

PSYCHOLOGY REVIVALS

Psychology and Social Problems

Michael Argyle



Psychology and Social Problems

First published in 1964 *Psychology and Social Problems* looks at a changing society and research into problems of the time. Many of the themes in the book, such as delinquency, mental health and racial conflict and are still familiar and current topics of discussion today.

Social scientists had carried out extensive research into problems of urgent public concern, yet their findings were not widely known or understood and they had often been diffident in advocating policies based on their conclusions. Michael Argyle discussed the recent psychological and social research bearing on the origins of aggression, delinquency, mental disorder, racial and international prejudice, and industrial discontent; he went on to consider the implications of these studies for prevention and control and for the guidance of social change. This sophisticated and well-documented critique is presented with such lucidity and verve that it will appeal equally to laymen and to students and professional workers and can now be enjoyed in its historical context.

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Michael Argyle



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‘What is most novel and refreshing about this book is the fact that the author documents all his remarks, suggestions, and discussions very fully by reference to experimental researches . . . the style is crisp, to the point of being staccato, but every sentence is clear, definite, and factual. This is so unusual in writings on social topics that it will come as a revelation to many readers who had not previously realized the wealth of factual information on all these topics.’

H. J. Eysenck, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*

‘Each part is full of interesting information and brief but adequate summaries of relevant research. Altogether the book offers the intelligent layman a glimpse into the psychologist’s workshop describing his plans, some of his tools, and his products.’

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PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

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For Miranda, Nicholas, Rosalind and Ophelia

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PREFACE

In recent years our society has been transformed through the efforts of economists, political reformers, technologists and others. The trade cycle has been controlled, educational opportunities have been created and prosperity has increased. However, we have an increasing rate of delinquency, mental ill-health, racial conflict and industrial discontent. For human welfare and happiness it is just as important that these problems should be solved as it is to reduce material poverty and bodily ill-health; it is as important that workers should be happy as that they should work hard. Research over the last few years by social scientists has thrown a lot of light on these problems, and we know something of the social measures which could be taken to solve them. In this book an attempt has been made to outline the main conclusions of this research and to review the methods of social control which could be employed.

I am indebted to Dr Peter Robinson for his valuable comments on the whole book and to the following for commenting on particular chapters: Dr R. G. Andry, Mr Tom Burns, Dr E. R. F. W. Crossman, Dr Henri Tajfel, Dr Jack Tizard, Dr Nigel Walker and Dr Bryan Wilson. Once again I am grateful to Miss Janet Burnett Brown for deciphering and typing the MS.

MICHAEL ARGYLE
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CONTENTS

Preface		<i>page</i> 7
PART I THE ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR		
1	Personality	13
2	The Motivation of Social Behaviour	21
3	Interpersonal Behaviour	33
PART II SOCIAL PROBLEMS		
4	Aggression	47
5	Delinquency and Crime	59
6	Mental Health and Mental Disorder	74
7	Racial and International Attitudes	89
8	Human Problems in Industry	103
PART III PROCESSES OF SOCIAL CONTROL		
9	The Effects of Child-rearing Techniques	117
10	Adult Socialization	126
11	Selection	138
12	Techniques of Leadership	147
13	Influence of Mass Communications	157
14	Behaviour in Social Organizations	168
PART IV THE STUDY AND CONTROL OF SOCIAL CHANGE		
15	The Analysis of Social Trends	181
16	The Control of Social Change	192
	References	206
	Index	229

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Part I

THE ELEMENTS
OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

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Chapter 1

PERSONALITY

THE CONSISTENCY OF HUMAN BEHAVIOUR

A great deal of psychological research consists of changing the situation experimentally and observing the kind of behaviour which is produced. We shall see later that the same person on different occasions can show great variations in the amount of aggressiveness, anxiety, friendliness or domination displayed. However, individuals in the *same* situation, such as a lecture, do not all respond in the same way. The same people observed in another situation moreover may be found to behave in a similar way again – those who were asleep in the lecture are also asleep at a sermon or an after-dinner speech. If consistency is found in a series of such situations, one can predict how a person is likely to behave in a whole class of similar settings. Other factors are also involved, some lecturers are more boring and some lecture rooms more stuffy, so that a higher proportion of those present will be asleep. To predict whether a particular person will be asleep on a given occasion we need to know both his personality characteristics and the nature of the situation. Thus while the particular behaviour may vary as a result of situational factors, one person A may consistently respond more sleepily, intelligently or neurotically than another person B. In fact there is extensive evidence that people do behave consistently in such ways – they are not simply collections of isolated conditioned reflexes as was once supposed, but respond to different situations with great consistency.

The most extensive evidence for such consistency of personality comes from the factor analysis of personality traits. A hundred or more subjects are given a number of tests, or their behaviour is recorded in a number of different situations. If correlations are calculated between each test and all the other tests, it is found that the tests are not independent of one another, but cluster together in

groups or 'factors'. Within each group the tests are highly correlated with one another, but not with tests in other groups. In some areas of behaviour, such as intelligence¹ and neurotic tendency² there is considerable consistency: most of the possible tests correlate together, and the correlations are large.

PERSONALITY TRAITS AND THEIR RELATIONS

We will now consider in more detail the procedures used in the study of personality traits. The correlations between a number of tests are calculated, and the problem is to find the basic factors which will most economically account for them. There is a straightforward mathematical procedure for extracting the 'first factor', which represents what is common to all the tests used. Similarly the second factor represents what is common to what is left when the variation due to the first factor has been eliminated, and so on for further factors.* However, these so-called 'first-order factors' are not a satisfactory final solution, since they will reflect the numbers of tests of different kinds which have been used, and fail to yield a stable or 'invariant' set of factors. Consequently it is usual to 'rotate the axes', in other words to regroup the variables under a revised set of final factors in order to give a superior and more stable solution. It is at this point that factor analysis becomes art rather than science, since subjective elements are often involved, if for example the psychological meaningfulness of the factors is thought important.

Factor analysis has been much criticized – partly on the grounds that different solutions can be arrived at from the same data, and because the mathematical basis is dubious. On the other hand it is extremely useful to know how many independent factors are involved in a given area: for example it was found that suggestibility could not be accounted for by one general factor, but that three independent factors were needed.³ It is also valuable to know how far there is consistency in a given area, as shown by the presence of a clear general factor: this is found for intelligence, but not for honesty.⁴

A simpler version of factor analysis, with a more straightforward mathematical basis, is 'cluster analysis'. Here there is no extraction of first-order factors, but simply a systematic search for groups of

* This refers to the Centroid method of factor analysis; for further details see reference 5.

variables which are highly correlated together. The clusters need not be independent of one another, since the aim is simply to discover which variables belong together. Methods for discovering such clusters have been devised.⁵

Eysenck has developed the factor analysis of personality traits in a particular way.² His method is to study one hypothesised dimension at a time, using a large number of tests which would be expected to vary with, for example, neuroticism. He extracts a first general factor and rotates it to give a maximum separation of criterion groups, in this case, of normal and neurotic subjects. It may be felt that selecting the tests used in this way means that you get out only what you put in: this is not the case, as is shown by the example of suggestibility above. The use of criterion groups avoids the subjectivity of other methods of rotation and also validates the factors obtained. One drawback with this approach is that it produces factors which are very broad, in that they affect almost all behaviour, but also very weak in that they don't affect it very much. If neuroticism, or extraversion, correlates 0.3 with performance on some test, this only accounts for 9% of the total variation in that test. For this reason many investigators prefer to work with a number of more specific traits.

When large numbers of people have to be compared, as in personnel selection and in research, general personality traits are very useful. Factorial research tells us which are the best dimensions to use (i.e. which give the highest predictions over the broadest range), how many dimensions are needed, and how the dimensions are related to one another. Eysenck showed for example that psychoticism was not a further degree of neuroticism, but an independent dimension.² Intelligence tests provide the highly successful model, which personality research has followed. In addition to discovering the basic components of intelligence, and their statistical relations, we also have valid tests, and know precisely what proportion of the population lie between, for example, IQ 130 and 140.¹

It is sometimes objected that the use of general dimensions fails to tell us much about any individual – he appears merely as a combination of scores on a number of general traits, IQ 127, neuroticism 25, and so on. For such purposes as personnel selection, we do not need to get any nearer to the individual. In World War II the Allies used these methods for officer selection with great success, while the Germans had to abandon their selection based on intensive clinical

methods. If it is known how each trait is correlated with success at the job, selection is best performed by a mechanical application of the relevant tests.

For clinical purposes however it is possible to get nearer to a satisfactory picture of the individual personality if the *interactions* between dimensions are considered. A given trait may produce quite different behaviour if a second trait is also present. For example, dominance combined with high sociability is manifested as advising, co-ordinating and leading, but when combined with low sociability (coldness) it is seen as criticizing, disapproving and judging. Research on tests such as the MMPI and the California Personality Inventory has shown that people with certain profiles over a number of traits have recognizable characteristics⁶.

In the field of human abilities it is possible to arrive at two quite different factorial interpretations, both of which are equally satisfactory from a statistical point of view. The solution favoured by most British intelligence testers is to extract a general factor of intelligence, which represents the maximum common variance, together with a number of less important 'group factors' which provide corrections for the prediction of an individual's abilities in particular areas – spatial, verbal and so on. The American testers prefer a profile approach using 7–8 multiple factors, which are all on the same level, are not independent and give a person's abilities in a number of areas.¹ The first approach has the advantage of providing a measure of general ability, purified of special skills in particular areas. The second method, however, enables us to make use, in personnel selection, of the fact that abilities are *not* perfectly correlated so that maximum use can be made of those with any particular combination of talents (p. 140).

Dimensions of ability, expressive traits or motivation, can be measured by placing people in any situation where there are individual differences in the response made, and where these correlate with the factor in question. In practice the tests used are questionnaires, projection tests or objective behavioural tests. For a test to be satisfactory it must be *valid*, i.e. be known to measure what it is supposed to measure. This can be shown by giving the test to contrasted groups of people, such as neurotics and normals, or by finding the correlation between the test and the other variables comprising the factor. Tests should also be *reliable*, i.e. give the same score on different occasions, or when different testers administer or

score the test. Questionnaires are easy to construct and are reliable, but often not valid – subjects may conceal the truth from the tester, and perhaps also from themselves. Projection tests are often both unreliable and invalid, but have been used to measure motivation with some success, as shown in the next chapter. Objective tests of group behaviour are used in personnel selection and are found to give good predictions.⁷ Personnel selection is discussed further in Chapter 11.

PERSONALITY TYPES AND MECHANISMS

The postulation of personality ‘types’ belongs to the early history of psychology, but some of the types are still in use, and the approach has certain merits. The division of people into types like introvert and extravert, dominant and submissive, has the defect that only a few people fall at the recognizable extremes, and most fall in between. It is more useful to have a continuous dimension of introversion–extraversion, on which people can be given numerical scores, as they can for intelligence. We know now that some of the typologies which were suggested do not correspond to dimensions of any statistical generality, so that such types would not be very informative about the behaviour of those placed in them – the statistical analysis of trait structure is needed before we can tell which types will be most useful.

One typology in common use is that of mental disorders, largely derived from a classification due to Kraepelin. If it is believed that mental disorders result from specific organic causes – as some certainly do – then types rather than dimensions are called for. If treatments are diverse and discontinuous, such as psychotherapy and ECT, the same conclusion follows. However, many patients present a mixed or intermediate set of symptoms, and a lot of clinical time is taken up by arguments about which pigeon-hole and which treatment is more appropriate. We suggest later that the adoption of dimensional analysis would simplify diagnosis for a wide range of behaviour disorders (p. 75). Criminologists are faced by similar problems, as they too have to allocate people to different types of treatment. No typology has yet been agreed on, but responsiveness to the treatments available would be the most useful basis for classification (p. 60).

There are certain advantages of a typological, as opposed to a

dimensional, approach to personality. It is found that some patterns of response, including forms of social learning and defence-mechanisms (p. 79f) occur only in certain people, and are not universal tendencies. Psychoanalysts have pointed to such processes in individuals⁸ without discovering the empirical conditions under which they would be expected. Statistically-minded psychologists, supposing that empirical laws apply universally to all people, have failed to take account of such processes. The writer has developed an empirical procedure for discovering the range of people for whom a given process operates – this leads to the delineation of a new kind of personality type.⁹ We shall find at several points throughout the book that a given response – conformity, delinquency, racial hostility etc. – may be generated by a number of personality mechanisms. These are additive in their effects, and each is particularly operative for a certain type of person.

THE ORIGINS OF PERSONALITY

After many years of research into the question there is still disagreement about the relative importance of inheritance and environment in personality formation. The evidence from twin studies, however, is fairly clear – all aspects of personality are partly inherited, but the importance of inheritance varies greatly for different ones. More detailed consideration is given later to the inheritance of mental disorders (p. 77) and delinquency (p. 61). While the genetic element in juvenile delinquency is very small, psychoses like schizophrenia are primarily inherited. General personality traits such as intelligence and neuroticism occupy an intermediate position,¹⁰ while attitudes and beliefs are very largely determined by environment.

In addition to discovering the importance of inheritance for different aspects of personality, research has shown the genetic mechanisms responsible. General traits are inherited in a multi-genetic manner, while some mental disorders and forms of mental deficiency are inherited by single recessive or dominant genes. This knowledge is valuable for giving genetic advice, in particular whether two people should have children when there is the chance of inheritance of some disorder.

What is not inherited is acquired, especially during childhood as a result of experiences in the family. Psychoanalytic theory has inspired much of the research into the effects of socialization – study

of the influence of early feeding and toilet training experiences, for example. While the importance of relations with parents has been confirmed, many specific hypotheses have not, and others have been found not to be universal. Some of the main findings concerning personality development have no obvious explanation in terms of this theory, and were certainly not predicted by it – such as the effects of permissive versus strict socialization, and the various effects of birth order. An example of a Freudian hypothesis which has been definitely refuted is the hypothesis that early or traumatic toilet training should lead to an anal personality. The Oedipus theory has been found not to be universal.¹¹ However, psychoanalytic theory is still a most valuable source of hypotheses, especially about complex, and non-universal processes, such as introjection, with which we shall deal below. The other main results of socialization research are reviewed in Chapter 9, the Freudian method of interpreting motivational states on p. 21 and the efficacy of psychoanalytic treatment on p. 85f.

More recent research on socialization has been conducted within the framework of learning theory, originally constructed to account for the behaviour of rats in mazes. This directed attention away from feeding and toilet training to patterns of reward and punishment. It is the main value of theories to suggest variables to study and hypotheses to test. Some aspects of socialization can certainly be understood in terms of learning theory – the fact that weaning is more disturbing after a long period of breast-feeding, and the fact that delinquency and inadequate conscience-formation will result if discipline is feeble or inconsistent. There have been some extensions of learning theory to deal with phenomena in this field which can be explained by psychoanalytic theory. The theory of conflict and displacement is the most successful instance of this (p. 53f.). It is possible that by means of additional hypotheses we may be able to account for all of the findings about socialization within the reward and punishment framework of learning theory, but so far this has not been done. For example, why is it that conscience-formation is produced by psychological but not by physical punishment, and why do children identify with people they have never met and where there is no obvious reinforcement?

To account for these and a number of other findings there are advantages in postulating processes of social learning, foreshadowed by psychoanalytic theory, and possibly reducible to basic learning

processes. At this level of analysis we can develop the empirical principles governing learning which takes place in social situations. We shall see in Chapter 3 that people commonly conform to the norms of social groups to which they belong (p. 38). However, it is found that such people often behave differently when away from the group – they are showing overt compliance without internalization, and we should only speak of learning taking place when there is also internalization. The conditions under which internalization takes place and the psychological processes involved, are not fully understood. It seems probable that an important part of this process is *identification*, when the subject takes another individual as a model for imitation, and feels that he has fallen short if he fails to live up to this model. This is most likely to occur when there is frequent social contact with the model, when there is a close relationship of rapport, when the model is somewhat more successful or powerful, and when the subject is lacking in self-esteem.¹² All of these conditions commonly apply to children in relation to their parent of the same sex, and indeed very strong identifications are often found here. When this happens, the child tends to acquire the motivation (p. 27), aggression (p. 56) and other characteristics of the parent. One type of delinquency is the result of deviant identifications (p. 60).

A second type of social learning is *introjection*. A reacts to himself as B reacted to A, where B is a parent or other person with whom A has a close and dependent relationship. An experiment by the writer demonstrated this process: children placed in rank-order a number of misdeeds for the extent to which they would feel, for example, guilty if they did them; their parents ranked the situations for frequency of use of various disciplinary methods. For about one child in three there was strong evidence of introjection as postulated – they felt silly for doing what their parents laughed at them for doing, self-aggressive for the things they were spanked for and guilty where withdrawal of love was used.¹³ This is an example of research into non-universal processes, where it was possible to obtain definite statistical results for each subject separately. We shall see later that introjection can explain some aspects of achievement motivation (p. 28), self-aggression (p. 55) and conscience-formation (p. 123).

When we come to consider the re-socialization, or indoctrination, of adults, we shall introduce two further principles of learning: cognitive learning and learning by means of emotional arousal (Chapter 10).

Chapter 2

THE MOTIVATION OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

The same person may behave in quite different ways when confronted by what is objectively the same situation. For example, before and after eating a large meal a person will react quite differently if offered food. The different degree of satisfaction of the hunger drive accounts for the change in response. At a physiological level it is found that the bloodstream of a person when hungry is different from when he has been fed. Again we notice that people pursue different goals, and make different choices – for example, between money and status where jobs are concerned. These are the two main reasons for introducing motivation into psychological discussion – to account for variations in the behaviour of the same person at different times, and for the relatively permanent differences between people in the goals they pursue.

One of the signs that a person is in a particular state of motivation is that he experiences some need – he feels hungry or lonely. However some motivation is unconscious, i.e. a person can be observed to be pursuing certain goals and making various choices, but is not consciously aware of any need. A good illustration of the operation of such unconscious motivation is as follows. A subject is hypnotized and given the suggestion that he should – for example – open the window at a certain time by the clock: he is told to forget this suggestion before being de-hypnotized. When the appointed time comes, the subject will rather sheepishly open the window, and if asked why he is doing it, will make up some reason. Clearly he is unaware of the true motivation, and furthermore is liable to make up other reasons for his actions. Behaviour is the result of complex neuro-physiological processes, some of which are given representation in consciousness. The commonsense way of explaining people's behaviour consists of saying a person did something because he wanted,

felt or thought this or that. Freud showed that much behaviour, particularly neurotic behaviour, cannot be explained in this way – the obsessional patient has no idea why he keeps washing his hands. In such cases it is possible to give the patient insight into the mechanisms producing his behaviour, in other words to increase the amount of conscious representation of the neural processes. When such representation is restricted by some psychological force – as by the suggestion to forget the instructions in the hypnosis experiment – ‘repression’ is said to occur.

Some human behaviour, and all animal behaviour, is motivated by biological drives like hunger, thirst and sex. These are universal to the species and have a biochemical basis. They can be regarded to a large extent as automatic self-regulatory systems which maintain the level of water, sugar etc. in the organism at a satisfactory level. In the case of animals the response to a deficit of, say, water is instinctive, while in the case of man it has to be learnt, and is correspondingly more flexible. These drives will not account, however, for most of the behaviour with which we are concerned in this book. Under civilized conditions the biological needs are regularly satisfied, with the one exception of sex for young people. In order to explain everyday social behaviour, it is useful to postulate a number of secondary, or acquired, drives. This is more than saying that people ‘play because they have a need to play’, since research has succeeded in measuring certain secondary needs and in discovering their origins and the conditions under which they are aroused. While these drives must have some physiological basis, this is only at a higher level of the central nervous system and they have no biochemical basis. While the biological drives can be modified so that the organism learns to satisfy the drive in a new way, the secondary drives involve the development of new needs altogether.

One approach to the secondary drives is to suppose that they are simply new routes to the satisfaction of primary drives. This may be so in the first instance, but the new drives become independent of any more basic drives. It is noteworthy that secondary drives may become stronger than any primary drive – as is seen in cases of self-sacrifice and martyrdom. We shall show below that the actual origins of secondary drives are rather complex, different in each case, and not easily reducible to a simple formula.

Another outstanding problem about the acquired drives concerns their classification. Different psychologists have drawn up longer and

shorter lists, but the relevant research has not yet been done which would tell us what is the most useful way of grouping them. However certain drives have been the object of a great deal of research, and what follows pays special attention to these drives – for achievement, affiliation and power. It will be shown in later chapters that these three drives do in fact account for a lot of the variation in, for example, social behaviour in groups, so that any final list will certainly have to give them a central place. It is curious that, at the present time, relatively little is known about the need for money, though it is likely that it functions in a similar way to the other needs considered.

Social drives are an enduring characteristic of an individual, but they vary in strength from time to time, depending on the extent to which environmental events have aroused or satiated them. The same is true of biological needs: one person has a greater average desire for eating or for sexual activity than another, but his drive state varies depending on whether he has recently eaten or whether his appetite has been aroused by tempting smells. A person's state of motivation is a product of his average level – assessed under standard conditions – and the degree of momentary arousal.

Biological drives can be aroused either by deprivation or by offering expectations of great satisfaction in the near future. Much the same is true of secondary drives. The need for achievement for example can be aroused by experimental failure (deprivation of success) or by giving subjects tasks where they feel that it is important to compete against some standard – as in tests of intelligence or 'leadership'. It is interesting that such arousal can take the form either of 'hope of success' or 'fear of failure'. In the case of affiliative motivation, for example, fear of rejection can be aroused by conducting a sociometric (popularity) survey, hopes of acceptance can be aroused by a talk about the pleasures of group life.

It is broadly true that secondary drives can be satiated in the expected way – the need for affiliation by interaction in a cohesive group, and so on. On the other hand, people have a tendency once a given goal has been reached to set themselves a further goal. This has been experimentally demonstrated in studies of level of aspiration, where subjects are found to increase their estimates of future performance at a skilled task.¹ Indeed, it seems to be a basic component of human nature, as observed in the civilized world, not to be content with the satisfaction of existing desires, but to evolve further desires to be satisfied and more distant goals to be reached,

THE MEASUREMENT OF SECONDARY DRIVES

The most direct way of measuring motivation would be to place a person in a series of choice situations, to see which he takes. Rats can be presented with choices between food and water, and the strength of their motivation can be assessed by the voltage in an obstruction corridor that is necessary to stop them going to food, water, other rats of the opposite sex, or to explore interesting mazes. Human beings in real-life situations are constantly being faced by such choices, and it should be possible for a friend or psychiatrist to be able to make ratings of a person's drives relative to each other. This can in fact be done in standardized social situations, such as small group discussions, and some other measures have been validated against such observations of social behaviour.

The easiest measuring instrument is the *questionnaire* – though we must bear in mind that this will only get at the conscious part of the drive, and that questionnaires are often invalid. Some early attempts to measure motivation in this way tried to balance other drives against money – ‘How much would you want to be paid to take all your clothes off in church?’ etc. The idea is sound, but the answers tended to be very unrealistic. Let us take first achievement motivation – which is the drive to do well in situations involving success and failure, and results in competing against others or against standards of excellence. A questionnaire scale for measuring this drive is included in the California Personality Inventory,² and its validity is shown by the finding that scores on it correlate with success at school work with intelligence held constant. In other words high scorers on this questionnaire do better than would be expected on a basis of their intelligence – they are ‘over-achievers’. The need for achievement can take various forms: amongst children and students in Western society it often involves doing well at academic work. It can equally well consist of a drive to do well at croquet or building canoes. Other questionnaires are concerned with power – the extent to which people wish to dominate and exert influence in social situations. The lower end of this dimension corresponds to dependence – the desire to be controlled, looked after, and told what to do. The CPI includes scales for ‘dominance’ and ‘capacity for status’; scores on these scales corresponded to a large extent with ratings of leadership and dominance in small-group situations. In a very interesting study by Schutz,³ questionnaires were devised which give

some degree of prediction about how far people wish to control or be controlled in group situations.

Affiliative motivation is the drive to seek close, warm and intimate social situations, to be accepted and liked by others. It is found in group situations that some people are primarily concerned with establishing friendly relationships, as opposed to getting on with the group task, or attempting to dominate others. Such behaviour is predictable from one of the Schutz scales and one of the CPI scales. Numerous other questionnaires claim to measure this motive, but these two seem to have most evidence for their validity. It is probable that the extraversion scale devised by Eysenck⁴ will also measure affiliative motivation. The three drives which we know most about can be measured then with some degree of validity by means of questionnaires. We have not considered reliability for the simple reason that questionnaires of this type are always fairly reliable – it is their validity that is the problem.

Another method of measuring drives is by means of *projection tests*. A rather vague picture is shown to the subject, who is asked to write down the first story that comes into his head about what might be happening in the scene portrayed. It was found by McClelland⁵ that if subjects were artificially failed at some tests and then given the pictures, they wrote stories with more achievement themes in them. In other words the people in the pictures were imagined to be working for future goals, overcoming obstacles, competing with other people, and so on. The pictures used are those of the original Thematic Apperception Test, or similar ones. Different cards are needed for each drive to be measured – to measure affiliative motivation a picture of some social situation is needed, for instance. Details of procedure, and of scoring may be found elsewhere.⁶

Since psychologists have been in considerable doubt as to whether projection tests are valid measures of personality, it is most important to enquire into the validity of the present version. One important source of doubt concerns the psychological processes that produce such fantasies. If Freud is right, these are a kind of substitute activity, engaged in by those who are unable to do the real thing. In this case it would not be possible to predict overt behaviour from fantasy at all. As we will show in Chapter 4, there are some conditions under which this Freudian theory is correct: meanwhile let us see how far TAT measures of the drives under consideration are behaviourally valid.

There is no doubt that arousal of these drives, for instance by experimental failure, affects measures of achievement motivation, and that carrying out a sociometric survey to see who is most popular increases scores on affiliation motivation. There is evidence that people who produce a lot of achievement imagery tend to be over-achievers at school work, and that they try harder at laboratory tasks, though the degree of prediction is poor. Similarly those high on affiliation motivation are found to spend more time in social activities.⁷ In addition to this, there is a large body of research findings, some of which will be reported below, obtained with this measure. The fact that hypotheses have been confirmed, and that the findings make sense, gives some further validity to the measures used. The reliability, however, is rather low, which restricts their value for assessing individuals.

THE ORIGINS OF SOCIAL DRIVES

Having said that these drives are acquired, it remains to be shown exactly how they are acquired. As we shall see at other points in this book, neither of the two major theoretical approaches in psychology – psychoanalysis or learning theory – can explain the phenomena of childhood socialization satisfactorily. According to learning theory, such drives should arise out of more basic rewards and punishments for displaying affiliative behaviour, for example. According to psychoanalysis they should be the product of early patterns of relationship with the parents. We shall now examine the evidence and see how far either point of view is confirmed.

A most interesting series of attempts to demonstrate the acquisition of drives by reward learning has been carried out with monkeys.⁸ A typical procedure is to use a 'vending machine' which issues bananas or raisins if poker chips are placed in it. Chimpanzees can be taught to regard poker chips as money – they will work for them as an incentive, and new learning can be acquired using poker chips as reward. However there are considerable limitations on this – the animals will only work for chips when they are hungry, and if the chips can be cashed for food fairly soon, otherwise they stop work. Furthermore the reward value of poker chips fades away if there is not an opportunity to cash some from time to time. The human need for money appears to be far more independent of primary satisfactions – we work when the bank is shut and when not hungry.

However, during extreme inflation most people cease to be interested in money, and are more concerned with sacks of potatoes – with the possible exception of misers, perhaps the only people for whom the money drive is wholly independent of primary drives.

Research into the origins of achievement motivation has also been stimulated by a reward-and-punishment learning model. It has been shown⁹ that presents or praise for successful achievement did not lead to the development of achievement motivation, but that emotional rewards – such as kissing and hugging – were so related. In the same study it was found that punishment had no effect at all. In an interesting study of 52 primitive societies¹⁰ where folk tales were scored for the presence of achievement themes, it was found that reward and punishment were only effective where there was a rigid and non-indulgent style of child-rearing: however, it was the other societies which showed the higher achievement motivation, which was presumably acquired in some other way. It seems that reward and punishment, especially emotional rewards, can be sources of achievement motivation under certain conditions, rigid and non-indulgent socialization, which often do not apply. Another type of reward which is also effective in connection with this drive is actual experience of success at tasks. Achievement motivation is higher among more intelligent children – who get more experience of success, and several experiments show more application to tasks following experimentally-created success experiences.

Investigations by the author and Dr Peter Robinson¹¹ have shown that two other processes can also bring about high achievement motivation. The first hypothesis makes use of the fact that children, to a greater or less degree, identify with their parents – that is, take them as models for imitation; it is suggested that if the parents are themselves visibly hard-working and ambitious, the children may acquire a similar pattern of motivation. Identification with parents was measured by the similarity of children's description of their parents, and of the kind of person they would most like to be themselves, on a series of seven-point rating scales known as the 'Semantic Differential'. If a child describes his ideal self in much the same way as he describes his father, we take it that he is identifying with his father. Our hypothesis was confirmed: children who report that their parents are very hard-working and ambitious have a high need for achievement themselves *if* they identify with their parents. The father has more influence than the mother, and the weakest influence is

that of mother on son, because this is the lowest identification link, that is boys do not want to become like their mothers. Parents who want their children to work hard through this mechanism must do two things: they must be *visibly* hard-working themselves, and they must bring about the conditions under which their children will identify with them. Identification depends on several conditions. In the first place identification only occurs when the parent is living at home and spends a certain amount of time with the children. Secondly the parent-child relation should be warm and satisfying to both parties. Thirdly the parent should be sufficiently attractive, impressive and acceptable to the child in relation to local standards of acceptability. It has been found for example that the children of immigrants tend to reject their parents as models, since they are regarded as 'foreigners'.

Our second hypothesis was that if parents made firm demands for achievement, and set definite standards to be met, then the child would 'introject' those demands, that is he will apply them to himself. This is very similar to the theory of the conscience put forward by the psychoanalysts. Parents approve and disapprove, and make exhortations about various kinds of behaviour. Eventually, it is suggested, the child starts doing to himself, when alone, what the parents would have done. If he transgresses, he is cross with himself and feels guilty. To test our hypothesis we asked children to estimate the strength of their parents' demands for achievement. We found that where such demands were said to be strong, the children's motivation was higher. This has been confirmed by two American investigators who also found that higher standards and stronger demands were made by the parents of achievers. One interesting part of our findings was that such exhortations influenced achievement motivation as measured by the projection test in which children were asked to write stories about pictures. Their conscious concern with success as measured by questionnaire was, however, unaffected. The explanation of this is probably that introjection creates a type of motivation of which we are not consciously aware, except perhaps as a vague and uneasy feeling that we *ought* to work harder. It is likely that this mode of influence only works under certain conditions. A number of studies show that the introjection of a conscience occurs where there is a close, dependent and rather intense relation between parent and child, and when parents react to transgressions in a very emotional way, expressing disappointment and withdrawing love.

Turning now to affiliative motivation, we find a rather confused picture. Part of the variation between people here may be due to inherited factors: it seems that extraversion is partly inherited, according to twin studies.¹² It is probably necessary, if the need is to develop at all, however, that a child be brought up in the company of other people, and that he is not too harshly handled by them. There are about forty cases on record of children being reared by animals, often wolves; such children are fond of the animals but not interested in humans. Psychopaths are notoriously deficient in affiliative motivation – they sometimes say that they have never had any friends and don't want any; the background of such people is very often either an orphanage, or a home in which they were very cruelly treated.¹³

The psychoanalytic theory of affiliative behaviour is that it is part of the 'oral character' and should derive from a long period of breast-feeding. (The learning theory translation of this is that hunger-reduction reinforces social contact with the mother, which generalizes to other social situations.) There is in fact one study¹⁴ in which a correlation was found between late weaning and self-ratings of sociability, dependence and nurturance, and a study¹⁵ in which non-purposive mouth movements and a great interest in food (signs of the oral character) were related to the need to be liked and to dependency.

A general learning theory approach would postulate that some kind of basic reward is often attached to early affiliative behaviour. Schachter¹⁶ has suggested that anxiety-reduction would provide this reinforcement, and has carried out some very interesting experiments that support this idea. Female college students, who had agreed to be subjects in an experiment, were shown some terrifying electrical apparatus and told that they were going to be given electric shocks. While waiting for the experiment they were given the choice of waiting in a room alone or with other subjects. It was found that when more anxiety was produced by the instructions, more subjects opted to wait with the others rather than alone – which suggests that the affiliative response was aroused by anxiety. It was found that only and first-born children were most affected in this way – because, it is suggested, parents are more likely to relieve anxiety in these than in later-born children. Going to a psychotherapist can be regarded as an affiliative response to anxiety, and data is cited showing that only and first-born children are more likely than the later-born to undergo

psychotherapy, whereas alcoholism (ultimately a non-social response to anxiety) is more common among the later-born. Both of these theories relate affiliative motivation to early satisfactions brought about by the parents. However, affiliative behaviour is not normally directed towards older women, as these theories would lead us to expect, but towards others of the same age. No theory yet put forward can account for the sudden emergence at about the age of four of affiliative behaviour in relation to playmates as similar to the self as possible.

The only relevant research into power has been concerned with authoritarianism.¹⁷ It has been found that people strong on this dimension have been brought up by dominating parents, who compelled them to conform to conventional standards of behaviour, by harsh and coercive methods of discipline. The children were dependent on their parents at the time, and continue later to be submissive to people in authority; the power and influence-seeking aspects of their behaviour give the appearance of being based on direct identification with and imitation of the parents.

This discussion of the childhood origin of achievement, affiliative and power motivation shows that each drive is acquired in a special way, and probably several special ways. While psychoanalysis and learning theory have guided research in this field, we have yet to discover which aspects of psychoanalytic theory are supported by empirical research, and which particular application of learning theory, or of more complex derivatives, is correct.

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF SOCIAL MOTIVATION

McClelland¹⁷ has shown that societies which lay greater stress on achievement in children, also engage in more rapid economic and industrial development. He collected 21 popular children's stories from each of 40 countries, and scored the stories for the presence of achievement motivation – since the stories are popular with the children it follows that this provides some measure of *their* motivation. It was found that achievement motivation scores for the stories of 1925 correlated 0.46 with measures of economic growth, such as the increase in electricity production, in the next 25 years. McClelland suggests that steps should be taken to increase achievement motivation among the children of underdeveloped countries. It is also found that there are differences in motivation between religious denomina-

tions: Protestants and Jews have stronger achievement tendencies than Catholics. Several studies by McClelland and his co-workers have shown that this is the result of different methods of child-rearing – Catholics do not demand independent achievement at such an early age as do the other groups. This explains the slow progress of industrialization in Catholic countries like Ireland, Spain and Italy, and the low position of Catholics in the social-class system in Great Britain and the U.S.A.

What are the individual and social consequences of high affiliative motivation? Some people are high in this need, others are low: those that are high will seek out the congenial friends and social groups that they need. As we shall show later, modern organizational life does not cater very well for affiliative motivation, and this results in the development of social relationships outside the official social structure. High affiliative motivation can be a source of great satisfaction provided that people succeed in establishing the necessary social contacts. In the next chapter we shall consider the ways and conditions in which such social links are established. One consequence for society seems to be that people with strong affiliative needs have more children: this was found in the cross-cultural study by McClelland just quoted. It is also extremely probable that it is the presence of affiliative motivation which not only holds small social groups together, but knits society together in a wider sense, as well as leading to care for old, young and sick, and members of underprivileged groups.

It is often found by visitors that the English are cold or 'unfriendly'. Such comments are often made by Indians and others from the East, as well as by Americans. It is possible that this reflects a low level of affiliative motivation – the published norm for the Maudsley Personality Inventory⁴ show that a sample of 1800 English people were several points lower on Extraversion than 1300 American students. However, research on national character is not very far advanced, and there are in any case very great variations among the people of one country. Another possibility is that there are different customs of gesture and emotional expression, and that the English simply express their feelings less than other people.

Let us consider now the need for power. This corresponds to some extent with authoritarianism – the tendency to react to situations and people in terms of their status, to dominate subordinates and lean submissively on superiors in the system; such people are happiest

in a hierarchical organization like the army. Power is a case of a social need which fits people for a certain kind of society: if the wrong kind of people were produced in large numbers, no doubt the character of social organizations would be changed. This is supported by McClelland's finding that the countries in which the childrens' books were full of power themes now have totalitarian governments.¹⁷ If we want to have a certain kind of society, then one of the most important things that must be done is to bring up children in the appropriate way. Another characteristic of authoritarians is that they are hostile to racial minority groups, that they have aggressive views on the treatment of prisoners, and that they are in favour of war and fascist and communist parties.¹⁸ It is clear that for the general good of society, this is not a type of personality-formation to be encouraged.

CONCLUSION

The discovery of human secondary drives puts us in a better position to understand everyday social behaviour than was provided by experimental psychologists who supposed that man had no more than the physiological drives found in animals, or by psychoanalysts who thought all human behaviour was motivated by the sexual instinct. There is still a great deal to be found out concerning the three drives we have concentrated on here, and about other drives such as for money, satisfaction of curiosity and acquisition of property.

Variations in human nature between different cultural areas can be partly analysed into differences of secondary motivation produced by different methods of upbringing. Such differences of motivation can have very important consequences for the development of a society.

Chapter 3

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOUR

Individual differences in behaviour can be analysed into differences in motivation, ability and in expressive style. Motivation refers to the goals which are sought, abilities to the skill with which this is done, and style to the manner in which it is done. *Motivation* has been considered in Chapter 2. Most relevant for our present purposes are the needs for affiliation and power. Several statistical studies of social behaviour show that the two main dimensions of variation are warm-cold and power-dependence, corresponding to the operation of these two drives.¹ On the other hand the type of social relationship which a person seeks, and that which is obtained may not be the same, especially in the case of power.² Aggression is another drive which is relevant to social behaviour, but unlike the others is not so readily aroused, and therefore is not such a common component of an individual's behaviour. These inter-personal motivations can all be regarded as desires for a certain response on the part of other people – for them to respond warmly, to accept or provide influence, and so on.

Ability or skill in social behaviour has not been studied much as yet, though it is known that some people are good at particular skills, such as interviewing, psychotherapy, persuasion and teaching. It is not known how general such skills are – whether a person good at one is also good at others. Probably a person who is poor at person perception – judging the emotions, attitudes or responses of others – would tend to be bad at all of them. Such skills can be acquired in much the same way that other skills are learnt – watching an expert practitioner, and trying techniques out followed by comments on the performance. Some training courses for managers, clergymen and social workers include discussion and role-playing of problem situations which are commonly encountered on the job. Attempts have been made to improve social sensitivity and skill in general by means of group self-analysis – known as ‘group dynamics’.

Everyone has a characteristic *style* of interaction, in that they try to elicit the desired responses from other people in certain ways. The dimensions along which this aspect of behaviour can most usefully be analysed are not yet known. Examples of such traits are speed and extent of conversation, exhibitionism and ostentation, and the use of techniques such as making jokes, teasing and flattering. This is the aspect of other people which immediately strikes one, and by which they are remembered.

It has been increasingly realized that mental disorders can be analysed in terms of disturbances of social behaviour – this is the area of personality most affected, and failure in this sphere produces the distress. It is reported for instance that people who undergo psychotherapy are ‘those who are starved for affection . . . because their learned interpersonal behaviour prevents them from doing the appropriate things to cause others to like them’.³ In other words, they have inadequate social skills. Psychopaths, as well as being deficient in sensitivity also lack the normal affiliative drives. Schizophrenics, and some neurotics, have had unsatisfactory experiences with other people, have poor social skills and may withdraw altogether from social contacts. It is possible that methods could be devised for training such people in more effective social techniques.

THE CONSISTENCY OF INDIVIDUAL SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

So far we have assumed that a person will behave in much the same way in all social situations. To a limited extent this is correct – a person who seeks to influence people in one situation will tend to do so in other similar situations, while a person who talks a lot in one group will tend to do so in other groups. However, considerable differences are also found, and it is to these that we now turn. This has been summarized by saying that behaviour is a function both of personality and of situation: in different social situations different sides of the personality are elicited. This is seen most dramatically in the various roles a person may take within social organizations – the person who is a polite submissive pupil one minute may become a bombastic student leader the next. Here the situations consist of varied institutional settings, each with certain traditions of accepted behaviour. Even here there will still be consistency – bombastic student leaders as a matter of common experience are found to be

less meek and submissive than other students.* The extent to which people alter their behaviour from situation to situation is itself variable. One investigator asked each member of a university department to describe their interactions with every other member, by means of a card-sorting technique. It was found that people varied their behaviour according to the sex and seniority of the other, and that some people varied their behaviour much more than others.⁴

There is also variation in behaviour towards equals, in response to the social behaviour of the other. One experiment compared the amount of time people talked in a number of three-man groups. There was a certain consistency between groups, but a further prediction could be made by taking account of the other members of the group: a person talked less if placed with others who normally talked a lot; he talked more if with others who usually talked little.⁵ Thus people accommodate themselves to the demands of the situation and the personalities of the others present; the details of this process will be examined below.

Individuals also affect the whole character of groups to which they belong. The impact of an individual can be assessed from the difference in the group's behaviour with and without him. It is found that well-adjusted, extraverted people tend to facilitate friendly relations within groups, and an easy-going productive atmosphere. Withdrawn, schizoid people on the other hand, produce a tense, uneasy atmosphere,⁶ while psychopaths may disrupt the group entirely by exacerbating sources of tension and conflict. Individuals will affect the way of life of the group, and contribute to the formation and change of group standards. Again, some people will be more influential than others: a member may be able to change the group standards if he is a well-accepted member of the group, and if he can persuade the group that his suggestions are to their advantage.

THE DETAILS OF INTERACTION SEQUENCES

It is found that if a person is rewarded for using some technique of social behaviour he will use it more frequently; if he is punished he will stop using it. For example, every time a subject makes a suggestion or uses the word 'I', the interviewer can reward by taking an interest, agreeing, or looking the subject in the eye; alternatively

* Unless they are authoritarians who are dominating and submissive on different occasions (see p. 30).

he can look away, look bored or disagree. It is found that frequency of, for example, making suggestions is considerably changed in a very few minutes, and that nearly all subjects are unaware that this has happened.⁷ One goal of subjects in such experimental situations is to elicit a favourable response from the interviewer, and strategies are rapidly changed in order to do this. This has the characteristics of a complex skill which can be used quickly and efficiently without conscious participation. Where one person in a pair has the upper hand, such as when he is the interviewer or psychotherapist, he can control the behaviour of the other to a considerable extent in this way. More than this, the other person can be taught the appropriate behaviour, for example, of a patient or a pupil. In everyday situations it is perfectly possible for one person to influence another's behaviour deliberately. Stephen Potter has given an amusing list of techniques for making others feel 'one-down', together with counterplays for dealing with such methods when used by others.⁸

Usually two people will both have motivations which make them want the other to respond in certain ways. These motivations may not be conscious, but will steer the strategies used all the same. In some cases the motivation is a function of the situation – the teacher wants the pupil to learn, the pupil wants the teacher to think well of him, and so on. Each person will start the exchange with a style of behaviour intended to elicit the desired response from the other. If this is unsuccessful, a different approach will be tried, as the experiments described above show. What is happening is very fast and very complex: both people go simultaneously through a series of social techniques in an attempt to produce a certain pattern of relationship with the other.

At present the actual course of such a sequence of behaviour cannot be predicted in advance. One reason for this is that the sequence seems to be unstable in some ways, so that minor disturbances at the beginning become magnified in their effects later. For example, if one person is told, or wrongly imagines, that the other is very friendly, he will himself act in a friendly way, thus eliciting the expected behaviour from the other, and bringing about a state of 'autistic friendship'. The reverse may also occur, leading to mutual withdrawal – a state of 'autistic hostility' with hostile fantasies which cannot be corrected since contact has now ceased.⁹

In the course of interaction each person has to perceive the other – what sort of person he is, how he is responding, and so on. Person

perception has been made the object of considerable research. If people are asked to give free descriptions of others it is found that they use very varied sets of categories and dimensions.¹⁰ These correspond to the aspects of other people which are of most interest, and may include race, social status and personality qualities. There is evidence that when a person has a preoccupation with one of these dimensions he becomes particularly good at assessing it; anti-semites are good at recognizing Jews, for example (p. 99). The situation will also determine what aspects of another person are perceived. When the other person is seen to fall at a certain point along one of these relevant dimensions, this triggers off one of a series of social techniques. Thus a person much concerned with social class would have a graded series of quite different social techniques used for members of each social class. The responses, feelings and attitudes of the other must also be perceived during the course of interaction. These will not always be perceived accurately: the motivational state of the perceiver may result in distorted perception, usually in a wish-fulfilling direction.

So far we have referred to 'social techniques', meaning sequences of social acts lasting over a period of time. These can be analysed further into conversational units, and even further into the sighs, grunts and snorts which accompany conversation.¹¹ On the first of these two levels, the system of analysis devised by Bales has been used widely.¹² Here the units of conversation are categorized by observers according to whether they are agreements, disagreements, asking for or giving suggestions, opinions, or orientation, and so on, twelve categories in all. The detailed sequences of categories have been studied, but it is probable that this will not make much sense unless general techniques and motivation are also considered. Thus Category 2 (shows tension release) and 3 (agrees), would be part of a social technique geared to affiliative motivation.

The course of social interaction is affected by various social conventions which may be widely shared throughout the culture, or be specific norms of certain groups. There may be a certain duration which is proper, preliminaries may be required before business is discussed, only a certain degree of rudeness may be permissible, only a certain degree of domination of the conversation, while certain topics may be forbidden. There are subtle rules, that for example one must pretend that the other person is the focus of one's attention, and that it is wrong to talk about the quality of the interaction as such –

both of these last result in dislocation of the interaction if they are broken.¹³

THE FORMATION OF A SOCIAL SYSTEM

It is possible to set up experimental groups of two people so that they get on together, enjoy being together, and can work together effectively at joint tasks. Other combinations of people are incompatible, they do not enjoy one another's company, and work together ineffectively. People may be incompatible in several different ways – both may want to talk all the time, both may want to dominate, or they may prefer different rates of interaction.¹⁴ Two people are compatible when they succeed in working out some system of interaction which is satisfying to both parties. When this occurs, the pattern of social behaviour takes on some of the properties of a system in equilibrium, so that disturbances from the usual are followed by corrective action to restore it. If a person has disturbed the normal behaviour of the group, he will apologize and perhaps be unusually polite for a time. Research into psychotherapy has found that if patients do not behave in the way appropriate for patients, the therapist teaches them the correct role. Furthermore, if the patient-therapist relation is disturbed at one session, efforts are made by both at later sessions to compensate and thus restore the equilibrium.³ The equilibrium position is the one that best satisfies the social needs of group members, and there will be no equilibrium and no stable pattern of interaction unless these needs are met to some extent for all concerned. This need satisfaction leads in turn to a positive liking for the other members, and further group goals develop which are of a purely social character – such as office parties and coffee-breaks.¹⁵

One particular respect in which a group equilibrium develops is in the formation of norms – shared patterns of behaving, feeling and thinking. All social groups develop norms, particularly about matters connected with the group's main purposes and activities, i.e. psychologists form norms about psychology, not about religion or art. When group members deviate from the norms, various kinds of persuasion, pressure and sanctions are exerted in order to make them conform: if they continue to deviate they are eventually rejected and excluded from the group, as various experiments show.¹⁶ Probably the main reason for conformity is to avoid the operation of these sanctions, particularly that of rejection. The conditions under which conformity

is most likely to occur have been extensively studied in field studies and a variety of ingenious laboratory situations. People will conform most to groups which they are keen to belong to, and where they are not yet fully accepted. Those who are socially insecure and lacking in self-confidence conform most. Lastly there is more conformity when the issue is vague or ambiguous and when the subject is not well-informed about it. One curious unsolved problem is why the majority members want the deviates to conform at all. In rare instances the group goals may be threatened, as in the case of the rate-buster in industry. In others the group as a whole might be thrown into disrepute. In matters of belief it has been suggested that those who are uncertain of their views get emotional satisfaction from them, feel threatened by the presence of those who hold other views, and want to create social support for their own.

Some group members conform to the norms in the presence of the group, but not otherwise. At a later stage they may come to 'internalize' the group standards, they conform when there is no possibility of the group finding out, and they really believe in the norms. Internalization is most likely to occur when there has been a strong attachment to the group over a period of time, and where a good deal of thought has been given to the norms and the reasons for them.

Another aspect of group life which is kept in equilibrium is the informal status system. Although there may be no differences in seniority inside a work-group as far as the management is concerned, there may be considerable differences from the point of view of the members. These can be observed by noticing whose suggestions carry the most weight, or who is addressed most often and most deferentially. In discussion groups and committees, it is found that some people talk more, and when they speak they address the group as a whole; the others speak less and to the high-status individuals.¹⁷ If a member talks either more or less than usual, the others will discourage or encourage him accordingly to restore the equilibrium. It is possible to predict a person's informal status in a group. This is only to a small extent a function of his personality, since the same person may be a leader in some groups and a low-status follower in others. However, those who are extraverted, intelligent, well-adjusted and of high external social status, have an above-average chance of leading in most kinds of group.¹⁸ It also depends how devoted a person is to the group and how far he is prepared to put in the time

and work required. Perhaps the most important single factor is how much an individual can contribute to the group task so that group goals will be realized; several experiments show that when the group task is changed, the leadership may rotate.¹⁹ A very interesting finding is that the most influential group members are not always the most popular, indeed one study found that it was not possible to be both simultaneously.²⁰ Whether a person will seek popularity or influence depends on the relative strengths of his needs for affiliation and power, producing quite different patterns of social behaviour.

Finally there is equilibrium concerning the role a person plays, apart from his influence and popularity. A person may make an important contribution to group life, if for instance he possesses certain problem-solving skills on a committee, such as making original suggestions, or criticizing those of others. Again, efforts will be made to keep the equilibrium once such a pattern of behaviour has been built up. Can the equilibrium ever be changed, or is the group doomed to perpetual stagnation? There are two main sources of change. In the first place, some individuals will be less satisfied with the status quo than others: they may be able to change it in a way that maintains the satisfaction of the others. Deviates can sometimes change the group norms if they can persuade the majority that this is to their advantage; low status members can become leaders if they can show that their ideas are effective. Secondly, the external situation may change so that the old equilibrium is no longer so satisfactory, and a change is needed.

FRIENDSHIP

One of the most important things about social interaction is that it results in people liking and disliking one another. Before considering what it is that leads to one person liking another, we must discuss how this condition can be measured empirically. The most widely used method is that devised by Moreno and known as 'sociometry'.²¹ Subjects are asked to choose out of a given number of people which they would like to have as companions in some definite activity or situation. It is sometimes possible for these choices to be actually granted. It is found that quite different choices are made for different activities, especially if the subjects know each other well. Another method is to ask subjects to rate how far they feel generally favourable towards certain others; this has been found to be closely associ-

ated with belonging to the same clique. There are further depths and complexities to two-person relationships which these methods do not begin to reach, but all systems of measurement are selective and only record certain aspects of the situation.

What makes A like B rather than C? The commonsense answer which A may give is that 'B is nicer than C', but if a sociometric survey is made of the wider group it will probably be found that there are others who prefer C to B. Clearly being liked is not so much the result of the characteristics of B as of the relationship between A and B. However, as with popularity, to a small extent some people tend to be liked more than others. Probably the single most important factor is the physical proximity of two people, or the extent to which they come into contact with one another. In a study of a housing estate, not only did people often choose their neighbours, but also those whose garages and dustbins were adjacent. Students in hostels who lived at the bottom of staircases had the most friends.²² In some cases two people come to dislike one another as a result of frequent interaction, for example in work situations where meetings cannot be avoided. The explanation is probably that if two people are unable to set up a mutually satisfying system of interaction, further contact is a source of frustration. Usually frequent contact facilitates the development of such an equilibrium system and further contact is a source of satisfaction.

Another important factor in friendship choice is sheer similarity. It is found that children choose as friends others of the same sex, age, social class, size and intelligence. Adults choose others of the same occupation, income, interests and so on. In one study 17 students were placed in a college house for a year. The final friendship choices followed the lines of original similarity of attitude.²³ A will like B if the relationship is rewarding in any of a variety of ways. The most common source of satisfaction no doubt is of affiliative needs: B will not be liked by A unless his behaviour is high on the warmth dimension. It has been reported that unpopular children are not themselves rewarding but try to extract rewards from others, such as by demanding attention. Other needs that may be met include status, and help with particular tasks or problems. In some cases there may be complementary need-reduction, as in a dominant-dependent marriage.

It is interesting to enquire to what extent these choices are visible: does B know whether A likes him or not? It is found that positive

choices are perceived fairly accurately, but not so negative ones.²⁴ In other words people know who likes them but not who dislikes them. The reason for this is probably that in our society there is considerable restraint on the expression of dislike, so that the recipient is unable to distinguish it from sheer disinterest or neutrality. One consequence of this is that while there is a good deal of mutual friendship choice – A and B like one another – there is little mutuality of rejection.

What are the effects of two people liking one another? The immediate effect is that they will spend more time together, and will enjoy work or other situations where they are together. As shown in Chapter 8, job satisfaction is increased, while absenteeism and labour turnover fall, when workers like each other. Secondly, if A likes B, then A becomes to some extent dependent on B's goodwill, and B is able to influence A – if A does not acquiesce, he stands to lose B's approval. After a period A and B will in fact become more similar in behaviour and in attitudes. Just as frequency of interaction leads to friendship, and friendship results in more frequent interaction, so similarity of attitude and behaviour leads to both, and results from both. What is to prevent two people getting to like one another more and more, spending more time together, and becoming increasingly alike? This is precisely what does happen up to a point, particularly in marriage. However, attitudes can only change up to a point, since they may be deeply rooted in the personality, and differences act as a barrier to liking. Again, the more two people see of each other, the more smoothly must the patterns of interaction flow, and the more the opportunities for friction and annoyance: it is easier to get on with people whom we don't see very much of.

CONCLUSION

Social behaviour is a phenomenon which is very near at hand, and which is of great emotional significance. To deal with it, people build up sets of commonsense assumptions, and act in accordance with them. Scientific research shows us that at a number of points these assumptions require amendment. How many people for example realize that what they see of the behaviour of another person B is often a highly atypical performance, and that in other situations and in other company B is a quite different person? People are often surprised when they find that while they dislike C, others like C very

much, unaware that C's behaviour varies, and that friendship is a relational affair, dependent on what kind of social system can be established between two people. It is generally supposed that popularity and status in informal groups are a function of personality characteristics. As we have seen, this is the case to only a very limited extent; friendship depends more on frequency of social contact, status, or ability to contribute to group goals. It is not realized how far our perceptions of others are the result of categorizing people into carefully learnt private categories, and how they are distorted by motivation.

Familiarity with the processes of social behaviour may have the effect of making us conscious of what is happening in this area of behaviour, just as psychoanalysis makes people conscious of some of the motivations of behaviour. Perhaps the best example is the reinforcement of verbal techniques – subjects are usually completely unaware that their behaviour is being influenced. We do not know, however, whether knowledge of this process makes people realize when it is happening. The whole matter of detailed social interaction is so subtle and fast-moving that it may never become fully conscious. The existence of social norms, and pressures to conform to them, on the other hand, are familiar to many already, though study of this material clarifies the phenomenon for most people. The growth and maintenance of group equilibria, and the conditions under which they can be changed, are also new sources of insight and understanding.

What use can be made of this new knowledge? It is probably most useful to leaders who have to handle groups, as is shown in Chapter 12. Individuals can profit by having fuller understanding of what is happening. Mere knowledge, however, does not necessarily increase social skill, and for that special training may be needed.

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Part II

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

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Chapter 4

AGGRESSION

Aggressive behaviour is at the root of some of the most persistent human problems – war, racial prejudice, delinquency and cruelty to children. Is aggressiveness an essential ingredient of human nature, or is it only aroused under certain conditions? Why are some primitive societies gentle and peace-loving, while others are fierce and warlike? What are the conditions in childhood or in later life which make people aggressive? Is it possible to restrain aggressive tendencies or to divert them into less harmful channels? Is the effect of showing violence in films or on TV to arouse or to satiate aggressive feelings? These are some of the questions which will be asked in this chapter, and to which some solution will be sought in the empirical evidence.

MEASUREMENT

To begin with, what is meant by aggressive behaviour, and how is it measured? Aggression refers to behaviour which is intended to harm other people or property, physically or verbally, or in some other way. Aggressiveness can be measured by direct observation, questionnaires or projection tests. In the first place it is possible to watch people in some situation and keep some record of acts and words of aggression. This has been done for children at play or in groups, with the observer stationed behind a one-way vision screen, or in some other inconspicuous position. Subjects who have been subjected to an annoyance or frustration in the laboratory can be observed to see whether they engage in physical aggression, and a tape-recording can be made so that verbally expressed aggression can be studied. While such methods come the closest to real-life aggression, they are also extremely inconvenient, and it is not really possible to allow physical aggression in the laboratory. It is also difficult to design a suitable set of categories for kinds of aggression in a particular situation, and

it takes time to train observers to use them reliably. It is awkward and there may be objections to concealing the observers, and the subsequent analysis of the records is very time-consuming. An ingenious means has been devised of measuring physical aggression objectively.¹ A subject is invited to act as the 'experimenter' in a learning experiment. He teaches the 'subject' a task and is able to give electric shocks of a wide range of voltages for mistakes. The subject does not in fact receive the shocks, but keeps a record of how many were given, and of what strength: this is the measure of aggression.

Questionnaires are very much easier to use from all points of view, but do they provide a satisfactorily valid measure? Several investigators have made use of questionnaires to measure temporary states of aggression that have been induced experimentally. One investigator used a set of questions such as 'How much did you like participating in the study just recently conducted?' for which six alternative answers were provided. The most annoyed subjects chose the extreme answers of 'very irritated' and 'extremely irritated'.² The fact that the scores on such scales are sensitive to annoyance in the anticipated way suggests that they have some validity, but there are no scales which have been used widely and found satisfactory in different situations. However, several questionnaires have been developed which appear to be able to measure aggressiveness as a persistent personality dimension – but it is not known how far these would be sensitive to momentary arousal of aggressiveness. Sears³ has devised a set of scales, which have a fair degree of internal consistency and have been found to have meaningful relations with child-rearing variables, but which have not otherwise been validated. There are separate scales for *anti-social aggression* (e.g. 'sometimes an actual fight is the only way to settle an argument'), *pro-social aggression* (e.g. 'when a person has broken an important rule he should definitely be punished for it'), *self-aggression* (e.g. 'sometimes I think I deserve more punishment than I get for the things I do') and several other aspects of aggressiveness. Buss and Durkee⁴ devised a similar set of scales, which on factor analysis yielded a factor of 'hostility' – harbouring suspicious and resentful feelings, and of 'aggression' – engaging in direct physical or verbal assault on other people.

The last means of measuring aggression we shall consider is by projection tests. It is possible to measure aggression on the Rorschach test, not by using the standard scoring, but by scoring hostile content

in some way. There are various ways of scoring TAT stories for aggressiveness. Several studies have shown that subjects who have been annoyed will produce projection test material with a more hostile content. However, the important question is whether the people who produce such aggressive material also engage in aggressive behaviour. Many investigators have found a positive relationship between fantasy and overt behaviour, but some have not. It has been found that there is a strong inverse correlation for boys whose mothers discouraged aggression.⁵ This is consistent with Freud's theory of fantasy – that it is a substitute outlet for those who are denied a more direct expression of basic drives. It seems likely that this theory is applicable whenever there is some degree of social pressure against the direct satisfaction of a need.

SITUATIONS THAT AROUSE AND SATISFY AGGRESSION

It was believed for a long time by psychologists that frustration is the main condition which produces aggression – i.e. preventing some drive from being satisfied. It is true that frustration does sometimes lead to aggression, but very often it does not. For example, a subject is given an intelligence test and told that it can be easily finished in the time allowed; if he is then told that time is up before he has nearly finished, this arouses a fair amount of aggression. What is being frustrated here is the desire to compete and do well at the test – largely a manifestation of achievement motivation. On the other hand, if subjects are asked to co-operate in an experiment which involves going without a meal, probably no aggression will be created at all. What exactly are the conditions under which frustration does lead to aggression? In the first place aggression will follow when the frustration is felt to be unreasonable or arbitrary. This has been found in several questionnaire studies in which a series of situations were described and subjects asked to indicate how aggressively they would respond.⁶ Secondly aggression is more likely if aggression will be useful in actually removing obstacles to the satisfaction of needs. Where neither of these two conditions applies, frustration is likely to lead to one of a variety of other responses such as withdrawal or fixated neurotic behaviour.

Experimenters who want to arouse aggressive behaviour normally do not make use of frustration in a direct sense at all. What they do is to insult or annoy the subjects. Someone, usually described as the

'instigator', carefully selected for his powers of rudeness, comes along and insults the subjects in some way. An even more certain method would of course be to attack them physically, but this is less practicable. In other words human beings, like animals, fight when attacked, including attacks on their self-esteem. Some psychologists, anxious to retain the frustration-aggression formula, have tried to include the notion of attack under the general heading of frustration, but this seems an unwarranted extension of the term. There is one experiment⁷ which compared the amounts of aggression brought about by frustration and insult. Frustration was affected by interrupting students who were doing an intelligence test, as described above; the other group were allowed to finish the test but were insulted by the experimenter afterwards. Aggression was aroused in both groups, as shown by various types of questionnaire, but more was produced in the insulted group.

These results can be used to explain certain sociological findings. Contrary to earlier writings, it is now known that there is no tendency for lynchings and other forms of aggressive crime to occur in times of economic depression: on the contrary they are commoner during periods of prosperity.⁸ This can be explained in terms of the greater difference of affluence during prosperity, the increased differences of wealth and prestige adding to the irritation of the under-privileged.

So far we have been treating aggression as a kind of drive. Now one of the characteristics of a drive, such as hunger, is that engaging in the relevant behaviour, in this case eating, reduces the temporary state of motivation – hunger is satisfied. How far is the same thing true of aggression, how far does aggression have a cathartic effect? Some experiments suggest that it does. In the experiment mentioned above,² some insulted subjects were given four TAT pictures to write stories about. Highly aggressive stories were produced (more than by a non-insulted group), after which the subjects felt less aggressive than an insulted group who had not been given this opportunity to let off steam. Here, it will be noticed, aggression in fantasy was apparently successful in reducing aggressiveness. Other studies show that after boxing matches boxers show less aggression on the TAT. Buss¹ concludes from these and other studies that when people are angry in the first place aggression does discharge their anger. In other situations where people are not initially angry, the reverse may take place. In studies of small boys in play situations, it is found that if the adults in charge are permissive and make no attempt to

prevent aggression, the level of aggression rises rather than falls. The explanation is no doubt that it is progressively discovered that there is permission for aggression and this removes the restraints on this behaviour, the instigation for which may be annoyances outside the experimental situation.

Catharsis can occur without the subject engaging in aggression at all. To begin with, anger passes with time: it seems to be a physiological state which becomes discharged in other ways. It is quite likely too that anger can be reduced by sudden surprises which divert attention. Just as writing TAT stories can have a cathartic effect, so can simply observing aggression, whether real or in jokes. Many jokes have an aggressive content, more or less overt. If these are enjoyed, this is because people are satisfying aggression in an indirect way. It was found in one experiment⁹ that if people are made angry they will find aggressive jokes funnier – they get more satisfaction from the jokes as they have more aggression to displace. To get people to enjoy an aggressive joke, make them angry first. It is found that people of an anxious or introverted temperament do not enjoy aggressive jokes. This is probably because they have strong internalized restraints upon aggressive behaviour, and the thought of overt aggression arouses anxiety.

Is the same true of aggressive films, are they able to provide catharsis for aggressive feelings, or do they have the opposite effect by providing encouragement for aggressive behaviour? There has been considerable public anxiety about the possible effect of television shows, films and horror comics on children, so that it is important to know the answer to this question. An experiment¹⁰ showed that subjects who had first been made angry became less aggressive after watching a film of a prize fight, while those who were not initially angry became more aggressive – again showing that it depends on the initial state of the subject. Other experiments have shown that imitative aggression is likely to follow if a film model is seen to be rewarded but not if he is punished.¹¹ Surveys of children much exposed to television, and thus liable to watch a lot of aggressive films, do not find them to be more aggressive or delinquent than children not so exposed. On the other hand it is found that delinquents read and watch a far greater amount of aggressive material than other children – but this is probably because such children seek out the aggressive material, and not because it makes them aggressive. One survey¹² found that about 30% of children were frightened

by things seen on television, perhaps because the aggression shown was too near to real aggression for catharsis free of anxiety arousal to take place. This is confirmed by the finding that far less disturbance is created by conventional aggression, as in Westerns, compared with more realistic aggression and people being angry. This may explain the immense popularity of Westerns.

THE PREVENTION AND DISPLACEMENT OF AGGRESSION

Often people are subjected to arbitrary frustration or insult, but do not respond in an aggressive way. This may be due to restraints in the situation, or to internalized restraints in the person. Several experiments have varied the status or seniority of the source of annoyance or frustration. With students as subjects, less aggression is shown if the instigator is a member of the teaching staff than if he is another student. This effect of status in releasing and inhibiting aggression is found to be particularly marked with authoritarian subjects, who are very aggressive towards low status instigators, but show none towards high status ones.¹³ One interpretation of this effect is that less aggression is produced if a person believes that aggression will be punished. In a questionnaire study¹⁴ it was found that subjects reported that they would be most aggressive in those situations in which they thought that punishment for aggression was least likely. Several studies also show that aggression is more likely when the source of annoyance is a friend. It is not very clear why this should be so; possibly less retaliation is anticipated.

One of Freud's main contributions to psychology was his suggestion that when the sexual instinct is not allowed direct expression it will seek substitute outlets of various kinds. The most extensive evidence on this theory of displacement has been obtained not with sex but with aggression. When a powerful person is the source of annoyance or frustration, it is dangerous to be aggressive to him and so the hostility may be directed to someone less able to retaliate. It was found in one study¹⁵ of young boys that stronger punishment for aggression at home resulted in less aggression at home but more at school. In another experiment¹⁶ a professor insulted a class of students, making them angry. A questionnaire was given to measure hostility towards other people in the department: the insulted group were no more hostile towards professors than a control group were,

but they experienced greater hostility towards the junior grade of teaching assistant.

The displacement of aggressive behaviour can be explained by means of a theory put forward by N. E. Miller (Fig. 1).¹⁷

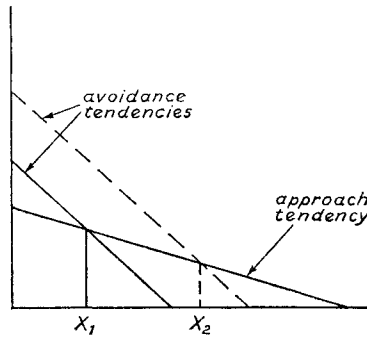


Fig. 1

It is supposed that approach tendencies (overt aggression here) and avoidance tendencies (fear of punishment and anxiety about aggression here) both fall off with the directness of the form of aggression under consideration. It is also supposed that the avoidance tendencies fall off with distance from the original goal response more rapidly than do the approach tendencies. There is support for both of these assumptions in animal experiments. In the situation as shown here the goal response would not occur, but forms of behaviour at or beyond X_1 in their degree of resemblance to the goal response could take place. The diagram also shows that with a stronger inhibitory force, the allowable form of behaviour is shifted from X_1 to X_2 , i.e. to a less direct form of gratification.

It seems that aggression can be displaced onto less powerful people, who were not responsible for the original annoyance. More than this, it seems that aggression can be displaced into fantasy, as was found in the TAT study.² This suggests that people who produce highly aggressive material when in the relaxed condition are probably expressing pent-up aggression in an indirect way.

These experiments using projection tests are of interest from the point of view of art. The TAT includes several genuine works of art of American pre-war vintage, while the Rorschach ink-blot are rather like abstract paintings. We have seen how the same picture can be seen in quite different ways by different people and how this is affected by their motivational state. The vaguer the picture is, the

more scope there is for diverse interpretations, and the more what is seen depends on the perceiver rather than the perceived. It follows that artists should make their pictures unambiguous if they want to make their meaning clear, and that they can deliberately make their pictures appeal to certain people by including fantasy representations of different drives.

There is considerable evidence that the stronger the forces which are restraining aggression – whether external fear of punishment or internalized anxiety about aggression – then the more remote the displaced aggression will be. Physical violence to a person other than the source of annoyance would be a small degree of displacement, aggressive fantasies would be a further degree. Freud suggested that the sexual instinct could seek substitute satisfaction not only in dreams, but in disguised dreams of a symbolic kind. Some support for this theory has been obtained in an interesting experiment on the arousal of sexual motivation. Male subjects were shown a number of highly suggestive photographs which they had to rate for physical desirability. Contrary to expectation however, when they were then given the TAT, their stories contained no more themes with a sexual content than for non-aroused subjects. A second condition was run in which subjects were partly inebriated: these subjects *did* produce sexual stories, suggesting that it was necessary to ‘dissolve the super-ego in alcohol’ before the expression of sexuality could be allowed. It is fairly familiar that more overt sexual behaviour often does take place under the influence of alcohol. Further study of the stories produced by the sexually aroused, but sober, group revealed the presence of the classical Freudian sexual symbols. This suggests that where restraints are very strong, perhaps the only expression possible is of a disguised, symbolic type in fantasy.¹⁸

Another kind of displacement of aggression probably occurs in the case of racial prejudice. The ‘scapegoat’ theory of prejudice states that aggression is displaced onto members of minority groups because they are in a weaker position to retaliate. As a matter of fact, as we shall see later, a good deal of racial prejudice is more a matter of fantasy than of behaviour, since many prejudiced people do not engage in any hostile or discriminatory behaviour. This represents a further degree of displacement. Several experiments suggest that there may be something in this theory: in one early experiment¹⁹ a number of American students expressed greater prejudice towards Mexicans after being severely frustrated. Clinical studies of very

prejudiced people show that they are very frustrated and very aggressive.²⁰ The position is complicated, since experiments have also found that frustration does not produce more displaced aggression, and prejudiced people in the case studies appeared to be aggressive in general, and not only in displaced directions. It is possible that this is a mechanism of limited application, and that it only operates in some of the highly prejudiced. In any case displacement is not onto the most similar target, but to that which is socially prescribed.²¹

A very curious form of displacement is onto the self. It is found that some people on encountering difficult or frustrating situations tend to blame themselves, and can be observed picking, poking and scratching themselves. This personality trait can be assessed by questionnaires asking questions such as 'Do you think that you deserve more punishment than you get?' There is some evidence that self-aggression is a result of displaced aggression. Sears³ found that 12-year-olds who were self-aggressive were those who at the age of 5 had been treated rather punitively but had not been permitted to express any outward aggression. In an experiment in which students were insulted by high and low status instigators it was found that authoritarians expressed considerable hostility towards the low status instigator, but that when annoyed by a high status person they blamed themselves¹³ – suggesting that self-blame occurs in some people when it is unsafe to blame others. Another possible interpretation of self-aggression is that it is the result of introjecting physical punishment. It will be shown in Chapter 9 that under certain conditions children will start reacting to their own behaviour as their parents would do. In a study of individual 9-year-olds it was found by this author that some said they 'would feel so cross with myself that I could kick myself' for the same misbehaviour for which their parents reported using physical punishment.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN AGGRESSIVENESS

It is found that there are great differences in aggressiveness between individuals, and between people of different sex, social class and cultural background. There is evidence from the statistical studies mentioned above that there is some generality about aggressiveness of different kinds, though it may be necessary to distinguish between 'hostility' and 'aggression' (see p. 48).⁴

Such individual differences can partly be explained in terms of

childhood experience. It was expected by frustration-aggression minded psychologists that children subjected to early weaning and other forms of frustration would become more aggressive in temperament – i.e. more likely to react aggressively in appropriate situations. There is little evidence that this is the case, but children who were rejected by their parents or who had very cold and unsatisfactory relations with them are liable to show various forms of aggressiveness, including psychopathic delinquency. More light is shown on the kinds of discipline which restrain aggression by a very valuable study by Sears and others.²² The mothers of 379 children were interviewed, and material gathered both on the use of various types of discipline and of the amount of aggression shown by the children. Aggression was least when there was little permissiveness of aggression, but when it was also not punished; aggression was greatest when it was allowed to take place but punished afterwards. Punishment probably arouses further aggression and it is necessary to use other, non-punitive, types of discipline. As was shown above, there is some evidence that when aggression is severely punished at home, it may become displaced into other situations outside the home, or onto the self.

It seems that aggression can also be learnt through identification with the parents, a process considered previously in connection with the origins of achievement motivation. In most societies men are more aggressive than women. One study²³ showed that boys whose fathers were away during the war were less aggressive than those whose fathers were present. There was no difference for daughters. Since boys identify with fathers more than do girls, this finding is consistent with the idea that aggression is acquired partly through identification with the father. Another study²⁴ found a correlation between aggressiveness and identification with father.

One group difference which is always found is that men are more aggressive than women – including the number of violent crimes committed, and the amount of college furniture broken, as well as scores on tests. This is partly due to learning the appropriate sex-roles through identification with father, though these in turn require explanation. It is partly due to the stronger inner restraints women acquire in childhood. However it is found that even 3–5-year-old boys in doll-play situations are liable to engage in violent actions such as stuffing the doll's head into the lavatory.²⁵ It is likely that there are innate sex differences in aggressiveness, and this is sup-

ported by experiments in which male sex hormone is injected into animals: the effect is to make them more aggressive and dominant.²⁵ There are also, in Britain and America, considerable class differences on all aspects of aggression. It is found that middle-class parents are less permissive about aggression, and working-class parents make more use of physical punishment – i.e. they are both more aggressive and encourage aggression more. At one time the frustrations of working-class life would have been invoked as a source of this aggression, but the new findings about the origins of aggression suggest that it is more likely to be the affronts to self-esteem which are continuously provided by the existence and behaviour of more fortunate people.

It is a common observation by anthropologists that primitive societies vary considerably in their aggressiveness. Is this due to variations in the frustrations of the environment, inherited differences, or different ways of bringing up children? The only positive research findings so far bear on the last factor. It is found that very warlike tribes such as the Sioux arouse and encourage aggression in young children, while very peaceful societies are non-permissive towards aggression. In this respect as in others there is *congruence* between the kind of personality trait needed in a given society, and the methods of child-rearing. In a statistical comparison of 75 primitive societies, Whiting and Child²⁶ found that there was more anxiety about aggression in societies in which aggression was heavily punished and that in these societies there tends to be very indirect gratification of aggressive impulses: they practise witchcraft and sorcery and engage in such indirect aggression as sticking pins in wax models of other people.

CONCLUSION

How far is aggression, together with crime and war, an essential part of human nature? In the first place, it looks as if aggression is the natural response to arbitrary frustration and attacks on self-esteem. On the other hand the existence of peaceful tribes and non-aggressive individuals in our society shows that at any rate overtly aggressive behaviour can be trained out by suitable socialization techniques – warm relations with parents who do not permit aggressive behaviour and do not punish it. The evidence on the mass media suggests that mildly aggressive films in a remote and conventional

setting are more likely to discharge aggression than to encourage it. On the other hand aggression which is nearer to real life is disturbing to children, and there is more likelihood of imitation. It may be questioned how far we would want to eliminate aggression entirely. Michael Innes in his *Operation Pax* presents a horrifying picture of what people might be like whose aggressive tendencies had been removed. In order to achieve positive and constructive changes in society it is necessary to deal with a great deal of opposition, and a certain amount of rather indirect aggression may be needed. It has been suggested that one reason why women are so rarely prominent as innovators and reformers is that they have a lower level of aggression than men, and tend for example to react to social pressure by submitting to it.

Chapter 5

DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

Juvenile delinquency is one of our most pressing social problems. Despite the collection of an impressive body of empirical data, the crime rate increases regularly every year. What are the basic causes of delinquency – do they lie in inheritance, childhood experiences or in society? How successful are present methods of dealing with criminals, and could other methods do any better? What are the long-term prospects, and is there any hope of preventing delinquency?

THE MAIN TYPES OF DELINQUENT

'Delinquent' will be taken to refer to law-breakers under the age of 21, 'criminal' to older ones. Since laws are such a diverse, and to some extent an arbitrary, collection of regulations, delinquents also consist of a somewhat miscellaneous group of people. As we shall see later, an important section of them are those who are unfamiliar with certain laws through coming from a different cultural background, although in fact most crime consists of theft or violence. There is also an important source of error in defining delinquency in terms of those caught by the police and found guilty – only about 50% of crimes known to the police in this country are ever cleared up. It is likely that the rest are committed by those found guilty of further crimes, since the persistent delinquent breaks the law very frequently. On the other hand, there may be people who are more difficult to catch, or who the police are less willing to prosecute – such as very intelligent delinquents, and those who commit various kinds of middle-class crime.

Granted that law-breakers are a miscellaneous group, how can they most usefully be sub-divided into types? One way is to classify them on the basis of the kind of offence committed, and this may turn out to be a valuable procedure. Psychologists, however, usually

prefer to classify them in accordance with their personality and social situation, since it seems that those who are psychologically similar may commit a variety of crimes. As we will show later, the most useful basis for classification would be to group together those who respond to the same treatment. Unfortunately it is not yet possible to produce a final classification based on this principle. However, several statistical studies point to the existence of various more or less distinct types, which we will describe, and use in this chapter.

One very common type of juvenile delinquent is the 'pseudo-social' delinquent, so called because he is perfectly well behaved towards other members of his gang, but not to people outside of it. This type emerged from a factor analysis of the behaviour and background of 500 child-guidance cases in Illinois.¹ It was found that these boys are psychologically normal, but are very hostile to people in authority and reject the wider mores of the world outside their gang. Their background typically is a working-class delinquency area, and a home where they have been neglected. This is probably a very common type of delinquent, especially among working-class male juvenile delinquents – the group for whom the delinquency rate is highest.

'Psychopaths' constitute a quite different, though rather miscellaneous, category of people. They differ from the first group in that the personality is highly disturbed, though not in a neurotic or psychotic way. They have in common a tendency to break the law repeatedly, to be unreliable and irresponsible and to have very little guilt, or other forms of self-control. Some of them are extremely impulsive in that they follow every minor whim, some are aggressive, others are completely cold and callous, having no regard for other people's feelings. The causation of this condition seems to lie partly in innate neurological factors, partly in early childhood experience. Psychopaths are of great theoretical interest and also of great practical importance since they are not reformed by most present methods of treatment.

A third group of offenders consist of those suffering from some kind of neurotic disturbance, who work out their inner conflicts in crime, usually of an apparently 'unmotivated' variety, since they have no conscious motive for e.g. stealing handbags. These people can belong to any social class and to either sex. There are no doubt other types of offenders. It may be useful to discard the 'psychopath' category and use instead groupings of people with aggressive, impulsive and affectionless tendencies.

Different psychological theories about the causes of crime can to some extent be reconciled by saying that they apply to different kinds of delinquent. Thus psychoanalytic theories, in their emphasis on the unconscious significance of criminal acts, apply most clearly to members of our third type, but probably not at all to the others – for whom the motivation is often all too clear. On the other hand, theories of social learning and social influence apply particularly to the pseudo-social delinquent. Such theories do not supply a complete explanation, and we shall have to look at all the main causes of crime before a complete account can be given.

We shall regard as a 'cause' any empirical variable which, if manipulated, produces a change in the crime rate. Is crime due to inheritance, or environment, and is it due to early childhood experience or to later stresses? As we shall see, it is partly due to all these things; different part-causes combine together, so that if one is very strong, or if several of them add together, the result is a delinquent. Each part-cause has a known statistical weight over a large sample, so that it is possible to estimate the chances that a given person will be a delinquent.

GENETIC AND PHYSIOLOGICAL FACTORS

Do genetic factors, inherited from parents, have any influence in making a person delinquent? The best way of finding out is by means of twin studies: if a personality attribute is inherited, then identical co-twins should share it more frequently than fraternal co-twins. It is found that 85% of the identical co-twins of juvenile delinquents are also delinquent, compared with 75% for fraternal co-twins.² This indicates a very slight genetic influence. On the other hand, for adult criminals the corresponding percentages are 68 and 35, and for psychopaths 53 and 25 – showing that for more persistent or more disturbed criminals inheritance plays a larger part. (The figures for schizophrenia are 87 and 14.) If the twin-study method is reliable (see next chapter) this suggests that inheritance plays little part in juvenile delinquency – and possibly none for pseudo-social delinquents, but that it is a part-cause of psychopathy and adult crime.

Various physiological factors have been thought to be typical of criminals. It was thought by Lombroso that there was a criminal face with receding forehead, large ears and a ferocious expression. Careful

comparisons of large numbers of delinquents with non-delinquents from a similar social background have shown that there is absolutely nothing in this. The same is true of the idea that delinquents are smaller or weaker than other boys – as a matter of fact they are rather stronger than their non-delinquent peers, as the result of possessing a different physique.³

There are several respects in which delinquents are physiologically different from other people, though it must be emphasized that the differences to be reported are of a statistical kind, showing differences between groups, so that there are many exceptions to the average results. One of the most interesting findings has been the discovery that delinquents tend to be of muscular physique. Sheldon has developed a scheme of classifying people along three dimensions of physique. Individuals can be measured and plotted on the chart.

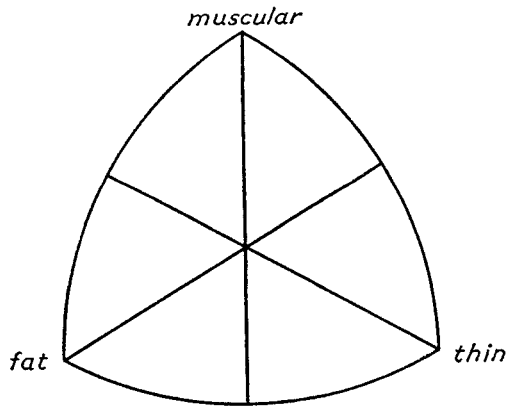


Fig. 2

It has been found that 60% of delinquents fall in the muscular section of the chart compared with 31% of non-delinquent boys.⁴ Similarly, fewer of the delinquents are of linear (thin and bony) physique. It is by no means clear, however, whether the delinquency causes the physique (through taking more active exercise) or whether the physique causes the delinquency (muscular strength giving greater success at fighting and running away). It is more likely that both a muscular physique and a general failure to form inner restraints are jointly inherited, or the result of common biological processes.

A second way in which some delinquents differ physiologically is in respect of the electrical rhythms in the brain, as recorded in the electroencephalogram. It must be emphasized that in the present state of knowledge the significance of these electrical rhythms is not understood – all they tell us is which part of the brain is active, and when the activity is taking an unusual form. It is found that delinquents in general have an EEG no different from that of other people, but that 50–75% of psychopaths have a strong ‘theta’ rhythm, consisting of slow waves of electrical activity.⁵ The twin studies showed that psychopaths, but not ordinary juvenile delinquents, inherit a tendency towards law-breaking: the EEG evidence suggests a similar difference at the physiological level. Theta rhythms are commonly found in children and pass with age; when a delinquent is found to have this kind of EEG, it is regarded as a good sign, since he may improve simply through the passage of time, by maturation. The idea that this kind of delinquent is suffering from some kind of delayed maturation is supported by the findings on enuresis. While about 16% of normals wet their beds after the age of 10, this is true of 28% of unselected juvenile delinquents and 66% of psychopaths.⁶ Bed-wetting is, like the theta rhythm, typical of younger children.

CHILDHOOD SOCIALIZATION

The usual method of studying the effects of childhood experience may be illustrated from the Gluecks’ study.⁴ Five hundred boys between the ages of 11 and 16, who were persistent offenders and had been sent to correctional schools, were compared with 500 non-delinquent boys from the same social background, matched for age, intelligence and race. Numerous assessments were made by social workers of the families of the two groups, and any differences found were regarded as partially responsible for the delinquency. There are various difficulties with this approach which have not entirely been surmounted, and are discussed in Chapter 9. We can now review the main findings of studies such as the Gluecks’ which have compared unselected delinquents with matched non-delinquents in terms of family background. These results have been repeatedly confirmed, and the differences found are large.

- (i) *Warmth v. rejection* is one of the best single indicators. Rejection by the father is rather more important than rejection by the mother;

the Gluecks found that 60% of their delinquents had been so rejected, as opposed to 19% of the controls.

(ii) *Type of discipline* is equally important. If it is too harsh and punitive on the one hand, or too weak and inconsistent on the other, delinquency may result (though of different forms). The best discipline from this point of view is firm and consistent, and makes use of reasoning and of love-withdrawal as opposed to physical punishment.

(iii) *Autocratic-democratic*. As with discipline, too much or too little freedom at home can both give rise to delinquency, though of different kinds.

(iv) *Broken homes*. Absence of a parent leads to delinquency: delinquents compared to matched non-delinquents come from broken homes in 50% and 34% of cases respectively. The effect of conflict *inside* the home, however, is greater than this. Wilkins has shown that boys born during 1934-43, who were aged 4-5 during the war when many fathers were away, have had a persistently high crime rate over a number of years.⁷

(v) *Delinquent and disturbed parents*. It is found that delinquents are far more likely to have parents who are themselves offenders, or who are alcoholic, neurotic or mentally retarded.

These are the socialization variables which are associated with, and probably cause, delinquency in general. Special kinds of delinquent personality have particular kinds of family background. The pseudo-social delinquent has a history of family neglect, and weak discipline. The psychopath has been rejected by his family and given heavy physical punishment; he may come from a broken home or from no home at all. The neurotic personality will be considered in more detail in the next chapter: he has often had a very intense relation with parents, over-strong moral pressure, and conflict between parents.

While childhood experiences can be thought of as *adding* to genetic predispositions, they also *interact* with them. Thus there is evidence that the thin and bony, while less liable to crime on average, are more affected by a delinquent-making home life.³

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS

The delinquency rate is found to vary not only as a result of child-rearing variables, but also with sociological factors. If different areas in a large city are compared, it is found that the proportion of people in an age-group who break the law in a given period is very different in different areas. The rate may be as much as 25 times as great in one area as in another. These 'delinquency areas' were first discovered in Chicago, and have since been traced in many other cities. In the American studies it has usually been found that there is most crime in broken-down tenements near the centre of the city, where there is little family life and no community centre, and where buildings are partly used for commercial and industrial purposes. The areas of highest delinquency in British towns are often in housing estates, especially where community facilities are inadequate.

The variable most strongly correlated with the delinquency rates of areas is poverty and social class. A study of 155 census tract areas in Baltimore⁸ found that the juvenile delinquency rate correlated -0.80 with percentage of houses owner-occupied, 0.73 with overcrowding, -0.53 with rent and -0.51 with years of education completed. How far is this a genuine phenomenon, and how far due to the police keeping a stricter eye on the working classes? Middle-class adolescents can often let off steam behind college walls, and the only trouble they get into is with educational authorities rather than the police. Older middle-class people are tempted to commit offences other than theft or violence, and the various kinds of 'white collar crime' are hard to detect – income-tax avoidance, bogus expense claims and complex business illegalities. Nevertheless sociological studies of delinquency areas support the statistical findings – in these areas there is little support for conventional law and order. Working-class boys in adolescence find that they can't compete at school with middle-class boys, and that they are not likely to acquire advancement and prosperity by conventional means. They react partly by setting up new standards of achievement, now defined in terms of toughness, speed on motor bikes and strange clothes; they also attempt to gain the same ends by deviant means, such as theft and fraud.

Coloured minority groups have a high delinquency rate; American negroes have a rate 5.5 times that of whites.⁹ However, this is partly an effect of social class, and if whites and negroes of the same class are compared the ratio is 3.2. In the Baltimore study it was found

that the highest delinquency rates occurred in areas where there was most racial mixture, and that districts entirely populated by negroes had quite a low delinquency rate. Similar considerations to those brought forward for social class apply to coloured minority groups, who also are blocked in their aspirations. For both racial and class differences in crime, part of the explanation lies in child-rearing. It is known that all of the conditions which we showed were related to crime (with race and class held constant) are more common in the working classes and for racial minority groups. A striking example is broken homes: the majority of American negroes come from broken homes, as the result of quite different customs concerning marriage. Often it is found that minority groups have recently moved from another cultural setting and they have simply not learnt or basically accepted the new rules and regulations. One example of this is that negroes who have moved north from the southern States often get into trouble with pilfering from their employers – this is an accepted practice in the south but not in the north.

PERSONALITY FACTORS

Given that delinquents come from different kinds of genetic and childhood backgrounds, we should expect that they would be different kinds of people from non-delinquents, i.e. that they would differ in personality. Some sociologists have maintained that there are no such differences, and that sociological factors are the sole cause of crime. If one takes some of the most familiar personality traits, it is true that no differences are found. Delinquents are no less *intelligent* than non-delinquents from similar backgrounds apart from a weakness in verbal abilities. It has been suggested that delinquents are *extraverted*: since extraverts are slow at some kinds of learning, this would explain the failure of delinquents to acquire inner restraints.¹⁰ However, it has been found that delinquents in general, as well as recidivists, are no more extraverted than other people, although psychopaths are.¹¹ Some psychologists have suggested that delinquents are *neurotic*. The research position is rather complicated: work with the Maudsley Personality Inventory gets this result, but research with other tests, including the MMPI does not. It is very likely that only certain types of delinquent are neurotic, especially, as was suggested earlier, those who commit unmotivated offences.

The author carried out a survey of the literature comparing the personalities of delinquents and non-delinquents, and came to the conclusion that the differences fall into four main areas.¹² These are as follows:—

(i) Weak conscience and weak guilt feelings, tendency to cheat in tests.

(ii) Rejection of authority, preference for influence of delinquent peer-group (pseudosocial delinquents are high on this dimension).

(iii) Impulsiveness, weakness of 'ego-control', tendency to cut corners in maze tests.

(iv) Weakness of sympathy; aggressiveness, inaccurate perception of others' feelings.

Groups of unselected delinquents have repeatedly been found to differ on average from non-delinquents along these four traits. This does not mean to say that all delinquents show these four qualities, but that most show one or more of them. Pseudo-social delinquents have the second, psychopaths have one or more of the first, third and fourth. Tests have also been devised which give a very good discrimination between delinquents and others¹³ and they seem to be measuring a combination of these traits.

One variable that discriminates very sharply is that of sex: boys are about 8 times as delinquent as girls, the precise ratio varying with the cultural conditions. As with aggressiveness, the explanation of this difference lies partly in instinctive equipment, and partly in socialization; it is also due to the different sex-role. While it is the boys in juvenile gangs who are supposed to be tough and daring and break the law, it is reported to be the girls who encourage them to do so. The crimes which women do commit are predominantly sexual offences and shop-lifting.

Another variable is age: the peak age for breaking the law is 15–16, and the proportion of offenders declines steadily from this point. All children are naughty, but some take longer to learn the rules than others. Gang-members get wives and steady jobs when they are 21–22, and leave the gang. After the age of 30 the only law-breakers left are hardened professional criminals, together with various deeply disturbed personalities who have not been reformed by the current methods of treatment.

METHODS OF TREATMENT

In this section we shall be mainly concerned with the reformatory aspects of penal methods. We shall not consider the retribution aspect, and deterrence will be considered briefly towards the end of this section. The usual way of assessing the success of a given method of treatment is to find the known reconviction percentage (KRP) after 3 or 5 years. It has been found that the majority who are going to break the law again do so in the first 3 years. Others may have committed further offences and not been found out, so we have to be content with the percentage of these who are *known* to have done so. Whether prison or probation have any other effects on the personality is of course not taken into account by this index.

To begin with, how successful are current penal methods, as assessed in this way? The following table gives some specimen results.

TABLE I
Specimen Reconviction Rates

	%
<i>Probation</i> ¹⁴ (first offenders, aged 17–20, from 1948)	31
<i>Detention in Remand Homes</i> ¹⁵ (first offenders, aged 14–16, from 1945)	44
<i>Prison</i> ¹⁶ (first offenders, aged 21–29; short sentences)	24
<i>Detention Centre</i> (first offenders)	33
<i>Preventive Detention</i>	42
<i>Corrective Training</i>	58
<i>Borstal</i>	65
<i>Fines</i> ¹⁷ (10-year follow-up)	23

NOTE: Unless otherwise stated, a 3-year follow-up was used, and the sentences completed in 1958.

To interpret these figures, several points should be noted. The figures are not all for first offenders, and those sentenced on a second or later occasion have a higher failure rate. Adults on probation for a first offence have a failure rate of only 23%, while for third and subsequent offenders it is 50%. In the second place, different age-groups are involved, and younger offenders are always less successfully reformed than older ones: in the case of probation the failure rate varies from 43% for 8–10-year-olds to 26% for those over 30.¹⁴ This is partly because criminal tendencies subside with age. Thirdly, the reconviction rate varies with the total crime rate, and not all the figures given are for the same years.

Most important of all, it is not really possible to compare the efficacy of different forms of treatment in this way, since quite different sorts of people receive the different sentences. However, as a result of the rather varied sentencing habits of different courts, it is possible to follow up essentially similar individuals who have been given different sentences. Wilkins¹⁸ has compared various groups of offenders, matched on their likelihood of failure, as shown by a prediction table. He found that open borstals had a higher success rate than closed borstals, at all levels of expected failure. It was also found that those who were in prison for 4 months or less had the same failure rate as similar people who spent 15 months to 3 years in prison.¹⁹ Another study found no difference in failure rates between courts where most people were placed on probation and courts where the majority were sent to prison.²⁰

How effective is corporal punishment when looked at in this way?

TABLE II

*Subsequent offences and corporal punishment*²¹

<i>Subsequent Convictions</i>	<i>Sentenced to Corporal punishment</i>		<i>Not sentenced to Corporal punishment</i>	
		%		%
None	106	40.6	601	41.7
Minor offences	22	8.4	179	11.3
Major offences (non-violent)	89	34.1	525	33.2
Violent offences	44	16.9	219	13.8

This shows the subsequent offences committed by a large number of offenders, some of whom were flogged, between 1921-48. The table shows that those who were flogged behaved slightly worse afterwards, and that this difference is greater for violent offences. However, there was no precise matching of the criminal dispositions of those flogged and not flogged, so that this evidence is not conclusive: it merely fails to show any reformatory effect from corporal punishment.

So far we have compared total success and failure rates for various kinds of treatment, with no attempt to consider *which* people are successfully reformed by a given method. We have seen that about 75% of first offenders who go to prison are successes: the remaining one in four break the law again and some of them become hardened

recidivists who may go to prison 30 times or more. It is possible to predict in advance whether a person will be reformed or not. A table was devised by Mannheim and Wilkins¹⁸ to predict success at Borstal. Points are given for factors such as drunkenness, previous offences, living in an industrial area, and unstable work record.

It was found that those scoring above 40 had a failure rate of 87%, while those scoring below 10 had a KRP of 13%. In other words, we know that a large proportion of those now going to Borstal will not be reformed by it. Another study studied the success rates of American naval delinquents treated by group therapy.²² It was expected that those under the best supervisors would be most successful. The average results showed no such difference between supervisors, but further analysis showed that the more 'mature' delinquents did respond in this way to good supervision whereas the less mature were actually less successfully reformed under the good supervisors.

These studies seem to establish the point that a given form of treatment can have a good effect on some law-breakers, but a negligible or even harmful influence on others. Is it possible to work out a grand prediction table showing what treatment each individual should have? It is certainly not possible yet, though the research which has been done so far does provide some guidance. One major difficulty is that much the same kind of people react positively to all forms of treatment – these are the more mature, less disordered personalities. The real problem is to find methods of treatment which will be successful with the important minority who are untouched by conventional methods. We will now consider briefly some of the newer forms of treatment which have been tried out in various places, to see which groups of offenders, if any, they would be suitable for.

Behaviour therapy will be considered in the following chapter, but one particular form is relevant here. A case has been reported where a man with an unmotivated tendency to attack perambulators and handbags was cured by making him sick 96 times by apomorphine, in the presence of these objects.²³ Similar kinds of aversion therapy have been widely used for drug addiction and alcoholism. The method appears to be specific for narrowly localized obsessions and addictions.

Psychoanalysis has been largely abandoned in connection with prisoners though it is given to some people on probation, and *counsel-*

ling and *group therapy* are being widely experimented with. These are no good for those delinquents who are hostile to people in authority, but the success rate for some groups is increased – though the various published studies have not obtained entirely consistent results.

Milieu therapy and *therapeutic community* treatment consists of a residential institution run on more relaxed and permissive lines than is usual, where efforts are made to establish personal relationships with the boys, sometimes with a system of self-government and with individual counselling. Several studies suggest that the success rate is higher with this kind of régime, though apart from the open and closed borstals study no very careful equating of inmates was achieved.²⁴

None of these methods has really solved the problem of reforming either pseudosocial delinquents or psychopaths. The first group behave very well inside institutions, with the intention of getting out as quickly as possible but no intention of mending their ways. The Gluecks found²⁵ that these people reacted very well to being placed in the Army, and it may be that insertion in some new, non-delinquent setting would be the most effective treatment. Psychopaths appear to be very resistant to all forms of treatment, though the passage of time heals those who were initially immature. There is need for experimentation with new ways of curing the various members of this group.

There is another problem with the suggestion that treatment should be fitted to the personality of the offender, rather than to the heinousness of the offence – that this may be regarded as unfair. In fact there is great variation, as we have seen, between the sentencing practices of different courts, so that it is quite impossible to predict what sentence will be passed. There also exists, in the Borstal Classification Centre, an example of the kind of procedure which we are advocating. Boys sentenced to Borstal are first sent here and given various tests and assessments, which are the basis of a decision to send them to one kind of Borstal rather than another.

THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY

Can delinquency be prevented? One possible method of course is to increase the deterrent power of penal methods. However, studies of the effects of introducing and removing capital and corporal punishment suggest that these more severe methods have little deterrent

effect. The reason for this is probably that the people who commit the violent crimes for which these are the punishments do so under the influence of uncontrollable impulses, upon which thoughts of later punishment have no influence. On the other hand, it is likely that the less impulsive individuals who commit for example motoring offences would be deterred by more severe sentences.

A second approach is to manipulate the empirical variables which cause crime so that the crime rate is reduced. Not much can be done about the genetic factor – eugenic measures only work when the weight of inheritance is much greater than it is here. The socialization factor is already being manipulated to some extent by placing children from very bad homes in foster homes. More could be done to familiarize parents with the empirical consequences of different child-rearing methods. On the other hand, if parents don't like a child, telling them of the effects of rejection is unlikely to have much effect. Sociological factors are also very difficult to do very much about: if crime is a function of unequal chances of success in an acquisitive society, nothing short of changing society will remove it. On the other hand it is possible to do something about delinquent areas; town planners could concentrate on giving them priority in slum-clearance, and take care not to move the inhabitants en bloc to a new estate where the same patterns may accompany them.

There are, however, three positive steps which can be taken to prevent crime – community centres, special treatment at school and counselling of delinquency-prone individuals. It has been found in several studies that delinquents are less likely to have belonged to youth clubs, and that delinquency areas are poorly provided with community and recreational facilities. Shaw²⁶ organized community centres and summer camps in several areas of Chicago, with the result that the delinquency rate fell in these areas. Not all such experiments have been equally successful, and it should be noted that Shaw also organized a good deal of local support and sympathy for parolees and ex-convicts.

As mentioned above, much delinquency starts with failure and frustration at school. This can be avoided by more special schools and classes for backward children, and greater understanding by teachers of the problems of working class boys who are poor at verbal skills. Another possibility is to identify those children who are likely to become delinquent and to give them special counselling. It is certainly possible to identify the delinquency-prone at an early

age: perhaps the most satisfactory way is by means of behaviour-rating scales.²⁷ Whether or not such counselling can be effective remains to be demonstrated, as the only large-scale attempt to date showed a negligible effect,²⁴ though here the counselling methods used were miscellaneous and unsophisticated.²⁸

WIDER CONSIDERATIONS

What are the long-term prospects for crime in our society? Apart from a slight recession during 1950–55, there has been a steady increase since before the war, not only in Great Britain, but in all parts of the world. What will happen next depends on which of the various possible explanations for the crime wave is correct. In the first place, it could be due to a reduced influence of parents, due to the emergence of ‘teen-age’ society with its own standards of conduct. Secondly it could be due to the growth of affluence in a context of social inequality: it has been found that aggressive crimes increase during times of prosperity.¹⁶ There has also been an increased concern about material possessions, propagated by television and other forms of advertising. Both the development of teen-age society and the concern with material possessions have gone further in the U.S.A. than elsewhere, and the crime rate is extremely high here, particularly in the poor areas of big cities. A third explanation of the crime wave is the ‘delinquent generation’ theory (p. 64), from which we would expect the crime rate to decline when this generation reaches the mid-20’s, in about 1964. Against this, however, is the fact that there has also been a crime wave in countries like Sweden where fathers were not absent from home during the war.

If the first two theories provide the true explanation of the crime increase, we can expect the crime rate to increase indefinitely unless steps are taken to control the way in which society is changing. A most interesting attempt to reduce delinquency by changing the structure of society is the mobilization for youth project in the lower East Side of New York. Jobs will be provided for 16–21 year-olds, who will thus have an opportunity to succeed via work rather than crime. Education and training will also be strengthened and efforts made to stimulate local community leadership.²⁹

Chapter 6

MENTAL HEALTH AND MENTAL DISORDER

How do people become mentally deranged, what are the psychological processes involved, how can they be cured, and is the number of such people increasing? While these are partly problems of medical psychiatry, social psychology has contributed both to the study of the environmental causes of mental ill-health and in the development of social methods of therapy. While some conditions, such as the organic psychoses, have a definite chemical basis and can rightly be regarded as 'diseases', the neuroses and to some extent the main psychoses are reactions to stress by those who have been unwittingly encouraged to use faulty techniques of adjustment in childhood. They may also have inherited a low tolerance for frustration or a tendency to react to stress in certain ways.

DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION

What is regarded as abnormal or disordered behaviour varies considerably between communities and historical epochs. In practice people are treated by psychiatrists if they experience mental discomfort of some kind, or if they are a nuisance to others. Many patients suffer from some discomfort—anxiety, depression and disorders of thought; on the other hand manic and psychopathic cases do not—they are simply a nuisance to other people. The person suffering from a behaviour disorder is usually ineffective, underfunctioning in his work and social relations—although in some cases he is able to produce important new ideas or imaginative material. In short the mentally ill are unhappy, a nuisance to others, or ineffective, and sometimes all three. Societies vary in the extent to which, for example, having visions or being homosexual is regarded as acceptable.

Societies also vary in the extent to which it is felt that certain conditions should be treated, or simply punished. There is a long-term trend to punish fewer conditions and treat more, as successful methods of treatment become discovered. In this chapter, we need concern ourselves with these questions no longer: we shall simply be concerned with the causes and treatment of various kinds of behaviour commonly found in those who come, or are brought, for treatment.

The traditional way of sub-dividing behaviour disorders is into neuroses and psychoses. Neurotics are people who are easily upset, are unhappy, and who have one of a variety of localized symptoms, such as fear of particular objects, or some disturbance of bodily functioning. They are usually able to carry on, though their activities are handicapped and restricted. Psychotics are often in mental hospitals, usually can't do a job or cope with life without help, and are much more radically disturbed; they may have disturbances of thought, speech, or mood. The distinction between neurosis and psychosis seems to be a useful one: in one study it was found that the tests which distinguished between neurotics and normals did not distinguish between psychotics and normals¹ – showing that these are two quite independent tendencies, though it is conceivable that the same person might use both forms of adjustment at different times. Both psychoses and neuroses are further divided into categories, but it is by no means certain that the traditional divisions are the most useful. For one thing a pigeon-hole system leads to the difficulty that a patient may show symptoms belonging to more than one category, in which case it is difficult to place him – this does not arise with a system of dimensions. Several systems of dimensions have been proposed. Eysenck¹ has suggested the three dimensions of neuroticism, psychoticism and introversion-extraversion. Hysteria then corresponds to extraverted neurosis, anxiety states to introverted neurosis. Several investigators have developed other sets of dimensions, for example turning against the self (anxiety, depression, suicide), turning against others (crime, sexual perversion) and avoidance of others (schizophrenia).²

Although it seems likely that some such dimensional scheme will eventually be more satisfactory, most of the studies to be reported have made use of the traditional method of classification. We shall deal only with the main categories which are shown in the following paragraphs.

Neuroses: (i) Anxiety states, with free-floating anxiety, guilt or phobias; (ii) Hysteria, with over-dramatized behaviour, and bodily complaints such as paralyses and anaesthesias; (iii) Obsessions and compulsions.

Psychoses: (i) Schizophrenia, of which the main symptoms are withdrawal, disturbed thought processes and a failure of persistent, volitional behaviour; (ii) Mania and depression, consisting of disturbances of mood and judgment; (iii) Paranoia, consisting of systematized delusions, often of grandeur and persecution.

How extensive are these disorders? In the case of neurosis this is rather like asking how many people are tall, since there is no definite point at which a line can be drawn, although there is often a point in time at which a person gets suddenly worse and is said to have a 'nervous breakdown'. One American Army intake centre rejected 50% on psychiatric grounds, while another rejected less than 1%; the average percentage rejected as neurotic in the last war was 5.6.³ This last is perhaps a reasonable figure, and represents the point at which most psychiatrists would say that treatment was needed. The Leeds University health service report that 4% of men and 5% of women suffer from moderately severe symptoms (short of psychosis) during their university career.⁴ If a more lenient criterion is taken, a larger percentage of neurotics is found. In a sample survey of 5,000 Americans,⁵ it was found that 4% worried all the time, 11% were not happy, 19% had at some time felt they were going to have a nervous breakdown and 23% had had a problem for which professional help might have been useful. The rate for psychosis proper can be given more definitely: it is just over 1% whether we take students, prisoners, or the whole population, and 80% of these are schizophrenics.

Is the state of mental health getting worse under the supposedly increasing stresses of modern life? Doubtless more people with disorders are discovered or seek treatment, as a result of increased facilities and knowledge of the subject. However, the only systematic study of the subject shows that the level of hospital admissions for psychosis in Massachusetts has not increased since 1840.⁶ There has in fact been an increased number of admissions for psychotics over the age of 55, but it is argued that this is probably because these were previously managed within the family (cf. p. 186). It is possible that neuroses have increased, since these are less dependent on genetic

factors, and we know that neurosis, suicide and crime fluctuate with wars and the trade cycle. It has been suggested that primitive societies are free of mental disorders, but anthropologists report the presence of mental illness in virtually all societies investigated. A survey of chronic schizophrenics in rural Ghana found that they constituted 0.9% of the population – the rate in Europe and the U.S.A. is about 0.8%.⁷ It is probable on the other hand, that the psychosomatic disorders due to stress at work are less common. There are some mental abnormalities not found in civilized society at all, such as running amok, and Latah. The way in which a person breaks down is to some extent controlled by local conventions about how it shall be done, but the number of people liable to breakdown may be much the same.

GENETIC AND PHYSIOLOGICAL FACTORS

We shall consider three main sources of mental disorder – inheritance, childhood experiences, and later stress. Any one of these alone can produce a behaviour disorder, but more commonly there is a combination of two or three of them: a person may be born with a poor tolerance for stress, this is aggravated by faulty child-rearing, and he breaks down as a result of later difficulties.

It has long been known that some disorders go in families, but this does not prove that they are inherited – it could be due to the direct influence of parents on children. The best method of studying the extent of genetic factors is by means of identical and fraternal twins. Identical twins result from the division of one fertilized egg, and should therefore be genetically identical; fraternal twins result from the independent fertilization of two eggs, and therefore should be no more similar than ordinary siblings. If it is found that identicals are more alike in some respect than fraternal, this suggests that the condition is to some extent inherited. The main objection to this method is that identicals are likely to be reared in a more similar manner, so that the differences found may overestimate the effects of inheritance. The following table shows the percentage of co-twins of schizophrenics and others who are found to have the same kind of disorder.⁸

TABLE III

Rates of the same mental disorder in co-twins

	<i>Identical</i>	<i>Fraternal</i>
Schizophrenia	67-86	10-15
Manic-depressive states	70-100	15-29
Juvenile delinquency	85	75
Psychopathic personality	25	14
Neurosis	53	25

(These figures show the range of results found in several studies)

When the condition can be assessed along a continuous dimension, the correlation can be found between twins of the two kinds

	<i>Identical</i>	<i>Fraternal</i>
Intelligence	0.76-0.90	0.38-0.63
Neuroticism	0.85-0.93	0.22-0.72

The main conclusion of these studies is that all mental disorders are inherited to some extent, but that environmental factors are also important – otherwise the concordance rate for identicals would be 100%. Secondly, some conditions depend more strongly on inheritance than others – the psychoses most, followed by neurosis, and delinquency scarcely at all. The influence of environment can be demonstrated by another type of twin study, using identical twins who have been separated shortly after birth. Such twins are found to be less similar than identicals reared together.

Inheritance may take place via several genetic mechanisms. A large number of genes may be involved, resulting in a general statistical resemblance between relations, and a normal distribution in the population: this occurs with intelligence, height, and probably neuroticism. A single dominant gene may be responsible – in which case half the children will inherit the condition if one parent has it; this is the case with Huntington's Chorea, a rare form of psychosis. A single recessive gene produces the phenomenon of skipping generations and of carriers who do not show the condition themselves; certain kinds of mental deficiency are like this. Schizophrenia is thought by some to be inherited by two or more recessive genes, manic depression via two or more dominant ones.

Further evidence on the genetic aspect of mental disorders is provided by studies of physique. It is found that schizophrenia and anxiety neurosis are found more commonly among people of linear

physique; depression and paranoia, like delinquency are more often found in muscular people, and hysteria in fat people.* It should be emphasized that this is only a statistical relationship, corresponding to a correlation of about 0.3. As with delinquency there could be various possible explanations of this physique-temperament relationship, and it is probably due to linked genetical processes.

THE EFFECT OF CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES

For a long time the only evidence available on this question consisted of case-studies of patients. This is an unsatisfactory method, since normal people also turn out to have had strange childhoods in many cases, and it is essential to compare a fairly large group of patients with a group of normals of similar background, or with a contrasted group of patients. This has been done in a number of studies, and we shall report here the main findings.

We will consider the neuroses first, since childhood experience is more important here than for the psychoses. It was shown in the last chapter that delinquent and psychopathic states result from rejection and too much physical punishment. *Anxiety neuroses* are in a sense the opposite of delinquency – inner restraints are too strong rather than too weak – and result from the opposite kind of child-rearing. People with anxiety states are found to have had over-strict parents with whom they had a very intense relationship, and who used psychological as opposed to physical punishment.¹⁰ The dimension from delinquency to anxiety neurosis can be regarded to some extent as due to different degrees of conscience-formation, with aggression directed outward at one extreme, inward at the other. These people have a low tolerance for stress, and their reaction is to become anxious, since they have not learned any special techniques for reducing anxiety. In addition they may, during childhood, have had frightening experiences in particular situations, and phobias are acquired for these situations, which are a special source of anxiety.

Another common form of neurosis is *hysteria*, whose symptoms include various bodily complaints which are not caused by the usual processes treated by physicians. Getting out of things by pretending to be ill is common in children, and hysterical symptoms are found in immature and unintelligent people. Hysteria is however quite different from malingering, since once these defensive reactions have

* See Fig. 2 on p. 62, and reference 9.

been learnt they come into action outside the conscious control of the patient. Women are prone to hysteria, especially when they have had a dominating mother who has over-protected them, thus concentrating attention on bodily complaints.¹¹ Hysterical blindness may prevent people seeing what it makes them anxious to see, and any of these illnesses may serve to get them out of difficult situations, and make them the centre of attention and concern. At the same time, concentration on physical symptoms distracts the patient's attention from the real sources of anxiety in the outside world.

The psychoses are probably rather less affected by childhood experiences and often occur in people who as children showed certain behavioural tendencies related to the form of psychotic breakdown. *Schizophrenia*, for example is often found in people who as children were rather inhibited and tended to be isolated from other children. It is not clear how far such isolation is due to a failure to acquire social skills and how far it simply reflects inherited personality traits. Various patterns of parent behaviour have been reported in different studies – an angry and dominant mother, overprotection, conflict between the content and manner of communications – and it is not yet clear what the crucial factors are. Schizophrenic breakdowns usually occur in late adolescence, after a failure to deal with the problems of school or work, and represent a failure to adjust to the demands of adult life. The main adjustment mechanism is withdrawal from these sources of anxiety into a narrowed private world of fantasies, which grant some substitute need satisfaction.

Manic and *depressive* states are found in people from families which were over-concerned with prestige and social approval, and where there was unequal treatment of siblings.¹² In later life these people are upset by situations of failure, or possible failure. The condition often occurs at 40–50 in people who have been ambitious, sociable and successful. The manic reaction is an attempt to decrease anxiety by increased striving and it may also diminish anxiety through sheer motor activity. The depressive reaction occurs more often in people of strong conscience, who tend to blame themselves when things go wrong: in depression they simply give up the fight.

Paranoia consists of the adoption of delusions, often of grandeur and persecution. It occurs in people who for some reason are not in close touch with others, and thus able to test their beliefs. This in-

cludes the deaf, people with poor social contacts, and those who have been spoiled by their parents so that they are unaccustomed to checking their ideas against the reality of the reactions of the peer group. When faced by some great stress, such as failure, in later life, they adopt a set of beliefs which enable stress situations to be interpreted as harmless.

How far have the ideas of psychoanalytic theory been confirmed by this research? The Freudian theory has been confirmed in its emphasis on childhood factors and relations with parents, in the idea of a number of defence mechanisms, such as withdrawal, which enable anxiety to be reduced, and in the notion that symptoms may in some cases symbolize basic needs or conflicts (see p. 54). However, psychoanalytic theory largely failed to recognize the importance of genetic and physiological factors on the one hand, or of later sources of environmental stress on the other. Furthermore, while the general importance of relations with parents has been confirmed, the detailed relationships found were not those expected on a basis of Freudian theory.

THE EFFECTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL STRESS

Behaviour disorders are precipitated by various kinds of stress in the environment. If the stress is very great, as in concentration camps, or some military situations, virtually everyone will show disordered behaviour, though not usually psychotic behaviour. With lesser degrees of stress only those who are genetically disposed to do so, or who have been socialized in the ways described above, will do so. Not only behaviour disorders, but bodily ill-health too, is brought about by environmental difficulties. In one study it was found that mental and physical illnesses were concentrated in the same group of people. It was also found that individuals were likely to have a series of illnesses of both kinds at certain periods in their lives – corresponding to times of great stress – such as death of parents, getting divorced or emigrating.¹⁴

Many kinds of stress are realistic – such as exposure to danger in military service. Other situations are interpreted as stressful by an individual where they need not be interpreted in this way at all. For example, students may break down when they realize they are not going to do as well as they hoped – moderate or even considerable success is interpreted as ignominious failure, as a result of the

previous acquisition of a very high level of aspiration and fear of failure. In other cases particular situations may be a source of quite unusual anxiety because of unfortunate childhood experiences in relation to people in authority or enclosed spaces.

The form the behaviour disorder takes is partly determined by the nature of the stress – breakdowns in the Army are different from breakdowns among students, and symptoms are influenced by local conventions and customs, as is shown by anthropological reports. More important, however, is the early experience, which has taught people to handle stress in different ways, by means of the various defence mechanisms of withdrawal, and so on, described above. Different people exposed to the same stress will produce different kinds of behaviour disorder.

War is a source of very great stresses. In World War II three-quarters of a million American soldiers became psychiatric casualties and were treated for war neurosis. The proportion who break down in this way depends on the degree of exposure to danger, and on how long it lasts – the breakdown rate in the R.A.F. was found to be directly related to the casualty rate.¹⁵ Several reports show that soldiers who are kept continuously in action will all break down after about seven weeks. This shows that behaviour disorders can occur in people whose genetic and childhood background is normal if the environmental stress is great enough. However, about 60% of them recover very quickly after removal from the scene of battle, and rest. Prisoner of war camps and concentration camps are also sources of great stress. In Korean prison camps the prisoners were exhausted, starved, cold, ill and frequently threatened with death. Under these conditions many went into an apathetic state in which they couldn't even be bothered to look after themselves. Most of these men recovered spontaneously within a fortnight of being repatriated.¹⁶ Under these conditions the neurotic break down most easily, but there is some evidence that psychotics are resistant to this particular kind of stress.

Social isolation seems to be a common factor among many categories of people known to have high rates of mental disorder – those in sparsely populated areas, people who live alone or have few social contacts, the unmarried, those who have moved into a different region or social class, and immigrants, especially when there are few of the same nationality in the area.¹⁷ One problem with these results is that they may be the result of mentally sick people choosing

to be isolated, to emigrate, or not being able to marry. It is very likely that social isolation is both a cause and an effect of mental disorder; the schizophrenia rate for the single is nearly four times that for the married, and that for the widowed is half-way between, suggesting that both processes are operative. While all behaviour disorders are associated with isolation, this is particularly true of suicide and schizophrenia; close social ties and group membership can be regarded as means of prevention and therapy for these states.

On the other hand social contacts can bring about behaviour disorders under some conditions. The name 'folie à deux' has been given to groups of two or more people whose disorders are mutually supportive, such as when they share the same delusion. It is found that this is particularly common with women rather than men, especially in the case of two sisters.¹⁸ Other instances where group membership can lead to the facilitation of behaviour disorders are groups of drug addicts and eccentric religious sects.

Social class is the source of considerable differences in rates of mental disorders, though it is not in any simple sense a cause of them. Several studies have found that schizophrenia is more common in the working classes: the lowest social class, containing 18.4% of the population, had 45.2% of the schizophrenics in one study.¹⁹ More middle class people are treated for neurosis, but is this simply because they know about, can afford and are willing to have treatment? Army rejection rates as well as surveys with personality tests show that neurotic tendencies are more common in the middle classes, though psychopathy and alcoholism are primarily working class conditions. Again it is not clear what causal process is responsible for these differences, whether it is a matter of class differences in child-rearing, the different stresses at different levels, or a tendency for, e.g. schizophrenics to be downwardly mobile. There are also class differences in treatment and response to treatment: middle class people are more likely to be given psychotherapy – because of their smaller social distance from the therapist; they are also looked after better by their families, and respond better to some kinds of treatment.

The work situation can be a source of stress in several ways. It is found that ulcers and similar psychosomatic complaints are most common in doctors and managers, particularly those who are ambitious and over-conscientious – i.e. who have anxiety about their work.²⁰ Another ulcer-prone group are the men operating the

switches on electrified railways – who are in danger of killing their mates at work on the track. As mentioned above students may break down, often just before examinations, largely because they are afraid that they are not going to do as well as they had hoped, in the face of the far stronger competition experienced at university as compared with school. Work that is too difficult, or too easy, or that is unsatisfying in other ways is a source of low job satisfaction, absenteeism and ultimately of behaviour disorders if it is impossible to change. When there are bad relations with other people in the work situation, particularly with immediate superiors, this also may become a source of mental ill-health.

THE TREATMENT AND PREVENTION OF BEHAVIOUR DISORDERS

Situational changes, producing apparently spontaneous cures, are one of the most important sources of recovery. It was mentioned above that 60% of war neurosis cases recover on being removed from the firing line. The rate of recovery for patients who are not given any treatment has been studied by several investigators. In a study of 500 people who had been unable to work for at least three months as a result of neurosis, and who received no psychiatric treatment, 45% had recovered after one year, 90% after 4 years.²¹ Psychotics also recover spontaneously, but at a lower rate. The processes behind spontaneous recovery are not known, but it is probable that the sources of stress change or disappear with the passage of time, or that people discover less disabling adjustments to their difficulties. A person for whom certain situations are a source of great anxiety, can work out a way of life in which these situations do not occur – his life may be restricted, but at least he is not anxious. There are some people who are very liable to break down, as a result of genetic and childhood factors. In their case, modifying the environment is not enough – they will find difficulties in any situation. The fact of spontaneous recovery creates a problem for methods of treatment proper: it has to be shown, for any kind of treatment, that the recovery rate produced is greater than the spontaneous recovery rate.

Psychotherapy is widely used with neurotic, and to a lesser extent with psychotic patients. In view of the fact that such patients have a definite rate of spontaneous recovery, as reported above, the ques-

tion arises whether psychotherapy can produce a more speedy recovery. Patients certainly do recover while they are receiving psychoanalysis and other forms of psychotherapy, but they might have recovered anyway: a psychoanalyst reported on several of his patients who recovered following the death of King George V.²² One of the best studies compared changes on objective test scores of 150 neurotic patients who were assigned at random to psychoanalysis, group therapy and a waiting list: all improved to the same extent.²³ Other follow-up studies report recovery rates under various kinds of psychotherapy, but these rarely exceed the spontaneous recovery rate.²⁴ On the other hand, differences in success rate have been reported between different therapists, and between different kinds of patient, and it seems likely that under suitable conditions psychotherapy can be very effective. Several studies show that therapists have a higher success rate when they are self-confident, low in anxiety and able to offer the patient a warm and supportive relationship. The patients who improve most as a result of psychotherapy are those who are emotionally distressed – and thus have some motivation for recovery, and those who are dependent, and thus prepared to accept a relationship with the psychiatrist.²⁵ First-born children stay in therapy longer, probably because they seek a social means of reducing anxiety (see p. 29); patients upset by situational stress recover faster for reasons discussed above; patients who have high intelligence and verbal skill, and who come from the same class and cultural background as the psychiatrist are found to make better progress in psychotherapy.

The *therapeutic community* is a way of running mental hospitals that is coming to be adopted in many places in greater or less degree. The traditional hospital was run rather like a prison: inmates were treated as if they were incapable of taking an active or responsible place in the community, and it has been found that the longer they have been inside the more they suffer from 'institutionalization' – i.e. they become apathetic, lose interest in the outside world and become quite dependent on the hospital.²⁶ In a therapeutic community the staff are trained to treat the patients less autocratically, to conduct group therapy in wards, and to provide a more therapeutic atmosphere throughout. There is considerable resistance on the part of the staff to the new methods, and in some cases entirely new staff have been selected. Problems of such organizational change are discussed further on p. 176. Patients are treated as responsible beings in

an effort to prevent them from becoming passive and dependent – they may help run clubs, take a part in the treatment of others and do jobs in the hospital. Social contacts between patients are encouraged, to prevent them from becoming withdrawn, and there is frequent group therapy. It is usual to have either daily or weekly meetings, of all staff and patients, for general discussion with no agenda. Contacts with the outside world are encouraged and life is made to resemble life outside. An important part of the treatment is work in groups alongside staff members. Patients work regular hours and are paid for what they do in a sheltered workshop within the hospital grounds.

Several follow-up studies show that there is a faster recovery rate under this kind of régime, just as there is for delinquents in similar establishments (see p. 71). It is essential that mental patients are also treated by tranquillizing drugs when necessary, indeed the growth of this type of hospital organization has only been made possible by the discovery of tranquillizers. Even so, there are liable to be destructive outbursts from time to time. One study found that the method was most successful with patients who were conformists rather than withdrawers, who were married, who had high ego-strength and who stayed for more than six months.²⁷

Behaviour therapy is another recent arrival on the mental health scene, and is of interest in that it is derived from learning theory. It takes various forms, of which three will be mentioned. Aversion therapy consists of giving people very unpleasant experiences which they associate with the kind of behaviour it is intended to prevent. Alcoholism can be cured by getting the patient to drink after he has been injected with antabuse or apomorphine – the effect in either case is to make the patient sick.²⁸ Enuresis is now widely treated by the Mowrer apparatus – wetting the bed closes an electrical circuit which rings a loud bell and wakes the child. The latter comes to anticipate this sequence, and wakes himself up before wetting the bed. Many thousands of cases have been treated in this way, and about 88% have been cured.²⁹ Phobias can be cured by the ‘gradient’ method in which patients become used to situations which resemble more and more closely the one that arouses anxiety. This can be done with fear of heights, of enclosed spaces, of going out alone in the street and so on. The difficulty with this method is that the number of trials needed may be very many, and it may be difficult to devise situations at intermediate points on the gradient.²⁸

While behaviour therapy appears to be very successful in cases of highly specific symptoms such as those described, there is no evidence that it can deal with more generalized disturbances of the personality. The fear of the psychoanalysts that if symptoms are cured the deeper disturbance will show itself in some other way does not seem to be confirmed by experience. On the other hand it seems likely that some kind of transference relation with the therapist is essential for the cure.

DRUGS AND OTHER PHYSICAL METHODS

We have discussed above three methods of treatment involving social contact or learning experiences. We must now mention the widely used physical methods. The introduction of tranquillizing drugs during the '50s has had a great effect on mental hospitals. Patients have become more amenable, therapeutic community units have been made possible, fewer patients need be kept under restraint, and the recovery rate has increased. In the New York State hospitals, tranquillizers were first introduced in 1955, and by 1960 50% of patients were on them. The discharge rate for those on drugs was twice that for the others and the total hospital population fell.³⁰ Although tranquillizers are also widely used in British hospitals, experimental trials have not shown much gain in recovery rates, perhaps because the average standards of treatment were better to begin with than in American hospitals.³¹ There is no doubt, however, that tranquillizers make agitated and aggressive patients more amenable, and it is hoped that combined with therapeutic community care, they can prevent most schizophrenics from turning into chronic, institutionalized patients. Numerous other drugs are also used, such as the barbiturates for relieving anxiety. Electro-convulsive treatment is mainly used in cases of depression, for which it has an 80% success rate, though a number of people become depressed again later. Other kinds of physical treatment, like insulin treatment and leucotomy, have declined in importance since the new methods have been discovered.

CONCLUSION

The position with regard to treatment has been revolutionized during the last ten years, with the discovery of the new methods. It is

no longer necessary for thousands of schizophrenics to deteriorate to the chronic condition. As for prevention, even less thought has been given in this field than in that of delinquency. Eugenic measures would be possible, particularly preventing schizophrenics or possible carriers marrying into the families of schizophrenics. A great deal could be done to educate parents in child-rearing, and this will be discussed later (p. 125). Stress due to work could be reduced by more vocational guidance, and by the elimination of stressful jobs.

One means of preventing mental disorder may be to spread knowledge and understanding of these conditions, so that those in trouble are treated sympathetically instead of being shunned. The B. B. C. ran a series of TV programmes on 'The Hurt Mind' which was designed to have this effect, and it was found that those who had seen these programmes were more willing to have social contacts with ex-patients and had greater confidence in the efficacy of psychiatric treatment.³¹ On the other hand six months of varied and intensive propaganda in a small Canadian town produced a lot of hostility towards the interviewers, but no attitude change whatever.³² The conditions under which mass communications are effective are discussed in Chapter 13.

Chapter 7

RACIAL AND INTERNATIONAL ATTITUDES

In this chapter we shall be concerned with hostile attitudes towards racial minority groups in our own society and towards other countries. How extensive are such attitudes, what are their psychological and sociological causes, and how can they be modified? What beliefs are held about other racial groups, and how far are such beliefs correct?

The study of racial prejudice is in a slightly different position from that of other attitudes, in that social scientists have taken an unashamedly partisan position and declared that they think racial prejudice is undesirable and that they hope to find ways of reducing it. This need not detract from the value of any research done, provided that it is carried out with sufficient care and rigour.

THREE COMPONENTS

By an attitude is meant a tendency to feel, behave or think in certain ways in relation to people, organizations, objects or symbols. While it was thought at one time that attitudes had a simple, unitary, for-or-against structure, it is now realized that they are more complex. In particular the three elements of feeling, behaving and thinking must be considered separately.

The *affective* part of an attitude is the extent to which a person likes or dislikes, approves or disapproves of the object of the attitude. People may also feel specific emotions, such as fear, but we shall mainly be concerned with the dimension friendly-hostile. When one speaks of racial prejudice, it generally refers to feelings of dislike towards members of another racial or national group. This can be measured by attitude scales, and much research on racial attitudes has used these. A series of emotionally toned statements is collected

which correlate together (or are statistically related in one of several other ways); from the whole set of answers an overall average score is obtained which is a stable measure of a person's attitude. The *cognitive* side of an attitude is simply the set of opinions, beliefs and arguments which are accepted about the object of the attitude. A person may regard a Negro as more like a horse than a human being, or may entertain a variety of other strange fantasies. It is found that certain stereotypes are very widely accepted – that Negroes are lazy, Jews mercenary and so forth. The *behavioural* side of an attitude is the extent to which a person engages in overt behaviour in relation to the object of the attitude. For practical purposes this is the only part of racial attitudes that is of any importance. As Mr Justice Salmon said when sentencing several Notting Hill youths who had attacked a smaller number of West Indians with iron bars, 'As far as the law is concerned you are entitled to think what you like, however foul your thoughts; to feel what you like, however brutal and debased your emotions; . . . but once you translate your dark thoughts and brutal feelings into savage acts such as these, the law will be swift to punish you, the guilty, and to protect your victims.'¹

The overt behaviour which may occur in the racial field varies from making racist remarks to other people, through various kinds of discrimination, to actual physical aggression. The most widely used measure here is the Bogardus social distance scale² which asks the subject if he would admit a typical member of the race in question

- (i) to close kinship by marriage
- (ii) to my club as personal friends
- (iii) to my street as neighbours
- (iv) to employment in my occupation in my country
- (v) to citizenship in my country
- (vi) as visitors only to my country
- (vii) would exclude from my country.

In American surveys for example it is found that the most preferred groups are English, Canadians and French, while the least preferred are Mexicans, Japanese, Negroes and Turks.

There is however a danger in assessing behavioural tendencies by verbal methods. A startling demonstration of this was given in a study³ in which the investigator travelled through the U.S.A. with a Chinese couple. They stayed at 66 hotels and ate at 184 restaurants,

and were refused service only once. A questionnaire was sent to all these establishments: 92% of those who replied said they would not accept Chinese people. Both overt and verbal behaviour are influenced by economic considerations: for most people racial prejudice is not a strong enough attitude to influence their behaviour in work situations, where this would be to their economic disadvantage. Indeed many people who express verbal rejection of a racial group when speaking to others do not allow this to affect their behaviour at all. Most research on prejudice has used attitude scales as measures, and these are more indices of feelings than of behaviour. The point is that an attitude can take different forms in the three spheres, since different influences operate in each case. Behaviour is influenced by super-ego controls and by social and economic pressures, any of which may forbid discriminatory behaviour. Beliefs may be affected by the arguments of experts or by the mass media, so that these too may come to differ from basic feelings. On the other hand there is extensive evidence that there are internal pressures towards consistency in the three spheres and that it is a source of tension and discomfort if they are out of step.

A person may have an attitude that is only really developed in one of the three spheres. He may for instance have an intellectualized attitude consisting of beliefs, but no particular feelings or behaviour. A common kind of prejudice is that which is mainly affective, where there is a simple dislike for members of a racial group, but where discriminatory behaviour is held in check, and the belief system has come under liberalizing influences.

How extensive is racial prejudice? It varies of course with the social setting, and is particularly strong in South Africa and the southern states of America, where it is supported by various degrees of segregation. Surveys in the U.S.A. show that between 10% and 50% of the population are anti-semitic, and 30-80% anti-negro, the percentage varying with the precise question asked.⁴ As shown above, such measures tap private fantasies, many of which never reach any expression in behaviour. The number of people prepared to engage in physical violence is very small, although discrimination is practised by a far larger number. Racial problems in Great Britain are of very recent origin, and largely centre round West Indians and Pakistanis. There has been a certain amount of mild anti-semitism for a long time, but it is doubtful how far this affects the behaviour of many people. There is some violence and

considerable discrimination against coloured people—70% of London landladies will not take coloured students. Unemployment is much higher among the coloured population—30% v. 1½% in one area—partly due to lower skill level, but partly to trade union resistance.

The extent of racial prejudice varies, as we said, with the social setting and has changed very rapidly in recent years. There was for example no colour discrimination in South Africa before 1800, though there was some religious discrimination. Racial problems developed in the U.S.A. with the emancipation of the slaves, while in Brazil their cousins became part of a multi-racial society with complete inter-marriage. Anti-negro prejudice is a recent phenomenon, just as anti-semitism is an ancient one. In Britain only since the last war has there been a sizeable coloured population, and the racial problem has grown with the size of this group.

How far do racial attitudes reflect accurately the real characteristics of different races? Although as yet psychologists have not succeeded in finding out much about the national characters of different peoples, it seems very likely that the Mexicans, the Japanese, the Africans and the English may differ from one another in personality, just as they do in appearance. A survey of American students⁵ found that the Germans were commonly described as scientifically minded and industrious, Jews as shrewd and mercenary, Negroes as superstitious and lazy, and Chinese as superstitious and sly. It has yet to be shown that these stereotypes are correct—and if they are not it would be interesting to know where they come from.

However, even if there is *any* factual basis for such stereotypes, it should be borne in mind that there will be a very wide variation in e.g. laziness, within any national group, and that any average difference between groups will probably be relatively small. Furthermore people are often prejudiced against racial groups, such as the Turks, whom they have never encountered, and will express hostile attitudes towards groups such as the Pireneans who do not exist.⁶ It is not contact with the race which produces prejudice, but contact with the attitude towards the race. Finally, the attitude a person holds is found to be strongly associated with his personality, past experience and position in society, showing that subjective factors are important.

It is also found that a cognitive dichotomy is often made between the supposed qualities of a person's own group, country or race and those of outsiders: the first set of qualities are of course all good, the second set all bad. There is evidence for example that Russians hold

an image of the Americans similar to the one the Americans hold about them.⁷ The good, or bad, attributes are felt to be consistent, simply because they reflect the same attitude. Such stereotypes are only possible under intense motivation, encouraging denial of all contrary information – a process which is often assisted by the mass media.

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS

There are certain sociological conditions under which prejudice is likely to develop. In the first place there may be real conflict or competition between the groups. When two countries are, or have recently been, at war there is usually intense prejudice on both sides, and surveys show rapid changes with time in the popularity of the other group. A common source of prejudice is competition for jobs. There was no hostility towards West Indians in Britain until a slight increase of unemployment in the late '50's. Trouble arises either when large numbers of a racial group move into an area seeking work, or when there is economic depression, or both. This explains why there is prejudice towards different racial groups in different social classes: in the U.S.A. there is more anti-semitism among members of the middle class since Jews are competing at this level in society. The majority group can improve their position by ruling some of their competitors out of order; trade unions accordingly try to keep minority groups out of certain jobs, and there is great resistance to allowing Negroes to do 'white men's jobs.'

A second factor is that there may be competition for social status between majority and minority groups. In a study of American ex-servicemen⁸ it was found that anti-negro and anti-semitic feelings were strongest in those whose social status had declined since before the war. Anti-negro prejudice is greatest among poor whites, who objectively are of a lower social class than many Negroes – unless the latter are ruled out of the competition. This is similar to middle class people tolerating the working class 'so long as they keep their place'.

Another social situation in which prejudice arises is housing. Minority group members have difficulty in getting accommodation, and tend to group together in a neighbourhood, overcrowd the houses, and have habits that are disliked by the white residents. A partly realistic fear here is that the value of property will fall, and prejudice is very great in the area in front of a moving 'black belt'. Several

studies show⁹ that prejudice increases with the density of the minority group in an area. The racial troubles in Chicago came at a time when there were 90,000 Negroes in one square mile, some of them living 17 to a room. The whites feel threatened, and resent the idea that the neighbourhood is 'going black'. This principle, like some others, only operates when the racial group is 'visible', i.e. can be identified by appearance.

A further sociological factor is the extent to which the behaviour of the minority group provides justification for unfavourable attitudes and stereotypes. As suggested above, some members of a minority group may really possess some of the characteristics ascribed to them. *Whatever* they do that is different may be the basis of unfavourable reactions simply because people prefer the ways of their own group and reject those who fail to conform to their own standards of behaviour. It was shown in Chapter 3 that conformity to group standards is a necessary condition for acceptance in a group. There is a further factor in the case of minority groups – that being rejected leads to the development of unpleasant characteristics. The minority group member gets a chip on the shoulder, he becomes oversensitive and insecure, he may come to reject his group and himself, or may become aggressive, assertive and boastful. If the dominant group expects the minority group members to behave in a certain way, the result is very often that they come to behave in that way – an instance of what has been called the 'self-fulfilling prophecy'.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN RACIAL PREJUDICE

(i) *Age*. The main point of interest here is that young children show no signs of prejudice, they simply do not distinguish people on the basis of skin colour. To learn to identify, e.g. a Jew is in fact a difficult discrimination to acquire. Just as we do not regard colour of hair or eyes as an important basis for classification, it is likely that we would attach no importance to skin colour if we lived in a multi-racial society and were not taught to do so. In one study,¹⁰ white and negro children were interviewed and given various tests to see if they were aware of colour distinctions; it was found that this awareness grew between the ages of 4 and 5, and that children of both races expressed a preference for white dolls as well as white children. Compared with the development of political and

religious attitudes, this is extremely early in life. Between 5 and 14 all the adult racial attitudes and stereotypes are acquired – even in social situations where they would receive little support from the actual behaviour of minority group children. Studies of discriminatory behaviour among children show that friendship choices start to be made on a racial basis at about the age of 10. Thus between 5 and 10 there are racial attitudes without behaviour.

(ii) *Parental influence* is the first factor which moulds attitudes, and is one of the most important. Children come to accept their parents' views on everything – until these are modified by later influences. In this field there may be direct instructions not to play with certain kinds of children, in addition to the child imitating parental behaviour and hearing certain views repeatedly expressed. The influence of parents is greatest the more contact there is with them, and when there is a warm and close relation between parent and child. Some children are later aware that they have been influenced by their parents but when they are older they forget this and make up other reasons for their attitudes.

(iii) *Influence of other groups.* Children become members of other groups outside the home, and when they leave home for educational or occupational purposes these groups become very important to them. New members of groups, who may deviate from the group standards are under considerable pressure to conform to the group norms, and if they fail to conform they are liable to be rejected by the group. An example of this process is given by American students from Northern states who went to colleges in the South. The attitudes of the groups concerned, as measured by an attitude scale, on which high scores signify a favourable attitude to Negroes, were as follows.¹¹

Northern students in north	6.7
Northern students in south	5.9
Southern students	5.0

In another study,¹² New Yorkers were interviewed about times in their lives when their attitudes to Jews or Negroes had undergone changes. In many cases these changes took place as the result of joining a group whose norms were different from previous groups belonged to.

It is a common predicament of adolescents to have parents who have one attitude, and friends who have a different one. The problem is, which set of standards will be followed? It depends partly on whether a person has a closer attachment to his parents or to his friends, which he gets on better with, and which relationship is more important. This in turn depends on whether the need for affiliative relations with peer-group members is more or less strong than dependent needs in relation to parents.

Group influences affect some people more than others, not only because some are still under parental influence, but also since prejudice may satisfy deep-rooted motivations. When an attitude has such foundations in the personality, group influences will have little effect, and as will be shown later more radical methods are required to change them. Group norms even in these cases may channel a prejudiced personality into feeling hostile to the appropriate local minority group.

(iv) *Methods of socialization.* Parents may influence the racial attitudes of their children not only directly, as considered above, but by creating a prejudice-prone type of personality. The best-known study of this is the *Authoritarian Personality*¹³ research in California. Over 1,000 people completed a questionnaire previously shown to measure ethnocentric tendencies. The 40 most extreme men and women from each end of the scale, 160 in all, were then subjected to intensive clinical investigation. It was found that the prejudiced subjects had been treated during childhood in a different way from the unprejudiced. The main differences were as follows: (a) prejudiced subjects had received harsh discipline and had a heavy father whom they feared; (b) while relations with parents were not warm, they had been dependent on their parents – they still tended to idealize them, although projection tests revealed a hidden wish for the death of their parents; (c) there was a relation of dominance and submission, with little understanding of the child; (d) parents wished the children to conform to conventional standards of behaviour, in order to be approved by the neighbours. The result of such methods of socialization is to produce a kind of personality which is liable to develop hostile racial attitudes.

(v) *The prejudiced personality.* It was thought at one time that racial attitudes were simply the accidental products of social influence.

It was found, however, that a person who is prejudiced against one minority group tends to be prejudiced against others, including, as noted above, imaginary ones.⁷ Correlations between attitudes towards Jews, Negroes, Catholics and other minority groups work out at about 0.6 – 0.7 in different studies, showing that this is a generalized personality trait. We have seen that this trait is produced by certain childhood experiences; what else characterizes the prejudiced person? Statistical studies of social attitudes show that they can be represented in the two-dimensional scheme shown in Fig. 3.

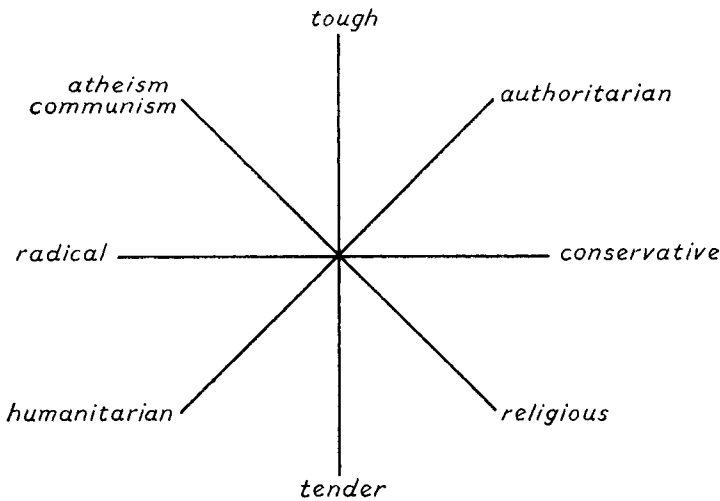


Fig. 3. Prejudice and Personality.

Racially prejudiced people fall into the upper-right quadrant, tolerant people into the lower-left. Prejudiced people also tend to hold a number of other attitudes – they are in favour of corporal and capital punishment, and support extreme right-wing parties of a fascist type. In terms of the dimensions extracted by Eysenck,¹⁴ they are both tough-minded and conservative; in terms of other studies they are authoritarian. The prejudiced person also tends to possess certain other personality traits. He is not more neurotic or less intelligent, as has sometimes been suggested, but he does have other distinctive features. (a) He is rigid in thinking, has a closed and inflexible mind; indeed, supposing that all members of a racial or national group are similar is an instance of rigidity; (b) he is concerned with power and status, and is easily influenced by people in

authority; (c) he tends to repress impulses, such as the hostile feelings about parents mentioned above; he appears polite, conventional and moralistic, but clinical tests reveal aggression and anxiety beneath the surface; such unaccepted qualities may be projected onto members of other racial groups. International attitudes follow a very similar pattern. Several studies have found that those who are isolationist or hostile to other countries as opposed to being 'world-minded' are high on authoritarianism.¹⁵

Various personality mechanisms have been postulated as the link between these personality characteristics and prejudice. The most widely-investigated is the theory that frustration leads to aggression which is displaced onto minority groups (p. 54). There is some evidence that hostile international attitudes are correlated with aggressiveness in everyday life, particularly in the most nationalistic subjects.¹⁶ This is not displacement of aggression, however, but simply generalization.

HOW RACIAL PREJUDICE CAN BE CHANGED AND PREVENTED

In the first place how far is it possible to manipulate the factors which have been found to create racial prejudice? Taking the sociological factors, it would seem quite possible to prevent the prejudice-arousing situations from occurring. When members of a minority group move into a country or town, they should not flood the labour market in a particular region or occupation. Small numbers entering diverse occupations and scattered thin over a wide area are not experienced as a threat in the labour market. Similarly a minority group should not suddenly pour into a neighbourhood, overcrowding the houses and irritating the existing occupants. They should spread themselves thin residentially, and conform to the mores of the communities into which they move. The psychological factors are more difficult to manipulate: parental and group influences will not change until prejudice itself disappears. On the other hand it might be possible to make prejudiced personalities less common by propaganda and education about methods of child-rearing.

What other special measures are capable of reducing racial prejudice? In the first place, attempts could be made to prevent people from making a perceptual discrimination between groups. We saw

that children did not discriminate between whites and Negroes until their fifth year. It is very likely that children in a multi-racial society who were not taught this discrimination would take no more notice of skin colour than most people do of hair colour. Many people cannot tell Jews from Gentiles, and about 55% of Jews cannot be so identified from appearance. Several studies show that people who are anti-semitic are better at making this distinction¹⁷ – this is part of the general principle that people improve at making discriminations that are important to them. While people cannot change their appearance much, minority group members can reduce their difference from other people in several ways. The easiest is by acculturation, that is by wearing the clothes and behaving in the ways common in the society, and by not always going about in homogeneous and clannish racial groups. Inter-marriage and desegregation of schools, transport, and other public facilities will obviously help this process. The mass media can help by not always presenting minority group members primarily in this role or as possessing stereotyped characteristics.

A second strategy is to modify attitudes through social contact, desegregation and other methods. Social contact in a situation of competition for jobs, or where the minority is taking over a residential area, or on an unequal status basis, only increases racial hostility. However, when people meet as members of the same group and face common problems side by side, prejudice rapidly diminishes. This was first discovered in a survey of attitudes of American soldiers who had served in mixed regiments or companies.¹⁸ In segregated units, 62% were opposed to such mixture, but among those who had served in mixed companies only 7% were: the closer the degree of contact the less the prejudice. Studies of inter-racial housing estates also show changes both of behaviour and of feelings, but these are specific to the racial group in question, particularly to the members with whom there has been contact. Inter-racial work situations cause little trouble on the job but also produce little general change in behaviour or attitude off the job.¹⁹ The one exception to this is that of seamen. It may be that basic changes of attitude take place more readily in highly emotional situations, (see p. 130): war service is the most emotive of situations considered, and life at sea would be more so than most ordinary work.

Summer camps for adolescents and mixed youth clubs are also

capable of improving racial attitudes. It is found²⁰ that this can be brought about if the youth leader sets an example as well as giving direct instruction on the appropriate behaviour; the behaviour of minority group members changes too – they become more confident and less sensitive and self-depreciating. There is no doubt that desegregation by legal means, in countries where this is necessary, will eventually result in a great diminution of prejudice. Considerable success has been obtained with international summer camps for young people. In the case of the Children's Summer Village Camps for 11-year-olds, it was found that the changes in attitude produced were still present five years later.²¹ There has been no research so far on the effects of foreign travel, but the other results suggest that the amount of equal status and co-operative contact experienced would be important.

The last approach concentrated on changing *behaviour*, the next to be discussed is concerned with changing *knowledge* and thus correcting inaccurate stereotypes. In the U.S.A. extensive efforts are made in many schools to give information about minority groups. It is true that those who know more about a group are less hostile towards it, and that changes in the cognitive sphere often overflow into the spheres of feeling and action. However, it appears to be perfectly possible to change beliefs without influencing other aspects of attitudes at all. For general changes to occur, it is necessary for the teacher to indicate his own attitudes (assuming that these are more favourable than those of the class). There is some evidence that more attitude change results from types of educational activity involving field trips and inter-racial projects, so long as these do not emphasize the differences between groups.

Having dealt with means of changing the behavioural and the cognitive sides of racial attitudes, we shall now consider how *feelings* can be altered. It is found that many people will change their racial attitudes as a result of social influence or propaganda. A minority however are quite inflexible, probably since they have a prejudiced personality, and their attitudes are satisfying unconscious needs in a disguised way. Some success has been obtained with a kind of miniature psychotherapy in which prejudiced people are given insight into the psychological processes behind prejudice, though subjects high in self-defensiveness proved immune to this procedure.²² A later study found that appeals to self-consistency were the most effective.²³ It is reported that patients under psychoanalysis will

sometimes show insight and change their attitudes, particularly towards Jews, since many psychoanalysts are Jewish.²⁴

Propaganda over the mass media may be intended to change behaviour, beliefs or feelings, or all three. As we shall see in Chapter 13, political and other attitudes can be profoundly modified by propaganda; how about racial attitudes? A number of experiments have been carried out to study the effect of films on racial attitudes. An interesting example is the film of *The Battle of Britain* shown to American soldiers during the war.²⁵ On the specific issue of 'who gave the Nazis their first real defeat?', 45% of those who had seen the film mentioned the R. A. F., as opposed to 21% of those who had not seen it. However, there was almost no change in general attitudes towards the British and their part in the war effort; other studies confirm the specificity of such attitude changes. Films shown to American high-school children in 1933 produced rather greater changes in attitude.²⁶ In each case there was a marked decline of influence, so that only 50% or less of the initial changes remained a year later.

Another type of propaganda is the lecture, speech or broadcast. Although attitude changes have been found in several studies, these have tended to be small and short-lived. The orations which are most effective in religion and politics are highly rousing addresses at crowded public meetings, where the message has a strong motivational appeal: it is hard to see how speeches in the racial field could have a similar force. American programmes have commonly appealed to 'democracy' or attacked 'un-American behaviour', but it is doubtful how far such appeals are effective. It would be interesting to see how an advertising agency using motivational research methods would tackle the problem. They would probably try to build up the 'brand image' of a minority group so that good features were emphasized, and the usefulness of the group shown. Similarly it would be possible to use the kinds of advertisements, posters, and so on favoured by advertising men.

CONCLUSION

Racial and national hostility is not an unavoidable part of the social scene: there are several parts of the world where different racial groups live together without friction. Prejudice is created by certain social situations, has an appeal to a certain type of personality, and

becomes part of the learnt tradition of accepted attitudes. The speed with which new hostilities can grow is alarming, and indicates the need for control of society in such a way as to prevent such things happening. We have indicated above some of the social conditions to be avoided. We have also indicated the kind of social experiences which have been found to increase friendship towards other national and racial groups. In this time of increased international collaboration it is important that many more people should have such experiences.

HUMAN PROBLEMS IN INDUSTRY

Work has to be done in all communities, modern or primitive, and the standard of living depends on how much work is done. What are the social and psychological conditions under which productivity is greatest, and how much difference do such factors make? Under what conditions will work be enjoyable, and do people work harder when they do enjoy it? What are the effects of current attempts to increase productivity or to reduce alienation, such as automation, job enlargement and worker participation?

By productivity here we shall generally mean *hourly* productivity or the rate of useful output per man; we shall sometimes refer to total productivity over a longer period, which will reflect absenteeism and labour turnover. The hourly productivity of workers is usually measured in terms of the amount of work satisfactorily completed in relation to the 'time allowed' for this work – the latter being assessed by time-study engineers, who measure the standard time for each job. Although this is partly subjective, different time-study men show a fairly high agreement in these estimates. The results of workers' efforts are of course dependent on the equipment they are using, and long-term changes in productivity are largely due to the amount of capital investment – but that is outside the scope of psychological research.

SOURCES OF HIGH PRODUCTIVITY

Method study was the first means of speeding up industrial work to be discovered. Improved ways of doing each job are found, in which unnecessary movements and delays are eliminated, both hands are used at the same time, and the movements form an easy sequence that can be performed automatically. In one of the earliest studies Gilbreth reduced bricklaying from 18 movements to 5, with the result that men could lay 350 bricks an hour instead of 120.¹ Even

today it is sometimes possible to increase output by up to 200% by these methods. Industrial practice over the last 50 years has moved in the direction of dividing up the work so that each person carries out one simple series of operations in the standardized way dictated by method study. It was found at first that people could work very much faster if they did a simplified task in this way: they could do more work with the same amount of effort. There is evidence, however, that this has now been carried too far so that these advantages are offset by reduced motivation due to boredom. Friedmann² reports on a slaughterhouse where one man did nothing but remove a pig's testicles, while another linked a sausage every three seconds. The human consequences of this kind of work organization, and recent attempts to overcome them, will be discussed later.

Incentives, financial and otherwise, have been regarded as an important way of increasing productivity. Manual workers and salesmen, but not highly skilled managerial or professional personnel, are often paid by results. This is partly because the amount of work done by the first group is more easily measurable, but also perhaps because they are not sufficiently interested in the work to do it without external encouragement. If productivity is compared before and after the introduction of a wage incentive scheme, it is found that the rate of work is considerably higher afterwards. A recent British study made a careful comparison of workers in six factories before and after incentive schemes were introduced and where there were no other changes: the average increase in output was 60% while earnings rose about 20%.³ Previous studies have reported rather smaller increases.

Financial incentives have very distinct drawbacks and limitations, so that a number of firms are now abandoning them. In the first place, the quality of work tends to deteriorate, so that more inspectors are needed. In addition, the calculation of wages is very complex and a far larger accounting staff is required, so that the total labour costs may not in fact be reduced. Secondly, industrial work is increasingly machine-paced or automated, so that it is not dependent on the voluntary speed of operatives. Thirdly, the effectiveness of financial incentives depends on how much the people concerned need money – which in turn depends on their family situation, their economic standing in relation to the group, and the availability of hire purchase and consumer goods. They may just work faster for shorter hours.

Are economic incentives the only reason men work? In the case of shop-floor workers, it seems regrettably to be the case that this is the main, or only, incentive. Surveys show that there is more concern with money among the less-skilled workers. Interviews with workers in an American car factory found that they had no hope of promotion and had abandoned work as a possible area of satisfaction; they worked simply for payment and hoped to improve their style of life through the high wages received.⁴ Managerial and professional people have a greater hope of promotion, and of achieving success and recognition through their work,⁵ as well as having a greater devotion to their work or the concern. It is found that doctors regard work as a sphere of self-fulfilment and service to the community, where for manual workers it is merely a way of passing the time and earning a living.⁶ People who win sweepstakes usually stop work, although those at higher levels of skill, such as writers and scientists, sometimes work unpaid.

In primitive society, work is quite different again: it is geared to the immediate needs of family or village for food and shelter, it is done in the company of a group of kinsmen, it is sanctioned by religion and ritual, and it is not a separate department of life.⁷

Social factors were once thought to have a very great effect on productivity, following the Hawthorne experiments in which large increases in output appeared to result from a changed relationship with the supervisor. As has been shown elsewhere,⁸ the results of this experiment can be accounted for in other ways, so that this conclusion does not follow. Other studies have shown in detail just how far productivity can be affected by particular kinds of supervision and by relations within the working group. In an early study of a firm in which the foremen were regularly rotated, the output of 22 departments changed after rotation so that foremen kept the same rank-order of productivity: the changes involved were between 6% and 18%.⁹ Studies at the University of Michigan and by the present author¹⁰ have compared the behaviour of the foremen in charge of high- and low-output departments, which were otherwise similar. In two countries and a variety of industries it has been found that output is greater when the foreman spends his time on his proper tasks of planning and organizing, when he is more concerned with the welfare of the employees than with output, persuasive rather than punitive, and gives 'general' rather than 'close' supervision (cf. p. 153f.) The differences in productivity were again only

of the order of about 10%, and were more marked when there was no wage incentive and where the work was not machine-paced. Another series of studies has found that work groups, military units and sports teams are all more efficient when the leader keeps himself somewhat aloof from the rest of the group.¹¹ As will be shown in Chapter 12, the precise influence of a leader on a group depends on other variables, such as the nature of the group task and the personality of the members.

People at work must be regarded not only as individuals but as members of working groups. Perhaps the most important effect of work groups is in enforcing group standards of behaviour on individual members – such as joining the union or restricting output. As was shown in Chapter 3, the power of groups to enforce their norms on individuals is greater when members are keen to be accepted by the group. Work groups may go beyond mere disapproval – they can send people to Coventry, and generally make life intolerable for the offending member. The strong pressure against ‘rate-busters’ is due to the fear that rates of pay may be cut if it is shown to be possible to work faster. Despite a management-union agreement not to cut the rates in this situation, the writer has known cases where management has in effect cut the rates by changing the design or method of working, and timing the new procedure more carefully. Work groups may be more or less tightly knit and organized. Some have a definite leadership hierarchy, and certain people act as spokesmen for the group: such groups exert a steady pressure to gain their own ends.¹²

If work-groups have to co-operate in order to do the work, it is important that they should be internally cohesive, and that the members should be mutually compatible. In one study it was found that the output of groups of builders was increased by rearranging the men so that people worked with those whom they chose as work-mates.¹³ In another it was found that artificially-formed compatible groups did better than incompatible groups the more the group task required co-operation.¹⁴ In practice these benefits can be most easily realized by simply letting people sort themselves into teams, and allowing them to change when possible. Again the effects of such variables on productivity are of the same order of about 10%. Good relations with the supervisor and the working group can affect total, as opposed to hourly, output in other ways. When social relations are unfavourable, absenteeism, labour turnover and

unofficial strikes are more likely, and the economic consequences of these can be very great.

Socio-technical factors refer to the social implications of technological arrangements. An industrial process may be perfectly sound from an engineering point of view, and yet produce a pattern of social interactions which leads to failures on the human side. An excellent example is the Longwall system of coal mining in which a total group of 40 is split into three shifts. Each shift does a different part of the process and hence does not understand the point of view of the other shifts. Furthermore, the shifts never meet, yet each shift is entirely dependent on the other shifts for its own output and safety. The result is that the system is very inefficient, there are many accidents and much discontent. One solution suggested was to mix up the specialists between the shifts and to arrange for some social contact.¹⁵ Another example is provided by long production lines, which are found to be considerably slower than shorter ones and to have a much higher rate of absenteeism. There are several reasons for this – the fact that a production line must go at the speed of the slowest man, the ineffectiveness of group incentive schemes when the group is large, and the lower satisfaction obtained from belonging to larger groups.

Socio-technical factors can create conflicts between men who are supposed to co-operate, make communication between them difficult or impossible, and manufacture differences of informal status within the working group leading to grievances and friction. Of particular interest are the series of socio-technical changes brought about by automation, and these will be considered in a later section.

The contribution of social research in this area is to show that in the design of production systems, technologists should take more seriously the social arrangements which will be created, in much the same way as engineers would not design machines which are too difficult for men to cope with.

THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF JOB SATISFACTION

Job satisfaction is measured by various kinds of attitude scales administered in questionnaire form. These scales have 'face validity' in that the questions are clearly about satisfaction with different aspects of work, in addition to which many of the results obtained with them have been in conformity with predictions. One such

prediction is that satisfied workers will be absent less and stay with the organization longer, and in the following discussion we will use the rate of voluntary absenteeism as a further index of job satisfaction.

Social factors are of considerable importance in job satisfaction, according to a number of early studies. For example, the rate of voluntary absenteeism in small and friendly work groups has been found to be a quarter of that in other groups.¹⁶ The style of supervision has been found to affect job satisfaction: the methods which produce high output on the whole also result in higher job satisfaction. Differences are found between companies and between different parts of companies, reflecting particular sources of grievance such as pay, working conditions or other matters. Some firms carry out regular surveys in order to locate such areas of discontent so that they can be rectified.

A recent study of accountants and engineers has thrown new light on the role of social factors in job satisfaction. Subjects were asked to describe times when their satisfaction had been particularly high or low. It was found that social factors such as those described were often a source of low satisfaction – i.e. people were particularly fed up when their relations with their work group or supervisor were bad, when working conditions or salary were unsatisfactory, or when they felt that they were not being fairly treated by the company. However, the periods of particularly high satisfaction did not appear to be due to social but to other factors, which we shall report below.⁵ The earlier studies which had shown the great importance of social factors were mainly on repetitive semi-skilled work: quite possibly social relationships are among the few sources of satisfaction for this kind of work.

The nature of the work has been increasingly recognized by industrial psychologists to be a source of job satisfaction. In the study of engineers and accountants cited above, it was found that periods of particularly high satisfaction occurred when they achieved success or recognition in their work, and not as a result of social factors such as acceptance by the group; this was experienced as personal growth or self-realization. In a study of clerical workers in the Civil Service it was found that many people were dissatisfied because of the lack of variety and responsibility, and that they would have liked more contact with the public.¹⁷ At lower levels of skill large percentages of workers find the work boring and monotonous: in

one study 85% said that they would prefer more varied work;¹⁸ indeed, it has been found that mental defectives¹⁹ and even monkeys are quite capable of doing some industrial jobs. The main cause of monotony is repetition and lack of variety, though it is found that different workers find different things monotonous. A minority of workers actually prefer the simpler, more repetitious jobs – they are the less intelligent, less experienced and less confident individuals, who are frightened by more complex and demanding work. Some firms try to exclude students and other intelligent people from boring work since they are likely to become discontented and perhaps cause trouble. It is also found that introverts can tolerate it more than extraverts, who have a greater need for varied experiences.²⁰ During repetitive work about 40% of workers engage in daydreams, and this is particularly true of women.

Very great differences are found between the job satisfaction of different groups. Managers, professional people and teachers are the most satisfied, followed by clerical and skilled workers, while the semi-skilled and unskilled are the least satisfied. This is no doubt partly due to differences of pay and status, in addition to differences in variety, interest and freedom. We shall discuss below various attempts to improve the nature of manual work to improve the satisfactions obtainable from it.

Individual differences are found in job satisfaction, when the conditions of work are the same. Women are found to be more satisfied than men, which is paradoxical in view of their poorer promotion prospects and usually lower pay. It is perhaps because their employment is often temporary and they are less concerned with success in this sphere, and because they daydream more and get more from the social contacts. Neurotic personalities are found to be less satisfied with their work – they find it difficult to adjust to the work situation as to other situations, and are upset more by frustrations. There is evidence that neurotics are particularly discontented when the job involves greater strain in some way.²¹ On the other hand, workers may be fed up because the particular work is unsuitable for them, in which case vocational guidance and better placement is indicated. Education and intelligence are related to satisfaction for particular jobs – people are most content if the job has the level of difficulty and challenge appropriate to their abilities.

The effects of job satisfaction on other variables have been the object of considerable controversy. Most industrialists have taken

it as axiomatic that 'happy workers work harder', but surveys using job satisfaction scales have failed to find any consistent tendency in this direction – there is simply no relation at all between the two variables.²² Of course if total output over a period is considered, more work is done by satisfied workers, since their absenteeism and labour turnover is less. It is likely that people react in different ways – some are more satisfied when they can take it easy, while others may work hard in order to forget their troubles. The study of engineers and accountants found that harder work was reported by 73% for periods of great satisfaction, and less work by 48% during periods of particular discontent: in other words, the majority did work harder at times of positive satisfaction, if their reports are correct.

Even if there is no overall positive relation with productivity, managers still have good economic reasons for keeping up the level of job satisfaction. In the first place, as mentioned before, voluntary absenteeism has a fairly good correlation with low job satisfaction. It is interesting to note that *total* absenteeism is not so related – but this is partly composed of genuine illness and other long-term absences. Voluntary absenteeism can be measured by the greater number of absences on Mondays compared with Fridays – the 'blue Monday index' – and does show the reported correlation with job satisfaction.²² Absenteeism is of economic significance, since it entails capital equipment lying idle, and in the case of production line work there must be a staff of versatile men able to fill in for those absent.

Labour turnover also shows a strong correlation with low job satisfaction. In the study of engineers and accountants, one in eight left during the periods of particular dissatisfaction reported. In other studies it has been possible to predict in advance which people would leave on the basis of job satisfaction scores.

EFFECTS OF CURRENT TRENDS IN INDUSTRY

Automation has been hailed as a second industrial revolution: while the first industrial revolution replaced human energy by steam power, so automation is replacing the repetitive jobs thus created by automatic equipment. The main three kinds of automation are automatic machinery (transfer machines and electronically controlled machine tools), automatic process-control (as in chemical works), and automatic data processing (in which office work is done

by computers). Two main effects of automation are now familiar – it reduces the costs of production, and it requires fewer workers. How does it affect the nature and conditions of work?

In the first place the workers that *are* required must usually perform at a higher level of skill and responsibility. They are either controlling very elaborate machinery, or engaged in its repair and maintenance. In a study which compared an automated electric power station with a typical older power station it was found that the men regarded their work as more responsible, that it needed more training, and that they were able to spend more time doing what they were best at.²⁴ In a study of a steel pipe mill it was found that the prestige of workers was raised after automation. There was less speed stress, and less repetitive dirty work – the work was ‘easier physically, harder mentally’ as one worker put it.²⁵ For these reasons job satisfaction tends to be higher under automation.

The introduction of automation has a complex series of effects in the socio-technical sphere. Earlier commentators had gloomily prognosticated that the jolly working groups of traditional factories would be replaced by lonely operatives tied to distant control points. Recent studies have found that workers sometimes have considerable physical mobility and that there is good team-work between operatives, maintenance and technological personnel. The actual contacts will vary between different systems: in the steel mill they were in fact physically isolated inside closed cubicles and had to communicate over the public address system. Frictions with the work group are reduced because differences of pay and of internal status due to different jobs are largely removed, and because men feel they are taking part in an important co-operative enterprise.

While it was expected that the technical skills of supervisors would become very important under automation, in the power station study it was found that job satisfaction was more closely correlated with good human relations skills on the part of the supervisor in the automated plant. In the automated steel mill it was found that there was less pressure from and tension with supervisors after the introduction of automation. However, in an automated car factory it was found that the men were more closely supervised and that relations with supervisors had deteriorated.²⁶ In several British factories it was found that the division between ‘line’ supervisors and ‘staff’ technicians tended to disappear – technologists must have supervisory responsibility.²⁷

The effects of automation on promotion prospects are complex. On the one hand a larger proportion of employees are in supervisory or technological grades. On the other hand since supervisors need technical qualifications, this may make promotion prospects worse, unless the firm arranges for internal training schemes. In the steel mill study it was found that because of the smaller number of more highly skilled men there were fewer intervening levels of supervision; on the other hand, there was some resentment since they felt they had too little say in how the place worked – because of the technical complexity of the operation.

Job enlargement is one consequence of automation, but it has also been deliberately created in other situations in order to make work more satisfactory. We have seen that most work at the shop floor level is boring and repetitive, that the operatives have low satisfaction, and it is found that they try to prevent their children from going into similar work. How is it possible to change such jobs into more acceptable human activities?

In the first place it is possible to create more variety either by periodic job rotation or by enlarging the job so that each worker carries out several different operations. Field experiments in industry have shown that such procedures can increase output, reduce absenteeism and raise job satisfaction;²⁸ a number of large firms have now enlarged their more repetitive jobs.²

Secondly, it is possible to make jobs more ‘meaningful’ – as when a worker is responsible for completing a whole piece of work and when he has a clear realization of what part his work plays in the whole. In wartime it was common to dramatize the work of munitions workers by visits from fighter pilots and others who explained how dependent they were on the factory’s products.

Some of the studies quoted earlier showed that satisfaction derived especially from use of the skills workers were best at, and from self-fulfilment through achievement of success and recognition in their work. An earlier emphasis on social factors in job satisfaction should be to some extent replaced by an emphasis on the nature of the work done. While such achievement can only be realized at higher levels of employment, the upgrading of jobs through automation and the trend to completing whole jobs will make this more widely possible. Supervisor training should emphasize the importance of recognizing good work.

Worker participation. Africans work happily in their villages, and

Englishmen in their gardens and workshops, at repetitive manual work, without help from wage incentives. Industrial workers are paid highly to do similar work but are discontented and resentful. One reason for this is that industrial work is less meaningful, and the purpose it serves is often less clear. Another reason is that the industrial worker has very little say in what he does, and how or when he does it. It has been suggested that participation in decisions stimulates motivation and releases the productive energies of workers. It is not at all clear why this should be so, but experiments have shown that workers who participate in group decisions work harder and stay longer.²⁹ One way of allowing greater participation is through the use of democratic techniques of supervision, whose superior effectiveness we have already seen. However, there is only a limited range of issues which supervisors can in practice allow workers to decide upon, and this range is reduced under automation or highly technical work systems. Some of the wider issues may be discussed at joint consultative committees on which workers are represented. These have met with varying success, the main difficulty being that they tend to concentrate on discussion of complaints.³⁰

Alienation can be reduced in other ways. Profit sharing is one, and although 60% of such schemes have been abandoned, there is enthusiastic praise for it in the others.³¹ This resembles a group bonus scheme, on a larger scale, and as with such schemes, is more successful when the total number of people involved is small. A third means of bridging the gap is to provide better information about the financial position of the company, plans for the future and so on. Such information is regarded as propaganda, however, unless workers have some confidence in management already.

Job satisfaction would be greater if workers could feel they were more their own masters, if they could work at their own speed and keep their own hours. A common source of complaint in repetition work is of the stress due to the speed of work being set by machines. Automation does eliminate a lot of this speed-stress, and creates conditions of work more akin to those of skilled workers and professional men. It would be difficult to allow factory workers to choose their own hours of work; some success has been obtained however with letting African farm workers, paid by results and without supervision, keep their own hours.⁷

CONCLUSION

We have seen the importance of human factors in hourly productivity and their far greater impact on total productivity, allowing for the effects on absenteeism and labour turnover. It is not enough to design work-systems that are efficient from the technological point of view: they must work from the human point of view too. Since men spend nearly half their waking hours at work, it is extremely important that work should be satisfying, quite apart from any further advantages this has for management. We have seen the very low level of satisfaction among those doing repetitive manual work, and have discussed various ways of alleviating this. It is one of the major tasks confronting industrial psychologists today to discover ways of organizing such work that will make it an acceptable human activity.

Part III

PROCESSES OF SOCIAL CONTROL

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Chapter 9

THE EFFECTS OF CHILD-REARING TECHNIQUES

We shall show in this chapter that the way people are handled as children has a great effect on certain aspects of their later personality. If society encouraged some kinds of child-rearing technique and discouraged others, it would be possible to have fewer delinquents and mental patients and a greater number of happy, effective and creative individuals. This is not to suggest of course that people should be moulded to adjust to society as it is, since the seeds of reform and social progress lie in discontent.

To some extent the way children are reared reflects the character of the society, so that there is congruence between the personality produced and the way of life of the society. A warlike tribe trains its children to be aggressive, an authoritarian society trains its young to respect authority, and so on. The children who are not trained in these ways will be deviants and misfits in those societies. A large variety of societies are possible provided that the children are reared accordingly. General policy on child-rearing could aim then to fit people to some future state of society which does not yet exist. If, for example, it was decided that racial hostility should be abolished, socialization methods which engender this could be strongly discouraged. If a non-aggressive society, if a classless society, if a co-operative society, these could all be promoted by appropriate socialization methods.

At present children are reared in a way that reflects the personality of the parents, the current ideas as promoted by magazines and baby-books, together with a good deal of trial and error and traditional delusion. The advice given in the publications mentioned is itself an interesting phenomenon. Young mothers are often advised never to use more than one baby-book because they disagree so much and make her worried. However, the socialization attitudes and

techniques prescribed are very similar for any given date, social class and country. This does not reflect the findings of research, but is more a matter of fashion and it is found that the recommended practices change sharply from one decade to another.

Surveys of actual child-rearing methods show that these too fluctuate quite rapidly. It is found¹ that in America during the past twenty-five years middle-class parents have become more permissive and tolerant, while working-class parents have become more similar to middle-class parents in becoming less punitive and less concerned with obedience and maintaining order. It is very likely, though this has not been demonstrated, that these changes are at least partly due to the influence of writers such as Dr Benjamin Spock.²

PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH INTO SOCIALIZATION

Research into the effects of socialization techniques is usually done by correlating parent behaviour and child personality for a large number of families. In the study by Sears, Maccoby and Levin³ for instance, the mothers of 379 5-year-olds were given lengthy interviews about their techniques and the child's behaviour. In this study both variables were obtained from the same source, so that spurious relationships may have been obtained. This was however avoided in the Gluecks' study of 1,000 11-16-year-olds, which was described on p. 63. There are various difficulties with this approach which have not entirely been surmounted. In the first place relations between parental and child behaviour may be due to inherited rather than environmental factors: physical punishment and aggressiveness in the child are correlated but could be due to inherited aggressiveness. This could be obviated by studying children who have been reared by foster or adoptive parents. A second difficulty is that parents may react to the child's behaviour as well as vice versa – parents may beat children *because* they are aggressive.⁴ What in fact happens is that a joint relationship develops between them, to which both have contributed. No one has yet devised a research procedure which is capable of eliminating this possibility, but it must be granted that the influence of parents on children is likely to be greater than that of children on parents.

Some studies use young children, such as the first mentioned. While this has the advantage that parents can report more accurately on the socialization methods which they used in the early years, there

is no guarantee that the child's personality is permanently affected. Studies of students on the other hand are unsatisfactory since their parents cannot recall what happened fifteen years earlier. While follow-up studies are the only really satisfactory solution, the next best thing is studies of children in the 9-12 range, since personality is by then relatively stable and parents can still report with some accuracy about child-rearing methods.

One type of question is extremely difficult to answer, and also of considerable importance. This is the problem of *when* certain types of influence take place. Psychoanalysts for example maintain that personality is mainly acquired during the first few years of life. Since parents treat their children in a similar way at different ages, if a correlation is found between, say, physical punishment and aggression in the child, this influence could have taken place at any age. In fact there have now been numerous investigations of the effects of early feeding and toilet training, and the upshot is that these seem to have very little effect. The only aspect of early experience which is important is sheer physical proximity to the mother or a mother substitute during the first two years.

We shall review below the main findings on the effects of various child-rearing techniques. Most of these have been widely confirmed, and some have a considerable impact. For example, in the study by the Gluecks, of the 11-16-year-olds, 60% of the delinquents were rejected by their fathers, contrasted with 19% of the control group. These are not 100% relationships, but when other variables are taken into account as well, a very good prediction can be made of child personality. Sometimes the interaction of these variables takes place in a complex way so that simple correlation techniques are not sufficient to show what was happening. A particular cause-effect relation may only work under certain conditions, i.e. certain values of the other variables. For example, Sears *et al.*³ found that psychological (withdrawal of love) discipline results in conscience-formation only when there is a warm parent-child relationship. The author has devised two new research procedures designed to uncover this kind of result.⁵ The existence of this kind of relationship means that parents may have to use different techniques in order to obtain the same result, depending on such factors as the child's birth-order, sex, physique and so on.

Most of the early research on the family origins of mental disorder failed to include control groups of non-patients. Many of the results

obtained earlier have now had to be abandoned as it is found that normals have had an equally peculiar upbringing! For example, several investigators reported that schizophrenics have mothers who are over-protecting, but when control groups have been used no such difference is found.⁶

THE MAIN EFFECTS OF CHILD-REARING TECHNIQUES *

Certain dimensions of parent behaviour are now known to be particularly important – both on the basis of factorial studies and from research into their influence on personality. We shall group the findings under these main dimensions. Within each dimension of parent behaviour we shall consider the effect on general personality traits, followed by a summary of the effects on delinquency and mental health.

(i) *Early relations with mother.* The earliest relationship the child forms is a dependent one with its mother. ‘Wolf children’ and those reared in institutions with inadequate female staff are found to have an apathetic attitude towards adults. It seems likely that this relationship is formed during the period 6–18 months, and that if it is not established then it may be very difficult to do so later. The origins of affiliative motivation – the need for acceptance by and close relationship with others – also appear to lie in this period. There is some evidence that a long period of breast feeding leads to later sociability. First-born and only children are found to make an affiliative response to anxiety, probably because mothers of these children helped them when anxious, thus establishing a connection between social situations and anxiety reduction (p. 29). Affiliative motivation is primarily directed to others of the same age, rather than to older women, so it must have some other origins too.

The hypothesis that early maternal deprivation leads to psychopathy, delinquency, an affectionless personality, or intellectual retardation, has been widely investigated. Certainly temporary separation during the period 15–30 months produces a reaction of ‘protest, despair and detachment’, and of lowered IQ. However, there is doubt about how permanent these effects are, since many children have been found to recover completely on rejoining the mother.

* Further reviews of this subject can be found in references 6, 7, 8 and 9. Only references not covered in these publications will be referred to separately.

Furthermore, these effects may not occur if there is a mother substitute. Lewis did find that prolonged separation starting before the age of 2 was associated with later disturbances; however, there was no tendency for these people to be affectionless. There was no one pattern of disorder, and some were normal.¹⁰ It is now agreed that the maternal deprivation hypothesis has been overstated, and that only in a few cases, presumably under special conditions, does it result in psychopathy or an affectionless personality.

(ii) *Early feeding and toilet training.* Psychoanalytic theory suggested that early feeding experiences would affect personality formation. Despite a large number of investigations into the effects of length of breast feeding, schedule versus demand, and so on, very little in the way of consistent results has been obtained. It appears that feeding experiences really have very little effect on personality, with the exception of the effect on affiliative motivation, mentioned above. There is also some evidence that children who have little opportunity for sucking, either at the breast or at a dummy, are more likely to become thumb-suckers.

Severe or traumatic toilet training, according to Freudian theory, should result in the formation of an 'anal' character, consisting of stinginess, orderliness, cleanliness, punctuality, etc. Several studies have shown quite conclusively that this does not happen, but there is evidence that severe toilet-training does lead to aggressiveness and negativism. Research in this area has incidentally found that toilet training is most easily done when the child is old enough to understand instructions about it.

(iii) *Warmth and acceptance,* as opposed to coldness and rejection, is probably the most influential of all aspects of child-rearing. It has been found to be a general dimension of maternal behaviour, and includes affectionate demonstrativeness, spending a lot of time playing with the child, and the use of praise and reasoning as means of discipline.³ The first and possibly most important effect of warmth is that the child identifies with the parents more, taking them as models for imitation. In the case of fathers one of the most important factors is simply how much time he is at home. When identification occurs then the child is more likely to adopt the beliefs and attitudes of the parents, as well as their patterns of motivation and social behaviour. When identification takes place with the same-sexed parent, as is

usual, the child will adopt the appropriate sex-role, including aggressiveness in the case of boys. Warmth and acceptance on the part of parents lead to a number of desirable personality traits, including conscience, sympathy, and affiliative motivation.¹¹ Rejection on the other hand leads to dependence in young children, and in boys it may lead not only to a failure of identification, but hostility to adults in general.

Rejection is one of the major sources of delinquency: rejection of a boy by his father is one of the best predictors of delinquency, 60% of delinquents being so treated.⁴ Rejection is also a source of aggressiveness in non-delinquent samples. Early lack of maternal affection can result in psychopathic tendencies, which have been observed to start in the fifth year. Where there is simply disinterest and neglect, no personality disturbance results, and children are likely to come under outside influences such as delinquent gangs if they live in some areas (p. 60).

Mental health is better if children have a good relation with their parents, and identify with the parent of the same sex. Boys who have too close a relation with the mother and a poor one with their father sometimes become homosexual. Neurotics are found to have been rejected or to have had conflict with their parents more than is normal. The precise outcome of rejection will depend on genetic tendencies in the child and on other aspects of the child-rearing situation.

(iv) *Strictness versus permissiveness* has appeared as a major dimension of variation in parent behaviour, and also has considerable effects on the child. Strictness includes insistence on being obedient and well-behaved, together with low permissiveness for aggression and sex play. Firm and consistent discipline is a major factor in conscience formation. If discipline is very strict this process may go further and the child becomes not only obedient but also guilt-ridden, anxious and over-controlled. Children who are brought up in a more permissive, liberal manner have less respect for authority but are more outgoing and popular with the peer group. The strict type of upbringing is often found in middle-class European families and produces an 'inner-directed' type of personality. The permissive kind of upbringing is more common in America: here the peer group exerts considerable influence and an 'other-directed' type of personality results.¹² Children brought up in a dominating, overpowering, over-

protective manner often become dependent and socially passive. Authoritarian child-rearing produces children who are superficially attached to their parents and are obedient to persons in authority; however, they also develop a need for power and show authoritarian patterns of behaviour themselves later on (p. 30).

Some delinquents have received discipline which was too feeble or inconsistent: they are likely to be pseudosocial delinquents (p. 60). Another group, which includes problem children and aggressive and psychopathic delinquents, have had discipline that was too strict and harsh. Aggressiveness is greatest when this behaviour has been permitted and then physically punished after it has occurred. Such punishment merely succeeds in displacing the behaviour with added strength to situations outside the home (p. 56).

Mental disorder is commonly associated with discipline which is too strict. Anxiety neurosis is an extreme case of the over-controlled personality resulting from a strict upbringing. Hysteria and psychosomatic complaints, especially in women, are related to a history of overprotection by the mother.

(v) *Techniques of discipline* include such things as physical punishment, withdrawal of love (psychological punishment), praise, rewards and reasoning. Physical punishment can eliminate behaviour in the home, but has little carry-over to situations outside the home: behaviour is controlled by the immediate sanctions, but little permanent learning seems to take place. Furthermore the child may not be clear what he *should* do, as opposed to what he should not do. It is found that physical punishment is much more effective in controlling behaviour in the home if it is accompanied by reasoning, and if there is a warm relation with the parents.³ When there is a greater balance of rewards rather than punishments, identification with the parents is more likely. Emotional rewards are the only kind of reward which leads to the development of achievement motivation – praise and material rewards are no good. Emotional punishments, i.e. love-withdrawal techniques, lead to the formation of a classical super-ego with the introjection of rigid rules of conduct, and tendency to feel guilty when the rules are broken: this sequence only occurs when there is a warm and dependent relation with the parents.²

Delinquents are found to have been given much more physical punishment than other boys, especially the more disturbed and aggressive delinquents. They have also experienced less reasoning.

Aggressiveness, particularly outside the home, is positively related to the use of physical punishment, particularly physical punishment for aggression. The punishing parent both provides an aggressive model and creates further instigation to aggression (p. 56). Mental disorder, on the other hand, is more related to the use of psychological discipline,¹³ and this is particularly the case with anxiety neurosis.

(vi) *Adjustment and cohesiveness of family* may be taken to include agreement and affectionate bonds between the parents, as opposed to conflict, absence of one parent, or other types of disturbance. An adjusted and cohesive family leads to favourable development of the child's personality in every direction. If mother approves of a boy identifying with his father, such identification is more likely to occur.

Delinquency is commoner among boys who do not identify with their fathers, and boys from non-cohesive families. In one study it was found that one of the best predictors of future delinquency was whether a boy came from a family which did not go for joint picnics and outings.¹⁴ The influence of broken homes on delinquency is familiar, but has been overstated in the past: in the most extensive British study, 28% of delinquents compared with 16% of controls came from broken homes.¹⁵ There is some evidence that conflict within the home is more harmful than the physical absence of one parent.¹³ Absence of a father may result in lax discipline being exerted, or the lack of a masculine model with the danger of homosexuality.

Neurosis is partly the result of an unstable family life, especially conflict between the parents, and also such things as frequently moving house. Neurotics also come from broken homes more frequently than controls. Schizophrenics come from isolated homes where disturbed family relations produce identity problems and where the children fail to acquire social skills (p. 80). When the family is broken by the death of one of the parents, the likelihood of certain abnormal conditions is increased. Death of the mother round about the age of 8–10 is worst and often results in depression or psychosomatic complaints.¹⁶

(vii) *Birth order and family size* were emphasized by Adler, but turn out to be of rather small importance, and in ways different from those expected. First-born and only children when anxious seek the company of others, one example of which is undergoing psychotherapy.¹⁰

Delinquents tend to be the later-born members of large families, and less often to be only children. First-born children are not found to be more neurotic in general, but they do have certain characteristic psychosomatic complaints.

Research in this area will be more fruitful when account is taken of more detailed aspects of family structure. For example it has been found that a boy with younger brothers close to him in age is twice as likely to get into university, or to get a First, than the younger brothers.¹⁷ The reason is that the younger brother withdraws from academic competition with his older brother, and seeks success in a different direction, such as sport or crime.

MODIFYING SOCIALIZATION METHODS

As shown above, customs about child-rearing change, often quite rapidly. Would it be possible to change these customs, and so reduce the proportion of neurotic, delinquent and unhappy people in our midst? An experiment has been reported in which the experimenter, as a doctor at a baby clinic, tried to persuade 50 mothers to feed their children more permissively: the children all had feeding problems and it was thought that forced feeding was responsible. Twenty-four out of the 50 tried the new method, but only eight finally adopted it. Interviews showed that those who were resistant to the influence had been exposed to counter-propaganda or that their husbands were opposed to the new methods.¹⁸

It is very likely that propaganda via women's magazines or television could modify child-rearing methods to some extent, just as other kinds of attitude and behaviour can be changed in this way (Chapter 13). In this case there would be a good deal of anchoring to the norms about socialization shared by groups of mothers in neighbourhoods – this is one of their main topics of conversation. The effects of such propaganda may be limited too by strong motivational forces leading parents to rear their children in particular ways. For instance rejection of the maternal role leads to rejection of the child,³ authoritarianism predisposes to strict discipline, aggressiveness to the use of physical punishment, and so on. Nevertheless, if welfare workers and children's doctors gave clear advice on the most important aspects of socialization, this would have some effect. If this was combined with use of the mass media, it is very likely that standards of child-rearing would be greatly improved.

ADULT SOCIALIZATION

THREE KINDS OF LEARNING

Personality, attitudes and beliefs are partly inherited, partly the results of socialization. By the age of, say, twenty a person has reached a relatively stable and enduring style of behaviour. This can however be modified in adulthood by various training experiences – for example by psychotherapy, brainwashing and induction into occupational roles. The precise learning mechanisms involved are not fully understood, partly because there is such a gap between laboratory studies of learning and experiences such as these. However, there are three processes which have been widely discussed by psychologists, and which can probably account for most of the facts. These will first be discussed, together with the conditions under which they work, followed by accounts of special kinds of adult socialization.

(i) *Instrumental learning*, as a result of reward and punishment, has been extensively studied by animal psychologists, and was discussed earlier (p. 19). Numerous experiments have shown that the amount of learning depends on such factors as the immediacy of the reward (or punishment), the number of trials, the amount of the reward and the motivation of the subject.¹ A practical difficulty with this method is that the organism must make the correct response before it can be rewarded and before the learning can start. This has been solved by rewarding at first even slight movements in the right direction, but later withholding reward until more of the required action has been performed. In this way, pigeons have been taught to perform quite complicated sequences of behaviour.²

This kind of training technique has found very important application in the development of 'teaching machines'. The basic principle is that the learner shall make a response which is rewarded if it is correct, whereupon he goes on to more difficult choice situations. In

one version the pupil reads a short information card exposed in a window of the machine. He then has to answer a simple question based on the material contained in the card; if he is correct he is reinforced by being told so and goes on to the next card; if he is wrong he goes back to an earlier part of the series. There are a large number of cards in a carefully-prepared graded and logical sequence, which the student works through at his own speed. This is not a pure case of instrumental learning, since the pupil is gaining cognitive insight (see p. 128) into the material as well. Other machines have been devised for teaching rhythm, shape-discrimination, musical notes and reasoning. Academic subjects like psychology, or statistics, can be taught by the use of a series of cards as described above, or by a 'tutortext' – a book in which each page is a short lesson followed by a question, in a similar sequence to the cards. It is found that learning is faster than by conventional classroom methods, and that pupils work harder. They also work at different speeds – they all get there in the end but some get there sooner and start the next learning task.² The role of the teacher is completely different – he is now more concerned with advising and co-ordinating – and of course with writing the programmes.

We have come across one striking application of instrumental learning in the field of social behaviour – the conditioning of verbal behaviour (p. 35). Here a subject can be made to alter in the course of a few minutes the frequency with which he uses the word 'I' for example. Again there is automatic alteration of a response, following a particular pattern of reinforcement, without conscious awareness. In this case, the learning is only temporary, and the effect can be reversed during a later part of the conversation; however, if the reinforcements were consistent and more numerous they would probably lead to permanent changes in the personality – indeed this may be one of the original processes of personality formation. A second application of instrumental learning is behaviour therapy (p. 86). More use is made here of punishment than of reward – if the patient is immediately made sick after drinking alcohol on a series of occasions, he is less likely to drink on later ones. Although many clinicians have resisted the idea of such blind, non-insightful learning, there is no doubt that it works in certain cases.

Instrumental learning is a powerful means of modifying human behaviour. It is not the only kind of learning, and it may not occur at all unless carefully designed patterns of reinforcement are set up,

as in the cases discussed. It is a very elementary form of learning, in the sense that lower animals can learn in this way and that humans probably do not unless more complex processes are cut out.

(ii) *Cognitive learning*. While instrumental learning consists of the blind stamping-in of rewarded responses, cognitive learning consists of changes in the way that situations are perceived, analysed and interpreted. Experiments with animals learning mazes suggest that animals (like humans) can build up mental maps, so that they perceive each alley in relation to the other alleys. For example, rats who have been pulled through a maze on a trolley can later find their way on foot, or by swimming – showing that maze-learning need not be a matter of learning a sequence of responses.¹ In the field of problem-solving, it is familiar that once the principle of some kind of problem has been mastered, the subject knows what to look for, and similar problems can easily be solved again. The simplest case is that of a puzzle picture where something is ‘hidden’ in the picture: once found the picture can always be perceived in this way again.

What are the empirical conditions under which cognitive learning can take place? In the first place the teacher must be respected and accepted as an expert. The pupils should be highly motivated, either by the intrinsic interest of the material or by the enthusiasm of the teacher, but not too highly motivated – the learning of complex tasks is impeded if motivation is too great. It is familiar that schoolboys will learn about aeroplanes and their parents about football pool permutations, where they don’t learn other things so quickly. The method of teaching is important: more insight results if pupils can take an active part – solving problems and finding things out for themselves, doing projects and writing essays. Cognitive learning proceeds faster in people who are cognitively flexible, rather than rigid, and who are intelligent.³ These results are drawn from research in experimental and educational psychology, but probably hold in the rather different situations to which we now turn.

A good deal of attitude change and persuasion takes place through cognitive learning. We reviewed earlier the attempts to modify racial and international attitudes by means of lectures and films (p. 101). While it is possible to alter verbally-expressed attitudes in this way, overt behaviour is sometimes unaffected. A particularly interesting case of cognitive learning is psychotherapy, in which attempts are made to give the patient insight into the emotional forces, conflicts

and mechanisms in his personality. We have seen that there are doubts concerning the effectiveness of psychotherapy (p. 85), though it seems likely that it does work under certain conditions. Unfortunately research has not yet shown which are the elements in psychotherapy which are most effective. There is some doubt over the importance of insight – patients often complain that they fully understand the causes of their difficulties, but still have the same symptoms. On the other hand, it has been found possible to reduce racial prejudice by means of brief insight-therapy.⁴

A very important kind of cognitive learning is that in which a person comes to look at himself in a different way – his self-perception or ‘ego-identity’ is changed. This can be brought about by alteration of clothes and social position, or by consistently treating a person in a certain way. A case is reported in which a group of male students treated a rather dull and unattractive girl as if she was tremendously attractive and popular. ‘Before the year was over she had developed an easy manner and a confident assumption that she was popular.’⁵ When a person has formed a certain self-perception this will affect his whole style of behaviour – he will behave in a way that sustains this self-image, and reacts sharply if others do not adopt the appropriate behaviour towards him.

There is no doubt that cognitive learning occurs, and that it is a totally different process from instrumental learning. There is some evidence that perceptions may be changed without any corresponding change of behaviour, both in the field of attitude change and psychotherapy. On the other hand this form of learning takes place most readily under certain conditions: perhaps it would be more effective if those conditions were more fully realized.

A further process often distinguished is that of *role-playing*: it is found that if the subject can be manoeuvred into expressing in public some attitude or behaviour, he is likely to accept it as a permanent feature of his personality. We shall see this process turn up as a feature of several of the training situations considered below. Nevertheless it is our view that this is not in itself a basic source of learning, since experimental analysis shows that the effects are probably due to the changed cognition of the situation brought about by the role-playing. For example, it was found in one experiment that subjects who made up and delivered a speech on some topic changed their attitude in the direction of that advocated by the speech more than those who read out a prepared speech: the latter changed no more

than those who read the speech silently.⁶ This suggests that the role-playing or public commitment was unimportant – the exposure to the arguments, which was greater for those who had to make up the speech, was the important factor.

(iii) *Learning via emotional arousal.* The kinds of learning discussed above have all been studied in the laboratory. In recent years psychologists have taken an interest in certain dramatic and fundamental changes of beliefs, attitudes or personality in situations outside the laboratory.^{7,8} These include such things as brain-washing, religious conversion, psychotherapy, religious healing, and the effects of initiation rites. What these situations have in common is that a sudden change takes place in well-established patterns of behaviour, and that intense emotional arousal is involved in each case. Various psychological theories have been offered to explain these phenomena, from Freud's 'catharsis' theory to Pavlov's notion of 'over-excitation'. All that is really known, however, is that 'emotional arousal seems to be a pre-requisite for attitude change and also to accompany it'.⁸

Two pieces of evidence give some support for this proposition. It is found that patients undergoing psychotherapy are more likely to be cured if they are emotionally reactive⁹ – they must become emotionally aroused or there is no therapy. It is shown on another page that religious conversions are more likely to take place in large, crowded and excited meetings (p. 161). This combination of emotional arousal with social pressure seems to be particularly potent, and is also found in ceremonies of religious healing. For a person to change a deep-rooted pattern of belief or behaviour, he must first 'un-freeze' the old pattern. It seems that when a person has been emotionally aroused he becomes more suggestible to new ideas, his cognitive structure becomes disorganized. In an experiment in which subjects were placed under social pressure to conform, those who showed the greatest physiological signs of emotional arousal conformed most.¹⁰ It is reported that at the snake-handling cults in North Carolina a young man used to attend in order to seduce the girls who had just been saved – they had become suggestible in more directions than one.⁷ When, as a result of intense pressure, a person does start to change his outlook or behaviour, the conflict created is a source of further emotional arousal. Emotional arousal by itself cannot change behaviour, but in combination with social or cognitive influence it is extremely effective.

It is only very recently that psychologists have become aware of this third process. We do not yet know for example what role it plays in socialization: in view of the intense emotions which are repeatedly aroused in the family during childhood, we should expect this to be an important aspect of socialization. In the following sections we shall discuss initiation ceremonies and Chinese thought reform from this point of view. It seems that very diverse groups of people in different parts of the world have stumbled accidentally on the importance of emotional arousal, and now deliberately induce it in order to change peoples' behaviour.

Social learning has already been considered (p. 19). This includes conformity to group norms (p. 38), and the internalization of these norms. One process of social learning consists of identification with parents, or other models for imitation; another is the introjection of the demands made by parents or others with whom there is a close and dependent relationship (p. 20).

EXAMPLES OF ADULT SOCIALIZATION

(i) *Induction into occupational roles.* Several studies have been made of the training of soldiers, doctors and others. Such training involves far more than the acquisition of knowledge and skill (with which we shall not be concerned here) – it involves a radical change of social behaviour, attitudes and even personality. Instrumental learning is involved in most military training in that punishment results if recruits do not obey a number of detailed regulations, and respond to orders with alacrity. More important probably are the cognitive changes. New members of many organizations are deliberately cut off from outside contacts and sources of information, at the same time as being given extensive propaganda about the occupation. Their self-perceptions are rapidly modified. It is reported that recruits to the U.S. Marines on arrival are removed to an island, stripped of clothes, possessions and hair, deloused and issued with standard uniforms. During the ensuing training experiences, the new marines forget their previous identity and come to think of themselves primarily as marines.¹¹ Much the same is reported of the inmates of mental hospitals and similar closed institutions. They even come to look at their own past life in a different light. The experience of taking an occupational role leads a person to see problems in a new way, and he comes to adopt the outlook and attitudes characteristic

of the role. In a study in which a number of shop-floor workers were appointed, some as foremen, others as shop stewards, it was found that the foremen adopted management-type attitudes while the shop stewards adopted anti-management attitudes.¹² Working all day as a shop steward, as the official opposition to management, inevitably leads to the adoption of corresponding attitudes.

Social influences are important here too. The new entrant to an occupation is keen to do well in it, and to please his superiors. In addition, he is very likely to look on them, or some of them, as worthy objects of imitation. For both these reasons, he will become rapidly more like them. The Cambridge research student, it has been said, becomes immediately after graduation an 'embryo-don' and immediately 'gets out the chess and madeira'.¹³ In a study of medical students it was found that at the end of their fourth year of clinical training 83% of them thought of themselves primarily as doctors, compared with 31% at the end of the first year. Even in the first year, however, 75% thought of themselves as doctors in respect of their dealings with patients, especially those whose patients treated them as doctors.¹⁴ People adopt a self-image which reflects the way others react to them.

Emotional arousal plays a role here, both in the shared emotional experiences during training, and in the effects of initiation ceremonies. New members of organizations often undergo a series of emotionally arousing experiences. They may encounter situations which are new and perplexing, or which arouse great anxiety. A group of new members who share these experiences tend to become very closely knit together, as well as dependent on the senior members who help them through. The result is a very strong tie of loyalty to the organization. Initiation ceremonies are similar, and are perhaps unwittingly created where other sources of emotional arousal are lacking. One effect of such ceremonies is to celebrate publicly the new member's change of social position – he is now accepted and regards himself as a member of the group: a change of ego-identity is brought about. Adolescents in African tribes are subjected to 'the solemn, even frightening and unforgettable experience of pre-initiation training and the final climax of initiation. . . . Its whole aim was to strike deep into their minds and hearts the traditions of the community, the wisdom of the elders and the continuity with ancestors'.¹⁵ It has also been shown experimentally that subjects who have been exposed to an unpleasant initiation ceremony are later more attracted to

the group.¹⁶ We suggest that initiation ceremonies may be linked with other cases of learning via emotional arousal: changes of ego-identity and group membership are facilitated by the experience. It is interesting that medicine, the Church and the army all involve group emotional experiences during training, and that each of these professions has a strongly-felt mystique and a sense of apartness from ordinary people – compared for example with management and the civil service.

(ii) *Training for leadership and management.* Great interest has been taken since the war in the U.S.A. and Great Britain in the training of managers and other leaders. Very diverse types of training course have been organized without any clear understanding of the relevant principles of learning, or indeed of the aims of such training. Most commonly attempts are made to improve the social and intellectual skills, increase the knowledge and to change the attitudes of those concerned. The effectiveness of existing courses in attaining these ends has been reviewed elsewhere;¹⁷ here we shall consider these changes in relation to the principles of learning presented above.

Instrumental learning is involved in skill training. Students role-play some of the situations they will meet on the job, and their performance is criticized by the trainer and other students. Probably this process could be speeded up by demonstrations by experts (social learning) and training in the basic principles of social behaviour (cognitive). Many students could also benefit from sensitivity training, aimed at increasing the accuracy of perception of social situations, but much remains to be discovered about the nature of social skill.

Cognitive learning is involved in the learning from lectures and books that take place. There has been a swing away from traditional teaching methods towards group discussion, joint report-writing by syndicates, case-studies and the management game. While such methods are effective in modifying eccentric attitudes, they have little impact on knowledge or understanding unless combined with input of information by more orthodox teaching methods.

Social influences are important here: it is found that teachers in this situation have little influence unless the students are prepared to accept them as successful practitioners of management. Indeed, one of the major difficulties with management courses is in obtaining effective teaching staff. Senior managers are acceptable, but are not

well-informed on the relevant academic and research background, while academics are inexperienced in industry and often unacceptable to the trainees. The solution probably is to have professional teachers of management who have some experience of both sides, helped out by visiting professionals of each kind.

Such training is often conducted with groups of about 8, and the building-up of group support for the new ideas is an important part of the training process, especially when the course is held at an isolated country house, as is often the case. It is found, however, that the new ideas and practices do not carry over to the work situation, unless they are supported by the trainees' immediate superiors.¹⁸ This is one of the basic dilemmas of leadership training – it is essential to remove a person from his usual work environment to enable him to be open to new ideas, but if this is done the new practices are not used on the job. The solution seems to lie in 'sandwich' courses, and in courses where senior executives also participate.

Emotional arousal is probably involved in all leadership training which is effective. It is well known that residential courses are the scene of violent in-group feelings and wild enthusiasm, and that the emotional strains lead to consumption of a great deal of alcohol. Such arousal, in a setting of physical isolation, makes possible the changes of attitude and behaviour at which these courses are aimed.

How effective are existing courses? There have been a number of follow-up studies of those who have been trained, comparing their effectiveness on the job before and after the course. There seems little doubt that knowledge, attitudes and both intellectual and social skills *can* be improved by appropriate training, in the case of foremen, managers, officers and others. Some courses have collapsed, through lack of support, others have been shown to be ineffective. The main conditions for success have been indicated above, and include the use of group participatory methods combined with inputs of information, acceptable and knowledgeable trainers, and suitable conditions for carry-over to the job.

(iii) *Thought reform in China.* Great interest has been aroused by Chinese thought reform, because it has been used on a very wide scale with considerable success, and because the methods used are novel. Numerous people who have been subjected to thought reform have subsequently been interviewed, and the main procedures are now well known.¹⁹ The method has been mainly used on Chinese

intellectuals and deviationists, who are gathered together 4,000 at a time in the thought reform schools, though American soldiers,²⁰ British missionaries²¹ and others have experienced very similar treatment. 'Students' become members of a group of 6–10, of whom the others are at various stages of reform, together with a leader. There is extensive propaganda, and students are browbeaten by leader and group into admitting their guilt, and writing elaborate confessions of their earlier sins from a communist point of view. It can be seen that this is a combination of emotional arousal, cognitive influence and social influence: it is hard to disentangle these processes and impossible to tell which is most important. This is quite different from the earlier Russian methods of brain-washing, with their long hours of individual interrogation, which were mainly intended to bring about 'confessions': thought reform aims at genuine attitude changes.

There is great emotional arousal in thought reform. Chinese deviationists had often been unnerved before arrest by the 'terror', brought about by public trials and executions: thousands committed suicide and it is reported that it was not safe to walk under high buildings, because so many were jumping off.⁷ Prisoners of war in Korea had marched several thousand miles, and were suffering acutely from exhaustion, hunger, cold and disease. Missionaries were kept for months in solitary confinement. At the camp, prisoners were deliberately humiliated, made anxious about whether they would live or die, and uncertain about what was going on in the outside world. The propaganda included emotional appeals, particularly in arousing guilt feelings, and was presented as a moral crusade. Prisoners were reduced to such extremes of exhaustion and fear that they would do or say anything to obtain relief.

Cognitive influences were used in the form of endless communist propaganda, enforced study of communist literature, and continual arguments with the rest of the group. At the same time all contact with the outside world was cut, and misleading accounts of world news provided. The prisoner had no means of checking what he was told, and became completely confused and disoriented, so that his resistance to the new outlook became very weak. In particular the prisoner began to change his self-image. The group played on his real guilt feelings, made him feel guilty about trivial offences, and eventually about his 'crimes against the people'. He had to write, and re-write, lengthy confessions about the whole of his past life. This led to his eventually accepting the picture of himself as a guilty

criminal. The fact that all personal possessions had been removed made it possible for the prisoner to lose his previous ego-identity.

Social influences were exerted continually and violently. The final breakdown often occurred at a 'struggle meeting' at which all the group would gather round an unconverted prisoner, shouting at him and insulting him for hours on end. Many prisoners broke down completely, some became 'babbling maniacs', few could resist it. Merely pretending to be converted was not enough, the prisoner had to give convincing evidence that he really accepted the new point of view – both by the detail of his confessions and by his readiness to help convert others.

It has been argued, however, that while this is more than public compliance, it is less than true internalization – there is no integration of the new beliefs with the prisoner's own values, and the indoctrination evaporates as soon as the prisoner is outside the communist orbit.²² It can perhaps best be described as a piece of ego-involved role-taking, produced by extreme coercion, together with the temporary adoption of a new frame of reference.

How successful is thought reform? As far as the Chinese intellectuals are concerned, no figures are available: thousands have been treated and, since they are released to live under further communist pressures, it is likely that the changes will persist and become eventually internalized. The success of the method with American P.O.W.s in Korea has been grossly exaggerated. It is true that the Turks resisted more vigorously, but their military groups were not broken up and lack of Turkish interpreters made much influence impossible.²³ About 10–15% of the American prisoners collaborated to some extent, mainly in response to offers of food and clothing. Few seem to have actually been converted to communism and these forgot about it after their release. Those who gave in were the men of low IQ and ego-strength, no previous foreign service, lower social class, poor integration with their military unit and no firm religious beliefs.²⁴ Some of the missionaries treated have offered the greatest resistance to thought reform²¹ – again showing that deeply-rooted beliefs are the most difficult to change.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ADULT SOCIALIZATION

We have seen the power of indoctrination to mould even basic values, as in Chinese thought reform. We are not advocating the

changing of people's beliefs in this way, but there are a number of occasions where it is legitimate to strengthen values and standards. This is useful when a person will have to work in a very isolated situation, which applies not only to spies and missionaries, but to many professional people who work in the community and are not closely attached to an institution. If they are to maintain the standards and professional ethics of the profession, and not yield to pressures to compromise, it is essential that they go through some adult socialization first. It is found in some ex-colonial territories that Western standards of professional conduct are found among nationals who have been indoctrinated by several years of education abroad. When enough have been so indoctrinated it is possible for a tradition to grow up; in other words new members can receive the appropriate adult socialization.

Adult socialization can be looked at as further education and development – after the period of formal education has ended. Much of this development is in the sphere of social skill, and we have seen that training courses for managers make deliberate attempts to improve such skills. Here it is doubtful whether establishing a tradition would have very much effect, as special learning experiences appear to be necessary. If these were more widely available it is likely that the general quality of human social interaction would be much improved – more efficient, constructive and pleasant.

Lastly it is worth studying the existing adult socialization in particular organizations and ask whether it is moulding people in the desired way. Is it really necessary for managers to develop right-wing attitudes, for doctors to be unsympathetic towards research, or for public-school masters to be out of touch with the community? All these things could be changed by appropriate changes in adult socialization.

Chapter 11

SELECTION

The character of social organizations, and of society as a whole, is greatly affected by the way people are selected to fill different positions. If a firm starts to choose a different kind of person to occupy the senior posts, the whole atmosphere and character of the firm will change in a few years. It will be shown later that it may be impossible to change a prison or hospital in a liberal direction without also selecting staff of less authoritarian personality at all levels (p. 176). The character of the class system is largely a function of how far social mobility is possible, and which kind of people are able to rise in it.

Systems of selection are at work all the time, though they may not be formulated or clearly understood, and though they often don't work very well. The contribution that social science can make here is to devise effective methods of selection, and to show what effect a given selection method has – in relation to the efficiency and character of the organization and the lives of those who are accepted or rejected.

DEVISING SELECTION PROCEDURES

Suppose a firm selects personnel by interviewing applicants. We can find out how effective this is by comparing ratings (or the rank-order) of candidates made by the interviewer with their subsequent success at the job. A correlation is found between scores on the selection test, in this case an interview, and later measures of success. Since some of the applicants will be rejected we can study the different scores only of those who were accepted. There are advantages in allowing all of a batch of applicants through at some stage, so that the later careers of those who do badly on the selection test can also be studied, though this may be highly inconvenient in practice. The criterion of success may be speed of work, marks in

examinations, or similar objective measures. There is difficulty, however, in finding a satisfactory criterion of success at any kind of work more complex than manual work.

Selection is often carried out by interview, together with records of past performance. Such methods are not very effective, and it has been found that when foremen or officers are selected in this way there is a correlation of about 0.2 between selection estimates and later success on the job.¹ What such methods actually do is to make sure that the organization only takes on people of 'the right type'. While every organization has its own mythology about what the right type is, this sometimes refers to people of a certain social background or personality. While there is no doubt that concentration on class rather than ability makes for inefficiency, it is legitimate for existing staff to give some preference to those who are personally congenial when choosing immediate assistants or colleagues, but this should not be given very much weight in the total selection.

The contribution of psychology to this problem has been to devise various objective tests and measures which are better able to select those who are good at the job. These include intelligence tests, personality tests, performance in group discussions and other group activities, and carefully-conducted interviews. The details of which tests are used and how well they work will be considered below for the three selection situations of entrance to grammar school, university, and to various leadership and management positions. To summarize very briefly, the use of objective tests increases the follow-up validity to 0.6 to 0.8, compared with 0.2 for traditional methods.² In order to set up an effective selection scheme, a considerable number of tests are tried out and correlated with later success for a large group of candidates. Many of these tests will be no good and are abandoned. Several will show a fair correlation, of 0.2 to 0.6 with the criterion, and three or four of these are chosen. In choosing these tests it may be advantageous to include some tests with a relatively low correlation with the criterion, if they are independent of other measures being used. They can then increase the overall effectiveness and produce a higher correlation between the combined scores of the tests and the criterion.

Recent developments of 'decision theory' have thrown new light on the whole practice of selection. Instead of merely working out the validity of a selection scheme, we can consider the overall social consequences of selection decisions, where a given proportion of these

are right and wrong.³ Perhaps the most important application of this theory is that instead of considering only those who are selected we can consider the subsequent careers of those who are rejected as well. Suppose that a group of school leavers may go into either clerical or skilled manual work. By using tests of general intelligence it would be possible to select out those most suitable for clerical work. However, we could select those most suitable for clerical work by tests of specifically verbal abilities and select those most suitable for skilled manual work by tests of dexterity. The two sets of tests would have only a low correlation between them. By doing both selections at once and using both kinds of test, we could choose for clerical work those with high verbal ability and weak in manual dexterity, while those strong on manual dexterity and weak in verbal ability would become skilled workers. Such a procedure could always be used when two or more sets of abilities have low or zero correlations with one another. The discussion of selection has often been dominated by the assumption that abilities are general and that some people are superior in all directions. In fact, within the field of intelligence alone, many testers prefer to use a series of tests for partly independent special abilities, instead of tests geared to a general factor of intelligence. Another application of decision theory is to consider the costs of the selection procedure itself in relation to what is gained from it. In particular there may be a set of borderline candidates on whom it is worth spending more attention and administering further tests – what is called a ‘sequential’ selection procedure.

EXAMPLES OF SELECTION PROCEDURES

(i) *Grammar school selection.* We will consider how well the 11+ exam works within the limitations of its purpose. The first problem is to decide on a criterion of later success. Since the aim is to select children who will benefit from a grammar school education, the most obvious criterion is that of success in GCE, and O level results have generally been used. The validity of the 11+ has been intensively studied, and there is no doubt that it is one of the most effective selection techniques ever devised, in terms of prediction to success in GCE. The correlation between the total 11+ battery and GCE has been found to be 0.804, 0.831, 0.863 and 0.829 in different studies.^{5,6} The best single predictor is often the assessment by prim-

ary school teachers, scaled by means of the intelligence test results for the different schools: this gives a validity of up to 0.90. The next most efficient predictor is the verbal intelligence test itself, closely followed by the standardized arithmetic and English exams. When these measures are all combined, the overall validity is slightly increased. The traditional, unstandardized, arithmetic and English exams, and non-verbal and spatial intelligence tests fared distinctly less well, with validities of only 0.60.

Turning to selection for different kinds of further education, it is found that arithmetic and English exams predict particularly well to GCE results in those respective subjects. Although spatial and non-verbal intelligence tests do not give a good prediction to success at grammar school, they do predict well to success at technical colleges. It has indeed been found that, although technical college students are weak in verbal IQ, they are often very high in non-verbal abilities.⁷ Most local authorities pay special attention to borderline candidates and those with discrepant marks, about 10% of the age-group. Further information is collected about these children, either by interviewing them or by inspecting their work records from primary school.⁸

How far does grammar school selection succeed in giving equal opportunities to all? Floud and Halsey compared the numbers of boys from different social classes who went to grammar school in relation to the numbers qualified, in the sense of having an IQ of 114 or over.⁹ They studied the situation in Hertfordshire before and after the intelligence test was dropped from the 11+ battery. Middle-class children had a very slight advantage when IQ was included but a quite marked advantage when it was not – for each 100 qualified, 123 middle-class and 89 working-class children went to grammar school. The reason no doubt is that the greater achievement motivation and better teaching of middle-class children enables them to do better in the Arithmetic and English. The 11+ then slightly favours middle-class children, especially when no intelligence test is included, but otherwise is a very efficient means of educational selection, and a means of social mobility for the academically able child.

Objections to grammar school selection take two main forms – that it is not accurate in some individual cases, and that it causes distress among the children concerned. From a decision theory point of view these would be counted among the social costs incurred. It is quite true that even with a validity as high as 0.85 some children will be

misplaced, particularly those on the borderline. Intellectual ability is affected by the environment after the age of 11, and a child may be upset and fail to do himself justice in the exam. The answer is that, if selection has to be made at this age, it could scarcely be improved upon, but that there must be some means of upgrading those who fail and subsequently show they should have passed. Comprehensive schools are one solution to this problem.

The effects of the selection procedure on children have been widely commented upon. A survey in Belfast found that over a third of borderline candidates showed nervous symptoms, such as disturbance of sleep or digestion.¹⁰ Does failure at 11 produce feelings of despondency and inferiority? Several surveys show that there is greater anxiety among grammar school pupils, and it is possible that secondary modern school pupils are happier with the lower academic pressure. It is also quite probable that they come to regard themselves as in some way inferior, and as belonging to a lower social class.

(ii) *Selection for university.* This is carried out largely on a basis of examinations and interview. Again the criterion used in assessing validity is usually final examinations, but it is questionable how satisfactory this is. Every university teacher is familiar with students who get Firsts but later prove quite unemployable save at a low level of skill, as a result of personality defects. Others who do badly at university later rise to positions of power and influence, sometimes through family influence, sometimes because they have abilities or other qualities which are not assessed in university examinations. However, to validate selection against success in life, or later contributions to society, would be a very difficult task. Another difficulty is that the validity as estimated by correlations is likely to be low, in view of the small range of ability inside a highly selected population like that of university students. It has been suggested that an all-or-none prediction of pass or fail would be more appropriate.

Interviewing is used at many universities, though its reliability is low (0.4 to 0.5) and its validity lower. It is easier to assess personal qualities than intellectual ones at an interview. Some interviewers are better than others, and it is possible to select the interviewers on the basis of their past success in prediction. There is evidence that interviewers should be from a similar background to those interviewed,

and some success has been obtained at a medical school by using senior students as interviewers. Interviews are more likely to be successful if the candidate is asked difficult questions, preferably in a series of interviews, by one person at a time, and if interviewers know beforehand what qualities they are trying to assess.⁴ One of the main objections to interviews here is that they favour the more fluent and socially at ease middle-class candidate.

School exams have a validity of 0.5 to 0.6, particularly exams in the subject later studied, unless this is taught very differently at the university. Predictions are less satisfactory in Arts subjects, probably because of the unreliability of marking the essays: American school exams of the multiple-choice type have a validity of 0.5 to 0.75. The Headmaster's report has a validity of about 0.3, though reports by masters in particular subjects correlate 0.5 with university success in those subjects. General testimonials are less satisfactory than ratings of specific qualities in a standardized way.¹²

Intelligence tests are widely used for graduate selection in the U.S.A., for which the Miller Analogies test is often used. Several British universities have introduced verbal intelligence tests and others are experimenting with AH 5.¹³ Such tests are fairly successful, though usually not so good as examinations, and greater accuracy could be obtained by using both. It would be more useful to administer tests which predict to success in different kinds of further education or academic subject. Performance tests have been found to predict to success in physical education for instance, and manual dexterity tests for dentistry.

There are several aspects of personality which have been shown to correlate with success both at university and later occupations, tests for which could well be used in university selection.

(a) *Creativity* has been isolated and measured in a number of recent studies.¹⁴ Children high on this variable do as well as more intelligent children who are low on it; those high on both are likely to be successful at research, writing and other careers requiring originality. Various tests are available, mostly depending on the ability to think of unusual associations to words, unusual uses for objects, and so on.

(b) *Achievement motivation* has been discussed above (p. 24), where it was shown that it correlates with success at university independently of intelligence. Furthermore, those high on this variable are

likely to strive for achievement in other spheres after leaving university. It has been found that students scoring high on tests for persistence also do better at university exams.¹⁵

(c) *Emotional stability* is probably more important for success in later life than at university. Schizophrenics for example may survive university but break down under the stress of doing a job (p. 80). In a study at an Engineering College it was found that neurotic introverts had the lowest failure rate, though the same students had nervous troubles and did badly at engineering drawing when their anxiety interfered with the detailed work. This is an example of different kinds of personality doing well in different spheres.¹⁶

(iii) *Selection for management and leadership.* This was traditionally done by interview, together with study of previous performance. Many progressive organizations have replaced such methods by more objective ones, and increased the validity of selection to 0.6 or more. The criterion of success used here is generally a rating of performance on the job by established executives. However, different people often give very different ratings of the same man's performance, and it is likely that the ratings will reflect conformity to traditional ideas of what, for example, a civil servant should be like. In some cases more direct criteria of effectiveness can be found, such as the output in a foreman's department, or the number of mentions a research worker gets in the *Annual Review*.

We shall consider now the validity of various selection procedures in relation to ratings of job success. Intelligence tests are always found to give a useful prediction for managerial-type jobs. The actual correlation may be as high as 0.6, but will be less if the applicants are already similar in IQ: this is true of candidates for the administrative branch of the Civil Service, where intelligence only correlates 0.22 with success, though the whole C.I.S.B. battery gives a 0.58 correlation.¹⁷ Performance in group situations gives a measure of some of the social skills required in executive posts, and these correlate 0.4 to 0.6 with later success. Personality tests are rarely used in Britain, though they are common in the U.S.A. Whyte¹⁸ has criticized the use by American firms of questionnaires which measure little more than 'extraversion, disinterest in the arts, and a cheerful acceptance of the status quo'. He shows how corporation presidents failed to produce acceptable scores on such tests. It might, however, be useful

to include personality measures for traits such as neuroticism where these are relevant. Those experienced in management selection report that successful managers may be quite low in IQ, but are high in drive and social skill. It would be very useful to include measures of these qualities.

THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF SELECTION

The most obvious consequence of an efficient selection scheme is that individuals are chosen who are better at the job. There is no doubt that firms that choose their executives skilfully acquire a more effective management team and prosper as a result. In addition to this the character of the organization will be completely changed if there is a tendency to choose, for instance, authoritarians or non-authoritarians, radicals or conservatives. The patterns of behaviour and social relationship will be very much affected by such a policy over and above any direct consequences for efficiency.

We shall now consider some of the effects on society as a whole of selection schemes. The improved methods described above have become more common in recent years, partly in the service of democratic ideals about equal opportunity, partly to make better use of the talent available. This is leading, however, to the development of a 'meritocracy', i.e. a state of society in which social status depends largely on ability, as opposed to luck or parental position and influence.¹⁹ This means that those born with low intelligence are destined to a similar fate to that of those born in the working class in a previous generation. Furthermore, the most able working class children move into another class instead of staying to provide leadership and political power for their own class.

Part of the solution to this social problem lies, it may be suggested, in using a decision theory approach to selection. However high the validity of current grammar school and university selection, they incur two enormous social costs – the feeling of inferiority on the part of those rejected, and a failure to make the best use of talent distributed in the way it is. If there was positive selection for jobs requiring abilities of leadership and social skill, and technical, mechanical and artistic abilities, people would be able to make the best use of their talents, and the present undervaluation of the majority of jobs would be reduced. There is little doubt that the meritocracy springs at root from over-concentration on the generality of

abilities combined with an over-valuation of intelligence as compared with other abilities.

The fact that people of the same abilities may have different temperaments and job-inclinations, is also of importance here. Much of selection is self-selection: people only apply for the jobs they want to do. It is unfortunate that occupations have become so sharply differentiated in the pay and social status attached to them since it results in many people going into work which is not otherwise their first choice, so that their job satisfaction will probably be lower. A survey of Oxford undergraduates found that many were intending to go into management although their preference was for some other occupation such as teaching.²⁰ Nevertheless many people do choose lower-paid work simply because this is what they are interested in.

Individuals who are not sure what occupation to go into sometimes seek vocational guidance. In addition to measures of ability, which show what range of jobs they *could* do, they are given tests of personality, such as the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, which show what kind of work they would find most congenial. This principle could be used in selection too, so that only those temperamentally fitted for a job are accepted.

Selection in Britain is not only producing a meritocracy, but is perpetuating a class system where there is a considerable social distance between the classes, compared with other modern states. Observers have been surprised that the welfare state is so highly stratified, but the reason almost certainly lies in our educational selection system. The division into public, grammar and secondary modern schools separates children at an early age, and has clear implications for their social class. Thus it is that failure at 11+ is regarded as such a terrible thing. To reduce the degree of stratification in our society the most effective single step would be the removal of this three-tier system, and its replacement by comprehensive schools. An alternative would be simultaneous selection for several types of ability along the lines suggested above, and the creation of schools which were different, but of equal prestige.

Chapter 12

TECHNIQUES OF LEADERSHIP

One of the most important and influential features of any group, organization or society, is the way in which appointed leaders handle their subordinates. We shall pay special attention to teachers, industrial supervisors and those in charge of committees and other problem-solving groups. Similar principles apply to all of these, as well as to those who have charge of prisoners, mental patients and others. Research shows that different styles of leadership affect such variables as the amount of work done, the satisfaction of the members, and the influence which the leader has on them. If the group members are themselves leaders of other groups, as in a hierarchical organization, they will tend to adopt the style of leadership which is used on them – leadership methods filter down the hierarchy.¹ Research in this area has succeeded in defining fairly clearly the leadership attitudes and skills which are generally most effective, though these depend to some extent on the circumstances.

THE EFFECTS OF DIFFERENT STYLES OF LEADERSHIP

Leaders vary along many dimensions, but statistical and experimental studies have shown that several are of particular importance. Research in a wide variety of settings shows that certain styles of leader behaviour get better results in nearly all of them, and we shall give these first.

(i) *Democratic* leadership is usually more effective than autocratic. A democratic leader is one who allows the group to participate in decisions, consults members about what is to be done, and generally involves the group in policy-making. The autocratic leader gives orders without consulting anyone and without explanation: all power rests in his hands. Some leaders just pretend to be democratic –

they consult the group but don't let the group's advice affect their decisions: it is not known what effect this has. There are certain limitations on the use of democratic techniques. In the first place most groups can't decide on a very wide range of problems – industrial or educational groups for instance. Secondly, emphasis on the importance of consulting the group has led many writers to lose sight of the fact that the leader usually has to lead – either because he must transmit orders from his own superiors, or because he has ideas of his own. When the group is large, leader directives are more acceptable, since otherwise things are chaotic.² When decisions must be taken quickly, as in military situations, autocratic leadership may be necessary. One experiment showed that appointed leaders behaved in a more authoritarian manner, with less regard for the opinions of the group members, under conditions of risk and uncertainty.³ Group members may be unaccustomed to democratic leadership and indeed resist it – asking the leader to tell them what to do. It has been found that group therapy can be gradually changed from a directive to a democratic pattern, and that this makes the therapy more effective.⁴

(ii) The leader should *lead*, i.e. be a source of influence, and not merely follow the majority view. Industrial and military studies have discovered a factor named 'initiating structure' which refers to the extent to which the leader makes it clear what each group member is expected to do, and establishes methods of communication and work for the group.⁵ In groups of other kinds the leader must be a source of ideas, initiative and information, he must be able to contribute to the solution of the problems facing the group.

(iii) The leader must be *employee-centred* or high on 'consideration' – he must be concerned for the welfare of his men and have a warm relation with them.⁶ In matters of discipline he must be persuasive and understanding, but not punitive. Now while a leader should be on warm and friendly terms with the group members, he should not on the other hand be 'one of the boys' to the extent of abandoning his position of leadership. Several studies show that groups are more effective if the leader maintains a certain social distance between himself and the group.⁷ If he becomes immersed in the group he becomes dependent on the good opinions of the members, and is unable to exert influence over them: studies of discussion groups show that it

is difficult to be most popular and most influential at the same time.⁸

(iv) A leader should be *socially sensitive*, so that he is aware of what is going on, what people are thinking, and of tensions and conflicts inside the group. People who can do this are both chosen as leaders and are more effective as appointed leaders.⁸ Such abilities depend to some extent on basic personality qualities – for example authoritarians, psychotics and leucotomized patients are all poor at person perception. Social skills can be improved to some extent by special training, as was mentioned earlier (p. 33). Groups can be handled more effectively by those who understand the basic principles governing the functioning of small groups and these will be discussed below.

PATTERNS OF LEADER-FOLLOWER RELATION

There are all combinations of leader, follower and task, but certain patterns may be picked out as illustrative. One pattern is where the leader relies solely on his formal authority to reward and punish the group members. This is common in prisons and to a lesser extent in military organizations. The result is that the group can often be compelled to carry out orders and may even be very efficient. The members only work, however, when the leader is looking, and careful inspection is needed to make sure the work has been done properly. Great tension and dissatisfaction is generated in the group, leading to absence, sickness, leaving the group, and hostility towards the leader.¹⁰ Such coercive, autocratic leadership, while disliked by the majority, is preferred by members who themselves have authoritarian personalities – they get on better with strong leaders on whom they can be dependent.¹¹

One of the first lessons to be learnt by the newly appointed leader is that he cannot rely on his formal authority alone. A second pattern is where he acquires personal power, such as when he himself is a prestigious, glamorous figure who would have risen to leadership without having an official position. The followers look up to this embodiment of their ideals and identify with him. He is then in a strong position to influence them by persuasion. This pattern is sometimes found in scientific research teams with a distinguished director.

Personal power can also be acquired in more mundane ways. If

the leader really does succeed in looking after the interests of the group, he will be highly accepted by them. If he shows that he really can contribute to the group's task activities by being good at whatever these are, then the group will be receptive to future ideas that he may have. If a leader behaves in an employee-centred way, but has insufficient power to do very much for his men, the reaction of the group is unfavourable.¹²

Another pattern is the permissive, group-centred, highly democratic kind of group, where the leader is little more than a tactful chairman. This pattern was widely recommended by social psychologists at one time, since it seemed to be the opposite of autocratic leadership. In fact it is hardly leadership at all, since the leader keeps the peace but exerts no influence. The group is likely to be happy but inefficient.

UNDERSTANDING GROUP PROCESSES

The leader who has some understanding of the psychology of behaviour in groups can be more effective. In the first place it is important to regard the members not as individuals but as members of a group, which reacts as a unit (cf. p. 38f.). When there is a strong group norm it is no good a leader attempting to influence individuals away from it, as the group will have a stronger influence. One solution is to conduct 'group decisions': the initial norm is weakened by discussion, subtle persuasion from the leader shifts the norm, and a decision by the group freezes the norm at the new point. While this procedure has been successful in changing output, food habits etc., it is not clear quite how it works. The persuasion by the leader is probably crucial, and he may be able to point to real advantages of the new pattern of behaviour. The discussion may increase the clarity with which the new goals are perceived as well as showing lack of support for the previous norm. The decision brings group pressures to bear in the direction of the new norm instead of the old one.¹³

A second aspect of small groups which leaders need to understand is the internal structure of influence, friendship, status and communication (cf. p. 39f.). It is possible to handle the group more effectively by studying this informal structure. It is possible for the leader to influence popular and prestigious members more than others, since these are allowed more latitude by the group, and are

not so dependent on group acceptance. A lot of tensions and difficulties within groups grow out of these informal structures, and it is not possible to understand what is going on without a clear picture of them.

A third way of looking at groups is to consider the varying needs which members are trying to satisfy in the group. The official goals of the group, which the leader is trying to implement, may include solving problems, acquiring knowledge, or carrying out work. To some extent the members may be directly concerned with these goals, but probably more important for them are their relations with the other members. These needs vary considerably, as shown before (pp. 33f.): some people seek warm social relationships, some seek power and influence, others seek the support of a strong leader. People may join the group in the first instance to pursue the official goals of the group, but become involved in the social interactions which then become of greater importance. Those who are concerned with power will behave quite differently from those concerned more with warmth and acceptance. Similarly, the members will vary in their reactions to the leader – from those who are hostile to all authority figures to those who identify with him or become dependent on him. A leader can exert more influence on those who have one of the last two attitudes and it may be possible to exert influence on the group through them.

Finally we will consider one of the leader's most difficult problems – how to handle various kinds of awkward group members. Perhaps the main lesson of social research is that it is better to handle these people in some other way than by sheer naked power. One kind of awkward member is the person who talks too much in a discussion group, or who simply does not carry out his task in the group properly. This can be handled by the use of impersonal rules with automatic sanctions. Some group members are hostile to leaders and difficult for the leader to control. These people are usually much more dependent on the influence of the group, so that the solution is to leave it to the group to exert the necessary influence. Perhaps the most difficult case, fortunately rare, is the psychopath, who cares neither about leaders nor groups, and has a destructive, disruptive effect on group activities. These people are only responsive to direct material and economic sanctions; if these cannot be used such people should be isolated as far as possible from the main group activities.

APPLICATIONS TO PARTICULAR LEADERSHIP SITUATIONS

(i) *Teaching*. Much remains to be found out about the effects of different kinds of teacher behaviour, but sufficient research has been done to show that the principles expounded above are generally true here. *Democratic* leadership corresponds to teaching methods which allow rather more pupil participation, and focus more on the interests of the students, than is usual. A number of experimental comparisons of the two techniques have found that the traditional method sometimes produced better academic results, sometimes that the student-centred method did.¹⁴ There seems to be little doubt, however, that the student-centred approach is enjoyed more, that the group of pupils become more friendly, and that social skills and even emotional adjustment are improved. The teacher *must be a source of influence* – a principle which is sometimes lost sight of in adult education. More is learnt if the teacher is accepted as an expert, so that the pupils have confidence in what he says, and if material is presented clearly, in an orderly and systematic way, and with good examples. The teacher should have *consideration* for the pupils. He should be able to establish rapport with a wide variety of students. A Canadian study in which university students reported the effects of good and bad ‘critical incidents’ found that a better classroom atmosphere and more interest and learning were reported if lecturers were warm and friendly, and showed an interest in students’ questions, while the reverse followed when lecturers made students look silly.¹⁵ An Australian study showed that when children liked the teacher they also came to like the subject.¹⁶ On the other hand teachers should not go too far in courting popularity, since there are real and extensive differences in values and attitudes between teachers and schoolchildren – this is parallel to the ‘aloofness’ found important in other group settings.

A special feature of the teacher’s job is the need for him to motivate the pupils – there is no wage incentive for school work, and the competitive marks system is only a partial solution. Learning is motivated far more effectively by a real interest in the subject matter. This can be aroused by the personal enthusiasm of the teacher, by linking the material to the pupils’ interests, by dramatic demonstrations and displays and by encouraging pupil participation. If the teacher is sufficiently attractive and impressive, pupils will identify with him, and take over his enthusiasms more readily. Several studies

show the great preoccupation with the personality of the teacher – particularly in the case of university and adult students.

Several experiments have been carried out comparing the effects of verbal techniques by teachers. Praise, particularly public praise, produced better work in 87.5% of pupils, private reprimand in 66.3%, while public reprimand and all kinds of ridicule and sarcasm produced worse results for the majority.¹⁷ The next question is which children respond best to each kind of incentive? A British and an American study both report that introverts react better to praise and similar rewards than do extraverts who respond better to blame.^{18, 19} The efficacy of verbal reprimands is reported to increase with age.¹⁹

How teachers can make use of group processes has been the subject of considerable debate. The use of small groups working together has the advantage that all can participate fully. It is certainly important that pupils should feel accepted and free from social anxiety, or they will be distracted from their task of learning. Social relations within the class can be improved by means of activities requiring group interaction, and by sociometric re-grouping in a way that cuts across cleavages. Individual children who become isolated can be skilfully inserted into friendly groups and given jobs to do that will bring them into contact with others.²⁰

(ii) *Industry*. The problems of foremen and managers are discussed in Chapter 8, so techniques of leadership can be covered here briefly. *Democratic* and participatory techniques have been shown to be useful at times of changes in departments – output goes up instead of down, and labour turnover is avoided.²¹ However, the extent to which shop-floor workers can really be allowed to participate in industrial decisions is very limited, particularly when there is complicated machinery (p. 112). They *can* be consulted on the details of how orders shall be implemented, and be given explanations of the reasons behind such orders. The need for positive *leadership* from foremen and others is shown by studies comparing foremen who do their job of planning and organizing with those who don't. When they don't carry out their proper functions there is discontent and inefficiency, and other workers may take over the organizing – the so-called 'straw boss'. The importance of *employee-centred* supervision for both output and job satisfaction has been shown in a number of studies. Foremen who are primarily concerned with productivity are found to get worse results in this sphere than those

mainly concerned with the welfare of employees. Other dimensions of leadership have also been found to be important in the industrial setting. General as opposed to close supervision is preferred by workers, and leads to higher output in most, but not all situations. Discipline should be enforced by persuasion, based on a sympathetic understanding of the reasons for e.g. being persistently late, rather than by punitive methods.

The relations between industrial leaders and their groups vary greatly with the nature of the socio-technical arrangements, the incentive system (p. 106), and the general structural characteristics of the organization, such as the degree of delegation practised (p. 173). One persistent feature of the industrial situation however, is the conflict of interests between management and men, which places the foreman in a very awkward position in between. This means that he commonly has to deal with resistant or hostile elements in the group, which can be done by the various techniques described above. Since industrial work usually requires fixed locations of work and set patterns of social interaction, these may generate conflict and friction within the group. This can be seen by a socially perceptive supervisor, and dealt with by grouping people in different ways.

(iii) *Committees and problem-solving groups.* The goals of a problem solving group, or committee, are to arrive at the most satisfactory solutions to problems, and to achieve as much agreement as possible about the solution. In some cases the emphasis will be on finding the solution, in others on obtaining a consensus. When the leader allows and encourages full *participation* in the discussion by all members there will be more convergence of opinion, and better solutions are obtained to problems. An authoritarian leader makes members less willing to bring forward ideas. However, the leader should also keep firm control of the group – by making sure that a few members don't dominate the discussion, and that minority views are voiced. One experiment showed that groups with trained democratic leaders obtained the correct solution more often because minority opinions were heard.²² Other experiments have found that guided and controlled discussion is preferred by members – although when committees are faced by new problems members do not mind lack of control by the leader so much.²³ When groups are faced by problems requiring a really new solution, a temporary suspense of criticism as

in 'brain-storming' is sometimes practised, and is reported to be a fruitful source of new ideas.

While the *warmth* of the leader is probably important here, warm and co-operative relations within the group are more so. Numerous investigations show that friendly and co-operative groups achieve a consensus of opinion faster, are more productive at committee work, and are enjoyed more by their members.²⁴ Such co-operation may be hard to achieve if the members represent different interests or points of view, but it can be increased by pleasurable social interaction outside the committee room. Such groups often do better if favourable relations can be built up before any work is attempted.

Studies of research teams show that drive and scientific ability in the leader are more important than administrative skill;²⁵ this corresponds to a pattern of identification with the leader. It has also been found that the productivity of younger scientists is considerably greater if they are independent of their superiors, as opposed to being dependent – provided that they are in daily contact; when contact is less frequent independence makes little difference.²⁶

Since larger groups allow less opportunity for participation, they are enjoyed less, and are also less effective at problem-solving. The game of 'twenty questions' for example is done better, i.e. with fewer questions, by groups of two than by groups of four.²⁷ When consensus has to be obtained, larger numbers may have to be present, but when definite problems have to be solved there is a lot to be said for dividing up the work between small sub-committees.

THE ORIGINS AND CHANGE OF LEADER BEHAVIOUR

Why do different leaders lead differently? It is partly a matter of personality – authoritarians will tend to lead autocratically, for example. It is partly due to past experience of leadership at the hands of others – parents, teachers, and so on – whose methods will be copied. Thus a person's style of leadership will reflect the cultural milieu in which he has been brought up, as well as his past organizational experience.

How can leadership methods be changed?

Selection of a certain type of person will provide an organization (or society) with a certain type of leader. As is shown in Chapter 11, modern personnel selection methods make it possible to choose effective leaders with considerable efficiency; it is also possible to choose

people who will be likely to adopt a certain style – e.g. democratic or aloof. Much of the variation between the leaders in an organization due to individual differences in personality could be cut down in any desired way by means of suitable selection procedures.

Training can change the behaviour of leaders if it is conducted along certain lines, and if the new ideas are supported by the leaders' own superiors, as is shown in Chapter 10. There are, however, considerable limitations to the effects of training on leaders – some are so set in their ways as to be untrainable: in Chapter 14 it is reported that the only way to effect some organizational changes is to replace the leaders – i.e. to change the selection methods.

The social structure is a major determinant of leadership methods – some organizations are more autocratic, or more employee-centred than others. Such patterns of social behaviour are partly a matter of the perpetuation of a tradition, through the vehicles of selection and training. In addition to this the organizational rules and procedures will lay down such things as the degree of authority at different levels, the amount of consultation and delegation, and so on. In Chapter 14 we discuss just how far it is possible to change behaviour by altering the formal structure.

The behaviour of second-line leaders will affect that of first-line leaders, who imitate their superiors.¹ Training courses are ineffective unless senior leaders support their teachings, and it may be sufficient simply to change the behaviour of senior staff.

Chapter 13

INFLUENCE OF MASS
COMMUNICATIONS

PUBLIC MEETINGS AND MASS MEDIA

In this section we shall consider the effect on behaviour, attitudes and opinions, firstly of public meetings, and secondly of mass media such as TV, radio, newspapers and posters. Public meetings were the traditional means of spreading new ideas, both in religion and in politics; all ideological movements in the past used this vehicle for propagating their views. Public meetings are still widely used – the candidates in the 1960 American Presidential Election made about 150 major speeches each, and were seen in person by about 10 million people.¹ Religious revivals are still conducted mainly by means of mass public meetings – Billy Graham's three campaigns in Britain were attended by about 3 million people.* The mass media can reach many more people than this, and with far less physical effort on the part of the main performers. The reason public meetings are still used is that they are thought to be more effective than the mass media. Experiments have shown that there is more attitude change when the identical message is given in a lecture than when it is heard over the radio or read; probably TV is more potent than radio, less potent than lectures, but this remains to be fully investigated.†

A major limitation on the effect of both public meetings and mass media is that only the converted receive the message: the audience is self-selected. This is particularly the case with public meetings, which require greater effort on the part of the audience. Political meetings are attended by 12–15% of the public at election time in Great Britain, and nearly all of these people have already made up their

* There were actually 5½ million attendances but people went twice on average.²

† The research literature on mass communications has been extensively reviewed;^{3, 4, 5} we shall only give specific references to studies not covered by these reviews.

minds.⁶ Religious revivals are different in that newcomers are brought along by social pressure, and may be prepared to be converted before they go. The numbers converted in this case may be considerable – about 5% of Billy Graham's millions of attenders 'made decisions', while at the more violent and ecstatic nineteenth-century revivals a much greater proportion was affected.²

The permanence of such attitude changes depends on a number of factors. While the more high pressure meetings convert more people at the time, the effects are less long-lasting. Of Graham's converts, 50% were still active church-goers a year later. Where meetings are attended mainly by those who already hold the views being expounded, the main effect is to strengthen their belief and provide them with enthusiasm and arguments with which to influence other people (see p. 165).

The mass media proper have grown in the extent and expertise of their use and in the influence which they exert. The Kennedy–Nixon television debates were seen by 70 million people.¹ Eighty-eight per cent of Americans had TV by 1960, and 80% of British families by 1962 – in each case spending an average of over two hours a day watching it. Radio and newspapers reach even more people, but less time is spent on them. Posters, leaflets and similar material are also widely used: during and before the 1959 election in Britain millions of posters and leaflets were distributed by the main parties.⁷ This was the first time that modern methods of mass persuasion had been employed on a large scale in a British general election.

Self-selection is not nearly so great for these methods as for public meetings. Radio and TV in particular reach both sides, presumably since people simply do not switch off. Newspapers are intermediate as far as politics are concerned, since not all people take papers whose point of view they approve of. Advertisements and posters reach a large, unwilling and often resentful audience, but reach it nevertheless. The mass media reach more people than public meetings, but influence them less. They rarely convert anyone to the opposite point of view, though they may produce minor changes, reinforce old opinions, create opinions on new issues and persuade people to change from one brand to another.⁴ Over a period of time, exposure to news from one particular paper may mould attitudes, since there is no check on the selection and interpretation of facts given. Prolonged TV watching may bring about surreptitious changes of outlook – in the direction of middle-class values and material

ambition.⁸ In the political sphere it is becoming increasingly clear that skilful use of the mass media can swing an election. In the 'primary' contest between Kennedy and Humphrey in Virginia, the crucial element may have been Kennedy's ability to pay far more for TV performances.¹ The Conservative victory in Britain in 1959 was undoubtedly influenced by the advertising campaign of 1957-9, which cost half a million pounds and was probably a major factor in the swing in the vote of 15%. Representative figures for the effectiveness of commercial advertising are hard to find, but it is known that any firm which stops advertising experiences a drop in sales, while some who begin to advertise in a particularly effective way have had enormous increases.

The effect of the mass media falls with time. Normally there is a decay to something like half the immediate change of attitude. Some people, however, change their attitude more after an interval. This is known as the 'sleeping' effect, and is found when the audience was initially hostile to the source.³

Sometimes there is no effect at all. Despite several million dollars spent in advertising the Ford 'Edsel' in America in 1957, the car had to be withdrawn from the market.⁹ Despite years of government-controlled papers and radio, there was still a revolution in Hungary. We have already seen that mental health education (p. 88) and propaganda on racial matters (p. 101) can have very little effect. What are the empirical conditions under which mass communications are and are not effective? We shall answer this question by referring to the many carefully controlled experiments which have been carried out.

DESIGNING EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATIONS

(i) *Prestige of the source.* Numerous experiments show that the same message has a greater effect on the attitudes and behaviour of the audience if the source has high prestige. Thus the same article appearing in different newspapers of differing reputation, or the same speech from different speakers, may have a quite different impact. The effects are greatest if the speaker is an expert, if he is thought to be sincere or well-intentioned, if he belongs to the same group as the audience, or if for any other reason he is trusted, liked or looked up to.

It is not necessary for the speaker *really* to be an expert, well-intentioned and so on; it is sufficient for the audience to think that

he is – to have this *image* of him. Such an image can be built up by his genuine past record. It can be built up by an impressive manner during his appearance – as is the case with successful religious leaders. It can be created by the way he is introduced and described by the chairman (or by the experimenter, in the studies referred to). The circumstances of his appearance may confer prestige, including the fact that he is in print, or on radio or television. The mere fact of appearing on one of these media confers some degree of authority. Lastly, public relations techniques can create a suitable image of the speaker before he speaks. Billy Graham was unheard of in Britain a year before his campaign, but by the time he came millions were planning to go and hear him. The detailed methods of moulding public images will be described later.

(ii) *The personality of the speaker* is important when there is direct contact with the audience, as in public meetings (and, to a lesser extent, TV). Most important is his social skill in judging audience response and being able to control the mood of his hearers, in particular being able to arouse some degree of emotional excitement. A quiet, shy, worried introvert cannot do this, and successful speakers often have flamboyant, self-confident, extraverted and even manic personalities. It is not known what the requirements for a successful persuader are, but clearly he must be able to emanate some kind of charm and magnetism. In addition to these social skills, a successful persuader must give evidence of his sincerity and conviction; some religious leaders have been clearly neurotic or psychotic and this no doubt added to their impression of conviction and inspiration. Sheer appearance may be important; Nixon for example seems to have been damaged in some of his TV appearances by the villainous impression created by his black 'beard' and the shadows under his eyes.¹

(iii) *The arousal of motivational states* results in more influence. Several experiments have studied the effect of arousing anxiety. There is more change of behaviour and attitudes if the anxiety is aroused before the persuasive message is given, rather than after, and if it is believed that the course of action recommended will remove the danger. If too much anxiety is aroused there will be less influence and no influence at all on the more anxious subjects,¹⁰ who simply put the whole upsetting message out of their minds, like the person

who is said to have read about the effects of smoking on lung cancer and gave up reading. Religious conversion is brought about at revival meetings by arousing anxiety about death, or Hell, and then telling the audience what to do to be saved. Other motivational states can be used in a similar way: if aggression is aroused beforehand, subjects will be more likely to accept a punitive message. Field studies of political campaigns suggest that emotional appeals have more effect than rational ones. The same is widely true of religious conversion,¹¹ and the author has shown that Graham had far the greatest number of decisions at the most crowded meetings.² However, the general superiority of emotional appeals has not been confirmed in laboratory studies.

(iv) *Organization of the message.* Several studies have compared simple one-sided messages with those that acknowledge and refute counter-arguments. If the arguments on both sides are given nearly equal weight they will simply cancel out and produce no effect at all. If the main argument is clear, a two-sided communication is more effective, especially if the audience is initially opposed, and if they are educated. Furthermore, influences brought about by two-sided messages are found to be more resistant to change by later counter-propaganda.

The evidence is conflicting as to whether or not the communicator should draw explicit conclusions himself, or leave these to be drawn by the audience. If the issue is simple and relatively straightforward, there is more influence if the audience draws them; if the issue is complex, it is better for the communicator to do so. Overt behaviour is influenced more by communications which make clear what specific actions are recommended.

It has long been supposed that the earlier arguments in a series have most effect, so that the most appealing part of the argument should be given first. This has been found to be broadly true, especially when the material is unfamiliar and the audience not very interested in it. Similarly, it has been found advantageous to begin the message by flogging dead horses, in order to win the confidence of the audience.¹³

(v) *How to change images.* Mass communicators try to influence the buying or voting behaviour of their audience in two main ways. In the first place they try to show that the recommended action would

be instrumental in leading to certain goals. There is no doubt that it is easier to steer behaviour in relation to existing needs than to implant new needs. Several experiments show that communications which stress the relations between actions and existing goals produce more attitude change, particularly in those only moderately opposed. In one of these studies, attitudes to teaching were most changed by a talk emphasizing the opportunities for satisfying needs for achievement.¹³ Advertisements make use of this principle, usually suggesting some connection between buying the product and satisfaction of needs such as sex, social status and affiliation, often in a quite implausible manner. They sometimes try to make use of unconscious motivation by means of Freudian symbolism, such as showing a picture of a cock on cornflakes packets. Motivation research may take the form of discovering what motivations in the prospective customers could best be appealed to. For example, it was found that soap was bought by women, that their preferences were established when young, and that the main interest of young women in soap is in making themselves beautiful, rather than clean. Soap advertisements are designed accordingly.

A second aim of persuasive communications is to change the image of the product, whether the product is a politician or a brand of coffee. Advertising agents have played a leading part in recent elections, and follow-up surveys have shown that they have succeeded in modifying brand images. A major aim of Conservative party propaganda in the period leading up to the 1959 election was to increase working-class support by changing the party image. In fact the percentage of people identifying the party with privilege dropped from 27% to 17% over this period.⁷ This was achieved by a series of posters showing pictures of happy working-class people, with the wording 'You are looking at a Conservative'. One of the earliest pieces of market research discovered that coffee had an unfavourable image of being connected with tiredness and strain. Subsequent advertisements tried to associate coffee with gay and gracious living instead of, as previously, with exhausted office-workers.¹⁴

Individual politicians or other public figures can improve their image by skilful public relations techniques, for which professional advisers and press officers are employed. Ivy Lee is reported to have changed the stereotype of John D. Rockefeller from robber baron to philanthropic old gentleman who loved to play golf and hand out shiny dimes to youngsters. This can be done by widely reported dona-

tions to charity, linking the individual with highly respected organizations and people, and by carefully planned public appearances.¹⁵

WHEN COMMUNICATIONS WILL AFFECT BEHAVIOUR

(i) *The personality of the receiver.* Some people are more likely than others to be influenced by the mass media, regardless of the topic. A series of experiments by Janis and Field found that the same people were influenced to a similar extent by what purported to be newspaper articles on ten different subjects. It is not yet known whether the same people are influenced by different media. Granted that there is some personality trait of 'persuasibility', which people possess it? Both in the Janis and Field studies, and in later ones, it was consistently found that people who feel inferior and lack self-confidence are more persuasible. Those who are aggressive and assertive, on the other hand, are less persuasible. Authoritarian personalities are easily influenced by people of higher status or power in face-to-face situations, and are also more influenced by mass communications, presumably because of the prestige of the source. Less intelligent people are found to be more influenced by advertisements and such things as the Orson Welles broadcast about men from Mars landing. Once they receive the message they are usually affected more, being less critical, but they are harder to reach, at any rate through the printed word. Intelligent people on the other hand may be more influenced by valid but complex arguments, or communications on abstruse topics. It has recently been found that some people have a stronger need for cognitive clarity, and that such people are more receptive to new ideas, even when these conflict with their existing attitudes. Those low in this need are more likely to avoid messages containing such disturbing material.

Women are invariably found to be influenced more than men. There is some evidence that the variations with personality reported above apply to men rather than to women, and it has been suggested that women are persuasible simply as part of their cultural role. Working-class people are more affected than middle-class people by the mass media, probably because of the greater prestige of the media for them.

(ii) *Nature of the attitude or behaviour being influenced.* In people of the same degree of general persuasibility, the same message will have

different effects depending on what behaviour or attitude it is hoped to change. Attitudes which are deeply rooted in the personality, in the sense of being instrumental to several strong motivations, are very hard to change, whereas those which are superficially attached, perhaps as a result of group pressures, are more readily modified. Racial attitudes in some people are so deeply embedded that even psychotherapy will not affect them (p. 100), while some missionaries have been found to be resistant to years of brain-washing in China (p. 136). Attitudes or behaviour which are part of a highly consistent system of attitudes are also hard to change. However, if an attitude is inconsistent with other attitudes, it is relatively easy to change it in the direction of greater logical or emotional consistency. People whose attitudes are extremely opposed to the contents of the message are affected less, partly because those with extreme attitudes tend to hold the attitudes more strongly.

(iii) *Group norms* act most commonly to reduce the effect of mass communications; people are anchored to the norms of their social groups and this renders their attitudes more difficult to change. Experiments have shown that if communications in opposition to the norms are addressed to a group, those who value the group most are influenced least, and are likely to change in the opposite direction to that suggested. If most members of a group are opposed to a communication, it is found that there is even less influence when discussion is allowed. However, if a majority are in favour of the communication, members who hear the agreement or applause of the others will be *more* influenced by the communication. A similar phenomenon is the 'bandwaggon effect' where people vote in accordance with what they think is the majority view. Now that successive public opinion poll results are announced during election campaigns, there is a greater possibility of this happening. Survey interviews have disclosed that there are people who simply want to vote with the majority, or be on the winning side, but it is found that small minority groups with strongly held opinions are not susceptible to this kind of influence. On the other hand, the success of large, as opposed to small, revival meetings may be due to the effect of seeing several hundred people going forward to make decisions.² Such campaigns also make use of group influences in establishing an organization of groups of believers, which serve to reinforce and sustain the changes of attitude achieved.

(iv) *Opinion leaders* are those people who are particularly receptive or exposed to mass communications and who are accepted by their friends as authorities in some field of behaviour or attitudes. It is found that people change their attitudes more as a result of personal contact and influence than via the mass media directly. They are however being influenced at second-hand, since the opinion leaders *are* influenced by the mass media. There are different opinion leaders for different topics – young women are influential about films, older men about politics, for example. What they all have in common is that they have a number of friends, and it is along these channels of friendship and common interest that the influence flows to the other members of the group. It has been found that doctors rarely adopt a new drug without contact with a friend who has already adopted it.¹⁶

Panel studies during election campaigns have shown that there are some individuals who are more likely to change their voting intention than others. These are the people who are under cross-pressures – those whose views are different from those of their social class, family, friends or working group.⁶ During the campaign the importance of political issues is heightened, the others' opinions are strengthened by mass communications, so that more pressure is brought to bear on the deviate, and he is liable to give way. There is some evidence that such waverers are liable to change their attitude back again, but this will depend on the extent to which they are attached to the group in question.

(v) *Social and economic conditions.* A given message will bear more fruit under certain conditions. During times of economic depression, people are more responsive to left-wing political ideas, and the areas hardest hit by unemployment take many years to forget this experience. On the other hand, people who have come to look on themselves as middle class, although they may be engaged in manual occupations, are less likely to vote for left-wing parties since they feel this is inconsistent with their social position. People at the under-privileged end of society are also more likely to accept revivalistic and other-worldly religious ideas. This is partly because the type of meetings held afford direct emotional release. In addition to this the beliefs of these groups provide fantasy gratifications – such as the belief that the world is shortly going to end and that the sect members will be chosen for preferential treatment in the next world.² Poor and under-privileged people may react with a radical political response,

or an other-worldly religious one. Which is uppermost depends partly on the personalities of those concerned, but also on the use made of mass communications.

Social disorganization, or 'anomie' also renders people more receptive to some kinds of mass communication. New religious sects have been found to flourish among uprooted country people who have moved into industrial areas, both in the middle ages and in present-day America and Africa. Hitler's success in Germany was initially based on his appeal to discontented unemployed men, to whom he offered a uniform and a meaningful place in society.

THE CONTROL OF THE MASS MEDIA

The mass media are probably the most potent source of social change. The rise of Nazism in Germany was effected largely through the skilful use of public meetings, and today television has even greater potentialities. B.B.C. radio is in many ways a model of the successful control of the medium: time given to political parties is carefully equalized, minority tastes and attitudes are catered for, use is made of the educational and cultural potentialities of the medium, and the whole thing is under the control of parliament. Most of the other mass-circulation media are in a far less satisfactory condition. Commercial TV, together with mass circulation magazines and newspapers, depend for their existence on their ability to hold a large audience. They must therefore appeal to the simplest tastes and avoid any controversy that might offend any minority group.¹⁷ Thus any more sophisticated tastes, or minority points of view, are suppressed in favour of inoffensive light entertainment and the promulgation of the views of the majority. Furthermore, the advertisers who use these media can, and do, exert an influence over the contents – for example suppressing information that might upset their sales.⁴

There is definite evidence⁸ that the mass media have certain cumulative effects on the attitudes and behaviour of the population. When the medium is under public control, like the B.B.C., it is possible to correct such influence in a direction decided at a political level. Where the medium is not under public control, the content of the medium is partly dictated by financial interests, partly by the lowest common interests of the population.

Mass communications in the service of politics raise special issues.

Where both sides are allowed equal use of the media, as during the 1959 election in Britain, the result is an increase of knowledge, but no overall change in the vote.¹⁸ However, where one side can afford to spend more money, that side gains a clear advantage, as shown above. This means that money leads to power, which is quite contrary to democratic principles. The implications are clear. The mass media are so important and so influential that a much stronger governmental control needs to be exerted on them. In this way political and other changes can be brought under normal democratic influence.

Chapter 14

BEHAVIOUR IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Small social groups each develop their own characteristic patterns of behaviour; the final outcome and the relations between members depend wholly on the personalities of the individual members. When people combine together in larger numbers in order to achieve certain aims, we find the emergence of social organization. In factories, military units, hospitals, prisons and churches, members occupy definite positions, ranks or offices, and their behaviour is governed to a large extent by administrative rules and procedures. Informal groups have their leaders – these are the people who have acquired influence in the group by force of personality and proved ability at tackling the group's tasks. A leader in a formal organization on the other hand is given his position by higher authority, and has power over his subordinates through his control of rewards and punishments. Informal groups develop lines of communication: in social organizations, the channels of communication are officially laid down.

We shall begin by examining the special principles governing behaviour in organizations. In the second half of the chapter we shall consider how effective various kinds of social structure are, and how they can be changed.

SPECIAL PRINCIPLES GOVERNING BEHAVIOUR IN ORGANIZATIONS

(i) *Role behaviour.* It is found that occupants of similar positions – such as foremen or N.C.O.s – tend to behave in a similar way in certain situations, and to share various attitudes and beliefs; they may also have similar personality traits. In many standardized situations, such as Army drill parades and church services, the

behaviour which takes place can be accurately predicted from knowledge of the organization and its rules, while knowledge of the personality characteristics of those concerned is of little use. Furthermore, the way a person behaves is not primarily a result of the way his personality has impinged on those of the other group members but of the various influences which mould people to the standard role behaviour for the position.

What makes the behaviour, attitudes and personality of foremen different from those of psychologists, monks, all-in wrestlers or undertakers? In the first place it is due to selection – both self-selection by those who are attracted towards particular positions, and selection by the organization, as described in Chapter 11. In the second place role behaviour is the result of carefully designed training courses and of spontaneously created initiation ceremonies. Thirdly, new members are exposed to the actual demands of the job, as well as social pressures to perform it in a certain way. These processes of induction into roles were discussed in Chapter 10.

When a person first occupies a new position, he may engage in what is known as *role-playing*. In other words he perceives what is the appropriate behaviour, and deliberately plays the part. Goffman¹ has pointed out how much professional behaviour has an element of theatricality about it – how waiters put on a performance for the customers that is quite different from the way they behave with the kitchen staff. After a time, such professional behaviour becomes quite spontaneous and is no longer a case of role-playing.

People are often exposed to role-conflicts, usually between the demands of different roles, such as how much time to devote to the job or the family, sometimes to complexities in the position, as in the case of the military chaplain. A study of the role-conflicts of Directors of Education found that the solution chosen depended on how far each set of demands was considered to be legitimate, and how far definite sanctions might follow. Some attached more importance to legitimacy, others to the sanctions.²

(ii) *Interpersonal behaviour and communication* is a function of the formal system to a large extent. One person A may be the superior of B with extensive power over him – he can apply sanctions such as controlling pay or promotion, and even firing him. (In the case of prison guards, further sanctions may exist.) Under such conditions B is anxious to please A, he will conceal bad news from him, be much

concerned with A's opinion of him, and also feel an underlying hostility to A. If A is simply of higher status than B, but is not his immediate superior, or has no such power over him, then B will be attracted towards him, will address communications to him, while being fairly polite and deferential. If two people are of the same formal status they may be competitors for promotion and similar advantages, in which case they will treat one another with some suspicion and fail to co-operate to the full. It is also common to find conflicts between people whose positions give them different interests and points of view. An example of this in industry is between line (supervisory) personnel, and staff—who tend to be younger and better-educated professionals with a different way of looking at things.³ Two people will get on best if they are of the same status and either are quite independent of one another in their spheres of operation, or else are in a position to help one another. Without knowing the formal structural arrangements in the background it is quite impossible to understand what is happening in an organization.

In large concerns it is found that people tend to categorize others in terms of their status in the organization and to behave towards them accordingly. In very autocratic organizations like the army it is found that N.C.O.s behave totally differently to officers and to men. Much the same thing happens in the social-class system, except that rank is less definite and easy to judge. In primitive societies on the other hand it is not status but family relationships which are most important: there are quite different ways of behaving towards different classes of relations so that it is important to know which a person belongs to.

(iii) *Individual differences in role behaviour.* So far we have emphasized the way that people in social organizations behave in a standardized way, depending on the formal system of power and communication. However, occupants of a position vary in personality and past experience, and they will take the role in different ways. To take a simple example, the time a person arrives at work might be predictable from the time most occupants of that position get to work together with the individual's tendency to be late or early. A certain degree of autocratic as opposed to democratic behaviour may constitute the role for N.C.O.s in a regiment or foremen in a factory; to predict how an individual N.C.O. or fore-

man will behave, we should have to study his position on the authoritarian dimension, or his need for power and influence (see p. 30). An individual high in these tendencies will repeatedly enforce the carrying out of his demands, and create a certain pattern of relationships with his subordinates⁴ – the effects of which are considered elsewhere (p. 147).

It is possible to compare the extent to which behaviour is a function of personality or of position. A study of recently promoted naval officers compared their behaviour with their previous behaviour, in other positions, and with that of the previous occupant. Some aspects of behaviour were more like that of the previous occupant – showing that it was position-determined, while other aspects were more personality-determined.⁵

The power relations between people will vary, as suggested above, as a result of the strength of the power and dependency needs of those concerned. It may also be influenced by experience in other organizations – as when senior army officers move into industry or hospital sisters into convents. The lines of communication may also become distorted into patterns quite different from those shown on the organization chart.

Social organizations rarely function quite as the organization chart would lead us to expect, with its clear-cut lines of authority and communication. For the reasons described above, people who are supposed to work together may find it difficult to do so, and easier to establish relations with others to whom they are not linked in competitive or power relations. One method of studying the real, as opposed to the official, pattern of communication is for all those concerned to keep records for a period of every communicative act, which are later analysed.⁶ Such methods show that the official channels are sometimes by-passed, or that upward messages are delayed and distorted. A study in the American army illustrates the failure of communication between levels in the hierarchy. It was found that officers had higher job satisfaction and approved more of army conditions and practices: however, the officers also thought that the men shared their own positive feelings.⁷

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

(i) *Organizational pathology* refers to the tendency for organizations to become ineffective in several characteristic ways. The most

familiar trouble is the over-elaboration of formal rules and procedures, seen by the outsider as 'red-tape'. Such rules and procedures make for increased speed and efficiency in the first instance, but when they become an end in themselves may impede progress. There is much discipline and pressure to conform to standardized forms of behaviour, while promotion depends on the approval of superiors, so that subordinate members come to attach enormous importance to the rules and to regard them as sacred. This leads to time-wasting and frustration when anything unusual crops up, and there is great resistance to change in the face of new conditions. Whyte, in his book, *The Organization Man*,⁸ has shown how some large American firms are unwittingly developing a type of manager who is exactly like all the other managers in being polite and well-behaved, but lacking in initiative and new ideas. Together with red-tape goes a tendency to treat people impersonally, merely as members of categories and not as individuals. This is annoying to the outside clients with whom the organization deals, and leads to loss of social satisfaction from contacts within the system.

It has been argued by Parkinson that administrative personnel tend to expand their empires, regardless of the amount of work to be done.⁹ He shows how officials in the British navy expanded far more rapidly than the navy as a whole, and that the Colonial Office grew at a time when the colonies were contracting. However, studies of factories, hospitals and school districts of different sizes show that larger ones have if anything a lower proportion of administrators, so that Parkinson's law is by no means generally true.¹⁰

Perhaps the most serious response to social organization is the alienation of those in the bottom ranks. As was shown earlier (p. 108), they are often very discontented by the system and do not feel committed to its goals. Consequently they engage in a number of anti-organization practices such as restriction of output, unofficial strikes and working to rule. In a Coastal Command unit in the last war the procedures for attacking submarines were so complex that crews were usually reprimanded for failing in one or other procedural detail: the result was that they started to turn a blind eye to submarines.¹¹ If a particular superior behaves in a way that is resented, his subordinates can fail to produce the goods, and make him look ridiculous by non-co-operation without actually breaking the rules. Sometimes there are agreed ways of breaking the rules, permitted by superiors in order to make life in the organization

tolerable. An example of such an informal understanding in the army is that the officer inspecting kit may complain about the front appearance of folded blankets but will not look to see what is hidden inside.¹²

(ii) *Social organization and individual needs.* The degree of satisfaction experienced by the members of an organization depends on the *congruence* between structure and individual needs. Whole societies can be looked at in this way, and it has been shown, for example, that primitive societies which have a very aggressive way of life socialize their children so as to be very aggressive; an unaggressive person would be a misfit in such a society.¹³ An authoritarian organization like the army and the prison service would be congenial to an authoritarian personality, who can be submissive and dependent on his superiors, and bully his subordinates; it will be frustrating to many others. Experiments on leadership show that authoritarians prefer and get on better under autocratic leadership, while the reverse is true of non-authoritarians.¹⁴ In the last war many Americans resented the division of officers and men; it was found that this distinction tended to break down in action, especially in the case of isolated units. The same was true within R.A.F. aircrews, where commissioned and non-commissioned men had to work side by side.

Many industrial investigators consider that there is a basic incongruity between the needs of a mature personality and the requirements of industrial organizations.¹⁵ Employees are expected to be passive and dependent, to have little control over their work, and to make use of only a few simple skills. These are the characteristics of immature and retarded individuals – who are indeed quite capable of doing some industrial jobs. One need which is often not satisfied by the formal system of organizations is the need for affiliation. Contacts are often cold and impersonal, or must be restrained and unspontaneous so as not to annoy colleagues. This is no doubt one reason for the growth of informal relations between individuals who are not linked by formal channels. Such friendships form on a basis of factors like common interest and frequent contact (pp. 40f.).

(iii) *Patterns of communication* are built into all social organizations. An interesting series of experiments has been carried out comparing laboratory groups with different channels of communication. Groups

of five arranged in a 'spokes' pattern, so that four could communicate with a central person, were compared with groups arranged in a 'circle', so that each could contact his next door neighbour only. It was found that the more central members of such structures – such as the person at the centre of the spokes system – became most powerful in controlling the group. Job satisfaction was also greater for those in central positions, and lowest for the peripheral members of the spokes groups. The circle groups were leaderless, and less effective in solving problems.¹⁶ An experiment by Mohanna and the writer varied the popularity of the central members of the spokes groups: at first the groups with unpopular central members were very inefficient, worse than the circle groups, but after a time their performance improved so that they were better than the circle groups – though not so good as the groups with popular central members.¹⁷ These findings are borne out to a considerable extent in field situations. It is a common observation that those in key positions in the communications network, or who have close contact with powerful members, are themselves more powerful and contented than those who are out on a limb. Attempts to tinker with organizational functioning often take the form of opening up new channels of communication, such as Joint Consultative Committees and the like.

Since it is obviously important to improve many sorts of communication, it has sometimes been suggested that the more communication there is the better. Bad news fails to travel upwards, and senior men are often in sublime ignorance of the true state of behaviour and opinion at lower levels. On the other hand there are some things which are better not communicated at all. If two people have to work together and one thinks that the other is a fool, it is better that he should keep these thoughts to himself.

Another way in which communication systems break down is when the organization has to face new problems, so that old-established procedures are no longer adequate. Burns has studied a number of Scottish electronics firms in a state of rapid development.¹⁸ He suggests that the traditional rigid pattern of communication did not work so well as a flexible system in which communications could be made to a variety of people who were able to contribute to the joint task. In these firms particular importance was attached to the views of individuals with special knowledge, as opposed to those with formal status. When people of different rank

communicated, this resembled 'lateral consultation rather than vertical command'.

(iv) *The value of hierarchical structure* has been questioned by some writers in the light of recent research. The traditional type of social organization had a large number of levels in the hierarchy, so that each person was in control of no more than four to six subordinates, whose work he was supposed to supervise and co-ordinate. This also has the possible advantage that people of quite different ability and seniority can work together without competing. However, under such conditions they may also fail to co-operate – subordinates are less willing to criticize their superiors, or to seek their help and advice, for fear of showing their ignorance, so that communication upward is blocked. Instead the subordinates get together with each other – unless there is vigorous competition between them.¹⁰ It has been questioned how far senior bureaucrats are really needed to co-ordinate the work of juniors – it is found that this is often accomplished by consultation between men of equal status in charge of different sections.¹⁹ In other instances the work of different departments is parallel rather than dependent, so that no co-ordination is necessary.

Since there is widespread discontent with rigidly hierarchical systems, is there any way of modifying them? In the first place it is possible to reduce the social distance between ranks by changing the patterns of leadership and methods of handling subordinates. This was a major part of the so-called 'human relations movement', which has now acquired a bad name in some quarters as yet another method of manipulating men. It has been used as a set of tricks for making employees happy without making any fundamental change in the situation. On the other hand, the evidence reviewed in chapter 12 shows that real changes in the relationships with supervisors can have quite definite effects. One such change is increased delegation of authority. It has been found that if those at the top delegate more, this style of supervision percolates down the hierarchy.²⁰ Again it is possible to increase the real power of those lower down the line by the practice of more consultation and other kinds of democratic participation. These represent genuine changes in the hierarchical structure, and are more than officials pretending to be nice.

HOW SOCIAL STRUCTURES CAN BE CHANGED

Social structures often change as the result of non-social factors in the situation – technical, economic and so on. Here we shall consider deliberate attempts to alter the character of social structures, carried out in the belief that the new version would be more efficient in some way. The commonest changes in recent years have been to transform prisons and mental hospitals into more therapeutic communities and create new channels of consultation in industry. While such changes may have some support in the wider society, reflecting changing attitudes to authority, the changes are often bitterly resisted within the organizations themselves. There have been few attempts to change the structure of communities as a whole, though attempts are being made to change the opportunity structure of delinquency areas in New York (p. 73).

Direct organizational changes include such things as alteration of the lines of communication and authority, changes of the formal powers of members, changes in methods of working or in the remuneration given. There is extensive evidence that merely changing such formal arrangements is not enough to overcome the forces resisting social change. A most interesting example is an attempt by a new prison governor to convert a prison from a traditional authoritarian and punitive organization to a more liberal structure emphasizing work, education and treatment.²¹ For three years it proved impossible to change the way the prison was run: not only did the prison officers cling to the old system, the prisoners also refused to have anything to do with a system which required collaboration and contact with the prison staff. Industrial studies have found that when changes in the work are introduced there may be a fall in output and a proportion of men may leave.²²

Why is there so much resistance to change? Sometimes people fear that they may suffer directly – a change in the work may mean acquiring new skills, and slower work with reduced earnings for a period. Changes in the organization chart may put some people at a greater distance from the seat of power, or give them a new boss they don't like. The previous state of the organization had led to the establishment of a more or less stable, more or less satisfactory social system, which the members are reluctant to abandon, as they have no idea how the new scheme will work out.

Change assisted by selection. As shown in Chapter 11, the character of an organization can be altered simply by selecting a different kind of personnel. Mental hospitals have been converted into 'therapeutic communities' (see p. 85) by selecting an entirely new group of mental nurses with no previous hospital experience. The prison mentioned above was converted with the assistance of five new prison officers who had no previous prison experience – it would clearly have been quicker to replace all the other prison officers as well. While it is true that patterns of leadership tend to flow downwards in the hierarchy (p. 147), this process may not go very far if the behaviour in question is deeply rooted both in personality and social system.

Change assisted by training. The behaviour of industrial supervisors can be changed by training courses, particularly if the changes are supported by their superiors (p. 133). It is possible to change whole organizations by such a combination of training and formal changes. In one factory the amount of control in the hands of lower levels of supervision was increased, that at a higher level reduced; in a second factory changes in the opposite direction were brought about.²³

Change assisted by persuasion. Organizational changes can be assisted by persuasion of various kinds, including the use of mass communications. The prison which was discussed above finally came round to the new system as the result of a series of open discussions with staff and inmates, at which the governor explained the new practices and procedures. Resistance to change on the part of industrial workers is reduced if they play some part in making the decision and its augmentation.²² Not only is the feeling of being pushed about avoided, but those concerned are able to set up the new social system to their satisfaction.

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Part IV

THE STUDY AND CONTROL OF
SOCIAL CHANGE

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THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL TRENDS

METHODS AND SOURCES

One of the most important kinds of social research consists of the analysis of social change. In Great Britain the only regular attempt to collect the necessary data consists of the Census, taken every ten years. In 1962 great interest was aroused by a Government report,¹ privately prepared for the Ministry of Information, analysing changes between the Census of 1951 and that of 1961, together with some other social statistics. In fact the scope of social research is considerably wider than this, and in the U.S.A. in 1932 President Hoover commissioned a report on *Current Social Trends*² which ran to 1,568 pages, and included data from social surveys and field studies.

The Census is a most important source of material on social trends. Information is collected about every single person in the country on a certain date, and this can be compared with the results obtained at 10-yearly intervals. The information is restricted to what can be obtained in a short questionnaire, and in the past has been mainly concerned with the size of the population, its distribution by age, sex and region, and its fertility – so that forecasts can be made of its future size and geographical distribution. Questions are also asked about the composition of households, the type and condition of housing, together with the number and occupations of wage-earners.

As the interests of social scientists and social administrators have grown beyond questions of population and poverty, so the questions asked have come to cover a wider range. The 1951 Census in Great Britain was the first to include questions about amount of education received, and the length of the journey to work. The Census Act specifies that information may also be collected on 'any other matters with respect to which it is desirable to obtain statistical information

with a view to ascertaining the social or civil condition of the population', so that it would be possible to include a far wider range of topics. There are known to be errors in the Census data in areas of other than concrete factual information – such as misdescription of occupation to suggest greater skill or seniority.³

Records and social statistics of various sorts are a second important source of material. Government departments, industrial organizations, churches and bodies of all kinds keep and often publish such material, showing how many people did something or belonged to something during a given period. However the difficulties in interpreting such records are considerable. Perhaps the greatest danger is that the definitions and categories used may change. For example, what appeared to be an increase in membership in the American churches from 36% to 60% between 1900 and 1955 turns out to be largely due to a gradual inclusion of women and children: at the earlier date a Federal tax on churches led the compilers of records to define 'member' in such a way as to keep the numbers down.⁴ Increases of crime may reflect a greater efficiency on the part of the police, increases of insanity may be due to improved mental facilities: in some cases trends can be deduced by taking areas where the facilities have been unchanged (p. 76), in others it may be impossible to tell what is going on. The categories used may be quite misleading – total industrial absenteeism is largely due to genuine illness, leaving the district, and so on: the extent of *voluntary* absenteeism can be inferred by measuring the Monday-to-Friday fluctuations (p. 110).

Social surveys are now regularly carried out by the Government Social Survey, the Gallup Poll and various other organizations connected with market research or the newspapers. The training and selection of interviewers, the construction of schedules, the design of samples and the interpretation of results are now all conducted in a highly professional manner. Some survey organizations keep a permanent force of interviewers all over the country, and regularly obtain 3,000 interviews for each survey. The various errors of social surveys are well understood and kept to a minimum – errors due to non-response, to failures of communication in the interview, and to unrepresentative sampling. When the same question is asked in repeated surveys social trends can be deduced. Surveys have not been carried out for very long, but it is possible to see trends in, for example, religious beliefs from the results of different surveys.⁴ It is

also possible to deduce social trends by comparing the answers from respondents of different ages – the percentage of English women who have engaged in pre-marital intercourse was 43% for those born between 1924–34, compared with 19% for those born before 1924.⁵ It is not safe to use this method for such things as attitudes or beliefs, since these change with age. For purposes of trend analysis it is not particularly interesting to know how particular people have changed, since this confuses developmental with historical trends – we want to compare groups of people today with equivalent groups at a previous date.

The content analysis of popular newspapers, films, children's books, etc., is an important method of trend analysis, though it has not been used much in this country. One of the chapters in *Current Social Trends* provided a most interesting analysis of changes in religious attitudes as reflected in periodical articles.⁶ There are difficulties in this approach – publications may reflect the views of a specialized group of writers and editors, though in the case of popular publications they no doubt give their public what it wants in order to stay in business. It is best to take a number of publications of wide and different circulations. There are also difficulties of interpretation; what can be deduced about popular motivation from knowing that aggressive films are popular? (p. 51).

Sociological field studies of neighbourhoods, factories and families can disclose facts about inter-personal behaviour and relationships, which may not appear from any of the other methods mentioned. The Census of 1961 showed that more people than before live in suburbs and housing estates, but it did not tell us anything about the way patterns of social relationship are affected by this change: for this we turn to sociological field studies comparing life on housing estates with the previous way of life of the same people.⁷ The trend analysis here usually rests on inter-generation comparisons rather than on repeated studies, since there have been few cases of such field studies being repeated, apart from the surveys of Middletown.⁸

These are some of the main methods of trend analysis, but we have said nothing as yet about the explanation of social trends. Light can sometimes be thrown on this by further analysis of the data. Increases in racial prejudice for example are found in areas where the minority group population has been growing most rapidly (p. 93). In other cases, such as the increasing crime rate, we do not yet know

the explanation – whether it is due to the war-time absence of fathers, to the temptations and frustrations of an affluent society, or to the development of teen-age society (p. 73). Further research is needed to find out.

RECENT SOCIAL TRENDS IN GREAT BRITAIN*

We shall concentrate on the short period of 1951–61 because Census data are available for those years; this will show that short-term trends are sensitive to analysis in the ways mentioned. It will also show that social changes are taking place with such rapidity that it is time they were brought under adequate social control. Some longer-term trends will be mentioned where satisfactory data for this decade are not available. There is as yet no agreed set of categories under which to list and categorize social changes. That adopted here emphasizes social behaviour, attitudes and personality, more than those used in the Census. The data in some areas are fuller than in others, and in any case this only attempts to review the dominant trends and does not attempt a detailed analysis – which would require at least as much space as the 1,568 pages of *Current Social Trends*.

Social relationships

(i) *The class system.* The changes which have been slowly taking place since the turn of the century have continued during this decade, at some points with increased speed, under the influence of the 1944 Education Act, the increased effect of the mass media, and changes in the economic structure of society. The average income rose from £513 to £915, though prices rose by about 50%. There is still a wide distribution of incomes, though less than before the war (mainly as a result of re-distribution through taxation); the numbers of people in the £750–1,000 range increased ten times during the decade, and the number between £1,000 and £2,000 increased four times. However, 7% of households are still mainly dependent on National Assistance, and a further 3% are at the same economic level.¹² The numbers of people in different occupations changed – white-collar salary earners increased from a quarter to a third of the working force, including a considerable growth of the professions.

* General references to this section are ¹, ⁹, ¹⁰ and ¹¹.

Social mobility has increased, mainly as a result of new educational opportunities, so that only about a third of sons stay in the same occupational class as their fathers.¹³ There has been a decline of the old 'idle rich' upper middle class, living partly on unearned income and passing on wealth and advantages to its children. This class has been replaced by a hard-working class of successful businessmen, administrators and professionals. While death duties restrict the amount of wealth that can be inherited, it is still possible to pass on a position in the class system by the education given to children. There have also been big changes in the working class: many skilled manual workers now earn as much and have as many material possessions as supervisory and clerical workers and shop assistants. They think of themselves as middle class and 40% of them vote Conservative.¹⁴ Their way of life, however, is not the same as that of middle-class people – they do not join social clubs or entertain one another in their homes; furthermore they do not mix with middle-class people. It is very hard to say how far the social distances separating the classes in Britain have lessened during the decade, observers from abroad still comment on them, despite the greater similarity in clothes, and the common ideas and frame of reference provided by TV.¹⁵

(ii) *Neighbourhood relations.* Just as in the nineteenth century people became socially disrupted by leaving village life for the towns, now the dominant trend is from slums to council estates for working-class people, and to the outer suburbs for middle-class people. Many more people have cars, and the journey to work has lengthened – to 1½ hours for those working in Central London. Working-class city dwellers were well established in a close network of relationships with their kinsfolk living in the same area. When they move to a council estate it is no longer possible to keep up these contacts, and they have had difficulty in establishing a new pattern of social ties. Loneliness, neurosis and the failure of community centres are often reported in these new estates – it has been suggested that the occupants do not have the middle-class social techniques for sustaining social relationships outside the family. Perhaps the fact that one married woman in three is employed outside the home (a rather higher percentage for working-class women) adds to this community isolation. The absence of traditional social pressures and norms makes these people more susceptible to new influences and new ideas.¹⁶

(iii) *Relations at work*. The proportion of people who are paid a salary or wages has increased, while the number who are self-employed or who live on interest has declined. Correspondingly industry is not composed simply of employers and workers, but of a graded hierarchy of employees carrying different kinds and amounts of responsibility. Nevertheless this hierarchy is divided at several points – office v. shop, and managerial v. supervisory v. the rest, for such purposes as eating. There has been a continued change in the kind of authority in industry: the ‘human relations’ movement has permeated courses for managers and foremen, and encouraged a more democratic and employee-centred style of supervision, while joint consultation has become more common. In industries undergoing rapid social change the hierarchy is being eroded in another way – young, highly qualified, individuals have a degree of influence out of proportion to their formal seniority (p. 174). Relations between shop-floor workers are changing as a result of technological innovations such as automation: the results are diverse, but in some cases greater isolation results, as well as a reduced amount of participation in decisions (p. 110). Membership of cohesive work-groups was one of the main sources of satisfaction in the traditionally organized factory. Automation is responsible for a gradual elimination of repetition work in favour of more skilled tasks, and for fewer workers to be needed: there has been an increase in unemployment during the decade, particularly in the automated car-producing areas. The life of managers is also changing: as in America the inner-directed individualist is being replaced by the other-directed organization man, who fits in easily with the ideas of others, and subordinates his interests to those of the concern.¹⁷

(iv) *Relations in the family*. There is no evidence of a decline in the family: more people get married, the great majority of the population live in families, and they get married younger. There has, however, been a trend for households to get smaller – 4.5 in 1911 to 3.2 in 1951, when 40% of households (20% of the population) had one or two members. The average number of children is now 2.2, showing the spread of birth control, and many old people live alone rather than with relatives. The average age of marriage has been falling steadily, and is now 25 for men and 23 for women (the commonest ages are 22 and 21 respectively); it is 1½–2 years later for the professional classes. Starting earlier, and bearing fewer

children, mothers now have the youngest child at school by the time they are 40 and are able to go back to work. There has been a great increase in the divorce rate since 1939, following legal provisions making it easier, but the rate has declined over the last decade: about 5% of marriages now end in divorce and 70% of those concerned marry again. Social relations within the family have changed considerably. Working-class homes used to have a rigid division of roles between the husband who earned the wages and the wife who ran and controlled the home; now the wife contributes to the family income, the husband helps with the home and children, and there is more joint discussion and responsibility. Similarly the middle-class Victorian family ruled by an authoritarian husband has been humanized and democratized. A trend towards family members spending more time outside the home in pubs, clubs and places of entertainment has been halted by TV, which keeps the family at home, especially on Sunday nights and for certain favourite programmes. Possession of a car also keeps the family together on week-ends and holidays.

(v) *Social relations of adolescents.* Perhaps the most important change here has been the emergence of 'teen-agers'. Young people between puberty and marriage are consciously aware of belonging to this peer-group, wear distinctive clothes, meet in groups at coffee-bars and elsewhere, and cast off parental authority at an earlier age than before. One cause of this has been the greatly increased spending power of those who go to work at 16; the teen-age market has received much attention from the commercial world. Those who are still studying form another group, socially superior but harder up, and with a rebellious beatnik outlook.

With a fall in the age of puberty, most young people are sexually mature by the age of 14, and it is ten years before they will marry. Several surveys show that about 50% of men and 30–40% of women engage in premarital intercourse, compared with about 20% a generation earlier. The rate is higher in working-class and country areas. Much of this is between engaged couples, and some of it leads to pregnancy and early marriage: 20% of first-born children are conceived out of wedlock, 67% for those of teen-age mothers.¹⁸ The number of teen-age marriages has doubled during the decade – and about one-fifth of them end in divorce.¹⁹

The rate of juvenile crime has risen rapidly during the decade,

particularly since 1955. Indictable offences for the 17–21 age group doubled; the total number of crimes of violence against the person trebled, but the number committed by juveniles increased nearly five times during the decade. This is one of the most striking statistical changes during the period; it is only partly due to changes in police efficiency and other spurious factors, since a definite fall was noted in 1954, and a similar pattern is reported from every country in the world.²⁰

Attitudes, beliefs and personality

(i) *Religion.* It is widely believed that religion is on the decline in this country. However, measures of church membership and attendance show that the steady fall which began in about 1890 was reversed in 1950, and that since then there has been some revival of religious activity. A very similar pattern has been found in the U.S.A., also coinciding with a period of economic prosperity. It has been suggested that much of this religion is devoid of true religious feelings and is more a matter of belonging to a respectable social club. Nevertheless there is evidence that religious people have different attitudes and practices in such matters as sex, divorce, crime and politics, so it is not entirely vacuous.²¹ However, regular church-goers comprise only about 20% of people in this country, so that there is no widespread agreement on religious matters. On the other side there is the immense growth in the influence of science – more children specialize in scientific subjects at school, 93% of all scientists are still alive, and uneducated people are extremely credulous when faced with scientific-sounding advertisements. Again there is the increase, noted below, of concern with material possessions and money, which seems on the face of it to be inconsistent with an other-worldly outlook.

(ii) *Racial and international attitudes.* There were considerable movements of population during the decade. Between 95,000 and 182,000 people emigrated each year, mainly to Canada and Australia, larger numbers leaving during times of economic or political crisis. Between 51,000 and 74,000 people immigrated, mainly from the West Indies and Pakistan. The Englishmen leaving were thus replaced by a rather smaller number of members of racial minority groups. The latter moved mainly into certain parts of London and several of our larger cities, and for the first time this country ex-

perienced racial disturbances. At the same time the great increase in foreign travel – 3½ million went abroad in 1961 – would be expected to improve relations at any rate with members of European countries.

Personality and national character

(i) *Intelligence*. There was anxiety before the war that the national IQ was falling – based on the discovery that less intelligent parents had larger families. Surveys of Scottish schoolchildren in 1932 and 1947 show in fact a small increase in IQ: it is not known how far this is due to better education or to more rapid maturation.²³ Whether the IQ is increasing or not, the greater educational facilities mean that many people will be stronger in acquired abilities and knowledge than before: the number staying on at school after 15 has trebled, though university places only increased by 25%.

(ii) *Changes in national character*. To show that there had been a change in the national character we would need repeated surveys of national samples using valid personality tests. Since this has not been done we must fall back on less adequate data. The British are commonly thought of as shy and withdrawn: a survey in 1951 showed that over half the sample regarded themselves as ‘exceptionally shy’ and that people did not make friends with people in their neighbourhood until they had lived there over five years.²⁴ The changing patterns of teen-age behaviour would be expected to bring with them greater other-directedness of behaviour, and decreased shyness, on the American model. It is probable that child-rearing has become more permissive – if the advice of Dr Spock and others has been followed – so that we would expect children to grow up more sociable and less anxious.

The decline in aggressiveness in British life during the last century has been somewhat reversed during the decade, with its increase in violence against people and property, though this has been observed before in times of economic prosperity (p. 50). The great concern about cruelty to animals and children, together with the popularity of aggressive films, suggests that a lot of aggression is being held in check. Suicide is often regarded as a manifestation of displaced aggression, and the rate rose by about 10% during the decade.

Mental health appears to have deteriorated somewhat during the

decade: first admissions to mental hospitals rose by 29% during 1951–58, particularly for old people, and for working-class psychotics. The total residential population, however, fell after 1954, owing to the shorter length of stay possible with improved methods of treatment (though more are readmitted).²⁵ These figures refer mainly to psychotic patients, and do not tell us the rates for neurosis not needing hospital treatment.

The quality of life

(i) *Use of leisure.* Despite a reduction in the required number of hours of work, there has not been much actual reduction: men in industry work about 48 hours, women 42. People prefer more pay from working overtime to more leisure. However, most people work a 5½-day week and have a fortnight's holiday a year, together with public holidays. The biggest change in the use of leisure time during the decade has been the advent of television: in 1951 11% of households had TV, in 1962 the percentage was 80. The number of hours spent watching rose from about two to two and a half hours a night for children.²⁶ The figures for adults are more difficult to assess, since in many homes the set is left on continuously and half-attended to while other things are being done. An American study showed that the more spare time people have, the greater the *proportion* of it that they spend watching the TV – suggesting that this is simply a way of using up the time.²⁷ Another home activity which has increased during the period is do-it-yourself home repairs, decorations, hobbies, dressmaking and gardening, often with the help of power tools. Among leisure activities outside the home, cinema attendances have slumped (but are still higher than for any other country), 5 million people go dancing every week, and at least a quarter of the population play or watch some kind of sport, and there has been a growth in membership of the various kinds of clubs, associations, guilds and institutes.

One interesting development is the increase in gambling. The amount of money spent on football pools and on greyhound and horse racing increased by 50% in the last four years of the decade. Surveys show that 50% of men and 28% of women put an average of 5/- per week on football pools.

About 75% of adults drink alcohol in pubs, clubs or at home. During the decade the amount of beer drunk did not increase but the amount of spirits rose by 50%.

(ii) *The material conditions of life* changed considerably during the decade, in line with the increased affluence of the population. One family in five moved into a new house, and in 1961 over 30% of families owned their houses, with the help of building societies. The number of cars increased from 2½ to 6 million (about one household in four). Still greater increases took place in the ownership of washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, telephones and of course television sets. Expenditure (at constant prices) on durable goods rose 2·3 times, and on the running costs of vehicles 2·8 times. Working class expenditure in these directions has been made possible by hire purchase and by the low subsidised rent on Council houses. In addition to an actual increase in material affluence, there was an increased concern about and desire for material objects – stimulated by an increased flood of advertisements in women's magazines and on TV, advocating a glossy middle-class way of life. Evidence is presented elsewhere that this was part of the cause of the increased rate of juvenile delinquency (p. 73) and it has been suggested that the increased amount of gambling is also due to this¹.

(iii) *The level of culture*. There has been concern by some observers that the old working-class traditions have been withering away and replaced by the 'faceless trivial culture of the mass media'.²⁸ More exact research is needed to show exactly what is going on, and research into the effects of TV has not on the whole supported this assertion. Cultural activities actually increased in two directions. There was an increase of reading during the decade, both of public library books and paperbacks. There was a great increase in the sales of romantic strip-cartoon magazines for female readers.²⁹ There was also an increased interest in music – in going to concerts, singing in choirs, and in learning and playing instruments by amateurs; the B.B.C. concerts are thought to be one of the main causes for this heightened interest.

THE CONTROL OF SOCIAL CHANGE

ECONOMIC VERSUS SOCIAL PLANNING

As we saw in the last chapter, there were dramatic changes in the state of English society during the relatively stable decade 1951–61. The rate of aggressive crime for juveniles increased by 400%, expenditure on domestic hardware by 130% and first admissions to mental hospitals by 29%. There was considerable deterioration in relations with racial minority groups, the traditional kinship system was broken up for a large section of the working class, and the class system itself was greatly altered during these 10 years.

Some of these changes were the result of careful and effective planning by government economists. Most of the changes however were neither planned nor desired by any section of the community – they were the result of powerful, uncontrolled social forces. They are reminiscent of the fluctuations in the economy from depression to inflation before economists discovered how to control them. Economic affairs are a main focus of political discussion, and of governmental activity.

It will be argued in this chapter that the means are at hand for controlling social affairs: these could then be intelligently discussed by politicians and others, and appropriate government action taken to produce the most desirable pattern of society.

Let us begin by looking at the causes of social changes during the last ten years.

Economic policy has had widespread effects on society. This includes such intentional consequences as the destruction of the old upper class by death duties, and the redistribution of wealth by income tax and welfare services. There have also been a number of quite unanticipated consequences, such as the emergence of the new upper working class and of economically independent teen-agers. It is prob-

able that the increased rate of juvenile delinquency is partly due to this latter result (p. 73).

Government legislation in other areas may also have social consequences, often quite unexpectedly. The 1944 Education Act, for example, as well as providing better opportunities for working-class children, and increasing social mobility, also created a greatly increased concern with educational success, and started to drain the working class of talent and potential leadership. The re-housing of slum-dwellers in new housing estates led to the break-up of traditional working-class society and the isolation of old people.

Other social forces, not initiated by government and largely uncontrolled by it, are also important. The arrival of half a million coloured immigrants led to the first race riots in this country, during the past ten years. The spread of TV to the majority of homes, together with a tremendous growth in advertising, led to the attitudes and behaviour characteristic of the 'affluent society'.

It is suggested that, just as economists can control the economy, so social scientists are now in a position to control society. This is not suggested in any anti-democratic sense, nor does it involve more planning – simply more accurate planning, so that the general aims of the community can be realized better. In the remainder of this chapter we shall discuss the role of the social scientist in various settings, to consider just what he can do.

SOCIAL SCIENCE IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

At the level of the organization, considerable use is made of social research. Industrial firms employ consultants and may have their own personnel and statistical departments. The Home Office Statistical Unit carries out research into crime trends and the efficacy of various kinds of treatment. Political parties, churches and commercial firms make use of experts on attitudes and persuasion, as well as keeping careful records of the changing situation. In each case the goals are set – higher productivity, more sales, more votes and so forth – and the social scientist is asked how these goals can be reached more effectively. If he does not approve of the goals he can work for a different organization, or go into independent university research – though commercial and other undertakings are still able

to make use of his findings. He is in exactly the same position as the engineers, economists and other experts on the payroll. Although the goals which he must pursue are fixed, and the range of problems he can tackle narrow, he has more chance than the independent investigator of his results affecting policy.¹

The kind of research done by social scientists working for organizations can be divided into trend analysis, operational research and experiments. *Trend analysis* at the national level was considered in the last chapter. All that remains to be said is that most large organizations maintain a records or statistics department whose function is to report trends, and sometimes to study the causes of the trends.

Operational analysis refers to research carried out to study the effectiveness of existing arrangements. We have encountered a number of examples of this kind of research in the course of the book, especially in connection with methods of treatment and training. Since people often improve or recover spontaneously there is a danger that the procedure in question may have the same effects as no treatment at all – as with some kinds of psychotherapy (p. 84). The fact that a given method has been used for many years and is well thought of does not prove that it actually does anything: people tend to value any emotional experience which they have been through (p. 132). Any organization that spends large sums of money on some kind of training scheme should devote part of its budget to follow-up studies to examine the effectiveness of the scheme. A good example of this is the work of the Statistical Unit of the Home Office, which carries out follow-up studies of all kinds of penal treatment, so that penal policy and sentencing can be made more effective.

It is also possible to study the relative effectiveness of an existing procedure under different circumstances. Examples of this are comparing the effects of psychoanalysis on different kinds of patient, or of group therapy on different kinds of prisoner. When such results have accumulated and been widely confirmed, it becomes possible to give the appropriate treatment to different individuals – as is already the case with the physical and pharmacological treatments used in psychiatry.

What has been said about procedures for training and treatment applies equally to all the other devices for social control that have been discussed – child-rearing, selection, leadership, social organization and the mass media. There are often difficulties, however, in

designing operational studies to show clearly what is causing what. Comparisons of the effects of different kinds of penal treatment for instance are difficult, since different kinds of person are given the different treatments. This has been met very ingeniously by matching for likelihood of recidivism using prediction tables (p. 69), and taking advantage of the fact that similar people are given different sentences at different courts. Research into the effects of leadership is often hard to interpret because the behaviour of the leader may be due to the activities of the led, just as much as vice versa. The best solution in all these cases is to carry out experimental manipulations, to which we now turn.

Experimental research is important in the first place in order to solve the kinds of question listed above, where the variables cannot be disentangled by ex post facto analysis, or where the direction of causation is ambiguous. Organizations are often unwilling to put up with the inconveniences of experimental manipulations, but unless they do so they may never be able to find out which procedure is the most effective. The State of California allows its Department of Corrections to carry out penal experiments – alternative prisoners have group therapy or no group therapy for example.² This is perfectly ethical – all that is happening is that some prisoners are receiving a new treatment which *may* benefit them. Psychotherapy has been studied experimentally by placing some patients at random on a waiting list, and comparing their progress with that of those accepted for immediate treatment (p. 85). Light has been thrown on the question of whether democratic industrial foremen make their men work harder, or vice versa, by experiments in which foremen have been changed round:³ it is now clear that the first process is the more important.

The social scientist on the payroll of an organization is sometimes in a unique position to carry out such experiments, which the independent investigator may well envy. Field experiments are superior to laboratory experiments in being more realistic, and better than statistical studies in that the direction of causation is clarified. It may be hoped that, by the invention of ingenious and innocuous designs like those mentioned above, organizations will become increasingly more agreeable to such research being done.

How will the social scientist in this setting go about promoting the aims of the concern? He may do original research along the lines

described above, but often he will make use of the published results of research done elsewhere – of which he is a major consumer. In either case, the changes which he will recommend, or implement, in the organization will consist of modifications of the various types of social control discussed in Part III – selection, training and the rest. If for example he devises an improved selection scheme for managers or engineers, he knows from previous research the test situations that are likely to be most effective – he does not need to invent new ones, though if his problem is unusual he may well do so. He should however perform a follow-up study to find out which tests were most effective in the particular situation. The more competent the social scientist is, the more likely he is to make intelligent application of previous work and to advance the practice of selection himself.

Similar considerations apply to training – the results of research into training methods and, in the case of foremen and managers into methods of leadership, can be more or less directly applied to the particular situation. Selection and training have hitherto been the main activities of psychologists in industry, but the manipulation of social structure is now being added to their repertoire. Examples were given in Chapter 14 of successful modification of communication channels and socio-technical systems. As the workings of social structures become better understood this may become one of the most important things the social scientist has to offer.

He may be asked to solve particular ‘problems’ such as a high rate of labour turnover, accidents or absenteeism in part of the concern. A job satisfaction survey or intensive interviewing might be carried out to find the causes of the trouble. Alternatively, operational analysis of the statistical trends may reveal the answer. When the cause has been found, appropriate manipulation of social controls can be made.

SOCIAL SCIENCE IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

The role of the social scientist in the community is somewhat more complex than in a self-contained organization with a fixed policy. Before considering his position in the modern state we shall deal with his role in underdeveloped countries with particular reference to West Africa. The research procedures which are used here are rather

different from those discussed in the last section. In the first place, an important part of the work is simply to understand the social and cultural background of the phenomena in question. For instance, what appears to Western eyes as bribery and corruption has roots in the traditional tribal system where it was customary to bring a present to the chief when asking a favour. The tendency to give jobs to quite unsuitable and remote relatives springs from the deeply felt obligation to give free board and lodging to relations in need: while this has the advantage of providing unemployment relief, it also creates a pressure to find any employment for such relations as quickly as possible. The irregular work habits of West Africans, shown in the high rates of absenteeism and labour turnover, result from a failure to change over from a pattern of joint work in the village to meet immediate needs for food and clothing. Work was done when it appeared necessary, and not during regular hours at a constant speed. These are some of the social factors which are impeding economic progress in Africa.⁴ One social research need in under-developed countries is the provision of basic factual information about population statistics, including the extent of employment and education, attitudes to work and other topics, and the social and economic conditions of life in the towns. Such information is a pre-requisite of social planning.

We turn now to the types of social control which may be used in this situation. We will take first problems where the goals to be aimed for are generally agreed upon, if not by popular vote, at any rate by the ruling party or the paternalistic policies of international agencies. It is broadly agreed for example that West Africa should become more economically prosperous, that there should be more education and less disease. Probably the most important social control is the spreading of information and enlightened attitudes about health, child care, farming methods and village construction work. The mass media in the usual sense are limited to newspapers of very small circulation – there is no TV, little radio and a lot of illiteracy. People can be influenced by speeches at public meetings – by which they tend to be easily aroused and swayed, but these have so far only been used for religious and political persuasion. The transmission of knowledge and enlightened attitudes has been achieved by setting up a ‘community development’ organization. Village field workers are selected, trained and supervised, and provided with specially prepared posters, charts, films and pamphlets, in appropriate

languages. The work is done with small groups of people, and discussion is stimulated.⁵

A second contribution is to devise types of social organization which are effective in a given cultural setting. The objection to fixed hours and rates of work can be met by a system of payment by results with no supervision and no regular hours. Labour turnover can be reduced by providing housing and farming facilities so that workers' families can live with them. Working groups should be composed of men from the same tribe, and the foreman should be an African, but not of lower tribal status.⁶

There is another range of African social problems where there is no general agreement on the goals to be aimed for. One example is the break-up of the traditional polygynous kinship group through urbanization. This has led to a more companionate form of marriage and has freed successful men of more remote kinship obligations, making possible the growth of a middle class. Since marriages are no longer based on social bonds between kinship groups, and in the towns are often between people of different tribes, they are much less stable, the divorce rate has gone up, and there are many homeless children.⁷ What contribution can the social scientist make here? He certainly cannot say which form of marriage is better, but he can tease out the full personal and social consequences of each arrangement, so that they can be given informed and intelligent consideration. It would be possible to set up legal or economic controls which would encourage any given type of family organization.

There is even less agreement on how far attempts should be made to modify the personality structure of members of underdeveloped countries. It has been suggested that economic progress would be most stimulated by greater achievement motivation in the personality of the members⁸ – which would be produced by the type of child-rearing described on p. 27f. Similar suggestions have been made with regard to punctuality and corruption. However, all these changes would be away from the spontaneous, relaxed and happy 'African personality' and towards the inner-directed, work-loving, puritanical European character.¹⁰ The social scientist cannot say which is best, but he can make clear the choice, the child-rearing methods that will produce these results, and possible ways of getting the best of both.

THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST AS ADVISER IN THE MODERN
STATE

Advice on national problems is given by economists, agricultural experts, medical researchers and many others. In limited spheres advice is also given by social scientists, on matters of education, mental health, town planning and on the social welfare of the old, young, and poor. We are concerned here with the possibility of social engineering on a larger scale. Many aspects of the national life are the object of extensive public discussion, people are widely informed about them, they are debated at a political level and decisions made which are carried through by the Civil Service. This is true of town planning, of most aspects of our economic life, and of education. There are no great surprises about how many houses have been built, or where, about the size of school classes and the kind of schools they are in. We are astounded however by the rocketing crime rate, the growth of racial disturbances, the change of sexual ethics in the young, and the changes in the class structure.

When such problems are officially studied, the procedure adopted is to set up a Royal Commission or some other kind of committee, which receives evidence from, among others, social scientists. The committee approach however is quite unsuited to the solution of concrete empirical questions. No matter how many eminent men of sound judgement hold a certain opinion, it is much more important to know the results of a sound empirical investigation – the technicalities of which may indeed escape the committee members. It is absolutely no good counting heads where matters of fact are concerned. Although our empirical knowledge is not complete, there are large areas of agreed findings, some of which have been reviewed in earlier chapters.

It may be suggested that some new machinery is needed if government is to be able to make full use of this knowledge and expertise. This could take the form of a new government advisory department, like N.E.D.C. or N.I.C. An alternative solution would be an independent institute governed by experts and partly financed by government grant, like The Council of Industrial Design. This would have greater freedom, but less authority. Such an organization would have three main functions. In the first place it could keep a close watch on social trends. Collection of social statistics is done already by the Central Office of Information,¹¹ the Registrar General¹² and the

Central Statistical Office,¹³ as well as by other departments, such as the Home Office¹⁴ on particular topics. The reports from these departments do not on the whole analyse the trends, or the causes for them, and no department covers such topics as changes in social structure and social relationships, or changes in personality, attitudes or values – these are left to the sporadic efforts of independent investigators.

Secondly, this body could collaborate with government departments and draw attention to the social consequences of existing or suggested legislation, and advise on ways of avoiding undesirable effects.

Thirdly, and most important of all, it could suggest the use of various social or other controls to resolve social problems and promote the welfare of society. By showing clearly the various alternatives, and their implications, such problems could be brought into the realm of informed public discussion by parliamentarians, journalists and others, and proper decisions taken. When the recommended policy has been implemented, the Ministry should then study its effects to see if any further corrective action is necessary.

Let us consider how some specific problems arising during the 1950s might be tackled in this way. How could the growth of racial prejudice for example be controlled? In the first place this social trend would have been detected at an early date, and it would have been reported that racial troubles were increasing in certain areas of high concentration of coloured immigrants. The evidence reviewed in Chapter 7 showed that to prevent racial problems it is necessary to avoid large numbers of coloured people suddenly pouring into a particular area or occupation; if they are spread thinner they are not seen as a threat to employment or social status. A possible line of solution might be to pass a regulation that no more than a certain percentage of coloured workers could be employed in any firm, or perhaps in any category of job in a firm. The exact percentage would be negotiated with trade unions, might be in the area of 10%, and could vary with the level of unemployment. Both the dispersion of immigrant labour and the existence of the regulation would dispel fears of unemployment. At the same time, steps could be taken to persuade firms to engage coloured workers. Similar regulations could be devised in collaboration with local government for controlling housing density.

Recent research on educational selection shows that while the 1944 Act has been successful in equalizing opportunity, it has also

had a number of side effects so that corrective action is now needed. It was suggested earlier that a solution would be to introduce differential selection for different areas of ability, based on decision theory (p. 140). The increased volume and persuasiveness of the mass media has been one of the major changes in recent years. It has been argued above that greater control needs to be exercised over the media, both to ensure fairness of representation of political and other interest groups, and to prevent uncontrolled changes in the values and attitudes of society (p. 166f.). The rise in juvenile delinquency is one of the most pressing social problems, and will require fairly extensive social engineering to correct it. Whether it would be most useful to reduce wage differentials, to improve the opportunity structure, to give guidance on child-rearing, or to reduce the independence of teen-agers, is a problem for future research (p. 71f.).

In order to provide such advice, this new department or institute would have to maintain a substantial research staff, to carry out analysis of trends, operational research and on occasion original investigations. It should be in a position to perform large-scale experiments. No body in Britain is able to do an experiment like the creation of an opportunity structure in East Side, New York (p. 73). There are certain social problems which can perhaps only be resolved by measures of this kind: until the experiments have been done we cannot possibly know.

It has been argued by Popper¹⁵ that social engineering should consist of cautious, piecemeal adjustments to society, as opposed to following a Utopian blue-print. The main reason given for this is that every act of planning leads to an infinite regress of consequences, which our knowledge is inadequate to predict. There is much to be said for cautious changes, as well as for being ready to take rapid corrective action if any undesirable results appear. However, there is a case for making several related changes at once, where one alone would have no effect. It would be no good, for example, trying to change the structure of society so that people co-operated instead of competed, or lived in communities rather than families, or owned no property, unless socialization methods were considerably changed as well. There must be congruence between personality and social structure. In the postscript we shall discuss Utopian experiments involving such changes. Popper also argues that since technological discoveries are unpredictable, it is therefore impossible to plan ahead

very far. Taking automation as an example of such technological changes, we have seen (p. 110) that social engineering is needed to deal with the effects of automation; furthermore, its introduction is gradual over a long period, so that it is possible to study and allow for such consequences.

Another objection to social planning is that it is felt to increase the power of the state and restrict individual freedom. Precisely the same could be said about economic planning, but are people less free now that the trade cycle is under control, than in the days when we were swept by periodic depressions and inflations? With planning, society changes in a manner determined by democratic procedures on the basis of fully informed discussion; without planning, society moves under the influence of blind, uncontrolled social forces. One manipulation which has been suggested – controlling the ideological and persuasive contents of the mass media – would clearly increase freedom.

THE PLACE OF THE INDEPENDENT SOCIAL SCIENTIST

In the last three sections we have discussed the role of the social investigator employed as a consultant to or on the payroll of a social organization, an underdeveloped country and a modern state. We turn now to the place of the independent social scientist, who in practice is either employed by a university or a private research organization. He tends to have less immediate influence on social planning, but his long-term impact may be greater, since he is in a position to pursue new lines of investigation which may have far-reaching consequences. Fundamental or 'pure' research often looks pointless and idiotic but it sometimes has important implications in the applied field. For example, the suggestions made above concerning educational selection (p. 140) are directly dependent on advances in two recondite areas of academic research – into the factorial structure of abilities and statistical decision theory. Such research may be motivated by an interest in 'basic' processes or by a concern with theoretical problems. Research into the process of learning in rats and pigeons, for example, led to teaching machines (p. 126) and behaviour therapy (p. 86).

The research of the academic investigator is not necessarily relevant to any specific practical problem, it is linked with basic theoretical ideas, and it breaks new ground. Since academic investigators are

rarely in a position to authorize field experiments, they often make use of laboratory situations, which test hypotheses in some artificial or scaled-down version of a real-life situation. For example, research into attitude change generally tries to change very feebly-held attitudes, experiments on aggression make the subjects only slightly cross, and communication networks may be studied in miniature. Such experiments may however be highly realistic and generate real aggression and group behaviour, so it is likely that the results will apply in real life too.

The independent social scientist will also from time to time step outside his role of hard-boiled investigator and play the part of the social critic or reformer. His qualification to do this is the insight he gains into new human goals, and new ways of reaching old ones. For example, the pressure to make industrial work more humanly satisfactory has come from industrial psychologists, not from the trade unions. A concern with the isolation of newcomers to housing estates, and of the old people left behind, has come from urban sociologists, not from town planners. A less punitive and more effective approach to juvenile delinquency has been led by criminologists, not by the prison authorities. A public concern about poverty, which led to welfare legislation, was stimulated by the poverty surveys of the early British sociologists.

The social scientist is often the critic and guardian of our highest ideals. He may have a further role to play in sensitizing public opinion to new ideals and standards as yet unthought of.

POSTSCRIPT – COMMUNITIES OF THE FUTURE

There is one kind of research which is extremely difficult and extremely important – the study of new types of community. As we showed, above, new designs for society cannot be brought about by piecemeal changes, but only by inter-related changes in several areas, especially social organization and socialization. By the same token it is very hard to deduce from a successful community which factors, or combination of factors, is most important for success. Two lines of research in this area may be suggested – the setting up of experimental communities and the study of existing communities with highly favourable features.

Utopian communities, ‘heavens below’, have hitherto been studied by historians rather than by social researchers. Yet here we have

vigorous manipulation of such variables as social organization and child-rearing. There is also selection – only those who are attracted to a particular community and are acceptable to the others will join it. A recent community that left England for an island off Australia selected 25 out of 5,000 applicants.¹⁶ The enormous importance of such experiments is that they try out ways of life, as yet unexplored. There may be far superior ways of arranging human life, as yet unimagined.

A major difficulty with experimental communities is that methods of child-rearing are an integral part of any society, so that a person who is not reared in a society would not be expected to make the most satisfactory adjustment to it. We would therefore expect that the children of the founders of a new community would get on better in it than the founders themselves, so that the success of the experiment cannot be judged for at least one generation. In fact it is more common for the children to get fed up and leave. The reason is that in many cases no special arrangements are made about child-rearing: the first generation choose the community and are temperamentally suitable, while their children, reared as for the wider community which their parents left, may not be. Some communities have arranged for children to be brought up in groups, and not to be in frequent close contact with their parents. The best-known example of this is the *kibbutz* system in Israel: it is very probable that such socialization is a very good preparation for life in these groups.¹⁷ Many other possibilities exist and Skinner has suggested an interesting type of socialization intended to fit people for life in 'Walden Two'.¹⁸

Can any results be derived from these experiments? What we would like to know about the utopian communities is whether various human goals are better realized in particular types of community and if so for which kinds of person. Although there is no exact data on this, we shall consider what evidence there is. The British¹⁹ and the American²⁰ communities have been described in some detail, and some conclusions are possible. The first criterion of success is whether the community survives, as opposed to breaking up. While some have lasted 100 years or more, the majority have folded up. The most stable ones have been those with a strongly shared religious or similar ideology, and which have held frequent group meetings. The cause of communities breaking is either economic – making too little money or too much, ideological – a weaken-

ing of the original faith, or social – incompatibility of members, or loss of a strong leader. Nevertheless, many members have testified to the superiority of life to that outside – more co-operative social relations and less isolation, a feeling that life is more worth-while, and greater economic security. While wives and mothers have found life particularly agreeable, intellectuals on the whole have not.

A second kind of research into utopia which is more immediately feasible for the social investigator is the study of communities, or sections of communities, which seem to possess very favourable characteristics. A concern with pressing questions of social pathology has directed attention away from communities which are superior from a sociological or psychological standpoint. How would such a community be recognized? In the first place there would be an absence of the traditional signs of social pathology – mental ill-health, crime, poverty, social conflict and unhappiness. To these we would have to add more positive criteria of success, and here opinions would differ: they might include such things as the maximum use of abilities, constructive and creative use of leisure, an absence of extremes of power or wealth, and positive and supportive relations between people. While retaining his role as scientist the researcher can at least study the conditions under which these things are likely to be realized.

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INDEX

Note: This index does not include the names of authors who appear in the references but who are not mentioned by name in the text.

- absenteeism, 110
- achievement motivation, 27, 143f.
- Adler, A., 124
- adolescents, 187f.
- advertising, 162, 191, 193
- affiliative motivation, 29f.
- affluence, 73, 184, 191
- Africa, 132, 166, 197f.
- age, 67, 94
- aggression, 47f.
- aggression machine, 48
- AH5 test, 143
- alcoholism, 83, 86
- alienation, 113, 172
- anxiety, 54
- anxiety neurosis, 79, 124
- authoritarianism, 30, 35, 96, 173
- automation, 110f.

- Bales, R. F., 37
- bandwaggon effect, 164
- behaviour therapy, 70, 80f., 127
- biological drives, 22
- birth order, 29, 120, 124f.
- Bogardus, E. S., 90
- borstal, 68f.
- broken homes, 64
- Buss, A. H., 48

- California Department of Corrections, 195
- California Personality Inventory, 16, 24f.
- catharsis, 50f., 130
- Catholics, 31

- census, 181f.
- change, social, 176, 181f.
- Child, I. L., 57
- child-rearing, 117f.
- China, 134f.
- churches, American, 182
- Civil Service, 144, 199f.
- class, social, 65, 83, 93, 141, 146, 184f.
- cluster analysis, 14
- committees, 154f.
- communities, 205
- conformity, 38f.
- Conservative Party, 162
- consistency, 13, 34
- corporal punishment, 69
- creativity, 143
- crime, 59f.
- culture, 191

- decision theory, 139f.
- defence mechanisms, 79f.
- delinquency, 59f., 124, 187f.
 - areas, 65f., 176
 - neurotic, 60
 - treatment, 68f.
- delinquent generation, 73
- democratic leadership, 147f.
- depression, 80
- desegregation, 99
- discipline, 64, 123f.
- displacement, 52f.
- drives, secondary, 22f.
- drugs, 87
- Durkee, A., 48

economics, 51, 165, 192f.
 Education Act 1944, 193f.
 ego-identity, 129
 elections, 158f., 162, 167
 electroencephalogram, 63
 ECT, 87
 emigration, 188f.
 emotional arousal, 130f.
 employee-centred leadership, 148f.
 enuresis, 63
 equilibrium, 38f.
 extraversion, 31
 Eysenck, H. J., 15, 25, 75, 97

factor analysis, 14f.
 family, 124, 186f.
 fantasy, 49
 Field, P. B., 163
 films, 51f.
 Floud, J., 141
 folie à deux, 83
 foremen, 105f.
 Freud, S., 22, 25, 49, 52, 130
 friendship, 41f.
 frustration, 48, 50

Gallup Poll, 182
 genetics, 18, 61, 72, 77f.
 George V, 85
 Gilbreth, F. B., 103
 Glueck, S. & E. 63, 118f.
 Goffman, E., 169
 Graham, B., 157
 groups, 95, 106, 150f.
 group decision, 150
 dynamics, 33

Halsey, A. H., 141
 Hawthorne experiment, 105
 hierarchy, 175
 Hitler, A., 166
 Home Office, 193f.
 Hoover, H., 181
 housing, 93
 Humphrey, H., 159
 hypnosis, 21
 hysteria, 79

Index

identification, 20, 27f.
 image, 161f.
 incentives, 104
 industry, 103f., 153f.
 initiation, 132f.
 inner-directed personality, 122
 Innes, M., 58
 intelligence, 15f., 141, 189
 interaction, 36f., 40f.
 interview, 139f.
 introjection, 21, 28f.

Janis, I., 163
 job enlargement, 112
 satisfaction, 107f.
 joint consultation, 113, 174
 jokes, 51

Kennedy, J. F., 158f.
 Kibbutz, 204
 Korea, 135f.
 Kraepelin, E., 17

leader, 100
 leadership, 144f.
 selection, 144
 training, 133f.
 learning, theory, 19, 20f.
 cognitive, 128f.
 instrumental, 120f.
 lecture, 13
 Lee, I., 162
 leisure, 190
 Levin, H., 118f.

McClelland, D. C., 25, 30f.
 Maccoby, E. E., 118f.
 management, selection, 144
 training, 133f.
 mania, 80
 Mannheim, H., 70
 mass communications, 101, 157f.
 Maudsley Personality Inventory,
 31, 66
 mental disorders, 34, 74f., 189f.
 meritocracy, 145
 message organization, 161
 method study, 103

- Miller analogies test, 143
 Miller, N. E., 53
 MMPI, 16, 66
 Mohanna, A. I., 174
 Moreno, J. L., 40
 mother, 120
 motivation, 21f.
 Mowrer, O. H., 86

 national character, 31, 189f.
 negroes, 65f., 93f.
 neighbourhood, 185f.
 neuroticism, 15
 Nixon R. M., 158
 norms, 38f., 164

 operant verbal conditioning, 35f.
 opinion leaders, 105
 organization, 168f.
 man, 172
 pathology, 171f.
 other-directed personality, 122

 paranoia, 80f.
 parents, 28, 95
 Parkinson, C. N.,
 participation, worker, 112f.
 Pavlov, I. P., 130
 permissiveness, 122
 personality, 66f., 96f., 163
 person perception, 36f., 99
 phobias, 86
 physique, 62
 Popper, K. R., 201f.
 Potter, S., 36
 power, 31, 149f., 171
 prediction tables, 70
 prejudice, 54
 prestige, 159
 primitive society, 57
 prison, 68f.
 prisoners of war, 82, 135f.
 projection test, 25f., 28
 propaganda, 101
 pseudo-social delinquent, 60
 psychoanalysis, 18f., 26, 29, 70f.,
 81, 101, 119, 162

 psychopaths, 29, 34, 60
 psychoses, 75f.
 public meetings, 157f.
 punishment, 56

 questionnaire, 17, 24f., 48

 racial attitudes, 89f., 188f.
 reliability, 16
 religion, 161, 188
 Robinson, P., 27
 Rockefeller, N., 162
 role, 38f., 131f., 168f.
 role-playing, 129f.
 Rorschach test, 48, 53

 Schachter, S., 29
 schizophrenia, 81, 144
 Schutz, W., 24
 Sears, R. R., 48, 53f., 118f.
 selection, 138f., 177
 grammar school, 140f.
 management, 144f.
 university, 142f.
 semantic differential, 27
 sex, 52, 54, 187
 Shaw, C. R., 72
 socialization, 18f., 96, 117f.
 adult, 126f.
 social engineering, 201f.
 isolation, 82
 sensitivity, 149
 skill, 33
 system, 38
 sociological factors, 65f., 93f.
 sociometry, 26, 40f.
 socio-technical factors, 107
 Spock, B., 118
 status, informal, 39f.
 stress, 81
 students, 76, 96, 152

 teaching, 152
 machines, 126f.
 teen-agers, 73
 television, 88, 125, 158f., 166, 190
 TAT, 25, 49f., 53

- therapeutic community, 71, 85f.
thought reform, 134f.
trait, 13
trends, social, 181f.
twins, 61, 77f.
typology, 17

unconscious, 21, 43, 60, 80
underdeveloped countries, 196f.
U.S.A., 90f.
utopias, 203f.

validity, 16, 139f.

war, 82
warmth, 63f., 121f.
Welles, O., 162
Whiting, J. W. M., 57
Whyte, W. F., 144, 172
Wilkins, L. T., 69f.
women, 56, 67, 191
work, 108, 186
 groups, 105f.