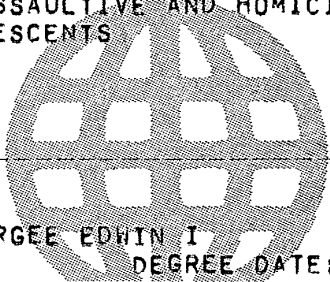


UNDERCONTROL AND OVERCONTROL
IN ASSAULTIVE AND HOMICIDAL
ADOLESCENTS



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Undercontrol and Overcontrol
in Assaultive and Homicidal Adolescents

By

Edwin Ingles Megargee

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DISSERTATION

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"To My Wife"

Edwin I. Megargee
January 1964

Preface

This dissertation blends two traditions in psychology which have often been at odds, the clinical and the experimental. At times these elements have even been pitted against one another as in "clinical versus statistical" prediction or "idiographic versus nomothetic" approaches. If nothing else I hope that this blending will demonstrate that clinical psychology can be scientific and that scientific investigation can be clinical.

Our knowledge of the area chosen for investigation, that of extreme physical aggression, has suffered because of the split between clinical and research methodology. It is patently impossible to reproduce such behavior in the laboratory. Thus most of the quantitative work on aggression has dealt with mild forms of aggression in normal people. Pathological aggression, such as homicide, has been explained by extrapolating principles derived from these laboratory studies. Since people who commit mildly aggressive acts have often been found to be lacking in controls, it was therefore generally felt that extremely aggressive persons must also be lacking in controls but to a greater extent. The present study shows that the dynamics of extreme aggression can be markedly different from those of mild aggression, and that extremely assaultive people may have an overabundance rather than a deficiency of controls against the expression of aggression. Thus, in this area as in others, complete investigation of the full range of behavior requires both the experimental laboratory technique and the clinical observational method.

Any dissertation must necessarily bear the name of one person. Yet the present study is, even more than most, the result of a group effort.

The cooperation of the Alameda County Probation Department has been truly remarkable. It is a tribute to the wisdom of the Chief Probation Officer, Lorenzo Buckley, that as head of an agency beset by ever increasing demands for service, he can recognize the importance of research and make staff time available for a project of this size.

The cooperation of HAROLD Batt, the Director of the Alameda County Probation Department Guidance Clinic, was invaluable. It was his responsibility to arrange time for the clinicians to examine the 76 subjects and for the stenographers to type the resulting transcripts. This he did in the face of record demands by the courts for psychological services.

The clinical psychologists who spent over 600 hours interviewing and testing these boys and their parents, without even the satisfaction of knowing what hypotheses were being tested, were George Barrett, Georgia Babladelis, Robert Ekblad, Richard Fulk, Lionel Lazowick, and Nancy Mead, as well as the clinic's consulting psychiatrist, Herbert Harms. Probation officers Thomas Nolan, Richard Netherwood, and Dan Estorga, also conducted some of the parent interviews. When Dr. Harms succeeded to the directorship of the clinic, he continued to allow me time to work on this project and attend meetings with my advisory committee.

Over 1500 hours of clerical time were necessary to transcribe the tape recordings of the projective tests and interviews. The often poor quality of the recordings made this an especially arduous task. Mrs. Karen Smart and Mrs. Judith Loney did the bulk of this work with the assistance of Miss Patricia Gannon and Mrs. Barbara Dailey. Mrs. Smart also served as principal research secretary, coding the data and keeping track of administrative details.

Every member of the Juvenile Hall custodial staff was involved in making observations and ratings on the boys studied. These 30 men filled out over 2,000 Behavior Check Lists, Rating Scales and Adjective Check Lists with no reduction in their other duties. Special credit goes to George Barrett who as Juvenile Hall caseworker voluntarily undertook the time consuming task of making certain that all these forms were filled out properly and on time. His suggestions and liaison work were of immeasurable help in ensuring the success of the project. When he moved to the clinic his role was capably filled by Donald Hartmann.

The County also key punched the data into IBM cards. Miss Carol Wisuri spent a number of hours acting as liaison between me and the key punch personnel. The University of California Computer Center donated time on the IBM 7090.

Special thanks also go to Richard Deming, Director of Research for Alameda County. His support was of major assistance, and he never failed to provide the full cooperation of his office.

An equal debt is owed to my advisers at the University of California. Gerald Mendelsohn, the chairman of my dissertation committee, has been generous in the time he has devoted not only to this project but to others in the past. After three years of working under his guidance, it is impossible for me to assess or express the debt I owe him. I only know that thanks to his ability, not only as a researcher but also as a teacher, the research undertaken has become better research, the reports written have become better reports, and at the same time I too have become a better psychologist.

Hubert Coffey and Irving Piliavin, the other member of my committee

have also markedly improved this dissertation by their comments and criticism.

To all of these people I am extremely grateful.

Edwin I. Megargee
Berkeley, California
December 12, 1963

CHAPTER I

A THEORY OF ASSAULTING BEHAVIOR

If, on the morning of November 3, 1959, Sam Williams¹ had been told that he would be shot four times before the day had ended, he would have been quite skeptical. In Sam's world, however, such events were not unheard of. Sam himself had once been imprisoned in San Quentin for an unprovoked "Assault With a Deadly Weapon" that had left his victim blind in one eye. Therefore, he wouldn't have rejected the notion that he himself might be attacked as being impossible. If, however, he had been told that the bullets would be fired by Billy Jones¹, there is no doubt that Sam would have been completely incredulous.

Sam had good reason to feel that it was impossible for such an event to occur. For two years he had tried to goad Billy into a fight by publicly humiliating him in every way conceivable. But Billy seemed incapable of doing anything aggressive. You could call him any name in the book and he would just smile and try to be friends. You could push him around or throw drinks in his face and he would never fight back. If he wouldn't even tell you to go to hell, he certainly wouldn't shoot you.

A group of Yale psychologists who 20 years earlier had published a monograph entitled Frustration & Aggression would have been less dubious. They had written, "Aggression is always a consequence of

¹ All names have been changed.

frustration" and "...the strength of instigation to aggression² should vary directly with ... the number of frustrated response-sequences" (Dollard, et al, 1939, p. 28). In other words Sam's behavior should increase the likelihood that Billy would aggress, and what is more, if he continued the instigation should build up over time.

But in fact Sam was not warned so that night he sought and found Billy for his nightly sport. He leaned on the side of Billy's car for 45 minutes waving a knife under his nose, calling him a coward and telling him he wasn't a man. Thus, he frustrated two of Billy's strongest needs--his need for affiliation and his need for self-respect. Then Sam reached in the car, grabbed Billy's whiskey bottle and threw it under the tires saying he hoped it would cause a flat. This frustration too summated with all the previous ones.

The Yale group had written that when the strength of a person's instigation to aggression exceeds the level of inhibition, an aggressive response should occur (Dollard et al, 1939). This is true no matter how high the level of inhibition is, provided there are sufficient cues to aggression in the environment. Sam and that knife he was holding certainly constituted cues to aggression, and with the throwing of the bottle, Billy's instigation to aggression, or anger, finally exceeded even his strong inhibitions.

If Sam had been aware of all this, he might not have been so surprised when Billy pulled a gun from the glove compartment. But as it was, he was astounded and stood there transfixed. This gave

²"Instigation to aggression" is defined as the response to frustration.

Billy Jones the opportunity to shoot him and Billy made the most of it. Sam fled. Billy followed. Cornering Sam on a porch, he shot him twice more in the abdomen. Sam ran again, but fell. Billy placed the gun against Sam's neck and fired one last time. Then he turned and left.

Two acts of aggression had taken place; one was predictable, the other was not. Sam's aggression was verbal and mildly physical. It no doubt represented a strong habit in a person who had few inhibitions against the direct expression of aggression. Billy's aggression, on the other hand, was extreme and completely out of character. A mild mannered, slightly built bachelor of 39, he had no prior police record and an excellent employment history. In fact, it seemed his very meekness induced the frustrations which culminated in his eventual loss of control.

If these two men can be regarded as prototypes, it would appear that aggressive people fall into at least two categories. Persons of the first type have probably been rewarded for aggression throughout their lives by their parents and peers³. When sufficiently provoked they may commit an extreme assaultive offense, but their aggression is usually mild or moderate consisting of threats, minor assaults and the like⁴. Diagnostically, they would be regarded as normals or

³Bandura and Walters (1959) study of family backgrounds of moderately aggressive delinquents lends some support to this.

⁴Instrumental aggression, i.e., aggression committed as a means to an end rather than an end in itself is ignored in this treatment. The person who knocks a person down in a purse snatching is seen as exercising his need for acquisition rather than aggression unless the force used is clearly more than the situation requires.

sociopaths. Clinically easy to detect, they represent a type familiar to all devotees of contemporary television drama or mystery fiction of the Mickey Spillane variety. They will be termed "Type One" or "The Habitually Aggressive Type."

The second type presents an altogether different picture. These people are overcontrolled and tend to deal with their aggressive impulses through such neurotic defenses as repression or reaction formation. Aggression to them is ego-alien or unacceptable, and it is likely they were punished for it during childhood. Unlike the Habitually Aggressive Type, these people have an overdeveloped and rigid Superego. They are familiar to those who follow crime news in the press and have seen several headlines of the nature MODEL STUDENT SLAYS FAMILY, for when they do aggress it is generally in an extreme fashion. This type will be called Type Two or "The Worm Turns Type."

If this analysis is valid, some serious problems are posed for existing theory concerning aggression. The assaultive response is one which is generally taboo in our culture. As a taboo, it has anxiety attached to its performance which inhibits it. The behavior of the Habitually Aggressive Type can be viewed as the result of a failure to develop the appropriate taboos or values due to deficiencies in the home, the subculture or both. Habitually aggressive behavior can also be learned if the individual is rewarded for minor aggressive acts so that the anxiety attached to more assaultive behavior is lessened through response generalization or what Wolpe has termed reciprocal inhibition (Wolpe, 1958). However, such an explanation does not account for Billy Jones who apparently developed strong

taboos and had not extinguished them through minor aggressive acting out. It is difficult to explain his behavior and impossible to predict it, using a purely learning theory approach.

The frustration-aggression hypotheses of the Yale Group and subsequent workers in this tradition, provides another approach to aggression (Dollard et al, 1939). Essentially, this hypothesis states that the response to frustration is aggression, although no overt aggressive act may occur. Berkowitz (1961) equates this instigation to aggression with anger as the response to frustration. So far, this writer agrees, although he would hasten to stipulate that frustration as usually defined is not the only possible antecedent of aggression.

Since observation shows that all frustration does not lead to overt aggressive acts, some explanation was called for. The Yale group stated that the overt aggressive act is the result of the interaction of the instigation to aggression and of the inhibition of aggression. Inhibition or fear of punishment might prevent the occurrence of an aggressive response if it was stronger than the instigation to aggression. On the other hand, when the strength of the instigation to aggression exceeds that of inhibition, an aggressive act would occur. They indicated that these antagonistic tendencies summated in some algebraic manner (Dollard et al, 1939).

While this treatment appears more scientific than the statement that sometimes frustration leads to aggressive acts and other times it does not, it does not improve our ability to predict, since instigation and inhibition are not defined independently of the aggressive act. However, it did lead to animal experiments in conflict in which the

antecedents of these intervening variables, frustration and punishment were manipulated. These studies led to a better understanding of the nature of approach and avoidance gradients.

Miller also was able to use these notions to account for the mechanism of displacement. He maintained, as did others of the Yale group, that instigation to aggression might focus on other targets similar to the original frustrating agent if the aggressive response to the original agent was blocked (Miller, 1948).

That this is the case was demonstrated not only by Miller's experiments with animals but also by the behavior of human beings; for example, "Albert Lema," a 16 year old white boy of Mexican ancestry was beaten up by a band of Negro youths on New Years Eve, 1962. Albert went home to secure a rifle and then cruised through the Negro district in his car looking for his assailants. Unable to find them, he instead shot a young Negro woman. Thus his aggression generalized from his attackers to Negroes in general, and he displaced his aggression onto another member of that race.

Miller (1948) also held that inhibition of aggression generalized along this dimension of stimulus similarity. This leads to the familiar Miller paradigm (See Fig. 1). This figure illustrates a situation in which a man angered by his mother-in-law generalizing some of his anger to his wife, his child, and his dog in accord with their perceived similarity to his mother-in-law. The inhibition attached to attacking mothers-in-law has also generalized in some degree to the others, but the slope

of this gradient is much steeper.⁵ Miller held that when the net strength was positive, i.e., the instigation exceeded the inhibition, aggressive responses could occur.

The difficulty with this model, as with many schematic representations, is that it is oversimplified. When both instigation and inhibition are plotted together in this fashion it implies that while the slopes differ, the response strengths of inhibition and instigation generalize in an essentially similar manner.⁶ It also implies that the strength of inhibition is also a function solely of stimulus similarity. This is not necessarily the case. The man in this example may indeed have less inhibition toward attacking his wife or behaving aggressively toward his child, but at the same time have developed the attitude that aggression toward animals is completely taboo. Then his profile would appear as in Figure 2.

While some stimulus generalization of inhibition may occur, this writer maintains that the amount of inhibition toward an object is a product of each individual's unique reinforcement history with regard to that object, or in the case of new objects, to that class of objects in which he categorizes the new one.

If the situation is such that instigation exceeds inhibition and an aggressive response occurs, this in turn is associated with a

⁵Miller, (1948) has demonstrated that avoidance gradients generally are steeper than approach gradients.

⁶In fact it implies that there is a perfect rank order (as opposed to Pearson) correlation between the strengths of instigation and inhibition.

lowering of the level of instigation. In the absence of punishment, this is considered to be rewarding and the habit strength for the occurrence of such acts in similar situations in the future is increased. Whether the aggression is direct or displaced, as long as it is successful, the individual is more likely to resort to it again.

Direct aggression against the frustrating agent and displacement are not the only ways in which the instigation to aggression is released however. There is also the important phenomenon of response generalization. The writer feels that for each frustrating situation there is a response which the individual would make in the absence of all inhibiting factors. This response the writer calls the prepotent response. The prepotent response varies with the situation. For instance, a man who finds his wife in bed with his best friend might, in the absence of any restraints, strangle her. This would be the prepotent response in this situation. The same man who is mildly frustrated by a slow waiter in a restaurant would probably not strangle the waiter even if no inhibitions were operating, simply because the amount of frustration and the resulting instigation to aggression simply does not warrant such an act. The prepotent response in this situation might be a refusal to tip the dilatory waiter.⁷

⁷The writer regards the prepotent response as being learned, often by imitation, rather than being instinctive. This is because the culture determines to a large degree what is frustrating and how much instigation to aggression should result. It also prescribes the nature of the appropriate response. For instance, the man who found his wife to be unfaithful had the prepotent response of strangling her. In other cultures he might stone her or consult a witch doctor to place a spell

In many cases the prepotent response is suppressed because inhibitions are operating and they exceed the level of instigation for the prepotent response. When the prepotent response is inhibited the person may displace his aggression to another target. However, he is more apt to make a lesser, more acceptable aggressive response to the original target. Thus, the frustrated husband may not strangle his wife but he may beat her, castigate her, or take her to a divorce court. The person annoyed by the lagging waiter may not actually refuse to tip, but he may tip less than he usually does. Such generalized responses reduce the instigation to aggression although not as effectively as the prepotent response would have.

For each possible target of aggression, even when aggression is displaced, there is a prepotent response and other lesser generalized responses. "Albert Lema," for instance, who shot the Negro woman when he was unable to find the Negroes who had beaten him was making a prepotent response to a displaced target. In broad terms, then, displacement primarily determines the target while response generalization influences the nature of the response.

The stimulus situation is also extremely important since it directly influences the amount of inhibition attached to various acts

⁷(Cont'd)

on her. In still other cultures, the event might be considered to be a normal part of hospitality and therefore not constitute a frustration nor lead to any instigation to aggression. Bateson (1941) has pointed out how behavior which would be considered highly frustrating in our culture is not at all frustrating in a culture in which the members have been raised with different expectations.

and various targets. The man angered by his mother-in-law who would ordinarily make a verbally aggressive response to his wife may be inhibited by the fact that company is present. If his child is absent or does not provide behavioral cues sufficient to justify an act of aggression he may have to content himself with a diatribe against the Administration.

In our culture it is generally the most aggressive response which is suppressed and a less aggressive one which is substituted. When the frustration-aggression hypothesis is used to predict the degree of violence of the aggressive act⁸, difficulties arise. There are two variables in the Miller model which people have attempted to use to predict the degree of violence. The first of these is the net strength of the instigation to aggression, i.e., the difference between instigation and aggression. Bandura and Walters hold that the degree of violence is proportional to this variable. They state, "by subtracting the height of the curve representing the strength of the inhibitory response from the height of the curve representing the strength of the inhibited response, it is possible to represent the strength of the overt response that may be expected at any point on the dissimilarity continuum" (1959, p. 133). Berkowitz (1962, p. 109) also implies that

⁸The "degree of violence of the aggressive act" is a precise sounding phrase for a very imprecise variable. There is no one single adequate way it can be measured. Injuries to victims are not a reliable index. Social taboos, intent, premeditation, the immediate milieu and many other factors enter in its determination. Yet, within the members of a society there is good consensual agreement about this variable. (This receives its most tangible form in the Penal Code in which society has agreed that premeditated murder is worse than that done in the heat of passion, and this in turn more reprehensible than verbal aggression.)

the violence of the aggressive act is proportional to the net strength.

While this formulation works adequately for Habitually Aggressive people like Sam Williams, it breaks down when applied to acts of extreme aggression by overcontrolled people such as Billy Jones. The very fact that Billy's inhibitions were so high would apparently preclude a net strength sufficient to account for a murder. Sam Williams' throwing the bottle under the car added one small frustration which, with all the other frustrations of the preceding two years, pushed Billy's anger level over his level of inhibition. But, unless this last small frustration was so great that it added overwhelmingly to his instigation to aggression, the net strength at this point in time must have been slight. If so, the aggressive response that followed was out of all proportion to it.

An alternative position, as noted above, would be that the aggressiveness of the response will be proportional to the "response strength" or the absolute altitude of the instigation gradient at that point. This appears to be Miller's position (1948, 1959). This notion accounts for both Types of aggressive acting out more adequately. Since Williams' inhibitory level is quite low, his responses are primarily a function of anger. This assumption also makes it apparent that when a Billy Jones does aggress, it will necessarily be in an extreme fashion. In cases of Type Two ("Worm Turns") aggression, the inhibitions are so high that the instigation to aggression must reach a very high level before it can exceed them and take place. If the violence of the response is directly proportional to the response strength of the instigation to aggression, then it necessarily follows that the acts of aggression committed by Type Two people must be extremely violent.

The Type One person, however, rarely reaches this high a level of instigation. Having fewer inhibitory controls, he will act earlier and lower the level of instigation to aggression before his anger reaches the murderous level. Of course, in cases of severe situational frustration such as, perhaps finding his wife in an adulterous situation, he too might commit a homicide; or he might do so if attacked. But in such cases the external situation would clearly call for an extreme act. "Worm Turns" aggression, on the other hand, is much more apt to be "senseless" or "poorly motivated" in that the precipitating events are more internal than external.

While this formulation neatly explains the paradoxically more extreme aggression of the chronically overcontrolled, it is oversimplified. In essence, the proposition under discussion is: The greater the instigation to aggression (anger) toward a target, the greater the degree of violence of the aggressive response to that target if an aggressive response is allowed to occur. This ignores the facts of response generalization, for, as we have seen, a variety of responses, differing in the degree of violence may be directed toward each target while the degree of instigation to aggression for that target remains a constant.

This writer, however, has proposed a class of responses termed "prepotent" responses which are those which would occur first if no inhibitory forces acted on the individual. It is for these responses that the direct relation between instigation and degree of violence is found. In the case of generalized responses this is not the case.

Thus the proposition becomes: the greater the degree of instigation to aggression aimed at a target, the greater the prepotent aggressive

response, either overt or suppressed, directed toward that target. A corollary would be: The aggressiveness of non-prepotent responses is not directly proportional to the absolute degree of instigation to aggression (anger). While it is not certain what the degree of aggressiveness of such responses is proportional to, it is very likely some function of the net strength, i.e., the difference between the anger and the level of inhibition.

In this formulation, the degree of violence of the "Worm Turns" offender is viewed primarily in energy terms. With one frustration occurring after another, the instigation to aggression summates in some fashion over time until finally even his inhibitions are overwhelmed. This places the emphasis on the instigation rather than on the controls. In the past, the quality of control has been emphasized. Berkowitz (1961) for instance, notes that murderers generally violate criminal laws much less frequently than do other criminal groups. Nevertheless he regards murder and extreme aggression as being due to unstable or spotty controls. He states that the only thing which could restrain a murderer's violence in the absence of the police or external controls are, "strong internal prohibitions against anti-social aggression" (p. 322). In spite of the data showing murderers "are typically not hardened criminals" and that "most would never commit murder again if released from jail" (p. 318) he still states that the murderers "social code often justifies striking out on his own against the people harming him." One of Berkowitz' difficulties is that he is dealing with aggressive behavior as a unitary phenomenon.

When the emphasis is placed on controls, as it should be for the Habitually Aggressive offender, then the appropriate treatment is

seen to be that of bolstering, or in some cases even creating, internal controls. (A system which wards off aggressive behavior for as many years as it did in the case of Billy Jones is not really adequately described in terms of Superego lacunae or brittle controls.) When the emphasis is shifted to level of instigation due to some form of temporal summation, the question then becomes how can the individual reduce the level of instigation so that the violent response is avoided. When the waters behind a high dam rise so high that they threaten to carry it away, the answer is not to add on to the dam to make it higher, but rather to find some harmless way to relieve the water pressure.

It has been pointed out that the Worm Turns or Type Two person is unable to use the mechanisms of response generalization and displacement in any effective way. This has the effect not only of allowing instigations to accumulate but also insures that when the aggressive response finally does occur, he will have a limited repertoire of responses upon which to draw.

Naturally the prepotent response is the one most likely to be selected. Thus the violence of the overt response is not only a function of the high level of instigation but also of the failure to learn ways of coping with anger other than via suppression. This failure not only is apt to create the circumstances for the violent act (as Billy Jones never was able to ward off Sam Williams' attacks) but also leaves the individual poorly equipped to cope with anger if it ever does overwhelm his rigid defenses.

Returning to the analogy of a dam, the treatment of choice is to build spillways so that the water pressure can be relieved without

carrying away the whole structure. In the case of a Billy Jones, further shoring of inhibitions against aggression will only be effective if his level of instigation never again rises to a critical level. It is impossible to insure this unless he is provided with alternative modes of response so that he might aggress in more socially acceptable ways and thus prevent summation. Going to a penal institution designed to repress any rebelliousness would not help him develop new mildly aggressive habits, or in this context, assertive habits. Instead of being treated like a sociopath, he should instead be treated as a neurotic through psychotherapy.

Thus, the proposed typology and the shift in emphasis from adequacy of controls to accumulation of instigation to aggression, while having theoretical implications, is of more than academic interest. If the extremely assaultive offender is to be rehabilitated, then he must be helped to learn to aggress normally, to change his values, if the author's hypothesis is correct. Before this can occur, a great deal of public re-education will be necessary.

However, before any crusades to re-educate the American public are undertaken, the hypothesis must be subjected to scientific scrutiny. So far, all the writer has offered in evidence is a single aggressive incident, which while it was dramatic enough to stimulate the whole line of research which culminated in this dissertation, is hardly sufficient evidence to support the theoretical framework constructed in this chapter. In the subsequent chapters the hypothesis that the moderately assaultive S is usually Habitually Aggressive while the extremely assaultive S is more apt to be a chronically overcontrolled

person of the Worm Turns Type will be examined, first by a search through the literature, and second by an empirical investigation.

CHAPTER 2

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter the literature on aggression will be reviewed to determine how much evidence exists for and against the typology presented in the preceding chapter.

The first source of evidence is the literature on psychological tests. The majority of studies in this area are concerned with establishing the validity of various instruments. However, in the course of such investigations data are collected from which inferences about the personalities of various groups of Ss can be made. This writer agrees with those such as Berkowitz (1962) and Miller (1959, p. 220) who hold that indications of aggressive feelings on tests are the result of a dynamic conflict between instigation and inhibition just as in the case of other aggressive responses. Since the test situation may be less threatening than the real life situation, we may expect aggressive behavior that is inhibited in real life.

The writer's position is that there should be a direct relation between the behavior shown on psychological tests and that shown in overt behavior. Thus, if it is true that the moderately aggressive Type One person is characterized by inadequate aggressive controls, then such a pattern should be noted in the test material. Similarly if the extremely assaultive Type Two person is typically overcontrolled, then an over-controlled pattern should be evident in the tests. As Berkowitz has stated, "If a person has developed extremely strong inhibitions against expressing aggression, he is not likely to display

hostility readily either in fantasy or in 'real life'" (1962, p. 88).

It should be noted that there is a strong school of thought which holds that the relation between fantasy and overt behavior is inverse, (Phillips and Smith, 1953; Symonds, 1949; Tomkins, 1952). This group would predict that if the typology did have the hypothesized dynamics, then the Type One (Habitually Aggressive) personality would show lower than normal fantasy aggression while the Type Two (overcontrolled) person would show above average fantasy aggression. This prediction comes from the theory that fantasy serves a substitutive function with non-aggressive people engaging in a lot of fantasy aggression while overtly aggressive people have no need to do so. The notion that non-aggressive people may engage in fantasy aggression is consistent with displacement theory and the writer has no quarrel with it. However, he does not agree that habitually aggressive people abandon their aggressive habits in the test situation. A study by Lesser (1957) supports this view. He found that for individuals whose mothers discouraged aggression there was a negative relation between overt and fantasy aggression as would be expected through displacement. However, for individuals whose mothers encouraged aggression and who therefore probably had strong aggressive habits, there was a positive relation between overt and fantasy aggression.

It is likely that individuals who show aggression on fantasy measures but in no other aspect of life are much less numerous than those who either consistently aggress or consistently fail to aggress. For this reason most studies should show a positive relation between fantasy and overt behavior over the group as a whole, although there may be individual exceptions. As will be seen below, this is generally the

pattern that is found.

In the pages to follow the literature on psychological tests will be reviewed, starting with structured tests and going on through the more unstructured or projective techniques. Then a representative sample of case studies on murderers will be presented.

Literature on Psychological Tests

1. Structured Tests

There is relatively little information in the literature on structured tests relevant to the hypothesis that extremely assaultive individuals are chronically overcontrolled while moderately assaultive Ss are habitually aggressive. Shipman and Marguette (1963) found a statistically significant although slight positive correlation between ratings of physical hostility and scores on the MMPI Manifest Hostility Scale. Megargee and Mendelsohn (1962) comparing the performances of extremely assaultive criminals, moderately assaultive criminal, non-violent criminals and normals on twelve MMPI scales of hostility and control (including the MHS) found no significant differences in the predicted direction. On the contrary, assaultive Ss did tend to be measured as having significantly greater control by several of the measures; however, there were no significant differences of this type between the Extreme and Moderately Assaultive groups. The criminal groups all had profiles similar to those reported in the literature for such groups and clearly differed from the normals. This indicated that these results were not due to dissimulation.

These authors did not find any significant differences between the various criminal groups on the clinical scales of the MMPI, nor did

Panton (1958) who compared the MMPI scores of 568 property offenders and 157 assaultive criminals.

2. Semi-structured and Apperceptive Projective Techniques, 1: The Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study.

A number of studies of aggression have been made using the Extra-punitiveness (E) score of the Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study. Albee and Goldman (1950), Walker (1951) and Holzberg and Posner (1951) found no significant relationships between the E score and various criteria of aggressive behavior in samples of hospital patients and student nurses. Towner (1950) and Holzberg and Hahn (1952) using mildly delinquent boys and anti-social aggressive psychopathic delinquents respectively found no significant differences between them and appropriate normal control groups.

Kaswan, Wasman and Freedman (1960) studied the relation between the E score and 22 other measures of aggression in a sample of 121 male State prisoners, including 40 aggressive offenders. Only a few relationships were found to be significant, and there was no apparent pattern among them.

Three studies, however, have consistently found E% to be lower among people who act out. Angelino (1950) using children classified as disciplinary cases by their teachers found they had a lower E score and higher Impunitiveness (M) score than did children classified as "non-problem cases," "well adjusted" or "behavior problems." Deming (1960) found that delinquents detained in Juvenile Hall for aggressive offenses had E scores significantly lower than the published norms for the test. While it may be that such cases are indeed intra-psychically less extra-

punitive despite their overt behavior (contrary to the present author's hypothesis regarding the Type One offender), it is equally likely that they consciously inhibit anti-social responses on the fairly transparent P-F study when tested in a custodial setting.

The findings for the writer's hypothesis are those of Weinberg (1953). He used three groups differing in aggressiveness. The first consisted of State prison inmates who can be considered Extremely Assaultive since they were convicted of Assault With a Deadly Weapon, Felonious Assault, or Assault With Intent to Kill. His second group consisted of non-assaultive inmates (forgers), and his third group of normals matched for occupation, age and education. Group I had a mean E score of 7.8, Group II a mean score of 8.6 and Group III a score of 10.4. The E scores of both criminal groups were significantly lower than the normals as might be expected if they tended to suppress anti-social responses. However, the Extremely Assaultive group was also significantly lower than the non-assaultive criminal group. This is the pattern that would be predicted on the basis of the writer's hypothesis. While it is also possible to explain this pattern on a post hoc basis as being due to greater dissimulation by the assaultive inmates, it is unlikely that such a pattern of faking would be predicted. While this finding certainly does not prove the notion that Extremely Assaultive offenders are overcontrolled, it is nevertheless quite consistent with it.

Semi-structured and Apperceptive projective tests, 2: thematic tests.

Since Murray first introduced the Thematic Apperception Test, a large literature has grown relating various need-pressure variables to

aggression. These may be organized into generations based on level of sophistication. The first generation of work consisted of theoretical analyses of the relation between fantasy and overt behavior with guides to interpretation, and forthright empirical studies aimed at validating the test. These studies generally failed.

The second generation of studies attempted to determine empirically what variables actually affect thematic productions.

The third generation of studies applied the TAT to special groups such as criminals in an effort to learn more about the test but incidentally providing useful data on these Sp.

It was originally felt by Murray (1943, p. 16) and others that the TAT was related to a level of the personality which the individual would not or could not express in overt behavior. Symonds (1949, p. 205) was one exponent of this view, "If a person works out his problems in overt behavior, he does not find it necessary to work them out in fantasy-- and if he works them out in fantasy, he is not apt to express them in reality." Tomkins (1952, p. 227) held a similar viewpoint and maintained that antisocial behavior in the TAT, representing repressed or suppressed needs, would be less prominent in the protocols of overtly antisocial people than in normals or neurotics or psychotics.

Nevertheless, researchers looked for direct correlations between TAT needs and overt behavior. The first group of workers, such as Korner (1959), Pittluck (1950), Jensen (1957) and Gluck (1955) found no significant relations between n agg and various types of overt behavior. Sanford, Adkins, Miller and Cobb (1943) found some low

order correlations which contrary to theory were in the positive direction. Walker (1951) found a significant correlation of +.44 between MAPS test hostility scores and therapists ratings of hostility.

The second generation studies were more refined, and more significant positive relations were found between n agg and overt behavior. Lindzey and Tejessey (1956) focused on the overt-covert issue directly by relating TAT signs of aggression to overt and covert criteria of aggression in a sample of intensively studied Harvard volunteers. They found significant correlations with the overtly observable and conscious material but not with the unconscious material as determined by clinical study. They ruefully concluded, "These findings suggest rather strongly that the scores we had derived painstakingly from the TAT protocols represent rather accurately the information we could have secured from the subjects themselves by simply asking them to appraise their own behavior," (1956, p⁵⁷³).

The work of Kagan (1956), Lesser (1957) and Weatherly (1962) demonstrated the importance of the ambiguity of the stimulus as a variable. When the card clearly suggests an aggressive scene, differences between aggressive and non-aggressive criterion groups are much more likely. When a person fails to give an aggressive response to a card which clearly calls for it, it is probably because an aggressive response has been suppressed due to the same inhibitions which also operate in overt behavior. If the card is so ambiguous that aggressive responses are not relevant, we get no such insight into the instigation-inhibition conflict.

Lesser (1957) and Weatherly (1962) also demonstrated the importance of maternal attitudes toward aggression in determining whether or

not a person expresses aggression on the TAT.

Bellak (1943) and Weatherly (1962) found that anger could increase fantasy aggression. This second group of studies therefore indicated the TAT is directly correlated with overt behavior when these other variables are considered.

Similar results were found when clinical studies of aggressive groups were conducted. Tomkins (1952, p. 277) had predicted that anti-social themes would not be prominent in the records of antisocial people. While unfortunately no control group was used, Young (1956) reported n agg was a frequent theme in the records of institutionalized delinquents.

Purcell (1956) reported on three groups of Army trainees referred for psychiatric study which differed on the amount of antisocial aggressive behavior shown in the past. The most aggressive group was probably Moderately Assaultive in this writer's terminology.¹ As such it would be expected to have the greatest amount of fantasy aggression since it should consist of Type One or undercontrolled Ss. This expectation was upheld.

Mussen and Naylor (1954) in a study of mild juvenile delinquents found a significant direct relation between aggressive fantasy on the TAT and Juvenile Hall counselor's ratings of aggressive behavior.

These last two studies also demonstrated the importance of assessing inhibition against aggressive expression by means of fantasy punishment themes. Pittluck (1950) had found that balancing n agg and defenses

¹See Chapter III for an operational definition of this term. In rough terms, an extreme assaultive response is one where death or serious injury is likely and which is relatively unprovoked. A moderately assaultive response is one which is more justified in terms of the milieu and which is less apt to permanently maim the victim.

against aggressive behavior as expressed in the TAT stories improved the prediction of overt behavior. Mussen and Naylor (1954) also found a tendency for punishment themes to be inversely related to acting out and Furcell (1956) found a significant inverse relation between themes of internal and external punishment and behavioral aggression.

One study utilized seriously assaultive offenders. This was conducted by Stone (1953) using three groups of military prisoners. In Stone's study the most aggressive group consisted, in part, of murderers. However, it also included men who had committed assaults and who may have been only Moderately Assaultive. More significantly, Stone screened out of this group anyone who had not had at least two prior aggressive offenses. Thus, it is likely that this group consisted primarily, if not exclusively, of Habitually Aggressive offenders. The medium aggressive group consisted of men who had gone AWOL or deserted at least three times, and the least aggressive group of men who had gone AWOL or deserted while in combat.

On the TAT the assaultive group had significantly more fantasy aggression than either of the other two.

The studies reviewed, using groups ranging from normals up through Moderately Assaultive criminal groups, have indicated that aggressive behavior is associated with higher aggressive needs and lowered inhibitions in the aggressive Ss as measured by the TAT. This is consistent with the present thesis. The crucial study would use a random sample (unlike Stone's) of Extremely Assaultive Ss to determine if they are measured as having less n agg and more p punishment than appropriate

control groups. Until the present study this had not been done.

Unstructured projective tests: The Rorschach

The Rorschach literature is similar to that on the TAT. In both cases the theoretical literature stressing fantasy substitution predicts that overtly aggressive people will engage in less fantasy aggression than others. However, in both cases the bulk of the empirical literature indicates a direct rather than an inverse relation.

In aggression research, the Rorschach is generally scored for hostility of content. Scales are constructed based on the presumed symbolism of various responses. For the most part responses in which there are fights, death, wounds, blood or mutilation are scored as hostile in the various scales which have been proposed (Elizur, 1949; Finney, 1954; Hafner and Kaplan, 1960; Holtzman et al, 1961; Murstein, 1956; Rader, 1957; Walker, 1951). However, theorists such as Lindner (1947) and Phillips and Smith (1953) hold that some responses of this type, such as blood, are a contraindication of acting out in overt behavior.

The data, however, have not supported the latter prediction. Studies of subjects who are not clinically aggressive (Elizur, 1949; Pattie, 1954; Murstein, 1956; Walker, 1951) and of assaultive hospital patients (Finney, 1954; Sommer and Sommer, 1958; Stormont and Finney, 1953; Towbin, 1959) have generally shown significant positive relationships between the content scales used and the various criteria of aggressive behavior. In the case of Murstein's (1956) study, hostile Ss scored higher, only when they had insight into their

hostility. If they were unaware of their hostility, they did not project it. It would thus seem that the content scales reflect ego accessible material.

The Rorschach can also be scored for the determinants of the perceptual response. Aggressiveness should also be reflected in these determinant scores, especially in the color scores which presumably represent interpersonal interactions and impulsivity and in the quality of form which relates to the degree of control (Klopfer et al, 1954). Studies by Finney (1945) and Stormont and Finney (1953) showed assaultiveness to be related to Sum C and CF responses in the former and to FC- and CF- responses in the latter study. Sommer and Sommer (1958) focused on aggressive and non-aggressive color determined responses and found a significant relationship to physical explosiveness but not to verbal aggression.

Thus, the Rorschach color scores are also directly related to overt aggressive behavior in these samples of moderately or mildly aggressive people. The scores represent subtle indices of aggression and are less apt to be affected by dissimulation or role playing.²

Only four studies deal with criminal Ss. Rader (1957) found that in a mixed group of state prisoners, his content scale was reliably correlated with aggressive remarks in a group therapy

²This is born out by a study conducted by Pattie (1954) who gave 14 undergraduates the Rorschach, told them under hypnosis they would wake up feeling hostile and angry, and then retested them in this condition. While this yielded a two-fold increase in hostile content for eight of the Ss, there was no change in the color scores. Seven of the Ss when asked before the study how a hostile person would react on the Rorschach, predicted their own response mode. Assuming that this represents role playing behavior, it shows how the content scores may be changed in the absence of changes in the determinants.

setting, while Gorlow, Zimet and Fine (1952) found that juvenile delinquents scored higher on Elizur's hostility scale than did a sample of non-delinquent adolescent students.

In Stone's study, which was outlined above, it was found that his most aggressive group, which probably consisted of Habitually Aggressive Ss, scored lower on the hostility scale of the Rorschach than did the medium aggressive group. It will be recalled that this same group scored highest on the measure of TAT aggression. Stone had hypothesized that the acting out of aggressive impulses should result in reduction of tensions pertaining to aggressive impulses and hence to a lowered aggressive content score on the Rorschach. The data cannot be explained on this basis, however, because the least aggressive group scored still lower and this difference, too, was significant. Stone was inclined to deal with this unexpected finding by discarding the least aggressive group as being off the aggressive continuum and hence not germane to the study. However, the present author doubts that anyone can be off the aggressive continuum in our culture. While various post hoc hypotheses can be spun to account for this pattern, the finding remains essentially an unpredictable one.

The majority of studies are consistent with the present hypothesis that mild and moderate aggressive behavior is associated with relatively high aggressive needs and lowered controls which extend throughout the individual's behavior, including behavior on projective tests. In addition, there is one study which is relevant to the notion that extreme aggressive behavior is associated with increased controls against the expression of aggression. This study by Megargee and Mendelsohn (1963)

compared three groups of criminals who were candidates for probation on an index based on Murstein's (1956) Rorschach Hostility Scale. The Extremely Assaultive group consisted of 21 men convicted of Murder, Assault with a Deadly Weapon, Mayhem or Manslaughter. The Moderately Assaultive group consisted of 21 men convicted of Battery. The Non-violent group consisted of 27 men convicted of non-aggressive crimes. It was predicted that the Moderately Assaultive group would score highest on the Rorschach Hostility Index, the Non-violent group next and that the Extremely Assaultive group would score.

The data in Table One indicate that this prediction was upheld. The difference between the Extremely Assaultive Group and the Moderately Assaultive group, when tested with the Mann-Whitney U test, yielded an exact probability of .0571.

The literature on psychological tests thus supports the notion that for most people, including moderately assaultive offenders, overt aggressive behavior is associated with increased aggressive needs and diminished controls. Data on extremely assaultive offenders is quite scarce, but the few studies which do exist are generally consistent with the "worm turns" hypothesis.

A far more fruitful, although less rigorous, source of data about extremely assaultive people are the studies of murderers scattered through the criminological, sociological and psychological literature.

Studies of Murderers

Criminal behavior per se is generally regarded as being aggressive. (Dollard et al, 1939, p. 111). It is implicit in the Penal Code and most would agree that homicide is the most aggressive form of criminal

behavior. It would be logical to expect, therefore, that murderers are among the most aggressive prisoners in our institutions. However, the opposite is the case, and this finding lends support to the notion that these people are, in fact, overcontrolled.

Murderers as a group have been found to have fewer prior arrests and lower rates of recidivism than other criminal groups, (Berkowitz, 1962, p. 318). Berg and Fox (1942) in a study of 200 murderers found only 31 had prior records of assault. Even Wolfgang (1957) who noted a greater incidence of prior offenses than is generally reported, found only 264 of his 621 murderers had prior records of offenses against people, indicating that the majority of the murderers were not habitually assaultive.

Other studies have focused on the personality of the extremely assaultive offender. Stearns (1957) reported on four homicides by adolescents. In each case the murder was an impulsive act with obscure motivation by boys with excellent reputations. Wickham (1956) reported on all 15 teenage murders known to the Alameda County Probation Department Guidance Clinic since its foundation. All but four were from average or superior homes and their school adjustment was universally good, although it fell off shortly before the offense. In general, these murderers presented a surface impression of being a "model student" or a "perfect lady," and he found that most suffered from a lack of socially acceptable emotional outlets, thereby building up tensions and pressures which resulted in a crime of violence.

Schultz (1960) studied four probationers who had assaulted their wives with intent to kill. He found in general, "...a submissive, passive

individual, who avoided conflict at all costs." He noted a pattern of extreme dependency with rigid control over aggressive impulses as long as the dependency was gratified. When the wife permanently withdrew this gratification by leaving or taking alover, the control system broke and the murderous assault took place.

Lamberti, Blackman and Weiss (1958) and Weiss, Lamberti and Blackman (1960) studied a group of 13 people who without any record of anti-social behavior, suddenly committed a homicide. Their findings were in striking agreement with those of Schultz (1960). They found that the mothers of these murderers had emphasized conformity to the rules of the social system. To gain affection they had to deny or repress their reactive hostility and conform. Both clinically and on tests they appeared introverted, insecure, helpless and unable to assert themselves. They concluded, "...their difficulties came about because of their needs to conform and because of their inability to act out hostility in ways which they would feel might still be socially acceptable" (Weiss, Lamberti and Blackman, 1960, p. 675).

Kahn (1959) compared murderers and burglars who had been referred for psychiatric evaluations after pleading not guilty by reason of insanity. Data included social history material, Wechsler-Bellevue and Rorschach tests. He found, "Variables reflecting previous history and behavior suggest that the M (Murderer) group has been significantly more stable and conforming than the Bs (Burglar)... In general the kinds of factors that distinguish the groups are consistent with the hypothesis that Ms are more likely than Bs to have personalities which could permit characteristic impulsive breakthrough

of sadistic hostility which usually is ordinarily rigidly controlled, and also for Ms to have less personality resources for expression of their feelings."

The studies reported here represent all those found by the author during a fairly complete, although not exhaustive, survey of the recent psychological literature. As such they are probably a representative sample. The degree of agreement among them is remarkably high and tends to support the hypothesis that extremely assaultive people are generally chronically rigidly overcontrolled and unable to express aggression in small doses.

A certain amount of bias has no doubt crept into these studies. The writer has pointed out that there is nothing to keep the habitually aggressive person from committing homicide should the occasion call for it. Luckily, the situation rarely calls for it, in part due to his ability to intimidate others and in part because of his readiness to dissipate instigation to aggression. Such people do not make interesting case studies and probably do not find their way into the literature as often as the Worm Turns type. Lamberti et al (1958), for instance, restricted their study to those murderers who had no prior anti-social history. On the other hand, Wickham (1956) studied a total population of all teenage murderers over a number of years and arrived at almost identical conclusions. So while murderers are not exclusively Type Two people, nevertheless the Worm Turns dynamic seems to play a role in the etiology of many extreme assaults.

Summary

The literature thus consistently supports the prediction stated at the outset of this chapter. The studies of the test performance of

normal, mildly aggressive and moderately assaultive Ss show fantasy aggression is directly related to a number of criteria of overt aggressive behavior, despite theories to the contrary. Writers who have reviewed this literature have naturally extrapolated and assumed that this holds true for the full range of aggressive behavior. (Buss for instance, has stated, "The clinical studies yielded one clear-cut positive finding: TAT aggression is directly related to assaultiveness," 1961, p. 153.)

The present author, however, has hypothesized a discontinuity that the extremely assaultive individual is paradoxically overcontrolled. Only three studies in the test literature bear directly on this point by comparing the test performances of extremely assaultive Ss with other groups. The first (Megargee and Mendelsohn, 1962) using the MMPI found no significant differences, as is often the case with MMPI studies. The second (Weinberg, 1953) revealed that extremely assaultive criminals are significantly lower on the Rosenzweig extra-punitiveness scale than forgers or normals. The third (Megargee and Mendelsohn, 1963) showed moderately assaultive criminals to be highest, nonviolent criminals intermediate and extremely assaultive criminals lowest on Murstein's (1956) Rorschach Hostility Scale. The difference between the moderately and extremely assaultive groups was statistically significant with $p = .0571$.

The most cogent evidence bearing on the "worm turns" theory of extreme assault comes from the literature of criminology and from case studies of convicted murderers. This literature is remarkably consistent in describing murderers as being rigidly overcontrolled with inadequate outlets for the mild or moderate expression of hostile impulses.

As yet no study has taken people at various points along the

continuum of overt aggressive behavior and systematically examined them with quantitative rigor in a variety of situations, with the purpose of testing the type of hypothesis put forth by the writer.

Chapter 3

In the first chapter it was proposed that assaultive people fall into at least two types: 1) the Habitually Assaultive type to whom aggression is ego-syntonic due to failure to develop the restraints expected by our society and 2) the "Worm Turns" type to whom aggression is so ego alien that he is unable to discharge hostility in small doses so that it summates in some fashion over time. It was further hypothesized that while the Habitually Aggressive person, like Sam Williams, may occasionally respond with extreme violence to an extreme situation, most of his behavior would be considered only moderately aggressive. On the other hand, the Worm Turns type such as Billy Jones, if he ever does aggress, will likely do so in an extremely violent fashion, since by the time sufficient instigation to aggression or anger has accumulated, only a very violent response is dynamically appropriate or prepotent. A man like Billy Jones is further pushed in the direction of making an extreme response by the fact that he has learned no alternate methods such as displacement or response generalization by which he may express his aggression.

In this chapter, the "Worm Turns" hypothesis will be subjected to an empirical investigation. Ideally, a study of this hypothesis would use a controlled situation in which chronically overcontrolled people were subjected to increasing frustration until they finally aggressed, and the violence of the result measured. However, such an approach is patently impossible. Not only would it be inhumane and unethical, but if the hypothesis is correct it would be downright dangerous.

Thus practical consideration forces us to rely on the observational

method. If the hypothesis is correct, we would expect extremely assaultive people to be measured as having more control and less expression of aggression than groups which are mildly aggressive or moderately assaultive, or than appropriate non-aggressive control groups. Ideally, a wide band of behavior ranging from school and community adjustment through direct observations to projective tests should be used to measure aggression on a variety of situations.

Selection of Subjects: All boys detained for serious assaultive crimes in the Alameda County, California, Juvenile Hall during the period from July 1, 1962 to May 1, 1963 were examined.¹ After all the data for this study were collected and each crime had been carefully investigated by the Probation Department, the reports to the Juvenile Court were examined. The crimes were rated on a ten point scale of aggression devised by the investigator who took into account not only the behavior shown, but also such variables as the degree of provocation, the subcultural setting, the immediate stimulus situation, the relative size and armaments of victim and defendant, and the extent of injuries. (See Appendix 1). In each case it was necessary to read the account of the offenses by both the victim and the defendant (in cases where the victim has survived) and come to some judgment as to what had actually occurred. Ratings were made by the investigator who had had three years experience working with delinquents and another psychologist with eight years such experience. Ratings were made independently, a conference held in which discrepancies were discussed,

¹ By a serious assaultive crime is meant one in which the victim was or was likely to be injured, in which there was inadequate provocation and in which the offense appeared to be something more serious than the usual schoolyard scuffle or resistance to arrest.

and then made again independently. Despite the value judgment necessary, adequate reliability was achieved with a correlation of $+ .94$ obtained between the two sets of post-discussion ratings. The ratings were then pooled to give the final value for each subject. Those subjects who had scored in the range from 6.0 to 10.0 were classified as "Extremely Assaultive" (EA). There were 9 subjects in this group. Those who had scored below 6.0 were classified as "Moderately Assaultive" (MA). They numbered 21. The EA group included 2 cases of homicide, an attempted murder, 5 assaults with a deadly weapon, and one particularly brutal beating. The MA group consisted primarily of battery cases, gang fights, and strongarm robberies.

The only restriction on the assaultive sample was that no boys be included who were so deficient in intelligence that they appeared incapable of following through with the examination procedures. Thus if a boy was known to have an IQ below 70, he was excluded. In practice, none of the assaultive subjects had to be dropped because of mental retardation, but several subjects who would otherwise have qualified for the control groups were excluded.

In addition to the Extremely Assaultive and Moderately Assaultive groups, two other groups of subjects were selected for study. It was felt desirable to include a group whose detention was based primarily on a history of unmanageability by their parents. At the time of the study none of the 20 boys included in the sample had a record of assaultive crimes.

It was also felt desirable to have a non-violent, delinquent criminal control group. A group of non-violent delinquents was chosen rather than a group of normals in order to control for delinquency while varying the factor of aggressiveness, as well as to ensure a similar motivational set to the test performances. This group consisted of 26 delinquents with no history

of assault who were detained in Juvenile Hall for property offenses.

While the racial balance, incidence of first offenders and unit placement within the Hall were left free to vary in the assaultive subjects, the other two groups were matched with the total assaultive group on these variables. This resulted in a lower proportion of whites in the EA sub-group but the difference did not approach significance.

Table 2, page , shows the N's, ages, IQ's, incidence of recidivists and racial composition of the four groups.

Insert Table 2 about here

Procedures

Each subject was observed during the first ten days of detention by the staff of the Unit to which he was assigned. The staff was unaware of the hypotheses being tested. At the end of the third day each counselor filled out a Behavior Check List and a set of Behavior Rating Scales. The former instrument lists 13 types of verbal and physical aggressive behavior and the counselor checked each that he had observed (See Appendix 2). The latter has the following five-point scales: 1) Uncooperative-Cooperative, 2) Amiable-Quarrelsome, 3) Aggressive-Submissive, 4) Docile-Rebellious, and 5) Antagonistic-Friendly (See Appendix 3). In order to ensure maximum comparability with the Mussen and Naylor (1954) study² the Behavior Check List and Rating Scales, as well as the directions to the raters, are exact duplicates of those used by them.

²The writer is grateful to Dr. H. Kelley Naylor for providing these forms as well as detailed instructions for scoring the TAT according to his system.

At the end of the tenth day of detention, a second set of these forms as well as the Gough Adjective Check List,³ was filled out by each of the counselors.

During this period of detention, each boy was seen by a psychologist other than the writer from the Probation Department Guidance Clinic for an interview and a battery of tests. The psychologists were not told the nature of the hypotheses being investigated. It was recognized that such data were subject to influence by the desire of the boys to make a favorable impression. However, since so much work in the field of the psychology of aggression has used standard psychological tests as measuring devices, it was felt that it was mandatory to include such devices.

The interview was a condensation of that used by Bandura and Walters (1959) in their study of adolescent aggression. The questions used focused on the boy's aggressive behavior toward teachers, parents and peers (See Appendix 4). Included in the test battery was a brief IQ measure consisting of the Information and Picture Completion subtests of the WISC or WAIS, the Rosenzweig PF study, the California Psychological Inventory (CPI), the TAT and the Holtzman Inkblot test. After testing was completed, the tests materials were turned over to a stenographer who removed any identifying information and assigned each case a number from a table of random numbers. She then made verbatim transcripts of the interview, the TAT and the Holtzman, all of which had been recorded on Stenorette dictating equipment.

³The writer is grateful to Dr. Harrison G. Gough for granting limited permission to duplicate his Adjective Check List for use in this study.

After the transcripts were completed, the test material and interview, identified only by its code number, was turned over to the writer for scoring. The IQ measure, the PF, the CPI, and the Holtzman were scored by standard procedures. In the case of the interview, ratings were made on the scales devised by Bandura and Walters (1959) (See Appendix 5). For the IAT, the scoring system used by Mussen and Naylor (1954) was adopted (See Appendix 6).

An effort was also made to see all the parents for structured interviews condensed from those used by Bandura and Walters (1959). However, personnel problems, as well as lack of cooperation on the part of some parents, as well as technical difficulties with the recording equipment so limited the number of usable interviews that the procedure was dropped from the data analysis.

A final source of data was the probation officer's report to the Court which contained a Social History, a description of the offense and the individual's past record.

To summarize, the hypothesis that Extremely Assaultive subjects tend to be chronically overcontrolled in comparison with Moderately Assaultive delinquents in particular, and other delinquents in general was tested. The independent variable was group membership. The dependent variables, which will be described in detail in Ch. 4, were as follows:

A. Community Data

1. Prior record
2. Number of co-participants
3. School attendance record
4. School conduct data

B. Behavior in Detention

1. Behavior Check List

- a. Total Verbal aggression
- b. Total Physical aggression

2. Rating Scales

- a. Uncooperative-cooperative
- b. Amiable-Quarrelsome
- c. Aggressive-Submissive
- d. Docile-Rebellious
- e. Antagonistic Friendly
- f. Combined Rating

3. Gough Adjective Check List

- a. Number of "overcontrolled" adjectives
- b. Number of "aggressive" adjectives
- c. Number of overcontrolled-number of aggressive adjectives

C. Adolescent Interview

- 1. Boy's report of verbal aggression toward peers
- 2. Boy's report of physical aggression toward peers
- 3. Boy's report of verbal aggression toward authorities
- 4. Boy's report of physical aggression toward authorities

D. Psychological Tests**1. CPI**

- a. Responsibility scale
- b. Socialization scale
- c. Self-control scale
- d. Achievement by conformity scale
- e. Achievement by independence scale

2. Rosenzweig Picture Frustration Study
 - a. Extrapunitiveness score
3. Thematic Apperception Test
 - a. Need Aggression
 - b. Press punishment
 - c. Punishment: Aggression Ratio
4. Holtzman Inkblot Technique
 - a. Hostility
 - b. Anatomy
 - c. Color
 - d. Number of C-3 responses
 - e. Movement
 - f. Movement - color

Chapter 4

Hypotheses and Results

A number of specific hypotheses concerning segments of the data were formulated. All were related to the general hypothesis that the Extremely Assaultive Group (EA) would be lower in aggression and higher in control than the other groups in general and the Moderately Assaultive Group (MA) in particular. In the case of measures of verbal aggressiveness, it was hypothesized that Group EA would be lower than the Incurable group (I).

With the large number of hypotheses to be evaluated, the traditional procedure of listing all the hypotheses then presenting all the data, would result in unnecessary confusion and tedium for the reader. Therefore, each hypothesis will be presented and the results evaluated immediately before proceeding to the next one.

Non-parametric statistics were used throughout. In the case of classificatory data, the Chi Square Test was used and the .05 level was chosen as the level of acceptance. For the other data, the Mann-Whitney U Test was employed, and exact probabilities will be reported. Parametric statistics such as the Analysis of Variance were discarded since the nature of the data led to large error terms which made it difficult to interpret the findings.

Since directional predictions were made, all significance tests are one-tail.

1. Community Data:

The Probation Officer's reports contained details about the offenses

as well as information about community adjustment. Four predictions were made about these data:

Hypothesis 1: Since the aggression of the EA subjects is held to be because of a rare breakthrough of suppressed impulses, it was predicted that the EA group would have more boys who were being detained in Juvenile Hall for the first time than would the MA group. (Since Group I and the Property Offender Group (PO) were matched to the assaultive subjects on this variable, they could not be employed in this analysis.)

The data are presented in Table 3. They show that while only two of the EA group had previous detentions, over 70% of the MA group were recidivists.

Insert Table 3 about here

The corrected Chi Square of 4.37, with 1 degree of freedom, is significant at the .01 level.

Hypothesis 2: For the EA group, aggression was assumed to be ego alien rather than ego syntonetic. It was therefore expected that the aggressive act was more apt to be committed alone than as part of a group. Accordingly, it was hypothesized that the EA group would have a greater proportion of offenders in which the defendant and victim were alone at the time of the offense than MA. In Table 4 the data are presented.

Insert Table 4 about here

The data show that while two thirds of the extremely assaultive offenders were alone with their victim, less than 20% of the MA subjects were. Chi

Square (corrected for continuity) was 4.43 which with 1 df had a one-tail probability of less than .01. This finding is interpreted as indicating that physical aggression is more socially acceptable for MA subjects.

Hypothesis 3: It was predicted that EA subjects would have a better school attendance record than those of other groups. Forty-five of the 76 Court reports included information concerning school attendance records. Attendance was broken down into three categories, "Outstanding" with reports of "excellent" or "very good"; "Satisfactory" with reports of "good" or "satisfactory"; and "Unsatisfactory" with reports of "fair" or "poor". A number of subjects were not attending school due to suspension or expulsion. They were not included in this analysis unless the nature of the attendance prior to the suspension was noted.

In Table 5, the attendance records of the EA subjects are compared with those of the rest of the sample.

Insert Table 5 about here

Due to small cell frequencies no statistical test was possible. But the data clearly indicate the EA group to be markedly superior in their attendance records. It is particularly noteworthy that the two boys in the sample who killed their parents, and whom we would expect to be most controlled, were the only two in the entire sample who had outstanding attendance records.

Hypothesis 4: It was also hypothesized that EA subjects would have better school conduct records than the other subjects. As in the case of attendance, the school reports could be classified as "Outstanding", "Satisfactory", and "Unsatisfactory." The data, which are presented in Table 6,

show that for the 6 EA boys on whom school conduct reports are available, one was Outstanding, two Satisfactory and three Unsatisfactory. Of the two killers, one was rated "excellent"; the other had no record of ever requiring discipline in school, and was a trusted worker in the attendance office.

Insert Table 6 about here

On the other hand, EA did have 3 boys in the Unsatisfactory category. One of these was a boy who assaulted a teacher with a mummified deer hoof. While the percentage of EAs in the Unsatisfactory category is markedly less (50% as opposed to almost 70%) than for the MA group, it is not so clear cut as in the case of attendance. One is reminded of Wickham's (1956) finding that in teenage murderers a decline in school adjustment was noted for some months prior to the offense.

Of the four predictions made about the relationship between EA subjects and the other groups on the basis of community data, all were in the predicted direction. The two that could be statistically tested were highly significant.

Observations in Detention:

This section will deal with the reports of the Unit Counselors on the Behavior Check List, the Rating Scales and the Adjective Check List.

1. The Behavior Check List

The Behavior Check List originated by Mussen and Naylor (1954), listed 13 categories of aggressive behavior (see Appendix 2). As noted above, one of these was filled out by each counselor in the Unit at the end of

the third and tenth days of detention. Taking into account days off and vacation time, the counselor population was rather fluid, resulting in anywhere from seven to 14 reports on each subject. Accordingly, the number of reports listing a category of behavior for a subject was divided by the total number of reports submitted, yielding percentage scores. Thus, if a boy had nine reports submitted on him, and three listed "Physical Attack", his score was 33.3.

Seven of these categories (Bragging, Teasing, Saucy-Impertinent, Insulting-Name Calling, Ridiculing-Mocking, Verbal Castigation, and Malicious Gossip) seemed to reflect verbal aggression and so the percentage scores for these categories were added to give a score for Total Verbal Aggression. In like manner, the scores for five categories (Physical Attack, Threatening, Bullying, Destructive, and Temper Tantrum) seemed to reflect physical aggressiveness and these were combined into a score for Total Physical Aggression. The thirteenth category, Running Away, did not appear to fit in either of these categories, and indeed to be fairly non-aggressive in nature. Therefore it was not included in the analysis.

Hypotheses 5 and 6: It was hypothesized that EA subjects would be lower than the combined contrast group on Total Verbal Aggression (Hypothesis 5). It was further hypothesized that EA subjects in particular would be lower than the Incurable Group (I) who it had been predicted would be high in verbal aggressiveness. The data are presented in Table 7. As expected, Group I scored highest on this variable and Group EA scored lowest.

When Hypothesis 5 was evaluated by means of the Mann-Whitney U Test,

it was found that the probability of this difference occurring by chance was equal to .058.¹ In the analysis of Hypothesis 6, the EA group was contrasted with Group I and the difference found to be significant with a p .05.

Insert Table 7 about here

Hypotheses 7 and 8: It was predicted that EA subjects would be the lowest on Total Physical Aggression on the Behavior Check List (Hypothesis 7) and, moreover that in particular Group EA would be lower than Group MA (Hypothesis 8). The data in Table 7 show that Group EA is indeed lowest, and as would be expected in this variable, Group MA is highest. The probability of such a difference between Group EA and the rest of the sample occurring by chance was .374. The probability of the difference between Group EA and Group MA occurring by chance was .254. Thus the differences, while in the expected direction, did not attain statistical significance.

It should be remembered that these ratings were made in a custodial setting. Not only was swift punishment administered for any physical aggression, but also the boy knew that his behavior in detention would undoubtedly influence the Court disposition. Despite these controls, the pattern was as predicted although the magnitude of these differences was small.

¹In this analysis, as in most of those to be reported, the EA subjects were contrasted with the other three groups combined. This was done because, for these hypotheses, the writer is always predicting that Group EA will be higher or lower than the other groups; other differences obtained between the means of the other groups are consequently not relevant to the primary concern of the dissertation. The reader will also have noted that the total

The actual behavior observed in the unit thus supports the notion that the EA group is lower than other delinquent groups in both verbal and physical aggressiveness, although the difference is significant only in the verbal area.

2. The Rating Scales

The second measure of Unit Behavior was the 5 point rating scale devised by Mussen and Naylor (1954) which each Counselor checked at the end of the third and tenth days. The expectation was that the EA group would be measured as being relatively passive and eager to please as compared with the other groups.

Hypotheses 9 and 10: On the scale of "Uncooperative-Cooperative" it was hypothesized that Group EA would be higher (more cooperative) than the combined contrast groups (Hypothesis 9). It was further hypothesized Group EA would be lower than Group MA in particular (Hypothesis 10). (See Table 8). The results show that Group EA was observed to be more cooperative than the other groups, while Group MA was the least cooperative. Hypothesis 9 had a probability of .050 while the difference between the EA and MA groups was highly significant with a p of .01.

Hypotheses 11 and 12: It was hypothesized that Group EA would be least quarrelsome on the Scale "Amiable-Quarrelsome" and that Group EA could be lower than Group MA in particular. The results in Table 8 show that those in Group EA were indeed judged to be the least quarrelsome.

number of subjects in this analysis is 75. Inevitably, with this many variables and sources of data, there was some missing information for practically every variable. In this case, one boy was released by the Court after his testing and interview were completed but before observational data could be collected.

When Group EA was contrasted with the rest of the sample the probability was equal to .073.

Hypotheses 13 and 14: Similarly, it was predicted that Group EA would be most submissive on the Scale "Aggressive-Submissive" and that Group EA would be higher than Group MA in particular. The former prediction was borne out, but the associated probability was only .119. The difference between Group EA and Group MA had a probability of .073. (See Table 8).

Insert Table 8 about here

Hypotheses 15 and 16: It was hypothesized that the subjects in Group EA would also be deemed to be least rebellious on the Scale "Docile-", "Rebellious", and that they would be significantly lower than those in the MA Group. As can be seen in Table 8, this was the case. Group EA was lowest with $p = .064$. The difference between the EA and MA Groups only approached significance with a p of .133. The mean scores on this scale, as on some of the others, shows a close similarity between Groups PO, I, and MA with the score for Group EA being clearly different.

Hypotheses 17 and 18: On the last of the individual rating scales, it was predicted that EA would be most friendly on the Scale "Antagonistic-Friendly". This was borne out but the p was .179. It was also predicted that Group EA would be significantly higher than Group MA on this scale, and this prediction was confirmed with a p of .02.

Hypotheses 19 and 20: Scales 2 and 4 were then transformed so that high scores reflected the positive trait, and the scores for each subject on all 5 scales were summed. On these combined scores it was

predicted the EA subjects would have the highest mean score and that it would be significantly greater than that for the MA subjects. As can be seen in Table 8, Group EA did have the highest value and the difference between Group EA and the other groups had a p of .061. The difference between Groups EA and MA was significant with a p of .045.

The Rating Scales thus show that the counselors in the Unit consistently judged the Extremely Assaultive subjects as being less assertive and less aggressive than those in the other groups. While the other groups were seen to be fairly homogeneous, the Incurable and Moderately Assaultive boys were generally the most recalcitrant.

The differences between the EA group and the other groups reached a fair level of statistical significance with four of the six reported p 's being in the range from .05 to .073. The differences between the EA and MA groups were, as would be expected, more marked with 2 p values of .02 or less, and three more in the range from .045 to .073. None of the observed differences had a probability of more than .179.

It is important to recall that the Counselors had no idea what the expected findings were, being told merely that it was a study on aggressiveness. Knowing this and the offense with which each boy was charged, one would expect a "set" to rate the assaultive boys as more aggressive. If such a set did exist, the observed behavior of the EA boy clearly extinguished it.

3. The Gough Adjective Check List

On the tenth day of detention, each counselor checked all those items on the Gough Adjective Check List (ACL) which he felt were descriptive of the boy. Two lists of twenty adjectives each were drawn up by the

investigator. The first list contained twenty adjectives which he felt described the "Worm Turns" offender. A complete list of these adjectives is presented in Appendix 4. It consisted of such words as "meek", "self-controlled", "conscientious" and "withdrawn". This list was termed the "Overcontrolled List". The second list consisted of twenty adjectives apt to be descriptive of the Habitually Aggressive Type, with such terms as "aggressive", "hostile", "irritable" and "assertive". This was called the "Aggressive List". Each boy's ACL was scored for the number of Overcontrolled adjectives used by each counselor, and then the scores for each report were added and a mean counselor rating computed. The scores for a mean number of Aggressive adjectives were calculated in the same way.

Hypotheses 21 and 22: It was hypothesized that Group EA would have the highest mean number of Overcontrolled adjectives, and that Group EA's mean score on this variable would in particular exceed that of Group MA. The data appear in Table 9.

Insert Table 9 about here

As expected, the EA groups did have the highest number of Overcontrolled adjectives. The probability of this difference was $p = .065$. Since Group EA exceeded Group MA, as had been predicted, the significance of this finding was tested and was found to have a value $p = .076$.

Hypotheses 23 and 24: It was also hypothesized that the EA group would be lowest on the mean number of Aggressive adjectives checked and that Group EA would be lower than Group MA in particular. The data in Table 9 indicate that the EA group did have the lowest mean number of Aggressive adjectives. The difference between Group EA and the rest of the sample

had a $p = .047$. The difference between the EA and MA groups had an associated p of $.071$.

Hypotheses 25 and 26: Finally, it was predicted that if difference scores were computed by subtracting the number of Aggressive adjectives on each ACL from the number of Overcontrolled adjectives, the results would show Group EA to have the highest mean difference score and that it would be higher than that for Group MA in particular. This expectation was confirmed. When Group EA's score was compared with the rest of the sample, the difference was found to have a p of $.028$. The difference between the EA and MA groups had a $p = .055$.

Of all the measures used, the ACL lists of aggressive and overcontrolled adjectives comes closest to measuring the constellation of traits the writer has hypothesized for the two types of offenders. The results clearly indicate that when observers describe the Extremely Assaultive boys in this sample using the ACL, the boys are seen as timid, retiring, submissive and cooperative unlike the bossy, argumentative, quarrelsome members of the Moderately Assaultive Group. Moreover, the pattern of results shows these differences to be due to excessive control on the part of the EA group rather than to extraordinary aggressiveness by the MA subjects. The Incurable and Moderately Assaultive subjects both end up with almost identical difference scores; the non-aggressive property offenders had a higher difference score, as would be expected, but it still appeared to belong to the same general population as the other two groups. Group EA on the other hand, was clearly unique among these groups, with a difference score almost five times as great as the next nearest group.

This indicates that the MA subjects share the same behavior patterns, and presumably the same values as do the general run of delinquents. This is as we would expect if they belong to the Habitually Aggressive Type. The value system of the Extremely Assaultive boy, rather than being even more anti-social than the other delinquents, as would be expected on a naive basis, is instead such that he is unable to express the aggression shown by the others. This is especially noteworthy in view of the fact that these ratings were made in a detention setting with rigid external controls against the expression of aggression and in which conforming behavior was apt to be highly rewarded with increased privileges. If the delinquents had been observed in their natural setting, the differences might well have been even more marked.

Adolescent Interview Data

The Adolescent Interview data was scored on two of the scales used by Bandura and Walters (1959, Appendix D, p. 430). These were Scale 11, "Boy's report of physical aggression against peers" (fist-fights, hitting, pushing, etc.) and Scale 12, "Boy's report of verbal aggression toward peers" (calling names, blowing his top, teasing, etc.). Both of these were five-point scales.

Scale 2, "Boy's report of direct physical aggression toward teacher" (p. 427), and Scales 74 and 75 (pp. 443f), "Boy's report of direct physical aggression against mother" and "Boy's report of direct physical aggression against father" were also scored. The mean value for these three scales were computed and used to give a score of physical aggression against authorities.²

²A mean score was used instead of summing the scores into a possible fifteen point scale because in some cases the information necessary to answer one of the scales was missing due to the absence of one parent from the home. In such a case a mean was computed using the data from the remaining two scales.

In like fashion a score for verbal aggression against authorities was computed using Bandura and Walters' Scales 2 (p. 427), 72 and 73 (p. 443) which scaled the boy's reports of verbal aggression toward teachers, his mother, and his father respectively. (These scales are presented in Appendix 5).

Inspection of these scales shows that the scale value is primarily a function of the number of aggressive incidents reported by the boy. In the Bandura and Walters (1959) study, only intact volunteer families were used. Both the parents and the boys were assured of the confidential nature of the material and that it was being used for research purposes exclusively and would not influence their status on probation. Many of the boys were not institutionalized at the time of testing.

In the present study the situation was quite different. The boys had no choice as to whether or not they participated. Moreover, the interview situation was handled in the same manner as any other referral to the psychologist. Not only were the boys unaware that they were research subjects, but also they were told that the results of the interview and testing would be available to their probation officer and the Court. This was necessary since the only way it was possible to secure the cooperation of the Probation Department in making psychologists' time available, for the study was to allow the Department to use the resulting information to aid in the Court disposition. This procedure had intrinsic merit, however, since one of the goals of collecting these data was to aid clinical psychologists in a probation setting to deal with their clients and improve their ability to make inferences concerning aggressive behavior. Since the test performance of boys who were assured that the results were only for research would undoubtedly

differ from that of boys in a "real life" situation, the generalizeability of the results would have been seriously limited had any other procedure been adopted. Inferences concerning the test responses of these delinquents would have been of little help to the practicing Court Psychologist if they were obtained in an artificial research milieu. Thus we have purchased representative design at the expense of probable guardedness and possible deception in the subjects. This factor should be taken into consideration in evaluating any of the test results, but especially those in the Adolescent Interview in which the subjects were asked rather baldly how much they engaged in anti-social aggression. (One other factor that should be pointed out is that if the subjects are truthful, both assaultive groups might receive somewhat higher scores than the non-assaultive groups merely by telling of the offense for which they were being detained.)

Despite some trepidation about the validity of the Adolescent Interviews because of these factors, the same general hypotheses were made about these measures.

Hypotheses 27 and 28: It was predicted that Group EA would be lowest on reported verbal aggression against peers and that Group EA would also be significantly lower than Group I on this measure. The data for the Adolescent Interview, presented in Table 10 show that the first prediction was wrong. The PO group and not Group EA was lowest on this measure. Hypothesis 27 was thus not confirmed. Hypothesis 28 was that Group EA would be less than Group I and this was indeed the case. The difference however, did not approach significance with $a_p = .378$. Thus there is no difference in the amount of verbal aggression against peers

that the boys report.

Hypotheses 29 and 30: It was hypothesized that the EA group would be lowest on reported physical aggression against peers, and that Group EA would be lower than Group MA on this measure. Once again the PO group being lowest, Hypothesis 29 was disproven. Group EA was lower than the MA group, but the probability level was .319.

Insert Table 10 about here

Hypotheses 31 and 32: It was hypothesized that the EA group would be lowest on reported verbal aggression against authorities and also that Group EA would be lower than Group I on this measure. Both hypotheses were in error since Group EA was the highest on this variable. The significance of this reversal was tested and found to have a p of .580.

Hypotheses 33 and 34: It was predicted that Group EA would be lowest on reported physical aggression against authorities, and also that it would be significantly lower than Group MA on this measure. The EA group was the lowest on this measure and the difference between Group EA and the rest of the sample had a p of .065. The difference between the EA and MA groups had an associated probability of .082.

The data thus show that only those hypotheses relating to reported physical aggression against authority figures received any support. Inspection of the data shows that it was very rare for any of the boys to report physical aggression against teachers or parents, so essentially the comparison was reduced to the relative incidence of those reporting any such aggression. Only one EA subject reported any such aggression whereas several subjects in each of the other groups did so. (The reader who recalls the fact that two parricides are included in the EA group might

wonder at this. However, the question was worded as to whether or not the boy had ever hit his parents, not whether he had ever shot them. The two who had killed a parent had not, as would be expected from the "Worm Turns" hypothesis, ever expressed any lesser forms of aggression against their parents.)

On the scales of verbal aggression to peers and authorities the data indicate that no group admits to a great deal of verbally aggressive behavior. A score of 3 indicates that the subject admits to verbal aggression when angry, yet all but one of the means on the scales of verbal aggression are below 3. The only exception is the Incurable group on "Verbal Aggression to Peers." The pattern of results indicates that this scale was markedly affected by the subjects' desire to present a good impression and hence not admit to anything. In fact the writer can recall one boy who on the basis of the content of his interview received the minimum score on these scales, but whose verbal aggressiveness toward the examiner was both continuous and highly provocative.

The picture is somewhat different on the scale of "Physical Aggression Against Peers". Here a matter of pride enters in and if a boy indicated he always avoided fights he might be regarded as "chicken". Thus the mean scores on this variable are higher than on the two verbal scales and the EA group reported about as much aggression as the others. However, the absolute value of the mean scores is such that merely reporting the offense plus one other aggressive incident could bring the EA subjects almost to the mean of the other groups. Any attempts to justify the act by saying that aggression is the best way to handle people would

also inflate that score.

In the case of physical aggression against authorities, it has been noted that the data show a basic dichotomy between those who report some such aggression and those who do not. In this case, the differences noted cannot really be interpreted as indicating overcontrol for the EA group, since failure to strike parents is fairly normal behavior. Instead, it indicates that the other groups contain many more people whose value system is such that they will freely report such an act. Such a person would be apt to be Habitually Aggressive, and if so this indicates a greater proportion of Habitually Aggressive subjects in the other groups, lending support to the notion that they are more apt to be involved in mild or moderate aggression than in extreme assault.

Psychological Test Results

Four widely used personality instruments were administered, the California Psychological Inventory (CPI), the Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study (PF), the Thematic Apperception Test, (TAT), and the Holtzman Inkblot Technique. On the PF and TAT, no significant differences were found; on the CPI and on the determinant scores of the Holtzman some significant differences were noted. Both the PF and the TAT can be characterized as being relatively obvious instruments. A juvenile delinquent wanting to create a favorable impression on a probation officer psychologist could easily refrain from stories which are antisocial or violent. This also applies to the Holtzman hostility (Hs) scale on which no significant differences were found. The CPI and the Holtzman determinant scores are less subject to influence by dissimulation, however. In the case of the CPI the scales were derived by empirical item analysis so that the manifest

meaning of an item may not be congruent with its actual interpretation in terms of the scales on which it is scored. In the case of the Holtzman, it is unlikely that any of the boys in the sample had any idea of the significance of such variables as movement or color and hence these scores were not subject to faking.

1. The California Psychological Inventory

It was impossible to administer the CPI to every subject since many were unable to read it adequately. In a few cases the test was read to the subject but limitations on staff time precluded this as standard operating procedure.

After scoring, all tests on which the Communality score was less than 20 were discarded as being invalid on the basis of probable random answering (Gough, 1960, p. 20). This left a total of 46 valid CPI protocols from the total sample of 76. The results are probably somewhat biased by the elimination of the least cooperative subjects.

Since the scales on the CPI are such that higher scores reflect more positive traits, it was generally expected that the EA group would score highest on most of the scales. This expectation was upheld, since the EA group scored highest on 13 of the 18 scales. (See Table 11) Specific hypotheses made about only a few of the scales.

Insert Table 11 about here

Hypotheses 35 and 36: It was hypothesized that Group EA would be highest on the CPI Responsibility (Re) scale, and this was, indeed the case. The p of the difference between Group EA and the combined contrast groups approached significance at .123.

It was also hypothesized that Group EA would be significantly higher than Group MA. The small number of cases in each group (6 and 13) precluded an exact probability estimate. A U value of 19 or smaller is required for significance at the .05 level; the U obtained for this comparison was 27.5 which was not significant.

— Hypotheses 37 and 38:

It was next predicted that the EA group would be highest on the Socialization scale (So). This was not the case, as Group EA fell among the other groups. The scores for all groups fell into the range typical for juvenile delinquents. This probably reflects the fact that the EA S while outwardly conforming is inwardly alienated from society as much as delinquent boys are. Regarding the So scale, Gough and Peterson (1952) have noted, "The 64 items appear to group themselves into several rather distinctive clusters, such as the following:

1. Role taking deficiencies, insensitivity to interactional cues and the effects of one's own behavior on others.
2. Resentment against family, feelings of having been victimized and exploited in childhood.
3. Feelings of despondency and alienation, lack of confidence in self and others.
4. Poor scholastic adjustment, rebelliousness." (p. 209).³

The EA Ss would be apt to load on clusters 2 and 3 while the typical delinquent would load on 4. Both groups could be high on cluster 1.

³ The Socialization Scale was originally called the "delinquency" scale with the scoring reversed. Clusters 1, 2, 3, and 4 are the clusters on the old delinquency scale. A low So score has the same meaning as a high delinquency score. This is also the reason for the negative correlation between So and scales of neuroticism reported below.

Thus low scores on So could reflect not only delinquency but neuroticism. This notion receives some support from the fact that So correlates substantially with the Bernreuter Neuroticism Scale ($r = -.50$) and the Bernreuter "Lack of Confidence" Scale ($r = -.49$) (Gough, 1960, p. 37).

Hypotheses 39 and 40:

It was hypothesized that the EA group would be highest on the Self Control (Sc) scale and that the difference between the EA and MA groups would be significant. The EA group was the highest. The significance of the difference between Group EA and the other groups had a p of .129. The exact probability of the difference between Groups EA and MA could not be determined. A U value of 30.5 was obtained which was far above the value of 19 required for significance at the .05 level.

It is also noteworthy that the mean Self Control score of 26.5 obtained by the EA subjects was somewhat above the usual high school norms.

Hypotheses 41, 42, 43, and 44:

It was also expected that the EA subjects would score higher on the two achievement scales of the CPI, Achievement by Conformity (Ac) and Achievement by Independence (Ai). The EA group did score highest on these two scales. The difference between Group EA and the combined contrast groups was not significant in the case of Ac with a p of .305, but in the case of Ai the p was .075. Groups EA and MA were compared on both scales and Mann-Whitney U values of 38 and 22 were obtained on Ac and Ai respectively, with a U value of 19 or less necessary for significance at the .05 level.

These data indicate that the EA subjects are more oriented towards academic achievement than the other groups, but that intellectually they tend to be intellectual non-conformists. This might be one way in which

they feel safe in expressing the alienation noted in the So scores. It is possible that intellectual rebellion might be a potential way in which the overconforming person could express his aggression; however, in the case of these particular boys it was apparently not effective in reducing the massive instigation to aggression and alienation which culminated in their crime.

Other CPI relationships

In examining the means on the other scales, it is noteworthy that the EA group is markedly higher on the Well Being (Wb), Tolerance (To), Intellectual Efficiency (Ie) and Flexibility (Fx) scales. If these differences had been anticipated and directional predictions had been made, some of the differences would have been significant. The one-tail p for the difference between Group EA and the other groups on the Wb scale if it had been predicted would have been .012, for the To scale .071, for the Ie scale .102 and for the Fx scale .058. However, since the predictions were not made and the scales tested only since the data suggested this, these are not the true probability levels. Nevertheless the differences should be noted and discussed.

The difference on the Well Being (Wb) scale indicates that the EA subjects tend to minimize their worries and complaints more than the other subjects and indeed more than normal high school students. People high on Wb also tend to value work and effort for its own sake (Gough, 1960, p. 12) so it is not surprising that the EA subjects, who are thought to be more closely identified with middle class values, should be higher on this scale.

The Tolerance (To) scale identifies people with permissive, accepting

non-judgmental social beliefs and attitudes (Gough 1960, p. 12). On this scale the EA group scores at the normal level for high school students while the other three groups score below the high school norms. Thus this difference tells us more about the other groups than it does about Group EA.

The EA group also scored highest on Ie (Intellectual Efficiency). This variable tends to be correlated with IQ (Gough, 1960) but the mean IQ for the EA subjects is no higher than that of the other subjects. (See Table 2). Apparently this score is just another indication of the EA subjects greater orientation toward doing well on intellectual and academic tasks.

Finally, Group EA scored high on the Flexibility (Fx) scale. This scale was designed to measure the degree of adaptability of the individual's thinking and social behavior. While the overcontrolled EA subject's behavior is certainly not adaptable from the standpoint of meeting the individual's needs in a variety of situations, it is flexible in the sense that the overcontrolled person is apt to continually modify his overt behavior to meet the needs of others. While such a person's values are quite rigid, his behavior as judged by others may not appear rigid at all. (The validation of this scale has for the most part consisted of negative correlations with ratings of rigidity.).

All in all, then, the CPI data are consistent with the notion that the EA subject is more controlled and conforming than other assaultive subjects or delinquents in general. At the same time the So scale indicates a basic alienation from society that is not expressed in overt behavior. This combination of outward conformity

and inward alienation may be the diagnostic key to the discrimination of the potentially dangerous overcontrolled person from other overcontrolled people who are not dangerous.

2. The Rosenzweig Picture Frustration Study

Hypotheses 45 and 46: The PF is possibly the most obvious test used and therefore the one most likely to be affected by attempts to impress the examiner. It was hypothesized that Group EA would be lowest on the Extrapunitiveness scale of the PF study. This did not prove to be the case (See Table 12). It was further hypothesized the Group EA would be lower than Group MA. This proved to be correct but the high p value of .480 indicated that this was only a chance relationship.

The mean Extrapunitiveness scores for the four groups ranged from 35.46 to 42.33. The normative score for boys aged 14 to 19 is 46.4 with a standard deviation of 12.3. It would thus appear that dissimulation influenced the results, since if the scores validly reflected the amount of overt extrapunitiveness actually shown by the various groups, it is clear that some of the group means would exceed the norms. This finding indicates that considerable caution should be used in evaluating PF scores obtained in a custodial setting.

Insert Table 12 about here

3. The Thematic Apperception Test

Hypotheses 47 - 52: The TAT was administered in the normal fashion with the exception that the stories were tape recorded rather than being written down by the examiner. An effort was made to employ the

same methods used by Mussen and Naylor (1954) in their study. The cards used (1, 3 BM, 4, 6 BM, 12M, 13 B, 14, and 18 GF) were the same and the cards were scored for need Aggression (n agg). Press punishment (p pun) and the ratio of punishment to aggression (P/A Ratio) in the same manner. It was hypothesized that Group EA would be highest and significantly different from MA on p pun and the P/A Ratio and lowest on n agg. None of these predictions was correct. In fact reversals were noted on p pun and the P/A Ratio with Group EA having the lowest scores instead of the highest. The significance of these differences was tested (using a two tail test) and found to be insignificant with p's of .674 and .294 respectively.

These reversals would appear to be the result of a lack of independence between n agg and p pun. It can be seen in Table 13 that the means of the groups on the two variables are quite similar. The correlation between them for the entire sample was computed and found to be quite high ($r = .80$). Examination of the scoring instrument (See Appendix 6) gives some clue as to the reason for this. A number of themes such as suicide or loss of a loved one are scored as being both punishment and aggression. In many cases the subjects told stories in which the hero was coerced, restrained or attacked and in which he responded with aggression. Despite the fact that the coercion served as motivation for the hero's attack, rather than as a punishment for it, it was still scored as p pun. Since few subjects gave aggression themes without indicating some kind of press as provocation, it is not surprising that the two variables were closely related.

4. The Holtzmann Inkblot Test.

The Holtzmann Inkblot Test was administered to all the subjects using standard procedure, with the exception that the responses were recorded as well as being written down. The Holtzman was selected rather than

the Rorschach because its scoring procedure is more amenable to statistical manipulation and because the use of 45 cards with one response to each was more apt to elicit a large body of responses. Both content and determinant scores are obtainable from the test and both were used.

Hypotheses 53 and 54: It was hypothesized that the EA group would be lowest on the Hostility Scale (Hs) and that Group EA would be significantly lower than Group MA. This is a content scale based on the one devised by Murstein (1956) for the Rorschach. The data in Table 14 show that on the contrary, the EA group had the highest Hs score so both hypotheses were disconfirmed. The difference between EA and the rest of the sample was insignificant, with a two-tail p of .267.

This finding was quite surprising in view of the Megargee and Mendelsohn (1963) study in which extremely assaultive adults were found to be significantly lower than moderately assaultive adults on the Murstein Rorschach Hostility Scale. This result does not appear to be due to suppression of hostile responses on the part of the other groups. Their mean scores range from the 47 to 51st percentiles for normal seventh graders and while this is not the most ideal normative group, nevertheless it does show that these scores are not abnormally low. The score for the EA group falls at the 65th percentile (Holtzman, 1961, p. 159).

Apparently the controls of the juveniles in the EA group are not so high that they inhibit the expression of hostility in the unstructured, rather neutral, setting of an inkblot test. In this respect they differ from the extremely assaultive adults used in the Megargee and Mendelsohn (1963) study.

Insert Table 14 about here

Hypotheses 55 and 56: Anatomical content can also be interpreted as indicating aggressive potential, although Phillips and Smith (1953) as previously noted, feel that it is instead a contraindication of aggressive acting out.

It was predicted that Group EA would be lowest on the Holtzman Anatomy (At) scale and that it would be lower than Group MA. The data in Table 14 show that this was the case. The differences were not significant however, the g for the EA group vs. the rest of the sample being .456 and that for Group EA vs. Group MA being .409.

The data do not support the notion that At contraindicates acting out, for while the EA group did have the lowest score, Group I and MA had the two highest scores, with Group PO falling in the middle. Moreover, the scores are also high in terms of the norms for seventh graders with the highest score, that for Group I, being at the 82nd percentile (Holtzman, 1961, p. 157). The score for Group EA while the lowest of the four, is at the 67th percentile. Thus the data, as in the case of Hs, indicate that the EA subjects controls are not so rigid that this type of content is suppressed in fantasy productions.

Hypotheses 57 and 58: The Holtzman also yields determinant scores, some of which may be taken as an indices of the level and quality of control. One of these is the color score. Purely color determined responses are given a score of 3 in the Holtzman scheme, responses in which color is a primary determinant but in which some form enters in score 2, and responses in which color is used in a secondary manner are scored 1. These responses are roughly equivalent to C, CF and FC in

the Klopfer system (Holtzman, 1960, p. 21f). People who are impulsive, immature and uncontrolled in their interpersonal relations would be expected to have high color scores according to traditional Rorschach theory. It was therefore predicted that Group EA would have the lowest color score and that it would be significantly lower than that for the Group MA. The data in Table 14 show that this expectation was borne out. The difference between Group EA and the rest of the sample had a probability of .157; that between the EA and MA groups of .248.

Hypotheses 59 and 60: An individual can obtain a high color score by giving several poorly controlled C-3 responses and also by having a fairly large number of well controlled C-1 responses. While the C score would remain the same, the interpretation of the two patterns would differ. Therefore, the incidence of uncontrolled C-3 responses was examined, and it was predicted that Group EA would produce fewer of these than the other groups, and also that the EA group would be significantly lower than the MA group on this measure.

The data in Table 14 indicate that this prediction was correct. The EA Group did have the correct number of uncontrolled color responses. The difference between the EA group and the rest of the sample had a p of only .111, but the difference between Groups EA and MA had a p of .045.

Thus Group EA has less total responsiveness to color as well as a significantly lower incidence of uncontrolled color responses than the other groups in general and the MA subjects in particular. This is consistent with the hypothesis that the EA subjects are less impulsive and expressive in interpersonal situations. They appear to be below par in an absolute sense as well. The mean score for the EA group is

at the 42nd percentile of the norms for average seventh graders, and at the 24th percentile of the norms for average adults (Holtzman, 1961, pp. 157, 159).

Hypotheses 61 and 62: Among other things, movement (M) responses on the Rorschach are interpreted as indicating, "... an inner system of conscious values of one kind or another, in terms of which the person tends to control his behavior, to guide his satisfactions, and to postpone his gratifications" (Klopfer et al, 1954, p. 262). It is also an index of introversion as opposed to the extratensive qualities reflected by the color scores.

The Holtzman movement score is not strictly analogous to the Rorschach M score, since it represents the amount of movement in the blot without reference to content. Thus it represents a combination of the human movement, animal movement and inanimate movement categories which are discrete in the Klopfer scoring system. Holtzman et al (1961, p. 18-19) hold that scoring two concepts with equal energy invested in them in different ways depending on the content, results in scores which are, "... often highly confusing from a psychometric point of view. The essential character of the movement response is the energy level of dynamic quality of it, rather than the particular content." Holtzman has not yet attached any interpretive hypotheses to his Movement score, perhaps choosing to wait until more data have been collected. This writer has chosen to interpret the Holtzman M in a manner similar to the Klopfer M. It was therefore hypothesized that Group EA would have a higher M score (reflecting a conscious control set of values and an introversive tendency) than the other groups in general and Group MA in particular.

The data in Table 14 indicate that Group EA did have a somewhat higher M score than the other groups. The probability of the difference between Group EA and the rest of the sample was .166 and that between the EA group and the MA group was .200.

Hypotheses 63 and 64: In order to better evaluate the notion that Group EA is more introverted than the other groups, the relative balance of introversive and extratensive forces was assessed by computing difference scores of $M - C$. The higher the score, the greater the introversive and control tendencies. The results in Table 14 show that for Group EA the $M-C$ score is clearly highest. The p of the difference between Group EA and the rest of the sample was .061; the p of the difference between Group EA and MA was .059. The investigator would interpret this finding as indicating that the EA subjects tend to be more introverted and withdrawn.

D Discussion

Before proceeding further, the quantitative picture will be summarized. Let us reconstruct the logic involved in the data presented above. The Writer's basic thesis is that assaultive offenders can be divided into an Habitually Aggressive Group and a "Worm Turns" or chronically over-controlled group. The theoretical discussion in Chapter One indicated that the former type, while capable of extreme violence in an extreme situation, was more apt to engage in milder forms of aggression so that his instigation to aggression rarely if ever reached murderous levels. The Type Two, individual like Billy Jones, on the other hand, had an inhibitory level so high that his instigation to aggression necessarily had to reach murderous levels before any direct expression of aggression could occur. This, plus inadequate repertoire of aggressive responses

made it likely that his offenses would be primarily of an extreme nature.

It was not possible to test this hypothesis directly by studying overcontrolled and undercontrolled people and noting the pattern of their responses. Instead, it was inferred that if the hypothesis was correct, then an extremely assaultive group would contain a larger number of overcontrolled people than appropriate contrast groups and hence would be measured as being more controlled and less aggressive, as a group than were the other groups. Thus, rather than studying overcontrolled and habitually aggressive people, extremely assaultive, moderately assaultive and other appropriate groups of offenders were studied in an effort to test this derived hypothesis. Insofar as this derived hypothesis is supported, then the typology on which it is based receives support.

A total of 64 specific hypotheses were made about various segments of the data, all reflecting the general hypothesis that Group EA would be the most controlled and least aggressive group. Of these 64 directional predictions, 49 of the results were in the predicted direction. Of these 49, 19 had a p value between .07 and .04 and 5 had a p less than .03; two other predictions concerning school adjustment could not be tested by statistical techniques, but the results clearly indicated that the hypothesis was supported. In all, then, of the 64 hypotheses, 26 received significant support. Seven others approached significance with p values less than .15.

The most striking pattern was the almost uniformly significant results obtained on the direct observations of behavior, while the psychological tests did less well. This was attributed to the subjects'

efforts to present a good impression, for all test scales which did yield significant differences were subtle ones which would be difficult to alter by faking. On the other hand, the more obvious measures yielded only chance results.

On four measures accounting for eight hypotheses, there were reversals; that is the data indicated that contrary to the prediction Group EA was most aggressive or least controlled. None of these when statistically tested proved to be more than a chance result.

The data thus indicate that the EA group is significantly different from the contrast groups of juvenile delinquents, especially moderately assaultive ones, since it is measured as being more controlled and less aggressive in a variety of situations. This provides strong empirical evidence for the existence of the typology proposed in Chapter One. A detailed case study of two of the subjects will illustrate these differences.

Chapter 5

The quantitative analyses in the preceding chapter have supported the notion that there are two quite different types of people who get involved in assaultive crimes. However, abstract measures of central tendency and dispersion achieve precision at the cost of the full richness and complexity of individual personality functioning. In this chapter pictures of the two types of aggressive offenders will be given depth through a case study of one of the MA Ss who can be classified as Habitually Aggressive and of the most assaultive of the EA Ss who can be classified as the "Worm Turns" type.

Abraham Lincoln Jackson, the Habitually Aggressive boy is a 17 year old, 5'9", 151 pound Negro boy who lives in the Negro section of Oakland, California. His parents were born in the Deep South and migrated to California two years before Abraham's birth. They were divorced when Abraham was five years old. Since then he has lived with his mother and two siblings with the exception of time spent in Juvenile Hall and California Youth Authority facilities.

Abraham's first Juvenile Court appearance was in 1958 when he was 13. At that time his teacher at Grover Cleveland Junior High School¹ entered the boys' rest room and for the second time that day saw Abraham fighting with another boy. He told Abraham he would have to stay after school. But Abraham refused to stay and an argument ensued in the halls of the school which culminated in Abraham throwing a book at the teacher which hit him under the right eye.

¹The name of this school as well as all other names used is fictitious.

The Probation Officer's report to the Court noted that the boy's mother was an overprotective woman who in some ways felt he was justified in throwing the book at the teacher. She had stated that he was a good boy whose behavior was excellent. On the other hand the school report indicated he had been suspended four times already that year for hitting other boys and belligerence to teachers.

Abraham was sent to the California Youth Authority for an indeterminate period. He was paroled after six months in February, 1959. In December of that year he was cited for battery and released with a reprimand. In May, 1961, he was found with his pants off in the storeroom of a dress shop, peering at the female employees through an opening in the wall. He was referred to the Guidance Clinic to determine if he had any abnormal sexual tendencies. The psychologist reported that he did not show any such tendencies. "Rather he shows an exorbitant quantity of normal ones. The problem is...that they are expressed too openly and without sufficient controls." The report went on to note, "Hostile impulses are likely expressed with a minimum of restraint..In general (Abraham) has poor controls and handles his feelings in an eruptive explosive manner."

Once again Abraham's mother excused his behavior. She stated to the psychologist that we all have faults and no one "...not even Christ had the right to judge anyone, only God." The psychologist concluded, "In view of the almost blatant complicity on the part of the mother, it is no wonder that (Abraham) is continuing to get into trouble with authority."

Two months later, Abraham was cited for burglary. His parole was revoked and he was returned to the Youth Authority where he was released in November, 1961 after a two months' detention. Five months later he

he was again cited for burglary and a month later for using profane language in public. His attitude when he appeared in the referee court on the profanity charge was "belligerent and defensive." His mother once more took his side against the court authorities. The Court Officer noted that, "...she made no effort to discuss the matter objectively but immediately took an aggressive position in defending the boy although it developed she had no knowledge of the circumstances of the offense." Abraham was reprimanded and released.

During this period Abraham's school adjustment continued to be poor. His belligerence in one school necessitated his transfer to another one for more difficult boys. Finally he dropped out altogether but made no effort to seek employment.

By the age of 17 Abraham had few internal or external limits on his behavior. He had no male adult model with whom to identify or from whom he could introject a normal value system. His overprotective and indulgent mother did little to socialize him. Finally, he developed contempt for the external authority of the law when at the time of his first offense the most severe punishment possible, commitment to the Youth Authority, was meted out and he found he could easily withstand it. This made threats of parole revocation hollow and in fact a pattern developed where the Juvenile Court would commit him to the Youth Authority and the Youth Authority would release him, first after two months, next within a week, and finally after three days. This combination of Juvenile Court severity and California Youth Authority leniency led to contempt for the judicial system just as inconsistent parents undermine each other's position. Thus, Abraham learned no taboos against expression of aggression either at home or from the authorities. He had minimal controls from within or without.

On September 20, 1962, the Oakland Police Department received a report that some fifty to seventy boys and girls had the traffic stopped on the corner of Oak and 32nd Street. Abraham Lincoln Jackson was one of eight boys who was in a belligerent mood. In the line of cars that was slowing down and coming to a stop, Abraham saw Frankie Smith, a 52-year-old white man with whom he had had an argument several weeks earlier. Abraham quickly stepped up to the open window of the car and shouted at Mr. Smith, "You are in the wrong Goddam place!" He then hit him in the head, knocking him over into the passenger side. The car rolled on six car lengths before Smith could bring it under control.

Meanwhile, Abraham and his gang had spotted John Brown, a twenty-year-old Negro, who, in attempting to stop a fight the day before, had argued with Abraham and his friends. The group turned and chased John into his home, with Abraham leading the charge. Breaking through the door, they grabbed Brown, tore the clothes from his body and were smashing the furniture when the police arrived. Abraham was arrested and taken to Juvenile Hall. During his detention he was examined in connection with the present study as an assaultive subject.

Another subject was Thomas Doney. Thomas, a 16 year old, 5'9", 148 pound white boy, lived in a working class section of Oakland. His father, aged 55, was a machinist. He and Thomas' mother, aged 47, had moved to California from Oklahoma in the early 1940's along with their two young children, Charles and Emma.

Thomas was born in 1946 after a difficult labor. He was an unwanted child. His mother had refused to consult a physician or follow any program of prenatal care, and her rejection continued in a more

covert fashion for the rest of her life. During his early years Mrs. Doney's allegiance was not to her husband and children but to her parents and grandparents. She made a number of trips back to the Midwest to care for them. In 1957 she was injured in a train wreck on one of these trips and never fully recovered emotionally or physically.

Tom kept to himself and by the second grade was described as a quiet cooperative boy who, "...likes to be by himself, seldom completes his work, likes to read." His conduct in grammar school was always rated "excellent". Tom's parents became concerned about his isolation and when he was nine or ten, they arranged for him to take clarinet lessons. He did quite well with a local music group, but when he learned he was expected to take part in public performances with the group, he quit forthwith. About two years later he made another attempt to learn to play an instrument. He made two public appearances at which he was quite well received, but suffered severe stage fright and gave up music. His timidity extended to all social contacts and he had few friends. He never had a date and, indeed, on his Sentence Completion Test wrote, "MOST GIRLS: frighten me."

Not only was he isolated from peers but he was also isolated within his own family. Both his siblings were a good deal older. By the time he was eight they had moved out of the home leaving him as the only child. The older Doney's were quite uncommunicative and preoccupied with their own problems. Mrs. Doney was a person who was afraid to venture forth into any type of social life. When she saw Tom developing the same anxieties and fears she reacted with irascible, carping criticism. Mr. Doney, rejected by his wife, retreated into his own world of work and became a

distant, preoccupied figure. He was too troubled by his wife's emotional abandonment of the family to help his younger son. He did take Tom on some outings in which they fished or shot at targets. However, communication was mostly by gestures with few words, and no feelings, being exchanged. By the age of 16 Tom was unable to remember ever having been hugged or kissed by anyone, including his parents, in his entire life. Tom's feelings of isolation and frustrated loneliness are well expressed by the following incomplete sentences he filled out:

"I LIKE: solitude.

THE HAPPIEST TIME: is when I am alone.

I FEEL: lonely.

PEOPLE: don't understand each other."

In the two years preceding the offense, Thomas became more withdrawn and preoccupied. The psychiatrist's report tells the story of those years:

Thomas describes himself as becoming progressively more withdrawn during the last two years, during which time there was progressive failure in school, increasing daydreaming, reading material which is iconoclastic (The Ugly American, Brave New World), and more lately books on Marxism to support his statement of 'I have a grievance against everything.' His world grew narrower and more confusing within himself and growing frustrations during this two-year period. The brother, recognizing some of this, attempted to help by taking him on trips. These were helpful because, as Tom states, 'They took me away and I felt more free, but when I returned home, I again felt depressed and frustrated.' At home his parents felt changes were taking place in their son and used the only means they had to improve his increasing isolation and failure within their understanding; namely, talking in a persuasive, fault-finding, upbraiding manner.

He became increasingly frustrated and dissatisfied with others, often for behavior he recognized as being similar to his own. In his room he daydreamed of somehow getting away from it all.

In the fall of Tom's junior year in high school the class was asked to try to write something creative. He thought of writing a novel. He said, "I thought of a main character, and he was a person who felt contempt and dislike against society." He said he had an interest in the mind and wondered, "what psychological thoughts and effect there would be if a boy became so disgusted he killed his parents and went off." He did not at this time identify himself with this fictional character, but by late October he had decided "...to model the character after myself." He described the character as, "...an illogical, irrational person...he had no excuse for such ideas, he just wanted to rid himself of the ties he had to society."

Thomas began thinking more and more of getting away from everything permanently. He briefly considered running away, but rejected the notion since he would only be brought back and the pattern would start all over again. In an interview later, the probation officer asked what he decided to do then.

Tom replied, "I decided to do something to get away from them permanently like getting into this Juvenile Hall or jail or something like that. This fitted in fine, I'd be alone by myself. I like to be by myself and where I can sit for an hour or two or three alone and read or think about something, and this seemed to work out perfectly. But I didn't consider murder at the time."

"When did you start thinking about that?" the officer asked.

"Actually it's been about two weeks or so off and on...two weeks ago I bought the box of shells...like I said I thought about it off and on and other things, anything to get away from them and get them away

from me. And then there have been several mornings when I have gotten up and waited for them to get into the car as I had done that morning, Friday. But at the last minute I decided there must have been something else and Friday I ran out of anything else I could have done besides murder I could think of, I guess."

Early that Friday morning Mr. Doney left the house and went to the garage. He started the family car and drove it up beside the house. Then he shut the ignition and entered the house. He was unaware of the fact that Thomas has loaded his .22 rifle and was waiting in the basement. At 6:40 A.M. Mr. and Mrs. Doney left the house and got in the car, on their way to work. Mr. Doney leaned forward and inserted the key in the ignition. Behind the car the basement door opened.

"Yes, I came out of the basement door, through the basement doorway after a while--with the gun loaded in the chamber and I waited till they both got in the car and I aimed the rifle to the back window, and I fired once, I think I fired twice through the back window. I'm not sure."

"Do you remember who you were aiming at?"

"No, I don't. It was probably my father."

"Probably your father. Then you fired two shots, you recall?"

"Two shots through the back window, yeah. And then I...they both started to get out the separate sides of the car and as my mother stepped out I aimed the rifle at her head and shot her...I saw her lunge forward and I took my eyes off of her and I knew I had hit her and I glanced over at my father and he was scurrying behind the house."

"What did you do then?"

"I went in the basement and I laid the rifle down on the bed and I

went upstairs to the back door and I got this money off the table, kitchen table, and I went out the back door and up the driveway where the station wagon was and I only noticed one hole in the back window. I looked down on my mother's body and I think she was still breathing-- I could hear a moan."

"How did that affect you when you saw her on the ground?"

"It didn't effect me at all...I usually get queezy and sick and you know these movies they have, 'Signal 30', driving education, about all these accidents and stuff. I almost passed out when I saw that once in driver education, but this didn't effect me at all."

Thomas did not go berserk or lose control. Nevertheless, he was an overcontrolled person for whom a murderous instigation to aggression had accumulated over time. Tom was unable to articulate the basic cause of the crime, parental rejection, or even point to any specific precipitating event. The officer questioned him extensively about his motivation.

"There were small things they did that just irritated me," he replied. "I'm not positive, I guess, but the slightest thing just irritates me."

"What slightest things for example?"

"Oh, my mother--she'd tell me something and then start to do it and then she'd tell me again and then she'd go through this about 15 times-- and she was just--little things like that built up."

"Your father do that too?"

"Yes I would think so. I have these traits too, I guess--if I don't do it right--I can't tolerate it in other people."

"You haven't specified what these irritations were with your mother."

"I never really--I couldn't--like I said it's funny everything she did

almost irritates me. I guess it was an excuse to get mad at her or something."

"Did anything happen just before this that caused you to get more irritated than before?"

"No, not really, I guess it's just been building up, if that's possible."

A number of differences are immediately apparent between Abraham Lincoln Jackson and Thomas Doney; in fact their only similarity is that they both committed assaultive crimes. Abraham came from a broken home with an over-indulgent mother who condoned every antisocial act he was ever cited for. His subcultural peer group also respected him for his aggressive behavior. Therefore he expressed his aggressive feelings directly and spontaneously at the slightest excuse against any target including the Court, juvenile authorities and teachers. One cannot conceive of him passively accepting one frustration after another in the manner of Billy Jones or Thomas Doney. His instigation to aggression rarely summated over time as he discharged it immediately. If he were confronted with a situation in which even he had to inhibit his prepotent aggressive response, there were a number of other well learned alternative aggressive responses available. As might be expected, Abraham was diagnosed by the examining psychologist as Sociopathic personality disturbance, Dyssocial reaction.

Thomas on the other hand came from an intact home. He introjected his parents' value systems and adopted the same coping mechanism of withdrawal. However, this was insufficient to deal with the extreme frustration induced by a rejecting mother and a withdrawn father. The rejection was not sufficiently overt so that Thomas could justify an aggressive response and the instigation to frustration, as he himself put it, "built up" over time. When it exceeded his

inhibitions, he was unable to think of any other solution than eliminating the frustrating agent. He had had no opportunity to learn any other effective aggressive responses. The diagnosis was Personality pattern disturbance, Schizoid personality.

The results of the psychological tests and research observation were consistent with the personalities of the two boys as they have been described. Abraham was consistently observed and measured as being aggressive and Tom as being overcontrolled. The major surprise is that tests such as the TAT which showed no reliable quantitative group differences, when interpreted qualitatively, did highlight important differences.

Their behavior in the unit differed as would be expected. Abraham had a score of 63.7 on Total Physical Aggression. Thomas had a score of 0. On Total Verbal Aggression, Abraham scored 163.8 and again Thomas scored 0. On all the Rating Scales Abraham was consistently rated in the direction of greater aggressiveness, rebelliousness and quarrelsomeness while Thomas was rated as cooperative and friendly. Neither boy was at the extreme or atypical of his particular group.

On the Adjective Check List, Abraham had a mean score of 3.6 aggressive adjectives attributed to him by the counselors. They included the following descriptive terms: aggressive, assertive, boastful, hostile, impulsive, loud, mischievous, outspoken, quarrelsome, rebellious, show-off, and tough. Thomas, on the other hand had a mean score of only 0.2. Only one of the six counselors used any adjective from the Aggressive List in describing Tom. (This adjective was "assertive.")

On the Overcontrolled List, Abraham had a mean score of 0.8. Tom on the other hand, had a mean of 7.2 overcontrolled adjectives attributed

to him, the highest score in the entire sample. They included the following: cautious, considerate, cooperative, gentle, helpful, inhibited, mannerly, nervous, peacable, quiet, self-controlled shy, submissive, timid, and withdrawn.

The CPI, which is reproduced in Table 15, clearly indicates that Abraham is better able to cope with other people than Thomas. His scores on Dominance and Sociability exceed Tom's by over 20 T-score points. On the other hand the two boys are quite close on the scales reflecting responsibility, socialization, and self-control. Despite the vastly different reinforcement histories and value systems, Tom is somewhat lower on the So scale than Abraham. This can be partly attributed to Abraham's effort to "fake good" as revealed by his high Good Impression Scale score. But this also reflects Tom's inner alienation from and disillusion with society despite his outward conformity and apparent acceptance of social values. (It is possible that the So scale might provide a way of discriminating people like Tom from others who are also outwardly conforming but who are not internally alienated.)

The intellectual scales of the CPI show greater capacity to achieve on Tom's part. This is in part a reflection of the difference in intelligence, for Tom had an IQ of 125 while Abraham's was 107. But it also indicates Tom's greater interest in literature and philosophy. The discrepancy between the Ai and Ac scales shows Tom to be an intellectual non-conformist who will strike out and do well on his own, but who would have difficulties with routine or tedious intellectual material. Thus Tom was quite well read in the areas which interested him, but he rarely turned in any assignments and had very poor grades in

high school. Abraham, on the other hand, is much less original and better able to cope with run-of-the-mill learning tasks which do not call for individual initiative. In any case, his interest in academic matters is quite low and he does not use his intelligence in an efficient manner. Tom's high score on flexibility indicates he is more likely to change his behavior to meet the needs of others. It also shows his greater intellectual liberalism.²

Thus on the CPI, Tom appears as a more intellectual person, somewhat independent in his mode of thought, who has a difficult time coping with interpersonal situations. Abraham on the other hand can deal effectively with others but has little interest in abstract or theoretical material. Both boys are deficient in socialization, but in quite different ways. Also both are low in their sense of well being, showing dissatisfaction with their current situation. However, it is likely that this is chronic for Tom whereas it is situational for Abraham.

On the PP both boys have remarkably low Extrapunitiveness scores. Tom's was 20.3 and Abraham's even lower with a score of 14.6. Abraham's, in fact, is the fifth lowest score in the entire sample. This, as we have seen, bears little relation to his overt behavior where he is nothing if not extrapunitive. This along with the elevated Ci score on the CPI, would suggest dissimulation on Abraham's part.

On the TAT, both boys had Punishment: Aggression ratios of 1.00; Abraham with 5 n agg and 5 p pun responses and Tom with 2 of each. In

²When arrested trying to cross the Mexican border, Tom had 77¢ and seven paperback books. After being apprehended he went and sat in a corner and read Aldous Huxley's Brave New World, confiding to the police officer, "That kind of writing fascinates me."

some respects the stories told by each boy were rather similar but there were some noteworthy differences. On Card 4 both had stories of an angry man going off to do something drastic who is being talked out of it by a woman. In Abraham's story she succeeds, but in Tom's the man "Won't listen to reason." On 8EM while Abraham gives the typical story of an operation, Tom depersonalizes the aggression by telling a story of a boy dreaming of becoming a surgeon. This depersonalization is even more extreme in response to 18GF. Here Abraham tells a story of a mother holding up a daughter who has fainted, a theme which closely reflects his own close relation with his mother. Tom, on the other hand, tells a story of a woman doing something to a manikin...putting the head on or taking it off or arranging the hair. The person has thus become a mechanical object.

Finally, the difference in moods between the two young men is well brought out on Card 14. Here Abraham says, "Looks like someone kinda likes to sit out at night on the window sill and sing or something like that and look up at the moon just to pass the time away."

"How does he feel?" the examiner asked.

"He probably feels pretty good--he don't feel bad or nothing."

"How might the story end?"

"He'll probably just close the window and go watch TV or something."

In response to the same card and with the same examiner, Tom said, "This is a young man standing at the window of his apartment, looking out the window and wondering about--everything in general."

"Any particular feeling?"

"Confusion."

"How might this end?"

"I don't know."

While Abraham's hero looks at the moon and lightheartedly sings, Tom's searches for meaning and finds only confusion and an unknown ending.

Thus the TAT examined in a qualitative fashion illuminates some of the essential differences between the two boys. Abraham has a capacity to relate to others and is in many ways a normal boy. The source of his difficulty is family and social circumstances which have led to a failure to adopt middle class values. Tom on the other hand is cut off from other humans and is unable to find meaning or coherence in his world. These two patterns of response also suggest that the reason no group differences were found on the TAT might be due to the fact that the quantitative scoring system is too gross to detect differences which lie in the material.

Both boys were defensive on the Holtzman Inkblot Technique. Tom rejected 30 of the 45 blots and Abraham 32. The quantitative pattern was quite similar with the exception of the Color score. Here Abraham had a score of 5 whereas Tom had no color determined responses. One of Abraham's color responses was a C-3 and the other a C-2, indicating relatively poor control of interpersonal impulses. Aside from the high number of rejections the two protocols were not remarkable. The most noteworthy thing about Tom's record is the absence of signs of serious pathology. As the examining psychologist remarked in his report, it is remarkable that Tom, with his history, had not become schizophrenic. The adequacy of the protocol is achieved at the expense of a denial of interpersonal responsiveness as reflected in low color and movement scores, few Human

responses and a high number of rejections. While Abraham's record is also constricted, there is more balance among the responses he does give with both movement and color being used more freely. When Abraham sees two people he places them in cooperative or coordinated action, such as dancing. Tom, on the other hand, places them in opposition with a precept of two people pulling at something.

The Adolescent Interview crystallized the boys' attitudes toward the expression of aggression. Both boys were asked how they dealt with the guy who "pushes people around." Abraham answered, "I don't ever say nothing to him till he starts pushing me around."

"What if he starts pushing you?"

"I push him back."

Tom's reply, on the other hand, was, "I just ignore him."

The examiner asked, "Suppose he starts on you?"

"I ignore him."

"If he keeps pushing?"

"Well if he--I might get kind of angry. Otherwise I can take whatever he wants to push...I seldom if ever get mad at anybody, really mad."

The boys were also asked how they coped with someone who blew his top. Abraham's answer was guarded with a veiled threatening quality. "I tell him to stop it and if I see he can't stop, maybe, maybe,-- I don't know --I try to prevent it."

Tom's response was most remarkable for the extreme overcontrol bordering almost on reaction formation which it revealed. "I guess I don't really ignore him, I sort of, he usually cools off sooner or later. He cools off sooner or later. I had a friend like that. One minute he'd be the nicest guy in the world, the next minute he'd blow

his top. I'd just sort of shy away from him and two minutes later I'd come back."

"What kind of things would he say to you?"

"Well,-- --I have a tendency to talk a lot. Sometimes I am-- excessively gabby, and he'll say, 'Why don't you shut up or something.' And I don't know. It doesn't really irritate me. It makes me realize I am getting irritating. I guess I should thank him."

When asked what they did when they got angry with their parents, Abraham indicated he spoke to the parent about it, while Tom replied, "...like everything else, I keep it to myself."

The psychological tests and research observations thus bear out the impressions gained from the case histories. Abraham Lincoln Jackson is a relatively normal boy whose upbringing has left him deficient in the usual social values. He has little motivation to achieve in school and therefore doesn't. He has been rewarded for aggression in the past through 1) the innate satisfaction of hitting someone who annoys one, 2) increased maternal attention and sympathy, and 3) respect of his fellow gang members. He has thus developed strong aggressive habits which bring him into conflict with the law.

In custody also he was aggressive to other inmates and to staff although less so, no doubt, than he would have been outside a custodial institution. He was sufficiently guarded in the psychological examination so that he did not obtain abnormally high hostility scores on the more overt measures such as the PF and TAT. Nor in the interview did he say he felt justified in using aggression in any situation, although hints of this attitude came through. On the more covert measures, however, such

as the empirically derived CPI scales and the Holtzman determinant scores, Abraham's greater impulsivity showed through.

Tom, who committed the most violent offense in the sample, was on the other hand a model prisoner. He was uniformly rated as being polite, cooperative and passive. On the tests and interviews he was as open and frank as his level of insight permitted. The psychological examination showed Tom to be much more disturbed than Abraham. While not psychotic he was definitely schizoid. The tests showed him to have extreme difficulty in interpersonal relations, to bottle up the expression of his feelings including hostility and to be unsuccessfully seeking meaning in a confused world. Unlike Abraham, he used intellectual activities such as fantasy and reading as defenses. Moreover, he used such traditional defenses as isolation and rationalization. Unlike Abraham he had much less awareness of the nature and quality of his real feelings toward others despite his vastly more introspective attitude. Abraham knew he disliked his victim and he knew why. Tom did not know he hated his mother nor could he say why she really "irritated" him.

The case studies of these two boys, along with the quantitative data presented in Chapter four, illustrate that aggressiveness is not a simple unitary phenomenon varying only in degree. Assaultive offenders can differ widely in the motive and quality of their controls. The extremely assaultive person may be a neurotic who is chronically overcontrolled while the moderate or mildly aggressive person is apt to be undercontrolled. This is at marked variance with most psychological thinking which regards all assaultive people as having essentially similar, basically socio-pathic personalities.

Chapter 6

In the first chapter the writer proposed that assaultive offenders could be divided into two distinctly different types: the habitually aggressive person who because of the social and familial conditions in which he was reared expresses his hostile feelings directly and with a minimum of restraint, and the chronically overcontrolled person who is pathologically unable to express aggression.

The habitually aggressive person is most apt to commit mild or moderately aggressive acts since he discharges his hostility before it reaches homicidal proportions. He is capable, however, of extremely assaultive behavior if the external situation is sufficiently provocative, or if his subculture demands such behavior in certain situations such as "rumbles". The chronically overcontrolled type, on the other hand, rarely if ever engages in mild or moderate aggression. If they do aggress it is in an extreme or homicidal fashion. The reason for this is that the inhibitions against aggression are so extreme in these persons that the instigation to aggression must reach an extraordinary level to overcome the inhibitions. This proposition has been examined first by a review of the literature, second by a wide band quantitative investigation of four groups of delinquents differing in aggressiveness, and finally by a case study of two assaultive people. The data supported the hypothesis that the proposed typology exists and that, moreover, it is the chronically overcontrolled type which is apt to be involved in more serious aggressive offenses.

It should be pointed out that instrumental aggression in which aggression is a means rather than an end, as in the case of strong arm

robbery, has been excluded from this treatment. Nor should this typology be construed as being applicable to socially sanctioned aggressive acts such as killing in the line of duty by the soldier, policeman or executioner. The hypothesis is restricted to illegal acts in which the primary goal of the aggression was apparently to hurt or injure the victim.

The author's primary concern has been to establish the existence of these two types and to show that the aggression of the chronically overcontrolled person is apt to be of an extreme nature. In various samples of extremely assaultive offenders the relative proportion of overcontrolled and undercontrolled types will vary. The more provocative the environment and the more the subculture demands extreme aggression from its members (as in some juvenile groups), the more habitually aggressive people will be involved in extremely assaultive offenses. On the other hand subcultural differences will not influence overcontrolled people to commit mild aggressive acts. For then the response alternatives seem to be an extreme or homicidal response or no aggressive response whatsoever.

There are a number of implications to these findings. They can be roughly grouped into three areas, the implications for practice, the implications for research methodology and the implications for theory.

There are several implications for clinical practice. In the area of diagnosis, it is clear that the prediction of aggressive behavior is not a simple task. It is not enough merely to assess the controls and predict aggressive behavior in those cases where adequate control appears lacking. The psychologist or psychiatrist must also be alert for the

potentially homicidal, chronically overcontrolled person who everyone feels "wouldn't hurt a fly." The present study does not indicate any definitive way in which the potentially homicidal overcontrolled person such as Thomas Doney or Billy Jones can be discriminated from other overcontrolled people who are not dangerous. There is a suggestion that the key may be the combination of chronic overcontrol of aggression in conjunction with basic alienation from society.

The data also indicate that the usefulness of psychological tests is apt to vary with the setting in which they are used. In a custodial situation such as this, where the patient is highly motivated to impress the examiner, the result of relatively face valid or obvious tests such as Rosenzweig PF or the TAT must be interpreted with great caution. The data indicate that better results are obtained by using more subtle measures such as empirically derived scales of personality inventories or determinant scores of inkblot tests.

In terms of treatment of the convicted criminal, it is clear that the typical correctional facility does not meet the needs of the overcontrolled offender. A basic goal of most correctional institutions is to foster controls by rewarding conformity and punishing defiance, assertiveness or aggression. While this is appropriate for an habitually aggressive offender like Abraham Jackson, it is not apt to help the problems of an overcontrolled person such as Thomas Doney. What he needs, among other things, is to learn to cope with and express his feelings of aggression in ways short of homicide. Therefore, he should be in a milieu in which mild aggressive acting out is encouraged and rewarded. If psychotherapy is successful and he starts making assertive responses, however, such

responses are apt to be punished rather than rewarded if he is in a typical correctional facility. The findings further suggest that the death penalty is useless as a deterrent for the very people most likely to commit homicide. The overcontrolled person does not need extreme external punitive measures to inhibit his aggression. His internal controls are already more than adequate. In fact, existence of the death penalty might induce him to make a homicidal response, as opposed to some other response, simply because it not only serves to express his hostility but also carries with it a penalty sufficiently severe to resolve his resulting guilt feelings.

There are also implications for research methodology. First, the findings indicates that the method of studying aggression by examining assaultive and non-assaultive criminal and delinquent subjects is a fruitful one. In the past most of our data relating to theories of aggression has come from laboratory studies using normal subjects and mild forms of aggression. The findings from these studies have then been extrapolated in an effort to account for the more serious forms of aggression such as homicide. The present study indicates that the dynamics involved in extremely assaultive behavior are apt to be quite different from those involved in milder forms of aggression. Extrapolation of data concerning mild forms of aggression in an effort to account for more violent aggression is thus apt to lead to errors.

Another implication concerns the use of aggressive subjects in the validation of psychological tests. It is clear that assaultive subjects should not be indiscriminantly used as a criterion group for scales of hostility and control. At the very least, the subjects should

be divided into moderate and extreme aggressive groups. If the extreme group gets a low score on a scale of hostility or a high score on a scale of control, it does not necessarily mean that the test is invalid; it may only mean that there was a high proportion of overcontrolled subjects in the extremely assaultive criterion group. The investigator is safer using a criterion group of moderately assaultive subjects since it is less likely such a group contains many overcontrolled people.

Investigators should also beware of pooling data from the two types of offenders together in a study of test validation. If this is done, no differences in central tendency might be found between the aggressive group and a control group since the overcontrolled and undercontrolled subjects tended to cancel one another out. The investigator might wrongly infer test invalidity.

There are also important implications for theory, since the findings support the theoretical structure put forth in Chapter 1. It will be recalled that in that chapter, the frustration-aggression hypothesis and the Miller conflict model were extended to account for the degree of violence of the aggressive act. It was stated that the notion put forward by Bandura and Walters (1959) among others that the degree of violence is proportional to the net strength of the instigation to aggression runs into serious difficulties in accounting for the chronically overcontrolled person. Since in this "Worm Turns" type person inhibition is excessively high and instigation builds up in small increments over time by means of temporal summation, the resulting act is often, as in the case of Billy Jones, out of all proportion

to the net strength of the instigation to aggression. It seemed much more adequate to suppose that the degree of violence of the aggressive response is proportional to the absolute strength of the instigation to aggression. On the other hand, the facts of response generalization indicate that all aggressive responses to a target are not proportional to the instigation to aggression. Therefore, a special class of responses, called "prepotent" responses was proposed. These responses are defined as the responses which would occur in a given situation if no inhibitions were operating. If the instigation outweighs the inhibitions which do exist, the prepotent response is the one that occurs. If on the other hand inhibition outweighs instigation, a lesser aggressive response occurs through response generalization, or the aggression is displaced onto another target, or in the case of chronically overcontrolled people, no aggressive response occurs since inhibitions prevent response generalization or displacement from occurring. Both habitually aggressive and overcontrolled people tend to use prepotent responses when they do aggress: the former because their level of inhibition is so low there are few compunctions against such responses, and the latter because they have not learned the alternative responses of displacement and response generalization. For non-prepotent responses the degree of violence is held not to be proportional to the level of instigation aggression. It may be a function of the net strength, but this is not clear at the present time.

This theoretical structure was erected on the supposition that an overcontrolled group might exist. Now that it has been established that such a group does exist, the theory receives some empirical support.

In an indirect fashion the existence of this overcontrolled group also supports the notion of Dollard et al (1939) that there is such a phenomenon as temporal summation of the instigation for aggression. No other current theory explains the behavior of the overcontrolled person as well as the notion that their aggressive acts are the result of slowly accumulating instigation as the result of successive frustrations over time. Tom Doney, himself, tried to explain this when he said that the murder of his mother was not the result of any specific provocation but of many little things that just built up over time.

Finally, the data suggest that attempts to find a single "cause" for juvenile delinquency, whether it is as simple as "too many comic books" or as complex as anomie theory, are apt to be fruitless. We have seen that the personalities of boys engaged even in a highly restricted form of delinquency, namely assaultive behavior, can differ significantly from one another. If this single class of behavior can be this complex, then obviously the full range of juvenile crime from runaway to murder, from arson to narcotics, from truancy to prostitution, cannot be fitted into any single simple explanation. The present author feels that what the field requires is, first of all classification of delinquents into various types or classes, and secondly empirical research on these classes. Then we will be in a position to theorize but not before. This dissertation represents a beginning to this task of empirical classification.

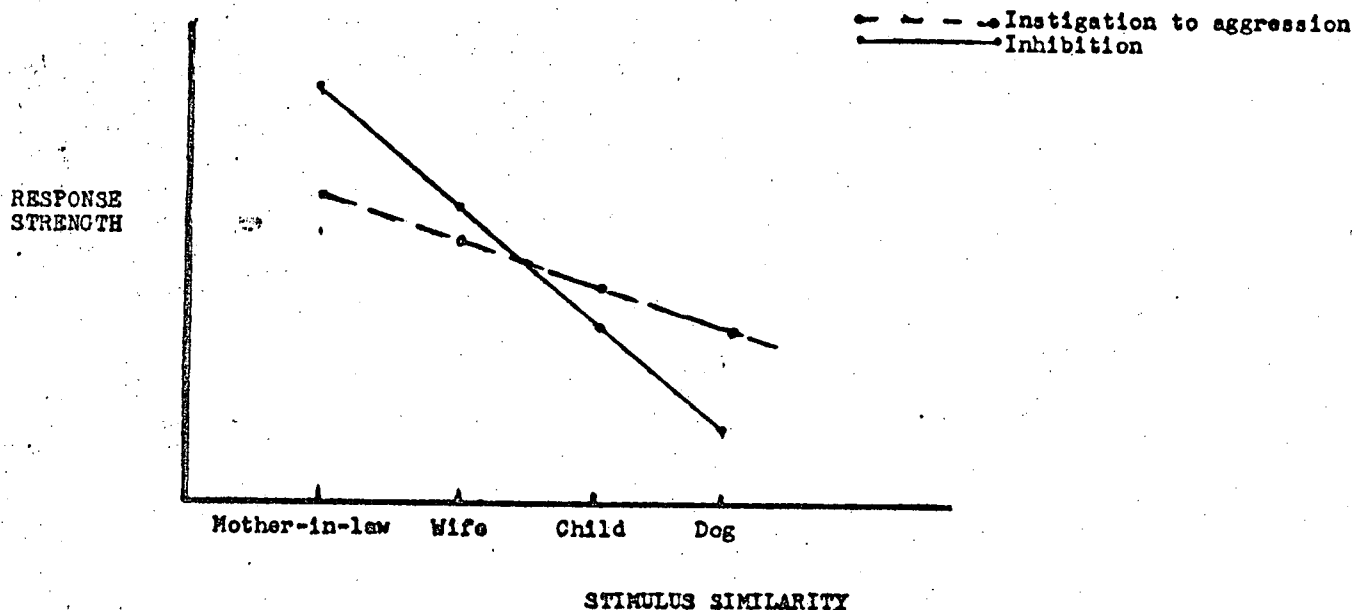


Fig. 1. Classical Miller Conflict paradigm. Instigation to aggression in a man angered by his mother-in-law generalizes to others in accord with their perceived similarity. When inhibition outweighs instigation, no aggressive response takes place. Slope of inhibition gradient is steeper than that for instigation.

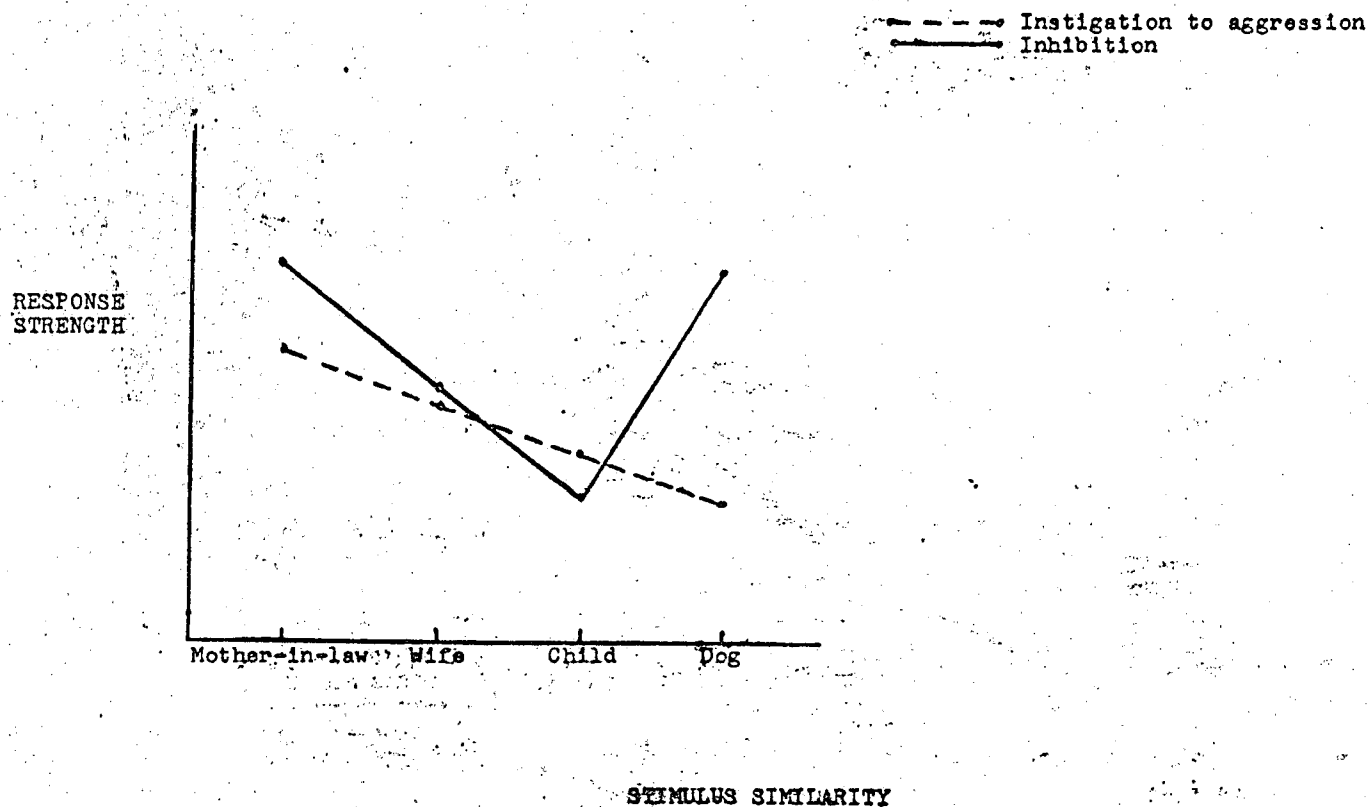


Fig. 2. Inhibition and instigation to aggression gradients of an animal lover angered by his mother-in-law.

TABLE 1

Mean Rorschach Hostility Indices for Three Groups of Criminals
From Megargee and Mendelsohn (1963)

<u>Group</u>	N	Mean RHI	<u>s</u>
Extreme Assaultive	21	4.134	3.10
Moderate Assaultive	21	7.137	10.11
Non-assaultive	27	6.197	5.31

TABLE 2

SUBJECT COMPOSITION OF THE FOUR GROUPS

Group				
Variable	EA	PO	I	MA
N	9	26	20	21
Age-range	14-11 to 16-9	11-1 to 17-4	11-2 to 17-9	11-3 to 17-7
\bar{x} Age	14-5	15-5	15-3	15-4
% Negro	44.5	57.7	60.0	66.7
% First Detention	77.7	23.0	25.0	28.5
\bar{x} IQ	93.8	91.8	97.3	97.0
IQ Range	73-125	67-107	64-140	71-147

TABLE 3

Incidence of First Offenders

	Extremely Assaultive	Moderately Assaultive	Total
First detention	7	6	13
Recidivist	2	15	17
Total	9	21	30

*

Chi Square = 4.37

 $p < .01$

* Corrected

TABLE 4

Incidence of Solitary vs. Group Offenders

	Extreme Assaultive	Moderate Assaultive	Total
Alone	6	4	10
Group	3	17	20
Total	9	21	30

★
Chi Square = 4.43
 $p < .01$

★ Corrected

TABLE 5

School Attendance Records

	Outstanding	Satisfactory	Poor	Total
Extreme Assaultive	2	3 4	1	6
Rest of sample	0	16	23	39
Total	2	19	24	45

TABLE 6

School Conduct Records Of EA Compared With
The Rest of the Sample

	Outstanding	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Total
EA	1	2	3	6
PO, I, & MA	0	13	30	43
Total	1	15	33	49

TABLE 7

Mean Scores of the Four Groups on the Behavior Check List
with p Values of the Tested Differences

Variable	<u>Group Scores</u>				<u>p Values</u>	
	EA	PO	I	MA	EA vs PO + I + MA	EA vs I
Total \bar{x}	74.41	113.44	137.43	103.80	.058	.05
Verbal Aggression s	79.04	88.52	92.85	73.07		
Total \bar{x}					.374	EA vs. MA .255
Physical Aggression s	27.04 25.84	32.78 50.26	44.17 49.23	51.02 58.31		
N	9	21	19	26		

TABLE 8

Means, Standard Deviations and p Levels of Tested Comparisons
On the Five Rating Scales and Combined Scale

SCALE		Group Scores				p Values	
		EA	PO	I	MA	EA vs PO, I & MA	EA vs MA
1. Uncooperative-Cooperative	\bar{x} s	3.29 .33	3.20 .48	3.13 .32	2.99 .30	.05	.01
2. Amiable-Quarrelsome	\bar{x} s	2.61 .33	2.82 .54	2.86 .52	2.90 .47	.073	.051
3. Aggressive-Submissive	\bar{x} s	3.17 .40	3.00 .32	2.96 .27	2.96 .36	.119	.073
4. Docile-Rebellious	\bar{x} s	2.54 .44	2.85 .57	2.84 .52	2.83 .59	.064	.133
5. Antagonistic-Friendly	\bar{x} s	2.93 .44	2.86 .32	2.80 .44	2.70 .29	.179	.02
6. Combined Scales	\bar{x} s	16.11 1.97	15.36 1.98	14.96 1.52	14.80 1.77	.06	.045
N		9	21	20	26		

TABLE 9

Means, Standard Deviations and p Values of Tested Comparisons on the Gough Adjective Check List

Measure	Group Scores				p Values	
	EA	PO	I	MA	EA vs PO, I, & MA	EA vs MA
Mean # over- controlled adjectives	3.86 2.00	3.04 1.90	2.48 1.18	2.67 1.64	.065	.076
Mean # aggres- sive adjective	1.44 1.33	2.48 2.23	3.26 2.43	3.24 2.71	.047	.071
No. overcon- trolled minus No. aggressive adjectives	2.42 3.07	0.56 3.98	-0.78 3.29	-0.57 4.15	.028	.055
N	9	26	20	19		

TABLE 10

Means, Standard Deviations and p Values of Tested Comparisons on the Adolescent Interview Scales

Scale	Group Scores				p Values		
	EA	PO	I	MA	EA vs PO, I, & MA	EA vs I	EA vs MA
Reported verbal aggression against peers	2.77 1.13	2.70 1.04	3.08 1.19	2.80 1.02	Not tested	3.78	----
Reported physical aggression against peers	3.39 1.24	3.11 1.31	3.45 1.31	3.50 1.16	Not tested	---	3.19
Reported verbal aggression against authorities	2.36 .96	2.03 .67	2.29 .96	2.08 .75	.580*	not tested	---
Reported physical aggression against authorities	1.08 .21	1.20 .26	1.34 .36	1.19 .30	.065	---	.082
N	9	23	20	20			

* Two Tail test used since data are not in hypothesized Direction

TABLE 11 A
Means and Standard Deviations of C.P.I. Raw Scores

Scales	Do	Cs	Sy	Sp	Sa	Wb	Re	So	Sc	To	Ci	Cm	Ac	AI	Ie	Py	Fx	Fe
EA \bar{x} (N=6)s	21.0 5.85	15.2 4.94	20.3 4.31	33.7 4.99	19.2 4.37	35.5 4.57	24.5 7.95	30.0 6.19	26.5 6.13	18.2 6.61	15.7 3.25	23.8 3.13	23.0 5.66	17.7 6.62	34.0 6.71	9.3 3.40	12.2 3.85	16.5 3.23
PO \bar{x} (N=15)s	21.7 5.60	14.6 3.32	21.6 4.47	32.6 4.70	19.0 2.84	30.3 4.99	21.3 4.95	29.3 5.44	22.5 6.42	14.9 3.91	16.1 5.62	23.7 2.59	20.7 5.79	13.7 2.87	30.3 5.65	9.4 2.06	9.5 3.36	15.1 3.72
I \bar{x} (N=12)s	20.2 5.75	14.8 3.34	22.0 4.56	33.1 6.18	18.3 2.25	28.8 5.26	18.5 3.80	26.0 5.66	21.8 6.68	14.0 5.04	12.6 5.14	24.6 2.33	18.5 4.91	13.0 3.74	30.9 5.22	9.4 2.66	8.9 4.33	14.4 3.92
MA \bar{x} (N=13)s	21.0 4.09	14.8 4.33	21.7 4.58	30.8 3.68	18.3 2.65	30.9 4.38	20.6 6.89	31.1 5.24	23.4 10.14	13.3 5.18	14.8 6.84	24.3 1.90	19.9 5.74	11.9 3.50	28.5 4.68	8.5 2.79	9.6 4.18	16.6 3.48

TABLE 11 B

Values of p For Tested Comparisons on Selected C.P.I. Scales

Comparison/Scale	Re	So	Sc	Ac	AI
EA vs Ma, PO & I	.123	Not Tested	.129	.305	.075
EA vs MA	N.S.	Not Tested	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.

* Exact probability Test not possible because of small N's; $p > .05$.

TABLE 12

Means, Standard Deviations and p Value of Tested Comparison
On Rosenzweig P-F Study
Extrapunitiveness Scores

Group Scores					p Value	
		EA	PO	I	MA	EA vs MA
Extrapunitiveness	\bar{x}	40.6	39.71	35.46	42.23	.48
	s	7.72	13.90	15.61	19.74	
	N	9	18	20	26	

TABLE 13

Means, Standard Deviations and p Values For Tested
Comparisons on the T.A.T. Measures

						p Values	
		EA	PO	I	MA	EA vs. PO, I, & MA	EA vs. MA
Need aggression	\bar{x} s	8.33 2.79	8.52 3.50	10.05 5.08	8.10 4.51	.774	Not Tested
Press punishment	\bar{x} s	7.77 3.32	8.87 4.13	10.20 4.93	8.26 3.93	.674*	Not Tested
Punishment Aggression ratio	\bar{x} s	94.3 25.08	123.95 69.23	117.17 6.96	109.16 31.96	.294*	Not Tested
N		9	19	20	23		

* Two tail test used since data are not in hypothesized direction.

TABLE 14

Means, Standard Deviations and *p* Values of Tested Comparisons on Certain Holtzman Inkblot Variables

Variable	Group Scores				p values		
	EA	PO	I	MA	EA vs. PO, I & MA	EA vs MA	
Hostility (Hs)	\bar{x} s	10.33 6.00	6.84 5.02	8.80 6.09	7.86 5.36	* .267	not tested
Anatomy (At)	\bar{x} s	2.33 2.11	2.56 2.67	3.60 2.71	3.57 5.04	.456	.409
Color (C)	\bar{x} s	10.44 5.70	12.32 9.14	17.45 18.61	12.67 7.30	.157	.248
No. C-3 Responses	\bar{x} s	1.11 1.59	1.86 1.46	2.85 5.97	1.86 1.46	.111	.045
Movement (M)	\bar{x} s	24.44 11.59	20.40 14.90	22.95 13.98	20.86 13.75	.166	.200
Movement minus Color (M-C)	\bar{x} s	14.00 8.79	8.08 14.91	5.50 23.99	8.18 12.94	.061	.059
N		9	21	19	26		

*Two tail test used since data are not in hypothesized direction.

TABLE 15

CPI Scores of "Abraham Lincoln Jackson" and "Thomas Doney"

		Do	Cs	Sv	Sp	Sa	Wb	Re	So	Sc	To	Gi	Cm	Ac	Al	Ie	Py	Fx	Fe
Abraham	Raw Scores	28	18	30	30	18	30	34	33	31	15	26	26	26	11	32	13	6	20
Jackson	T Scores	52	46	61	42	47	31	56	43	50	33	60	54	47	32	34	57	41	60
Thomas	Raw Scores	16	19	18	31	16	31	34	31	27	22	17	23	25	26	41	10	17	19
Doney	T Scores	29	49	37	44	41	34	56	40	45	48	45	40	44	68	54	46	73	57

Appendix 1

AGGRESSION SCALE

- (1) Subject showed good restraint. Resorted to aggression only when it was clearly dictated by circumstances, i.e., hit back with equal or less force; self defense.
- (2) a. Less restraint shown but degree of aggression still quite appropriate
b. Instrumental aggression (i.e., aggression whose primary motive is something other than inflicting pain - strong arm robbery), enough violence to accomplish the end goal, but no more.
- (3) a. Aggression exceeds provocation, but not inappropriate in subculture.
b. Instrumental aggressive acts where degree of violence begins to indicate that desire to inflict pain is also a motive.
- (4) a. Aggression exceeds provocation even more but would not be viewed as particularly extraordinary response by members of subculture - hitting person who calls defendant a name or ganging up on victim.
b. Instrumental aggression which clearly exceeds amount needed to accomplish act.
- (5) Acts of aggression clearly motivated by desire to inflict pain or injury. Culture and situation less supportive of degree of violence used. Would probably be rejected by adult members of subculture but not necessarily by peer group, i.e., hitting when down. Violence at this point still not likely to seriously or permanently injure victim, although severe injuries might occur accidentally.
- (6) Even less justification than (5) - victim weaker or frailer. More apt to do serious harm (stomping), or use of weapon versus superior, unarmed antagonist.
- (7) Serious aggression with inadequate provocation. Apt to result in serious injury to victim. Most members of subculture would feel use of this much violence in this situation unjustified, although it might still be sufficiently provocative to call for a lesser physical response, i.e., use of weapon when called name or in gang fight versus unarmed opponents of equal or less size.
- (8) More serious aggression. Death, or permanent disability quite likely. There may be some external motivation apparent for act but it clearly does not justify this degree of response.
- (9) Extremely severe aggression with serious consequence probable. Would be rejected by all in subculture as unjustified. Some glimmer of external motivation still apparent, i.e., a murder or assault with a deadly weapon with little motivation, but in heat of anger.

Appendix 1 (Cont'd)

- (10) Completely externally unprovoked, extremely serious aggression with extreme physical harm probable. No external motivation, i.e., a "senseless" murder or assault with a deadly weapon, not even done in the heat of anger.

BEHAVIOR CHECK LIST

Name of Child _____ Date _____
 Counselor or Teacher _____ Unit _____

In making these reports check those types of aggressive behavior you have noticed during that particular period. Be sure to look for the less obvious and more secretive or subtle types of aggressive behavior, as well as the more obvious kinds. It is important that you turn in these sheets at the end of the third and tenth day as they are completed.

1. Physical Attack

starting fights, hitting, pushing--unprovoked by verbal and physical attack of other children

8. Bullying

--another who is smaller or weaker, or who for some reason can't defend himself effectively

2. Bragging

assertively, with show of bravado--"I can do this better than you" sort of thing

9. Verbal Castigation

cursing, upbraiding, blaming, "giving somebody hell," verbally

3. Threatening

specific, hostile verbal or physical threat or threatening act

10. Malicious Gossip, Deprecating, Defaming, or Tale-Carrying (Tattle-Taling)11. Destructive

breaks things, defaces walls, tears or dirties clothing or bedding, etc.

4. Teasing

including specific acts which appear designed to annoy or irritate, hurt, or humiliate

12. Temper Tantrums

fits of rage, screams, kicks, scratches, etc.

5. Saucy, Impertinent
"smart-alecky"13. Running Away6. Insulting, Name-Calling
direct face-to-face with object of hostility14. I have not observed this boy at all due to my schedule or due to the fact he has been in isolation the whole time.7. Ridiculing, Mocking, Making-Fun-Of

See Rolled Sheet

Appendix 3

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Name of child _____

Date _____

Counselor _____

Unit _____

RATING SCALE

Check the point on each scale which in your opinion best describes the behavior of this child during the past week.

In making these ratings, try to compare him with all the other children you have known. Judge him with respect to each quality independently; that is, judge objectively and try not to be influenced by your general impression of him.

You may check any place on a scale.

Be sure to rate him on all five scales.

Each child is to be given a rating on the 3rd day and 10th day of custody.

UNCOOPERATIVE

1. Extremely uncooperative; refuses to follow any suggestions; unwilling, antagonistic.

2. Uncooperative; replies perfunctorily to questions; indifferent.

3. Takes situation for granted; responds willingly but volunteers little.

4. Likes being asked to do things; volunteers occasionally.

COOPERATIVE
5. Very cooperative. Volunteers help readily; anxious to do anything asked.

AMIABLE

1. Actively dislikes quarrels. Acts as peacemaker. Good-humored.

2. Has sunny disposition. Quarrels less than average.

3. Quarrels under real provocation; occasionally starts quarrel. Generally amiable.

4. Quarrels more than average child.

QUARRELSOME
5. Pronounced tendency to be quarrelsome has a "chip on the shoulder."

AGGRESSIVE

1. Threatens others; dominant; reacts to reproof violently; overtly aggressive; starts trouble.

2. Seldom or reluctantly gives in; reacts to violence with violence. Threatens others.

3. Complies with normal authority; reacts with violence only when provoked.

4. Gives in readily; objects to violence with "Stop!", but not with blows.

SUBMISSIVE
5. Complies with all requests; submits to violence without doing anything at it.

DOCILE

1. Passively agrees to everything; no sign of resistance or unwillingness.

2. Tends to accept suggestions and do what he is told without resistance.

3. Conforms normally to all reasonable requests and accepts authority as necessary.

4. Tends to resist authority but will conform if enough pressure is put on him.

REBELLIOUS
5. Hostilely defiant rejects all suggestions and resists any restraint.

ANTAGONISTIC

1. Marked hostility, suspiciousness, or unfriendliness.

2. Not as marked as 1, but less friendly than the average child.

3. About like the average. Has both likes and dislikes.

4. More friendly and outgoing than the average child, but not as marked as 5.

FRIENDLY
5. Exceptionally outgoing and friendly. Likes practically everyone and wants them to like him.

Appendix 4

Adolescent Interview Schedule¹

1. Have you lived with your parents all your life?
 - a. (IF NO) How did that come about?
 - b. How long were you away from your home (mother, father)?
 - c. Have you been separated from either of your parents at any time? (For how long? How about during the war?)
2. How do you feel about your (high) school? How are things coming along there?
 - a. What kind of grades do you get?
 - b. Have you ever felt you'd like to move to another school?
 - c. How about the teachers you've had? How do you feel about them?
 - d. Do you think high school teachers are interested in helping you? Why do you feel this way?
 - e. Are there any teachers you especially dislike, and find it difficult to get along with? (What have you disliked about them?)
 - f. Have there been teachers you've really enjoyed working with? (What did you like about them?)
3. How often have you felt that a teacher has given you an unfair grade?
 - a. Are there any (other) ways you've felt teachers have treated you unfairly?
 - b. When this sort of thing happens, what do you do? Say?
 - c. Suppose a teacher punishes you unjustly, what do you do about it? (What do you say?)
 - d. What if he gives you too much homework? Tells you to do something you think is unreasonable? (Do you express your feelings about this to him? What do you say?)
4. If you dislike a teacher, do you ever try to get back at him? (What do you do? How often?)
 - a. When did you last get mad at a teacher? (What did you do?)
 - b. When was the time before that? (What did you do then?)
 - c. Have you ever struck or thrown something at a teacher? (How often?)
 - d. Slammed doors or desks and things like that? (How often?)
 - e. Sworn at them? Answered them back?
 - f. How often would you say you got mad at a teacher?
 - g. What have you found the best way of dealing with a teacher you don't like?
 - g. Have you ever transferred out of a class because you didn't like a teacher? (Complained to the vice-principal or a counselor?)

¹Copied from Bandura and Walters' Adolescent Aggression.

Appendix 4 (Cont'd)

- h. When you've done something to annoy a teacher, how do you feel about it afterwards? (Do you just forget about it, or do you sometimes try to make up for it in some way?)
5. Do you sometimes do things openly in school for which you know you'll get told off or punished?
 - a. What sort of things? (How often?)
 - b. Have you ever been told off for clowing in class? (What sort of things have you done? How often?)
 - c. How about asking silly questions on purpose? Making funny remarks?
 - d. Are there any other things of this sort that you've done?
6. Now, I'd like your opinion of the fellows you've met at high school. How, in general, do you feel about them? (Do you enjoy their company?)
 - a. What kind of things make you like a fellow?
 - b. What kind of things make you dislike a fellow? (How do you deal with this kind of guy?)
 - c. How do you deal with the kind of guy who likes pushing his weight around? What do you do if he starts on you? (Suppose he keeps on at you?)
 - d. What about the sort of fellow who blows his top at you or says things about you you don't like? (How do you deal with him?)
 - e. When did you last hit a guy? (How did that come about?) How often do you find you do this?
 - f. How often have you gotten into a fight since you've been at high school? (How about grade school?)
 - g. How about blowing your top at a guy? When was the last time you did that? (How often does this happen?)
 - h. Do other fellows ever get mad at you because of things you've said to them? (Examples?) How often?
 - i. Do you ever feel like doing something mean to another fellow? (What sort of thing makes you feel this way?) What do you do when you feel this way? (How often does this happen?)
 - j. When you've got mad at a guy and hit him, how do you feel afterwards? (What if you've said something unpleasant to him?) What do you usually do in a case like this?
7. Suppose some fellow plays a real dirty trick on you. How do you go about getting even with him? (Can you give me some examples?)
 - a. What have you found the best way of dealing with a guy who gets you into trouble? (Suppose he did this on purpose?)
8. Do you care very much what other guys think of you? (What about your really close friends?)
 - a. How do you go about trying to get them to like you?
 - b. Among the fellows you go around with, what sorts of things make a guy respected and looked up to? (How much do you try to do these things?)

Appendix 4 (Cont'd)

- c. If your friends don't like some ways you act, do you try to change, or do you think that's your business and not theirs?
 - d. Do you ever find that you can't be quite honest to your friends about things you've done or how you feel, because they might dislike you if you were? (About what sort of things?)
9. Have there ever been times when you've felt you've got to do something foolish just for the hell of it, for example, driving a car at 90 m.p.h. or starting a brawl or smashing up? Are there any (other) things of this sort that you've done? (How often? How do you feel afterwards?)
10. When you do something your parents don't like, or haven't done something you should have done, who usually handles this, your mother or your father?
- a. If you do something your father doesn't like, something he thinks wrong, what sort of things does he do? (What if you don't obey him?)
 - b. Has he ever slapped you or given you a licking? (How often? How about when you were younger?)
 - c. Taken something away from you or stopped you doing something you wanted to do?
 - d. Made you look silly in front of other people? (Called you a baby or stupid or dumb and things like that?) (Tried to make you feel ridiculous?)
 - e. Does he grumble at you very much? Keep on nagging you about things until you do as he wants? (About what things? How much?)
 - f. Has he sometimes ignored you or refused to speak to you until you did as he wanted? Told you you were ungrateful or that you didn't appreciate him enough or told you all he's done for you? Told you he didn't want to have any more to do with you until you changed?
 - g. When he's displeased with you which of these things is he most likely to do?
 - h. If you do something your mother doesn't like, what sort of things does she do?
 - i. Has she ever slapped you or given you a licking? (How often? How about when you were younger?)
 - j. Taken something away from you or stopped you doing something you wanted to do?
 - k. Made you look silly in front of other people? (Called you babyish or dumb or anything like that?) (Tried to make you feel ridiculous?)
 - l. Does she grumble at you very much? Keep on nagging at you until you do as she wants? (About what things? How much?)
 - m. Has she sometimes ignored you or refused to speak to you until you did as she wanted? Told you you were ungrateful or didn't appreciate her enough or told you all she's done for you? Told you she didn't want to have any more to do with you until you changed?

Appendix 4 (Cont'd)

- n. When she's displeased with you, which of these things she most likely to do?
 - o. How do you feel about the way your mother has dealt with you in regard to punishment? (Do you think she's been pretty reasonable, or do you think she's given you a rough time?)
11. How honest do you feel you can be to your mother about where you have been and what things you have done?
- a. How honest do you feel you can be to your father?
 - b. Does it ever seem especially important not to tell your mother where you have been and what sort of things you've been doing, even though you know she won't disapprove? (How often do you feel this way?)
 - c. Do you sometimes feel this way with your father? (How often?)
 - d. After you've done something that your mother disapproves of without her knowing about it, do you ever feel sorry and go and tell her afterwards?
 - e. What if you fail to do something you were supposed to do, how does this make you feel? What do you say? What do you do?
 - f. What if you do something you know your father disapproves of? (Do you ever feel sorry and go and tell him afterwards?)
 - g. What if you fail to do something you were supposed to do? What do you do? What do you say?
12. I guess everybody gets angry with their parents sometimes. What sort of things make you angry with your father, for example?
- a. What do you usually do when you get mad at him?
 - b. Have you ever struck your father? Thrown things around the house? Sworn at him? Shouted at him? Talked back? Stomped out of the house? Slammed doors and things like that?
 - c. What sort of things make you angry with your mother?
 - d. What do you usually do when you get angry with her?
 - e. What other sort of things have you done when you've been angry with her? (Repeat probes used for father.)
 - f. How often would you say you get angry at your mother?
 - g. After this happens, do you sometimes feel very sorry and try to make it up, or do you usually just let things go? (How do you do this?)
 - h. How often do you get angry with your father?
 - i. Do you sometimes feel very sorry after getting angry with him and try to make it up? (How?)
13. Suppose you could change anything in your life, what would you first like to change? (Why do you put this first?)
- a. Are there any other things you'd very much like to change?
 - b. Are there any (other) things about yourself you'd very much like to change?

Appendix 4 (Cont'd)

- c. Are there things about yourself you're proud of, and wouldn't want to change?
- d. Are there things about yourself that make you feel angry or ashamed?

Appendix 5

Rating Scales Applied To The Adolescent Interview
(Bandura & Walters, 1959)

Scale 1. Boy's report of direct verbal aggression against teachers.
(Q. 3,4)

This scale measures the extent to which boy expresses aggression directly to teacher by verbal means, e.g., swearing, arguing back, refusing directly to obey orders, protesting against treatment, etc.

1. No instances.
2. Some instances; infrequent, mild.
3. Occasionally objects or argues with teacher.
4. Frequently objects, protests, argues. May express anger.
5. Frequent strong verbal protests. Loses control.

Scale 2. Boy's report of direct physical aggression toward teacher.
(Q. 3,4)

Include only instances of boy's striking teacher or throwing things at him, or other similar forms of physical attack.

1. No instances.
2. One or two incidents of this kind.
3. A few incidents.
4. Occurs often; three or four times every year.
5. Occurs very often.

Scale 9. Boy's report of verbal aggression toward peers (calling names, blowing his top, teasing, etc.). (Q. 6,7)
Take account of Q.8 also.

1. No instances of verbal aggression reported.
2. One or two instances, but these mild in nature. In general avoids this.
3. Admits to verbal aggression when angry.
4. Several indications of verbal aggression given. Admits to provoking others on occasions, or retorts strongly when angered.
5. Several indications of verbal aggression. Boy on occasion provokes others.

Scale 8. Boy's report of physical aggression against peers (fist-fights, hitting, pushing, etc.). (Q. 6,7)
Take account of Q. 8, also.

1. No instances of physical aggression reported.
2. Has been in one or two fights during high school years and reports no other instances of physical aggression, or has been in no fights and reports one or two other instances of physical aggression.
3. Has been in one or two fights in high school and reports one or two other instances of physical aggression, or reports several instances

Appendix 5 (Cont'd)

of physical aggression other than fighting.

4. Several instances of physical aggression reported, including fighting. Not as favored a response as in (5).
5. Reports several instances of fighting and other kinds of physically aggressive behavior. Explicitly says he initiates attacks on other boys, or would respond with physical attack when his opponent is only verbally aggressive. "Best way of dealing with people," etc.

Scale 35. Boy's report of direct verbal aggression toward mother.
(Q. 12)

1. No instances.
2. Some instances, mild.
3. Occasionally objects or argues with mother.
4. Frequently objects, protests, argues. May express anger.
5. Frequent strong verbal protests. Loses control.

Scale 37. Boy's report of direct physical aggression toward mother.
(Q. 12)

1. No instances.
2. One or two incidents of this kind.
3. A few incidents.
4. Occurs often (three or four times every year)
5. Occurs very often.

Scale 36. Boy's report of direct verbal aggression toward father.
(Q. 12) (Same as for Scale 35)

Scale 38. Boy's report of direct physical aggression toward father.
(Q. 12) (Same as for Scale 37)

Appendix - 6

TAT Scoring System Used by Mussen & Naylor, 1953

Directions for Scoring TAT

The basic scoring principle is that only the presence of any particular aggression need or punishment press within one story is checked; frequency within one story is disregarded, e.g., "He broke into the store and took five dollars from the cash register. Next night he went back and robbed the store again." n Acquisition is scored once; the repetition is disregarded.

Score only what is explicitly stated. We are interested in scoring manifest content only, hence interpretation is avoided. Analyze only in accordance with the directions for use of categories given below.

Our focus of attention is the hero. We are only interested in his behavior, desires, and drives which may be termed aggressive (scored as aggression need, n); and the environmental stimuli impinging on him, interpersonal relations, motives, and behavior of others in regard to the hero which may be termed punishing (scored as punishment press, p).

AGGRESSION NEEDS

Aggression 1. Physical, social. To fight or kill in self-defense or in defense of a loved one. To kill someone accidentally without hostility, e.g., while hunting. To avenge an unprovoked (unjustified or criminal) insult or injury. To fight for one's country in a war. To punish a misdemeanor. Aggression expressed in game form: boxing, mock wars, cowboys and Indians. To catch and imprison an enemy or criminal.

Aggression 2. Physical, social. Criminal assault. To hold up, injure, or kill a human being unlawfully. To initiate a fist fight without due cause; to avenge a felt injury with unusual severity or malignancy. Hero is described as a gangster. If hero is described simply as fighting, n agg 2 and p agg 3 are both scored.

Aggression 3. Emotional, verbal. To get angry or to hate someone (even though the feeling is not expressed in words). To engage in verbal quarrel. To curse, criticize, belittle, reprove, blame, ridicule. To excite aggression against an individual or group by public criticism. To accuse falsely or report activities of someone. To testify against someone. To make someone "feel bad" by verbal means.

Aggression 4. Destruction. To attack or kill an animal. To break, smash, burn, or destroy a physical object intentionally.

Self punishment 1. Physical. Suicide or self-injury.

Self punishment 2. Verbal. Self-deprecation, self-recrimination.

Self punishment 3. Emotional. To feel anxiety, apprehension or to worry about some thought or act already committed or being contemplated. To feel guilty, despairing, depressed, sad; "to feel bad" for these reasons.

PUNISHMENT PRESS

Aggression 1. Physical, social. The hero is in the wrong (he is an aggressor or a criminal) and an individual defends himself, retaliates, pursues, or perhaps kills the hero. If he is killed or wounded in a war this is scored p agg 1.

Aggression 2. Punishment. The State, police, a parent, or some other legitimate authority punishes the hero or threatens punishment for misconduct. It is stated that the hero's parents are very strict and that he fears punishment for misconduct. "He stayed out late and tried to sneak into the house because his parents were very strict about this."

Aggression 3. Physical, asocial. A person or gang assaults, injures or kills the hero. Another person starts a fight and the hero defends himself.

Aggression 4. Emotional, verbal. Someone gets angry at the hero or hates him. Someone argues or quarrels with the hero. (Thus, when the hero engages in a quarrel with someone, this is scored n agg 3 and p agg 4. The hero cursed, criticized, belittled, reprovved, reprimanded, ridiculed. Someone slanders the hero behind his back or falsely accuses or unjustly suspects him of being guilty of a crime. Someone threatens the hero. Someone reports his activities or misdeeds.

Aggression 5. Destruction. Something belonging to the hero is intentionally damaged or destroyed.

Acquisition. To steal, cheat, swindle, take something by force or against hero's will from hero.

Deprivation. The hero is deprived of or has withheld some specific privilege, object, food, or comfort. He is deprived of freedom, forbidden to go out, locked up, or put in jail for some misdeed.

Dominance 1. Coercion. Someone forces or tries to force the hero to do something he doesn't want to do. He is exposed to harsh commands, nagging, hypnosis, or strong arguments from a parent or an authority.

Dominance 2. Restraint. Someone prevents or tries to prevent the hero from doing something. He is exposed to checks, prohibitions, and restraints. Hesitancy in granting a request, temporary denial.

Acquisition. Asocial. To steal, to cheat, swindle, forge a check. The aim may involve money, a valuable object, or even a person, as in kidnapping.

Autonomy 1. Freedom. To escape or avoid regions of restraint or coercion. To escape from some confining space, to break out of prison. To run away from home, or school. To quit a job because of restrictions, obligations, duties. To leave or break off with someone in order to escape the obligations of relationships. The determination to remain independent, avoid all entangling alliances or limiting prohibitions. To go off and do something which is legal and yet contrary to parents' wishes. To resort to tricks and deceit to escape the situation or environment. If hero leaves to go to war, n. aut 1 is scored as well as n. agg 1.

Autonomy 2. Resistance. To resist coercion. The hero refuses to do or simply does not do what is demanded of him. To argue against the judgment of a superior. To be contrary-minded, negativistic, argumentative, unyielding, resistant to authority. The hero leaves or goes some place in spite of another's desire to keep him from going. The hero disobeys.

Autonomy 3. Asocial. To do something that is not allowed, severely criticizable, or punishable to a serious extent. To misbehave, to be disorderly or unruly. To run counter to social or moral standards; lying, cheating, gambling, drinking, going out with other women, staying out late, etc. To get into "trouble" or do something "wrong."

Dominance 1. Coercion. To try to influence or forcibly change the behavior, or sentiments, or ideas of others against their will. To command, to hypnotize someone, to domineer or bully others.

Dominance 2. Restraint. Hero prevents or tries to prevent someone from doing something. Restrains, checks, prohibits.

Loss. Love object. Parents or other love objects are dead or die in story. Must be stated that person is loved or that sorrow or regret is felt.

Loss. Other. Someone for whom the hero has not expressed love, concern, or regret is dead or dies in story.

Physical danger. Love object. Some love object of hero is threatened, exposed to sickness, physical injury or danger. Must be stated that person is loved or that anxiety or fear is felt for person's safety.

Physical danger. Other. Someone for whom the hero has not expressed love, concern, or regret is threatened by physical danger.

Rejection. The hero rejects, scorns, loses respect for, repudiates, or turns away from someone. Hero refuses to pay attention to demands of someone or refuses to help when help is needed. Hero sends person away, tells him to leave or "get out."

Appendix 6 (Cont'd)

Loss. Love object. Parents or other love object are dead or die in the story. Hero loses one or both parents through divorce or separation. Must be stated that person is loved or that sorrow or regret is felt.

Physical danger. Personal. The hero's physical well-being is threatened. He is exposed to sickness or physical danger and injury from human or non-human objects (animals, auto or plane accidents or mechanical difficulties, storms, falling, etc.). The hero dies.

Physical handicap. The hero is handicapped in some way--crippled, blind, deaf, etc. It is stated that the hero is hurt, has sores, broken limbs, or is very tired or ill.

Physical danger. Love object. Some love object of the hero (parent, child, wife, sweetheart, pet) is threatened, exposed to sickness or physical injury or danger from human or non-human sources or objects. Must be stated that person is loved or that fear or anxiety is felt for person's safety.

Rejection. A person rejects, scorns, loses respect for, repudiates, turns away from, or leaves the hero. Someone refuses to pay attention to the demands of the hero or refuses to help when he needs help. The hero is sent away from home or is not allowed into his home or place of employment. Hero's request is denied. The hero is not given attention at home. The hero's wife is unfaithful to him. Hero has "no one left in the world."

Self punishment 1. Physical. Suicide or self-injury.

Self punishment 2. Verbal. Self-deprecation, self-recrimination.

Self punishment 3. Emotional. To feel anxiety, apprehension, or to worry about some thought or act already committed or being contemplated. To feel guilty, despairing, depressed, sad; "to feel bad" for these reasons.

Appendix 7

**"Overcontrolled" and "Undercontrolled" Adjectives from
the Gough Adjective Check List**

<u>No.</u>	<u>Overcontrolled</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Undercontrolled</u>
28	Cautious	7	Aggressive
43	Conscientious	14	Argumentative
45	Considerate	17	Assertive
49	Cooperative	23	Boastful
85	Fearful	24	Bossy
100	Gentle	52	Cruel
111	Helpful	59	Demanding
129	Inhibited	70	Dominant
146	Mannerly	114	Hostile
149	Meek	121	Impulsive
158	Nervous	138	Irritable
171	Peaceable	144	Loud
191	Quiet	152	Mischievous
207	Retiring	168	Outspoken
214	Self-controlled	188	Quarrelsome
230	Shy	197	Rebellious
253	Submissive	210	Rude
268	Timid	211	Sarcastic
297	Withdrawn	227	Show-off
299	Worrying	271	Tough

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