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ANGER: A RESOURCE PAPER FOR SCHOOL COUNSELORS
AND SCHOOL TEACHERS

by

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A professional paper submitted to the Graduate Faculty in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

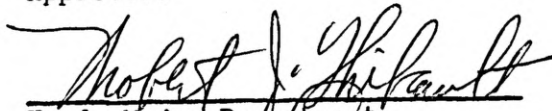
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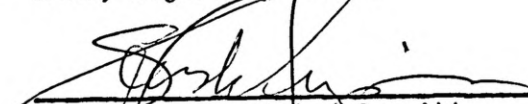
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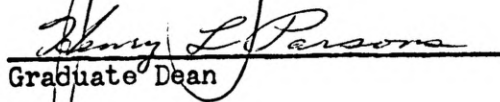
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ABSTRACT

The review of pertinent psychological journals and books published since 1950 was done to investigate the emotion of anger. The related subjects of emotion, hostility and aggression were also investigated in these sources to provide background for an understanding of the emotion of anger. Particular emphasis was placed on material related to the completion of the emotion of anger, prevention or removal of hostility and control of aggression. The review of literature was presented with the intent to promote a better understanding of the subject of anger among school personnel.

Emotion was defined as diffuse, physiological changes, psychological in origin and not necessarily implying subjective awareness. Emotions were seen as having wide-ranging physical and behavioral effects. They are caused and controlled primarily by the subjective meanings of symbols, words or events. Emotions are often a subject of social disapproval.

Anger was defined as emotional reaction with certain facial-skeletal components and certain drive characteristics. Though the emotions of anger and anxiety typically appear together, they are different in their physiological reactions. Anger is caused and controlled by words, symbols or events labelled as anger-provoking by the individual. As anger and anxiety occur together, it is common for the label of "anger" to be applied to the emotion of anxiety. "Guilt" and "anxiety" are different labels for the same emotion, anxiety. Problems related to anger are most often related to over-control.

Hostility was defined as an implicit verbal response or attitude. It is a source of symbols leading to the emotions of anger and anxiety. It is easily modified by new information. Hostile communication is commonly disapproved of, a fact which is seen as leading to the occurrence of prejudice.

Aggression was defined as a behavior either directed toward some non-hostile goal or toward the reduction of the effect of some aversive perception. Common aggressive behaviors are covert, and aggression is seldom destructive. Most methods commonly used for controlling aggression are of poor efficacy.

Important conclusions of the study include the following:

- (a) an understanding of semantics is important to an understanding of anger;
- (b) anger is a drive to communication most commonly occurring in situations involving need, involvement or love; (c) the emotion of anxiety is often mislabelled "anger."

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

School personnel, parents and students are continually confronted with problems related to the expression of anger. Anger and aggressive behavior are normally regarded with fear by potential targets and perhaps with even greater anxiety by the would-be attackers. The school counselor is usually correct in expecting to find within the client facing him hostilities that the client does not feel free even to speak of.

Not only is anger and its concomitant issues feared, but it is also little understood. Parents find a great challenge in deciding what to do about their children's fights. Though advice appears to be plentiful, it seems to be a rare parent who is comfortable with his or her own angry feelings (58:29) either to feel secure about the example he is setting for his children or about the means used to control his children's outbursts (58:24).

In the school teachers are told to be tough with students, and for some this works. Others become permissive, and for some this works too. Or it is suggested: "Be reasonable." "Be consistent." Still, no matter what they do, the result is that for some teachers classrooms are seldom the location for an outburst and for some explosive behavior is commonplace. Some teachers, as well as parents, feel they have a method of control and some just can't seem to find any way.

As for the angry person himself, often he says he can control his temper, sometimes he can't; but, he is trying valiantly always.

Anger seems both ubiquitous and shrouded in secrecy. Like weather, there is much discussion of anger. Like weather, events are blamed on anger which probably aren't caused by it--and likewise there are numerous events brought on by hidden anger. For one thing, anger is typically regarded as "bad" in our society. People speak of loosing control when angry, for control is not only respectable but necessary. Anger is spoken of as a failure. Students are typically sent to apologize to targets for "getting angry" as though getting angry was a crime.

Anger appears to be most commonly a punishable act. People go to tremendous extremes to hide their attack on others, and even their negative feelings toward others are disguised.

This "anger" then is commonplace, misunderstood, feared, criminal and secreted.

This paper does not seek to investigate the sources of anger. The researcher feels that this would be neither possible nor useful. Nor for similar reasons will much time be spent on a review of aggression research. Rather this paper is intended only to remove some secrecy and misinformation from the subject.

The writer feels that it is very important that school personnel working with this difficult problem be as informed and knowledgeable as possible so that they may deal with the problem as openly and as comfortably

as possible and also encourage this attitude in their students.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to investigate the emotion of anger and its related issues. Material related to the completion of the emotion of anger, to the prevention or removal of hostility, and to the making-appropriate of aggressive urges is emphasized.

Purpose of the Study

Several works have been written in the past decade "comprehensively" analyzing aggressive behavior. Some researchers have proposed methods of control. Also, much research has been initiated into the areas surrounding aggression. The theoretical writings about aggressive behavior and anger are incredibly extensive. Buss (14), who is a frequent researcher and writer in the field, gave up his attempt to write a comprehensive book, a fact even more impressive since he did this before the really extensive research of the sixties had begun. Material in the field is thus plentiful. A book by Berkowitz (7) contains 385 titles in its selected bibliography. Most of these studies have been concerned with aggressive behavior, and anger has been seen only as a part of the problem of aggression. It is the purpose of this researcher to synthesize material related to anger.

Studies, both of emotions in general and anger in specific, have tended to stick with observable phenomena. This is done to reduce ambiguity of terms, to avoid problems related to the subjective nature

of emotions, and to further the cause of scientific research. It is the intention of this researcher, however, to present material in a manner supportive of the subjective nature of his readers. There is no direct intention to further psychological research. Rather the intent is to help reduce the fear component of the problem of anger. And it is this fear through lack of understanding that this researcher feels is central with the problem of anger.

In this effort this researcher is in support of two general themes becoming popular. One, the human potential movement, stresses that people have within them the necessities to govern themselves and that external controls are only tentatively necessary. The other, a general existential theme, stresses each individual's right to his own way through life. No specific suggestions or answers to the problems of aggressive behavior are sought. Instead, there is a hope to share more information with more individuals, through counselors and teachers to students and parents.

General Questions of the Study

The review of literature attempts to answer the following questions. How has anger been defined? How has emotion been defined? How has hostility been defined? What are the characteristics of semantically-mediated emotions? What are the connections between guilt and anger and hostility? What is a guilt-free hostility object? How has aggressive behavior been defined? How does instrumental aggression differ from angry aggression? What is the relationship between anxiety and anger?

How is angry aggression expressed? What are the consequences of various methods of control? What are some causes of anger? What does anger mean?

General Procedure of the Study

The problems of the study have been solved by a review of research in psychological journals since 1950. Several comprehensive studies of aggression have been selectively read in an effort to include material prior to 1950. Also, several studies and books of selected readings in related fields have been read to broaden the framework of the synthesis. A few works of a theoretical nature have been examined including works of Sigmund Freud and Karl Menninger in Psychology, and Alfred Korzybski in General Semantics.

The study consists of a review of the material related to each of the questions proposed above. Finally, a general discussion of meanings is presented along with suggestions for further reading.

Limitations

A limitation necessary in this study is the narrowing of the material presented to material that is either recent, since 1950, or material related to this recent material.

Also, due to the limits of space and time, many studies referred to will not be discussed in detail. Furthermore, material used is almost exclusively from American research efforts.

Definition of Terms

Definitions of the following terms are part of the purpose of this

study. Thus, the definitions below must be considered as guidelines for later defining.

1. Aggression can be defined as behavior whose goal is the inflicting of injury on some object or person (10:3).

2. Anger is a response with both facial-skeletal and nervous-system components that may be thought of as a drive and that is related to aggression (14:9).

3. Control may be thought of as a strategy for controlling or reducing specific behaviors (63:237).

4. Emotion is a response both extensive and intensive in nature, psychological in origin and physiological in expression (48:22).

5. Feeling is the subjective awareness of an emotion (21:58).

6. Guilt is normally thought of as an emotional response arising out of a real or imagined contravention of moral or social standards in act or thought (27:234).

7. Hostility will be defined as an implicit verbal response involving ill will and negative evaluations of people and events (14:12).

8. Instrumental behavior is directed towards a goal whose attainment completes the drive for that behavior (56:50).

9. Semantics refers to spoken language, its effects and its meanings (47:20).

Summary

School personnel are continually confronted with anger, both in

themselves and others. The nature of anger, though heavily studied by psychologists, is still little known to laymen. The fear connected to this lack of understanding is seen as being an important barrier to better control of behavior and improvement of communications in schools as elsewhere.

This paper presents material related to anger in an effort to spread understanding and eliminate the effects of anxiety concerning anger and its expression.

CHAPTER II

EMOTION: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANGER

Introduction

Anger can be seen in various ways: as an emotion, as a semantical problem and as a behavioral problem. Since anger is difficult to understand without a clear understanding of emotional phenomena in general, this chapter investigates the subject of emotional reactions. The following chapter will then deal with anger. Subsequent chapters will deal with two aspects of anger. First, in this chapter, emotion will be defined. Causes of emotions, problems related to emotions and social implications of emotions will be discussed. Finally, a summary of findings concerning emotions will be presented.

Emotion--Definitions

Emotions themselves have been defined variously in literature. In the recent Encyclopedia of Human Behavior, they were described as "intense 'stirred up' feelings, usually directed towards a specific person or event, and involving widespread visceral and skeletal changes." (36:387) Unfortunately, this definition makes use of the word "feelings" which is very loosely defined. Here, it probably refers to sensations rather than to the subjective awareness of an emotion, which latter meaning would make the definition cyclical.

In their book Physiological Psychology in 1956 (21:6-7), Wenger, Jones and Jones noted that emotion can be thought of in two ways. It may

be a non-cortical event in the body. Consciousness of this event may or may not occur. Or emotion may be a mental event partially dependent upon bodily events.

Many authors' studies are involved in the above two formulations. Lange supported the non-cortical, purely visceral and skeletal point of view (21:7). William James saw emotion as a perception of bodily changes which had been triggered by other perceptions (21:11). Cannon later saw this emotion as being a simple event in the brain (hypothalamus) brought on by appropriate stimuli (22:4).

This discussion can become needlessly confusing, however. After a review of the essential studies related to anger, this researcher decided on definitions of emotion and of feeling which will serve best as a guide. The definition of emotion is best expressed in Lachman's book on Psychosomatic Disorders (48:22). Emotion refers to extensive and intensive physiological changes that are psychological in origin. These changes are both diffuse, affecting many parts of the body, and varying in strength. They may be brief or long in duration. They are to be distinguished from similar reactions resulting from non-cortical events, such as, illness, exercise or drugs. Emotional reactions are also considered hidden and internal. They may or may not be accompanied by overt behaviors. Above all, emotion can be measured and thus is the subject for scientific research (48:23).

Emotion can be thought of as having drive components; that is,

an emotion may instigate overt behavior (56:106). For example, the emotion of fear usually produces the reaction of withdrawal as fear is aversive in nature (14:11). Since emotion is defined as a measureable entity, there is no implication as to whether there is any subjective perception involved (48:23). Awareness of emotion may exist or may not (21:58).

Feeling is defined as the subjective awareness of an emotion and is subject to all the difficulties of that subjectivity that scientific research attempts to avoid. For example, a feeling may not be describable (67:52). Even more, it may not be immediately labelable, and the label placed on a feeling has profound implications according to Schachter's (67) research. Korzybski (47:219) considers improper labeling the cause of great harm.

Briefly, then, emotion is considered a grouping of bodily events, and feeling is the awareness of these events.

Physical Consequences of Emotions

Physiological reactions in emotions are mediated by the autonomic nervous system (48:19). Through this part of the nervous system, many reactions are controlled via nerves and hormonal output (16:400). Organs of the body affected include the liver, lungs, heart, skin blood vessels and capillaries, sweat glands, pupils of the eyes and intestines. Reactions may be differential in nature. For example, pupils may be dilated while heart rate may speed up or slow down (48:18). No part of the body is left out of the possibility of being affected by an emotion. Though muscles

may not be used overtly, their blood supply is affected (32:209).

Many of these reactions are capable of subjective awareness. They are equally capable of the process of adaptation, whereby they may no longer be felt (16:382). It is possible for an emotion to occur, be felt, be ignored or enter awareness and then seem to drop out.

In addition to the direct physical consequences of emotions, the drive qualities of an emotion can lead to behavior which will have even further consequences. Eating or exercise, for example, have various bodily effects.

Finally, the physical reaction of emotion is affected by the condition of the body. Hunger and thirst, which have their own bodily conditions, will modify emotional reactions. Weak or over-strong organs, particularly endocrine glands, will greatly affect the body's response to emotional stimuli. Autonomic patterns of response can even be learned further complicating emotions.

Physical ramifications of emotions are not only diffuse but greatly variable from person to person (48:11-53). There may be common elements to these reactions, but in a given person at a given time, the specific reaction to an emotion and the nature of the feeling can be only tentatively guessed at.

Causes and Control of Emotion

William James suggested that the bodily changes of emotion were due to a mental perception of some fact (21:11). It is not doubted in any

of the literature read that emotion is a response implying a stimulus. What these stimuli are is a very open question (48:26). Many theories have been presented, and one of these distinguishes between primary and secondary stimuli (21:236-237) (48:40-42) (56:51). Primary stimuli are those which produce emotional reactions without verbal-semantic mediation; that is, without cognitive learning. Examples of primary stimuli are those which arouse emotional reactions in pre-verbal children and animals (48:26-27) (21:100-115).

Secondary stimuli are those which are mediated by cognition. They are semantical in nature and they are sometimes called semantic reactions (47:19). Examples of these two kinds of stimuli are: a pin prick (primary) and the sight of a pin (secondary). Secondary stimuli can be any word, symbol, object, etc. In emotional reactions of adult humans, secondary stimuli are always involved in a continuous process. A word, for example, "swastika," either spoken, written or thought of, may produce an emotional reaction (48:26). Once the reaction is felt, a label will be applied to the feeling, and further emotional reactions will result from that label (67:51).

Control of emotions can be viewed as the manipulation of stimuli and stimulus-response connections. A word or a symbol eliciting fear may be avoided; using conditioning techniques, the response to that stimulus can be changed (47:23-25) (48:170-171); or, the procession of secondary stimulus-response reactions can be changed (47:219). This last alternative

intimately involves labeling. Note this change in the reaction to the same stimuli below:

Initial stimulus--emotional reaction--label "fear"--
emotional reaction--label "unpleasant"--emotional
reaction--label "scary"--emotional reaction, etc.

Initial stimulus--emotional reaction--label "fear"--
emotional reaction--label "unimportant"--emotional
reaction--label "interesting"--emotional reaction, etc.

The first example involves more and more unpleasant reactions; the second may lead to excitement (47:219) (48:42,45) (67:52).

The implications of the above discussion are that emotions, rather than being a process out of control, are a process under an ongoing control at all times.

Problems of Emotion

There are two types of problems related specifically to emotions: physiological and behavioral. The list of physical complaints related to emotional difficulties can be very extensive (16:392) (21:5). The occurrence of these complaints is extremely common but hard to document (48:6-7). Cure of them involves either medication to prevent the symptoms, or unlearning of the emotional reactions involved (48:180). Unfortunately, treatment of these disorders is not always left up to doctors, and much medicine is taken by the sufferers themselves in an attempt to remove their discomfort. Occasionally, these methods work (placebo effect) by removing the emotional reactions (48:172). Even if a doctor is consulted, he may not recognize the emotional nature of the disorder. Sometimes, if he does

recognize the involvement of emotions, he may still have no recourse but medication. Recently, books have been written dealing with psychosomatic disorders (48), and in the future, treatment may be more effective.

Behavioral problems related to emotions range from those that are just slightly annoying to those that may be completely incapacitating. Non-verbal signs may be revealing where a person intends concealment. Paleness, relating to fear, may give away to an opponent one's inner feelings. On the extreme end the connection between severe psychological disorders and emotions has long been assumed (16:78-83,207-213). Certainly, the fear of going "insane" is closely related to the fear of losing control of emotions (7:78-79) (14:10).

In between the two extremes, emotions often affect how well a given task is performed, either positively or negatively (14:10) (21:28-29) (48:28-29).

Social Implications of Emotion

Emotional reactions are beginning to be the subject of positive evaluations in society. The past century saw "emotionality" become a "bad" thing. Control, respectability of the expression of inner events, was observed. Emotional displays were taboo or frowned on. Women were permitted more emotional display than men (55:204-208,45-47) (58:7-79). The past few decades have witnessed a slow uphill battle against this denial of feelings (55). Social inhibition is still in operation, however, and individuals still attempt to hide their emotional nature (14:10).

The main purpose in the raising of children is the "socialization" of inappropriate and unsanctioned emotional expressions (16:72) (21:100).

Summary of Findings on Emotion

The following points summarize significant issues in the above discussion.

1. Emotion is a physical reaction to stimuli.
2. The type of physical reaction to a given stimulus is extremely variable and unpredictable.
3. The nature of the subjective awareness of a given emotion (feeling) is not specific.
4. Emotional reactions involve processes mediated by semantical relations.
5. Emotional problems are widespread in nature and common in occurrence.
6. Emotional reactions, and particularly emotional disorders, are a subject of social disapproval.

Conclusion

In this chapter emotion and feeling have been defined and discussed. Causes and controls of emotional reactions, problems related to emotions and social characteristics of emotions have been presented. This researcher feels that this discussion of emotion is a necessary background for further examination of the phenomenon of anger in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

ANGER

Introduction

Anger can probably be best seen as an emotional reactions. The previous chapter on emotion has provided necessary terminology and understandings to make possible an investigation of anger in this chapter. As in the last chapter the phenomenon of anger will first be defined, followed by a discussion of its causes and controls. The relationship to a closely allied emotion, anxiety, will be presented. Problems and social consequences are discussed. And, finally, a summary of findings on anger is presented.

Anger--Definitions

Goldenson (36:80) defines anger as "a reaction of tension and hostility aroused by frustration of a desire or other 'goal-directed behavior'". This definition is quite problematical and perhaps inaccurate. In the same work (36:561) hostility is defined as "persistent anger;" so again, this definition is cyclical. Bach (2:366) defines anger as "often an emotional reaction, but not necessarily irrational; aroused by feeling injured, interfered with, rejected, put-down, humiliated, unfairly criticized, hit below the belt, taken advantage of, manipulated, or exploited." What he means by emotional reaction is not stated, but it seems to involve irrationality. Kaufmann (46:12) speaks of a "physiological arousal state co-existing with fantasied or intended acts culminating in harmful effects

of another person." He further notes that his definition involves "cognitive processes of some complexity," and excludes small children and animals as angry organisms (46:12). This definition, though awkward, is close to that one used in research.

This researcher prefers the definition given by Buss (14:9). Anger is a response "with facial-skeletal and autonomic components. It may be conceptualized as a drive state, and for some psychologists, it does have this dual nature: as behavior with salient autonomic aspects and as a concept related to aggression." Since anger has autonomic components, it is an emotional response. As it is characterized as a drive, it is seen to have a tendency to instigate behavior.

The subjective awareness of the emotion of anger is a complex issue. It is possible to label numerous different physical events as anger (67). Descriptions of the feeling of anger out of context could be little more than misleading, and thus, no definition of the feeling of anger is possible.

Physical Consequences of Anger

The physiology of anger is a much-studied subject. Cannon (22) itemized the following physical events related to anger: slowing or stopping of digestion; shifting of blood from abdominal organs to skeletal muscles; more vigorous contractions of the heart; deepening of respiration; dilation of the bronchioles; and, mobilization of sugar in the blood. The mediating factors for this behavior were illusive. Recently,

research has indicated the importance of two hormones (32), adrenalin and nor-adrenalin. Nor-adrenalin is the hormone specifically related to anger, and adrenalin is that related to fear. The reason that both hormones are present in the reactions noted by Cannon is that fear almost always accompnies anger (32:210) (65:458-459).

The definition of anger also mentioned physical behavior not related to autonomic functioning. Facial-skeletal reactions, such as scowling and kicking, are easily seen in children but are soon inhibited by the effects of socialization (14:9-10) (21:100-125). Efforts of parents to control their children's behavior are normally aimed at explicit acts of anger, and thus, these facial-skeletal reactions tend to vanish (16:22), while internal expressions of anger remain.

Physiological implications of anger in adult humans is thus seen to be a complicated and extensive issue. This situation is further complicated by the physiological closeness of the reactions of fear and anger.

Causes and Control of Anger

An anger reaction is brought on by appropriate stimulus events, objects or symbols as is any other emotional reaction. Literature abounds with attempts to find these causes. Somewhat less effort has been expended in the attempt to find out how to get rid of it once it's there (63:237,242).

Recently, Evans and Stangeland attempted to identify the

stimulus situations for anger (29:412). They administered a 76-item test to 275 college subjects and then performed an item-analysis to try to find as few general situations as possible. The results are listed below, and the order has no ranking significance.

- 1) minor chance annoyances
- 2) destructive people
- 3) unnecessary delays
- 4) inconsiderate people
- 5) self-opinionated people
- 6) frustrations in business
- 7) criticism
- 8) major chance annoyances
- 9) people being personal
- 10) authority

Unfortunately, their study was unable to further reduce this number of situations producing anger; and, therefore, they were unable to draw any conclusions about the stimulus for anger (29:414).

One major theory of the cause of anger is the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis (24). As originally formulated, this hypothesis stated that where frustration occurred there also was anger and angry behavior and vice versa. Later, this hypothesis was amended to say that frustration led to several types of behavior, one of which was aggression and anger. The original reverse formulation, that where there was anger there too must be frustration, was left unamended (7:28) (59:30).

Berkowitz has slightly redefined this idea to suggest that frustration is a general arousing stimulus and will produce anger and angry behavior if, and only if, appropriate cues to anger are present (7:48-50) (8:308) (10).

A problem immediately apparent arising from the discussion of emotion in the previous chapter is whether a given event will be labelled frustrating or anger-producing. Berkowitz was clearly aware of this need (7:50) in his analysis of the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis. Most of the studies of anger have defined frustration as "interference with on-going, goal-directed behavior." (7:xi) For a situation to reliably produce anger, it must either be a primary stimulus, or it must always be defined or labelled as anger-producing. Studies such as that of Evans and Stangeland have been unable to support the idea of a primary stimulus to anger. That a situation would be consistently labelled anger-producing is equally doubtful.

Research supports the importance of labelling in the production of anger from two points. First, the more likely the stimulus is to be labelled anger-producing, the more likely anger is to be produced. If other labels are possible, other emotional behaviors may prevail. Second, the labelling of a person's own feeling state is crucial to subsequent behavior.

Pastore (62) was early to note that the situations used to support the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis were not representative of all frustrating events. He proposed two types of frustrations: arbitrary, unreasonable, unfair; or, non-arbitrary, reasonable and fair. An example of an arbitrary frustration would be when a date cancels an upcoming meeting with no excuse. The non-arbitrary equivalent of this

situation would be that a reasonable excuse was given. Pastore presented lists of both types of frustrating events to 131 college students and asked for their written responses to each situation. Judges saw the responses to arbitrary frustrations as being much more aggressive than those to non-arbitrary frustrations (62:730). Rothaus and Worchel (64) performed a similar experiment which supported the findings of Pastore. In their discussion they suggested that subjects may have learned to inhibit aggressive responses as society frowns on aggression toward reasonable acts. An alternative possibility was that non-arbitrary situations were not labelled anger-producing by the subjects, and, thus, there was little angry behavior to inhibit (64:114-117).

Buss (15) performed an experiment using three types of frustration: task failure, failure to achieve monetary reward, and failure to achieve a better scholastic grade. He hypothesized carefully that in the order mentioned above, anger and aggression would increase. The results did not support this hypothesis at all. In general, different frustrations did not seem to be related to different amounts of anger or angry behavior (15:6). It was further suggested that the subject's response to a given situation, a result of learning, was a significant variable (15:7).

Epstein and Taylor in 1967 (28) tried to differentiate between the anger of "over-controllers" and "under-controllers", that is, people who inhibit angry behavior a lot or a little. In the 27 male college students used as subjects, this variable was not found to have significant

effect (28:282). Another experimental parameter, however, was quite effective. The person causing the frustration displayed either unmitigated ill will, low aggressive intent or rational aggressive intent. The latter two forms of frustration, though physically identical to the first form, had practically no effect on the subjects (28:280). Subjects reacted most strongly to frustration in the presence of the communication of ill will (28:279). Thus, the characteristic of fairness appeared much more critical than the type of frustration (28:282). Similar results have been reported by Taylor (69:306), Rule and Hewitt (66:186) and Pisano and Taylor (63:240).

Hokanson has performed many experiments watching the rising and falling of blood pressure in angered subjects. Though these experiments are principally interested in the relation between aggressive behavior and arousal reduction, one experiment bears on anger induction and semantical interpretation. In this experiment (41) the attacker was either a peer or a superior to the subject. Since the subjects were college students of both sexes, the superior attacker was a "professor." In this situation the usually reliable method of arousal reduction, that of direct aggression, had no effect. A similar experiment by Gambaro and Rabin (33) varied a characteristic of the subjects rather than characteristics of the aggressor and produced similar results. Subjects were divided into two groups according to their scores on a test measuring their tendency to react with guilt. Low-guilt subjects showed arousal reduction as

expected. High-guilt subjects actually became more aroused after aggressing (33:93).

It thus seems quite clear that as a cause of anger and general arousal the perceptions of the subject are extremely critical.

A second effect of labelling supported in research is that of the labelling of the subject's own feeling state. Two types of experiments demonstrate this effect.

In a now famous series of experiments, Schachter (67) artificially created a state of arousal in subjects using injections of adrenalin. Typically, the physical reaction related to this drug is fear (32:216). Schachter hypothesized that given a state of physiological arousal with no apparent explanation a subject would feel a need to label and describe this feeling; and this explanation and label would be in terms of information immediately available to him (67:50-53). His second hypothesis was that given an explanation for the arousal state, a subject would not be likely to label his feelings in terms of alternate information available.

In one experiment following the injection of adrenalin, a stooge of the experiment acted either overly happy or overly angry. In both cases subjects adopted the mood of the stooge when they had no explanation for their own arousal (67:60-61). Both hypotheses were supported at the .01 level of significance. Definately, the labelling of a given state of emotional arousal can be manipulated (67:64).

In another recent experiment by Berkowitz, Lepinski and Angelo (12)

another method of adjusting a subject's mood evaluation was employed. Forty-eight male college students were connected to an "anger meter." They were all frustrated by a similar method and then randomly assigned by experimenter-controlled meter readings to low, moderate, or high anger groups. They were then permitted to reaggess against their attacker. "Low-anger" subjects agressed slightly. "Moderate-anger" subjects were very aggressive. "High-anger" subjects agressed very slightly, but proved to be very anxious and inhibiting (12:298). In the discussion it was suggested that subjects tended to react in a manner consistent with their perception of themselves via the "anger meter." (12:300)

In conclusion, the causes of anger are intimately connected to the subjective labelling of both internal and external stimuli conditions. If these conditions are seen as appropriate for anger, a subject will become angry. Control of anger would seem to be possible only via control of the subjective perceptions of stimuli involved.

Anger and Anxiety

Evans has recently suggested that fear and anger are quite similar emotionally (29:412). Schachter showed that subjects who were experiencing the emotional condition equivalent to that of fear could label their feelings anger (67). Rothenberg states flatly "anger is always accompanied by anxiety." (65:458)

Many researchers have wondered whether perhaps anger and fear are not the same emotion with different labels. In a series of experiments

Funkenstein found ways to separate these two emotional reactions (32). As is common in research, the method for making this differentiation was found by accident. The blood pressure response of numerous psychotic patients to an injection of a drug, mecholyl, was found to fall into two distinct groups. In one group there was a short, small drop in blood pressure. In the other group the drop was severe and remained low for over 25 minutes. These two groups of people were found to differ as well in personality characteristics, response to treatment and responses on projective tests. The "short drop" group behaved in an angry fashion and were quite resistant to electroshock therapy. The group whose blood pressure dropped for a long period displayed either depressed or frightened behavior and responded readily to electroshock.

Similar results were found among "normal" people under severe stress. Medical students competing for hospital positions and awaiting the results of their applications were tested with mecholyl. Comparing their blood pressure response with their roommates' comments concerning their behavior, similar findings were reported. A further note of this study was that this reaction was a temporary one. When these students were no longer under stress, they displayed no differential response to mecholyl.

Another study in this series showed that an injection of adrenalin or nor-adrenalin prior to testing with mecholyl produced a differential response. Adrenalin produced the same reaction as that in fearful or

depressed students or patients. Nor-adrenalin produced the same result as in angry students or patients. Thus, anger, outward directed, was associated with secretions of nor-adrenalin; and, depression, anger inward directed, or fear are related to secretions of adrenalin.

Funkenstein finally concluded with the theory that man is born with the capacity to react to stress with a variety of emotions and that childhood experiences largely determine the way he will react under stress as an adult (32:218).

Guilt and Anxiety

There has been much debate as to the role of guilt in anger (7:100-102) (33:87) (65:460). One study that bears directly on this debate was performed by Lowe in 1964 (53). After repeated attempts to isolate guilt from anxiety and after continually finding a high correlation between them, he finally concluded that guilt and anxiety "differ more in the mind of the beholder than in the beheld." (53:554)

Thus, when Mosher performed experiments differentiating guilt and anxiety as independent variables, he was dealing with semantical differences. The differences found in his experiment (60) are attributed to effects similar to those found by Schachter (67). Within the semantical differences, however, Mosher did isolate three groupings: Hostility-Guilt was related to fear of anger; Sex-Guilt was related to sexual topics; and Morality-Conscience was related to fears concerning moral or social or religious norms. (61:693-694).

Guilt and anxiety are thus semantically different but are both related to the physical reaction produced by adrenalin and characteristic of anxiety and depression.

Problems of Anger

The major physiological problem related to anger is hypertension (16:406-417) (48:80-84). This disorder is seen to arise from an inability to express or release anger or resentment. Since, however, the emotion of anger has diffuse effects, it is seen to be the potential source of disorders in any organ of the viscera. Being related to fear so closely, anger can also cause trouble through this reaction as well. In general, though the reaction of anger may have serious negative effects, it is still seen as being a healthy emotion to express (16:411).

Behavioral problems of anger are thus the same as those related to emotions in general. In addition, anger has drive properties, and as will be seen later, angry behavior is a significant and difficult problem. Rather than discuss this phenomenon here at length, the subject will be discussed later under the heading of aggression.

Social Implications of Anger

In 1949 McKellar (57) attempted to determine the occurrence of anger in everyday life. His findings showed that over 34% of angry responses were unexpressed or displayed at another time. Even when anger was displayed immediately, very few involved destructive acts (57:150).

Rothenberg calls anger "an alerting phenomenon for the individual

and for others providing a basis for communication." (65:457) He also notes that human anger occurs most frequently under conditions of need, love and involvement. It seems quite justifiable that books such as that of Bach and Wyden are discouraging the past social repression of angry behavior and encouraging angry communication (2).

Summary of Findings on Anger

The following points summarize significant issues in the above discussion.

1. The emotion of anger is a specific bodily reaction both intense and diffuse.
2. The emotion of anger can be measured and can be differentiated from other emotions.
3. The emotion of anger is rarely unaccompanied by other emotional reactions such as anxiety.
4. A stressful situation may produce anger or anxiety in a given individual depending on his physical makeup.
5. The emotion of anger occurs frequently but rarely leads to destructive behavior.
6. The label "anger" may be applied to numerous emotional conditions, particularly anxiety.
7. Problems related to anger are more related to over-control than to expression.
8. The causes of anger are semantic in nature, and control of anger can be accomplished through the manipulation of the meanings of stimuli.

9. Anger may be a useful stimulus to communication.

Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the emotion of anger. Definitions, general characteristics, causes, problems and social implications of anger have been discussed. Finally, a summary of findings concerning anger has been presented. Two subjects related to anger, hostility and aggression, will be discussed in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER IV

HOSTILITY

Introduction

In this chapter one of the two major subjects closely related to anger will be discussed. Definitions consistent with those previously offered for emotion, feeling and anger will be offered.

Hostility is seen as a verbal response; aggression is seen as angry behavior. In 1957 Buss and Durkee reported a study which attempted to discriminate among different forms of angry behavior (20). Performing factor analysis on their results led them to the discovery of two forms: a motor component consisting of Assault, Indirect Hostility, Irritability, and Verbal Hostility; and an attitudinal component consisting of Resentment and Suspicion. This experiment provides a convenient basis for the definitions chosen in this paper for aggression and hostility. Aggression can be seen as the motor component, and hostility can be seen as the attitudinal component. In this chapter a discussion of hostility will be presented in a fashion similar to that used in the previous two chapters.

Hostility--Definitions

Goldenson's definition of hostility proves inadequate: "persistent anger accompanied by an intense urge to retaliate." (36:561) This definition appears to refer to a prolonged state of angry emotional and feeling reactions. Berkowitz, in a manner typical of that of many researchers, defines hostility as being synonymous with aggression (7:xii). Rothenberg

sees hostility as either referring to an affect (feeling hostile), or a behavior (acting hostile) (65:456). He notes further that anger is often equated with hostility. Thus, hostility may equal aggression which may equal anger. This researcher was at one time tempted to drop the term hostility as denoting nothing new.

Kaufmann in his book Aggression and Altruism (46) defines hostility as a "personality characteristic, response style, or habit" characterized by a "propensity for disliking others, wishing them harm, or aggressing against them." (46:11) Hostility, here, is differentiated from behaviors and is a characteristic of the angered person.

Dollard (23) referred to hostility as being related to repressed aggressive tendencies and a "standard feature of every well-socialized animal." (23:16). This definition supports the idea expressed in Kaufmann that hostility is implicit; and also adds the idea that hostility is omnipresent.

Hostility is commonly spoken of in relation to Prejudice, Scapegoating and Displacement. (7:139,149) (8:311-312) (51). Burnstein and Worchel referred to negative verbal statements as "indices of hostility." (13:531) They also spoke of the possibility of transferring hostility from an attacker toward the experimenter or self (13:537). The findings of Mallick and McCandless suggest that verbal aggression toward a frustrator did not decrease hostility toward him (54:94 & 104). Worchel noted that inhibition of aggressive behavior arouses a "hostile

drive." (70:260) Thus, hostility has drive components, is part of the organisms rather than behavior, is directed at other organisms, can be shifted from one organism to another and is characteristic of all people.

Buss has given the only definition to account for these phenomena. "Hostility is an attitude that endures: an implicit verbal response involving negative feelings (ill will) and negative evaluations of people and events." (14:12) It is an attitude as Buss-Durkee suggested (20). It is implicit as Kaufmann suggested (46:11). It is directed at others (46:11) (13) (54). Like any label it can be enduring and movable from one event or entity to another (47:371-385).

Hostility is the most causally used of anger-related words in research. The connotations of hostility are extensive. The reader is cautioned in the further discussions to be aware of the narrowness of the definition given above and to expect to find the term very loosely used in further readings.

Physical Consequences of Hostility

Hostility is a labelling event which is capable of the whole range of emotional reactions. It is easy to see how a negative evaluation of a person may elicit either fear or anger responses or both. The physiological consequences of hostility are then those of the emotions elicited. Further, since this labelling event is implicit within the organism, the emotional reaction may occur often and imply physical consequences related to chronic emotional reactions.

Hostility is not necessarily related to emotional reactions (14:12-13,15-16). Hokanson and others have found that physiological arousal is related to anger labels but may be dissipated whether labels are present or not (33) (40) (41) (42) (43) (44) (69). Taylor's experiment measured emotion arousal as a function of provocation and a tendency to inhibit aggressive behavior. Provocative acts were found to be directed related to emotional reactions as expected (69:306). But the inhibition of aggression seemed to have no effect whatsoever on tension, and the tendency to inhibit is seen to be related closely to hostility (23). In the study by Gambaro and Rabin, emotional reactions seemed more related to having to act aggressively than the labelling of the aggressor (33:93).

In a most provocative study, Stone and Hokanson trained subjects to respond to attacks with self punishment.(68:76). Later, when subject to attacks outside the original training situation, this same subject administered shocks to himself and simultaneously reduced his emotional reaction to attack. Labelling of an attacker or of ill will was not directly related to arousal; rather performance of the "appropriate task" reduced tension.

Hostility may or may not be related to physiological responses.

Causes and Control of Hostility

Man has been called an animal capable of both labelling and being aware of the abstract nature of these labels (47:378,412-425). Given any event a "passive response of observing and labelling" can be assumed (14:13).

Hostility is then a labelling event related to anger reactions. Fuss notes that hostility can arise from anger situations not perceived first hand. Observation of movies, news reports and gossip can all provoke negative labelling (14:14) (37).

Being a labelling event and given the nature of the uses of language, hostility can be easily generalized, summated and displaced (7:132-195) (8:311-312) (14:107-125) (70). Hostility can thus be expected to arise almost anywhere and anytime and without any overt stimuli.

On the positive side, hostility can be reduced, prevented easily. Since it is implicit and verbal, new verbal information can change the nature of the label. The effects of arbitrariness in various experiments demonstrates this (28) (62) (64). In one experiment of frustration, a stooge interrupted the on-going, goal-directed behavior of a group. In one group he kept asking for the repeat of statements made by group members and thus slowed the progress of the group's task and prevented it from being completed within a time limit (13). In a second group he behaved in an identical fashion, but also wore a hearing aid and kept adjusting it throughout the meeting. Though measurements of hostility in other group members were significant, in the latter condition, these labels were readily displaced toward other group members or toward the experimenter (13:540).

Hostility may be thought of as readily provoked and inevitable. It may endure or may be removed readily. Its control can be seen as a

problem of semantics rather than of behavior.

Problems of Hostility

Since hostility is a labelling event, it has the ability to elicit emotional responses and shares the three types of problems that emotions have. A further problem to be discussed here is that of guilt. As cited earlier, one dimension of guilt found by Mosher (61) was hostility-guilt. The implicit nature of hostility can be readily expected to elicit guilt which is not at all dependent on the explicit expression of a wrong-doing. Thus, depending on how completely an individual has learned the impropriety of hostility so he will be afflicted with guilt--fear. Prejudice is seen as arising from attempts to avoid the noxious stimulus of fear by labelling hostility as reasonable (7:132-162) (14:245-265) (46:76-90). Prejudice can be then seen as a learned response to a noxious stimulus.

Hostility is seen as a significant problem primarily because its expression is prohibited (14:12), and thus, its manipulation is difficult. It may, however, be socially expressed under special circumstances which will be discussed in the next section.

Guilt-Free Hostility

Only forms of hostility which are socially acceptable will not provoke fear. This term "socially acceptable" assumes the given person and social environment he is in at a given time. It has long been known that feelings of anger unaccompanied by anxiety are typical of "righteous indignation." (46:43) Under such conditions the subjective feeling of

anger is positive.(14:89). This researcher feels that the creation of this positive feeling of anger is a major effort in our society. Examples of this effort are the extensive efforts in contemporary drama to justify the protagonist's violence. It is very common for each social sub-group to have another group or organism labelled "bad" and deserving of hostility. This researcher sees this as an attempt to make the discussion of hostile attitudes socially acceptable. The target of socially acceptable hostility is termed a guilt-free hostility object.

Social Implications of Hostility

Hostility provides the terminology for the communication mentioned at the end of the last chapter. By itself it is not a problem except as it is labelled such by society. Problems that hostility may give rise to in society are brought on by the prevention of its expression (14:13) (65:457).

More support from this discussion of hostility is given for the desirability of open communications as a means of controlling hostility, anger and their consequences. The attitude of supressing the expression of hostility is seen as unfortunate.

Summary of Findings on Hostility

The following points summarize significant issues in the above discussion.

1. Hostility is an intrinsic verbal phenomena.
2. Hostility is inevitable.

3. Hostility may or may not be accompanied by emotional responses.
4. Hostility is very flexible according to semantical controls.
5. Hostility is intimately connected to guilt.
6. The expression of hostile attitudes is seen as desirable.

Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the phenomenon of hostility. Definitions, general characteristics, causes and problems of hostility were discussed. The existence of a phenomenon, guilt-free hostility, was suggested. Finally, a summary of findings concerning hostility has been presented. Angry behavior will be discussed in the next chapter on aggression.

CHAPTER V

AGGRESSION

Introduction

This chapter deals with the motor component of the Buss-Durkee (20) analysis of hostile behavior. Aggression is defined, and certain pertinent research is presented dealing with this behavior. Aggression is such a thoroughly researched and discussed subject that there is no attempt here to do more than briefly identify its nature.

Aggression--Definitions

The Encyclopedia of Human Behavior defines aggression as "violent, destructive behavior usually directed toward bringing suffering or death to other people, but sometimes displaced to objects or turned inward on self." (36:44) Buss (14:1) sees two characteristics of aggression: "(1) the delivery of noxious stimuli, and (2) an interpersonal context." Evans (29:412) sees aggression as a response to reduce anger. Kaufmann's extensive discussion of the problems of definition of aggression is recommended to the reader (46:1-11).

One difficulty with calling aggression simply angry behavior is that aggression may occur without anger. So-called instrumental aggression is behavior carried out in the pursuit of non-aggressive aims (8:302), such as physiological needs (7:31) (9:20) (14:3) (16:64).

It should be noted that aggression may instrumentally reduce any aversive stimulus. (14:3).

Aggression: Forms

Aggression may be physical or verbal, direct or indirect, active or passive. It is usually a combination of all of these (14:4-9) (7:104-131). Physical aggression refers to some form of assault delivering pain or injury. Verbal aggression delivers rejection or threat. Direct aggression is expressed to the victim. Indirect aggression tends to keep the identity of the aggressor hidden. Damage to a victim's property or "nasty gossip" are examples of indirect aggression (12:8). Most aggression is active in that the aggressor initiates behavior that harms the victim. Passive direct aggression is accomplished when the aggressor refrains from some activity thereby harming the victim. An example of this would be a superior's delay to grant an inferior's request. Passive indirect aggression is perhaps the most subtle form of aggressive behavior. The victim is not directly harmed. A hunger strike is an example of this. The refusal of a passive aggressor to act for himself may be an aversive stimulus to a "concerned" victim. Passive aggression is commonly used since it is usually difficult for the victim to establish blame or even to determine whether aggression has occurred.

Causes and Control of Aggression

Anger is seen as a drive for aggressive behavior as is frustration (8:313) (14:17-33). Also needed are proper stimuli to aggressive behavior (7:xii) (10:18). The inability to perform communication concerning angry feelings and hostility are seen as necessary (65:457). Many

see aggression as instinctual (1) (31) (52). For a thorough discussion of instinct theories of aggression, the reader is referred to Berkowitz (7:1-25). One suggestion of Evans (29:412) seems important to this research. Aggression is behavior to reduce angry feelings. This suggests that all aggression is instrumental in that it is designed to remove an aversive stimulus. This formulation is supported by the numerous experiments surrounding the idea of catharsis. Catharsis is defined as the reduction in tendencies to aggress by the expression of aggression. Many studies have supported the catharsis idea (3) (4) (5) (6) (17) (18) (25) (26) (40) (41) (42) (43). Many studies have shown reverse effects (11) (33) (39) (54) (66) (68). Generally it seems that when the stimulus condition can no longer be labelled "anger-producing," anger and aggressive urges are reduced. In other words, stopping or preventing aggression is accomplished by removing the various cues to anger, a purely instrumental behavior.

Reduction of Aggression

One recent experiment was directed at reduction of physical aggression (63). Four strategies were used on four groups of angered subjects. The methods were punishment, complete passivity, matching behavior and reward of non-aggressive behavior. Matching behavior meant that the victim responded in kind and in intensity to the aggression. The findings showed that punitive methods were by far the poorest inhibitor of aggressive behavior. Rewarding of non-aggressive behavior

and passive responding were slightly more effective. The matching strategy was by far the most effective way of reducing aggression (63:240). From this study it would seem that the most effective way of reducing aggression is to reaggres in equivalent manner. This idea is supported by Bach (2) and Rothenberg (65).

Summary of Findings on Aggression

The following points summarize significant issues in the above discussion.

1. Aggression is a behavior designed either to obtain some non-anger related goal or to reduce some aversive stimuli.
2. Aggression is common and displayed in numerous forms, both overt and covert.
3. The cathartic non-instrumental effects of aggression are questionable.
4. Punishment of aggressive behavior is a doubtfully effective deterrent to further aggression.
5. Responding in like form to an aggressor is seen to reduce aggressive needs effectively.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented a brief overview of the subject of aggression. A few studies were cited showing effects of aggression and methods of eliminating aggressive urges.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This paper has attempted to clear up some of the misunderstandings concerning anger. The problems surrounding this subject are a major topic in schools today.

"We want to educate our children!" The organism suffocates as we are suffocating. Educational institutions which do not release creative potential. Limited specialized personnel and everywhere fear...fear...fear. Everywhere swallowed resentment (50:14).

This chapter contains a few conclusions and recommendations concerning the subject of anger. In presenting these ideas, the researcher wants to reiterate goals mentioned in Chapter I. There is no direct attempt to propose a solution to anger-related problems. Rather these conclusions and recommendations are intended to help the reader to better understand the nature and problems of anger and to be better able to find solutions of his or her own.

Conclusions

Based on the review of pertinent literature concerning anger and topics related to anger, the following conclusions can be stated:

1. Anger and angry behavior are commonplace and have probably been so since man first became a predatory animal (49:27).
2. The connotations of the words emotion, feeling, anger, hostility, aggression are normally so broad that an understanding of

these subjects is almost beyond reach.

3. Probably the most critical tool for the person interested in controlling his own angry feelings is an appreciation of the operation of language and symbolism.

4. It is possible and probable that the emotion connected with angry symbols is not anger but anxiety mislabelled anger.

5. Hostility is a verbal activity calling for open communication. This need is so great that unless it is fulfilled directly, various forms of prejudice can be expected to develop (51).

6. The expression of hostility is more likely to prevent open aggressive behavior than to produce it.

7. Aggression is an ever-present phenomena rendered dangerous by the presence of weapons (49:11) though probably not created by their presence (19).

8. Anger is a drive to communicate, most commonly occurring in a situation of need, involvement and love. Covert forms of aggression are common but prevent communication and thus may prolong hostility.

9. Anger and anxiety and guilt are extremely intertwined. Though anger by itself is often a positive feeling, anxiety and guilt are always unpleasant feelings. Many people may be completely unaware of the feeling of the emotion of anger.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are made as a result of the review

of literature, and they are suggestions for further reading or investigation by the reader:

1. It would be helpful to have a clear definition for the words emotion, feeling, anger, hostility and aggression.

2. Further readings in the field of general semantics are recommended. This could be done by reading works of Hayakawa, Korzybski or perhaps the Journal of General Semantics, ETC.

3. A better understanding of the control of symbols over emotions would be helpful. The reading of popular books, such as Psychocybernetics by Maltz is suggested.

4. Being able to differentiate between the feelings of anger and anxiety might also be of assistance. Unadulterated anger is sometimes hard to come by, but it is often induced in violent movies by the punishment of an incorrigibly "bad" character.

5. Above all, communication is helpful to controlling anger. The interested reader is directed to books, such as The Intimate Enemy

- (2). Communication workshops are designed to help improve general skills in communication. In addition, the reading of new research on the subject of anger would help. This research is usually found under the general heading of aggression.

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