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AN ENQUIRY INTO THE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE NOTION OF JUSTICE IN CHILDREN, BEING A THESIS IN EDUCATION PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS.

By

AFAR.

S. Halliday

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F O R E W O R D.

Recently in the locality in which the writer lives, there was formed a "Free Discussions Club". The purpose of its formation was to provide a focal point at which those interested could meet and discuss topics of cultural and general interest. At one of its meetings a paper entitled "Fundamental Morality" was presented. The question raised was one which has exercised the minds of philosophical thinkers of every age and of every school - Is there an ultimate basis for morality? Are actions which are formally wrong - wrong because the law says they are wrong - REALLY wrong in an absolute and ultimate sense. It was of course discovered that morality has differed with differing ages and that actions countenanced by public opinion of five centuries ago, would be considered the last word in cruelty and injustice today. It appeared as if no claim could be made to an absolute authority, for no one could be certain that his own conception of justice and morality was ultimate and final.

The question then arose. If the existence of an absolute basis for morality is open to such doubt and uncertainty, upon what is based the moral system of man? It is obvious, even to the most lawless members of society, that laws and regulations are necessary if efficiency of working is to be obtained.

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What is the origin of the restraints and prohibitions existent in society? What is the origin of that sentiment of "justice" which regards certain modes of behaviour as fair and above board, and which regards others as being unfair and underhand?

It is the purpose of this thesis to endeavour to throw some light upon the steps by which this sentiment of "justice" of right and wrong is acquired, and to do this by an investigation into the reactions of children and their attitudes of successive stages of development.

CONTENTS.

Introduction	Page	3
An Outline of the Investigation	"	6
The Technique	"	8
A definition of "justice"	"	10
A discussion of terms employed	"	11
Section "A"		
Summary of other investigators	"	15
Section "B"		
(a) The Experiment	"	19
(b) Modus Operandi	"	19
(c) Children's ideas on the severity of punishments	"	21
(d) Children's ideas on Collective and Communicable Responsibility	"	27
(e) Children's ideas on Immanent Justice	"	35
(f) Children's ideas on the Efficacy of Punishments	"	38
(g) Children's ideas upon Equality and Authority	"	43
(h) Children and Adults	"	48
(i) Justice between Children	"	51
(j) Summary of Section "B"	"	53
Section "C".		
(a) Personal Observation	"	56
(b) Analysis of Results	"	58
Section "D"		
Comparison of Results	"	63
Final Conclusions	"	68
Section "E".		
Practical Application of Conclusions	"	70
References in Text	"	74
Bibliography	"	76

INTRODUCTION.

..... "So do I answer you;
The pound of flesh which I demand of him
Is dearly bought, is mine, and I will have it;
If you deny me, fie upon your law!
There is no force in the decrees of Venice:-
I stand for judgment: answer: shall I have it?"

(Merchant of Venice Act 4 Sc.I)

Edith E. Read Mumford(1) in * "A plea for a closer study of Child Life" writes significantly "What is this ideal we should have in our minds of the kind of man or woman we want the child under our care to become? Our ideal man must be a citizen and a worker among men. He must be honest in endeavour and generous in appreciation of others: strong-willed, large hearted, large minded and large-souled. The children of today are the citizens of to-morrow. A race of sturdy strong-willed kind and thoughtful children is the highest result of a nation's greatness and the best guarantee of its future prosperity."

Today, more than ever, is the ideal expressed by Mumford to be desired. Modern civilized society has developed an "impersonality" and a remoteness from the basic realities of life to an extent not conceived of in previous ages.

Graham Wallas (2) accurately observes "Men find themselves working and thinking and feeling in relation to an

* Page 1.

environment which both in its world wide extension and its intimate connection with all sides of human existence is without precedent in the history of the world."

And with this change of scale there has come automatically a change in the relationships existing between individuals who comprise this Great Society.

The coming of this mechanised age has brought with it increased opportunities for leisure, and has caused to be focussed a new light upon social relationships. Moral sanctions have changed and are changing. With it all there has developed a re-orientation of public opinion on matters of ethical significance.(3)

With this gradual change of public opinion there has developed a changed conception held by the public in general in reference to the principle of social justice both in its abstract and in its concrete forms. Conventional opinion upon the value and efficacy of capital punishment is today changing. Conventional opinion upon the question of corporal punishment is today changed considerably.

It is hoped by all those wishing to improve man's environment, that all these changes in moral conceptions are in the direction of improving the medium through which and in which man's personality is developed and expressed.

To those having concern with children and knowing that "the child is father to the man" the moral conceptions of children are of the deepest significance in this connection.

Especially it is the concern of teachers who, realising that education is not a "preparing" for life, but a "living" of life day by day, know that as is the child of today, so will be the adult community of to-morrow. (4)

To state the purpose of this thesis in another way. It is to investigate children's conception of justice to discover what are the factors modifying such conceptions, and to see how such results as may be obtained can be applied in elevating the conception of justice among children, the ultimate object being the elevating of the <u>adult</u> standard of morality.

AN OUTLINE OF THE INVESTIGATION.

The specific aim of the investigation was to discover factors modifying children's conception of justice noting

(1) The influence of age and sex on the concept of justice.

(2) The effect of environmental conditions on conceptions of justice.

Incidentally the writer set himself the task of discovering the following:-

(i) To what extent is there a common factor in children's conception of justice - children of the same age and sex.

(ii) The extent to which religious teaching influences children's conception of justice.

(iii) Is there a parallel between children's conception of justice and that of adult society?

The task of conducting an investigation into children's concepts is one of great difficulty and uncertainty. It is essentially a psychological investigation and as such the means of controlling the conditions of the experiment are far from being easy. The answers given by the children in the several investigations described hereafter, were subject to a great many possibly motivating factors, and had to be evaluated accordingly.

For example, there was the danger ever present in investigations of this nature that the children would be actuated by a desire to answer as they thought the investigation wished. There was the danger that the children might have been actuated by a fear of consequences

if they did not answer in a conventional way.

It is pertinent at this point to state that the limited amount of time available in which to conduct the experiment made it inevitable that other difficulties and obstacles to absolute accuracy had to be faced. It was therefore, considered that a comparatively small group of children, typical of children anywhere, if question and studied in sufficient detail, would yield more satisfactory and reliable results than would a group of several hundred questioned and studied hurriedly and consequently superficially.

TECHNIQUE.

The technique used in this investigation was not a stereotyped one - indeed it may be said to be an unorthodox one. The questionnaire method in the investigator's opinion, though of excellent utility for certain types of investigations, was a method far too inelastic and relying far too much upon objective data to be of real use in this particular type of enquiry. An investigation of the notion of justice is essentially a subjective experiment and though objective factors must be considered, yet there is a big danger of placing far too much reliance upon them. Accordingly the technique embodied a diversity of forms, and the results obtained from each form, were generalised and compared, the object being to arrive at final conclusions which would be as accurate as the conditions permitted.

The technique followed three main lines:-

A. A study was made of the researches and conclusions of previous investigators into the notion of "justice".

B. A group of children ranging in age from 5 years to 13 years was subjected to a modified type of questionnaire. This technique was the same as that used by Piaget(5) in his investigations. It consisted of a number of stories portraying incident involving decisions of moral choice. The children were required to give an answer to the question- how would the person in the story behave in the specific circumstances referred to?

C. The third technique took the form of personal observation of children in their natural environment. The

investigator observed the children playing in the school grounds and listened carefully to their expressed opinions as to rules, regulations and fair play generally. Children in their class-room activities were similarly closely observed. This is largely the technique employed by Susan Isaacs. (6)

The activities observed in this connection were Cricket, Football, marbles and incidental child-activities. On the way to and from school, the writer would engage in conversation with children of differing ages and would converse upon actions and activities from the point of view of the justice involved in them. This method proved the best of the three because by its means the underlying motive behind the child's answer could be revealed. All the discussions were noted and analysed, any significant conclusions being tabulated.

D. The result from these three methods of procedure having been analysed, the conclusions were now compared one with another, any differences or agreements being noted. On a basis of this analysis, final conclusions were drawn as to the development of the notion of justice among children.

E. Finally the practical significance of these conclusions was considered and an attempt made to show how education as a whole can be better employed to develop a more elevated standard of justice.

DEFINITION OF JUSTICE.

In carrying out an investigation of this nature - one which is dependent to such an extent upon subjective factors for its results, it is necessary to have before one, an adequate definition of the concept without which clarity of thought upon the question would be impossible.

Paulsen (7) writes as follows:-

"Justice as a moral habit is that tendency of the will and of mode of conduct which refrains from disturbing the lives and interests of others and as far as possible, hinders such interference on the part of others. This virtue springs from the individual's respect for his fellows as ends in themselves and as his co-equals". In this definition we have two distinct aspects stressed - "abstract" when it is "a tendency of will" and concrete when it "hinders such interference upon the part of others".

L.T. Hobhouse(8) says "Justice is the definition and maintainance of obligations, and obligations include what is due to people, their rights, and what is due from them, their duties. An ideal system of obligations would then be the framework of an ideal society, and their adequate performance the active life of such a society. The actual system recognised and on the whole maintained, is the framework of the actual life of a community. Thus the study of justice is potentially the study of the entire social order."

Here again the two ideas - abstract and concrete are in evidence - abstract in the sense of "definition" of rights

and concrete in the sense of "maintainance" of rights. Thus in these definitions we find two principles bearing on the concept of justice.

(a) The abstract quality of an "attitude of mind" towards various elements in the environment.

(b) The concrete principle of enforcement of that "attitude of mind" in a particular instance. But this definition of "justice" to a considerable extent begs the question, because the definitions employ such terms as "obligations" "law" and "equity", which themselves need defining. Before then, an adequate clarity of thought can be obtained upon the concept, the significance of these terms themselves must be examined.

DISCUSSION OF TERMS.

With the progress of investigation in psychology, philosophy and biology, there has been formulated a hypothesis known as the "hormic" hypothesis according to which emphasis is placed upon the individuality and autonomy of every living organism.(9)

While the writer fully realises that this particular view is rejected by many philosophers whose opinions are deserving of respect, yet it is the view which he himself accepts and accordingly, this position forms the basis of the remarks made in this section.

Nunn(10) in discussing this hypothesis writes;- "For from the first division of the fertilised egg, bodily growth suggests everywhere the unfolding of a unitary plan or the concerted action of individuals who thoroughly understand

one another and have devoted themselves to a common purpose....And in growing to its final form the body seems to show only in a less degree than the mind the same quality of self-determination."

The results of investigations carried on by an increasing company of workers has afforded considerable evidence for belief in this principle of autonomy. One of the most typical of these investigations into this field of research as Nunn points out was one conducted by Professor H.S. Jennings of Pennsylvania University. (11) The value of his results is enhanced when it is realised that his first investigations were guided by the mechanistic conception of life. He is compelled to the conclusion(12) after closely investigating the life of micro-organisms that "the humblest creature is autonomous". And this conclusion is fully supported by such competent observers as Bergson, (13) Fabre (14) and the Peckhams.(15).

This principle of autonomy or self-determination is of deepest significance in any group of living organisms since it is obvious that in the achieving of this autonomy interests will frequently conflict. But in this thesis the prime concern is with activities and strivings of man, and it now remains to show briefly the effect of this principle of self-determination in a group of autonomous human beings. It is obvious that in a group of self-determining human beings, manifestations of hormic energy will clash. If every individual is primarily motivated by a desire for the realisation of self, then conflict is inevitable. It is

this fact which gives rise to the development of the notion of justice in its various manifestations. Each member in society is pursuing a course which is in accordance with his inner urge for self-realization. The aims which he has and objects for which he strives are his "rights". But he comes to realize that others impelled by the same motive, are also striving for their "rights" and that if he is to live in harmony with his fellows he must recognise this fact and order his conduct by some "rule" or "regulation".

It is this attitude of mind becoming widelyspread making necessary the maintenance of these rules and regulations which gives rise to the notion of "justice" - "the definition and maintenance of obligations".(16)

"So soon as individual sympathies restraining each man from shedding the blood of his neighbour became strong enough to form a body of public opinion which held all in check, a start was made in moral progress which widening and deepening can be traced through all the ages as a gathering sense of duty in regard to the sanctity of human life. In truth the duty first grows up as a consequence of human nature and human needs and then the law steps in as a definite guide for practical conduct."(17).

And again from the same writer:- "Justice then becomes truly moral when in its general outlook upon society it strives to equalise the opportunities of happiness. When the possession of rights of my own leads me to comprehend

that others have rights. When the annoyance I feel when my rights are disregarded leads me to comprehend that others must suffer in the same way if I disregard or destroy their rights, then the next step in the development of justice occurs when I learn to forbear inflicting upon others those pains or annoyances I myself dislike".(18)

Thus by "justice" we must underatand to mean that attitude of mind which recognises that in the pursuits of one's own ends, the ends of others must be equally regarded.

SECTION "A" SUMMARY OF OTHER INVESTIGATIONS.

In this section the purpose is to summarize the findings of previous investigations made into the question of children's notion of justice. Having outlined the main conclusions obtained from such investigations these will then form the basis for a comparison with the results obtained by the writer, outlined in the following section of this thesis.

* O'Shea writing in 1909 discovered some interesting facts concerning the nature of the child which are as follows;-(19)

(1) The young child is a bully.

(2) The notion of justice is developed by commendation and censure.

(3) Children take no account of talents or hereditary rights.

(4) There is a gradual development of considerations of motive.

(5) With development, considerations of equity come to be made especially with regard to sickness, smallness, weakness or age.

Sulby(20) writing a few years later, in 1916 found as a result of his work:-

(1) The germ of the instinct of attachment to society may be said to disclose itself in a rude form in the first weeks of life.

(2) There is revealed here a vague inarticulate kind of sympathy - a feeling of oneness.

* Social Devil and Education.

(3) Children regard a large part of their corrections for naughtiness as a matter of course.

Robert Clarke (21) made an investigation into children's sentiment of honour, using the same technique as Piaget. The children he studied, however, were on the average much older than those studied by Piaget. His main findings were three in number:-

(1) The answers indicated the influence of home life.

(2) Before and during early adolescence girls have a finer sense of morality than boys.

(3) Children when "placed on honour" will tend to act accordingly.

Others who have investigated the same subject include Sutherland (22) Rasmussen, (23) Drummond,(24) Peters,(25) Uedo,(26) Piaget,(27) and Isaacs.(28). The two who can justly claim priority in this field of investigation are Piaget and Isaacs. Both these investigators have intensively studied child-nature and have brought to light many valuable and interesting facts concerning it.

Piaget's method, previously explained in detail, was to submit to children stories portraying incidents which involved moral choice. Piaget by this means, investigated specific aspects of the notion of justice, e.g. Immanent Justice, Justice between children etc.
His general conclusions, after examining all the results of his investigations into these various phases of justice, were that there are three main great periods in the development of the concept of justice.(29)

I 1-7 or 8. In this period justice is subordinated to adult authority.

II 8 - 11. Appearance of Equalitarianism.

III 11 - 12. At this stage considerations of equity arise.

Piaget found that "the purely individual elements of morality could be traced either to the feeling of respect felt by the younger for the older children which explained the genesis of conscience and duty, or to the feelings of sympathy felt by the child for those around him which made co-operation possible.

The other investigator of importance into this field, Susan Isaacs, obtained her material from two main sources:-

(a) The systematic observation of children in school.

(b) Incidental observations of children in their ordinary relations.

Isaacs discovered as regards early life:-

(1) The play of young children consists of congeries of individual phantasies.

(2) Sometimes these overlap and group life occurs.

(3) They thus discover the benefits of mutual support.

(4) In the beginning it is implicitly "assumed" that others will accept the assigned role. When this assumption is rudely shaken, the children try to enforce their wishes by threats or actual attack or by bribes and appeals of one sort and another.

(5) There is a considerable amount of spontaneous aggression in such small children coming from good homes.

(6) With increased social experience there occurs the development of common habits, common standards of judgment and behaviour. Loves and hates become slowly stabilised.

All the investigators reach similar conclusions as to the main points. The findings of these people indicate a gradual evolution of the sense of justice. The child is born in common with all animals with a will-to-live, a desire for self-expression. From being an amoral creature, the child receives from its environment habits of law-abidingness which become interwoven into its very nature(30) The gradually increasing environment makes known to the child the fact that other people are possessed of similar feelings and similar desires, and thus there is developed in the child a feeling of "sympathy" for others.

This is deepened and enriched in quality with the child's ever-widening experience, leading him away from the idea of retribution towards the nobler idea of reciprocity and considerations of equity. Finally at adolescence when the emotional life of the individual becomes so deepened and disturbed, he reaches out after some ideal in the likeness of which he strives to mould his character. He now enters into the heritage of the social standards of the adult community and may be prepared to accept them at their face value, or as happens in many cases, may transcend them utterly and strive to establish a new standard higher than that which is prevailing.

SECTION "B" - (a) THE EXPERIMENT.

In this section will be recorded the results of the experiment conducted by the writer.

For reasons explained in an earlier part of this thesis, the experiment was carried out with a comparatively small number of children. Another factor of importance is that the writer has both an extensive and intensive knowledge of the environment of the children and a knowledge of the locality in which the investigation was conducted. This was found to be an advantage when the results were being evaluated since it was found possible to interpret them in terms of that environment. It was found also that in spite of the fact that the children were not required to attach their names to their replies, this in no way lessened the seriousness with which they answered the problems. Many children indeed, in stating the reasons for their answers went into great detail, in this way revealing clearly the motive which influenced their answers.

The technique employed was the same as that employed by Piaget. The results obtained are therefore, comparable with his. It will be noted that the stories used as a basis of the experiment cover several specific aspects of punishment. Not only do they call for general ideas of the severity of punishment, but they give an opportunity for the children to reveal their minds regarding Collective Responsibility, Immanent Justice, Equality and Authority, Efficacy of punishments, etc.

(b) MODUS OPERANDI :- The actual "modus operandi" was

as follows:-

I. Sheets of paper were distributed among the children and they were requested to give the following information:-

Age
Sunday School attended
Father's occupation
Are you a boy or girl?

Information as to age was obviously required in order that age standards might be worked out, while it was hoped that the information "Sunday School Attended" would provide data for determining the influence of religious teaching. The "father's occupation" was required in order if possible, to ascertain the effect of social status. Sex differences could be worked out only by a knowledge of the sex of each child answering the questions.

II. The children were told:-

"I am going to tell you a few stories and then I am going to ask you questions on them. I want you to write down what you think the answer should be, not the answer that you think I will want. You need not be afraid to write down what you really think because as you are not putting your name on the paper, I will not know who has written anything.

Is there anyone who does not understand what is required? Here are the stories."

III. Read slowly and distinctly the first story. Ask if there is anyone who does not understand it and would like it read again. If necessary do so. Then when everyone in the class has understood the story, ask the relevant questions about it and also the reason for the answer given.

IV. Give no hints whatsoever as to the way in which questions should be answered.

V. Collect the papers and tabulate the answers. Analyse and evaluate these answers setting out clearly the conclusions.

In the case of the younger children, those aged 5 - 7 years, individual children were questioned and their answers written down together with any supplementary reasons for these.

(c) SEVERITY OF PUNISHMENTS.

The first aspect of the notion of justice which was investigated was that of children's attitude towards the severity of punishments. For this the following stories were told:-

I. A little boy was playing in his room. His mother asked him to get the bread for the dinner. He did not go, and when dinner time came there was no bread. His father was displeased and thought of three possible punishments.

(1) Not to allow the boy to go to the pictures.

(2) Not to let the boy have any bread to eat.

(3) Do the same to the boy when he wanted help. Which of these was the fairest punishment.

II. Johnny had not done his homework and told the teacher that he had been sick. His father found out and thought of three possible punishments.

(1) Make the boy copy out a poem fifty times.

(2) Treat the boy as if he were really ill, and put him to bed.

(3) Not to believe the boy in future.

Which was the fairest punishment?

DIAGRAM -A-

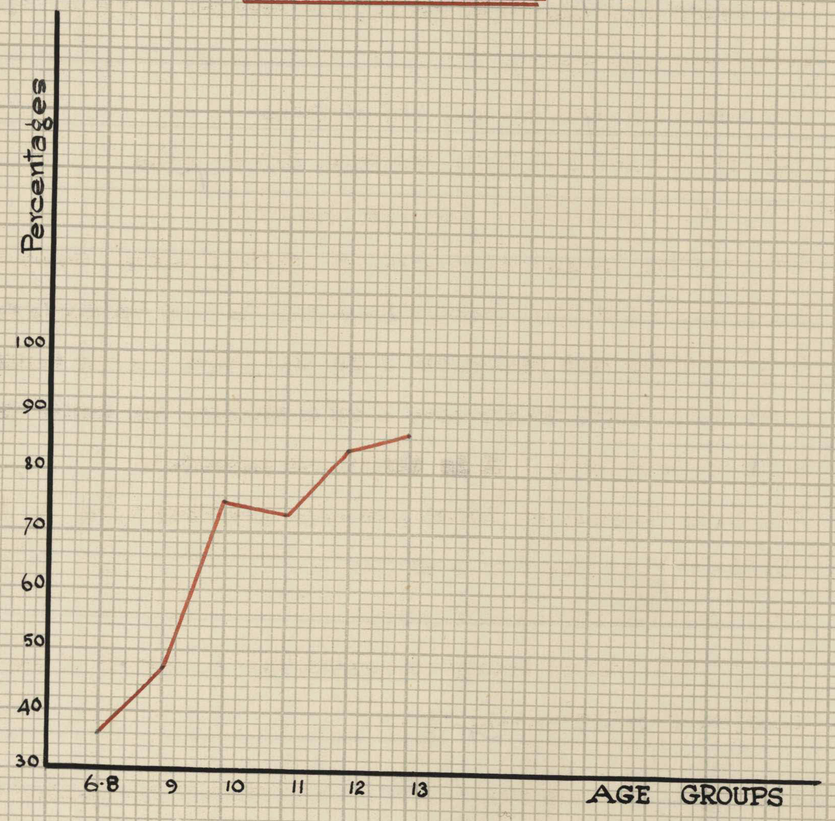


DIAGRAM TO SHOW THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NOTION OF RECIPROCITY.

III. A boy was playing in his room. He was asked not to play ball for fear of breaking the windows. The boy disobeyed and smashed the window. The three punishments thought of were:-

(1) Leave the window unmended for several days so that he could not play there.

(2) Make the boy pay for the window.

(3) Not to let him have his toys for a week.

Which punishment was the fairest?

IV. The leader of a band of robbers dies. There are two candidates for the leadership X and Y. X is elected. Y is furious and denounces X to the police by an anonymous letter in which he accuses X of a robbery in which the whole band is involved. X is therefore arrested.

The band thought of three possible punishments.

(1) Give Y no pay for a month.

(2) Turn him out of the band.

(3) Accuse him of being an accomplice by means of an anonymous letter also.

All these stories were told in the manner previously outlined and the answers studied.

The children in this group comprised 240, the ages varying from 6 years to 13 years. The answers were classified upon a Reciprocity-Expiation basis and resulted as follows:

Table I. Percentage of Answers indicating Reciprocity.

Age	6-8 yrs.	9yrs.	10yrs.	11yrs.	12yrs.	13yrs.
Reciprocity	36%	47%	75%	73%	84%	87%
Expiation	64%	53%	25%	27%	16%	13%

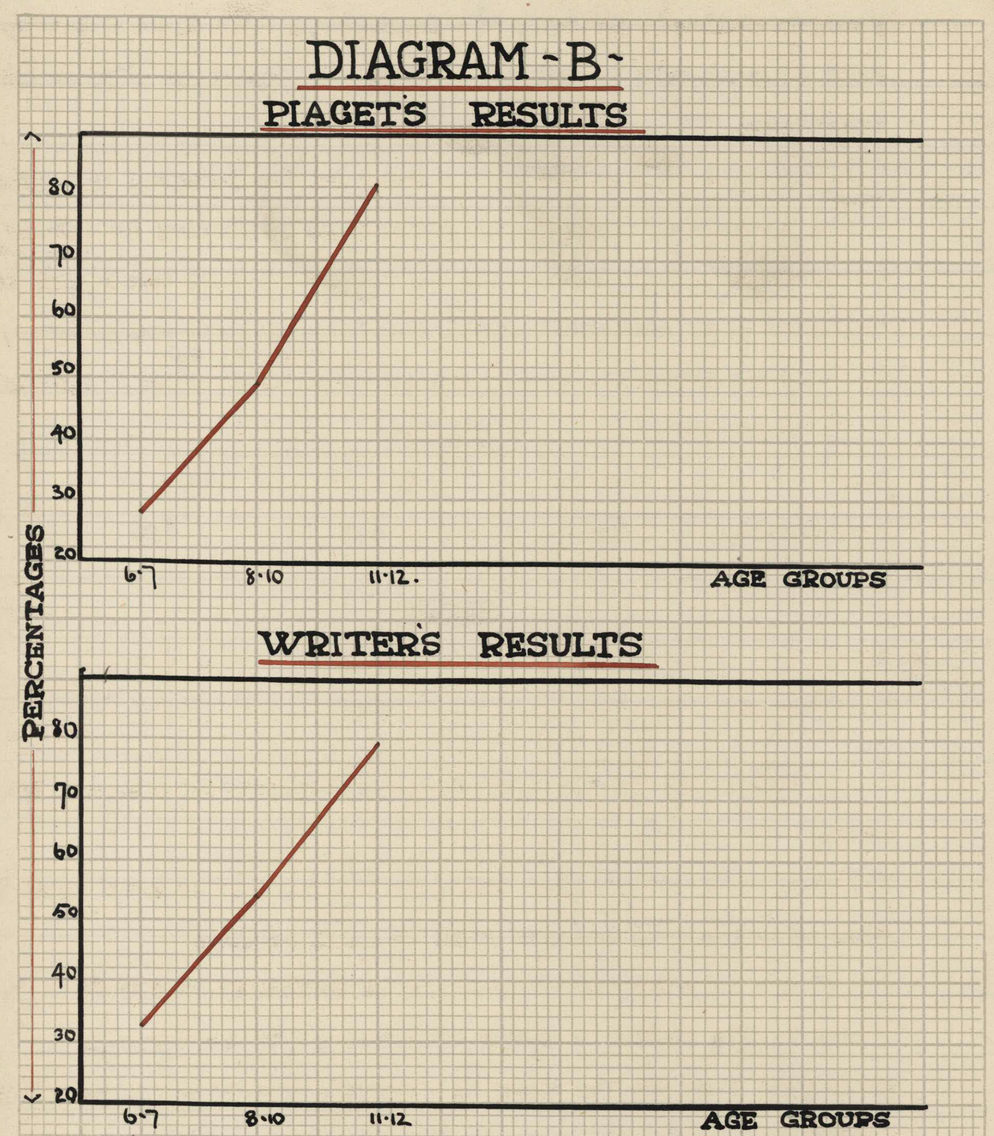


DIAGRAM TO COMPARE THE WRITER'S RESULTS WITH PIAGET'S

A cursory examination of this table reveals the fact that the younger children place great importance upon the expiatory side of punishment, but this attitude gradually changes as age increases.

It will be observed that even in the youngest age groups there is a relatively large percentage answering in favour of Reciprocity - 36% indicating that even at this early age some children have advanced beyond the idea of mere expiation.

It is interesting to compare this table with Piaget's(31).

Table II. PIAGET.

Age	6 - 7	8 - 10	11 - 12
Reciprocity	28%	49%	82%

WRITER

Age	6 - 7	8 - 10	11 - 12
Reciprocity	33%	54%	79%

From these tables some interesting comparisons can be made.

(1) Both sets of results indicate a progression away from the idea of expiation towards that of reciprocity.

(2) There is a bigger percentage of children of the (6 - 7) group in the writer's table possessing the reciprocity principle than in the case in Piaget's results. A similar difference is in evidence in the (8 - 10) group.

(3) In the (11-12) group however, Piaget's figures indicate a more widely-held principle of reciprocity than is evidenced in the writer's results.

(4) The writer's results indicate a steadier rate of development. Piaget's results indicate a marked rise in the

DIAGRAM ~C~

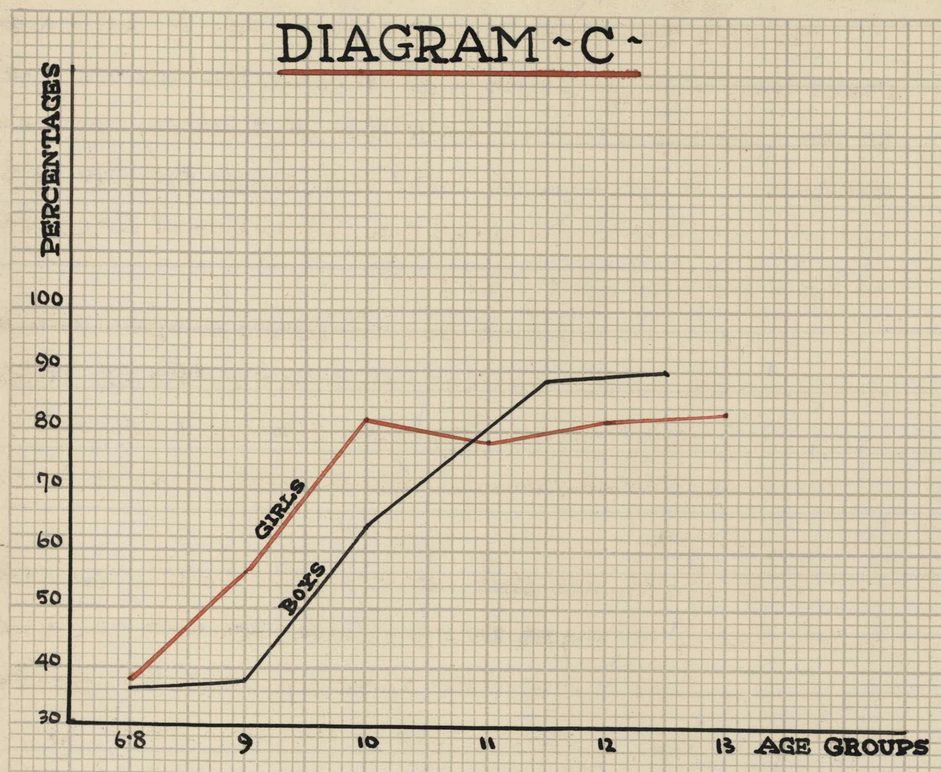


DIAGRAM TO SHOW COMPARISON OF RESULTS OF BOYS AND GIRLS ON THE NOTION OF RECIPROCITY.

reciprocity notion between the ages of(8-10) and (11-12).

The fact that there is such a steady development towards reciprocity with the increase in chronological age would point to the influence of social experience in modifying the child's attitude. At the 11 group there is a slight decrease in the hitherto steady progression towards the notion of Reciprocity. Is there any reason for this halt?

Psychological research into the nature of child development has revealed the fact that at about this age the child undergoes a period of consolidation. He is at this stage "a little man" independent, resourceful and competent to manage his own affairs.

It is significant that the otherwise steady progression is temporarily broken at this particular age when the child is inclined to enforce rules more rigidly and with less regard for the feelings of others, than at any other time.

What is the influence of sex differences upon the answers to the questions? A table showing the results is as follows:

Table III SEX DIFFERENCES.

Age	Sex	% Reciprocity	% Expiation.
6-8 years	Boys	36	64
	Girls	38	62
9 years	Boys	38	62
	Girls	56	44
10 years	Boys	64	36
	Girls	82	18
11 years	Boys	80	20
	Girls	79	21
12 years	Boys	88	12
	Girls	82	18
13 years	Boys	90	10
	Girls	83	17

In examining this table some very significant facts are in evidence.

First it is to be observed that in the groups (6-8) to 10 years, there is a greater percentage of girls than boys having the notion of reciprocity. Further this notion develops rapidly and becomes very widespread during these years. The figures indicate this clearly, these rising from 38 - 56 - 82 in each group respectively. But after this rapid development there is a halt in this rapid development, the percentage figures for the remaining groups being 79, 82 and 83 respectively.

The figures for the boys on the other hand, though falling below those of the girls up to 10 years, head the girls for the remaining age groups, the percentage for the 13 age group being as high as 90.

Thus it would appear that the idea of reciprocity develops more quickly in girls than boys up to the age of ten years, but up to the age of thirteen at all events, does not become so widely-held as is the case with boys. It was also found that the answers given by the girls generally indicated a finer sense of justice than did the answers of boys, as is revealed in the following answers:-

Girl 11. "His father should not let him go to the pictures because that was better than the boy going hungry."

Boy 11. "His father should not let him go to the pictures because it was the worst punishment."

Girl 10. "His father would not let him go to the pictures because he would not feel it too much.

DIAGRAM -D-

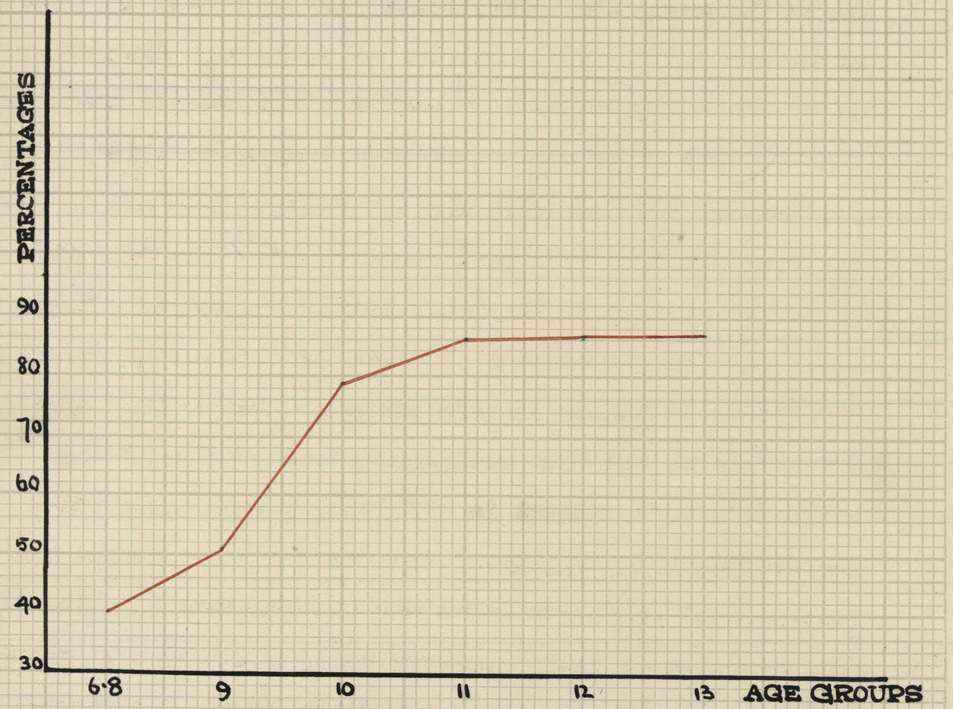


DIAGRAM TO SHOW THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NOTION OF RECIPROCITY AMONG CHILDREN OF UNEMPLOYED.

Boy 10. " Not to go to the pictures because this would punish the boy the most.

In view of the number of people employed on Government Relief Schemes, the writer evaluated separately the answers of those whose fathers were Relief Workers. Although only 42 children came under this heading, the results indicated that in many cases the conception which these children had of justice was the finest of any ! Twenty-eight out of the forty-two answers were definitely of a reciprocity nature.

A comparison of the table set out below, with table I shows that the percentage of those favouring reciprocity is significantly higher in this group and indicated a surprising fact, namely, that the most widespread notions of reciprocity are evident in children of the economically poorest group in society. But after all one should not be surprised at this, for doubtless the straitened family circumstances of these children would call for more co-operation, and consequently develop a finer sense of reciprocal consideration.

Table IV TABLE SHOWING ANSWERS OF CHILDREN OF UNEMPLOYED.

Age	% Reciprocity	% Expiation.
6-8 years	40	60
9 years	51	49
10 years	79	21
11 years	86	14
12 years	87	13
13 years	87	13

In summing up this field of investigation the following

conclusions stand out.

(1) There is a steady progression away from the expiation concept towards that of reciprocity.

(2) Girls develop the notion of reciprocity earlier than boys, but from the age of 10 boys develop the concept to a greater extent than do girls.

(3) There is a marked difference in the course of development of the concept of Reciprocity in boys and girls respectively. This would indicate the existence of some innate difference seeing that the general environment with regard to its cultural and general outlook is the same for all.

(4) There is a finer standard prevailing among girls in general than among boys.

(5) There is a high standard prevalent among the economically poorest section of the community.

(6) There is a slight halt in the progression towards Reciprocity about the age of 11.

(7) Social experience modifies the child's original ideas on justice.

(8) A significant observation is the fact that in this series fear of authority figured very slightly.

(d) <u>COLLECTIVE AND COMMUNICABLE RESPONSIBILITY</u>.

The following stories were told in reference to the above aspect:-

I Mother tells her three boys that they must not play with the scissors while she is out. When she has gone one says "Let's play with the scissors". The second child goes to get the paper, but the third says "No, mother said we mustn't. I shan't touch the scissors." When mother comes home, she

punishes them all. Was that fair?

II. Some boys were throwing stones and one broke a window. The next day the school-master asked who did it, but no one owned up. The boy who had done it said that it wasn't he and the others would not tell on him. What should the master do? Ought he to punish no one or the whole class?

III. Some boys were throwing snowballs against a wall. They were warned against throwing too high because of a window. One boy, when the others were not looking, gathered some snow around a pebble and broke the window. Their father was angry and asked who had done it. No one spoke. The boy who broke the window would not own up and the others did not know who had done it. Should the father punish all or no one?

IV. During a school outing the teacher allowed the children to play in a barn on condition that they put everything back as they found it, before going away. One of them took a rake, another a spade and they all went off in different directions. One of the boys took a wheel barrow and broke it. Without saying a word he brought it back to the barn. In the evening when the teacher looked to see if everything was tidy, he found the broken barrow, and asked who had done it. But the boy who had done it said nothing and the others did not know who it was. Should the whole class be punished or no one?

It will be observed that the stories outlined above are of increasing complexity of detail. The first story portrays an elementary situation in which the implications are fairly obvious. The second is a little more involved and more factors in the situation have to be considered. The third and fourth

DIAGRAM ~E~

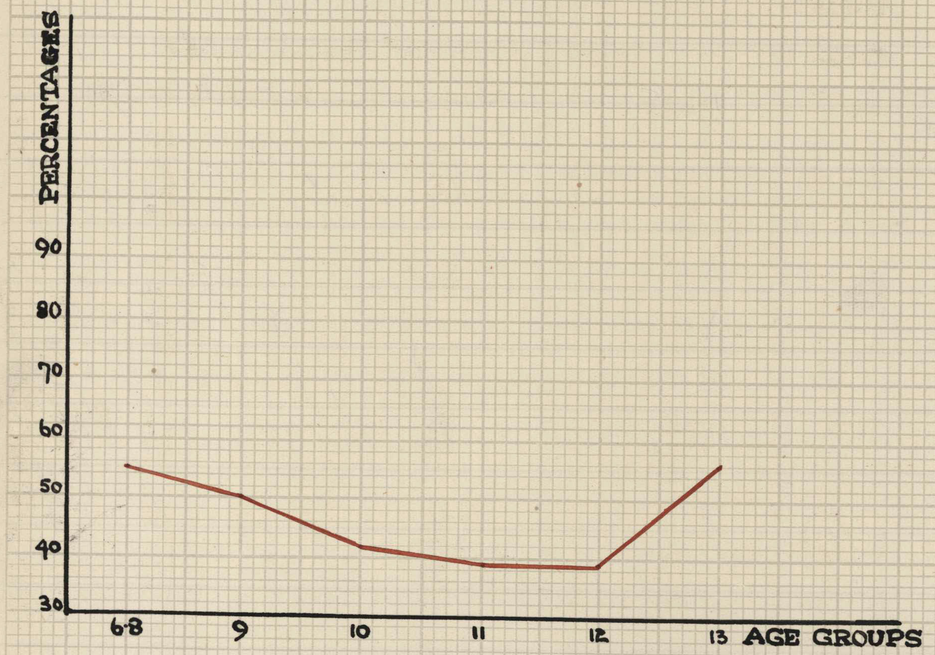


DIAGRAM TO SHOW THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN'S NOTION OF COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY.

stories are quite involved and the real decision has to be made between Equity and Authority.

The following table gives the results on a percentage basis:-

Table V. COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY TABLE.

Age	Story	% Punish All	% Punish No One.
6 - 8	I	40	60
	II	67	33
	III	80	20
	IV	60	40
9	I	31	69
	II	51	49
	III	55	45
	IV	61	39
10	I	22	78
	II	99	1
	III	62	38
	IV	42	58
11	I	13	87
	II	100	-
	III	36	64
	IV	32	68
12	I	17	83
	II	80	20
	III	33	67
	IV	40	60
13	I	17	83
	II	100	--
	III	58	42
	IV	58	42

When this table is examined it can be seen that the percentage figures for different stories differ considerably even in the same age group. This result is what one would expect when the note made earlier in this section concerning the nature of the stories is borne in mind.

In Story I (see above) even in the youngest age group (6-8) more than 50% express the opinion that only those guilty should be punished. 40% of the (6-8) age group consider that

all should be punished irrespective of whether they are guilty or not. This percentage however, shows a gradual decrease with advanced age, the figures falling from 40% - 31 - 22 - 13 - 13 - 16% in each group.

It is obvious even to the youngest of the children studied that it would be unfair to punish those who had taken no part in the misdeed.

In marked contrast to this attitude however, even in the oldest age groups, there is a percentage of children which is of the opinion that all should be punished. A significant fact in this connection is the rather considerable increase in the percentage figure for the 13 age group.

When the second story is considered, it will be observed that the percentages in favour of collective responsibility punishment for all are higher in every case. In two age groups 11 and 13, 100% of the answers are in favour of all being punished. While the 10 year group records a 98% score in this direction.

From an analysis of the answers obtained, the writer considers that the results indicate not so much a sense of collective responsibility as a reverence for authority. Because the boys in the story knew who had committed the misdeed and yet would not tell, they were themselves thwarting authority and consequently must be punished. The children in this case seemed to identify themselves with the schoolmaster. A noteworthy fact is that in this story the percentage of answers in favour of punishment for all increases with age. It appears that with increasing age there comes the realisation that a "wrong" has been done. This must be

punished and as the other boys will not own up, they are equally involved and consequently all must be punished. The children answering the question quite obviously put themselves in the place of the school-master, and consider the situation from his viewpoint. Below are some typical answers

Girl 10. Punish all because all were dishonest.

Boy 11. All because none were honest.

Girl 11. All because the others would not own up.

Boy 11. All because the rest were trying to hide the other's guilt.

An analysis of the answers for story III reveals a further set of significant facts. The (6-8) group is almost unanimous in its desire for universal punishment, but this percentage steadily decreases, the figures for the 13 age group being 28.3%. The answers indicate two distinct tendencies. There is clearly in evidence the felt need of satisfying authority. At the same time there is in evidence the awakening of considerations of equity.

Thus:- Girl 10. "Punish everyone as then you will get the culprit". Authority

Girl 10. "Nobody at all because he would have punished all for one". Equity

Boy 11. "All because someone had to be punished." Authority

Girl 12. "No one because it was not fair." Equity

Boy 13. "No one because it would be unfair to the other boys." Equity

The percentages recorded for story IV which in principl was the same as story III are in general lower than the previous set of percentages.

In this whole series of stories there is in evidence th influence of home environment upon children's outlook.

E.g. Boy 10 S.III "Punish them all because you are not supposed to throw stones".

Girl 10 S.III "Punish them all because they would not own up".

Girl 10 S.III "Punish all because they ought to own up."

Below is a table showing the total percentages for the four stories in each age group.

Table VI

Age	Collective Responsibility	Non-Collective.
(6-8)	55%	45%
9	50%	50%
10	42%	58%
11	39%	61%
12	39%	61%
13	56%	44%

An interesting fact is revealed here. The children's belief in Collective-Responsibility shows a steady decline from (6-8) to 12, and then records an abrupt rise from 39% at 12 to 56% at 13. These results show a marked divergence from those obtained by Piaget. Piaget found that the only collective responsibility accepted by the group occurs among the older and not among the younger children.

The writer found quite the contrary. The collective responsibility idea was held most by the youngest and up to the age of 12 this notion becomes less widely held.

The following table shows a comparison of the answers given by boys and girls:-

DIAGRAM "F"

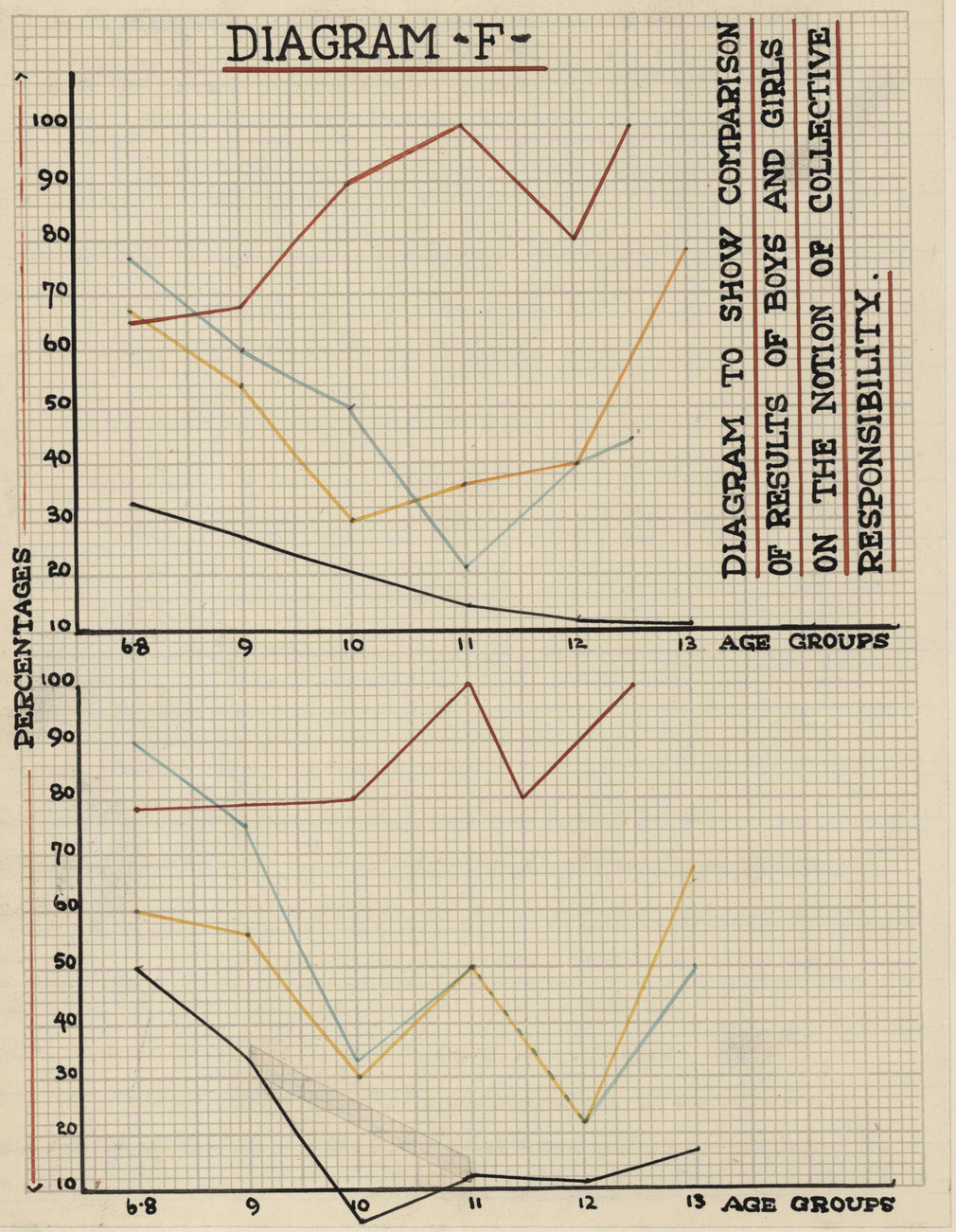


Table VII — TABLE SHOWING SEX DIFFERENCES.

Age	Story	% Answers of boys indicating a sense of Collective Responsibility.	% Answers of girls indicating a sense of Collective Responsibility.
6-8	I	33	50
	II	65	78
	III	77	90
	IV	67	60
9	I	27	33
	II	68	79
	III	60	75
	IV	54	56
10	I	10	7
	II	90	80
	III	50	33
	IV	30	30
11	I	14	12
	II	100	100
	III	21	50
	IV	36	50
12	I	11	11
	II	80	80
	III	40	22
	IV	40	22
13	I	11	17
	II	100	100
	III	44	50
	IV	78	67

It can be seen from this table that the percentages for each age group are fairly constant in the case of both boys and girls. As noted in the previous table there is a big difference in the figures for stories I and II. This would appear to indicate that in answering the questions foreach of these stories respectively the child clearly recognised that there is a difference of principle involved. The older children can see much more clearly the injustice of certain situations as compared with others:-

E.G. Note the figures for the 13 age group for stories I and II (11 and 100 boys, 17 and 100 girls) as compared with the

figures for the (6-8) group (33 and 65 boys, and 50 and 78 girls).

It is again to be observed that the figures for both boys and girls of the 13 age group show an increase all round.

CONCLUSIONS.

(1) The outstanding fact evident throughout the whole series was the display of "self interest" on the part of the children. This was displayed consistently throughout every age group. Though group responsibility was in evidence particularly in the (6-8) group, its basis was of a very precarious nature. The sense of group responsibility was always placed second when personal interests were endangered.

(2) With Piaget the writer found that the children desired punishment, not because they considered the group responsible as a whole for the faults of one of its members, but simply because the guilty one is unknown, and there must be a punishment at all costs.

(3) The sense of group solidarity diminishes up to the age of 12, when it suddenly increases.

(4) The influence of the home environment is in evidence in moulding the child's outlook.

(5) Though in individual instances group responsibility appears to be widely held, taken over the whole field of enquiry, this was not the case. There is very little group consciousness with children, even the oldest ones being dominated by the principle of self interest. Where the child is convinced that he is not to blame, he will not favour "group" punishment.

(6) In this series of answers there was revealed to a marked

extent a reverence for authority, this frequently triumphing over responsibility.

(c) IMMANENT JUSTICE

With regard to this aspect the following story was told:- Two children were stealing apples in an orchard. One of the children was caught. The other one in going home by a round about way, crossed a river on a rotten bridge and fell into the water. Now what do you think? If he had not stolen the apples and had crossed the bridge just the same, would he also have fallen into the water?

Below is the table showing the percentages at different ages, holding the idea of the Immanence of Justice.

Table VIII TABLE FOR IMMANENCE OF JUSTICE.

Age	% Belief in Immanence	% No belief in Immanence.
6-8	83	17
9	71	29
10	52	48
11	36	64
12	28	72
13	14	86

It can be seen from the table that the belief in Immanent Justice decreases with age. Even in the 13 age group however, there are a number who still have a belief in it. Amongst the answers of the answers of the (6-8) group there are several indicating the influence of religious teaching upon the children.

E.g., Girl (6-8) "He would not have fallen in if he had not stolen, because God made the rotten bridge to punish him."

Boy 7. "No, he would not have fallen in. God punished him in this way."

The writer would point out that the answers given were not just of a "yes" and "no" variety, but more often than not, involved reasoned statements. Accordingly, each answer had to be studied with some care in order to evaluate it correctly Thus, if in answer to the question - "Would he still have fallen in?" the following were received:-

(1) No - he would not have been in such a hurry.

(2) No - he would not have been trying to escape.

(3) No - he would not have gone that way -

these were evaluated as not pertaining to the idea of Immanent Justice.

In the 12 and 13 age groups the answers indicate not only a lessened belief in the Immanence of Justice, but an increased ability to think in terms of relationships.

E.g. Boy 12. "Yes - the bridge could not hold together any longer."

Girl 12. "If he had not stolen, he would not have gone that way."

Boy 13. "No, he would not have hurried."

A comparison of the sexes in regard to their views on this question is interesting.

Table IX SEX DIFFERENCES - IMMANENT JUSTICE

Age	Sex	% Immanent	% Non-Immanent.
6-8	Boy	67	33
	Girl	83	17
9	Boy	60	40
	Girl	76	24
10	Boy	50	50
	Girl	54	46
11	Boy	29	71
	Girl	35	65

Age	Sex	% Immanent	% Non-Immanent.
12	Boy	Nil	100
	Girl	63.5	37
13	Boy	Nil	100
	Girl	16	84

This table discloses the fact that the percentages in the answers of girls indicating a belief in Immanent Justice are consistently higher than is the case with the boys. The number of girls emphasizing the religious element in their answers also far outnumbers the boys.

E.g. Girl 6. "No - Jesus punished him for stealing."

Girl 9. "It was because he disobeyed God."

Girl 10. "No, because the Lord punished him".

A significant fact was that this type of answer was in evidence even in the replies of girls in the oldest age-groups

It is most difficult indeed to account for the phenomenal leap in the percentage figure for the 12 group (girls) except on biological grounds. The girl of 12 years is just entering on the pubertal stage. The writer can give no other explanation than this, though he would much prefer an explanation that did not invoke the convenient one of heredity

It is interesting to instance some of the answers from this particular group.

(1) "No, because God would have taken care of him!

(2) "No, because he would not have done anything."

(3) "No, because there is a punishment for all."

(4) "No, because it showed he had been stealing."

(5) "No, that was a punishment for stealing apples."

These answers are so unreservedly indicative of a particular moral outlook that some factor causing it should

be found. It was significant therefore, than an examination of the religious instruction received by the majority of this particular group, revealed that they were members of a very narrow religious sect. Here very definitely was revealed the influence of religious instruction upon the mental outlook of these girls.

CONCLUSIONS.

(1) There is a progressive decrease in the belief in Immanent Justice, with age.

(2) The answers indicate the influence of a growing social experience upon the child's outlook.

(3) The emphasis upon retributive punishmebt is not much in evidence in the older age groups.

(4) Girls have a belief in Immanent Justice to a greater extent than boys. Girls appear to fear authority and be dependent upon it to a greater extent than boys.

(5) The influence of religious teaching is very marked in the case of girls.

(6) There is a phenomenal increase in Immanent Justice at the entry on puberty among girls.

Note. It would be necessary to extend the investigation to ascertain if there is a similar increase in the case of boys at the onset of puberty.

(f) EFFICACY OF PUNISHMENTS.

The following stories were told:-

I. A boy was playing in his room while his father was away. He thought that he would like to draw so he took some clean sheets from his father's desk. His father discovered the theft and gave the boy a whipping. Another boy was in a

DIAGRAM -G-

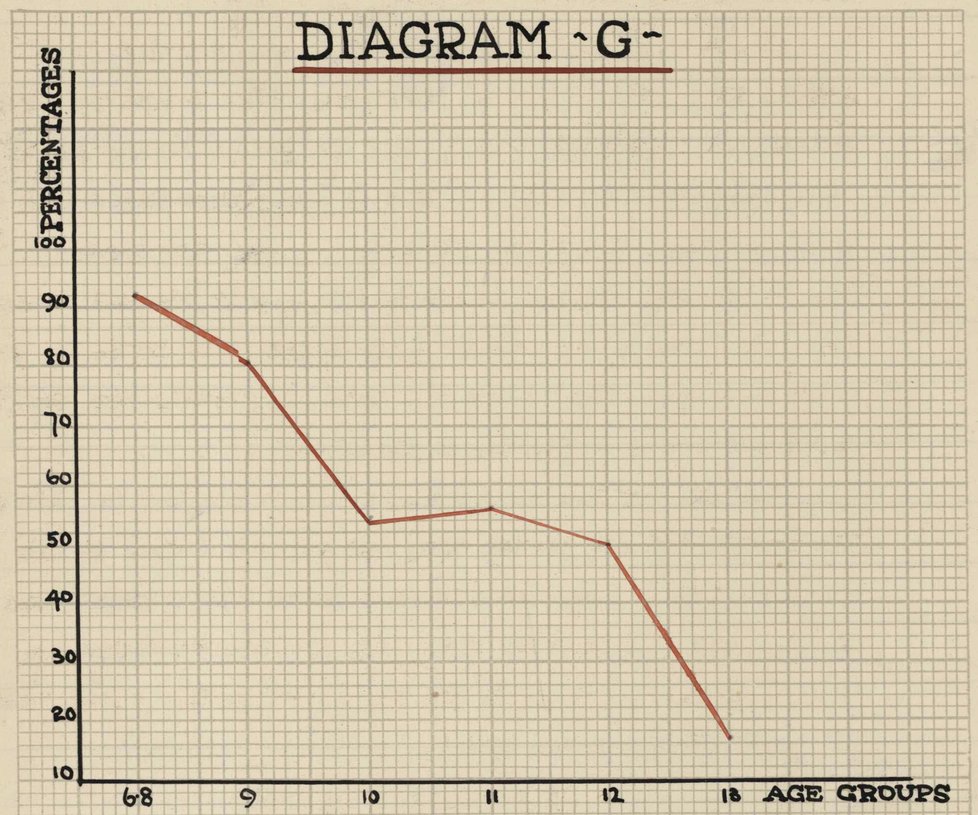


DIAGRAM TO SHOW THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN'S NOTION OF THE EFFICACY OF PUNISHMENT.

similar position but his father did not punish him. He pointed out to the boy that it was wrong to steal.

A few days later while the boys were playing in the garden they found a pencil which was their father's. Their father had said that he had lost the pencil in the street, so it would have been easy to keep it and escape detection. But one boy stole, the other did not. Which one stole?

II. A boy was playing in the kitchen while his mother was out. He broke a cup and when his mother came home, he told a lie and said that it was the cat. His mother saw that it was a lie and gave the boy a whipping.

Another boy was in a similar situation, but in this case his mother did not punish him, but explained that it was wrong to tell a lie. A few days later they were playing in the kitchen with matches when they had been told not to. When their mother came in one boy owned up, the other told a lie. Which boy owned up?

Table X EFFICACY OF PUNISHMENT.

Age	% Efficacy	% Non-efficacy.
6-8	92	8
9	81	19
10	54	46
11	56	44
12	50	50
13	17	83.

This table reveals a progressive decrease in the belief in the efficacy of punishment. The belief in its efficacy is most marked for the youngest age group (6-8) when the per-

centage is 92. In the oldest group (13 years) the percentage has decreased to 17. What course does this development follow? An analysis of the answers received bring out some interesting points.

In the 6-8 age group the dominating factor in the child's mind is fear of punishment.

E.g. (1) The boy who had the whipping did not steal because he did not want another.

(2) The one who had a whipping because he feared another.

(3) The one who had the strap because it taught him a lesson.

As the children increase in age they consider the situation more from its abstract aspect. They would refrain from stealing not because they fear punishment so much as they consider it "wrong" to do so.

E.g. Boy 10. The one who was told not to, did not steal because he knew that it was dishonest.

Boy 10. The one who was talked to because the other boy was not told that it was wrong to steal.

Boy 10. The boy who was given a whipping stole because he wasn't told that it was wrong to steal.

Girl 11. The one who had been spoken to did not steal because the words sank deeper into him than the other boy's thrashing.

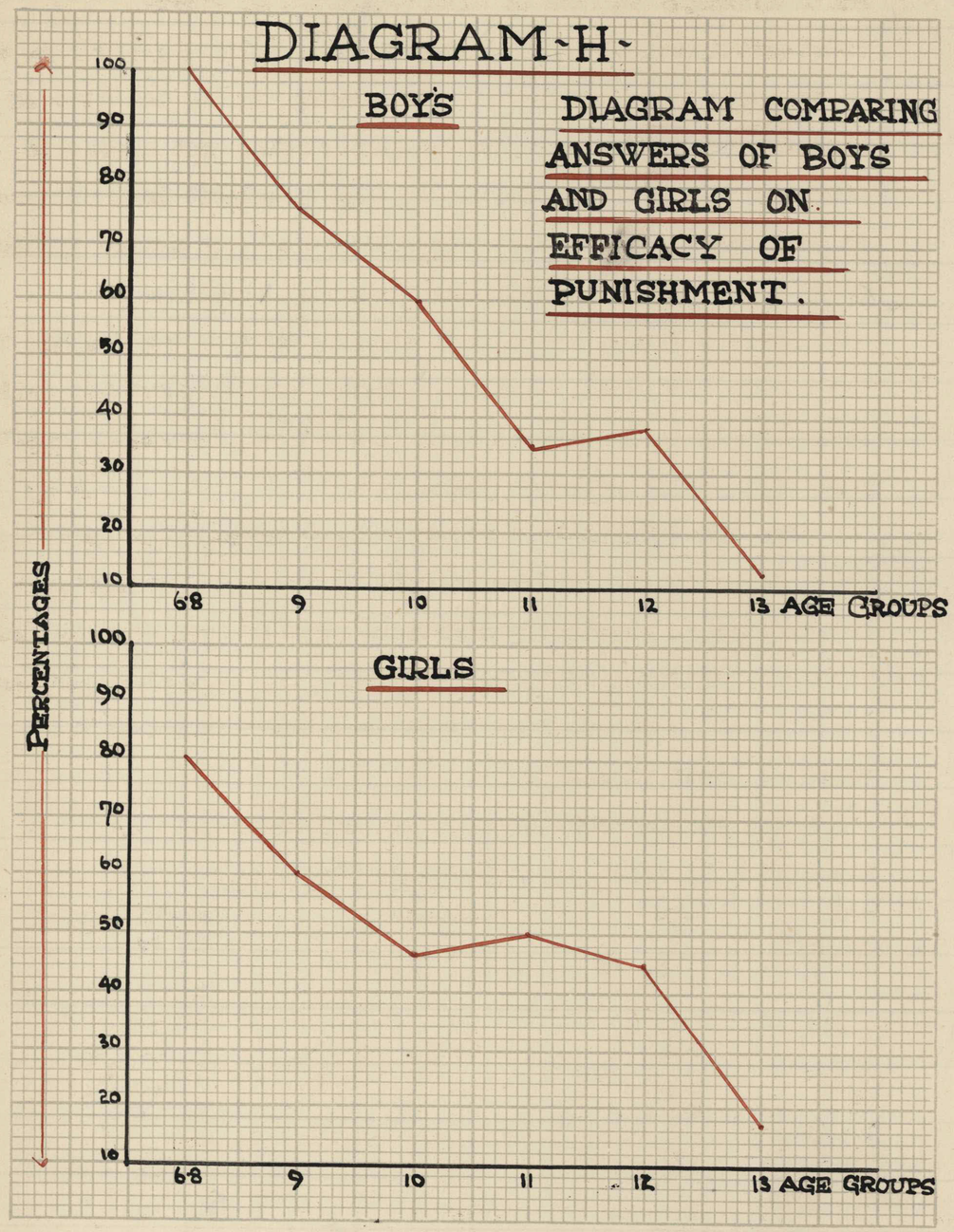
Boy 12. The one who got the talking to because he knew it was wrong to steal.

Boy 13. The one who had the talking to because he did not want to disappoint his mother.

Girl 13. The one who had the hiding stole because he did not know why he was punished.

In these answers the general trend of development is from

DIAGRAM-H-



the concrete situation to an abstract principle. The growing child develops notions of such qualities as honour, trustworthiness, fair play etc. As the child increases in age he develops the ability to place himself in the position of another, and to realise just how his action must appear to another. The child reciprocates fair treatment from others. In many answers it is directly stated that the desire to please their mother is the reason for their not stealing.

Where there is found such answers as "The one who had the hiding did not steal because he feared another from his father" it is surely indicative of home conditions prevailing, which cause the child to answer thus.

The significant fact which emerges however, is that the great majority of children respond to trust and confidence rather than to physical punishment. The answers indicate that punishment induces vindictiveness and even when right action results, it is due to fear of consequences and not to any sense of moral value.

Below is the table showing sex differences.

Table XI TABLE SHOWING SEX DIFFERENCES.

Age	Sex	% Efficacy	% Non-Efficacy.
(6-8)	Boy	100	-
	Girl	80	20
9	Boy	76	24
	Girl	60	40
10	Boy	60	40
	Girl	46	54
11	Boy	35	65
	Girl	50	50
12	Boy	38	62
	Girl	35	55
13	Boy	13	87
	Girl	17	83

This table indicates a progressive decrease in the belief in the efficacy of punishment on the part of boys. Up to the age of 10 years the boys appear to hold a more widespread belief in the efficacy of punishment than girls, but from then up to 13, the figures for the girls head those of the boys. The inference would be that girls in general retain their faith in the efficacy of punishment to a greater extent than boys. In the writer's opinion, this is due to the fact that boys in general move about more freely than do girlsand thereby come to appreciate earlier the value and meaning of fairness, honesty, justice and the like.

It is worthwhile noticing the figures for both boys and girls for the 13 age group. Both sets of figures show a big decrease when compared with those for the previous age group.

CONCLUSIONS.

(1) There is a strong belief in the efficacy of punishment among young children which decreases with age.

(2) This decrease is due to (a) Increased social experience leading to the development of the ability to regard one's actions from another's viewpoint.

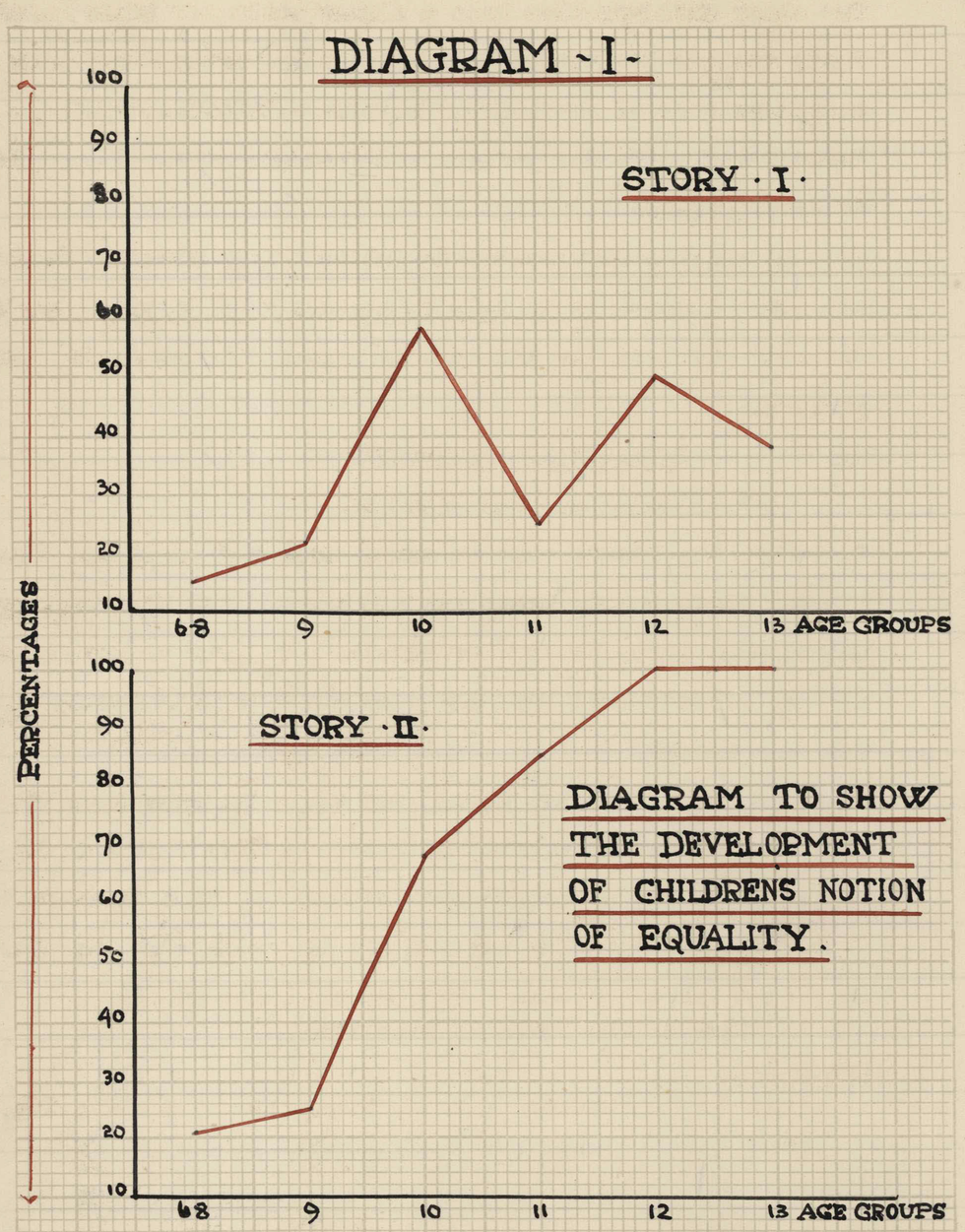
(b) The development of a desire to honour the trust placed in one.

(3) Girls retain their belief in the efficacy of punishment to a greater extent than boys.

(4) The figure of the parent bulks largely in the child's mind.

(5) At the age of 13, both boys and girls have little faith in the efficacy of punishment.

(6) There appears to be developing in the child's mind a desire to have a reason given for what he is asked to do.



If he knows why he should not steal, then he does not do so. The older children thus have a firmer basis for their morality. Their actions are governed to an ever increasing extent by considerations of obstract principles - "rightness" and "wrongness" while the younger children are governed by a fear of consequences.

(7) The child's development is determined by adults. He does not steal because he is told by another that it is wrong. The "others" who tell him this are in normal circumstances, his parents.

(g) EQUALITY AND AUTHORITY.

The following are the stories:-

I. Some Boy Scouts were in camp. Each had to do his bit. One day there was no bread and the one who did the shopping had already gone. So the Scoutmaster asked one of the Scouts who had already done his job to go and fetch the bread. What did he do?

II. A father had two boys. One of them always grumbled when he was sent messages. The other one didn't like being sent either, but he always went without saying a word. So the father used to send the boy who did not grumble on messages more than the other one. What do you think of that?

Below is the table of results:-

Table XII.

Age	Story	%Equality	% Authority.
6-8	I	15	85
	II	20	80
9	I	22	78
	II	25	75
10	I	59	41
	II	68	32

Age	Story	% Equality	% Authority.
11	I	25	75
	II	85	15
12	I	50	50
	II	100	--
13	I	38	62
	II	100	--

In compiling this table it was deemed advisable to record the results of each story separately because in the writer's opinion the two stories differ considerably in the principles involved.

The first story deals with a Scout Camp in which emphasis is placed upon the rendering of voluntary service without considering the cost.

The second story deals with a common everyday incident.

The results certainly indicate a decreased dependence upon authority and an increased emphasis upon equality of treatment.

It is to be observed that there is a bigger percentage who place emphasis upon authority in the first story than is so in the second. The writer would unhesitatingly put this down to the effect of an environmental factor in the form of a Scout Law. It so occurred that in the locality in which the investigation was conducted, a Scout troop had been newly formed. The writer knows that a considerable number of the boys had joined up with this troop. He frequently heard them discussing Scout affairs together in the play-ground. This factor, he believes, is responsible for the sudden jump in the authority figures for the 11 age group. Thus, even in the 13 age group, the percentage which bows to authority is 62%

for story I. But contrasted with these figures are those for story II. The percentage figures here show a steady decrease in the belief in authority from 80% to 0% in the 12 and 13 groups.

The awakening of the desire for equality of treatment occurs together with increased age and experience with one's fellows.

In the first story answers such as the following were received:-

Boy 12. "Yes - it would be a good deed."

Boy 13. "Yes - all good Scouts must obey."

Boy 11. "Yes - if he were a proper Scout."

Such answers as these bring out clearly the environmental factor.

The answers to the second story showed progress towards an abstract principle.

E.g. Girl 12. "No - he should not go because it was not fair."

Boy 13. "No, not an equal amount of work done."

A few however, even in the 13 age group stress the punishment aspect.

E.g. Boy 13. "No - it would not be a punishment."

Boy 13. "No - the other one would get let off."

Girl 13. "No - he should be punished."

It is interesting to compare the writer's results with those obtained by Piaget. (32)

Table XII

Piaget's Results			Writer's Results.		
Age	Story	%Equality	Age	Story	%Equality.
6	I	5	6	I	15
	II	11		II	20
7	I	45	7	I	17
	II	59		II	35
8	I	67	8	I	20
	II	78		II	30
9	I	83	9	I	22
	II	100		II	25
10	I	90	10	I	59
	II	94		II	68
11	I	95	11	I	25
	II	100		II	85
12	I	100	12	I	50
	II	100		II	100

The writer's results differ in many respects from those of Piaget. Whereas Piaget found that the development of equality considerations was to a considerable extent parallel in both stories, the writer's results as previously reported found quite a divergence.

There is a marked difference in the results for story I in the two tables.

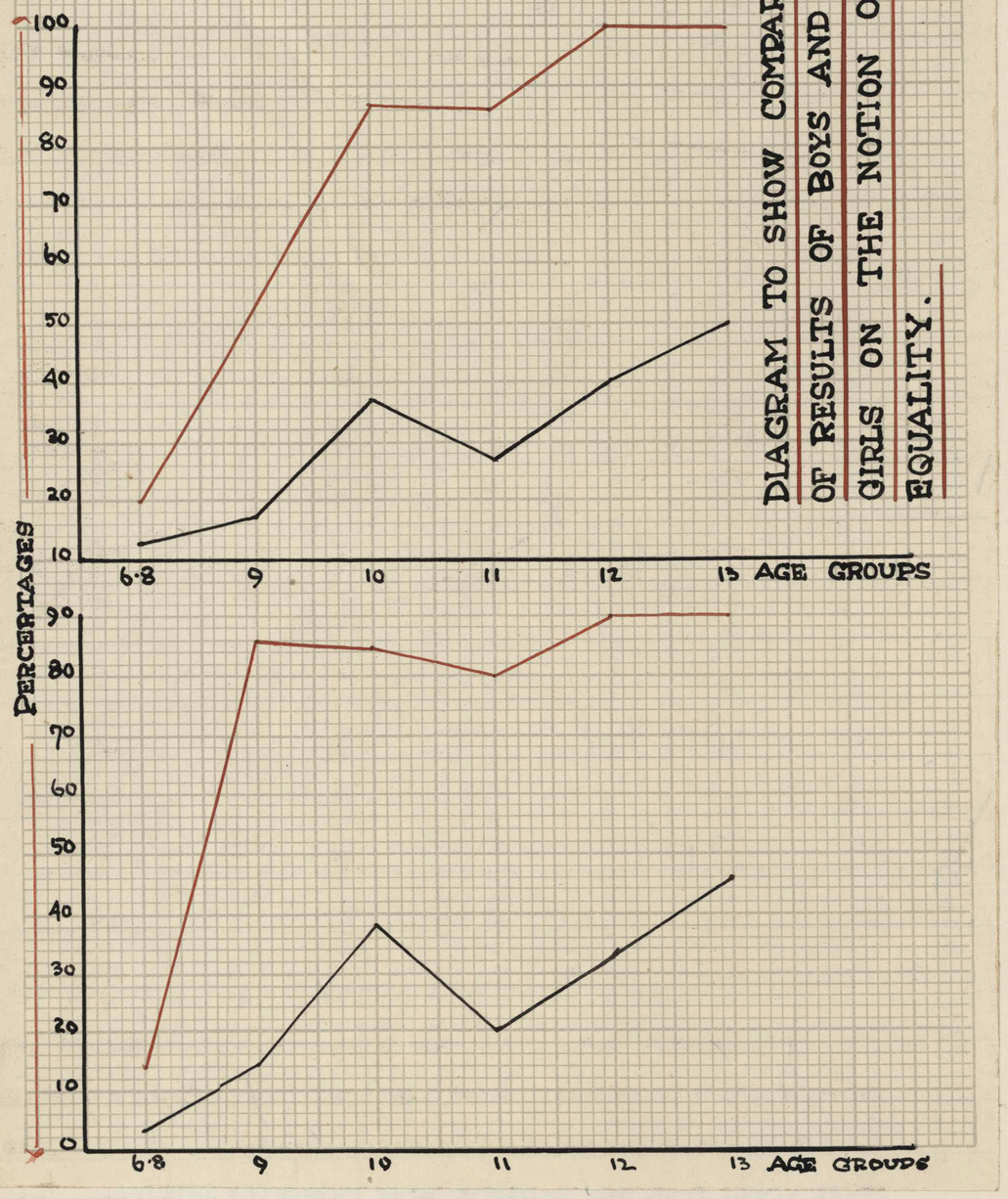
Piaget's results in serial order according to increasing age groups are - 5% - 45% - 67% - 83% - 90% - 95% - 100%.

The writer's results are - 15% - 17% - 20% - 22% - 59% - 25% - 50% - 38%.

The fall from 59% - 25% at the age of 10 is probably due to this being the predominant age of those belonging to the Scout troop with its emphasis upon rendering service.

In story II, there is a big jump in Piaget's results at

DIAGRAM - J -



7 years, to 59% as compared with 11% for the previous year.

The writer found that a big jump occurred at the age of 9 when the percentage figure is 68 as compared with 25% for the previous age group.

The writer would disagree with Piaget's conclusion that the child of 7 years has a fairly stable belief in equality. He would defer the age at which this is the case until 10 years.

Table XIV TABLE SHOWING SEX DIFFERENCES.

Age	Sex	Story	% Equality	% Authority.
6-8	Boy	I	13	87
		II	20	80
	Girl	I	3	97
		II	14	86
9	Boy	I	17	83
		II	52	48
	Girl	I	14	86
		II	86	14
10	Boy	I	37	63
		II	87	13
	Girl	I	38	62
		II	85	15
11	Boy	I	27	73
		II	86	14
	Girl	I	20	80
		II	80	20
12	Boy	I	40	60
		II	100	--
	Girl	I	33	67
		II	100	--
13	Boy	I	50	50
		II	100	--
	Girl	I	46	54
		II	100	--

This result shows that the figures for the boys in regard to equality are in advance of the girls up to the 12 age group, when both sexes record much the same result. It is to be observed that there is again in evidence a gap between the figures for the 10 group and the 11 group. (Story I).

This, as was pointed out previously, coincides with the time of formation of the local Scout Troop, with a consequent increase in the authority percentage. It is noticeable, however, that in story II there is a drop in the figures of the 11 group when compared with those of the 10 age group, after which year they increase again.

CONCLUSIONS:

(1) There is a steady development away from authority in the direction of equality.

(2) Boys exhibit a stronger desire for equality than do girls.

(3) At about the age of 11 there is a tendency to place increased reliance upon authority. In story I there was a strong environmental influence in evidence.

(4) The answers reveal the development of a moral outlook - a "sentiment" - which reveals itself in the ability to judge the intrinsic worth of situations.

(5) The age at which considerations of equality are in strong evidence is 10 years. This is contrary to Piaget's results which showed this to be the case at about 7 years.

(h) CHILDREN AND ADULTS.

The following question was put th the children:-

Should adults be served in shops before children if the children are there first?

The following figures show the result upon a percentage basis:-

Table XV.

Age	% Affirmative	% Negative
7-9	89	11
10	86	14
11	76	24
12	71	29
13	73	27

These figures show a steady development of the belief in the equality of children and adults, but even so, the figures in favour of adult priority are very high throughout.

This result clearly indicates the predominance of the adult figure in the child's mind. The answers here indicate more clearly than in any other aspect of the investigation, the potency of the early home environment with its moral background and its power of habit-formation.

Consider such answers as the following:-

Girl 10. "Children should wait because it is manners."

Girl 11. "Children should wait because it is more polite."

Boy 10. "Children should wait because grown up. are more important than us."

Girl 10. "Yes - you should always serve the biggest first."

Boy 11. "Yes - you are supposed to make way for the grown ups.

Girl 11. "Yes - parents and grown ups should always be first.

Boy 12. "Yes - it is polite."

Boy 13. "Yes - grown ups are older."

In these answers three reactions are evident.

(1) There is developing in the minds of the children a abstract principle of conduct.

(2) Children cede priority to parents.

(3) Children cede priority to adults.

Even with children in the oldest age-group, adults are placed first because of their superior age and experience. A further point of interest is that even where the children appear to answer against the priority of adults, the adult figure can be seen looming in the background.

E.g. Boy 12. "No - parents (own) cannot wait."

Girl 10. "No - you would get a hiding when you got home for being so slow."

TABLE XVI. TABLE SHOWING SEX DIFFERENCES.

Age	Sex	% Affirmative	% Negative
7-9	Boy	100	Nil
	Girl	100	Nil
10	Boy	100	Nil
	Girl	75	25
11	Boy	76	25
	Girl	75	25
12	Boy	70	30
	Girl	63	37
13	Boy	70	30
	Girl	50	50

In this table the results for both boys and girls are constant up to the age of puberty in girls. The difference towards adults in the case of girls shows a considerable decrease for the years 12 and 13, while the boys remain unchanged in their attitude. Is this not due to awakening sex consciousness of girls and claims for sex privilege? Or is it due to increasing social consideration because of approaching womanhood?

CONCLUSIONS.

(1) There is with increasing age, a slight decrease in the

deference assigned to adults.

(2) This decrease is insignificant, the adult figure looming prominently in the minds of the children of even the oldest age-groups.

(3) There is a fairly constant relationship between the figures for the boys and girls, the girls showing a tendency to resist the priority of adults in the 12 and 13 groups more than boys.

(i) JUSTICE BETWEEN CHILDREN.

I. There was a big boy in a school once who was beating a smaller boy. The little one could not hit back because he was not strong enough. So one day, during the recreational period he hid the big boy's apple and roll in the cupboard. What do you think of that?

A table giving the results upon a percentage basis appears below:

Table XVII. JUSTICE BETWEEN CHILDREN.

Age	%Action Fair	% Action unfair.
6-8	100	Nil
9	95	5
10	84	16
11	86	14
12	59	41
13	55	45

when evaluating these results it is necessary to keep constantly in mind, the principles involved in the story. The percentage of answers indicating that the small boy's action was just, is throughout very high. The factor which influenced the tone of the answers, as the replies made manifest, was the suggestion of smallness or weakness of one of the boys.

The majority considered that only in this way could the little boy prevent the bigger boy from bullying him. But it is surprising to find that boys of 12 and 13 tend less to see an element of justice in the small boy's action. Typical answers are as follows:-

Boy 10. "It was fair. The little boy had no other way."

Boy 10. "It was fair. He was a big bully."

A few answers stressed the punishment aspect:-

Boy 11. "Yes - it would be a good punishment."

Boy 13. "Yes - it would be a good way to get even."

Table XVIII TABLE SHOWING SEX DIFFERENCES.

Age	Sex	% Action fair	% Action unfair.
6-8	Boy	100	Nil
	Girl	100	"
9	Boy	100	"
	Girl	100	"
10	Boy	100	"
	Girl	91	9
11	Boy	100	Nil
	Girl	86	14
12	Boy	100	Nil
	Girl	94	6
13	Boy	89	11
	Girl	75	25

This table merely bears out the conclusions of the previous table. The high percentage all round in favour of retaliation indicates that where there is some inequality existent, in the form of a physical defect, the children's sympathy is aroused, both in the case of boys and girls. When a personal affront has been received, the child is imbued with but one thought - retaliation.

CONCLUSIONS: (1) The strength of the "ego" is very marked.

The child of all ages is essentially an individualist. A personal affront must be avenged by retaliation in a like manner.

(2) Feelings of "sympathy" are in evidence at the age of 6.

(3) Where the affront is a personal matter, there is in evidence a vindictive frame of mind which must aim at retaliation at all costs.

(j) SUMMARY OF SECTION "B".

With this aspect of the investigation concluded this section is completed and it now remains to discuss the whole field of enquiry, and see what general conclusions can be drawn from it.

In the first place, the child it seems, is dependent upon a social medium in order to develop his mental outlook. All the way through the investigation the child refers to certain bases of conduct as if they were ultimate, but which in reality are due to adult teaching, e.g., "it is manners" "Children should give way to adults" etc.

The adult figure bulks largely in the child's mind even in the older age groups. In certain situations, however, this figure is brought more forcibly into the focus of the child's attention. Thus though this adult predominance can be observed at all stages, it is especially marked in the answers to the questions dealing primarily with adults. The adult, especially the parent, is the one who is primarily responsible for the child's moral outlook. The answers show that in the general run of cases the child's thoughts and actions are governed dominantly by this factor.

There is in evidence a distinct law of evolution in the development of the notion of justice. From having a fear of

consequences as his guiding principle, the child comes to attach values to abstract qualities such as honesty, truthfulness and fairness etc. Answers have already been given indicating this trend.

It would appear that with increased experience there develops the ability to place oneself in the position of another and realise how one's actions must appear to him. With the development of this attitude there develops pari passu considerations of equality and equity, as contrasted with the desire for mere expiation.

In contrast to the above conclusion is the fact that where a personal affront is suffered, reciprocity considerations are subordinated to considerations of personal revenge. In such incidents the children are motivated by but one desire - revenge.

The influence of the social environment is in evidence, the Scout Camp story particularly illustrating this.

Girls retain their belief in the efficacy of punishment longer than boys, indicating that fear of authority is more in the forefront of girls' minds than is the case with boys.

The children of the economically lowest group showed by their answers that their standards of justice and honour compare very favourably with the answers of the rest of the children.

The writer found that in general there was very little group consciousness. Always the child is first and foremost an individualist and even the oldest groups will tend to disintegrate if the interests of any of the members are markedly violated.

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Boys show a stronger desire for equality of treatment than girls, and sympathy is quickly aroused over some physical inequality such as smallness.

The child of older years desires a reason to be provided for moral sanctions and if such a reason is supplied, he is satisfied. As a consequence of this, the morality of the older children is much more firmly established and more reliable than that of the younger children.

Summarized, the most significant facts are these:-

(1) The child of all ages is an individualist.

(2) By the age of 6 he has developed notions of "right" and "wrong".

(3) These ideas develop as a result of "public opinion" which he encounters throught the outlook of his parents who are representative of this opinion.

(4) His "principle of autonomy" is ever at conflict with these imposed restrictions.

(5) He realises, as social experience enlarges, that co-operation is necessary. This reveals itself as developing from 8-11.

(6) A further change of outlook occurs at about the age of 11 or 12.

(7) The child now comes to disregard mere expiation and even to transcend the moral law in his judgments of others. Equity considerations are now in evidence to a marked extent.

METHOD "C". (a) PERSONAL OBSERVATION.

In this section there will be recorded the results of the writer's personal observation of children in their everyday activities in the schoolroom and school play-ground.

Incident I. (Children aged 6 and 7 at the Blackboard.)

J. "Give me your chair G. I can't reach."

G. "No." (they struggle for the chair)

Teacher "G, why won't you give your chair to J?"

G. "I did not want to give it to him, he could easily have got another one. This is MINE! "

Incident II. (Boy complaining about cheating.)

Teacher "Why do you not like cheating N ?"

N. "Well, I wouldn't mind him cheating if he didn't win the game."

Incident III (Two children at Blackboard 7-8).

Teacher "Why didn't you give your chalk to M when she asked you?"

A. "Because I was using it myself"

Teacher "Was that fair?"

A. "Yes".

Teacher "Why?"

A. "Because I was using it myself."

Incident IV. (Child playing at being teacher.)

A. "Stop playing. And there's nothing to laugh at either." (hits offender hard with a stick.)

Incident V. (Group of boys talking 10 and 11).

J. (indignantly) "F charges a marble for a ride on his

bike."

T. "Yes - its not fair."

M. "Yes - I can get a ride for nothing any day."

Teacher "Why isn't it fair?"

M. "Because you can get a ride for nothing anywhere else."

Incident VI. (Questioning a group playing marbles 10 -11).

Teacher "Why do you have rules?"

A. "Because everyone would cheat if you did not."

Teacher "What would it matter?"

A. "Well - you would lose your marbles."

Incident VII. (Boys at Cricket practice.)

E. "Come back J. That's not fair going home as soon as you have had your strike."

J. "I have to go a message."

E. "That's not fair. We will have no one to give us a bowl."

Incident VIII. (Boys at Cricket Match watching their mates batting).

"Good shot. Four more for the team. I think we'll beat them."

"Your turn next J. Keep your end up until we've passed their score."

After the match. "How did I play sir? Did I bat well? Was I good enough?" etc.

Incident IX. (Boys playing football).

S. "Pass the ball out M. Don't hang on to it so much."

M. "I thought I had a good chance of scoring."

S. "Well, don't be so selfish next time."

M. "Mind your own business."

Incident K. (Football match just when a try has been scored).

"Good try H. We ought to beat them now. Come on - one more try - play up boys."

Incident XI. (Football match in which a boy who has previousl been playing well, allows an opponent to score.)

He is soundly condemned by the whole team.

"What's the matter with you J. Can't you tackle?"

"That's no good, having a player like that in the team. Letting the team down like that! "

Incident XII. (Two boys 9 playing marbles)

M. "You're cheating. Put that marble back."

M. "I wasn't cheating. I won't put it back."

They start fighting, and continue for a while.

M. "Let's start again, and this time no cheating."

I. "Alright - but I wasn't cheating last time."

M. "Alright. We'll start again."

Boys finish their game peaceably.

(b) ANALYSIS OF RESULTS.

Here are a dozen typical incidents selected from those which the writer observed.

What light can be thrown from these incidents upon children's ideas on justice? There incidents are typical of all the cases observed and the conclusions obtained will be applicable to the whole series of incident

First, the writer found that the predominating notion throughout the whole series of incidents was that of "self-regard". In almost every situation observed, this sentiment is found to exist in one form or another. It is admittedly more pronounced in the case of young children. Answers such as "I won't give it up because it is <u>mine</u>" bring out the fact of the dominance of the "ego" in the child's nature.

Even with the older children however, this "ego" can be observed. In the case of the Cricket Practice incident, the boy wanted the other one to stay so that <u>he himself</u> would benefit. He included the others and said "<u>W</u>e won't have anyone to give us a bowl." but he was primarly concerned about himself and feared that <u>he</u> was gong to be the loser.

It is to be observed, however, that such an inident reveals the fact that the children, through actual experience, are coming to realise their mutual intrdependenc Justice to this child (9-10) means the honouring o those obligations which his social experience has provedto be necessary. There is thus in evidence a realisatin of the value of co-operation which is almost, if not ntirely, lacking among children of 5-7.

But, although there is a development of groupsolidarity in this way, the writer found that this is a all times subordinate to the sentiment of self-regard. Where circumstances arise which violate this principle, he group sentiment is for all practical purposes non-existent.

It was noticeable too, the manner in which the rest of the team condemned a failure on the part of one of its members. The significant fact was that the keenest critics were those who were themselves playing a poor game. In this way, they attempted to remove censure from themselves to another person.

In the several cases studied, where the child was placed in a position of authority, the severity of his rule was remarkable. The more unruly the child is in class, the firmer disciplinarian he is when placed in charge of any project.

The following motives could be clearly discerned in the child's nature:-

(1) Possession - "I want the chalk because it is mine."

(2) Power - Insisting upon absolute obedience.

(3) A desire for group approval.

In the later age groups, the children, while playing in organised games, appear to project their own individual desires into a "team" desire which includes all these individual desires. But as soon as the game is over, the "individual urge" predominates and the child is primarily concerned with his own performance.

At about the age of 8-9, the writer discovered that feelings of equality begin to evidence themselves. Thus the boys were indignant because E was charging a marble per ride, when it was possible to obtain a ride for nothing. The rest of the boys considered that E was using his good fortune in an unfair way to the disadvantage of his companions. If E had merely refrained from giving rides

at all, nothing would have been said because all would have been treated the same. The fact of E charging placed some boys at a disadvantage as compared with others, and it was this to which exception was taken.

The attitude of children towards rules was simply that rules are for the purpose of preventing one individual from being set at a disadvantage with regard to other individuals. Thus the children questioned would not have objected to cheating if it meant that they would not thereby lose. Older children, when pushed to a final conclusion, are of the same opinion as the younger ones.

It would appear that even in the youngest children, a rudimentary idea of equity and equality exists, which the children realise, but are unable to express their meaning in so many words.

The answers, time and time again, revealed that the children wished to express some idea of equality or equity, but were unable to do so, because of their inability to express it in words.

The conclusions which one would arrive at after analysing the above incidents, are as follows:-

(1) The dominating factor in the child's mind is himself. This is in evidence at all ages and in every situation.

(2) There is very little co-operation among children of the years 5-7.

(3) This develops as the children come to realise from personal experience their mutual interdependence.

(4) Feelings of group loyalty develop, but these are very unstable.

(5) At about 8-9, considerations of equality come tobe in evidence.

(6) Young children consider the quality of their actons in the light of adult opinion, while older children re more susceptible to the opinions of their companions

(7) Rules are regarded as being the only means of prventing personal loss.

(8) The older child can sink his own individual inteest in the group and work harmoniously for a common good far more than the younger child can.

SECTION "D". COMPARISON OF RESULTS.

In this section the intention is to compare the conclusions obtained from the three techniques and to make an attempt to draw final conclusions as to the course of development of the notion of justice.

First, it is to be noted that all investigators are in accord in postulating a process of gradual evolution in the development of the concept of justice.

It is a fact that development does occur, from a "childish" level in the direction of the level accepted by the adult community. As to the origin of this sense of justice, there is a fairly general agreed consensus of opinion.

Sutherland (33) says that no child is born with a sense of duty, but there are different natures which react differently to the same stimuli. Before the child is a year old, the influence of surrounding opinion, has begun its useful work. The environmental influence is strong and a "sense of law" develops in the child because he is subjected to regular habits of punctuality, truthfulness etc.

Piaget(34) Isaacs (35) and Rasmussen (36) all agree here, Rasmussen particularly stressing the environmental factor. He discovered that at a very young age, example, particularly a first example, is the deciding factor in developing the child's moral outlook. O'Shea also in dealing with this earliest period of post-natal life, stresses the necessity for correct habit formation at this time.(37).

Almost all of the investigators stress the fact of children's dependence upon adults, Piaget (38) and Isaacs(39) especially noting this. Isaacs notes that this dependence becomes progressively less true as the children become older. On this point the writer would disagree with Isaacs' conclusion. He found that even in the 13 group, the children are motivated by the wishes and desires of adults to a very great extent. As has already been pointed out, in certain instances, the adult figure is consciously brought to the forefront of the child's mind. In other instances, the situation is such that the adult is not consciously thought of, but all the time the adult's influence is at work, in deciding the child's mode of action.

Clarke (40) found that there is a distrust of mother which in consequence, influences the child's actions. The writer's conclusions on the other hand, led him to postulate, not a distrust of mother, but a reverence for authority. Since, in general, the "authority" which makes contact with the child is the parent, this result resolves itself into evidence for the influence possessed by the father and mother in moulding the child's mental outlook.

This is not to suggest that the child has a cringing fear of the parent, doing right actions solely because a whipping will be awaiting him if he disobeys. In point of fact, the investigator's results were markedly wanting in expressions of this sentiment, this indicating a changing atmosphere in the family situation.

But the children's answers reveal to a marked extent, the influence of adult authority and prestige. The moral

influence of the parent was very marked.

All the investigators agree that as the child grows older, his primary motive of self-gratification becomes restricted, and at about the age of 8, considerations of equality begin to occur.

The writer found that this development occurs shortly after the child enters school. Where a child attends school at an earlier age than others, equality considerations tend to appear earlier. The writer, in common with other investigators, found that with social experience, there develops the quality of "sympathy" and the ability to place oneself in the position of another and evaluate one's actions accordingly. Group-life tends to be in evidence round about this age.

Some of the investigators postulate a stability of group-life which steadily increases.

The writer found differently. In his findings, the group at all ages is very unstable, and is only able to maintain itself intact in so far as it satisfies the interests of its individual members. If the <u>individual</u> has his rights and privileges violated, then the group has no meaning for him. The amount of spontaneous aggression which all these studies reveal, is very marked indeed. The group is often used to transfer censure from oneself to another, thus strengthening one's sense of security and well-being.

Clarke's investigations revealed that girls in general have a finer sense of honour than boys, and the writer found similarly. The writer's results showed that

girls exhibit a deference to authority more than do boys, and also a belief in the efficacy of punishment more than do boys.

The writer's own results in some respects differed considerably from those of other investigators.

The writer found a steadier rate of development than did the others, of the notion of justice.

In marked constrast to Piaget's results, it was found that the collective-responsibility idea was held most by the youngest children and that up to the age of 12, this notion becomes less widely held. It was found that the child of all ages is an individualist, but by the age of 6, he has crude ideas of "right" and "wrong". His autonomous principle of self-realisation is ever at conflict with the restrictions imposed upon him from without. The child develops co-operative tendencies at about the age of 8. Further, there is evidence of a further change at about the age of 12-13. At this stage the decisions of justice take on a more elevated tone.

Concerning the question of Immanent Justice, in many instances, the answers were definitely influenced by the children's conceptions of God, and these ideas were obviously obtained from the parents. This affords yet one more illustration of the potency of the home environment in moulding children's mental outlook.

Among the economically poorest members of the community, the writer discovered that there was prevailing a very high standard of justice. The numbers considered are, of course, too small to draw final conclusions, but it does indicate

an interesting fact concerning the group studied.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS.

Putting together the results of this investigation, including the three techniques, the writer would hazard the opinion that the following facts may be regarded as established, and emerge as the result of this investigation:-

I. The child is born an amoral being - a being however, which is a centre of dynamic energy, and containing within itself the possibilities of future nobility or baseness of character.

II. This innate hormic principle - this urge to self-realization immediately begins to manifest itself in a desire for food and comfort.

III. The child is from the very commencement of its post-natal life, subjected to habits of orderliness, times of sleeping, times of bathing etc. which become imbued into its very nature.

IV. The child thus develops habits of mind with regard to certain elements in his environment, and in his earlier years believes that attitudes towards these elements are unalterable and supernaturally ordained.

V. By the age of 6, the child has definite ideas of "right" and "wrong", but he has not a rational basis for his belief. He trusts his parents' opinions on such controversial matters as come within his limited range.

VI. The child's egotistical nature now comes into contact with other similar natures, as he is now moving in a wider circle. In order to exist harmoniously in this group, he must subordinate his desires to those of others. He learns to be "sympathetic" in his outlook.

VII. With the development of this attitude, there comes a change in the child's notion of justice. Now that he realises that others have similar feelings and desires, his judgments become more humane and he passes from the expiatory viewpoint to one of reciprocity.

VIII. At about the age of 8, co-operative feelings are in evidence.

IX. Although the group feeling now develops considerably, the dominating factor is still the individualistic tendency of the child.

X. Boys and girls in general show a similarity of outlook which indicates a common factor at work.

XI. At about the age of 12-13, a finer notion appears to develop. Considerations of equity now appear and more regard is held for the motive behind the particular action.

XII. There is evidence for the influence of environment upon the notion of justice.

XIII. The adult figure bulks largely in the mind of the child of all ages.

XIV. Children are quick to sympathise where one of their number is subject to some physical defect, such as smallness or lameness.

XV. From feeling distaste for a particular action, the child develops a dislike of the principle involved and an abstract sentiment tends to develop.

XVI. The notion of justice is dependent for its development upon ever widening social relationships. The wider and more varied these relationships of the child, the deeper and richer will be his conception of justice.

SECTION "E". PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF CONCLUSIONS.

In attempting to state how practical application of the conclusions obtained may be made, one is faced with the difficulty previously mentioned - the psychological nature of the investigation. When it is considered that any one of a myriad of conflicting factors may have influenced the results obtained, the difficulty of the task can be seen. In contrast with the position of the physical sciences, no infallible rules of cause and effect can be postulated in this experiment. The element of unpredictability at work in child nature is liable to militate seriously against the efficacy of any preordained system of rules and regulations.

With this admonitory principle borne in mind, the writer will outline methods by which practical application can be made of the results obtained from this investigation.

The first result of importance which must be continually kept in view, is the fact that the child is born an "amoral" being. Now while this is a condition which affords possibilities of danger, it also affords possibilities of great moral development. Bearing in mind our previous statement that "the child is father to the man", if it is desired to raise the ethical ideals prevalent in adult society, then the obvious position from which to start is this "amoral" state of the child.

Since the results have shown just how powerful is the influence of early example and that this influence makes itself felt in the first years of life, the task of the educationist is to make sure that these early influences are of the right kind. This can be secured in these early years of

life only by an efficient dissemination of knowledge to adults in general and parents in particular. Educationists have a big responsibility in this field, because teachers receive the child when his basic moral outlook has already been determined.

Unless this basis contains within itself, the seeds of nobility of character, the teacher in his short five hours daily can indeed do little to impart to the child basic moral concepts.

When the child comes to school the teacher then has to do his part. It has been noticed that the development of the notion of justice depends upon the ever widening social circle of the child. When the child enters school, he has probably entered his first bigger circle, and may find at first that it is difficult to adjust himself properly to this new situation. The teacher can help here by a sympathetic understanding of the situation. If a teacher understands the principle governing child development, then he will be able to help the child to make those necessary adjustments to other children. Outbursts of childish temper and expressions of selfishness will not incur chastisement, but skilled treatment. The child should be encouraged to enter as many associations as possible. In the natural course of events, this will take place spontaneously in the various playground games and class-room activities. It is only in this way that the child will come to realize for himself the social necessity for rules and regulations, and the expressions of social disapproval consequent upon their non-observance. The teacher himself, must be absolutely impartial in his administration of justice, and in the writer's opinion, the problem of fixing suitable punishments is one of the most difficult and responsible which the teacher has to

solve.

At the age of 8, it was observed that considerations of equality develop. The writer believes that the teacher can be a great force for good in the child's life if he knows of this stage and treats it with an insight born of sympathy and understanding. On no account must one child be favoured more than another. This should not be done at any time, but its consequences are not so serious it the stage previous to this as they are here. Many a child subordinated to another at this age, by a thoughtless teacher, harbours feelings of resentment towards the teacher which become projected in later life towards social authorities, forming the basis of an anti-social sentiment.

The fact that the adult figures so prominently in the child's life also affords the teacher a method of helping the child's development. A teacher who practices justice himself in his dealing with his pupils, can be assured that his attitudes will be imitated outside by his pupils. The teacher can exercise a powerful influence in re-directing the anti-social impulses of those of his pupils who are this way inclined. By pointing out to them the justice of certain modes of action, their anti-social attitudes can be changed before they are permanently fixed.

In their class activities the children should be encouraged to help one another and discuss freely their problems. Only in this way can true practice for living in a future co-operative society be given, as only in this way can social sympathies and nobler conceptions of justice among themselves be developed.

In the actual school subjects, matter can be introduced showing the interdependence of every individual. This can be done in the cultural subjects perhaps more easily than in the others. In history, geography and literature much use can be made of the necessity for interdependence. History and literature can be admirably used to illustrate ideals of justice prevailing at different times, and the children can compare these with their own. Emphasis can be placed upon the crimes of history comparing them in the light of standards prevalent to-day. In this way the child will have his own ideas clarified and his own basis of justice strengthened accordingly.

When adulthood is attained, the individual will have a wholesome and intelligent attitude towards his fellow-men and society, and will owe this attitude in no small measure to the sympathetic treatment of his moral development by the teachers and adults whom it has been his lot to meet.

CONCLUSION: The principle underlying this discussion may be considered to be an ideal beyong the possibility of complete practical achievement, but when one looks upon modern society with its many social antagonisms, its distorted viewpoints, its myriads of maladjusted men and women, and when one realizes that a sympathetic and intelligent understanding of the principles of child development would have prevented the greater percentage of this from existing, then a teacher who strives to mitigate such a social waste in however small a degree, is more than an idealist. He is an individual whose work is made eminently more practical because of its background of idealism.

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