

SOME ASPECTS OF  
THE ADOLESCENT BOY'S CONCEPTION OF JUSTICE

BEING A THESIS  
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## Chapter I

### Introduction

#### Purpose of the study

While the years of eight to twelve may be, as Bagley says: "The time for developing specific moral habits---with very little attempt at 'moral suasion', but rather a chief dependence upon arbitrary authority"<sup>1</sup>, it is probably also true that "If he (the adolescent, ages 12 to 18 years) cannot see in what manner the inhibitions and repressions that are demanded of him will conduce to his ultimate well-being, it will be next to impossible to compel these restrictions through physical force and at the same time fail to work an irremediable injury"<sup>2</sup>. This thesis is undertaken for the purpose of examining some aspects of the adolescent boy's conception of justice in which it is felt that a better understanding of his views will be of value to those in authority over him in the persons of his father, his teachers, and the legal authorities.

The particular phases of this field of interest which are subjected to investigation are:

(a) The relation of the feeling of having suffered injustice to the problems of mental health, discipline, and juvenile delinquency.

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1. Wm. Chandler Bagley. The Educative Process.

New York: The MacMillan Company, 1923. P. 194.

2. Ibid. P. 200.

(b) A boy's estimation of his own misdemeanors as compared with similar ones on the part of other boys.

(c) Types and Severity of punishment which boys at different age levels consider appropriate coming from home, school, and legal authorities.

(d) The extent to which boys of different ages appreciate equity in lieu of justice in the more impersonal sense.

Between the ages of 12 and 18 years boys (and girls also) pass through one of the most difficult stages in the process of adapting themselves to the world of social relationships. The boy finds himself suddenly a man, and is clearly expected to act like one, but has yet to learn how. So far, scientific social research has had little to offer toward solution of his problems, having confined itself mainly to the simpler study of the pre-adolescent,<sup>3</sup> and insofar as it has directed attention to the field of adolescence it has largely been toward the study of instructional and immediate behaviour problems<sup>4</sup> of educators.

It is felt therefore that in the pursuit of the present study an opportunity presents itself for making a timely contribution toward a more intelligent approach to the problems confronting those in authority over adolescent youth. It is hoped that it may lead to a fuller understanding of, and a deeper sympathy for, the methods of discipline which boys consider may justly be used by the external authority by whom they

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3. Murphy, Gardner and Lois Barclay Gardner. Experimental Psychology. Harper and Bros. 1931. P.1.

4. Ibid. P.341

are governed as their contacts with others branch out from the home to the school, and to society proper. Some appreciation of the value of such an understanding may be gathered from consideration of the opinions of such writers as Tracy,<sup>5</sup> Young,<sup>6</sup> and Burt,<sup>7</sup> to the effect that unjust, unwise, and otherwise defective discipline does untold harm to the character of the child, and is an outstanding cause of juvenile delinquency.

Method of attack: The writer has not been able to discover reports of studies of this or any very closely related subject, but from the work which has been done in investigation of personality differences, attitudes, and similar problems, it would seem that the most promising choice of procedure should be one of the "Pen and paper" techniques. The one used is based in general on the plan of the Burdick Apperception Test, sec. IX, as described by Hartshorne and May.<sup>8</sup> An important modification in the approach is that whereas the Burdick Test describes an hypothetical situation and instructs the subjects to "Write what you think happened next, Never mind what ought to have happened", it is precisely the question "What ought to have happened?" that the subjects of the present study have been asked to answer. It is, of course, what he thinks ought to have happened that is of interest in the study of the boy's conception of justice.

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5. Frederick Tracy. The Psychology of Adolescence.  
New York: The MacMillan Company, 1920. pp. 177 and 222.
  6. Kimball Young. Source Book of Social Psychology.  
Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. pp. 312.
  7. Cyril Burt. The Young Delinquent.  
University of London Press, 1927. pp. 96.
  8. Hartshorne, H. and May, E. A. Studies in Deceit.  
New York: The MacMillan Company, 1928. pp. 287-8.



Confidence that this type of technique should be particularly applicable to studies concerning boys of adolescent age would seem to be justified by the remarkable cooperation which T.E. Jones<sup>9</sup>, received from boys of ages 15 to 25 years, while making a study of culture among the mountaineers of Japan. He found that boys of this age are more willing than any others to answer questions designed to reveal their attitudes and opinions.

It would be impossible in attempting to understand the budding man of today, to ignore the picture of the child he was but so short time ago, and which was in reality the young man in the making. Likewise, in pursuing the study of the adolescent boy's conception of justice it would be folly to ignore the valuable background which has been provided by those who have directed their attention to the nature and development of the pre-adolescent. Foremost among these is probably the French investigator, Jean Piaget, and to such an extent are the interpretations offered in this thesis based upon the psychology expounded in his book "The Moral Judgment of the Child"<sup>10</sup>, that it seems advisable to give a short résumé of it before proceeding further.

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9. Murphy, Gardner and Lois Barclay Gardner.

Op.cit.P.30.

10. Jean Piaget. The Moral Judgment of the Child.

Harcourt ,Brace and Co.,1932.

## Chapter Two

### The Moral Judgment of the Child

Piaget, in dealing with the development of justice as a moral judgment, divides the process into three stages.

During the first stage, justice is not distinguished from the authority of law, although justice has no meaning except as something that is above authority. This is tantamount to saying that the small child has no conception of justice as such, but is imbued with a sense of universal and automatic law imminent in the world about him. From his birth, in addition to external regularities, he has imposed upon him certain moral obligations which become the source of further regularities, so that when he first begins to observe his conduct, he is unable to distinguish between the pressure of things and the constraint of his social environment, or between either of these and the urges that come from within himself. As a result, he feels an unquestioned confidence in adult authority, which commands a unilateral respect, and forms the basis of a deep sense of duty to speak the truth, respect the property of others, and obey a code of laws which of their very nature cannot be broken without punishment falling upon the one who breaks them.

The second stage is characterized by the growth of equalitarianism as the child becomes progressively free from adult supervision and associates with others on a cooperative basis. This development is first apparent between children, but gradually the child comes to feel himself more and more on the same level as adults. This fact, coupled with the almost inevitable circumstance that his parents or teachers will at times

submit him to unjust treatment, cannot fail to lead to a critical examination of the bases upon which they exercise their authority. As the distinction between right and wrong emerges, justice is conceived to be that which upholds the right, and the prestige an authority continues to enjoy will be conditioned by the extent to which it measures up to this new requirement. The child feels a responsibility to be the judge himself when obedience to external authority would cause conflict with his inner ideals, and autonomy replaces conformity as cooperation takes the place of constraint. Since rules and laws are no longer regarded as good in themselves, but rather as means toward ends being sought through cooperative endeavors, the breaking of a law is no longer considered bad in itself, but only as it threatens to frustrate the purpose for which the law exists.

Finally, during a third stage, mere equalitarianism makes way for a more subtle conception of justice which we may call equity. Here the sanctity of law and the aspirations of the social unit give precedence to the position of the individual in calculating the seriousness of his moral lapses. His age, previous record, social background, and any extenuating circumstances are taken into consideration before judgment is passed on him. The individual, as might be expected, does not pass from one to another of these stages by sudden bounds, but as the cooperative activity gets under way the changes consequent upon it begin to appear, and gradually exist parallel, and finally in conflict with the simpler morality of heteronomy. Neither can the ages at which the changes take place be defined at all clearly, because of the many variable influences which make themselves felt. An individual

may be subjected to such impressions by persistence on the part of the external authority that he will take carry-overs from the first stage all through life. On the other hand, parents or teachers who encourage cooperative activity on the part of the children under them may see a very early development of the appreciation of distributive justice. In an experiment at Neuchâtel it was found that about 75% of the children of 5 to 7 years of age defended obedience while 80% of those between 8 and 12 defended equality. The consideration of equity is just making its appearance at about the age of 12, and does not figure prominently in the children concerned in Piaget's investigations.

The place of punishment in the distribution of justice and the types of punishment suited to this purpose will be determined largely by the stage to which the moral judgment of the child has developed in this respect. As there are two types of rules corresponding to two fundamental types of social relationships, so in the realm of retributive justice there are two modes of reaction and two types of punishment. There are expiatory punishments which go hand in hand with constraint and the rules of authority, and there are punishments by reciprocity which go hand in hand with cooperation and the rules of equality. Roughly speaking the younger children favor expiatory punishment and the older ones punishment by reciprocity, although as might be expected in accordance with the observations concerning their conceptions of justice, both types meet with varying measures of approval at all ages.

Evidence that equality of treatment supersedes punishment as a method of distributing justice is shown as the result of an experiment in which 13-year-old children recommended punishment in only 40% of situations in which it was recommended by 70% of the 6-year-olds, the turning point being at about the age of 9.

From this point on it is important to distinguish between the legal and the moral point of view with regard to punishment. As a matter of fact, there is always something ambiguous about the idea of punishment from a moral point of view, and the least that can be said for it is that it renders autonomy of conscience impossible. From a legal point of view, punishment is considered necessary for the defence of society, and the child's appreciation of the place of the individual in society and of his responsibility toward others will play an important part in determining his views as to what constitutes just punishment. The complexities of this problem must be taken into account in pursuing the study through the period of adolescence.

## Chapter Three

### Collection of Material

In gathering material for the study, use was made of a questionnaire, composed of two parts, each a unit in itself. One part describes "A boy" of about the age of the boy answering the questionnaire, and the other experiences involve the boy himself. Each part is comprised of 18 hypothetical situations in which a boy is described as being in conflict with the authority of his home (father), his school (male teacher), and the law enforcement officers. The types of offences used were selected from the reports of what such investigators as Lynd and Lynd<sup>1</sup>, Sears<sup>2</sup>, Marro<sup>3</sup>, Triplett<sup>4</sup>, Census, 1890<sup>5</sup>, and Morrison<sup>6</sup>, found to be the most common sources of disagreement. These sources are reported in the appendix to this study, where the ones used are marked by asterisks. With a view to allowing for a maximum of information pertaining to a given situation, and at the same time to keeping the length of the questionnaire within such limits as to make it practical of administration in one, or at most two sittings, the situations were arranged following one another in sequence.

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1. Murphy, Gardner and Lois Barclay Gardner. Experimental Psychology. Harper and Bros. 1931. P.353.
  2. G. Stanley Hall. Adolescence. D. Appleton and Co. 1917. P. 346.
  3. Ibid. P. 346.
  4. Ibid. P. 347.
  5. Ibid. P. 332.
  6. Ibid. P. 331.

The plan followed in arranging these situations, showing the situation numbers, sources of conflict, and the authorities with which the boy is in conflict, is diagrammed on the following page. By way of explanation of this diagram:

School grades (is) a source of conflict between the boy and his home (described in situation no. 1) and also between the boy and his school (described in situation no. 2). Carelessness, on the other hand, is treated as a cause of conflict at school only, and such conflict is described in situation 3. Truancy, however, gets the boy into trouble with his home, his school, and with the legal authorities as well, and is dealt with from those various aspects in situations 5, 6, and 7 respectively. An effort has been made to make situations 3 and 20, 4 and 22, 10 and 25, etc., as nearly objectively similar as possible without making it too apparent to the boys answering that they are parallel situations which should call for the same treatment. It is intended also that the somewhat different sequence of situations in the two parts will aid toward this end.

In the first draft no punishments were suggested. The situations were described by reading the questionnaire to a group of boys, who were instructed to think of the boy involved as being of about their own age, and to suggest methods of treatment which they thought would be proper under the circumstances. They were told that they might suggest more than one treatment for a situation if they wished, but were urged to suggest at least one. Answers were obtained from a group of 24 inmates of the Manitoba Home for Boys at Portage La Prairie, and also from a group of 24 public and high school boys from

Plan of Questionnaire

Part I

<u>School</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Society</u>
Carelessness(3)	Friends (4)	Theft (10)
Truancy (6)	Truancy (5)	Truancy(7)
Incorrigibility(14)	Incorrigibility(13)	Incorrigibility(15)
Quarrels & blows(17)	Quarrels & blows(16)	Quarrels & blows(18)
	Use of auto(8)	Use of auto(9)
School grades (2)	School grades(1)	
Discipline (11)		Discipline (12)

Part II

<u>School</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Society</u>
Carelessness(20)	Friends (22)	Theft (25)
Truancy (27)	Truancy (26)	Truancy(28)
Incorrigibility(32)	Incorrigibility(31)	Incorrigibility(33)
Quarrels & blows(35)	Quarrels &blows(34)	Quarrels &blows(36)
	Use of Auto (24)	Use of auto (23)
School grades(21)	School grades (19)	
Discipline(29)		Discipline (30)

\* The numbers in brackets refer to the situation numbers in the questionnaire.



MacGregor School.

The treatments suggested by these boys were classified as far as possible according to the classification suggested by Piaget<sup>7</sup>, who arranged them in the following order of increasing severity: censure, restitution, retaliation, deprivation of what has been abused, immediate and material consequences of the act, and exclusion from the social group. In tabulating the punishments<sup>\*</sup> there is a column left for treatments which do not seem to constitute punishment at all, and also one for recording suggested treatments where the boy expressed a feeling that the circumstances should be more fully investigated before punishment is meted out. There are, as might be expected, a number of suggestions which do not seem to fit into any of the fore-going classes, and these are recorded as "Unclassified" .

It is unlikely that any two investigators would place all the treatments in exactly the same categories. The present writer therefore reports a number of rules followed in this study in classifying some of the more common suggestions:

- (1) Writing of "Lines" is considered a form of censure.
- (2) A warning or threat is considered a form of censure.
- (3) Any treatment manifestly designed to humiliate the offender is classed as censure.
- (4) An apology is considered as a means of making restitution.

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7. Jean Piaget. Moral Judgment of the Child.

Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1932. B205.

\*Table VII.

(5) Punishment apparently for the sole purpose of punishment, (e.g. corporal punishment), is classed as retaliatory.

(6) Retention after school hours or keeping home at nights is considered restitution if for failing to have work done; retaliation if for offenses such as fighting.

(7) A fine is usually a means of retaliation, but if specified that it be paid by the boy himself out of his pocket money, it is deprivation.

(8) Deprivation is sometimes denial of things other than those directly abused.

(9) Being sent to bed is usually retaliation; but if the purpose is apparently to keep the boy from the company of his pal, it is seclusion.

(10) Suspension and expulsion from school are treated as types of seclusion.

In an attempt to vary the approach, and at the same time make the study more objective, the procedure was altered at this point in that instead of asking the boys to suggest treatments which might be suitable in the given situations, a list of five suggestions was provided in each case, and the subjects were asked to indicate which one they considered the most appropriate. In compiling these lists of suggested treatments, the cooperation of the superintendent of a reform school, an experienced male school teacher, and the father of a teen-age boy was enlisted. These men were asked to suggest four possible punishments in order of increasing severity, taking care that the first really constituted a punishment, and that

the last was not so severe that it would never be resorted to.

With Piaget's classification again as a guide, these lists were revised to suit the purpose of this experiment, the choice of "No punishment" being added, making five in all. Since it was thought undesirable to have a choice of more than five responses, and since Piaget suggests six classes and a choice of "No punishment" would mean seven possibilities for each situation, it is obvious that all classes could not be suggested for the same situation. Besides, all kinds of punishment do not lend themselves to use in the same situation. It was decided, therefore, since restitution, retaliation and deprivation are listed in consecutive order of severity and occupy the middle of the scale, that only one of these three should as a rule be included in each list. Exceptions were made to this rule in cases where the situations do not seem to lend themselves to the possibility of punishment by immediate and natural consequences of the act. Also, because of interest in the development of the feeling that circumstances should be taken into consideration in determining punishment, three suggestions of that kind were injected at convenient points. the order of choices according to severity was disarranged for the purpose of administration as set forth on the following page, and the exercise given according to instructions.

Replies to the questionnaire in this form were obtained from 85 boys of East Kildonan, Waskada, Sanford, Sydney and Carberry schools. One of the boys' answers were discarded because he repeatedly suggested "No punishment". This would undoubtedly

Distribution of Types of Treatment Throughout Questionnaire

Sit. No.	1	2	3	4	5	Sit. No.	1	2	3	4	5
1	No P	Cens.	Dep.	Nat.C.	Sec.	19	Dep.	Nat.C.	Sec.	Cens.	No P.
2	Rest.	Nat.C.	Sec.	No P.	Cens.	20	Cens.	No P.	Nat.C.	Sec.	Dep.
3	Cens.	Sec.	No P.	Nat.C.	Dep.	21	Cens.	Sec.	No P.	Rest.	Nat.C.
4	Sec.	Nat.C.	Retal.	No P.	Cens.	22	Sec.	Nat.C.	Retal.	Cens.	No P.
5	Rest.	No P.	Nat.C.	Sec.	Cens.	23	No P.	Cens.	Dep.	Nat.C.	Sec.
6	Nat.C.	Dep.	No P.	Cens.	Sec.	24	Dep.	No P.	Cens.	Nat.C.	Sec.
7	Cens.	Nat.C.	Sec.	Dep.	No P.	25	Cens.	Dep.	Nat.C.	Sec.	No P.
8	No P.	Cens.	Dep.	Nat.C.	Sec.	26	Rest.	Cens.	Sec.	No P.	Nat.C.
9	Cens.	Sec.	Nat.C.	No P.	Dep.	27	Sec.	Dep.	No P.	Nat.C.	Cens.
10	Sec.	Nat.C.	Rest.	Cens.	No P.	28	Nat.C.	Cens.	Sec.	Dep.	No P.
11	Rest.	Nat.C.	No P.	Sec.	Cens.	29	No P.	Rest.	Nat.C.	Sec.	Cens.
12	No P.	Cens.	Rest.	Sec.	Retal.	30	Cens.	F.I.	Sec.	No P.	Retal.
13	Nat.C.	Sec.	No P.	Cens.	Retal.	31	Cens.	No P.	Dep.	Sec.	Nat.C.
14	Dep.	Nat.C.	Sec.	No P.	Cens.	32	Nat.C.	Dep.	Sec.	No P.	Cens.
15	Retal.	No P.	Rest.	Sec.	Cens.	33	Sec.	No P.	F.I.	Cens.	Rest.
16	No P.	Rest.	Cens.	Sec.	Nat.C.	34	No P.	Cens.	Rest.	Nat.C.	Sec.
17	Retal.	Sec.	Nat.C.	Cens.	No P.	35	Retal.	Sec.	Nat.C.	Cens.	No P.
18	Sec.	Rest.	No P.	Retal.	Cens.	36	Sec.	F.I.	Retal.	Cens.	No P.

Note: The following abbreviations are used in the fore-going table:

No P. (No punishment); Cens. (Censure); Nat.C. (Natural consequences); Sec. (Seclusion); Rest. (Restitution); Retal. (Retaliation); F.I. (Further investigation of circumstances).

be an interesting case to study individually, but it is felt that its inclusion in this report would unduly distort the picture of the group. Four other papers were incomplete, leaving 80 which could be used.\*

Data pertaining to the effects of infliction of punishment the boys consider unjust and to their appreciation of equity were gathered from the answers to specific questions appended to the previously-described questionnaire. Sixty nine of the boys gave complete answers to these questions, and in addition, use is made of the answers to question I of the appended list given by 5 of a group of 21 reform school inmates to whom the questionnaire was given, but whose replies are otherwise treated separately.

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\* The replies of these 80 boys are reported in Tables I to VI.

Chapter Four

Relation of the Feeling of Having Suffered Injustice  
to The Problems of Mental Health, Discipline, and Juvenile Delinquency

There are two widely divergent schools of thought which hold fundamentally different views as to the basic nature of the human being. One, represented by Corneille, suggests that to magnify the soul of the child before its more animal instincts are reduced to due proportion and control by conscience and reason, would produce the most menacing criminal<sup>1</sup>. The other, expounded by such writers as Comenius, goes so far to the other extreme as to say that "If the child has not been subjected to bad influences, or if a discipline of repression and restraint has not driven him to seek a refuge<sup>2</sup> in dissimulation, he is usually frankness and sincerity itself". Certainly if the educator favors the first of these views, and even if he accepts the second and attributes the child's misbehaviour to the reflex of the incompleteness of society, he must see it as his duty to study the struggle between the good and the evil, with a view to fostering the growth of the one and eradicating the other.

Although from one point of view it may be argued that all punishment should be regarded as evil for the reason that it

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1. G. Stanley Hall. Adolescence.

D. Appleton and Co., 1917, P. 335.

2. Edward Westermarck. The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas.

McMillan and Co., 1917, P. 125.

causes suffering<sup>3</sup>, yet even those who would contend thus would perhaps admit that discipline, being a condition which one must achieve in morality before he can realize himself<sup>4</sup>, is an essential part of education; and the maintenance of discipline without punishment is, whether in school or elsewhere, a power possessed only by the exceptional few. If, however, correction is to serve its purpose, it must be deserved<sup>5</sup>, and according to one writer (Johnson in "Introduction to Ethics"), justice is a virtue to which most children are exceedingly sensitive<sup>6</sup>.

In speaking of justice, one must be careful to distinguish it from law, since the letter of the law (a codification of the past) and the ideal of justice (the prophetic anticipation of the future) often contradict each other, even in an advanced civilized society<sup>7</sup>.

The particular subjects of study in this chapter are the effects a feeling of having suffered injustice may have on the mental health of the adolescent boy, and the bearing such a feeling may have on the creation of problems of his further discipline and possible delinquency. It may be useful at the outset to quote briefly from a few writers who have expressed views relevant to the questions under consideration:

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3. T. F. G. Dexter and A. H. Garlick. Psychology in the Schoolroom.

Longmans Green and Co., 1898. P. 384.

4. A. K. White and A. McBeath. The Moral Self and its Development.

London; Edward Arnold and Co., 1923. P. 215.

5. Ibid. P. 199.

6. Ibid. P. 219.

7. A. Wyatt Tilby. The Evolution of Consciousness. T. Fisher Unwin, 1922. P. 224.

8

First from Frederick Tracy:

"It seems appropriate at this point to emphasize the importance of avoiding with the utmost care all such treatment of children as leaves behind it a sense of injustice rankling in their minds, whether warranted or unwarranted in strict logic. ....There are few things more detrimental to the disposition, the temper, and the whole character than this."

9  
Then from Murphy:

"In particular, delinquents of both sexes seem to show more tendency to depression and worry; occasionally ideas of reference or of persecution are reported".

10  
From Kimball Young:

"If authority is too powerful and arbitrary, it may crush out all initiative and capacity for individual development in the child. On the other hand, if the child cannot be so easily subdued, it may make him a rebel, an iconoclast, a skeptic, incapable of conforming to any authority.....Now, on the other hand, if reality is overwhelming, the short-cut is by the pathway of fantasy, day-dreaming, creating an imaginary world in which wishes come true to replace the real world in which they do not".

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8. Frederick Tracy. The Psychology of Adolescence.

McMillan Co., 1922. P. 222.

9. Murphy, Gardner and Lois Barclay Gardner, Experimental Psychology. Harper and Bros., 1931. P. 397.

10. Kimball Young. Source Book for Social Psychology.

Alfred A. Knopf. 1927. P. 312.



11

And finally Cyril Burt:

"The group (of causes) showing the closest connection with crime consists of those that may be summed up under the heading of defective discipline.....overstrictness was reported in 10% of my cases.....Downright rebellion may never occur to him, and yet.....his general attitude grows at length into a deep antagonism, silent, sullen, and sustained. ....Defective discipline (was found) in 61% (of delinquent's homes).....On the other hand, among the non-delinquent, vicious and ill-disciplined homes were comparatively rare, the proportions being 6 and 12% respectively."

Effect on Mental health: The implications of the foregoing references to depression, worry, day-dreaming and fantasy as being consequent upon a feeling of having suffered injustice seemed to suggest the possibility that such feeling might frequently be the cause of serious mental illness. The material at hand did not seem to offer any definite clues leading toward an estimation of the significance of such a factor, so in an attempt to tap other sources more intimate with the subject under investigation, letters were written to the superintendents of the mental hospitals at Brandon and Selkirk. Both gentlemen were obliging enough to reply, and the writer's correspondence with them is reported in appendix III to this study. The favor asked was briefly whether they could give any information, statistics, or references estimating the extent to which a feel-

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11. Cyril Burt. The Young Delinquent.

University of London Press, 1927. P. 96.

ing of having suffered injustice affects the mental health of adolescents. Extracts from the replies bearing directly on the question under review are quoted as follows:

Dr. Pincock (Brandon): "We have no statistics such as you refer to. You will no doubt realize that the extent to which a feeling of having suffered injustice affects the mental health would be very vague when so many other causes are involved in causation, whereas if it is imaginary injustice, then the adolescent is already in the throes of a somewhat advanced condition."

Dr. Barnes (Selkirk): "If a sense of injustice finds a place in the determination of a psychosis, I would be inclined to the opinion that it does not suffice of itself alone to produce the reaction, but is only one of a group of factors, and possibly the least potent of the group. . . . I cannot recall, offhand, any literature to which I could refer you on this special subject."

On Dr. Pincock's suggestion a letter was written to the Mental Health Institute, Montreal, in reply to which the Director, Dr. Mitchell, wrote: "I do not know that we have any clinical material which could be analysed to throw any considerable light on the problem which you have selected."

The conclusions to be drawn from this investigation would seem to be: (1) No scientific attempt has been made to determine the extent to which subjection to unjust treatment tends to undermine the mental health of adolescents.

(2) Experts in the field of mental disorders do not consider unjust treatment as a significant cause of mental illness. They do, however, recognize a possibility that such treatment may contribute to the causes of such illness.

Effect on Problems of Discipline and Delinquency: Since delinquency is just extreme naughtiness and the "Problem" and "Delinquent" child are separated only legally, being the same psychologically, there is no real line of demarcation between the second part of this chapter's topic and the third. The difference is merely one of degree, and any tendency to aggravate the problem of disciplining a boy may see him one step nearer the point where he will be classed as delinquent.

In an attempt to estimate the effect of a rankling sense of injustice on the disposition and character of a child which might incline him to antisocial and rebellious behaviour, the following two questions were appended to the questionnaire which the boys taking part in this experiment were asked to answer: (1) Do you feel that you have ever been too severely punished for anything you ever did?

(2) If so, by whom were you punished, and what was the effect on you?

These questions were answered by 86 boys, 17 of whom were from a group of 21 inmates of the Manitoba Home for Boys. Of the 17 delinquents, 9 answered "Yes" and the other 8 "No" to the first question; of the non-delinquents, 18 answered "Yes" and the other 51 "No". Of the total 27 who felt that they had been unjustly treated, the authorities who inflicted the punish-

ment were: Teachers in 18 cases

Father in 6 cases

Judge in 4 cases

Policeman in 1 case

Other boys in 1 case

(Three of the boys mentioned two different authorities.)

The effects on themselves were not described by any of the delinquent group (although 4 of them described the unfair treatment), and by only 17 of the non-delinquent group. The descriptions of these 17 are reported verbatim as follows:

Re. Teachers: "Hated her always afterward, and it made me feel like I always wanted to get revenge on her, and therefore I did not do some of her work." --- "Never liked him ever since." --- "Made me dislike him and always wanted to tell him what I thought of him." --- "I didn't like him." --- "Made me dislike her." --- "Angry with the teacher." --- "Made me a little mad at the teacher." --- "Got mad. Did no good." --- "Resentment to him." --- "Made me tough." --- "Rebellious" --- "More rebellion." --- "Effect not so bad." --- "Better".

Re. Fathers: "Made me feel like doing the same thing to him." --- "I do not want to do it again." --- "Better".

It would appear that of the three authorities this study is concerned with (home, school and law), parents are the ones least frequently accused of inflicting unjust treatment. Teachers come next in order, and the law enforcement officers appear to be considered the most unjust. The basis for this last statement may not be at once apparent, but when the fact is considered that 5 out of 17 boys who had had dealings with the police and judge considered they had been dealt with unfairly, whereas all 86 who

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\*This proportion is roughly the same as that reported by Dr. H. Atkinson, Superintendent of the Manitoba Home for Boys, in an unpublished Report of a Survey Made among Boys in Reform Schools in Canada, where in reply to the question "Did they (the police) treat you fairly?", 62 out of 363 replied "No", and to the question "Did you have a fair trial?", 87 out of 207 said "No".

answered had been under the authority of teachers, the percentages work out to around 29% in the one case and 21% in the other. It would certainly be true that injustices suffered from teachers would be sooner forgotten than those from judges, for example, and also those from parents would make the least lasting impressions. This undoubtedly accounts for the actual percentages of cases cited becoming higher as the authority represents a larger social unit and is regarded with less familiarity and more prestige. It seems reasonable to suppose, however, that any ill effects resulting from a feeling of having suffered injustice will be in direct proportion to the extent to which that feeling weighs upon and rankles in the mind. Legal, school and home authorities in the order named seemingly then are in danger of doing harm by imposing punishments which the boys concerned do not recognize as deserved. The hypothesis that harm to the disposition and character and more antisocial and rebellious behaviour is the result of a rankling sense of injustice seems to be proved by the frequency with which expressions of resentment and hatred and of the urge toward revenge and rebellion occur in the boys' own descriptions of their reactions.

Chapter Five

Punishments Boys Recommend for Themselves as Compared  
with Those They Suggest for Others

According to Piaget<sup>1</sup>, the child, up to the age of 7 or 8 is so ego-centric in his nature that he experiences the greatest difficulty in entering into anyone else's point of view. The result is that his judgments are absolute and not relative, for a relative judgment involves the simultaneous awareness of two personal points of view. Although this ego-centrism and the accompanying exaggeration of self-pity undergo drastic modification after the age of 7 or 8, it is not until the age of about 11 or 12 that formal thought makes its appearance, and enables the child to reason from given or merely hypothetical premises<sup>2</sup>.

Just to what extent this peculiarity of child logic might continue to characterize the moral judgment of adolescent boys, and so color their conception of what constitutes just punishment (1) for themselves, and (2) for other boys, occurred to the writer as a problem worthy of investigation. The only experimental study of sympathy reported in the material at hand seemed to be Baumgarten's study of Einfühlung,<sup>3</sup> and it was concerned with young children. Short simple stories were told to 1300 children, and they were asked what the persons involved

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1. Jean Piaget. Judgment and Reasoning in the Child.

Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1928. P. 215-16.

2. Ibid. P. 243.

3. Murphy, G. & L. B. Gardner. Experimental Psychology. Harper & Bros. 1931. P. 298.

would feel or think. It was found that some of these children were totally unable, for various reasons, to project themselves into the other person's feelings; some were able to do so in a cold "Correct" way; some could do so for anger, but not for joy; and some were able to identify themselves with the other person quite completely.

In a preliminary experiment with 25 boys between the ages of 11 and 19 years, the writer described hypothetical situations designed to elicit answers to the following questions: (I) What should you do if (a) your pal, (b) "A boy" committed an offence against you?

(II) What should your pal do if (a) you, (b) "A boy" committed an offence against him?

(III) What should "A boy" do if (a) you, (b) your pal, committed an offence against him?

(IV) What should a father do if (a) you, (b) your pal, (c) "A boy", committed an offence against him?

(V) What should a teacher do if (a) you, (b) your pal, (c) "A boy", committed an offence against him?

(VI) What should the law enforcement officers do if (a) you, (b) your pal, (c) "A boy", committed an offence against society?

The situations were presented in confused order, with three punishments suggested for each, being in what the experimenter considered order of increasing severity, and rated accordingly 1, 2, and 3. The subjects were asked to indicate the number of the suggestion they considered most appropriate for each situation, and these numbers then constituted scores, which

When tabulated and summed, gave the following totals:

When the subject was the offender.....	291
When a pal was the offender.....	285
When "A boy" was the offender.....	291

The indication here seemed to be that there is no difference between the severity of punishment a boy approves for himself and that which he would prescribe for any other boy. It was in an attempt to further investigate this question that the test used in the present study was divided into two parallel parts, as set forth in the plan described in Chapter III of this report.

The responses given by the 80 boys whose replies were used were tabulated in Piaget's order of increasing severity of types as shown in Tables I and II. Table I shows the number of times each type of punishment was recommended, and these numbers are corrected to compensate for the unequal number of times Restitution, Retaliation, and Deprivation are offered as choices in the two parts of the test. Thus Restitution was recommended 166 times for self where the choice was offered 8 times and 118 times for the other boy, where the choice was offered only 5 times. The figure 118 is therefore multiplied by  $8/5$  to get a number (189) which is comparable to the figure 166. The corrected figures do not seem to indicate any important differences in the types recommended for the boys themselves and for other boys. The greatest differences are 23%  $\left[ \frac{(198-161)100}{161} \approx 23\% \right]$  for Natural Consequences and 19% for No Punishment, neither of which are striking enough to appear significant.

In Table II the scale in each part of the test is div-



Table I  
 Showing Comparison of Types of Punishment Boys Recommend  
 For Themselves and For Other Boys

	Recommendations For Self							Recommendations For Other Boys						
	No Punish- ment	Censure	Restitut- ion	Retaliation	Deprivation	Natural Consequ- ences	Seclusion	No Punish- ment	Censure	Restitution	Retaliation	Deprivation	Natural Consequ- ences	Seclusion
Totals	67	585	166	80	150	198	194	80	545	118	59	169	161	202
No. of times choice was given	18	18	8	6	7	15	18	18	18	5	4	9	15	18
Corrected Totals	67	585	166	80	193 (150 x9/7)	198	194	80	545	189 (118 x8/5)	89 (59 x6/4)	169	161	202

Table II

Showing Comparison of Severity of Treatments Boys Recommend For Themselves and For Other Boys

	Recommendations for Self						Recommendations for Other Boys								
	No Punishment	Censure	Restitution	Retaliation	Deprivation	Natural Consequences	Seclusion	No Punishment	Censure	Restitution	Retaliation	Deprivation	Natural Consequences	Seclusion	Further Investigation #
Totals	67	585	166	80	150	198	194	80	545	118	59	169	161	202	106
Times the Choice was given	18	18	8	6	7	15	18	18	18	5	4	9	15	18	3
Suggestions in Lower half scale	67	585	166	13				80	545	118	37				
Upper half				67	150	198	194				22	169	161	202	
Total in Lower half	831 (831/1440x100 = 58%)						780 (780/1334x100 = 58%)								
Total in Upper half	609 (42%)						554 (58%)								

§ Suggestions falling in this column are not regarded as punishments.

ided into lower and upper halves, the lower half of Part I containing 1/6 of the responses in the Retaliation column, to include 45 choices in each section. (i.e. in the lower section there are 18 choices of No Punishment, 18 of Censure, 8 of Restitution, and 1 of Retaliation, while in the upper section are the remaining 5 of the Retaliation column, 7 of Deprivation, 15 of Natural Consequences, and 18 of Seclusion.) Since 3 of the choices in Part II are not considered punishments, there are only 87 choices, so the scale is divided 2.5/4 or 5/8 way through the Retaliation column, which places 37 responses in the lower section and the remaining 22 in the upper. This division finds 831 in the lower and 609 in the upper half of Part I, and 780 in the lower and 554 in the upper half of Part II. Worked out in percentages, there are 58% in the lower and 42% in the upper half of each scale.

The almost exactly equal severity of the punishments recommended for the boy himself and for the other boy are quite remarkable---the more so in view of the facts that: (1) the classifications are considered by Piaget himself as only "Roughly" in order of severity, and (2) it was hardly hoped, in spite of deliberate efforts to make them so, that the two parts of the test would be so objectively similar as to merit exactly the same severity of treatment.

While it is still considered that these factors may be somewhat unstable, and that therefore there may be a compensation of errors hiding a possible tendency to favor more lenient treatment for oneself than for another, it is very doubtful

whether either factor can be unstable enough to admit of the likelihood that any such tendency is at all significant. This interpretation is in accord with Piaget's theory that the moral judgment, like intelligence, develops, not continuously, but in waves and periods, and that the sudden favor which punishment by reciprocity gains over expiatory punishment at the 11-12 age level is attributable to an equally sudden burst of mutual understanding which gives children the habit of constantly placing themselves at points of view which they did not previously hold. It is also in accord with the last century philosophical conclusions of Sully<sup>4</sup>, who wrote: "As his power of sympathy grows, his indignation against wrong-doing takes a wider sweep.....the final outcome of this habit of sympathetic indignation against wrong is a disinterested repugnance to wrong when done by himself..... When this stage is reached, at which the child not merely puts himself under the moral law, but on the side of it, taking up its cause as impartially against himself as against others, he may be said to have a conscience in the full sense of the word".

The conclusion, then, would seem to be that by the time a boy has reached the age of adolescence, he has so far emerged from the stage of autistic thought that he can so identify himself with others as to justify the assumption

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4. Jas. A. Sully. Outlines of Psychology.

Longman's, Green and Co., 1885. P. 564.

that punishment which he approves being inflicted on others will be (in theory) accepted as just when applied to himself. This does not mean the punishment accepted in theory may not be overtly protested against when actually imposed upon the boy in a practical situation, because it is recognized that his theoretical reflections are a year or two behind his life reactions<sup>5</sup>. This is probably because of a carry-over of the emotion of self-pity, which is not uncommonly observed even in adults<sup>6</sup>. It is not felt, however, that any punishment approved in theory is likely to cause the boy suffering it to harbor feelings of resentment. If he accepts the punishment in theory, he will probably admit it to be just in practice, although he may pity himself for having to submit to it and seek to avoid it.

Assuming the fore-going conclusion to be valid, it would appear that the test as a whole may be considered as reasonably reliable. Furthermore there is no apparent reason why the two parts comprising it may not, for the purpose of the next phase of this investigation be considered as one.

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5. Jean Piaget. The Moral Judgment of the Child.

Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1932. P. 273.

6. Leta S. Hollingworth. The Psychology of the Adolescent.

D. Appleton and Co., 1928. P. 209.

Chapter Six

A Study of the Treatment Boys Expect from  
Different Authorities

The Possible influence of Environmental Differences as a Disturbing Factor: From an ethical point of view a man's chief concern is to develop his moral character, the nature of which will depend upon the modifications brought about in his original or inherited self as a result of such experiences, thoughts and actions as may be effected by his interaction with his environment <sup>1</sup>. The virtues which he is under persistent pressure to assume in order to live in harmony with his fellows are just the proper names for the laws of morality, which are in turn but the habits of men in a particular civilization. Just what constitutes a misdemeanor on the part of an individual, then, will depend upon the nature of the particular society in which he finds himself.

Presumably with such considerations in mind, Piaget <sup>2</sup> expresses the view that such observations as he made concerning the development of moral judgment and ideas of punishment on the part of small children might easily be quite different in other "Social Milieux". In an attempt to determine whether adult influence is a significant factor in determining the

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1. A.K. White and A. McBeath. The Moral Self, its Nature and Development. Edward Arnold and Son, London, 1923. pp. 1.

2. Jean Piaget. The Moral Judgment of the Child.

Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1932. pp. 209.

course of development of a sense of justice or whether it is dependent upon the mere fact of cooperation between children and a characteristic of development per se,<sup>3</sup> Harrower experimented with two groups, one of which was calculated to resemble Piaget's subjects, and the other to differ from them. The conclusion arrived at was that adult influence, both direct as in teaching and indirect as in the spirit of the schools and atmosphere of the homes, is of such potency as to make it capable of at least accelerating or retarding, and probably even of redirecting the development process as Piaget observed it. This finding is in keeping with those of studies in delinquency and crime, which have long noted and shown objectively that havoc wrought by the conflict of mores such as occurs in "Second generation" immigrants, or the children of immigrants.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand the theory that the "Social milieu" are so all-powerful would seem difficult to reconcile with the finding of Hartshorne and May<sup>5</sup> that there is no correlation between the moral knowledge of children and their public or Sunday-school teachers, and only coefficients of .35 and .55 between that of children and their friends and parents, where the common factor of intelligence may be significant.

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3. M. R. Harrower. Social Status and the Moral Development of the Child. British Journal of Educational Psychology, Feb. 1934. P. 76.

4. Murphy, Gardner and Lois Barclay Gardner. Experimental Psychology. Harper and Bros. 1931. P. 377.

5. Reported by: W. I. Thomas and D. S. Thomas. The Child in America. Alfred A. Knopf, 1928. P. 429.

It is not the purpose of the present thesis to seek further evidence on this problem, but it is felt in fairness to the study of types and severity of punishments which boys recommend, that the material used could not be assumed to be valid without an examination of the possible influence of the environmental factor. The schools providing subjects for the main part of the investigation were deliberately selected to provide an average sample of Manitoba boys. The punishments recommended from each school (Carberry and Sydney are grouped together) are shown separately in Table III, where the number of suggestions made in each category is corrected for the number of boys replying, so that the second line across for each school is comparable with the corresponding lines for other schools. By studying the corrected figures, then, it is possible to compare the types of punishment recommended by each group. For the purpose of comparing the severity of the punishments recommended, the scale is divided 3.5/10 or 7/20 way through the retaliation column, and the percentage of the total recommendations falling in each part calculated for each school. The reason for putting 3.5/10 of the retaliation column in the lower half of the scale and 6.5/10 in the upper half is that of the total 177 choices given which are regarded as punishments (the three calling for further investigation of circumstances not being so regarded), 88.5 should be made to fall in each section.

The most striking observations to be made from a study of this table seem to be:



Table III  
Showing Comparison of Types of Punishment Suggested by Boys from

Different Schools

School No.	No. of boys answering		No. of times the choice was given	36	36	36	13	10	16	30	36	3	Further Investigation	% of punishments in lower half of scale	% of punishments in upper half of scale
	No. of boys	answering													
1	23	16	36	28	351	77	11	92	103	132	34	28+351+77 +(3.5x11/10) =460 460x100/794 =58%	132+103+92+ (6.5x11/10) =334 334x100/794 =42%		
2	20	16	36	32	397	87	12	104	116	149	28	398x100/692 =56%	303x100/692 =44%		
3	26	15	36	43	355	94	42	99	126	142	39	559x100/897 =62%	338x100/897 =38%		
4	11	15	36	64	376	95	69	107	103	83	5	201x100/391 =51%	190x100/391 =49%		

§ Suggestions falling in this column are not considered to be punishments

(1) The wide discrepancy in number of times Retaliation is recommended by boys from the different schools. The range here is from 69 times by group III down to 12 times by group I.

(2) The similar wide discrepancy in the number of times No Punishment is recommended ; the range being from 64 times by group III down to 32 times by group I.

(3) The comparatively few times Seclusion is suggested as a method of treatment by the group from school III .

(4) The greater severity of treatment recommended by some groups than others, and especially the exceptional leniency of the suggestions coming from group III.

With reference to the first two observations, it may be noted that if the groups are arranged in the order in which the treatments concerned meet with decreasing favor, the order will in both cases be the same, and the groups will be seen in the order in which the median ages of the boys increase. Furthermore, where the difference in median ages between two groups is only two months, as between groups III and IV, the number of times retaliation is recommended falls from 69 to 64, whereas when increase in age is greater, being 6 months between groups IV and II, the fall in number of recommendations is also greater, being from 64 to 42. Thus there appears to be a striking inverse relationship between the ages of the boys and the favor with which they regard punishment in general and retaliatory punishment in particular. This interpretation is perfectly in harmony with Piaget's findings with younger children, and is further examined later in this study. Meanwhile it is advanced

as the probable explanation of the observed differences between groups in these two categories of treatment.

A study of the severity of treatment recommended by boys from the different schools reveals also a close inverse relationship with median age. The boys from group I, age 16 years 8 months, put only 42% of their recommendations in the upper half of the severity scale, while group II (median age 16 years) shows 44%, and group IV (median age 15 years 6 months) have 49% in the upper half. A conclusion that approved punishments do decrease in severity as boys grow older would also be in harmony with Piaget<sup>6</sup>, and will be another subject for further scrutiny later in this chapter. Meanwhile it will be observed that group III, being the youngest group, has nevertheless the smallest percentage (38%) of its recommendations in the upper half of the scale, and does not, therefore, seem to support the proposed interpretation. It is suggested, however, that the unexpected leniency of this group's proposed treatments as measured on the adopted scale may be attributable to the marked disfavor which they have been observed to display toward Seclusion as a type of punishment.

This aversion to Seclusion exhibited by group III, then, is the only evidence there seems to be which might point to the existence of significant disturbing factors due to environmental differences. A more intimate knowledge of the community and of the types of treatment the boys are accustomed to would be necessary before the writer could presume to

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6. Jean Piaget. Op.cit. P.215.

suggest a possible explanation of the unpopularity with them of this particular type of punishment. Meanwhile it is not felt that there are any differences in the "Social milieu" of the boys involved in this study which threaten seriously, or even appreciably, to invalidate the findings which may come of it. On the other hand, the consistency of the trends observed in the separate groups seem to point to a satisfactory degree of reliability for the test.

Changes in Types and Severity of Punishment Recommended by Boys as they Grow Older: In view of Piaget's observations which led him to the conclusion that the punishments approved by pre-adolescents are largely determined by the stage they have reached in the development of their moral judgment, it would seem reasonable to expect to find a continuance of the same relationship into and through the period of adolescence. Preliminary work with the Shield's Moral Judgment Examination,<sup>7</sup> covering an age range of 6 to 20 years, seemed to indicate that there is a gradual development of moral judgment from childhood to maturity, or at least to well over 16 years of age on the average. That the development should be gradual rather than spectacular is in keeping with other recent investigations which have tended to discredit the theory that special and peculiar character-

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7. E. A. Lincoln and F. J. Shields. An Age Scale for the Measurement of Moral Judgment. Journal of Educational Research. March 1931. P. 195.

8. Murphy, Gardner and Lois Barclay Gardner. Op. cit. P. 426.

istics develop dramatically at the moment of puberty. Advancement of this view here should not be regarded as inconsistent with the writer's previous acceptance of Piaget's conclusion that moral judgment, like intelligence, develops by waves and periods.

With a view to comparing the types and severity of punishments recommended by boys of different ages, and of discovering any changes that may take place in their ideas of the nature of what constitutes just punishment as they grow older, the replies of the 80 boys were tabulated as in Table IV. Three age groups are recognized, the range in each being about 2 years. The number of recommendations made in each category of treatment is shown in the first row across for each age group, and in the second row these numbers are shown corrected for the number answering in the group, so as to get comparable figures. The third row across for each group shows the figures further corrected to allow for the fact that they were not all given an equal number of times as choices. Comparison of these corrected figures in any of the three rows in which they appear will give a picture of the relative popularity of each type at that age level. The severity scale is divided 3.5/10 or 7/20 way through the retaliation column as in figure III, and the percentage of responses falling in each half of the scale calculated for each age group.

The following observations may be made from a study of this table:

- (1) No Punishment and Censure are recommended con-

Table IV  
Showing Comparison of Types and Severity of Punishments  
Approved at Different Age Levels

	No. of boys answering	To Correct for No. of boys who answered No Punishment	Censure	Restitution	Retaliation	Deprivation	Natural Consequences	Selection	Further Investigation	% of punishments in lower half of scale	% of punishments in upper half of scale
No. of choices			36	13	10	16	30	36	3	311x100/624 = 50%	313x100/624 = 50%
I. Age group 12:5-14:6	18		210	67	37	105	97	87	24		
Correct for No. of choices		x32/18	373	119	66	187	172	155			
			373	330	238	421	206	155			
II. Age group 14:7-16:6	30		430	116	60	110	132	147	33	619x100/1047 = 59%	428x100/1047 = 41%
Correct for No. of choices		x32/30	459	124	64	117	141	157			
			459	343	230	263	169	157			
III. Group 16:7-18:6	32		490	101	42	104	130	162	49	680x100/1103 = 62%	423x100/1103 = 38%
Correct for No. of choices		x32/32	490	101	42	104	130	162			
			490	280	151	234	156	162			

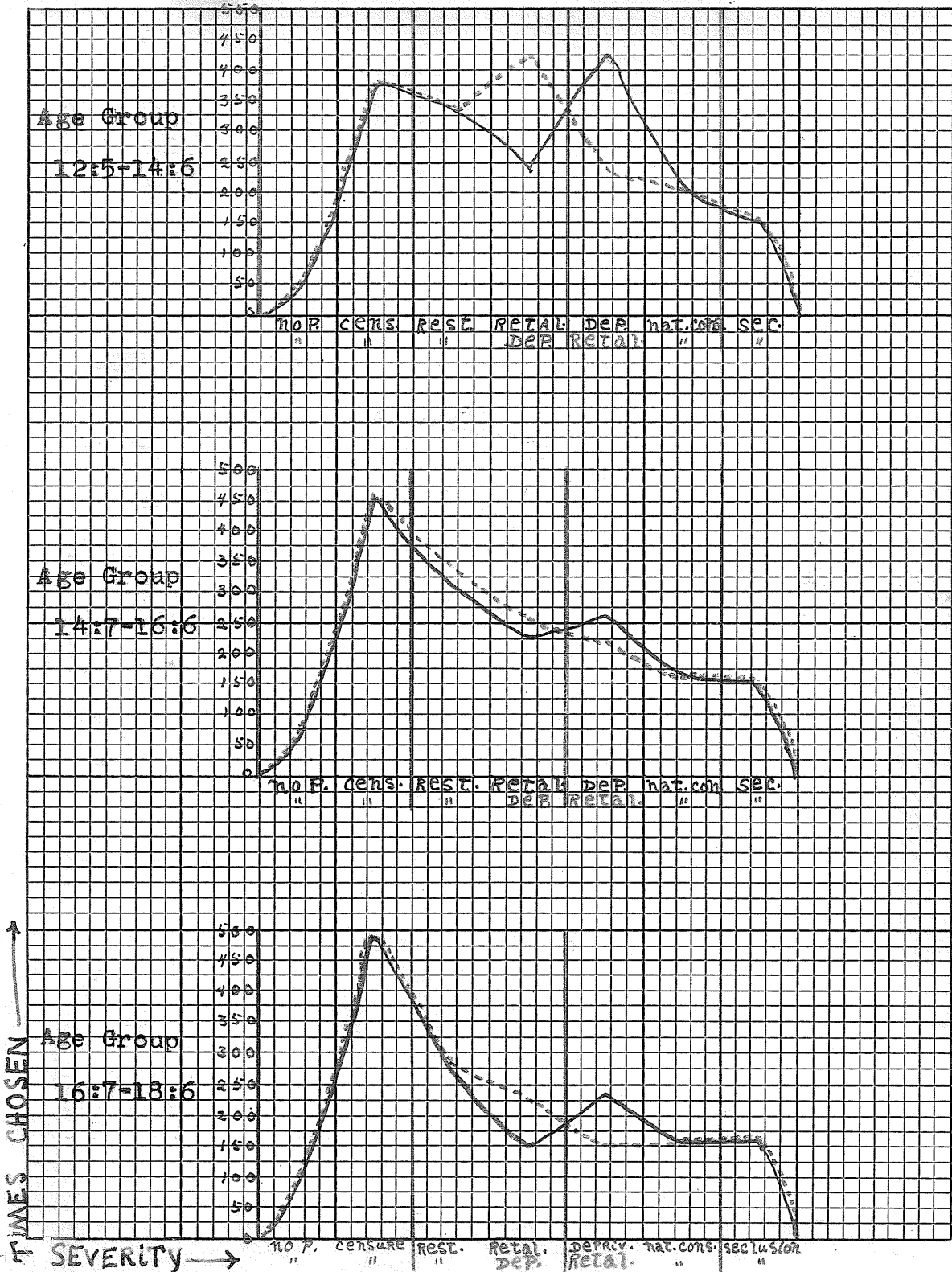


Figure I .Severity curves showing trend toward greater leniency as the boys grow older.

(The dotted red lines show that the severity curve would be smoother if Retaliation and Deprivation were interchanged in position).

siderably more frequently by the older boys than by the younger ones, while Retaliation seems to lose favor with the older boys.

(2) Deprivation is regarded with marked approval by the younger boys.

(3) Examination of the figures as corrected for the number of choices reveals that were the Retaliation and Deprivation columns interchanged in position, the effect would be to produce a fairly smooth severity curve, decidedly skewed to the side of leniency, and becoming more so as the boys grow older. This is graphically illustrated in figure 1.

(4) The punishments recommended become steadily less severe with advancing age as indicated by the increase in percentage of suggestions falling in the lower half of the scale.

The first and last of these observations appear to verify the conclusions suggested by the relationships noted between the trends and median ages in Table III. The only apparent difficulty here seems to be that the loss of favor observable for Retaliation among the older boys does not appear as marked as might have been expected. It may be that the environmental factor does play a role here, and it may even be that it is a significant factor. A plausible explanation of why the suggested punishments may be expected to grow less severe as the boys become more mature is advanced by Susan Isaacs, when she says, in speaking of younger children <sup>9</sup>: "As with us

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9. Susan Isaacs. The Children We Teach.

University of London Press, 1935. P. 87.



grown-ups too, they castigate in others the very faults they are struggling against in themselves. They can only dare to be mild and tolerant of the weaknesses of others when their own impulses of anger and fear are more firmly leashed, and their own skills more securely won. "It will be recalled here that the change in outlook taking place about age 11 or 12 is one in which the boy comes to identify himself with others, so that it is not surprising to find that from this stage on, he also becomes more lenient with himself as he approaches emotional maturity.

The increasing tendency for the older boys to suggest censure as a method of treatment is probably accountable to their developing cooperative tendency inclining them to regard the authorities over them on a basis of equality with themselves, and to a consequent feeling that the function of those authorities is to advise and direct, rather than merely to correct them. The same consideration may throw some light on the corresponding decrease in favor of Deprivation, and the writer is at a loss to suggest any other explanation for it. If the interpretation here offered is correct, it would seem that the much greater differences between the Censure and Deprivation recommended by the first two groups as compared with the last two, lend support to the hypothesis that the nature of approved punishment continues to reflect the quality of the moral judgment, which Shield's Examination shows as approaching maturity after the age of 16.

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The observation made concerning the relative popularity of Deprivation and Retaliation would seem to suggest that they should be interchanged in order of severity. This would not be surprising, since, as has already been pointed out, Piaget does not claim that the order give is anything but a "rough" one.

Comparative Study of Punishments Approved from Home, School and Law Authorities as the Boys Grow Older: Hartshorne and May, as a result of investigation of the child's knowledge of right and wrong <sup>10</sup> conclude that: "The wide differences in means and the relatively low correlations between the same children in the different situations indicate quite clearly that a child does not have a uniform generalized code of morals, but varies according to the situations in which he finds himself. In other words, he has a home code, a school code, a sunday school code, etc., or else adapts a code fundamentally his own to meet the more insistent demands of the occasion." The observation that the savage is a good father, perhaps husband and tribesman, with a kindly nature, but that all his virtues are expended <sup>11</sup> on those nearest him; recognition of the moral importance of the family as the institution serving first to develop sympathy with others and consideration of their interests and claims; realization of the fact that at school the child first

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10. H. Hartshorne, M. A. May and others. Testing the Knowledge of Right and Wrong. Religious Ed. Ass'n. Monograph No. 1, 1927. P. 47-8.

11. G. Stanley Hall. Adolescence. D. Appleton & Co., 1917. P. 360.

becomes acquainted with the authority of an organized world; and the figure of the boy passing into the world at large with its severer code as analagous to the emancipated negro<sup>12</sup> passing from the paternal jurisdiction of his master, are all suggestive of the possibility that a comparative study of the punishments an adolescent boy approves as coming from the various authorities over him may reveal some significant differences. For the purpose of making such a comparative study the data at hand were organized as in Table V.

The same three age groups are recognized as in Table IV, but are sub-divided to show the number of treatments in each category recommended as coming from the home, school, and legal authorities separately. These figures are again equated to the largest group to allow for differences in the number of subjects, and so to obtain figures which can be compared. The severity scales are divided into equal parts as before, the division in each case being made at the point in the scale on either side of which lie half the choices of response offered in the test.

The points of interest emerging from a study of this table are: (1) Punishment<sup>s</sup> expected from home are the most lenient, those from school next, and the ones from the law are the most severe. This does not hold with the youngest group, who seem to expect the most severe treatment from school.

(2) The severity of punishment from home declines decidedly as the boys grow older.

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12. Ibid. P.333.

Table V  
Showing Comparison of Types of Punishment Favored from  
Different Authorities as Boys Grow Older

No. of choices possible	Authority	No. of Boys	To correct for No. of boys	No. Punish-ment	Censure	Resist-ance	Retaliat-ion	Deprivat-ion	Natural Consequences	Seclusion	Further Investigation	% of pun-ishments in lower half of severity scale	% of pun-ishments in upper half of severity scale
Ages 12:5 to 14:6	Home	18		12	12	4	3	5	12	12			
	School	18	x32/18	25	132	37	18	66	53	53	3	54	46
	Law	18	x32/18	6	59	23	8	37	54	29	24	44	56
Ages 14:7 to 16:6	Home	30		22	165	41	8	43	48	33		65	35
	School	30	x32/30	23	176	44	9	46	51	35		60	40
	Law	30	x32/30	6	128	52	33	34	38	57	33	52	48
Ages 16:7 to 18:6	Home	32		31	187	48	3	49	37	29		70	30
	School	32	x32/32	31	187	48	3	49	37	29		58	42
	Law	32	x32/32	10	153	29	23	22	32	66	49	56	44

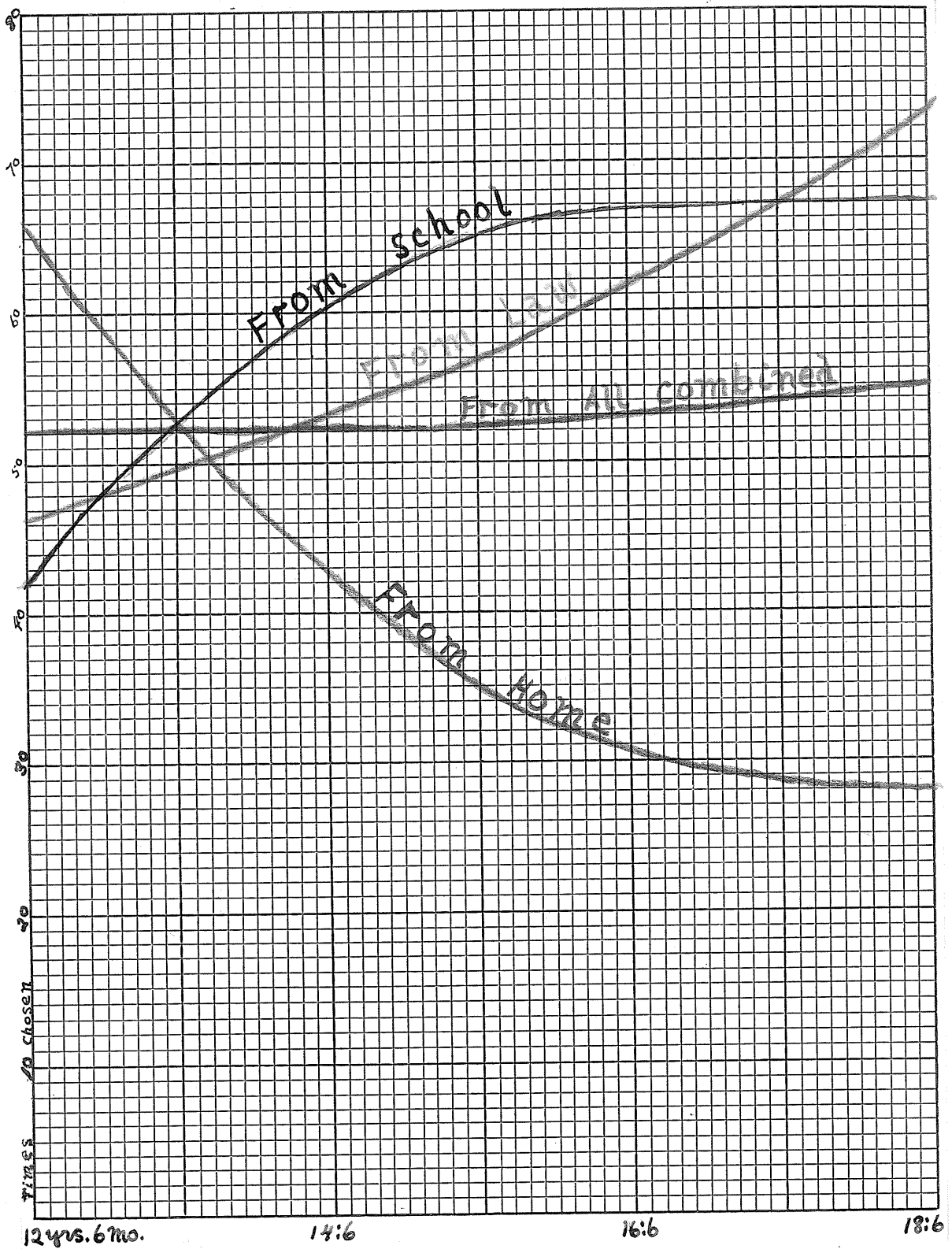


Figure 2. Changes in attitude toward punishment by seclusion coming from the different authorities as the boys grow older.

(3) Treatment approved as coming from the legal authorities appears to be of about the same severity at all ages, although the oldest group shows a slight tendency to expect greater leniency.

(4) Seclusion is less commonly approved from home, but more so from the law as the boys grow older.

(5) Retaliation is noticeably more favored as the authority becomes more impersonal.

That the boys expect more leniency from home than from the other authorities is no doubt due to the fact that from that quarter they look for charity and forgiveness in lieu of strict equality. Moralists have often laid stress on the conflict between justice and love<sup>13</sup> in which justice often prescribes what is reprovved by love and vice versa. In the home the rule of authority is replaced by the rule of love to a degree the boys do not dream of expecting in the school or in society at large.

A plausible explanation of the comparatively severe treatment expected from the school at the 12 to 14 age level lies in recognition of a period of extreme vitality, called by Bühler "The period of extreme self-power"<sup>14</sup>, which precedes what is known as the "Negative phase" of development and is characterized by a tendency toward boastfulness. That boys at

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13. Jean Piaget. Op.cit. P.323.

14. Charlotte Buhler. Social Behaviour of the Child. Handbook of Child Psychology (Carl Murchison). Clark University Press, 1931. P.415.

this stage are particularly trying to teachers was shown by Marro<sup>15</sup>, who found that teachers who described 70% of boys' conduct as "Good" at 11 years of age and 74% at 18 years, applied that adjective to only 58% of the boys of age 14. It is understandable that the characteristics of this stage as described would have a greater tendency to get the boy into difficulties with his teacher than with either of the other authorities with which this study is concerned.

The very slight tendency on the part of the oldest group to suggest less severe treatment from the law would not in itself appear significant. Considered in the light of the findings of Lockhart<sup>16</sup>, however, it is interesting to observe that the tendency is in the same direction. Lockhart studied the attitudes of 3500 children from the 4th to the 12th grades toward the law, and compared these attitudes with a criterion set up from replies to the same questions by 50 lawyers. The mean scores showed a fairly consistent drift toward the adult attitudes from the 4th grade to the 8th. From the 9th grade there was a period of no advance, and then a decline. Just what the significance of this decline may be is not suggested, and the present writer has nothing to offer by way of interpretation.

In Table IV it might have been observed that the popularity of the method of punishment by seclusion remains

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15. G. Stanley Hall. Op.cit. P. 345.

16. Murphy, Gardner and Lois Barclay Gardner. Op.cit. P. 383.

almost unchanged throughout the three age groups. This at first thought appears disconcerting, since in view of the fact that No Punishment and Censure, the mildest form of punishment, are recommended more frequently by the older boys, it might be expected that Seclusion, the most severe form, should correspondingly decrease in favor. The explanation of why it remains constant is revealed from the observation from Table V (shown by graph in figure 2) that while it becomes less favored as coming from home, it at the same time gains approval as coming from the authority of law. It seems clear, in consistence with the theory in line with which the general decrease in severity of treatment and increasing approval of Censure have been interpreted, why Seclusion should lose favor as coming from one's father. It remains to explain why the older boys more so than the younger ones should condone its being inflicted by the legal authorities. A probable light on the question is seen in the findings of Schaefer (Germany), who in studying answers to the question "Why is stealing forbidden?", discovered that general respect for society or law increases between the ages of 12 and 17<sup>17</sup>. It is submitted that as this general respect for the rights of others increases, it will become increasingly important that the laws of society be honored. There may at first thought appear to be a difficulty here in the fact that punishment in general does not show an increase in severity; but the answer to that would be that Seclusion may not now be looked upon primarily

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17. Murphy, Gardner and Lois Barclay Gardner. Ibid. P. 1121.



as a means of avenging the law, or even of merely protecting Society, but rather as an attempt to accomplish that latter end by reforming the individual through providing him an opportunity to meditate and take stock of himself.

It is not at all surprising that retaliatory punishments should be recommended with increasing frequency as coming from the authorities the boy meets in order in widening his social horizon as he ventures outward from his home to school and society proper. When he leaves his home to attend school he has gone a long way toward establishing himself on a basis of equality as a member of the family, but is just a beginner in the classroom. Likewise, when he strays from the paternal protection of the home and beyond the personal authority of the school to the cold jurisdiction of "The law", where he is just another "One", he is again a novice, and his moral judgment and consequent ideas of justice must go through the process of development in a new realm. The process here is similar to that which takes place in his home and school associations, but of necessity lags behind, and will probably never proceed as far, because of the obstacles the dignity and impersonality of the authority place in the way of the individual feeling himself on a basis of equality with it.

Types of Punishment Approved by the Boys as Coming from Various Authorities for Specific Offences: With a view to observing any peculiar attitudes of the boys toward particular types of offences, their treatments were tabulated as shown in Table VI. The table follows the structural plan of the questionnaire as diagrammed in Chapter III of this thesis, and shows the distribution of choices of treatment for each type of conflict with each authority. The figures given are the sums of the recommendations made for the parallel situations in the two parts of the test. In a few cases the same choices are not offered in both parts, and where this is the case the numbers are underlined to show they had only half the chances of being chosen that the others had. This fact must be taken into consideration when making comparisons.

A study of Table VI reveals in particular the following points of interest:

(1) In most individual situations, as in the totals observed in previous tables, Censure is the treatment most commonly approved. It will be recalled that this was made to include such treatments as writing lines, humiliation, and warning, as well as reproof.

(2) Deprivation (in this case of valued privileges) is most often suggested as a method of dealing with carelessness in school work.

(3) Restitution in good measure of the thing stolen, together with deprivation of something of the boy's own are the favored methods of punishing for theft.

Table VI

Showing Types of Punishment Approved by the Boys as Coming from the various Authorities for Specific Offences

Offence	From Home						From School						From the Law								
	No Punishment	Censure	Restitution	Retaliation	Deprivation	Natural Conseq.	No Punishment	Censure	Restitution	Retaliation	Deprivation	Natural Conseq.	No Punishment	Censure	Restitution	Retaliation	Deprivation	Natural Conseq.	Seclusion	Further Investigation	
Carelessness							13	42													
Friends	11	114		8		13	14														
Theft																					
Truancy	4	71	48				3	93													
Incorrigibility	7	103		<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>		6	45													
Fighting	38	19	67				16	31	45												
Use of Auto	2	89			25																
School Grades	5	30			94	21	10	82	34												
Discipline							17	61	39												

Note: The underlined types were given as choices in only one part of the test. The numbers underlined must therefore be doubled to make them comparable with the others.

(4) While a father is still expected to continue to re-monstrate with his son after he has openly defied his authority (incorrigibility), the boys are prepared to accept the most drastic treatment (exclusion from school) from the teacher or higher school authorities.

(5) Quarreling and fighting appear at first thought to be dealt with rather severely, and it is interesting to observe that the treatment increases in severity as familiarity with the authority concerned decreases. Piaget<sup>18</sup> found that with the children his study involved, there is a tendency which increases with age to consider it legitimate to give back the blows one has received. The younger children think they should not take their own revenge, but should call in a grown-up. By the age of 9, however, they feel that the thing to do is to take the matter into their own hands. In view of this, it is rather surprising to find adolescents approving adult interference in their quarrels to a degree which would justify imposing such severe punishments as they recommend. The indication would seem to be that the tendency noted by Piaget is reversed about the age of 12, and the explanation of why it should be so is probably found in the sudden development at that stage of the ability to project oneself into the position of another. The boys are acquiring a fuller appreciation of the rights of others, and observe that might is not always on the side of right. Consequently they look to authority to

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18. Jean Piaget. Op.cit. P.301.

see that justice is done in situations where younger boys might prefer to see the issues fought out on a basis of equality. That the types of punishment should become more severe as the authority becomes more remote is in accord with the observations made from Table V, and may again be explained as being attributable to the obstacles in the way of the individual cultivating a feeling that he is on a basis of equality with the more impersonal authorities.

(6) There is a very decided tendency to make treatment coming from home more severe than that coming from school when school marks are unsatisfactory. This is a striking contrast to the tendency elsewhere evident to feel that school punishments should be more severe, or rather, as it has been interpreted, that the home authority should be more generous because of the influence of the element of love in that quarter. The writer is at a loss to harmonize this observation with the psychological theory so far followed, or for that matter with any theory extant in the literature he has perused. There is the possibility that the situations described, or the choices of treatment suggested for this particular type of conflict may not be such as to elicit responses valid for the comparisons made. It is felt, however, in view of the evidence of satisfactory validity of the test as a whole, that any such lack in these particular situations as might account for so unexpected an observation as has been made here, could be detected by study of the test. Since no such lack is evident, an explanation must be sought elsewhere. An interpretation hesitatingly

offered here is that the boys, while they may appreciate the fact that their parents are the ones responsible for their education, and while they apparently recognize "Schooling" to be an essential part of that education, yet fail to see in the teacher one to whom the parents have delegated a particular task. It may be that they fail to appreciate the principle of delegation of responsibility, or it may be that they look upon the teacher as representing an institution superimposed upon the community rather than created by the cooperative endeavors of their own parents.

A Comparative Study of Punishments Recommended by a Normal and a Delinquent Group of Boys: It has been said<sup>19</sup> that no considerations of the problems of childhood and adolescence can be considered at all adequate today without an attempt to evaluate the bearing they may have on Juvenile Delinquency. With a view to detecting any significant differences there might be between what the average boy considers just and proper punishment and what the less satisfactorily adjusted delinquent regards as such, the questionnaire in its present form, but without any suggested choices of treatment for the given situations, was submitted to a group of 24 inmates of the Manitoba Home for Boys, and also to a conveniently placed group of 24 boys of approximately the same ages in elementary and secondary grades at MacGregor School. The questionnaire

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19. Murphy, Gardner and Lois Barclay Gardner. Op.cit. P.384.

was administered and the suggested treatments classified as described in Chapter III of this report. The results appear in tabular form in Table VII. Since the same number of suggestions was not obtained from each age group, the actual figures obtained are not comparable. Directly beneath the totals, therefore, they are shown equated to a percentage basis.

Examination of the percentages, by which comparisons may be made, leads to certain observations:

(1) No Punishment is recommended more often as the boys grow older, and about 50% more often by the delinquents than by the non-delinquents.

(2) Restitution and Deprivation are suggested much more often by the older boys than by the younger. Amongst the younger boys the delinquent group suggests these oftener than the non-delinquent, while amongst the older boys the reverse is true.

(3) Retaliatory punishment is the type suggested most frequently when the boys are left to think of their own punishments. It is still much more often recommended by the younger boys than by the older ones, and least of all by the older non-delinquents.

(4) Immediate natural consequences of the act are seldom suggested.

(5) Seclusion is recommended much more frequently by the non-delinquents than by the delinquents, except in the 14-16

Table VII

Showing Comparative Study of Punishments Suggested by Two Groups of 24

Boys Each, Delinquent and Non-delinquent

Age Group	Punishment		Censure		Restitution		Retaliation		Deprivation		Natural Conseq.		Seclusion		Further Invest.		Unclassified	
	Non-del.	Del.	Non-del.	Del.	Non-del.	Del.	Non-del.	Del.	Non-del.	Del.	Non-del.	Del.	Non-del.	Del.	Non-del.	Del.	Non-del.	Del.
12:0-14:6 Totals Per cents	4 1		26 9		25 8		102 34		30 10		3 1		68 23		0 0		40 13	
Totals Per cents	3 1		13 6		29 13		74 34		39 18		0 0		35 16		2 1		20 9	
14:7-16:6 Totals Per cents	8 2		44 12		74 20		67 18		72 19		6 2		45 12		9 2		49 13	
Totals Per cents	15 5		38 12		39 12		84 27		44 14		4 1		58 18		2 1		32 10	
16:7-18:6 Totals Per cents	9 5		25 13		21 11		34 18		31 16		2 1		33 17		4 2		32 17	
Totals Per cents	9 4		31 15		18 9		73 35		30 14		0 0		23 11		4 2		23 11	
All Ages Totals Per cents	21 2		95 11		120 14		203 24		133 15		11 1		146 17		13 2		121 14	
Totals Per cents	27 4		82 11		86 12		231 31		113 15		4 1		116 16		8 1		75 10	

% of Punishments - In Lower half of scale: Non-Del. 46%, Del. 49%. In upper half: Non-Del. 54%, Del. 51%.



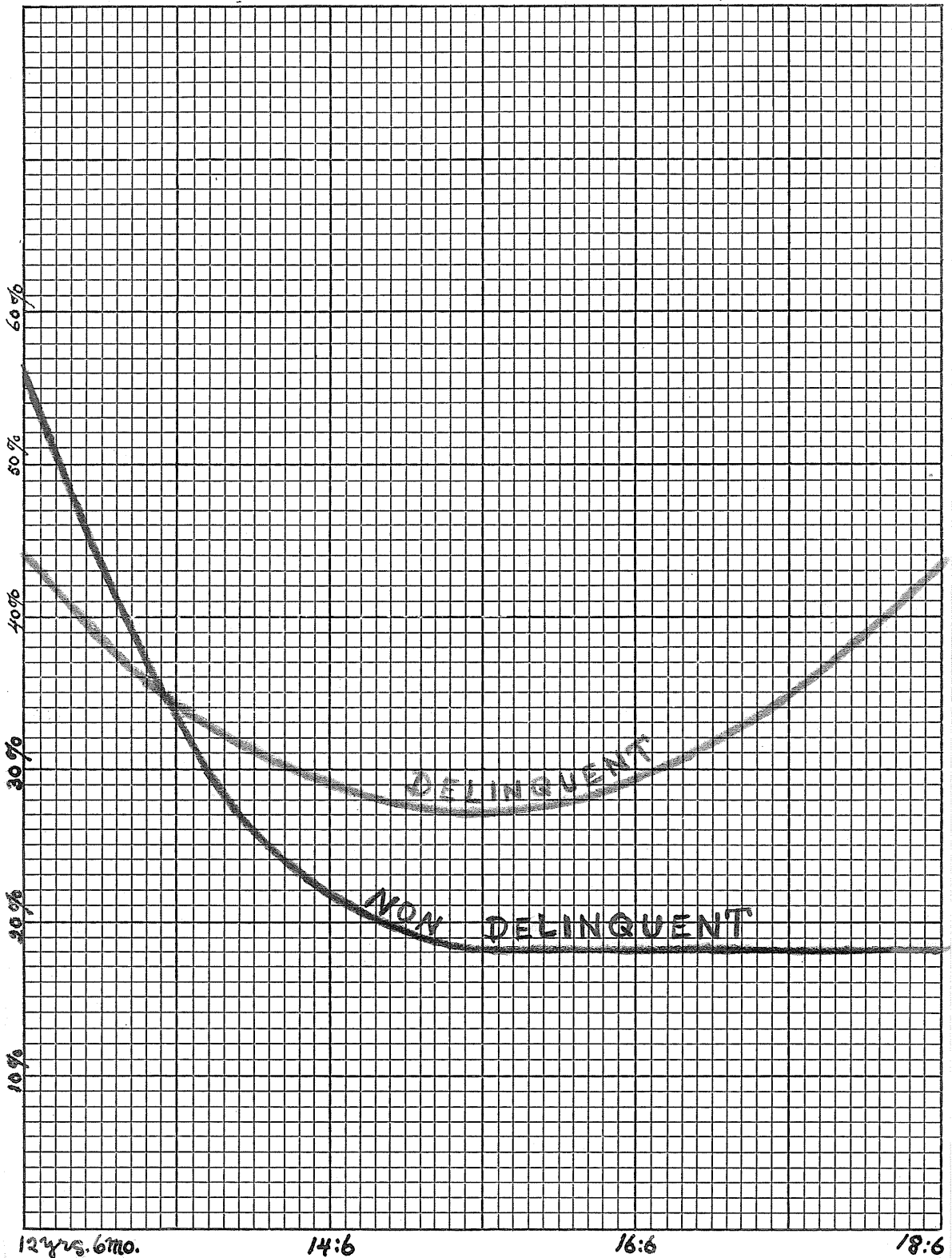


Figure 3. Showing the persistency with which delinquent boys continue to recommend retaliatory types of punishment, while the non-delinquent ones suggest them less frequently as they grow older.

age group, where the reverse is true.

(6) In but very few instances is it suggested that circumstances should be more fully investigated before treatment is decided upon.

(7) The punishments recommended by the non-delinquents centre slightly higher up the scale of severity than do those by the delinquents.

This last observation, together with the fact that delinquents more frequently than others recommend No Punishment, would seem to point to the conclusion that the delinquent group, while comprised of the boys who at first thought might seem to be the ones most familiar with severe punishment, are at the same time the ones least disposed to recommend its infliction. The suggestion is offered, however, that the delinquent boys are probably not the ones accustomed to the most severe treatment, but that rather the reverse is true. Such an interpretation seems to be supported by Burt<sup>20</sup> who says: "Even commoner (among delinquents) than a discipline that is over-severe, is a discipline too weak and easy-going. It is reported<sup>21</sup> in one case out of every four". It may be, as Piaget suspects, that "Only those who have gone through the external discipline imposed by a master will be capable later on of an inner discipline." The fact that the boys are inmates of the reform school is evidence that the development of that inner

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20. Cyril Burt. The Young Delinquent.

University of London Press, 1927. B.97.

21. Jean Piaget. Op.cit. P.366.

discipline is not advanced to a satisfactory degree.

The striking favor which Restitution and Deprivation suddenly acquire with the non-delinquent group, and the earlier but less marked appearance of the same favor with the delinquents, appears too significant to be overlooked, and yet the present writer has no satisfactory explanation to offer. It would appear that some passing attitude<sup>s</sup> characteristic of the "Negative" phase of development appear earlier but less strikingly in the cases of boys who constitute the delinquent group.

The persistency with which the delinquent boys continue to recommend retaliatory punishments while the non-delinquent ones suggest them less frequently as they grow older, is probably attributable to a lag in the development of the moral judgment which at their age would normally substitute types of treatment more in harmony with a maturing morality of forgiveness and understanding. This lag may partly explain the fact that the progress of their adjustment process has been unsatisfactory. They are not advanced to the stage where charitable attempts at "Moral Suasion" on any higher basis than that of sheer equality are appreciated sufficiently to serve as effective disciplinary treatment. That some such evidence of immature moral judgment is to be expected, follows from the almost  
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axiomatic observation that moral judgment is to some extent dependent upon intelligence (although by no means entirely so),

and the experimental findings of Blatz and Bott<sup>23</sup> and others<sup>24</sup> that an inverse relationship exists between intelligence quotient and persistent behaviour problems among boys. Since these boys are no slower than the normal ones to claim the privileges and freedom of action accorded their fellows, their failure to accept a corresponding measure of moral responsibility is at the root of their conflict with authority. The fact that those in authority so often lack sympathetic understanding of the cause of the situation does not make it any more probable that a satisfactory adjustment will be made.

The very few times Natural Consequences are recommended here is quite striking when compared with the much greater favor shown that method of treatment by the boys to whom it was offered as a suggestion, and whose choices are reported in Tables I to VI. The difference can probably be quite easily explained, however, by the quite understandable failure to think of such punishment as being inflicted by the home, school, or law. It is rather an evidence of "Justice Imminent in Things" which has been taken for granted from the beginning, and the action of the authorities in refraining from interfering in the distribution of such justice, being negative, is not recognized as action at all. Incidentally it may be remarked here that Herbert Spencer and Jean Jaques Rousseau recommended natural

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23. Murphy, Gardner and Lois Barclay Gardner. Op.cit. P. 391.

24. "E.K." Why Children Steal and Tell Lies.

The Scottish Educational Journal. March, 1936. P. 380.

punishments because they are certain, and because they fit  
the crime <sup>25</sup> Thomson <sup>26</sup> refutes the first of these points,  
affirms the second (which those who advocate making punish-  
ment fit the criminal might deny), and points out that they  
are to be desired because they side-track resentment against  
a person. It is submitted here that this last also might  
profitably be subjected to experimental examination by  
making a study of the extent to which adults feel resentment  
toward those who were in authority over them as children  
and adolescents for their failure to take positive action  
where such failure meant the infliction of merciless  
natural punishment.

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25. T. F. G. Dexter and A. H. Garlick. Psychology in the Schoolroom.

Longman's Green and Co., 1898. P. 373.

26. G. H. Thomson. Instinct, Intelligence, and Character.

George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1932. P. 243.

## Chapter Seven

### The Extent to Which The Principle of Equity is Appreciated By Adolescent Boys at Different Age Levels

Although one must necessarily assume that even a small child has some rudimentary apprehension of right and wrong and must take some responsibility for its own conduct upon itself, "When due regard is paid to the child's almost total dependence upon its social environment, any criticism offered to the child's behaviour falls primarily upon the social environment itself, and especially on parents and teachers through whom society's demands are interpreted to the child."<sup>1</sup> If this is true of a small child, it is surely yet more true of an adolescent, whose world is just so much more complex and requires so much more interpretation. This view, coupled with what is known as the "New" Philosophy of Education set forth by such proponents as professors Dewey and Kilpatrick, and neatly summed up in Kilpatrick's dictum that "Trusting the child is the only path in education"<sup>2</sup>, has led those in authority who attempt to keep themselves versed in psychological theory to general acceptance of the view that each individual case of discipline must be treated as a particular problem. This means

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1. A. K. White and A. McBeath. The Moral Self, Its Nature and Development. Edward Arnold and Co. London. 1923. P. 198-9.

2. Ernest M. Henderson. The Journal of Educational Research. Vol. XVI, 1927. P. 150.

in effect that the idea of justice which demands a tooth for a tooth, and is no respecter of persons<sup>3</sup> must give way in their ideals and practice to the idea of equity, which Piaget defines as "Equalitarianism tempered by relativity"<sup>4</sup>, or in other words "Which consists of never defining without taking account of the way in which each individual is situated"<sup>5</sup>.

In the course of developing the present experiment the writer, in searching for a criterion against which to measure the severity of the boys' punishments, scouted the possibility of setting up a standard of treatment appropriate to the described situations on the basis of recommendations to be made by representatives of the three adult authorities (parents, teachers, and law enforcement officials). The plan did not prove feasible, because of the insistence on the part of the adults (especially those better trained for the exercise of their authority) that they could not make recommendations to fit hypothetical situations in which the circumstances were but meagerly described. This objection, in contrast, was apparently strikingly absent in the less sophisticated minds of the boys, and the questions were raised as to whether the boys might attach less importance to the circumstances, and if so, whether they would appreciate the efforts on the part of the authorities to take them into consideration.

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3. T. F. G. Dexter and A. H. Garlick. Psychology in the Schoolroom.

Longman's Green and Co., 1898. P. 353.

4. Jean Piaget. The Moral Judgment of the Child.

Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1932. P. 315.

5. Ibid. P. 284.

Just why the reform school group, as reported in Chapter IV, should have responded to the question "What was the effect (of over-severe punishment) on you?" by a description of the unfair treatment they received is not known, as the question was put to them exactly as it appears in the questionnaire\*. The replies are interesting, nevertheless, and are reported here in the belief that they point to evidence of harmful consequences resulting from presumably conscientious attempts on the part of authorities to modify treatment accorded youthful offenders in the light of extenuating circumstances.

Quoted in the words of the boys themselves, the replies were: (1) "He (the judge) said I did something and I never did it, and some people never trusted me after that".

(2) "He (a 'Cop') slapped me with a pair of leather mits because he don't believe what I say".

(3) "I stole some clothes. There were three other boys and I got two years here and they never got nothing. That is unfair".

(4) "There were three of us, and he (the judge) sent two of us and left the one who did the most".

The first two replies describe an injured sense of honor, which if the boys are to be believed, is very regrettable---so regrettable as to suggest that the boy's story should be accepted if there is any shadow of doubt in his favor. The writer is obviously not in a position to judge in

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\* Appendix III.



these cases, and it is the last two quotations that bear particularly on the subject under consideration. Here, although again the circumstances are not known, it would seem fair to surmise that the judge, in dealing with the boys concerned, took circumstances, previous records, etc., into consideration and attempted to accord appropriate treatment on an equitable basis to the different boys involved in the same offence. This would seem quite the fair thing to do if one accepts the modern theory that punishment should fit the criminal instead of the crime. It is not therefore suggested that the authorities were necessarily wrong in doing what they did, because the other parties to the crime would have to be considered as well as the boys here expressing grievance, and it might be that these others would have felt no less aggrieved had their circumstances not been taken into consideration. Nevertheless, because of the importance of having the punishment recognized as just by the boy, and in view of the resentment obviously harbored when it is not, the question arises as to what extent equity in lieu of justice (which would make the punishment fit the crime) is appreciated by adolescent boys.

It was for the purpose of investigating this aspect of the boy's conception of justice that the three suggestions were made (for 30, 33 and 36) that circumstances should be further investigated before methods of treatment were decided upon; also it was for this purpose that Additional Question II was appended to the questionnaire. Three general answers were called for as follows:

"Suppose you and another boy were caught stealing apples from another fellow's lunch kit. Should you both get the same punishment: 1. If the other boy took one apple for himself and gave you one?

2. If you were older than the other boy?

3. If the other boy was hungry and you were not?"

The answer "Yes" in question 1 and "No" in 2 and 3 are interpreted as calling for equitable treatment. The answers of the 69 boys whose replies were complete are tabulated in Table VIII.

The number of times Further Investigation of Circumstances was recommended when suggested to the boys in specific situations is reported in Table II. The 106 times it was chosen out of a possible 240 (3 times for each of 80 boys) seems to indicate that the choice was quite popular. It may be noted here without attempting to explain the discrepancy that it is reported in Table VII only 22 times out of a total of 1606 suggestions made when the boys were free to describe their own ideas as to methods of treatment. The further analysis of replies shown in Table V for the purpose of examining changes in types and severity of punishments recommended as the boys grow older, does not reveal any significant trend toward greater appreciation of equitable treatment by the groups at the higher age levels. This disappointing observation may be attributable to the fact that all three of the situations in which Further Investigation of Circumstances was offered as a choice of treatment, were

Table VIII

Showing Replies to Questions Designed to Reveal Trends in  
the Development of the Idea of Equity

Age Group		Quest. I		Quest. II		Quest. III		Total	
		No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	For equity	Not for equity
12:5-14:6	Replies	6	8	8	6	12	2	16	26
	Percents	43	57	57	43	86	14	38	62
14:7-16:6	Replies	4	19	6	17	12	11	47	22
	Percents	17	83	26	74	52	48	68	32
16:7-18:6	Replies	5	27	13	19	16	16	62	34
	Percents	16	84	41	59	50	50	65	35

Note: The answer "Yes" in question I and "No" in 2 and 3 are interpreted as calling for equitable treatment.

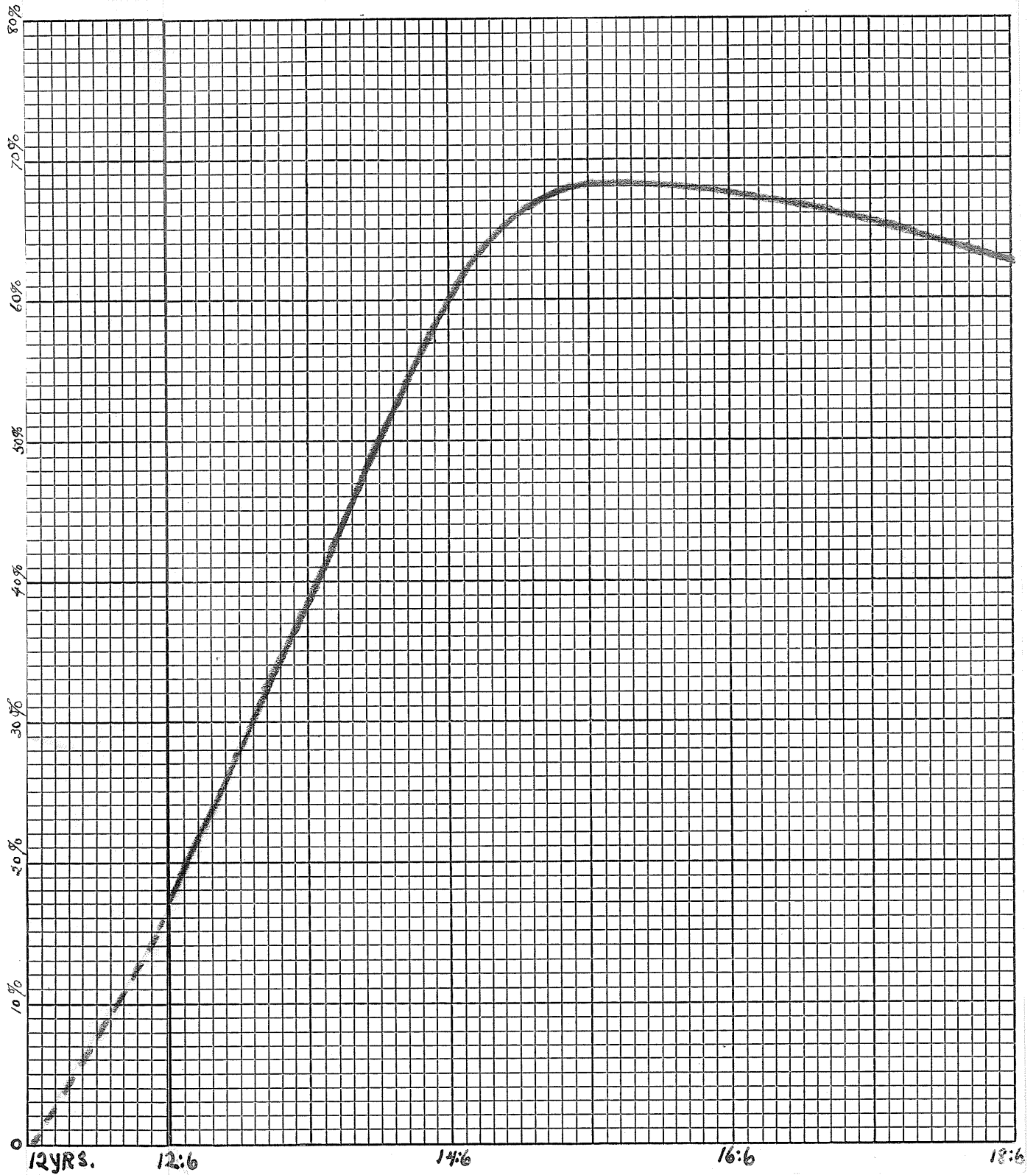


Figure 4. Showing development of appreciation of equity on the part of adolescent boys.

situations in which the boy was in conflict with the authority of law, and the analysis made in Table V does not reveal any tendency for treatments expected from that quarter to undergo any significant changes with advancing age.

The trend lacking in Table V, however, is quite apparent in Table VIII, where the approach to the problem has been more general. Here a study of the percentages of replies calling for application of the principle of Equity reveals, both in the totals and in the separate aspects covered by each question, a decided increase in demand for it by the two older groups over the youngest. It would appear that there is very little increase in appreciation on the part of the 16-18 year group over the 14-16 one, and in fact question 2 reveals a decline. It is suggested, however, that this decline can be explained subjectively by consideration of the fact that in the matter of considering the age of an offender, a spread of a year or two at the age of 17 demands less allowance for difference in moral responsibility than does an equal age spread at 15.

There is a point of interest in connection with question 1 (where the one boy did the actual stealing and the other knowingly received the stolen goods) in that the factor of collective responsibility enters in here. Piaget<sup>6</sup> looked in vain for evidence of this, and explained its absence by observing that the child, as he grows up, frees himself more and more from adult authority and tradition. Such is accepted as being the case

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6. Ibid. P. 234.

with children at the age levels studied by Piaget, but it has been seen\* that upon emerging from the "Negative phase" and entering the stage of adolescence proper, that tendency may be expected to reverse, as the individual more and more comes to see himself as part of a cooperative society which will reflect the influences of its individual members. It is, in fact, only on the basis of assuming such an expectation that an affirmative answer to the question could be interpreted as calling for equitable treatment. The fact that the percentage of such answers increases from 57% in the 12-14 age group to 83% in the 14-16 one is taken both as confirmation of the assumption, and as evidence of an increased appreciation of the principle of equity.

The indication, then, seems to be that the stage at which the boy's attitude toward punishment comes to be characterized by the feeling of equity (which stage Piaget<sup>7</sup> observed as setting in about the age of 11-12) is fairly well advanced by the age of 16, and continues to develop slowly till at least 18. Whether it ordinarily stops there, continues slowly, or advances in another wave when the individual finds himself in a position of authority, is not known, but the writer's experience in attempting to elicit answers to the test used in the present experiment from men especially trained for the exercise of authority, leads him to the

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\* Chapter VI. P. 49.

7. Ibid. P. 314-16.

conviction that it may be further developed by a formal process of learning. The trend throughout the age range studied is shown graphically by the heavy line in Figure 4. The dotted extension clearly points to agreement between the findings here and those of Piaget.

It is perhaps significant that the two boys quoted as being resentful of treatment which has been assumed to have been accorded them on a basis of equity were of ages 15 years 2 months and 14 years 5 months. Considering that they are delinquents, their moral judgments may, in accordance with the findings of this study be somewhat retarded, placing them at a stage where considerations of equity are not within their conception of justice. In view of the evident resentment the treatment has engendered in the boys, it would appear that a word of caution might be in order to those in authority, against allowing their own more mature ideals to determine the treatment to be dispensed to those by whom such ideals are not understood. Certainly in considering the circumstances surrounding a disciplinary problem, an important consideration in the case of one boy must be the manner in which it is determined his accomplices are to be dealt with. If he is judged more deserving of punishment than they, it should be recognized that should he fail to appreciate the grounds upon which they are treated less severely, any additional punishment imposed upon him will loom large in his estimation.

## Chapter Eight

### Conclusions

The main conclusions arrived at as a result of the investigation which has been made may be summarized as follows:

(1) No scientific study appears to have been made of the extent to which fantasy, depression and worry caused by repression of the feeling of having suffered injustice may lead to serious mental disorders in adolescents. The opinions expressed by experts in the field of mental health support the hypothesis that such feeling may be a contributing factor to such disorders, but incline to the view that it is not a very potent one.

(2) Boys frequently harbor feelings of resentment, hatred, and desire for vengeance as a result of the infliction upon them of punishments which they do not regard as just. The authorities of law, school, and home, in the order named, are prone to do injury to the dispositions and characters of the boys they are called upon to discipline, and at the same time to aggravate their disciplinary problems, by inflicting punishment which the boys regard as undeserved or over-severe.

(3) After the age of 12, boys may be assumed to accept punishment which they would approve being inflicted upon others as just when applied to themselves.

(4) There are no significant variations in the conception of justice of adolescent boys attributable to such



differences in adult influence as may be found between typical Manitoba communities.

(5) Approved punishments in general become less severe, and in particular No Punishment and Censure are more favored and Retaliation less so as the boys grow older.

(6) More forbearance is expected from the home than from the school or law, and least of all from the law. More-over, treatment approved as coming from home shows the most accelerated trend toward greater leniency as the boys grow older, and such a trend is not observable in the case of that coming from the authority of law.

(7) While Censure is in most situations the form of treatment most commonly approved, Deprivation of valued privileges is the type most often suggested for dealing with carelessness in school work, and Restitution in good measure of the thing stolen, together with Deprivation of something of the boys' own are the favored methods of punishing for theft.

(8) The tendency which Piaget observed for children to regard the settlements of their quarrels and fights as more and more their own affairs, seems to be reversed through the period of adolescence. Attacks against the person are viewed more and more seriously by the older boys, and there is a growing tendency to approve the interference of adult authority to see that the distribution of justice is not at the mercy of brute force.

(9) Study of the punishments recommended by delinquent

boys as compared with non-delinquents, reveals in the former a clinging to retaliatory types suggestive of a lag in development of the moral judgment. Contrary to what might be expected in view of such a lag, the treatment they expect by way of punishment is less severe than that approved by non-delinquents. This is interpreted as indicating that the discipline to which they have been accustomed has been unduly weak and easy-going.

(10) It is not to be assumed that considerations of equity which may appear to those in authority as the essence of justice are appreciated as such by the boys they are called upon to discipline. It is particularly important that this fact be recognized in dealing with a group of boys implicated in the same offence. When it is judged that in the light of the circumstances they do not all merit the same punishment, much harm may be done if the ones subjected to severe treatment fail to appreciate the grounds on which their accomplices are dealt with more leniently. If the punishment is to fit the criminal, it must fit his conception of justice and must be modified in such instances to make allowance for that conception being immature as measured against the ideal standard in the mind of the one in authority. The indication seems to be that considerations of equity begin to find a place within the boy's concept of justice about the age of 12, and steadily gain prominence until at least 16.

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**APPENDIX**

Appendix I

Sources of Disagreement Which Investigators Report to be the Most Common Causes of Conflict Between Boys and Those in Authority over Them

Sources of disagreement between parents and boys:

- <sup>1</sup>  
 Lynd and Lynd : \*1. Use of the automobile  
 \*2. The boys and girls you choose as friends  
 3. Spending money  
 4. Times you go out on school nights  
 5. The hour you get in at night  
 \*6. Grades at school  
 7. Home duties  
 8. Church and Sunday School attendance

Sources of disagreement between boys and school:

- |                            |                         |                            |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| <sup>2</sup><br>Marro :    | <sup>3</sup><br>Sears : | <sup>4</sup><br>Triplett : |
| *1. Quarrels and blows     | 1. Disorder             | *1. Fighting               |
| *2. Breaches of discipline | *2. Disobedience        | Bullying                   |
| 3. Untidiness              | *3. Carelessness        | Teasing                    |
| *4. Truancy                | 4. Running away         | *2. Truancy                |
|                            | *5. Quarrels & fights   | 3. Stealing                |
|                            | 6. Lying                | 4. Lying                   |
|                            | 7. Stealing             | *5. Disobedience           |

1. Murphy, Gardner and Lois B. Gardner. Experimental Psychology. Harper Bros., 1931. P. 353.

2. G. Stanley Hall. Adolescence. D. Appleton & Co., 1917. P. 346.

3. Ibid. P. 346.

4. Ibid. P. 347.

Sources of disagreement between boys and Society:

5  
Morrison :

- \*1. Truancy
- 2. Begging
- \*3. Incurrigibility
- \*4. Theft
- \*5. Assaults

6  
Census, 1890:

- \*1. Theft
- 2. Lying & vagabondage
- \*3. Disobedience to parents
- \*4. Truancy
- \*5. Assaults

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5. Ibid. P. 331.

6. Ibid. P. 332.

\*Note: The sources of disagreement marked by asterisks are the ones which are incorporated in the questionnaire.

Appendix II

The Questionnaire

Instructions for Administration

- I. Have questionnaire replied to by boys of ages 12 to 18 years.
- II. The boy's age in years and months to be put at the top of the page. (No name asked for).
- III. Boys to give their own replies without consulting others.
- IV. Each situation to be described to the boys as written, and the five suggestions for dealing with it to be read in order. This to be repeated with each situation before proceeding to the next.
- V. The questionnaire is NOT to be read to the boys before they are to give the answers. It is IMPORTANT that they should not know the following situation before having decided on how to deal with the one before it.
- VI. The boys should record only the number of the situation and the number (1, 2, 3, 4, or 5) of the treatment selected. It is not necessary that he should entirely approve of any treatment suggested, but should select the one most nearly suitable.
- VII. The questions may all be replied to at one sitting, or, if more convenient, the first 18 and the last 18 (i.e. numbers XIX to XXXVI) may be given at different times.
- VIII. The boys should be instructed to try to think of the boys in the situations as being of about the same ages as themselves.
- IX. Make clear that they are to say what SHOULD be done rather than, and regardless of, what probably WOULD be done.
- X. Do not hurry. Give the boys time to consider.



Part One

I. There once was a boy called Harry. His father was very anxious that he should get along well at school, but instead of his reports getting better all the time, they had been getting worse, and it looked as though he was likely to fail his grade at the end of the year. His father thought it was because he was too fond of playing ball and reading stories, so told him that if he did not improve the next month, something would have to be done about it. At the end of the month his marks were poorer than ever, and his teacher remarked that he was not applying himself to his work. About how severely do you think his father should deal with him?

1. He should do nothing.
2. Scold him and warn him that he will be punished if he fails to show improvement next month.
3. Allow no more reading or playing until he shows a good report on a month's work.
4. Tell the teacher not to bother with him, and let him repeat his grade next year.
5. Take him out of school and put him at heavy work.

II. Harry's father wrote to the teacher and told him that his son had nothing but his school work to do at home and that he was anxious that he should pass his grade at the end of the year. The teacher warned Harry that he would do something drastic if he did not show improvement the following month. The teacher did all he could to help him, but Harry did not like school work, and failed badly at the end of the month. How severely do you think the teacher should deal with him?

1. Make him correct all his work before leaving after 4.
2. Let him go his way and fail at the end of the year.
3. Order him to have his work done before returning to school.
4. Do nothing about it.
5. Make him feel ashamed of wasting his opportunities and give him one more chance.

III. The teacher told Harry that he really thought he could have passed and made good marks if he had been more careful in writing his exams, and had not made so many simple mistakes in Spelling and Composition and in arithmetic. He had spoken to him about the matter often before, and that very day, when he sent him to put a mathematical problem on the board, Harry copied it down incorrectly from his book. How severely do you think he deserves to be dealt with for not taking more pains with his work?

(1) Require him to write the motto "Be Careful" at the top of each new page in his scribbler.

(2) Send him out in the hall until he gets his exercise done correctly.

(3) Nothing should be done about it.

(4) He should be allowed to fail, even if he does know his work, if he is too careless to put it down correctly.

(5) He should not be allowed to play ball or read stories until his work is satisfactory.

IV. Harry had a very close friend of his own age called Dick, but his father did not think Dick was the kind of boy his son should chum with. In spite of the fact that Harry knew how his Father felt, he and Dick became more and more friendly, and at last his father told him definitely he must have no more to do with Dick as a chum. The very next day Harry's father met them walking arm in arm on the street. About how severely do you think he deserves to be treated?

(1) He should be confined to his room on Saturday.

(2) He should be given his choice of either giving up Dick or leaving his home.

(3) He should be given a sound thrashing.

(4) Nothing should be done to him.

(5) His father should explain to him that as long as he accepts his living from home, Harry owes him certain duties and obedience.

V. One day Harry and Dick wanted to go to a picnic, but their teacher was taking up an important lesson that day and their parents said they must go to school. They started out for school in the morning, but on the road decided to play truant and go to the picnic. How severely should their fathers deal with them when they find out?

- (1) have them work hard and get up the work they missed at school.
- (2) They should do nothing to the boys.
- (3) Take no further responsibility for their education and let them grow up in ignorance.
- (4) Send them to a training school for awhile.
- (5) Point out to them the consequences of neglecting duty for pleasure.

VI. Suppose their fathers did not find out, but their teacher learned that they had played truant. What should the teacher do?

- (1) Let them miss that work and get behind, even if it means failing and having to repeat the grade.
- (2) Send them home on Friday afternoon when there is a party at the school.
- (3) He should not let on he knew anything about it.
- (4) Point out the error of their ways to the boys.
- (5) Suspend them from school for a time.

VII. If the teacher, instead of dealing with the case himself, reported the boys to the truant officer, how severely should they be dealt with?

- (1) The truant officer should scold the boys and warn them.
- (2) No attempt should be made to see that the boys get the work they missed, and they should just be allowed to get behind and repeat the work next year.
- (3) The boys should be suspended from school for the rest of the term.
- (4) The truant officer should cause them to stay home from the school Field Day the next Friday, by requiring them to report to him that day.
- (5) Nothing should be done about it.

VIII. This picnic was about ten miles from home, and in order to get there the boys took Dick's father's car, without asking permission, of course. How severely should Dick's father deal with him?

1. Do nothing about it at all.
2. Show him that there is no difference in principle between taking his father's car and anyone else's.
3. Cancel the special trip planned for the next holiday.
4. Report the car stolen and refuse to interfere with the course of the law.
5. Shut him up in his room over the weekend.

IX. It is against the law for a boy to drive a car before he is sixteen, and Dick is not yet that old. At the picnic a policeman investigates. How severely should Dick be dealt with for driving while under age?

1. The policeman should warn the boy that if he catches him driving a car again, he will take him before a magistrate.
2. He should be sent to a reform school for a short time.
3. The policeman should take the car keys and make the boys walk home and get Dick's father to come for the car.
4. No notice should be taken of the matter.
5. The magistrate should order the car locked up for a time.

X. There is not enough gas in the car to get home with, and the boys have no money, so when it gets dusk, Harry goes to a car which is parked behind a clump of bushes and takes a pail of gas out of the tank. Just when he has the can full a policeman catches him at it. How severely should Harry be dealt with for taking the gas?

1. He should be sent to a reform school for awhile.
  2. The policeman should see that no one gives or lends him any gas or money, so he will have to walk home.
  3. He should be required to fill up the tank he was robbing and pay for it out of next month's spending money.
  4. The policeman should order him to put the gas back and warn him.
- Nothing should be done.

XI. After all this trouble was over, everything went along smoothly for awhile, until Dick and Harry decided one day to put a tack on the teacher's chair. When the teacher sat on it, all the pupils thought it was a good joke. If the teacher found out that it was Dick who actually put it there, how severely should he deal with him?

1. Have him apologize in class.
2. Take the joke and tell the pupils that since Dick has broken the law, there is now no law to protect him and they can do anything they like to him for the rest of the day.
3. The teacher should never let on anything happened.
4. Dick should be suspended from school for a time.
5. He should be shown the childishness of his act.

XII. Suppose the teacher decided that Dick had been giving him too much trouble, and was disturbing the discipline of the school, so suspended him and reported him to a higher authority. How severely should that authority deal with him?

1. Just let him go back to school as usual.
2. Make clear to him that he must show proper respect for his teacher.
3. Require that he apologize to the teacher.
4. Refuse him permission to attend school for the rest of the year.
5. Instruct the teacher to strap him for what he did to him.

XIII. Dick's father promised to see that his son behaved himself, so he was allowed to go back to school as though nothing had happened. The next day Dick absolutely refused to go to school. How severely should his father treat him?

1. Put him at harder and longer work than school and let him go through life without the benefit of further education.
2. Put him out of the family until he is ready to obey.
3. Just leave him alone and let him get over it.
4. Show him how foolish he is in denying himself an education.
5. Give him nothing to eat until he returns to school.

XIV. After Dick's father had done his best to make him behave himself, he told his teacher to use any means he wished in handling him, and he would back him up. Shortly after that, just to show the teacher he was not afraid of him, Dick put another tack on his chair. How severely should the teacher deal with him this time?

1. Do not allow him to sit in his own seat, but have him stand up to do his work for a day or two.
2. Take the joke, and tell the pupils that since Dick had broken the law, there was now no law to protect him, and they could do anything they liked to him for the rest of the day.
3. Suspend him from school for awhile.
4. Let it pass as though nothing had happened.
5. Show Dick how mean and childish he had acted.

XV. If the teacher again suspended Dick from school and reported him to higher school authorities, how severely should they deal with him this time?

1. Instruct the teacher to strap him for what he had done to him.
2. They should do nothing about it.
3. Require that he apologize to the teacher.
4. Refuse him permission to attend school for the rest of the year.
5. Make clear to him that he must show proper respect for his teacher.

XVI. One day when Harry was over at Dick's place, Dick accused him of suggesting the idea of the tack and so causing all the trouble. Harry denied it, and they quarreled and then started to fight. Dick's father came along and saw that Harry had a black eye and a bloody nose. How severely should he deal with Dick for quarreling and fighting with Harry?

1. He should not interfere at all.
2. Have him apologize to Harry and shake hands with him.
3. Tell Dick what a coward he is.
4. Keep him at home after school hours for a few weeks.
5. Just let him lose his friends and some day he will be beaten up.

XVII. The next day at school the two boys started to fight again, and Dick had Harry down and was kicking him when the teacher came along. How should the teacher deal with Dick when he found out it was he who started the fight?

1. He should strap him.
2. Suspend him from school for awhile.
3. Tell the rest of the boys that he would take a walk while they saw that Dick got what he deserved.
4. Tell Dick what a cowardly cad he is.
5. He should not interfere at all.

XVIII. Dick made up his mind that he would sometime finish the beating which he had started twice now to give Harry, and had been stopped, once by his father, and again by his teacher. One day when he saw Harry starting off down a lonely road, he followed him, and beat him up so badly that Harry had to go to the doctor. Harry's father reported Dick to the police. How severely should the legal authorities deal with him?

1. He should be sent to a reform school for awhile.
2. He should be required to pay Harry's doctor bill.
3. They should not pay any attention to the case.
4. The magistrate should order Dick to be whipped.
5. The police should talk to him and warn him that he will be arrested for assault and battery if such a thing occurs again.

Part Two

XIX. One evening one of your friends was going to a movie show and you wanted to go too. You knew you should stay home and study because you were having an examination the next day and you had not been making as good marks as you should have. You asked your father about it and he told you that he would rather you would stay home and that he would be very disappointed if you failed on your exam next day. You went to the show and failed the exam. About how severely should your father deal with you?

1. Allow you no more movie shows until you show a good report on a month's work.
2. Tell the teacher not to bother with you and let you repeat the work next year.
3. Take you out of school and put you at heavy work.
4. Scold you and warn you that you will be punished if you fail to show improvement next month.
5. He should do nothing about the matter.

XX. Suppose that your examination was not until afternoon, and you had all forenoon to prepare for it at school. You hurried away for school in the morning and forgot to take your books with you, and that was the second time that week that you had done that same thing. About how severely do you think your teacher should deal with you to make you remember your books?

1. Require you to write the motto "Be careful" at the top of each new page in your scribbler.
2. Do nothing about it at all.
3. Let you fail even if you do know your work, if you are too careless to put it down correctly.
4. Send you out in the hall until you get your exercise done neatly and correctly.
5. Not let you play ball or read stories at recesses until your work is satisfactory.



XXI. Your teacher loaned you a book and told you what passages to study for your exam, and then caught you reading another book which you thought more interesting. You wrote your exam after dinner and failed. What should your teacher do to make you apply yourself in school?

1. Make you feel ashamed of wasting your opportunities and give you one more chance.
2. Send you home with orders to have your work in shape before returning.
3. The teacher should just overlook the matter.
4. Make you correct all your work before leaving after 4.
5. Let you go your own way and let you fail at the end of the year.

XXII. Suppose now that when you asked your father about going to the movie show, he told you he did not mind you going by yourself or with your brother, but because he did not like your friend, he strictly forbade you going with him. In spite of your father's warning, you went with the other boy. How severely do you deserve to be dealt with?

1. Your father should confine you to your room on Saturday.
2. Give you your choice of your home or your friend.
3. You should have a sound thrashing.
4. Your father should point out that as long as you are staying at home, you owe him certain duties and obedience.
5. Your father should not say or do anything to you.

XXIII. The show you wanted to go to was quite a distance away, so you took your father's car without his knowing it, and parked it in front of a theatre, which is against the law. When the policeman found it there he hunted you up and asked you for your licence. About how severely should the authorities deal with you when they find out you have not got one?

(Next page)

XXIII(Cont'd.) 1.They should make no fuss about it at all.

2.The policeman should warn you that if he catches you driving again without a licence he will arrest you.

3.The magistrate should order the car locked up for a couple of weeks.

4.The policeman should take the car keys and make you walk home and get your father to come for the car.

5.You should be sent to a reform school for awhile.

XXIV. About how severely should your father deal with you when he finds out you took the car without asking him?

1.He should cancel the special trip planned for the next holiday.

2.He should not say or do anything to you.

3.He should show you that there is not much real difference in principle between taking your father's car and anyone else's.

4.Report the car stolen and refuse to interfere with the law.

5.Shut you in your room over the week-end.

XXV. When you got to the theatre you discovered that neither you nor your friend had any money to buy tickets.While you were standing at the wicket a man came up and gave the girl who was selling the tickets a five-dollar bill.She pushed out two tickets, and while the man was counting his change you slipped them into your pocket.Neither the man nor the girl saw you do it, but there was a detective in plain clothes watching you.About what treatment do you think you deserve?

1.The detective should make you understand that if you are ever caught stealing again, you will be taken to court.

2.You should be required to buy the man two tickets for next week's show out of your own spending money.

3.The detective should see that you go home without seeing the show.

4.You should be sent to a reform school for awhile.

5.You don't deserve to have anything done to you.

XXVI. Now forget all about taking the car and the tickets, and just remember that you went to the show when you should have stayed home and studied for exams. The next morning you realized that you would not be able to pass your exams, so you and your friend decided to spend the day at the river. How severely should your father deal with you when he finds out you did not go to school?

1. Have you catch up your school work in spare time.
2. Point out the consequences of neglecting duty for pleasure.
3. Send you to a training school for awhile.
4. He should do nothing about it.
5. Take no further responsibility for your education, and let you grow up in ignorance.

XXVII. If your father does not find out, but your teacher, in enquiring as to why you missed your exams, learns all about it next day, how severely should the teacher deal with you?

1. He should suspend you from school for awhile.
2. Send you home on Friday afternoon when there is a party at school.
3. He should do nothing about it.
4. Let you miss that work and get behind, even if it means having to repeat your grade.
5. Point out the error of your ways and warn you not to do it again.

XXVIII. Suppose that while you were at the river the truant officer came along and caught you. How should you be dealt with?

1. No attempt should be made to see that you get the work you missed, but you should just be allowed to get behind and repeat that subject next year.
2. The truant officer should scold you and send you back to school.
3. You should be suspended from school for the rest of the term.
4. You should be required to stay home from the school Field Day on Friday and report to the truant officer.
5. The truant officer should not say or do anything to you.

XXIX. A couple of weeks after all this trouble, you found a large piece of elastic, from which you made a fine big catapult. You took it to school, and one time when the teacher's back was turned, you put a bean in it and hit him on the back of the head. How severely do you feel the teacher should deal with you?

1. He should not notice the incident at all.
2. You should be required to apologize in class.
3. The teacher should take the joke and tell the pupils that since you had broken the law, there was now no law to protect you, and that they could do anything they wished to you for the rest of the day.
4. You should be suspended for awhile from school.
5. The teacher should explain to you how mean and childish you were.

XXX. Suppose that your teacher handed your case over to a higher authority. How severely do you think you should be dealt with?

1. They should make clear to you that you must show proper respect for your teacher.
2. They should find out whether any of the other boys are in the habit of misbehaving in class, and if so, should not treat you any worse than the others.
3. You should be refused permission to attend school for the rest of the year.
4. Nothing should be done about it.
5. The teacher should be instructed to strap you for what you did to him.

XXXI. When your father heard that you had taken the catapult to school, he told you quite definitely that you must never do it again. The next day he saw you coming home with it. How severely should he deal with you?

1. Explain to you that you might hurt someone some day and be sorry for it all your life.
2. He should never let on he saw you with it.
3. Give you nothing to eat for a day or two.
4. Put you out of the family until you are ready to obey him.
5. Put you at harder and longer work than school, and let you go through life without the benefits of any more schooling.

XXXII. One other day shortly after all this happened, although your teacher also had warned you not to bring the catapult to school, you shot a stone at him as he was sitting at his desk. How severeav should he deal with you this time?

1. He should take the joke and tell the rest of the pupils that since you had broken the law there was now no law to protect you, and they could do anything they liked to you for the rest of the day.
2. He should not allow you to sit in your own seat, but have you stand up to do your work for the rest of the day.
3. Suspend you from school for awhile.
4. He should ignore the incident entirely.
5. Show you how mean and childish you had acted.

XXXIII. Suppose your teacher again referred your case to a higher authority. Ho would you say they should deal with you this time?

1. They should refuse you permission to attend school for the rest of the term .
2. They should let the incident pass without making any fuss about it.
3. They should try to discover what was the matter with the teacher that you should have such disrespect for him.
4. Make clear to you that you must show proper respect for your teacher.
5. You should be required to apologize to the teacher.

XXXIV. All this time your chum had been bringing a catapult to school, but had not been caught with it. He came over to your home the next Saturday after you had got into trouble, and began teasing you about being afraid to take yours back to school. You started to quarrel, and finally began fighting, and you hit him over the face with your catapult. Just then your father came along and caught you fighting. What should he do?

(Next page)

XXXIV (Cont'd.) 1. Just let you fight it out and not interfere.  
2. Tell you how cowardly you are.  
3. Have you apologize to your chum and shake hands.  
4. Just let you lose your friends and get the name of being a fighter, and some day you will be beaten up yourself.  
5. Make it impossible for this to occur again by keeping you in your own yard for awhile when you are not at school.

XXXV. You did not consider that you were even with your chum yet, so the next day you were at school you started at him again and blackened both his eyes. The teacher came along and caught you fighting. How severely should he deal with you?

1. He should give you the strap.  
2. Suspend you from school.  
3. Tell the rest of the boys that he would take a walk while they saw that you got what you deserved.  
4. Tell you what a cowardly cad you are.  
5. He should not interfere at all, but just let you fight it out.

XXXVI. When you had failed both at home and at school to make the other boy take back what he had said about you being a coward, you did not give in, but decided to get even with him yet. One day you waited for him behind a clump of bushes, and when he was going past, shot at him with your catapult and hit him on the head with a stone. He was cut above the eye and knocked unconscious. A policeman saw him fall and caught you with the catapult. How severely do you think the law should deal with you?

1. You should be sent to a reform school for awhile.  
2. The policeman should enquire into the cause of the trouble and make the other boy take his share of the blame.  
3. The magistrate should order you to be whipped.  
4. The policeman should talk to you and warn you that you will be arrested for assault and battery if such a thing occurs again.  
5. Nothing should be done at all

Additional Questions

I. Do you feel that you have ever been too severely punished for anything you ever did?

If so, by whom were you punished, and what was the effect on you?

III. Suppose you and another boy were caught stealing apples from another fellow's lunch kit. Should you both get the same punishment:

- a. If the other boy took both apples and gave you one?
- b. If you were older than the other boy?
- c. If the other boy was hungry and you were not?

Appendix III

Correspondence concerning the investigation of the effects  
a feeling of having suffered injustice may have on the mental  
health of adolescents

Rathwell, Man.,

May 21, 1934.

The Superintendent,  
Mental Hospital,  
----- Man.

Dear Sir,

I am a graduate student of Education here in Manitoba,  
and am studying the question of "The Adolescent Boy's Conception  
of Justice" with a view to writing a thesis on that subject.

By way of introduction to the subject, I thought it  
might be useful to arrive at some estimate of the extent to  
which a feeling of having suffered injustice (whether real or  
imaginary-- i.e. real to the subject) affects the mental health  
of adolescents, especially boys.

If you could give me any information on this subject,  
either statistics or case histories, or if you could refer me to  
some literature on the subject, I would appreciate it very much.

Yours truly,

(Signed) Wesley S. McGill



Brandon Hospital for Mental Diseases

Brandon, Manitoba.

June 1, 1934.

Mr. Wesley S. McGill,  
Rathwell, Manitoba.

Dear Sir:

I have been thinking over your letter of May 21st regarding the problem of the adolescent boy's conception of justice. We have no statistics such as you refer to. You will no doubt realize that the extent to which the feeling of having suffered real injustice affects the mental health would be very vague when so many other factors are involved in causation, whereas if it is an imaginary injustice, then the adolescent is already in the throes of a somewhat advanced mental condition. There is a book by Healy entitled "The Individual Delinquent" which might give you something of this nature. It is at present out of our library, having been loaned recently to a neighboring doctor.

I would suggest that you might communicate with the Mental Health Institute, 531 Pine Ave. West, Montreal. This Institute maintains a lending library of books on mental hygiene, child training, education, and many allied topics. The privilege of taking books out is free to study group members, and to others on payment of a nominal secretarial fee of one dollar. This Institute also publishes a monthly bulletin which is very valuable, and they might be able to direct you to some suitable reading, as they advertise as the objectives of their organization the providing of facilities for research in the field of mental hygiene, and educational service and a clinical service.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) T.A. Pincock

Medical Superintendent.

Hospital for Mental Diseases  
Selkirk, Manitoba

June 1, 1934.

Mr. Wesley S. McGill,  
Rathwell, Manitoba.

Dear Mr. McGill:

I have your letter of May 21st re "The Adolescent Boy's Conception of Justice". I am afraid that I cannot be of much help in assisting you to evaluate the degree to which injustice may affect the adolescent boy.

My experience has been entirely confined to mental hospitals, to which are admitted individuals suffering from a more or less fully developed psychosis with the primary etiological factors so submerged or rendered confused and indefinite by the emotional and sensory experiences, together with the elaboration of delusional ideas, that their place in the causation of the upset is very difficult to determine.

If a sense of injustice finds a place in the determination of a psychosis, I would be inclined to the opinion that it does not suffice of itself alone to produce the reaction, but is only one of a group of factors, and possibly the least potent of the group. This opinion applies to adolescents. In adults of more mature years a sense of injustice very frequently provides a basis upon which a deep-seated systematized delusional scheme is erected and possibly adhered to through the years that follow.

I cannot recall, offhand, any literature to which I could refer you on this special subject. I think that the Juvenile Court judge and the social workers associated with him might be able to give you some very valuable information. Not infrequently adolescent delinquents become such as a result of fancied injustice in the home or on the part of the authorities.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) E.C. Barnes,

Medical Superintendent;

Rathwell, Man.,

June 4, 1934.

The Mental Health Institute,  
531 Pine Ave. West,  
Montreal, Quebec.

Dear Sirs,

I am studying the question of the Adolescent Boy's Conception of Justice, with the intention of writing a thesis along that line for the degree of Master of Arts in Education.

As an introduction to the subject, I thought it might be useful to make some investigation of the extent to which a sense of having suffered injustice may cause a youth to brood over his wrongs, and probably develop such unsocial attitudes as may lead to delinquency or even mental disorder. Personal experiences and observations lead me to suspect that such feelings of resentment do prey upon mental health and character, but I have not been able to find any literature on the subject. Dr. Pincock of Brandon Mental Hospital has referred me to you, and I would be very glad if you could give me any information or refer me to any literature which might bear on the subject.

Yours truly,

(signed) Wesley S. McGill

Mental Hygiene Institute  
531 Pine Avenue West

Montreal

July 10, 1934.

Mr. Wesley S. McGill,  
Rathwell, Man.

Dear Mr. McGill,

In reply to your letter of June 4th with reference to your study plan. I do not know that we have any clinical material which could be analysed to throw any considerable light on the problem which you have selected, namely the felt injustices of the adolescent and the effects of these feelings on the subsequent behaviour of the individual. We have a good deal of literature in the library dealing with studies of adolescents and I am glad to enclose a selected bibliography. I am wondering, in connection with your plan, whether or not you are going to have access to any considerable number of adolescent individuals for study and how you are going to approach the problem.

If I can help you further in connection with your studying, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) W.T.B. Mitchell,

Director.