

PSYCHIATRY—ANTHROPOLOGY

Hatred Is Healthy

Balinese Studies Show Repressed Emotions in Youth Produce Abnormal Adult with Schizoid Personality

By MARJORIE ESTABROOK

SHOULD WE let ourselves go and really hate Hitler and the Japs, or try for the neat feat of loving our enemies while hating their sins?

One way to avoid fights is by never getting sore. This was the system used in Bali—before the Japs came. The poker-faced Balinese never got up steam enough to care much about anything, one way or the other.

There were some in this country too, who wanted us to try that with Hitler. It was none of our business-as-usual, they said, what happened in Europe. But, as one psychologist has put it, you can't love anything enough to defend it unless you can also hate the attacker.

Movies have been brought back from Bali, setting a new high for anthropological research, by Dr. Margaret Mead, associate curator of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History, and Dr. Gregory Bateson, anthropologist of Cambridge University.

They not only show the Balinese citizen in action, but what made him that way—how his human emotions of love and hate were systematically discouraged by childhood training.

Crime Crisis

These movies begin with a dramatic scene showing the biggest crisis which had ever disrupted community life in a sleepy Balinese village. This was the time when two thieves had made off with the entire village treasury, and the aroused citizenry had gathered for the trial. Suspects were rounded up and made to drink a magic brew which would condemn the guilty to lifelong pox and plague—including all his future reincarnations—unless he confessed and had the curse removed. The innocent could drink with immunity.

This whole scene is shown vividly in the movie, including the criminal's confession, but without Dr. Mead to explain things, this particular movie-goer would have taken it for a peaceful, not to say dull, family outing. Everyone sat around looking vaguely uncomfortable.

The priest said a few words to the suspects, they drank, confessed, and were sentenced—but no one seemed to have his mind on it.

And yet Dr. Mead assured us that this scene represented the highest pitch of frenzy ever achieved in that village—outside of their ceremonial rituals, which we'll come to in a minute.

Not Confined to Bali

Crazy? Well, when a person behaves that way in this society, he is labeled "schizoid." If he gets any worse, he is taken to a mental hospital. Schizoid behavior is certainly not confined to Bali, judging from statistics in this country. In 1940, 20,457 hospital patients, admitted for the *first time*, were diagnosed as schizophrenic. This figure is of course only a fraction of the total schizophrenic population of this country—not counting the potentially schizophrenic, or "schizoid" personalities. This, the most common form of mental disorder, usually

appears in adolescence or early childhood, and is therefore also called the insanity of youth, "dementia praecox."

Environment Considered

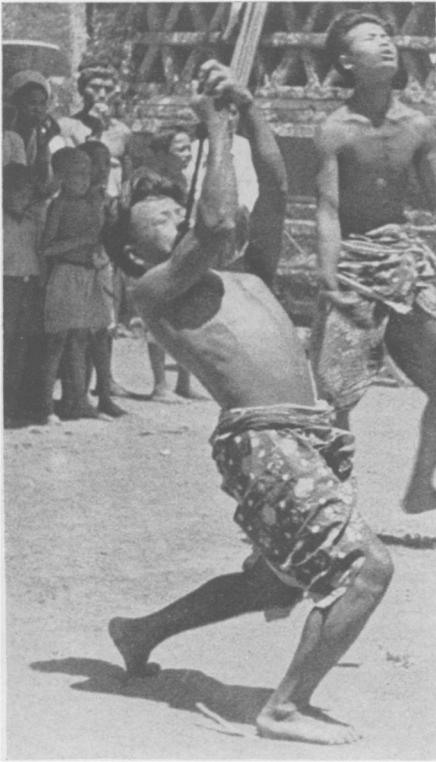
Modern psychiatrists, dissatisfied with older explanations based on heredity, are looking to the environment for causes. For one thing, there are no fixed boundary lines between the shy, sensitive "normal" or neurotic individual, and the suspicious, completely withdrawn schizophrenic. That is why psychiatrists are so interested in these movies of Dr. Mead and Dr. Bateson, showing how the schizoid personality is developed in Bali.

The Balinese apparently have fixed rules and customs for their behavior toward the child at each age level. At first, he is fondled and caressed like any other baby, and learns that crying gets results. But about the time he is learning to walk, he gets a rude shock. His parents begin their "teasing" games, which are considered not only the proper training, but good fun for everybody. For instance, Papa puts on a huge, scarifying mask and plays peek-a-boo. Mama utters cries of



TEASING BABY

The Balinese baby is systematically teased and frustrated by his mother until he learns to repress hostility.



WITCH DANCE

In the Witch Dance, the poker-faced Balinese finally turns the dagger of hostility against himself.

fright and horror, and pushes the baby toward Papa. The more he runs back for protection, the more frightened she pretends to be, and the more she pushes him toward Papa. If the baby finally gives up and just lies down screaming, they go off and leave him.

When Baby Comes

His next lesson in deportment begins before the new baby comes along. Even before he is weaned, the child learns that he has a very vigorous rival for his milk supply. The customary ritual here is for the mother to borrow a neighbor's baby to nurse, and tease her own child by making him watch. When he gets jealous and tries to climb up for his share, she keeps pushing him away. This seems to be a very funny game, for the adults. By the time his next little brother or sister is born, the child has learned not to show any jealousy. But he has also learned not to feel much of anything, either. He knows by this time that human emotions, and human beings, are pretty unreliable.

The next scene shows two little Balinese boys at play. They are sitting to-

gether in the sun, not talking, not doing anything. It looks like a peaceful Sunday at the Old Soldiers' Home.

Under this training, the Balinese grows up to be a poker-faced individual, with his emotions almost completely repressed, and formalized into complicated rituals, as you can see in his art and dancing. This is true not only of the schizophrenic, but of the mild rituals we all go through in some department of our lives—from always having to shave on the left side first or never stepping on a crack, to going downstairs three times to see if we really locked the kitchen door.

Why Women Stay Young

Dr. Mead indicated that human relationships in Bali were at a minimum, which may be one reason why all the women stayed young and beautiful, and travelers were so impressed with their contented look.

Calling the Balinese culture "schizoid" does not mean that all its people were schizophrenic. It is conceivable that a child might survive his early training with his emotions somewhat intact, and still learn that it was not good form to show any feeling. But at the same time, any schizoid person could get along pretty well in that society without being considered queer.

The difference between the Balinese culture and our own, as one psychiatrist remarked, is that we bring up children to be schizophrenic and then lock them up. What he meant by this slightly bitter comment, is that there is something wrong with a culture which develops certain traits in so many of its people and then considers them abnormal. And of course the Balinese movies confirm one thing the psychiatrists have been telling parents: that harmful "spoiling" never results from love, but from the inconsistency of first spoiling a child and then frustrating him. That is, leading him to expect what he is not going to get.

The Balinese game connected with breast-feeding seems to produce a strong emotional reaction, judging by one of their ceremonial dances. In this, the chief villain is a witch costumed with long, frightening, hairy breasts. All the young men of the village try to fight with her, but she won't fight. She shows no reaction and they are the ones who are overcome. They fall to the ground and try to kill themselves with daggers. At this point everyone goes into a frenzied trance, in which it is only some self-



ART

The Witch-Mother of Bali who overcomes her sons by passive resistance, as seen by a Balinese artist.

preservative instinct, apparently, which prevents them from injuring themselves. They are finally carried to the temple, where they are brought out of their more or less hypnotized state by the sprinkling of holy water.

New Technique

Dr. Mead has introduced a new technique in anthropological study, by showing this dance against the background of childhood training, which contains some startlingly similar features. The witch with disagreeable breasts may appear in our own dreams, if we have had childhood frustrations concerning food. The fact that she puts up no fight, but overcomes them with passive resistance (as the mother used to walk away when the child screamed), seems to refer to the

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hopelessness of getting any reaction from the parents. Fear, jealousy, anger, were met with passive discouragement until the child learned that such emotions were useless. The daggers may illustrate the human tendency to turn such useless or repressed aggression against oneself.

However, this is all speculation, and Dr. Mead was careful not to draw un-

founded conclusions from her work in Bali. Everyone would agree, though, that these movies are a welcome change from the usual travelogue, in which the ceremonial dances are just too quaint and picturesque for anything. It never seems to occur to the travelites that all those darling customs may mean something dead serious to the people involved.

Science News Letter, August 15, 1942

PHARMACY

New Anti-Malarial Drugs Announced Ahead of Time

QUININE substitutes which will be official in the new U. S. Pharmacopoeia have been announced ahead of schedule, together with standards for their preparation because of the urgent need for protecting our overseas forces against malaria.

Due to the present shortage of quinine, two synthetics, pamaquine naphthoate and quinacrine hydrochloride, may be of special value in keeping our armed forces free from the disabling periodic fever. Hearings are now under way in

Congress on quinacrine patents which are alleged to restrict production.

Totaquine, another anti-malarial, will also be in the new official book of drugs. This contains the familiar quinine but is mixed with several other related substances also found in the cinchona barks. It is expected that this mixture can be obtained from native cinchona barks found in Mexico and Central and South America instead of our former source in Japanese-held territory in the Far East.

Science News Letter, August 15, 1942

VETERINARY MEDICINE

Nurses Germs to His Body During Freezing Flight

A SCIENTIST who nursed a tubeful of dangerous disease germs carefully with the warmth of his body during a freezing flight to England, as a mother might shield her baby from the cold, provides a war drama of science from the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

A vaccine is available to protect cattle against the deadly disease, brucellosis, contagious abortion which causes the loss of thousands of unborn calves every year, and also produces the persistent and debilitating disease known as undulant fever among human beings. It is made by chemical treatment of the disease germs themselves.

This vaccine was needed in Britain, for the protection of the island's cattle and maintenance of the food supply. Dr. C. K. Mingle of the Bureau of Animal Industry was assigned to cooperate with British veterinary scien-

tists in the production and distribution of the vaccine over there. With a tubeful of the virulent germs, he took off by bomber some months ago from Canada. A blizzard was raging at the time, and he kept the germs from fatal chilling by tucking the tube inside his flying suit, where the warmth of his body would keep the culture up to the necessary temperature.

Arriving in England, he found that a certain type of centrifuge needed in his work was not available. This also was flown over by bomber.

Everything is going smoothly now, Dr. Mingle reported on his return. The laboratory is making large quantities of the vaccine daily, with output still increasing. Production of milk and beef in Britain is expected to go up materially as a consequence of the protection to be given the cattle.

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