of activity, consideration of man as a human being has somehow escaped Indeed - and this is the cream of the jest - an unconcerned detachment from the natural history of ordinary mortals has become a source of pride to many psychologists".

Murray discusses the original bias, established by classic experiments of men like Fechner, Helmholtz, Wundt, which gave rise to the conception of a living being as a consciously receptive mechanism, rather than an unconsciously motivated dynamism. Here again we see the argument of this paper that the problem which really should concern us is "What is important". It is true that a living being is a consciously receptive mechanism, but the important thing is that he is an unconsciously motivated dynamism. Even now many laboratories are absorbed in experiments on reaction to physical stimuli. Murray says "To many outsiders these academic workers resemble vestal virgins - vestal virgins of unusable truth prolonging without profit the culmination of a spent impulse." He quotes Jung as saying that a man who has wandered with a human heart through the world must be pardoned if he does not respect the "cornerstones" of academic psychology.

Murray says further that ideas which have thrilled the imagination and provided answers that satisfy curiosity have come not from university men but from medical psychology. "Academic

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psychologists are looking critically at the wrong things. Psychoanalysts are looking with reeling brains at the right things." His argument is for more cooperation between the different branches of psychology represented by its ablest men, more research, discourse, and speculation. "And as surely as clouds eventually disperse and expose the sun, introspectionists will be forced out of their cul de sac; behaviorists will relinquish their juvenile metaphysics; the gestalt psychologists will be drawn into the field of motivation; and the psychoanalysts will be compelled to define their concepts and think clearly."

Narrow concept of science and emulation of
methods of established sciences

The second major mistake of academic psychology has been its slavish adherence to a narrow inadequate conception of science. Psychologists have employed a rigid, limited, incomplete idea of scientific method taken over in one piece from the natural sciences, instead of a broad grasp of a science in which they can create new methods unique to their subject. It is possible to utilize a concept of essential steps in the scientific method - observation, classification, hypothesis, isolation of separate factors, verification - and still not be a slave to figures and gadgets and miscellaneous trivia.

On these points Frank (6) says that students of personality have met problems of individuality with methods designed for the study of uniformities and norms that ignore or subordinate the individual, treating him as a troublesome deviation. Although standardized tests are generally considered to be measures of individual differences,

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it is more appropriate to say that they are ratings of degree of likeness to cultural norms. The standardized test does not tell about the individual as an individual but how nearly he approximates to a normal performance. Frank is really deploring the rigidity of psychological techniques, and points out that theoretical physics has adjusted itself to a universe of statistical regularity and order and individual disorder. Quantitative physics is accepted without anxiety about its scientific respectability. The implication is that psychology may grow up, too, and assert its independence of quantitateness.

Frank continues, saying that psychology developed statistical processes for establishing reliability and validity because the only data available were single observations or measures taken one at a time on each subject. These tests of reliability and validity now act as barriers to the use of any other procedures for personality study by non-statistical methods. In the natural sciences, indirect methods - such as x-ray, spectroscopic analysis, reflection, polarized light, electric current, etc. - are becoming the method of choice because they permit the discovery of composition and organization without destroying the substance. The same problem, that of eliciting patterns of internal organization without disintegrating or distorting the subject, is being solved in psychology by projective methods (Rorschach, play techniques, expressive movements, psychoanalysis, etc.).

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Nothing in any of these arguments is to be construed as a belittling of science and the scientific method properly conceived. The point is that scientific method must be properly conceived, which for one thing means broadly. Psychology in the role of syco-phiant does not so conceive it. Freud (9) has summarized the relation between science and psychology in his chapter on "A Philosophy of Life". He says that depth psychology, as a special branch of psychology, must accept the Weltanschauung of science in general. The contribution of psychoanalysis to science consists in having extended research to the region of the mind. Science asserts that there is no other source of knowledge in the universe but the intellectual manipulation of verified observation, and that no knowledge can be obtained from revelation, intuition, or inspiration, which if they exist are fulfilments of wishes.

These are some of the more specific errors being made:

- (1) It has apotheosized quantitateness and objectivity to the exclusion of other techniques more difficult to manipulate, and in the long run more valid.
- (2) In making a fetish of controlled conditions, it has failed to recognize the distortion in over-simplification. If the very life blood is controlled out of a problem, then the situation is uncontrolled, rather than controlled.
- (3) It has borrowed both content and method from already established sciences. This may have been constructive in the early days (although even this is doubtful) but certainly it is so no longer.

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- (4) It has limited its problems to the available although frequently inappropriate tools. It has approached with scalpel and tweezers problems needing shovel and axe. It is as if a skilled cabinet maker had gone into the North American wilderness two centuries ago, vowing not to lower his standards of craftsmanship. Instead of knocking together a log hut he would attempt a delicate table of rosewood and marquetry. He would at least never suffer the ignominy of seeing the table a failure, because he would die of cold and starvation before it was finished. Psychologists may be less fortunate.

This world is falling to pieces about us and psychologists study the facultative visibility of the blind spot.

Psychology considered a
biological science

The writer considers that psychology is not a biological science and by the definition of "ought" given above, it ought not to be. The goals of biology are to explain the objective, causal relation of things. The goals of psychology are to control behavior. Thus by definition psychology becomes an applied science. To the extent that its efforts are not directed toward application, they are not directed toward its primary goals.

Yes, man is a biological creature. But his troubles are social. It is not denied that he is an animal. That is not what matters. A great many other things can be said about man, too. He is a biped; he inhabits the earth. A great many things can be said