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EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL TECHNIQUES FOR CHANGING  
MENTAL ATTITUDES AFFECTING INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

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## I. Theoretical Part.

### Introduction.

For more than fifty years psycho-analysis has attempted to establish and demonstrate certain basic facts about human nature which may provide answers to two important questions: (a) why the relations between human individuals and human groups are in the majority of cases strained, difficult, and full of conflict and tensions; (b) whether it is possible to change or influence individuals so as to ease the tension between them and their fellow-beings; what methods can be used for the purpose; and at what time of life such changes can be brought about most effectively.

### Facts about human nature which are responsible for conflict and tension in relation to fellow-beings.

On the basis of intensive analytic study of single individuals, psycho-analysis claims that, from the beginning of life, man is an instinctive being, moved by wishes which are the outcome of crude and primitive urges (sex and aggression). In the early childhood years, when his behaviour is completely under the influence of these urges and the inner need to fulfil the wishes which arise from them, he is egoistic, materialistic, and without regard for the needs of his fellow-beings. This period may be called the asocial attitude of infancy and early childhood.

### Social adaptation as a result of the emotional dependence on the parents.

Modifications towards social behaviour take place in the child owing to his material and emotional dependence on the parents. Since the child is in need of the parents' love and protection, he learns to regard their wishes as well as his own, and to modify his behaviour in accordance with their social attitudes. Psycho-analysis has attempted to show that the measure of the child's emotional relationship to the parents determines the extent to which such changes towards social behaviour take place.

In the majority of cases this education towards social adaptation works satisfactorily so that children, when they reach school-age, are ready to take their place as members of a group and to enter into more or less satisfactory relations with adults and contemporaries outside their own family. But, already at this stage, it is evident that their attitudes to these new figures in their lives (teachers, class-mates, etc.) are not wholly on a realistic basis but include elements of a fantastic, unrealistic and, therefore, disturbing nature.

### Tensions arising from early sex development.

While passing through the stages of the early relationship to

the parents, (first sex urges directed towards the environment; mother-relationship of the infant; Oedipus complex), the child experiences many inevitable frustrations, rebuffs, etc. This leaves him with feelings of disappointment, distrust and dissatisfaction. He has made the experience that it is not possible to possess his love-objects fully and expect similar disappointments from his next love-objects. He has, further, been involved in rivalry and jealousy with his brothers and sisters, and and with the parent of the opposite sex. Such rivalries are invariably continued outside the family circle. Though sometimes stimulating and beneficial in group-life, producing attitudes of healthy competition, they more often give rise to tension between the child and his contemporaries and disturb the development of peaceful and co-operative attitudes within the community of children. It is a significant point that such behaviour on the part of one individual need not be occasioned by real provocation to rivalry and jealousy originating from the others, but may be an outcome of past experience. The figures of later life represent for the individual the important people of his early childhood. They are, therefore, treated on the basis of past experience and not on the basis of their own merits. In a community of children (or adults) such tendencies are, naturally, present in all the individual members and thus produce reactions and counter-reactions, tensions and counter-tensions.

#### Tensions arising from early aggressive development.

Disturbing factors of equal importance originate from the aggressive urges. In recent years, especially under the influence of war-experience, much has been said and written by psychologists and educationists of all nations concerning the role of aggression in the emotional life of the child and the development of his character. (See also in this connection the papers in preparation for the Mental Health Congress, London, August 1948, where one whole day of the International Conference on Child Psychiatry will be devoted to the subject of "Aggression in Relation to Emotional Development; Normal and Pathological.") There seems to be universal recognition of the fact that normal and abnormal psychological development cannot be understood without adequate explanation of the role played by the aggressive and destructive tendencies and attitudes. The problem of aggression in normal children has been studied especially with regard to their social responses. In abnormal children aggression has been shown to play an important part in producing or contributing to neurotic and psychotic illnesses, dissocial and criminal development.

Certain schools of psychology regard aggression merely as the product of environmental influences, i.e. as the individual's answer to the frustration of his early emotional wishes. In contrast to this opinion, the Freudian theory of instincts maintains that aggression is one of the two fundamental instincts (sex and aggression, life-and-death instinct) which combine forces with each other or act against each other and thereby produce the phenomena of life. Aggression is thus taken to be an inborn instinctive urge which develops spontaneously, in response to the environment, but not produced by environmental influences.

The derivatives of the aggressive instinct disturb human relations in various ways:

Ambivalence of feeling as a source of tension: The aggressive tendencies (taken, according to Freudian view, to be present from birth and ineradicable from human nature) lend their specific quality to all human attitudes and relationships. This admixture of aggression to other instinctive urges is, on the other hand, highly beneficial, and even necessary to preserve life. Without it, human beings would be unable to maintain themselves in the face of a hostile environment. They have to "fight" nature, to "struggle" for their existence, to "overcome" adversities of fate, to "tackle" their problems, etc. Without an admixture of aggression, the sex urges as well would be unable ever to reach their aim. Especially on the part of the male, in man as well as in animals, aggression plays an important role in obtaining possession of the sex-object, in overcoming its resistances, in performing the sexual act itself, etc.

On the other hand, aggression enters in an unwelcome manner into nearly all the positive relationships between human beings and gives rise to disturbances, tensions and conflicts. Already in the earliest stages of development, the young child loves and hates the same people, often with equal force. So far as these conflicting feelings are directed towards the parents, the child suffers severely from this ambivalence of feeling. His aggressive hate culminates in death-wishes against the very people whose living presence is of the utmost importance for his well-being. The child fears that his bad wishes may anger the parents and deprive him of their love; or that his bad wishes may come true and harm the otherwise beloved parents. The child therefore learns to fear his own aggressiveness, develops anxiety and guilt-feelings in relation to the parents and expects them to retaliate with similar hostility.

The first love-relationships of a human being are thus, in the normal course of events, tainted and upset by the inherent aggressive tendencies.

As the individual child matures, his aggressive feelings and the hostile attitudes derived from them normally lose some of their violence and urgency. After speech development has been completed, for instance, anger and hate can find a new, comparatively harmless, outlet in words instead of being confined to uncontrolled fantasies and harmful actions. Again, after the next step in development is taken and the child's sense of reality has fully developed, he ceases to believe in the potency of his own bad wishes. He thereby becomes less anxious and guilty with regard to his negative feelings and, consequently more friendly and amenable in his social responses. Individual development thus takes the course from greater to lesser violence, hostility and aggressiveness, and from ambivalence of feeling to greater positiveness in human relations. But this does not obviate the fact that a certain amount of egoism, aggression, self-assertion, readiness to hate, to take offence and to fight normally survives the years of childhood, underlies the behaviour of adults towards each other and, since it is present in all individuals

(though in a varying degree) gives rise to cross-currents of hostility between human beings.

Displacement of hate onto strangers: The child often solves this early conflict between love and hate in a manner which has grave consequences for his adult relationships. In the attempt to keep his feelings for the parents and siblings purely positive and free from aggressive admixtures, he may direct all his hostile tendencies away from the family to the outside world. He then becomes suspicious and critical of all strangers, regards them as enemies, becomes super-sensitive to the existence of unwelcome qualities in them and answers with exaggerated violence to either imaginary attacks or to the slightest signs of hostility on their part. It thus happens that a peaceful, loving, affectionate atmosphere within the family is often achieved at the expense of hostility and intolerance towards outsiders. We see the same process repeated between national groups where peaceful co-operation within one nation is often only achieved at the expense of exaggerated hostility directed against minorities within the country or against other nations. (See in this connection the part played by anti-semitism in National Socialism; or the tensions between the national groups inside the former Austrian monarchy.

Projection of aggression as a source of tension: A further and still graver disturbance of human relations is produced by the action of a psychological mechanism called projection. The child, as described before, is frightened of his own aggressive tendencies and their possible consequences. Under the pressure of this anxiety, he tries to deny their existence in himself and ascribes them instead to some person in the environment, usually to the same person against whom the original aggression was directed. This person is then hated, criticised and feared as if he were, in reality, an aggressor and an enemy. In the course of further development such projections are transferred from the original objects to new figures in the environment and thus remain a constant source of friction, tension and ill will.

Persistence of established attitudes.

Attitudes of jealousy, distrust, intolerance and hostility, when once they have been established, as described above, cannot be changed at will in later life. They are firmly rooted in the individual's childhood and, as the conscious relics of past experience which has become unconscious, they are an integral part of the structure of his personality. They are therefore not open to revision in the light of new and different experiences and little, or not at all, affected by the individual's growth and development in other respects. It is a well known fact that, for instance, intolerance and prejudices of all kinds in adult life are compatible with an otherwise high level of moral and intellectual development. Since these attitudes are relics of the unconscious past and, as such, beyond the conscious control of the individual, they are not altered by teaching, enlightenment, explanation and expostulation. They are only altered by experiences which upset the whole inner equilibrium and reach down to the infantile foundations of the personality. Under certain circumstances this can

happen to an individual in group life, (for instance in war-time), when under the influence of a powerful common emotion, he forms strong identifications with the other members of the group and accepts the common group standards, ideas, conscience, in the place of his personal ego-ideal. A lasting alteration of ingrained attitudes is further brought about in an individual who undergoes a personal psycho-analysis. The psycho-analytic process aims at the revival of the repressed childhood experiences and the undoing of the psychological processes on which the attitudes and the behaviour of adulthood are based.

### III DIFFICULTIES OF VERIFICATION AND PRACTICAL APPLICATION

The general application of these findings to the upbringing of children might well revolutionize education and produce considerable changes in the relations between human beings by eliminating some sources of friction and reducing the effect of others. Compared with the expenditure of energy which is necessary to undo set attitudes in a multitude of adult persons, it is relatively easy to influence the same attitudes in children while they are still in the making. Though the instinctive urges which form the background of every personality are in themselves innate and ineradicable from human nature, their transformations and modifications occur according to environmental influences in the first years of life. Every change in the external circumstances and in the behaviour of those who are responsible for the child's upbringing therefore has the most profound consequences for the formation of his personality. The maternal care given to the nursling during the first year of life; the handling of the feeding situation and of habit training; the presence or absence of the parents, or of one parent; the good or bad relationship between the parents, and their consequent state of libidinal satisfaction or dissatisfaction; the parents' reaction to the child's first sex urges directed towards them; their reaction to the destructive, aggressive and hostile tendencies in the child and to their manifestations; all these variable elements in the child's early years determine whether a particular individual will in adult life merely add his personal hates, idiosyncrasies, prejudices and hostilities to those already existent in his environment, or whether his attitude to his fellow-beings will be largely positive, receptive, and dominated by reason and reality factors, not by imaginary resentments, fantastic anxieties and projections of his own hostility. To achieve the positive result in a whole generation of children would, naturally, be of high significance for the improvement of inter-individual as well as of international relationships.

#### Difficulties of acceptance by the general public.

The general application of the psycho-analytic findings to the upbringing of children presupposes a more or less general acceptance of at least the validity of their basic elements. But psychological data of this kind are not easily accessible to all the people concerned. These data have been unearthed originally with the help of the psycho-analytic method during the treatment of adult neurotics. They can be (and are continually) verified fully whenever the psycho-analytic procedure is applied to a normal or abnormal individual, whether child

or adult. But these verifications within the frame-work of psycho-analytic work and study (in some instances even by laboratory experiment in academic psychology) are not sufficient to convince the average parent or to enlighten and instruct the countless workers in the field of education. For them such basic factors as the instinctive nature of the child, the potency of unconscious urges, and the importance of childhood events for the fixation of later attitudes to life, remain of doubtful, academic value and fail to influence their daily actions in handling the children under their care.

One of the biggest hindrances in this respect is the fact that the average normal adult has not merely outgrown the urges, wishes and passions of his own childhood, but has repressed them completely because of their crude and, to the adult evaluation, humiliating nature. Though the events and emotions of his first five years are responsible for producing all his major reactions and forms of behaviour, he has forgotten them, i.e. barred them from his consciousness. He has thereby become unable to recognize and face them either in himself or in others. The barrier between his conscious, adult personality and the childhood memories which lie buried in the repressed, unconscious layers of his mind, acts simultaneously as a barrier between himself and the children with whom he has to deal. The average parent or educator, therefore, is not objective in watching, recording and evaluating the behaviour of young children. He ignores and denies, distorts and misjudges what he sees in the child, just as he ignores, denies and distorts the memories of his own past.

The validity of the new dynamic child-psychology will therefore have to be demonstrated to parents and teachers in a more tangible, realistic and impressive manner before their resistances to seeing and treating children in a new light can be overcome.

### III WAR-TIME DEMONSTRATIONS AND EXPERIMENTS.

#### A. Demonstrations.

It may be of interest in this connection to describe how, to large sections of the population in England, the upheaval of the recent war years has brought new psychological enlightenment by staging what we might well call "involuntary experiments in education". A large-scale demonstration of infantile reactions, brought about by external circumstances, served to prove the validity of certain analytic findings concerning childhood more dramatically and impressively than could have been done in many more years of detailed, peace-time study and research.

#### The Government Scheme of Evacuation in England as a demonstration of the presence of sexual and aggressive urges in childhood.

To remove the children from the areas which were in the greatest danger of air-attack during the war years (1939-1945), the British Government had devised an official scheme under which children (subject to the wish of their parents) were sent to specified reception areas where they were placed in foster-homes. Originally this scheme was restricted to unaccompanied school children and to young children under school age who were accompanied



by their mothers. But, as an increasing number of young women entered industry, or were unwilling to leave the danger areas for other reasons, the scheme was extended to various classes of unaccompanied infants and young children under school age who were placed either in specially selected foster-homes, or, in the majority of cases, in residential nurseries.

In this manner, thousands of young children who, until then, had been exclusively cared for by their parents, came under the guardianship of strangers and their upbringing, instead of being completely in the hands of their mothers, became a matter of public and general concern. Thousands of children found themselves, of course, placed with the mothers of large or small families who merely added the care of the strange children to their already existent motherly cares. But, equally, large numbers of married women without children, childless single women, hospital nurses, teachers and nursery-school teachers found themselves unexpectedly in the role of foster-mothers and were, without preparation of any kind, brought up against manifestations of early infantile behaviour about which they had known nothing. Their first reaction was in many cases profound shock. Their ideas concerning children had been the usual hazy notions of a "happy childhood", of affectionate youngsters who are grateful for the care and love given to them, play contentedly with their toys or listen to bed-time stories, who obey orders and do not revolt against the authority of their elders. In contrast to these distorted and expurgated memories about their own childhood, they found the children who were given into their care greedy and insatiable, destructive to their toys and to the articles in daily use, cruel to animals and to those weaker than themselves; interested in the functions of their body, in excrement and in dirty matters of all kinds; indulging in "bad habits" like thumb-sucking, masturbation, nail-biting etc.; shameless about their naked bodies and full of curiosity to discover the secrets of other people's bodies, as well as their most intimate relationships.

All these attitudes of the child had, of course, always, long before the psycho-analytic discoveries) been known to the mothers or nurses of young children, and had been continually dealt with in the family. But mothers and nurses had never advertized their knowledge of these important matters. Under the impact of their own repressions, they had acted as if such behaviour were something shameful, dirty and disreputable, to be acknowledged in the nursery, but to be hidden from the eyes of the adult world. Mothers and nurses had thus held the key to the understanding of many of the puzzling and disturbing attitudes of later childhood and adult life, but without being able to use it and without imparting their knowledge to those others who might have put it to good use.

One of the fateful happenings of war-time - the breaking-up of thousands of family units owing to the danger of bombing, the actual destruction of homes, the war-service of the fathers and the work of young mothers in the various war-industries - had, in this manner, one unexpected beneficial result. The nature of children ceased to be a

secret accessible only to mothers on the one hand and to a small number of psycho-analysts and psychologists on the other hand, and became instead common knowledge with large sections of the whole population.

Evacuation, demonstrating the importance of the parent-relationship.  
Reactions to early separation from the mother.

After an interval, in which the new knowledge began to be assimilated, knowledgeable mothers and experienced nursery-workers pointed out that the children who were evacuated to them seemed to be below the normal level of development in their habits and behaviour. They were more unruly, dirtier and more destructive than the children of the same ages in the reception areas. Even children of three, four and five could still be found sucking their thumbs for hours during day-time. There was a high percentage of bed-wetters and a number of cases of incontinence of faeces among the under-fives as well as among the school-children. Among the school-children, furthermore, truancy, pilfering, bad language, destructiveness and night-fears were observed in a surprisingly large number of cases.

Since many children evacuated under the Government Scheme came from the poorer classes of the population, some better-situated foster-mothers and many nursery-workers began to blame the parents of the evacuated children for their low standards and poor methods of upbringing. Though, in a certain proportion of cases, which came from the slum areas of the big cities, this judgment may have been justified, further enquiry proved that it was unjust in the majority of cases. Most children before evacuation had shown normal behaviour. Bed-wetting, dirtying, excessive thumb-sucking or nail-biting, heightened destructiveness, dishonesty and similar disturbances had set in after the breaking-up of home life, as a reaction to the separation from the parents. In a large number of cases the mental or physical disorders (especially bed-wetting) disappeared again after the children became attached to the new environment and transferred their affections to the foster-parents.

The harmful effect of the child's separation from the mother was especially evident in the case of infants. Children between 5 and 12 months developed all kinds of bodily disorders after separation from their mothers; disturbances of feeding, of sleep, digestive upsets, bronchial troubles. Toddlers who already had been able to walk and talk, when with their mothers, in many instances lost their newly acquired function of speech, in some cases even of locomotion, and reverted to the helplessness of earlier ages. In some cases young children showed manifestations of excessive grief and mourning to the extent of refusing all contact with the new environment. When such infants were re-united with their mothers, or found and fully accepted a mother-substitute in the new surroundings, their reactions, in the majority of cases, would return to normal.

Mass-evacuation had, thus, confirmed the validity of some of the basic psycho-analytic assumptions concerning the role of the emotional attachment to the parents in the child's development: (1) that in the first year of life (especially the second half) the body-needs for food and sleep as well as the whole well-being of the child, are closely connected with the need for affection from the mother. The breaking

of the tie between mother and child upsets the smooth functioning of the bodily processes, far beyond the consequences which are due to the change of routine, external environment, etc. (2) that the child develops his functions, such as speech, muscular control, control of the excretory functions, in close connection with his attachment to the mother ("for the love of" the mother). Where this attachment is disturbed or broken, the newly acquired function loses its value, at least temporarily. (3) that the moral values of the child still depend on the relationship to the parents for whose sake they were adopted. Where this relationship is shaken, or broken by separation, the child regresses to the amoral stage of earlier years.

#### B. EXPERIMENTS IN EDUCATION.

Even after the first shocks of separation had been overcome, or partly overcome, the inevitable massing together of infants and young children in Residential Homes and Nurseries posed new problems of upbringing. Until then, with few exceptions, group education under school age had been restricted to orphans and to children who were abandoned by their parents. In these cases, interest had been concentrated above all on the charitable aim of rescuing them from destitution, not on the psychological problems encountered in the process. Where, under these circumstances, failures of normal development occurred, such as mental backwardness, dissocial or criminal development, they were attributed to the bad inheritance of the children rather than to the anomalies of their emotional life. There was therefore not sufficient previous experience available to guide the organizers and matrons of the Residential War Nurseries in their difficult task of arranging for the life and upbringing of hundreds of war-infants who were temporarily deprived of the care of their parents. The attempts to deal with this task brought to light, or verified more psychological data, of a different order, though not of lesser importance than those previously described.

#### Problems of aggression in the group life of young children.

One of the most impressive facts to be observed in a group of toddlers is the impact of their aggressive and destructive manifestations on each other. Unrestrained by consideration for his fellow beings or for the preservation of inanimate objects, each toddler grabs whatever he desires. Regardless of the earlier rights of others or of damage done, he appropriates and uses things, ill-treats them and discards them according to the wishes of the moment. In an uncontrolled group of toddlers this leads to a picture closely resembling that of total war: quarrels about toys, fights for sweets, senseless bodily attacks, scratching, biting, spitting, hair-pulling, knocking each other over, wetting or dirtying in anger are in the order of the day. Destructiveness directed against everything makes it impossible to preserve toys, clothes, dishes, furniture in usable condition.

That all other children behave in the same manner, prompted by the same inner urges, provides additional stimulation for each individual. The more numerous the group, the greater is the excitement of each member.

Toddlers who live for a while under the strain of such conditions, show the consequences in the form of increased restlessness; they hurry over their meals without really enjoying food and often develop sleeping disturbances of a characteristic nature: they cry out in the night, in the middle of apparently deep sleep, mumble words such as "No, no!", "Stop it!", "Me!", "Mine!" etc. It is evident that in their over-stimulated state they continue in their sleep the situations of fight, competition, attack and defence with which they were unable to deal fully in their waking life.

#### Education by suppression of instinctive behaviour.

The first answer given by harassed nursery-workers to this, for them, unexpected state of affairs, was to exercise strict control over the behaviour of the children. Due to the general shortage of labour, residential nurseries were, of necessity, badly staffed. Due to the pressure of external circumstances, the groups of children collected in them were more numerous than would have been thought advisable in peace-time. Under these conditions it seemed impossible for a nursery-worker to keep control by using the methods of praise, reward, individual encouragement or criticism as they are used in the family by parents to whom the children are tied by affection. Group control was therefore substituted for the control of each individual child. To facilitate the work of the staff, life in the residential nursery was subjected to a strict routine, divided into a series of controlled functions: sleeping, eating, evacuation of bladder and bowels was carried out simultaneously with groups of twenty or more toddlers, without leaving room for individual preference or timing. Free movement was restricted to supervised play, group games and group walks where aggressive manifestations could be checked before developing. Under such management, excitement, disorder and destruction were efficiently eliminated, fights between the children reduced to a minimum; the nursery routine functioned like clock-work and the establishment was kept in clean, often in immaculate condition. The toddlers visibly benefited in their bodily development, slept quietly for surprisingly long hours, ate what they were given, and presented a clean and orderly appearance.

It took the organizers-in-charge some time to realize that the total effect of this controlled routine upbringing was, in reality, far from satisfactory. The children, in spite of their gains in weight and their satisfactory bodily condition, lost, not only their unruliness and aggression but their zest for life. They became slower and less intelligent in their responses, clumsier in their bodily performance and failed to develop individual facial expressions. The suppression of their libidinal and aggressive tendencies led to a nearly total loss of energy, activity and initiative. After they reached nursery-school age, much time had to be spent on teaching them all the normal skills, activities and occupations which children who are brought up under normal conditions develop spontaneously.

The author once had the opportunity to witness a striking example of this kind of child-management. A young nursery-worker had collected a large group of toddlers and nursery children on a lawn to give them their tea. The children had their milk and sandwiches and cake was handed out to every child in turn. The

worker stood in the middle of the circle, admonished the children to "sit straight", to "be quiet", to "start their meal". When everybody had done so, she ordered: "And now, chew!"

It is difficult to imagine a more effective demonstration of the psycho-analytic assertion that wholesale suppression and repression of instinctive tendencies has a crippling and, through loss of libidinal and aggressive energy, impoverishing effect on the development and the life-manifestations of a human individual.

#### Education through group influence.

To devise different, equally effective but less harmful forms of management, thoughtful educators turned their thoughts in new directions. It was a known fact already that groups of human beings, provided they are given some freedom of action, develop spontaneously, through group functioning, standards of social behaviour which are accepted and, without undue pressure being put on them, followed by the individual members of the group. Equally, it is common knowledge that children are able to educate each other and that, in families, the influence of brothers and sisters makes itself felt as an addition to the educational influence of the parents. Many children who are unwilling to obey their parents are quite ready to obey the standards set by other children. Imitation of examples set by older children seems easier, and their rebukes or even punishments, though effective, seem less harmful. This educational help rendered by elder brothers and sisters is one of the reasons why the whole process of upbringing usually runs more smoothly where the family is large.

The question arose whether this type of "education" through the agency of other children was transferable to the war-nurseries where, for administrative reasons, the children usually lived in large age-groups. Under these conditions, of course, the other members of the group could not act as substitutes for the adults (parent-figures on a reduced scale). The contemporaries in the age-groups of the nurseries were all equal in status.

It was all the more surprising to see that, even under these changed circumstances, the members of a toddler or nursery-group could exert a considerable influence on each other, an influence which was at times sufficient to create and maintain some form of order in a community of unruly infants. It was noticeable that one child could exert influence on the other if at that moment he was the stronger one, i.e. because at that moment he was a menace to the other child; the latter would then obey him out of fear. Or, one infant could exert influence on the other because at that moment he was further advanced in some achievement, walking, speaking, habit-training, table-manners, etc. The position would be reversed when another achievement played the greater role in which the second child surpassed the first. This showed that the children influenced each other on the basis of superior strength or superior achievement. Fear of each other and admiration for each other were the deciding factors in building up a scale of social influences. Observation showed that the educational results produced by these interrelations between the infants

themselves were by no means negligible. Group influence of this kind was sufficient to eliminate the worst uncontrolled aggressions, to induce the members of the group to be less inconsiderate in the fulfilment of their wishes, and to acquire certain "good habits".

It was of special interest to see what happened under group influence to the impulse of grabbing other children's toys, an aggressive impulse common to all toddlers and young children. All the children in groups of this kind learned very early that to snatch a toy from another child invited trouble, i.e. an outbreak of resentment or unhappiness from the deprived child, possibly some retributive action from another play-mate who was slightly more advanced in his social behaviour and, for some reason of his own, took it upon himself to protect the injured. On the basis of such experiences, toddlers would be able to reduce robbery to a form of exchange: they would offer the victim some substitute gift with one hand while they took away what they desired with the other. Behaviour of this kind signified an advance in adapted behaviour with the obvious aim of avoiding trouble.

On the whole it could be proved by careful observations that group education in communities of young children between two and four years can produce a primitive form of social order, a rough and tumble kind of justice and morality, where might goes before right, but where the individual, without really changing his nature or transforming his impulses, learns to adapt himself in his behaviour to a limited number of restrictions.

It could also be proved that the socialization which was achieved by the inter relations between the young children, could not be extended beyond the limits described.

#### Education on the basis of the parent-relationship.

Exasperated by their failure to induce normal development and character formation in the large groups of children under their care, a number of nursery organizers (including the author) decided to brave the difficulties of under-staffing and overpopulation in their Homes and to establish what might be called "artificial families". This meant dividing

(1) The author, with the co-operation of Dorothy Burlingham, had the opportunity to conduct an educational experiment of this kind during the war years 1940-1945 in the Residential War Nursery called "Hampstead Nurseries", London-Essex. This nursery was maintained financially by the "Foster Parents' Plan for War Children, Inc. New York", an American charitable organization. More detailed reports about the observations and experiences made in the Hampstead Nurseries are contained in the two books by Dorothy Burlingham and Anna Freud, "Young Children in War-Time" and "Infants without Families", publ. Allen & Unwin, London. Some paragraphs of the preceding and the following chapter are quoted from "Infants without Families".

up some large age-groups of children into small units of three, four or five under the guidance of one young nurse or teacher who acted as their foster-mother where motherly care was concerned. In the weeks and months which followed this experimental step, it was fascinating to watch the changes in the children. They responded with the full force of their starved emotions suddenly come to life, formed a strong and possessive attachment to their newly-found mother-substitute, and began to defend the right to her person against all possible intruders. Their "group" reactions visibly changed to the reactions of children who live in a family: they became more indifferent towards the children outside their own "artificial" family and, instead, formed the characteristic, ambivalent sibling ties to those few who belonged to it.

With this influx of libidinal quantities, their responses became more lively, their facial expressions more vivid and varied and they began to show more personal pride in their appearance and to be more certain and graceful in their movements. In addition, progress which in some children had been difficult or impossible to achieve in the group setting, such as better speech development and habit training, was quickly accomplished under the new conditions.

The most impressive developments occurred gradually in the realm of character formation. Instead of merely following an imposed routine, or cowering before the threat of stronger play-mates, the children underwent changes of a very different nature. They slowly moulded their own wishes, ideas and beliefs according to the pattern offered by the loved parent-figure, assimilated these new values as their own and thereby entered into the process of transformation, modification and redirection of instinctive forces which is the basis and preliminary of all true personality structure.

These developments provided a most impressive demonstration of one of the principles of psycho-analytic psychology: that it is the libidinal attachment to the parents (or their substitutes) which, by way of imitation of them and identification with them, finally makes the next generation amenable to the cultural demands which every civilized society imposes on its members.

#### The teaching value of the war-experiments.

Active participation in these war-experiments in education has convinced the writer that demonstrations of this kind are more effective in spreading knowledge about children and an advantageous handling of their problems than the slow and laborious ways of theoretical enlightenment through public lecturing, courses of instruction or scientific publications. In the above-mentioned Hampstead Nurseries, for instance, the educational and remedial work which was carried out with approximately a hundred children, simultaneously served the purpose of giving adequate and convincing instruction to at least fifty nursery workers, nurses, nursery-school teachers, social workers, and mothers. Though none of these people, who served as nursery staff for periods of varying length, (from several months to five years), had been previously prepared for receiving scientific information, they were found to assimilate the new

knowledge in a highly satisfactory manner and to apply it successfully to the practical handling of the children.

War-experience has thus proved that dynamic (psycho-analytic) child-psychology can be taught by demonstration on the living object, not, perhaps, to students of psychology who try to follow a child's development with pencil and notebook, but to all those who are actually engaged in the task of upbringing, nursing, teaching, or otherwise caring for young children.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

##### Conclusions.

By enquiring into the modern educational and psychological techniques for changing mental attitudes, Unesco is avoiding one of the gravest errors of past eras: the setting up of new ideological aims for mankind without questioning whether such aims are compatible or incompatible with human nature.

Better human understanding between nations as a new ideological aim presupposes in a whole generation of children the development of qualities such as tolerance, love of peace, freedom from fear and prejudice, the ability to identify with fellow-beings, and to evaluate their individual or national characteristics in an objective manner. In the preceding pages the writer has collected some of the available psycho-analytic data which are relevant for providing an answer to the question how far, and in the face of what obstacles, these desirable human qualities, can be attained by the individual human being. These data can be summarized as follows:

- (i) The success or failure of an adult to establish peaceful and positive relations with his fellow-beings depends on his childhood experiences; detailed psycho-analytical investigations have succeeded in discovering and describing the specific childhood events and the psychological mechanisms which lead to the formation of either positive or negative attitudes to fellow-beings.
- (ii) The early relationship to the parents (first sex experiences) determines the character of all later attachments, affections or enmities.
- (iii) The figures who are of importance in adult life represent for the individual the important people of his first childhood.
- (iv) Aggression is an integral part of human nature and enters into every human relationship.
- (v) The manner in which the child attempts to combat his aggressive feelings towards the parents is responsible for many of his hostile, intolerant attitudes towards fellow-beings in adult life. Two examples for such developments are:
  - (a) displacement of hate on to strangers;
  - (b) projection of aggression.



- (vi) Since the attitudes which are responsible for tensions, conflicts and hostilities between individuals, or groups of individuals, are established in childhood, they can be influenced most efficiently in childhood; in adult life they cannot be undone by the ordinary methods of teaching, instruction, etc. They are then only alterable by deep emotional experience or, in individuals, with the help of the psycho-analytic method.
- (vii) It is possible to verify the validity of the relevant psycho-analytic findings in educational work with normal children. This is important for the spreading of such knowledge among the multitude of parents and other workers in education who have no access to psycho-analytic or other scientific investigations.
- (viii) Without such enlightenment, the majority of parents and other educators will continue to handle the next generation in a manner which will produce the very attitudes which they are attempting to eliminate from the nature of the child.

#### Recommendations.

To achieve noticeable alterations in the attitudes of the next generation of children, current educational methods will have to be revised on the basis of the new, dynamic, child-psychology. The first step towards this aim is the further spreading of knowledge about children among large number of parents and workers in education. In respect of this task, the example set by the war-experiences might serve as a useful pattern.

If Unesco agrees with the point of view that practicable and applicable child-psychology might be taught, not in the University Departments for Psychology but in places where the actual, living, child material is available, it might be advisable to take the following steps:

- (1) to enlist, in every country, the services of at least one capable and experienced child-analyst. (A beginning might be made in the U.S.A., England, Holland and Switzerland, where many trained child-analysts are available).
- (2) to enlist, in every country, the interest of at least one Orphanage, Children's Home, Children's Hospital, Residential Nursery or Crèche, or, where this is impossible, to set up a new institution of this kind for the special purpose of demonstration and instruction.
- (3) to invest the child-analyst with sufficient authority over the running of the institution to enable him not only to direct the educational work with the children but simultaneously to demonstrate the material and the principles underlying the work to the staff and (in the case of crèches and hospitals) to mothers.
- (4) to demand regular written accounts of the educational and psychological

