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Education for Character

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FOREWORD

IN 1932 the National Education Association published thru its Departments of Superintendence and Classroom Teachers two important yearbooks relating to character training. This bulletin and the one to follow make a further contribution to this field by presenting in relatively brief compass some of the essential features of character building in the present day.

When the social and economic conditions which surround and in large measure control our lives are shifting and changing, it is essential to reappraise the work of the public schools from the viewpoint of character development. Following such reappraisal, educators must endeavor to improve the school program in the light of all available facts.

But character education is not merely the work of the school; the home and the community have large influences, good or bad, upon the developing character of boys and girls. The schools must not shirk their responsibility in this field, but those who criticize the schools for failure to develop the highest type of citizen should inquire to what extent the constructive work of the school is being torn down by destructive forces in the community. Recognition should be given also to character-building agencies and influences outside the school. Our profession may well give attention to all those phases of our contemporary life which tend either to supplement or counteract the wholesome influences of classroom and teacher.

This bulletin presents evidence concerning a variety of personal and social factors which are involved in character development. It also reviews some of the psychological processes and principles upon which any program of character education should be based. These basic considerations will be followed, in the bulletin for May 1934, by a constructive discussion of character building in the school. Both of these bulletins should be useful to all who are actively interested in improving education for character.

Character building is not a new undertaking. It has occupied an important place in the affairs of men since the beginning of human history. It is, however, a problem which must be met by each new generation in the light of the conditions which confront it.

J. W. CRABTREE, *Secretary,*
National Education Association

I. A New Interest in an Old Problem

The American public school has always been concerned with the moral character of its pupils. Our earliest colonial schools, reflecting the educational philosophy of the Protestant Reformation, were established to enable the common people to read the Bible. Since those early days there have been significant changes in our modes of living. We have recognized new aims and discovered better methods of character training. But the ideal of worthy character as a fundamental objective of education has been with us from the beginning. In fact, our whole system of public schools has been developed, financed, and defended primarily on the ground that the intelligence and character of the common people constitute the only permanent basis for good government and social welfare.

Since the World War, and especially since the onset of the present economic depression, there has been a renewal of interest among thoughtful people in the development of good personal character. There is a rising tide of resentment against low ideals and corrupt practices in government, banking, and industry, and an increasing demand that these enterprises be made to serve the welfare of the many rather than the selfish interests of a few. Under courageous leadership some improvement is being achieved thru greater governmental control of our social and economic life. Fundamental progress, however, can come only with a general improvement in the moral character of individuals. And since the attitudes and behavior of adults are less readily modified than those of children, our principal hope for the future lies in guiding the oncoming generation to a greater appreciation of enduring human values and of its responsibility for making the world a better place in which to live.

The task of improving the social order requires a program of education for character. But what kind of program is needed? How is

character formed and what are the forces which mold it? What influence does the school exert? What is the school's relation to other factors in character development? How may the school's program of education for character be improved? These are crucial questions which need to be studied by school people and laymen alike.

To encourage the study of such questions, two departments of the National Education Association published yearbooks on character education in 1932.¹ Since those volumes appeared, widespread interest in the subject has revealed a need for a relatively brief presentation of useful principles and procedures. The Research Division, therefore, has assembled pertinent research findings, competent opinions, and facts concerning current school practise in this field. These materials bear upon three major aspects of the problem of character building: (1) the economic and social changes which have been occurring with increasing rapidity, and which require a broader type of moral training than our forefathers knew; (2) the nature of character and the factors involved in its formation; and (3) progress in the theory and practise of education for character in the schools. The first two of these topics are reviewed in this bulletin. The third topic will be treated in the forthcoming issue for May 1934.

Both of these bulletins, it is hoped, will be useful to all who are actively interested in improving education for character, whether inside or outside the school. The present bulletin contains information essential to an understanding of the social and psychological aspects of personality development. The next issue will provide a basis for evaluating and improving the character-building program of the school. The two bulletins are complementary, and each will be more valuable if used in conjunction with the other.

¹ National Education Association, Department of Classroom Teachers. *The Classroom Teacher and Character Education*. Seventh Yearbook. Washington, D. C.: the Association, 1932. 272 p. National Education Association, Department of Superintendence. *Character Education*. Tenth Yearbook. Washington, D. C.: the Association, 1932. 535 p.

II. Character Building in a New Social Setting

If education is to be made more effective in the development of desirable character, attention must be given to the significant social and economic changes which characterize present-day life. These changes have not only reemphasized the need for sound character training; they have also created a myriad of new situations in which character must function. This section of the bulletin discusses briefly certain important features of modern civilization with special reference to the school's responsibility in character building.

The new industrial order—Mankind in general has passed thru two major phases of economic evolution. In the first of these man lived by hunting, fishing, and trapping. In the second he earned his livelihood largely by means of agriculture, animal breeding, and handicrafts. While one or the other of these modes of life still predominates in certain parts of the world, man in general is now definitely shifting to a third civilization which is primarily industrial. He is learning to utilize the findings of science in the satisfaction of his wants, especially thru the development of machinery. The old agrarian order, in the United States at least, has practically disappeared. Altho large numbers of people still live on farms or in small towns, they are no longer relatively isolated and self-sufficient as they were a generation or two ago. Their welfare and happiness now depend to an unprecedented degree upon the policies and activities of people in other communities, other states, and even other nations.

In discussing this new social order, the Tenth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence emphasizes three outstanding characteristics which have important implications for character education, namely, *change, integration, and power*.¹

Social change—Not only has there been a change from an agricultural to an industrial

civilization, but changes within the industrial order itself are occurring with increasing rapidity. The methods of science are constantly revealing new facts, and a single new fact often opens up a whole field for further research and experimentation. Having discovered the principle of change and a plausible ground upon which it may be defended, men are less inclined to be satisfied with the status quo. This spirit is not confined to the physical sciences. It is permeating the realms of commerce, government, philosophy, religion, and education. Where the end lies, no one can foresee. The possibilities of change seem infinite. In regard to their bearing upon education, the President's Research Committee on Social Trends expresses the following judgment:

The changes in industrial, economic and social conditions which have taken place in recent years create a demand for a kind of education radically different from that which was regarded as adequate in earlier periods when the social order was comparatively static. Members of a changing society must be prepared to readjust their ideas and their habits of life. They not only must be possessed of certain types of knowledge and skill which were common at the time when they went to school, but they must be trained in such a way as to make them adaptable to new conditions.²

Emphasis upon changing conditions does not imply that traditional standards of conduct have no enduring value. Honesty, wisely defined, is still the best policy, and mutual helpfulness will probably always make life happier and more successful. New conditions do not markedly change the fundamental principles of human living. They do, however, make it more difficult to apply these principles in specific situations, and this difficulty often leads to a temporary abandonment of the principles themselves. The contrast in this respect between a complex and changing society on the one hand, and a simple and static society on the other, is

¹ National Education Association, Department of Superintendence. *Character Education*. Tenth Yearbook. Washington, D. C.: the Association, 1932. p. 10-16.

For more comprehensive and detailed discussions of the changing social order, see such references as the following: Chase, Stuart. *Men and Machines*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929. 354 p. Jaspers, Karl. *Man in the Modern Age*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1933. 243 p. Overstreet, H. A. *We Move in New Directions*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1933. 284 p. President's Research Committee, Wesley C. Mitchell, chairman. *Recent Social Trends in the United States*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933. 2 vols. 1568 p.

² President's Research Committee, Wesley C. Mitchell, chairman. *Recent Social Trends in the United States*. Vol. 1. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933. p. XLVIII.

well stated in the committee report referred to above:

In a stationary and simple society such as is often found among primitive peoples the conditions of life are much the same from generation to generation. A father knows about what the conditions of life will be for his son and his son's son. Rules of conduct can be worked out in great detail. They become tested by experience and can be applied minutely to specific situations. The authority of the past is mighty. There is majesty in the law.

In a changing heterogeneous society such as ours, many situations are new. Specific detailed rules of guidance based on the past are difficult to apply. Rules are worked out but they are abstract and tend to be too general for detailed guidance. The authority of the past tends to fade.³

A major task of education is to correct the mistaken idea that basic ethical principles are no longer useful. Education must aid the individual in rediscovering and accepting these principles. It must guide him in applying them wisely to new and changing problems. Above all, it must inspire him to utilize these principles in directing social change itself for the greater welfare of society.

Social integration—The second important feature of industrial civilization is the relatively close integration of human life everywhere. Efficient production of goods and services requires increased specialization in every field. This specialization in turn necessitates a high degree of cooperation for the exchange and distribution of products. While specialization has created a new interdependence, the necessary cooperation has been made possible by an astonishing development in means of transportation and communication. For example, miles of railroad in the United States increased from 4000 in 1842, to 260,440 in 1930. From 1895 to 1930 the number of telephones in use increased from only 339,500 to 20,201,000. In 1899 there were fewer than 4000 motor vehicles of all kinds, while in 1929 more than 26,500,000 automobiles were in operation.⁴ These factors, together with the improvement of roads and development of the

steamship, airplane, telegraph, motion picture, and radio, have greatly facilitated the movement of commodities, ideas, and people from place to place.

Our new interdependence and freedom of movement call for broader loyalties and more cooperative outlooks in both politics and economics. The need for increasing emphasis upon large group consciousness is concisely stated by Kilpatrick:

As men and their affairs become more and more interrelated, each individual with other individuals, one group with other groups, one nation with other nations, there is a corresponding demand for an outlook adequate to take care of this far-flung and growing connectedness. Nothing less than world-mindedness will suffice—the ability to see social problems on the scale on which they exist.⁵

The importance of cooperative relationships among individuals is further stressed in the Tenth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence:

Individualistic and competitive impulses must be subordinated increasingly to social and cooperative tendencies. In the day of the pioneer, because of the directness of the struggle with nature, the simplicity of economic enterprise, and the prevailing condition of personal or family independence, a rugged individualism was socially defensible. But that day is gone. In industrial society practically all tasks are cooperative in character; interdependence rather than independence is the rule of life; and the road to power leads through the organization of men as well as the conquest of the resources of nature.⁶

Power—A third source of concern for education is the tremendous power which has enabled man to transform his environment. His power over nature, over life and death, and over the human mind must be controlled wisely if society is to benefit rather than suffer therefrom. To illustrate, we now have, for practically the first time in history, the knowledge and the physical power for producing more goods and services than are needed; yet the present worldwide depression painfully attests our previous inability and unwillingness

³ President's Research Committee, *op. cit.*, p. L.

⁴ U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1932*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1932. p. 367, 338, 358.

⁵ Kilpatrick, William H. *Education for a Changing Civilization*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1926. p. 71.

⁶ National Education Association, Department of Superintendence. Tenth Yearbook, p. 13.

to control production and distribution in the interests of all the people.

Mastery of nature has given man such power over life and death that he is capable of destroying himself as a race. Recent progress in the application of chemistry to warfare will, we are told, make the last war seem like a mild Fourth-of-July celebration in contrast to the next. Such a menace calls for a kind of social education which is all too uncommon in our schools.

Power over matter is no more significant than power over the human mind. The press, the movies, and the radio now make it possible to plant ideas and instill beliefs in millions of people within a very short time. Are these agencies of education (and of propaganda) wisely controlled? Do they promote the best interests of the people as a whole? No unbiased observer can fail to agree with the following appraisal of the situation:

In every society there are powerful minority groups struggling for the control of these instruments and bent on conserving or grasping special privileges of all kinds. The end sought may be the protection of a particular property interest, the selling of a certain brand of toilet soap, or the provoking of a war with a neighboring people. If the welfare of the many is to be safeguarded in this welter of forces, the ordinary citizen must be trained to be

skeptical of all that he reads and hears. He must be taught to weigh evidence and to arrive at truth when a large part of the evidence is false.⁷

Responsibility of the school—Under the conditions outlined above, the older forms of social education and control are becoming seriously weakened. Our population is increasingly concentrated in cities, where crowded conditions, excessive stimuli, and weak community morale often tend to encourage unwholesome and anti-social behavior. Adults are turning from agricultural pursuits to industry in increasing numbers, but industry no longer has much place for children. The family has practically ceased to function as a unit for economic production, and children consequently have relatively few activities or responsibilities in the home. These facts place increased responsibility for moral education upon the school.

The foregoing statement does not imply that in a complex machine civilization the school is the *only* suitable agency for character education. It certainly is not the only agency, and it may not be the most important. Nevertheless, one cannot escape the conclusion that if mankind is to progress toward permanent peace and more constructive social living, every effort must be made to increase the social effectiveness of the school.⁸

⁷ National Education Association, Department of Superintendence. Tenth Yearbook, p. 15.

⁸ For further discussion of the school's increased responsibility for moral and social education, see: Barnes, Harry Elmer. "Education for Social Progress." *Journal of Adult Education* 4: 373-77; October, 1932. Briggs, Thomas H. "The Changing World and the Curriculum." *Teachers College Record* 35: 33-55; October, 1933. Counts, George S. *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* John Day Pamphlets, No. 11. New York: John Day Co., 1932. 56 p. Johnston, J. B. "Education Geared to a Changing World." *School and Society* 38: 193-202; August 12, 1933. Kilpatrick, William H., and others. *The Educational Frontier*. New York: Century Co., 1933. 325 p. National Education Association. *The Social-Economic Goals of America*. Washington, D. C.: the Association, 1933. 22 p.

GENERAL and public repudiation of the doctrine of *laissez faire* in behalf of the principle and practise of general social control is necessary. Education has a responsibility for training individuals to share in this social control instead of merely equipping them with ability to make their private way in isolation and competition. The ability and the desire to think collectively, to engage in social planning conceived and conducted experimentally for the good of all, is a requirement of good citizenship under existing conditions. Educators can ignore it only at the risk of evasion and futility.—Kilpatrick, William H., and others. *The Educational Frontier*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933. p. 69.

III. The Nature and Formation of Character

General Definitions of Personality and Character

"Personality" may be defined as the composite of the individual's tendencies to behavior, including mental as well as physical activity. Psychologists differ somewhat in their views concerning the relative significance of conscious and unconscious processes in the development and manifestation of personality, but they generally agree in the use of this term to designate the individual's whole self. This is a psychological definition, and as such it is not concerned with moral or ethical standards. "Character," on the other hand, usually implies the evaluation of behavior tendencies with reference to standards of right and wrong.

There are two ways of defining character in relation to the total personality of the individual. The first of these limits the field of character to certain areas of personality, or certain behavior tendencies, which seem to be especially significant for human living. For example, tendencies to honest or dishonest behavior may be considered a part of character, while tendencies to do work accurately or inaccurately may be omitted because they are not thought to be sufficiently crucial with respect to the mores of society.¹ The proponents of this point of view believe that the problems of building desirable character are sufficiently distinct and important to warrant their separation in our thinking from the numerous other problems of personality development.

The second point of view extends the meaning of character to include practically the entire area of personality. Its advocates contend that any narrower definition is unwise in approaching the task of improving human conduct. They believe that altho some kinds of behavior may in general be more crucial than others, there are probably few if any activities which are not of considerable significance under certain conditions. The significance of any act is said to depend largely upon the nature of the particular situation to which the act is a response. If the situation is crucial, the

individual's response will be highly significant, whether it consists of adding a column of figures incorrectly or robbing a bank.

The content of this bulletin and the one to follow is based upon the broader conception of character. This involves no real conflict with the more restricted definition. From the latter point of view the bulletins simply cover more territory than is usually implied in the term "character." We are here concerned with the development of the whole personality with reference to suitable standards.² The major emphasis, however, is upon those aspects of personality which have thus far been most neglected, both inside and outside the schools. There is a corresponding lack of emphasis upon the learning of routine skills and factual subjectmatter, because these have already received a major share of attention in school practise and in educational literature.

Character revealed by inner experience and by conduct—In evaluating an individual's character, many people attach more importance to his purposes and ideals than to his actions. A man may make mistakes, but if his intentions are good he is often forgiven. Within certain limits this viewpoint is justified by experience. Conduct cannot be interpreted satisfactorily without reference to the experiences and motives which underlie it. The crucial facts regarding a child's personality may often be obscured by his overt behavior. Serious errors are likely to be made by persons who attempt to treat a child's misconduct in the light of their own experiences and attitudes alone.³ On the other hand, many psychologists question the validity of an individual's own statement of his motives as the chief cue to his character. They point out that introspective reports are subject to bias, and that the individual is unlikely to be aware of all significant aspects of his personality. These workers believe that it is impossible to determine what a person *is* without studying carefully what he *does*.

Character, therefore, cannot be satisfactorily described either in terms of a person's inner

¹ Charters, W. W. *The Teaching of Ideals*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. p. 41.

² The question of specific standards of conduct and aims of character building will be discussed in the next issue of the *Research Bulletin*, May, 1934.

³ Johnson, Buford J. *Child Psychology*. Baltimore, Md.: C. C. Thomas, 1932, p. 364.

nature alone, or in terms of his outward activity alone. These are two aspects of the same thing, and both must be considered in any adequate study of the individual.

The Organization of Character

Much of the literature on character education discusses character in terms of general traits, such as honesty, altruism, courage, loyalty, and the like. Such terms are useful in everyday life because they are convenient symbols for types of behavior which people exhibit in varying degrees. Recent studies, however, indicate that the attitudes and conduct of school children are governed more by the demands of specific situations than by any general principles corresponding to the usual lists of traits or ideals.

Hartshorne, May, and others⁴ discovered from extensive investigation of children's tendencies to act honestly or dishonestly, helpfully or selfishly, persistently, and with self-restraint, that these tendencies consisted of specific responses to specific situations, each without much relation to the others. Specific actions seemed to be predictable in situations which were very similar. It was impossible, however, to predict the specific behavior of most children in any given situation from a knowledge of their conduct in widely dissimilar situations. Thus, whether a child's conduct is judged good or bad according to the ethical standards of adults, it appears, as a rule, to be unorganized with reference to such standards. Such findings do not mean, of course, that a more thorough integration of behavior in accordance with ethical standards would be undesirable.

Newcomb⁵ found that certain traits supposed to be closely associated under "introvert" and "extrovert" types of personality correlated fairly well when measured by ratings, but much lower when measured by actually observing boys' conduct day after day. Only a small percentage of the boys responded consistently to various situations calling for the same trait. Moreover, consistency in any single trait gave no indication of consistency in any other

trait. In short, very few of the boys responded in a consistently introvert or consistently extrovert manner in the majority of situations.

In spite of such evidence, every individual is recognized as exhibiting a pattern of behavior tendencies which is characteristic of that individual. Some of these tendencies may be judged good while others are judged bad. Some of them may appear in certain situations but not in others. There is, however, an essential unity of personality which helps to distinguish the individual from his fellows:

It has been necessary to recognize the lack of consistency in trait measures. Yet anyone who has studied people knows that there is a uniqueness in each person which is consistent. One does not fall in love with a person conceived as a heterogeneous assortment of situation-responses. The person is known and experienced as a unit. Inconsistencies appear, of course, but are felt to be part of an inner whole and, indeed, with better knowledge of the individual, fewer behaviors are felt to be "out of character." It would be easy to multiply illustrations all pointing in the same direction to the conclusion that people are regarded as generally true to themselves, to the type of person they are, and not merely to the situation which stimulates the particular response. After all due allowance has been made for a tendency to unwarranted generalization from a few instances, to misjudgment of persons in accord with our preconceptions, there still remains a substantial body of observations supporting the idea of a unified personality.⁶

This unity of individual personality is as yet very imperfectly understood. That it evidently does not consist of a series of traits which inevitably call forth the same general type of conduct in all situations that are ethically similar is, however, of great significance for character education.

Character a Product of Heredity and Environment

Both heredity and environment play a part in determining the personality of the individual. Heredity provides the basic potentialities from which character develops. Environment furnishes the stimuli which cause the individual to respond and consequently to change. The relative influence of these two groups of

⁴ Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Shuttlesworth, F. K. *Studies in the Organization of Character*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. p. 371-76. See also: Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. p. 380-90. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929. p. 442.

⁵ Newcomb, Theodore M. *The Consistency of Certain Extrovert-Introvert Behavior Patterns in 51 Problem Boys*. Contributions to Education, No. 382. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929. p. 108-15.

⁶ National Education Association, American Educational Research Association. "Tests of Personality and Character." *Review of Educational Research* 2: 255; June, 1932.

factors in the mature and highly developed personality has not been completely determined. It is seldom if ever possible to analyze a single act or attribute into component parts, and to state definitely which elements are the product of heredity and which are the results of environment. In general, however, it may be said that heredity determines the individual's basic capacities and fundamental urges or desires, while environment determines the application of his capacities and the specific ways in which his desires are satisfied.⁷

Psychologists formerly believed in a large number of specific *instincts* as the chief determiners of human behavior. Within the last thirty years, however, this viewpoint has been profoundly changed. Recent studies have shown that instinctive reactions, even in the very young child, are relatively few,⁸ and that those types of animal behavior which appear offhand to be inborn and invariable, such as tropisms and reflexes, may be associated with new stimuli by "conditioning" or training.⁹ While much of the activity of the new-born infant may be called instinctive, the proportion of unlearned behavior becomes less and less as he grows older. In fact, there is probably not a single specific act of the normal adult person that can be considered a purely instinctive reaction, showing none of the conditioning effects of the environment.

Such findings throw the major responsibility for the development of desirable personality or character upon environmental agencies.

Factors in Character Formation

The following pages present some of the available evidence concerning the relation between character development and a wide variety of factors. Since there are factors within the individual which cannot be classified as entirely innate or as entirely environmental in

origin, the classification used here is not based on these terms. Instead, a general distinction is made between (1) *personal* factors, or those present within the individual and (2) *social* factors, or those existing outside the individual.

The list of factors discussed here is obviously not complete, but it probably includes most of the more important types as well as some which appear to have relatively little influence. There is some overlapping, especially where certain subordinate factors have been isolated for study by certain investigators.

In reviewing research studies of factors in relation to character, great care must be exercised in drawing conclusions as to cause and effect. The existence of relationship between two things does not prove that one is a cause of the other. A third factor may be causing both. Furthermore, research technics in this field are often inadequate, and the results are frequently incomplete or conflicting. On the whole, the available evidence warrants only general and tentative conclusions. Such conclusions are presented on page 77 of this bulletin.

Personal Factors

Some of the factors included under this heading may be considered aspects of character itself, rather than influences bearing upon character. Such factors are discussed here because they seem to have a fundamental relationship to certain other aspects of character.

Fundamental drives—Instead of instincts which are specific and little subject to modification, it is more accurate to speak of native impulses or fundamental drives, all of which are subject to training in some degree.¹⁰ Among the most important of these are hunger, sex, curiosity or the desire to explore and to manipulate objects, desire for success and recognition, desire for relief from pain and discomfort, desire for stimulation, and disposition to relieve

⁷ For further discussion of the influence of heredity and environment see: Chapin, Henry D. *Heredity and Child Culture*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1928. Chapter 2, "Organic Inheritance" and Chapter 3, "Social Inheritance," p. 9-34. Conn, H. W. *Social Heredity and Social Evolution*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1914. 348 p. Sandiford, Peter. *The Mental and Physical Life of School Children*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1913. Chapter 1, "Heredity and Environment," p. 1-25. Starch, Daniel, *Educational Psychology*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1927. "Relation of Education to Native Endowment," p. 12-15.

⁸ Watson, John B. *Behaviorism*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1925. "Evidence for Three Types of Unlearned Beginnings of Emotional Reactions," p. 120-31.

⁹ Pavlov, I. P. *Conditioned Reflexes*. Translated and edited by G. V. Anrep. London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1927. 430 p.

¹⁰ For recent theories of invariable behavior see: Bernard, L. L. *Instinct: A Study in Social Psychology*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1924. 550 p. Ogden, Robert M. *Psychology and Education*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1926. Chapter 2, "Original Forms of Behavior," p. 18-40. Sandiford, Peter. *Educational Psychology*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928. Chapter 6, "Non-Variable Behavior: Reflexes and Instincts," p. 116-27.

the distress of others.¹¹ Equally fundamental, but of somewhat different type, are the innate emotional reactions of fear, rage, and love.¹² Some of these appear very soon after birth, while others do not develop until much later. All of them serve the great common needs of the individual and the species, and all are great underlying forces in the formation of personality. They must find some form of expression if the individual is to remain healthy, but they may be directed into a wide variety of activities which are desirable rather than objectionable. Whatever kind of character is developed, the fundamental drives provide the force with which that character is expressed.

The danger in ignoring or thwarting these drives is shown in many studies, especially in the field of behavior problems. King¹³ found that unsatisfied desires for affection, recognition, and praise were among the most frequent causal factors in the difficulties of forty-four delinquent girls. Menninger¹⁴ compared an emotionally healthy group of college students with an emotionally unhealthy group. He found, among other things, that 64 percent of the emotionally healthy students had been much praised during childhood in contrast to only 18 percent of the unhealthy students; and that 75 percent of the former group had had many love affairs, whereas only 23 percent of the latter group had had many such affairs.

Vigorous expressions of the sex drive are considered by many people as representing the worst type of character. Undoubtedly this drive is often misguided, but this does not mean that it should be entirely repressed until adulthood. Hamilton¹⁵ found that it was statistically "normal," among a rather select group of married men and women, to have been much occupied with sex daydreams in middle and later

adolescence, and to have had six or seven love affairs. His study also indicated, however, that happiness in marriage is associated to some extent with sex desire no stronger than the average.

Krasnogorski's laboratory study¹⁶ sheds light on the importance of the desire for success and achievement. It showed that nervous children given too difficult a task tend to "go to pieces," exhibiting a general breakdown of personality. Pavlov¹⁷ has demonstrated a similar tendency in dogs.

The underlying motive forces of behavior are especially significant for teachers and school administrators. Altho these drives cannot with safety be completely repressed, they need not be permitted to operate uncontrolled. The school should help to guide them into wholesome and useful activities. The next issue of the *Research Bulletin* will discuss principles and procedures for providing such guidance.

Intelligence—That general intelligence has some influence upon character development is indicated by a number of studies. That it is not the major factor in many cases also seems to be evident. Superior intelligence enables its possessor to understand and to foresee more clearly the consequences of his behavior, but it does not guarantee that he will act in desirable rather than undesirable ways. Moreover, the individual of low intelligence may be unable to appreciate subtle aspects of situations or to reason his way thru difficult problems of conduct, but it is often no more difficult for him to learn good reactions than to learn bad ones.

Hartshorne, May, and others¹⁸ found intelligence to have considerable correlation with performance on certain tests of honesty and moral knowledge, but very little correlation

¹¹ National Education Association, Department of Superintendence. *Character Education*. Tenth Yearbook. Washington, D. C.: the Association, 1932. p. 66-67.

¹² Watson, John B., *op. cit.*, p. 120-31.

¹³ King, Anna Elizabeth. *Changing the Delinquent Attitude: A Study of Effective Treatment in the Cases of Forty-Four Delinquent Girls*. Cleveland, Ohio: School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, 1927. 80 p.

¹⁴ Menninger, Karl A. "Adaptation Difficulties in College Students." *Mental Hygiene* 11: 519-35; July, 1927.

¹⁵ Hamilton, G. V. *A Research in Marriage*. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., 1929. p. 210, 307-08, 310, 418-20, 538-39.

¹⁶ Krasnogorski, N. I. "The Conditioned Reflexes and Children's Neuroses." *American Journal of Diseases of Children* 30: 753-68; December, 1925.

¹⁷ Pavlov, I. P. *Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes: Twenty-five Years of Objective Study of the Higher Nervous Activity (Behavior) of Animals*. New York: International Publishers, 1928. 414 p.

¹⁸ Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I. p. 181-89. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, J. B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*. p. 139-43, 371-74. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Shuttleworth, F. E. *Studies in the Organization of Character*. p. 113-17.

with performance on tests of helpfulness, self-control, or persistence. Cheating, however, was not associated with low intelligence alone, but with numerous other handicaps as well. Many children without these additional handicaps were not inclined to cheat.

Slaght's study¹⁹ showed intelligence to be a relatively negligible factor in truthfulness. The slight difference observed between a group of children who consistently lied and a group who consistently told the truth was in favor of the truthful group.

Healy and Bronner²⁰ studied the contributing factors and results of treatment in the cases of 4000 juvenile delinquents in Chicago and Boston. Only 23 percent of these youngsters were mentally subnormal or feeble-minded, whereas 72 percent were normal or above. Remedial treatment, however, was much more successful with the latter group than with the former. Every supernormal girl was successfully readjusted.

In a somewhat similar survey, Starr²¹ discovered that of 7664 juvenile delinquents examined at the Neuro-Psychiatric Clinic of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, 41 percent were at least normal in intelligence, whereas only 25 percent were morons. Those in the normal group were more readily adjusted, but even the subnormal cases proved capable of considerable social adjustment.

Glueck and Glueck²² found that of 466 prisoners released from the Massachusetts Reformatory in 1921 and 1922, one-third were of normal intelligence or above, about one-half were dull or of "border-line" intelligence, and about one-fifth were feeble-minded.

Murchison²³ found no significant difference in mental level between white men in prisons and the large sampling of white men included

in the U. S. Army draft. The slight difference noted was in favor of the criminal group.

Calhoun²⁴ compared one hundred normal and one hundred subnormal delinquent boys, and discovered that the delinquencies of the brighter group were much more serious than those of the duller group. The normal boys did almost two hundred times as much property damage, appeared in court much more often, and were guilty of stealing, forgery, burglary, and larceny considerably more often than the subnormal boys. The latter were guilty of truancy and sex immorality somewhat more often than were the normal boys.

Burt's classic study²⁵ of delinquents and non-delinquents in London revealed a condition of mental deficiency in 7.6 percent of the delinquent cases as compared with 1.2 percent of the non-delinquents; mental dullness not amounting to mental deficiency in 27.9 percent of the delinquents as compared with 9.7 percent of the non-delinquents; and educational backwardness in 59.9 percent of the delinquents in contrast to only 15.7 percent of the non-delinquents. Superior intelligence appeared as a factor in a few of the delinquent cases, but it was less frequent among such cases than among the non-delinquents.

A study by Foster,²⁶ comparing one hundred non-jealous children with fifty jealous children who had been referred to habit clinics in Boston, showed no significant difference in intelligence between the two groups.

Tilson²⁷ studied habit problems in relation to mental level among 225 preschool boys and girls who had been referred to habit clinics. No cases of feeble-mindedness were included. Most of the problems studied were found more frequently among children of average intelligence than among those having either above-average

¹⁹ Slaght, William E. A. *Untruthfulness in Children: Its Conditioning Factors and Its Setting in Child Nature*. University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. I, No. 4. Iowa City, Iowa: the University, 1928. 79 p.

²⁰ Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta F. *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. 317 p.

²¹ Starr, Anna Spiesman. "A Problem in Social Adjustment." *Psychological Clinic* 17: 85-96; May, 1928.

²² Glueck, Sheldon, and Glueck, Eleanor T. *500 Criminal Careers*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. p. 156.

²³ Murchison, Carl A. *Criminal Intelligence*. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University, 1926. 291 p.

²⁴ Calhoun, C. H. "A Follow-up Study of 100 Normal and 100 Subnormal Delinquent Boys." *Journal of Juvenile Research* 12: 236-40; September-December, 1928.

²⁵ Burt, Cyril. *The Young Delinquent*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1925. p. 287.

²⁶ Foster, Sybil. "A Study of the Personality Make-up and Social Setting of Fifty Jealous Children." *Mental Hygiene* 11: 53-77; January, 1927.

²⁷ Tilson, Marie Agnes. *Problems of Preschool Children: A Basis for Parental Education*. Contributions to Education, No. 356. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929. 90 p.

or below-average intelligence. This difference was especially marked with respect to temper tantrums, food habits, and fears. Among the chief exceptions were problems arising from too much attention from adults and too little opportunity to play with children of the same age, which occurred with highest frequency among the above-average group, and very rarely in the below-average group. None of the fourteen most common problems appeared as frequently in the below-average group as in the average group, and only two of these occurred more often in the below-average group than in the above-average group.

Blatz and Bott²⁸ found that the frequency of misdemeanors committed by children, as reported by teachers in a Toronto school with an enrolment of 1400, varied inversely with the intelligence quotient among the boys but not among the girls. Misbehavior occurred among the girls with about the same frequency at all levels, except that there was some decrease in the superior group. Very few girls in the school had I.Q.'s below 70, however.

Several studies have compared the intelligence of college students having liberal or radical ideas and attitudes with that of students having reactionary or conservative viewpoints. Moore²⁹ found practically no difference between the two groups, while Orata³⁰ and Jones³¹ observed slight differences in favor of the liberal or radical group.

Such studies as these should encourage in teachers an optimistic and constructive attitude toward children of all degrees of intelligence. The dull pupil should not be looked upon as inevitably headed for delinquency, nor should it be assumed that the bright pupil needs no guidance in matters of conduct. Teachers may need to adapt their procedures to various levels of intelligence, and administrators should provide types of organization which make dif-

ferential treatment possible. These problems will be discussed in the next issue of the *Research Bulletin* under the following headings: "The Case Method of Studying the Maladjusted Pupil," "Suggestions for Diagnosis and Treatment of Behavior Problems," "Organization of the School Guidance Program," and "Contribution of School Organization."

Special mental abilities—As in the case of general intelligence, the evidence as to the relation between other mental capacities and character is incomplete and somewhat conflicting. In general, however, such capacities appear not to have a very close relation to those aspects of character which have been studied in connection with them.

Slaght³² observed little relation between truthfulness or untruthfulness and children's performances on tests of memory for words, memory based on visual perception, imagination, and judgment of perceptual relations, but found the untruthful children more suggestible and quicker in reaction.

Hartshorne, May, and others³³ found very little correlation between ability to resist suggestion and tests of cheating at home, helpfulness, persistence, or inhibition. They found a considerable negative correlation, however, between resistance to suggestion and school cheating, and a somewhat lower positive correlation between resistance to suggestion and moral knowledge and attitudes. Part of these relationships seemed to be due to such associated factors as intelligence and environmental influences.

(Note: The term "positive correlation" indicates a tendency for the two things measured to increase or decrease together. A "negative correlation" indicates a tendency for one thing to increase as the other decreases.)

Moore,³⁴ altho finding very little difference between radical and conservative students with

²⁸ Blatz, W. E., and Bott, E. A. "Studies in Mental Hygiene of Children: I. Behavior of Public School Children—A Description of Method." *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 34: 552-82; December, 1927.

²⁹ Moore, Henry T. "Innate Factors in Radicalism and Conservatism." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 20: 234-44; October, 1925.

³⁰ Orata, Pedros T. "Race Prejudice." *Welfare Magazine* 18: 766-75; June, 1927.

³¹ Jones, Edward S. "The Opinions of College Students." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 10: 427-36; December, 1926.

³² Slaght, William E. A., *op cit.*

³³ Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I, p. 277-80. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, p. 233-35, 428-33. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Shuttleworth, F. K. *Studies in the Organization of Character*, p. 120-21.

³⁴ Moore, Henry T., *op cit.*

respect to intelligence or ability in code learning, found the radicals quicker in reaction time and in making decisions, superior in learning a new habit like mirror drawing which requires breaking established habits, more unusual in their associations, and less susceptible to majority opinion.

Evidently the school need not be concerned greatly about special mental capacities either as indicators or as major causes of the more significant character tendencies. A child's behavior may, however, be significantly affected by the extent to which he is given opportunity and encouragement to exercise in desirable ways any special ability which he possesses. To provide such opportunity and encouragement is an important function of the school. This point will be elaborated in the next issue of the *Research Bulletin*, especially in the sections entitled "Building Character thru the Curriculum," and "Building Character thru Individual Guidance."

Knowledge and understanding—Philosophers once believed that an idea held firmly in the mind necessarily resulted in a corresponding action. This notion is no longer generally held; in fact, there is a tendency at present to minimize the influence of ideas upon conduct. The truth probably lies between these two extremes. Ideas undoubtedly exert some influence in several ways: (1) by affecting the emotional response thru interpretation of the situation, (2) by stimulating effort thru knowledge of desirable character objectives and of progress made toward achieving them, and (3) by forecasting the results of alternative kinds of action.³⁵ On the other hand, merely giving people knowledge, either general or specific, will not assure any particular kind of conduct on their part, as many of the following studies show.

Slaght's study³⁶ indicated that his group of consistently truthful children had somewhat greater moral comprehension as well as a wider range of information than the consistently untruthful children. These results were obtained in spite of the fact that the two groups were not significantly different in general intelligence.

Taylor and Powers³⁷ found a significant positive correlation in one small, progressive high school between Bible information and character ratings by teachers. When the intelligence factor was held constant, however, this correlation became insignificant altho it remained positive.

A much more extensive and adequate study of the relation between Bible knowledge and character was made by Hightower.³⁸ A large battery of tests was given to 3316 pupils in twelve different localities and in grades seven to twelve inclusive. The groups included both sexes, various intelligence levels, various social, economic, and cultural levels, different types of communities, different occupational levels, and delinquent children as well as non-delinquents. No relationship of any consequence was found between Biblical knowledge and any of the phases of conduct studied.

King's study of forty-four girls who had been delinquent³⁹ showed that early knowledge of bad sex practises was among the most frequently occurring factors in the case histories of these girls.

Hartshorne, May, and Shuttleworth⁴⁰ found only slight positive correlations, when the factor of intelligence was held constant, between performance on tests of moral knowledge and performance on tests of honesty, cooperation, inhibition, and persistence. There appeared to be no certain correspondence between specific items of information and specific exhibitions of honest or dishonest conduct, re-

³⁵ National Education Association, Department of Superintendence, Tenth Yearbook, p. 68-70.

³⁶ Slaght, William E. A. *Untruthfulness in Children: Its Conditioning Factors and Its Setting in Child Nature*. University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. I, No. 4. Iowa City, Iowa: the University, 1928. 79 p.

³⁷ Taylor, Howard R., and Powers, Francis F. "Bible Study and Character." *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 35; 294-302; June, 1928.

³⁸ Hightower, Pleasant Roscoe. *Biblical Information in Relation to Character and Conduct*. University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. III, No. 2. Iowa City, Iowa: the University, 1930. 72 p.

³⁹ King, Anna Elizabeth. *Changing the Delinquent Attitude: A Study of Effective Treatment in the Cases of Forty-Four Delinquent Girls*. Cleveland, Ohio: School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, 1927. 80 p.

⁴⁰ Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Shuttleworth, F. K. *Studies in the Organization of Character*, p. 153-68.

ardless of whether or not the information was related to the behavior involved. These investigators concluded that the common factor of classroom morale was probably the most important, except for intelligence, in causing the observed correlations between moral knowledge and conduct.

A number of studies have thrown light on the relation between the knowledge possessed by individuals and their attitudes, opinions, and prejudices. Allport⁴¹ found that a group of college students with radical political attitudes had more information and less misinformation than a similar group with conservative political attitudes. More than 50 percent of the anti-socialist students showed a lack of knowledge of the socialist platform. Watson,⁴² Orata,⁴³ and Diggins,⁴⁴ found knowledge positively correlated with liberal attitudes toward national and racial questions, altho the relationships were slight except in Watson's study. Watson obtained rather high positive correlations between being well informed and being favorably disposed toward Japan and toward Chinese nationalism, but a very low negative correlation between being well informed and being favorably disposed toward missionary enterprises. In Diggins' study, familiarity with the language of a given nation tended to raise slightly the rating given to the people of that nation by college students, including both foreign and American students.

From these studies it is apparent that altho knowledge and understanding are essential to intelligent action, they do not guarantee such action. Hence the teacher or school which relies upon intellectual mastery of facts and rules by children cannot expect to achieve much success in developing effective character. The school should make reasonably sure that the information which it teaches is of value in life situations, and then give children practise in

applying this information in activities which are closely related to life. This viewpoint will be elaborated and illustrated in the next issue of the *Research Bulletin*.

Emotional conditions and mental health—There is considerable evidence that conditions of mental and emotional health or disease have an important bearing upon character formation. People can be mentally and emotionally healthy, however, and still develop undesirable behavior tendencies.

Burt⁴⁵ discovered certain emotional conditions, such as an unusually strong sex urge, temperamental deficiency, and temperamental instability, more than four times as often in delinquent children as in non-delinquents. He also observed certain acquired interests and complexes more than three times as frequently in the delinquents as in the non-delinquents.

Starr's study⁴⁶ of 13,385 clinical cases, including both children and adults, showed 19 percent as having psychoneuroses, that is, exhibiting excessive fears and being emotionally overactive and unstable, but still capable of becoming socially adjusted to some degree. Such cases constituted 3 percent of the juvenile delinquents; 16 percent of the adolescent group, which was composed of incorrigible boys and unmarried mothers; and 39 percent of the adult group, which consisted of cases from the domestic relations court and those involving cruelty to or neglect of children. In addition, each of these groups contained a number of psychotic and psychopathic cases which were considered non-adjustable.

Healy and Bronner⁴⁷ obtained evidence similar to that of Starr in regard to juvenile delinquents. They found only 5 percent of such cases to be psychopathic or psychoneurotic, with another 7 percent having mental conflicts of one kind or another.

Wiley's survey⁴⁸ of white male reforma-

⁴¹ Allport, Gordon W. "The Composition of Political Attitudes." *American Journal of Sociology* 35: 220-38; September, 1929.

⁴² Watson, Goodwin. "Orient and Occident: An Opinion Study." *Summary in Religious Education* 24: 322-28; April, 1929.

⁴³ Orata, Pedros T. "Race Prejudice." *Welfare Magazine* 18: 766-75; June, 1927.

⁴⁴ Diggins, Elmer. *A Statistical Study of National Prejudices*. Master's thesis, Columbia University, 1927.

⁴⁵ Burt, Cyril. *The Young Delinquent*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1925. p. 51, 407, 492, 521, 540.

⁴⁶ Starr, Anna Spiesman, *op. cit.*

⁴⁷ Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta F. *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. 317 p.

⁴⁸ Wiley, G. C. "The Mental Handicaps of Delinquents: A Preliminary Study of the Neuro-Psychiatric Findings in Over 1,700 White Male Reformatory Prisoners." *Journal of Psycho-Asthenics* 34: 100-11; 1929.

tory prisoners showed that of the 40 percent who were defective in intelligence, 89 percent had some complicating nervous or mental conditions. Of the 60 percent who were above the defective grade in intelligence, 64 percent had other mental troubles.

Cushing and Ruch⁴⁹ compared a group of delinquent girls with a similar group of non-delinquents, and found the former exhibiting a greater number of emotional symptoms on the Woodworth questionnaire.

Studying emotional conditions in relation to a quite different phase of character, Moore⁵⁰ observed no difference, on the average, between college students with radical attitudes and those with conservative attitudes. Hartshorne, May, and others⁵¹ found only slight correlations between emotional stability and tendencies toward deception, helpfulness (except in cases of exceedingly unselfish pupils), and inhibition. They found somewhat higher relationships, however, between emotional stability and persistence, and between emotional stability and moral knowledge.

The relation between mental health and other aspects of personality is sufficiently marked to warrant careful attention on the part of teachers and other school workers. Probably the most essential condition for mental health is freedom for the fundamental drives to work themselves out in ways that are satisfying to the child and to his associates. There is danger of future maladjustment, however, if the child is allowed to indulge his every whim or selfish desire.

Principles and procedures for maintaining mental health and preventing maladjustments in the school will be presented in the next bulletin under the heading "Building Character thru the Curriculum," while the problems of discovering, diagnosing, and treating maladjustments of personality in children will be dis-

cussed in the section entitled "Building Character thru Individual Guidance."

Physical and physiological conditions—Bodily health has long been considered a prerequisite for the development of a wholesome and vigorous personality. Moreover, there is some evidence that behavior tendencies, as well as physique, have a chemical basis. Important as such factors may be, research carried on thus far indicates that character as a whole depends more upon a variety of other factors, largely social, than it does upon the individual's physical condition or physiological and chemical processes.

In one of the earlier studies, Folsom⁵² observed little or no relation, in a group of college senior men, between such physical characteristics as stature, strength, or stoutness, and tendencies toward aggressiveness or cheerfulness.

More recently Hartshorne, May, and others⁵³ found a lack of correlation between the physical condition of children, as measured by physical ability on certain tests with reference to age and weight, and performance on tests of deception, helpfulness, persistence, inhibition, and moral knowledge. Even in tests involving physical ability and condition, there was no tendency for the oversized but understrengthened children to compensate by telling falsehoods concerning their abilities. Very superior physical condition was associated with a high degree of helpfulness and cooperation, but for groups containing children of all degrees of physical condition the correlation between these two factors was very slight. A similar tendency was noted in the case of inhibition, but persistence showed absolutely no relation to physical condition as measured by the Hartshorne-May tests. Results of special examinations with respect to vision, nutrition, and dental defects

⁴⁹ Cushing, Hazel M., and Ruch, G. M. "An Investigation of Character Traits in Delinquent Girls." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 11: 1-7; February, 1927.

⁵⁰ Moore, Henry T. "Innate Factors in Radicalism and Conservatism." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 20: 234-44; October, 1925.

⁵¹ Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I, p. 192-93. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, p. 162-63, 387-89. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Shuttleworth, F. K. *Studies in the Organization of Character*, p. 119-20.

⁵² Folsom, Joseph Kirk. "A Statistical Study of Character." *Pedagogical Seminary* 24: 399-440; September, 1917.

⁵³ Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I, p. 190-92. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, p. 158-62, 385-86. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Shuttleworth, F. K. *Studies in the Organization of Character*, p. 119.

showed little or no correlation with either persistence or inhibition. In the case of both vision and dental defect, children with very good records and those with very poor records surpassed in persistence those children who were only average or poor in these two physical attributes. On the other hand, children who were only average in nutrition showed considerably more persistence than those who were either high or low in nutrition.

Studies of juvenile delinquency often present data as to the physical condition of delinquents, but these data are difficult to evaluate because comparisons are seldom made with figures for non-delinquents. Healy and Bronner⁵⁴ found 63 percent of delinquent boys and 78 percent of delinquent girls in normal physical condition. Seventy percent of the girls were above normal weight for their ages. Of some significance is the fact that excessive smoking, masturbation, and the use of tea or coffee had no bearing on success or failure in the treatment of these delinquent cases. Willey⁵⁵ found physical diseases or defects in only 10 percent of 1710 white male reformatory prisoners. Bridges and Bridges⁵⁶ reported physical ailments in about 30 percent of 104 delinquents in the Boys' Farm and Training School at Quebec. Burt's⁵⁷ comparison of delinquents and non-delinquents showed certain unusual conditions with respect to physical development occurring rather infrequently in both groups, but nearly four times as often among the delinquents as among the non-delinquents. Pathological physical conditions were present in 69 percent of the delinquents and in 55 percent of the non-delinquents.

Menninger's⁵⁸ comparison of 102 emotionally healthy college students and 117 emotionally unhealthy students revealed that only 11 percent of the former had suffered poor physical health in childhood, whereas 64 percent of the latter had had poor physical health.

Davis' study⁵⁹ indicated that happiness in marriage is somewhat associated with good health before marriage.

Several studies have been made regarding physiological factors in relation to temperament and personality, but the field is still relatively unexplored. Kretschmer⁶⁰ studied body build in relation to type of mental disorder, obtaining results which seem to indicate some glandular factor common to both structural development and emotional type. Lange and Luckina⁶¹ found that a certain reflex (retardation of heartbeat when pressure is applied to the eyeball) was strong in children of normal behavior but usually somewhat reduced in children with conduct problems. Proescher and Arkusch⁶² from an examination of 1525 cases in California hospitals for the insane, concluded that persons having certain blood characteristics are four times as likely to develop a psychosis as are persons of another type. Rich's⁶³ extensive study indicated that alkalinity of saliva and of urine is quite definitely associated with general excitability, and that intelligence, good-naturedness, and leadership, are other characteristics which appear to have some biochemical foundation. Mateer and Timme⁶⁴ have indicated a rather definite association between calcium deficiency and irritability or incorrigibility in children, and have

⁵⁴ Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta F., *op. cit.*

⁵⁵ Willey, G. C. "The Mental Handicaps of Delinquents: A Preliminary Study of the Neuro-Psychiatric Findings in Over 1,700 White Male Reformatory Prisoners." *Journal of Psycho-Asthenics* 34: 100-11; 1929.

⁵⁶ Bridges, J. W., and Bridges, K. M. Banham. "A Psychological Study of Juvenile Delinquency by Group Methods." *Genetic Psychology Monographs* 1: 411-506; September, 1926.

⁵⁷ Burt, Cyril, *op. cit.*, p. 51, 203, 240.

⁵⁸ Menninger, Karl A. "Adaptation Difficulties in College Students." *Mental Hygiene* 11: 519-35; July, 1927.

⁵⁹ Davis, Katharine Bement. *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-Two Hundred Women*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929. 430 p.

⁶⁰ Kretschmer, Ernest. *Physique and Character: An Investigation of the Nature of Constitution and of the Theory of Temperament*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1925. 266 p.

⁶¹ Lange, M. W., and Luckina, A. M. "Nervous System, Aschner's Symptom and Behavior of Children." *Essay toward a Reflexological Study of Bisocial Groups of Children*. *Reflexological and Neurophysiological News* 2: 256-81; 1926.

⁶² Proescher, F., and Arkusch, A. S. "Blood Groups in Mental Disease." *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 65: 569-84; 1927.

⁶³ Rich, Gilbert J. "A Biochemical Approach to the Study of Personality." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 23: 158-75; July, 1928.

⁶⁴ Detailed results are not available in published form, but are referred to in the Tenth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence, p. 128.

obtained some noteworthy results with their clinical treatments for such deficiency.

Altho the evidence of causal relation between physical factors and important behavior tendencies is somewhat conflicting, there can be little doubt that physical health provides a better foundation for good character than does poor health. The school can help to safeguard the health of pupils by maintaining wholesome conditions with respect to light, heat, ventilation, and sanitation, and by providing a comprehensive program of physical education under competent supervision. It can assist in the diagnosis and treatment of physical disorders by regular health inspection and by close cooperation with parents and physicians. For further statements on these points, see the sections entitled "Specialists as Counselors," "Athletics," and "Significance of School Plant Administration" in the *Research Bulletin* for May.

Chronological age—In considering age in relation to character, one must not think of it as a simple factor which in and of itself might be expected to exert influence. Within certain limits, increases in age are accompanied by physical and physiological changes, increases in mental ability, and increases in social experience. Only because the individual's age has some relation to these other factors is there value in considering it as a factor in character growth.

The Hartshorne-May data⁶⁵ indicated only a slight correlation with age in the case of deception, helpfulness, persistence, inhibition, and moral knowledge and attitudes, altho their results varied somewhat for different groups of children and for different specific tests. Of the areas of character mentioned, persistence and moral knowledge seemed to be a little more closely associated with age than did the others. The slight correlation between age and helpfulness was negative, indicating a tendency for

the younger children to be more helpful. Persistence and moral knowledge tended to increase somewhat with age. This was especially true of moral knowledge when the factor of intellectual brightness was held constant.

The relation between age and juvenile delinquency seems to be somewhat greater than the relation between age and behavior tendencies which do not fall within the jurisdiction of the courts. Healy and Bronner⁶⁶ found that a large majority of crimes among 4000 repeated offenders in Chicago and Boston were committed between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three. The boys began to appear in court in large numbers at age eleven, and the girls at age fourteen, but the average age of first court appearance was fourteen to fifteen years for boys, and fifteen to sixteen years for girls. Bridges and Bridges⁶⁷ found a range of ten to eighteen years, with an average of fourteen years, in the ages of boys committed to the Boys' Farm and Training School at Quebec. Glueck and Glueck⁶⁸ found the average age at commitment among 510 prisoners in the Massachusetts Reformatory to be a little over twenty years, about one-third being under eighteen years of age. Borden,⁶⁹ from a study of numerous factors in relation to the success of male reformatory prisoners on parole, observed that the older boys tended to succeed slightly better than the younger ones. Riddle,⁷⁰ studying the records of children referred to the Psychiatric Clinic at the Department of Public Welfare in St. Louis, found a close relationship between age and the aggressiveness of the form of stealing committed. For example, stealing from home and pocketpicking were committed at earlier ages by these children than were burglary, highway robbery, and forgery.

In the realm of attitudes, opinions, and prejudices among college students and adults, the younger people seem to be somewhat more lib-

⁶⁵ Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I, p. 170, 172, 179-80. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, p. 120-25, 361-67. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Shuttleworth, Frank K. *Studies in the Organization of Character*, p. 109-12.

⁶⁶ Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta F., *op. cit.*

⁶⁷ Bridges, J. W., and Bridges, K. M. Banham, *op. cit.*

⁶⁸ Glueck, Sheldon, and Glueck, Eleanor T. *500 Criminal Careers*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. p. 153.

⁶⁹ Borden, Howard G. "Factors for Predicting Parole Success." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 19: 328-36; November, 1928.

⁷⁰ Riddle, E. M. "Stealing as a Form of Aggressive Behavior." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 23: 79-93; April, 1928.

eral. Watson⁷¹ found liberal attitudes toward the Orient more characteristic of students than of adult men and women. Woolston⁷² and Orata⁷³ both found younger college students more liberal, on the whole, than older students. Anderson and Dvorak⁷⁴ noted a rather sharp difference in the types of standards of conduct preferred by college students and those preferred by parents and grandparents. The latter result may, of course, have been due to changes in social conditions rather than to differences in maturity of the individuals concerned. The students preferred to make decisions in accordance with the standard of prudence or intelligent judgment, with the esthetic standard as second choice, whereas members of the older generations strongly preferred the standard of right-and-wrong, with the standard of prudence as second choice. The standard of public opinion or approval was fourth choice in both groups.

Recent studies of marriage have indicated that the age factor is of some importance in this field. Davis⁷⁵ observed that happiness in marriage tended to go with the delay of marriage until later ages. Hamilton⁷⁶ found some tendency for happy marriages to be associated with similarity in age of husband and wife.

From the limited evidence available, it seems clear that increasing age does not in itself change a person's character in any particular way. Character is constantly being modified, but this modification occurs in accordance with the interaction of hereditary and environmental forces. As the individual grows older, he tends to follow more and more completely the ways of life which his particular social environment has encouraged. The school has a great opportunity and a heavy responsibility for helping to make this influence continuously con-

structive from early childhood to maturity. The character problems of children may be different at different ages, but they are equally worthy of attention at all ages.

Sex—Like chronological age, sex cannot be considered a unitary factor entirely separate from physical and mental development or environmental influences. Whatever effect sex may have upon personality is undoubtedly due to a composite of numerous other factors related to sex. However, in view of the well-known fact that the sexes do not differ materially in intelligence or in school achievement, one would not expect to find important differences between them with respect to social or anti-social behavior.

Hartshorne, May, and others⁷⁷ found no appreciable difference in age, mental age, emotional stability, suggestibility, or intelligent participation in school and home life between the boys and the girls included in their study. They observed no consistent difference between the sexes in tendencies to cheat, except that on one test which was taken home the girls tended uniformly to cheat more than the boys. On the other hand, the girls were found to be somewhat more cooperative, somewhat more persistent, considerably better controlled or inhibited, and consistently superior in moral knowledge and social attitudes. In some cases more boys than girls exhibited extreme generosity or extreme selfishness, but on the average the girls appeared somewhat superior in this respect. The investigators concluded that on the surface, at least, girls are more sensitive to both conventional and ideal social standards than are boys.

Foster⁷⁸ observed a tendency for jealousy to be more common among girls than among boys, while Blatz and Bott⁷⁹ found teachers

⁷¹ Watson, Goodwin. "Orient and Occident: An Opinion Study." Summary in *Religious Education* 24: 322-38; April, 1929.

⁷² Woolston, Howard. "Stepbrothers: A Study of Prejudice and Convention." *Social Forces* 6: 368-75; March, 1928.

⁷³ Orata, Pedros T. "Race Prejudice." *Welfare Magazine* 18: 766-75; June, 1927.

⁷⁴ Anderson, Alice, and Dvorak, Beatrice. "Differences between College Students and Their Elders in Standards of Conduct." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 23: 286-92; October, 1928.

⁷⁵ Davis, Katharine Bement, *op. cit.*

⁷⁶ Hamilton, G. V. *A Research in Marriage*. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc. 570 p.

⁷⁷ Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I. p. 168-81. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, p. 146-57, 380-85. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Shuttleworth, Frank K. *Studies in the Organization of Character*, p. 117-19.

⁷⁸ Foster, Sybil. "A Study of the Personality Make-up and Social Setting of Fifty Jealous Children." *Mental Hygiene* 11: 53-77; January, 1927.

⁷⁹ Blatz, W. E., and Bott, E. A. "Studies in Mental Hygiene of Children: I. Behavior of Public School Children—A Description of Method." *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 34: 552-82; December, 1927.

in a Toronto school recording a larger number of school misdemeanors for boys than for girls.

Orata⁸⁰ found practically no difference between college men and women in the degree and kind of race prejudice exhibited. Jones's⁸¹ study of opinion among college students showed certain sex differences depending upon the nature of the topics considered. Men appeared more conservative than women on economic questions but less conservative on religious questions, while on matters of social relationships there was little difference. Woolston⁸² found a small group of university women more restrictive than a similar group of men in their willingness to accept certain types of characters as superiors, equals, or inferiors in specific associations. The women were less severe than the men in their ostracism of beggars, invalids, illegitimate offspring, and inadequate persons, but were more intolerant of libertines, Negroes, Mohammedans, and Hungarians.

The study of delinquency and crime by Healy and Bronner⁸³ showed significantly greater success in dealing with female delinquents than with male delinquents, the difference being most marked among Jews.

To the extent that sex differences in character occur, they should be taken into consideration by the school. Such differences seem to be much smaller, on the average, however, than the differences observed between various individuals of the same sex. Doubtless the most satisfactory procedure is to treat each child as an individual rather than as a member of a sex-group. At the same time, physical conditions, interests, and experiences which have been directly or indirectly determined by the child's sex should be carefully considered in attempting to guide and evaluate his character development. For an outline of the factors to be studied in connection with individual behavior problems, see "The Case Method of Studying the Maladjusted Pupil," in the May *Research Bulletin*.

Race and nationality—Race and nationality might be classed as social factors rather than as

personal factors because they are often so closely bound up with certain social standards, cultural opportunities, and religious beliefs. However, altho these associated factors are probably dominant in whatever relation exists between nationality and character, there is no evidence which precludes the possibility that biological factors in nationality exert some influence on character.

Hartshorne and May⁸⁴ favor a social interpretation of national and racial influence, but admit the possibility of biological characteristics as contributing factors. These investigators found that, when the intelligence factor was equalized among the children of various nationalities, the greatest relative amount of cheating on one particular test was done by Scandinavian, British, and Italian children in a city school, and by Italian, Negro, and Slavic children in a suburban school. The least cheating on this test, relative to intelligence, was done by American, French, German or Austrian, and Jewish children in the city school, and by Scandinavian, British, American, French, and German or Austrian children in the suburban school. When all classroom cheating tests were combined, however, these differences tended to disappear, only the Jewish children standing out as slightly superior to the other children in honesty. The differences observed were ascribed largely, but not entirely, to variations in the intelligence and the economic and cultural background of the groups studied.

The same series of studies showed children of American-born parents to be slightly more cooperative than children of foreign-born parents. The least cooperative foreign groups were those whose parents were born in Ireland or Italy, while the most helpful were those of whom one or both parents were English or Scandinavian. On the tests of persistence the children of foreign parentage were generally superior to those of native parentage, but on the inhibition tests as a whole there was little difference between the two groups. The differ-

⁸⁰ Orata, Pedros T., *op. cit.*

⁸¹ Jones, Edward S. "The Opinions of College Students." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 10: 427-36; December, 1926.

⁸² Woolston, Howard, *op. cit.*

⁸³ Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta F. *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. 317 p.

⁸⁴ Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I, p. 248-53. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, p. 189-94, 397-401. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Shuttleworth, F. K. *Studies in the Organization of Character*, p. 127-28.

ences observed with respect to service and self-control were attributed by the investigators to some factor or group of factors other than intelligence, religious background, and cultural influences. The children of native-born parents were superior in moral knowledge and attitudes, a fact which may have been due partly to the nature of the standards used in scoring the tests, and partly to such associated factors as intelligence, suggestibility, emotional stability, and cultural level.

In his study of political attitudes among college students, Allport⁸⁵ found that Jewish students were the least prejudiced and among the most radical in their opinions. Vetter⁸⁶ found liberals more likely to be Jewish than otherwise.

Lapierre⁸⁷ interviewed 428 people in France and 315 people in England in regard to their attitudes toward the Negro. He found very little color antipathy among the French, on the whole, altho it was considerably greater in the upper economic class than in the lower economic class, and somewhat greater in urban than in rural areas. The English people, however, showed a high degree of race prejudice, irrespective of their economic level or the locality in which they lived.

Davis⁸⁸ compared American and Russian children in their attitudes toward forty-five occupations. The American children ranked the banker highest, with college professor, doctor, clergyman, lawyer, and auto manufacturer next, while the Russian children ranked the peasant first, giving high places also to members of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Party, mechanic, civil engineer, teacher, doctor, and aviator. The American children ranked the ditch-digger lowest, with coal miner, janitor, waiter, teamster, hod carrier, and street cleaner also very low. The Russians classed as least desirable the minister, prosperous business man, manager of small factory, small storekeeper, banker, waiter, owner of a store, house porter, and salesman.

Healy and Bronner⁸⁹ found Italians and Negroes twice as often in a group of 4000 delinquents as would be expected from the proportion of these groups in the general population of the cities studied. The numbers of Slavs, Germans, and Scandinavians were also somewhat disproportionate. Shaw,⁹⁰ however, uncovered the highly significant fact that while the delinquency rates in certain areas of Chicago have remained high and constant over the period of a generation in spite of major changes in population from German to Irish, to Polish, to Italian, and to Negro, the delinquency rates of these national groups have decreased appropriately as they moved out into new suburban areas.

The significance of race and nationality for the school's program of education for character is still obscure. The public school must, of course, take children of any nationality and do its best toward making good citizens of them. In so doing, it should adapt its procedures wherever necessary to such national or racial peculiarities as may appear in any individual pupil or group of pupils.

Social Factors

Home and family—It is undoubtedly true that the average American home no longer exercises the same type of influence upon children as it did in pioneer days. Great economic and social changes have weakened or destroyed many of the ties which formerly bound the members of a family together as a unified and mutually dependent group. It should not be assumed, however, that the character influences of home and family are uniformly less wholesome than in earlier generations. In spite of social changes which have affected home life generally, there is much evidence that some home environments are far superior to others, and that the home is still one of the major influences in the formation of character. The effect of home influence depends, of course, upon a variety of factors in the home. It prob-

⁸⁵Allport, Gordon W. "The Composition of Political Attitudes." *American Journal of Sociology* 35: 220-38; September, 1929.

⁸⁶Vetter, George B. "The Study of Social and Political Opinions." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 25: 26-39; April, 1930.

⁸⁷Lapierre, Richard T. "Race Prejudice: France and England." *Social Forces* 7: 102-11; September, 1928.

⁸⁸Davis, Jerome. "Testing the Social Attitudes of Children in the Government Schools in Russia." *American Journal of Sociology* 32: 947-52; May, 1927.

⁸⁹Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta F., *op. cit.*

⁹⁰Shaw, Clifford R., and others. *Delinquency Areas: A Study of the Geographic Distribution of School Truants, Juvenile Delinquents, and Adult Offenders in Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. 214 p.

ably is not determined primarily by such factors as material wealth and social standing.

Of the many factors examined in Slaght's study,⁹¹ unfavorable home surroundings stood out as the only one highly related to untruthfulness in children.

Hartshorne, May, and others⁹² found significant altho not high correlations between home environment and deception, cooperation, persistence, inhibition, and moral knowledge. They considered several aspects of the home environment, including occupation of parents, socio-economic level of the family, and general cultural background. The strongest evidence of home and family influence, however, was found in the fact that siblings (brothers and sisters) performed somewhat similarly on all tests of behavior and moral knowledge. In the case of honesty, service, persistence, and inhibition, the authors attributed this similarity partly to the environmental influences of the home, partly to the similarity in intelligence among members of a family, and partly to some obscure biological factor or factors. In the case of moral knowledge and attitudes, however, the similarity of siblings was ascribed almost entirely to the fact that they had been exposed to the same environmental influences.

Busemann⁹³ studied the behavior manifestations of about four hundred children in relation to the number of children of each sex in the family and the chronological position of each child among the siblings. His conclusions were as follows:

1. In general, it appears that children are more industrious and able at school the more siblings they have up to four.

2. Lack or fewness of siblings strongly favors "reflectiveness" or introversion, feelings of self-dis-

satisfaction, hyperactivity and unrest, conditions which are unfavorable to school success.

3. The eldest sibling has on the average a higher class position than the median sibling, the youngest a lower position than the median.

4. Having siblings of the opposite sex seems disadvantageous for school success, but has no effect on "reflectiveness." Docility shows a reciprocal sex modification.

5. Poverty of siblings apparently favors variations, for the most part, in the direction of less school accomplishment and unfavorable traits, but occasionally (in the case of girls) variations are in a favorable direction. An average size of family appears to encourage the appearance of average, effective behavior.

6. Sibling status affords an operative influence in every case.

Similar investigations by Fenton⁹⁴ and by Goodenough and Leahy⁹⁵ yielded somewhat different results. In these studies the only child in a family seemed to be a little more self-confident, aggressive, optimistic, original, and better adjusted than the child in a family having two or more children. The youngest child in a family also appeared to have some advantage in adjustment, while the oldest child was definitely handicapped. In Tilson's study⁹⁶ of preschool children who had been referred to habit clinics, however, those having the most common behavior problems were more frequently the only or youngest children than the older or oldest children in the family.

Foster⁹⁷ found that 40 percent of a group of jealous children came from homes where opportunity for social relationships was lacking, whereas only 23 percent of a group of non-jealous children came from such homes.

Chassell⁹⁸ made an intensive study of one hundred students afflicted with shyness or self-consciousness. From his analysis of related factors, certain suggestions appear with regard to

⁹¹ Slaght, William E. A. *Untruthfulness in Children: Its Conditioning Factors and Its Setting in Child Nature*. University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. I, No. 4. Iowa City, Iowa: the University, 1928. 79 p.

⁹² Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I, p. 213-45. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, p. 181-89, 200-07, 395-97, 407-10, 417. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Shuttleworth, F. K. *Studies in the Organization of Character*, p. 123-24, 126-27.

⁹³ Busemann, A. "Geschwisterschaft, Schultüchtigkeit und Charakter." (Sibling Status, School Ability, and Character.) *Zsch. f. Kinderforsch* 34: 1-52; 1928. Abstracted in *Psychological Abstracts* 2: 450; July, 1928.

⁹⁴ Fenton, Norman. "The Only Child." *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 35: 546-56; December, 1928.

⁹⁵ Goodenough, Florence L., and Leahy, Alice M. "The Effect of Certain Family Relationships upon the Development of Personality." *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 34: 45-71; March, 1927.

⁹⁶ Tilson, Marie Agnes. *Problems of Preschool Children: A Basis for Parental Education*. Contributions to Education, No. 356. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929. 90 p.

⁹⁷ Foster, Sybil. "A Study of the Personality Make-up and Social Setting of Fifty Jealous Children." *Mental Hygiene* 11: 53-77; January, 1927.

⁹⁸ Chassell, Joseph O. *Experience Variables: A Study of the Variable Factors in Experience Contributing to the Formation of Personality*. Doctor's thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University. Rochester, N. Y.: published by the author, University of Rochester Medical School, 1928.

the type of treatment which the child should receive from his family as well as from persons outside the family. Evidently, if the child is to develop into an adult who is free from self-consciousness and who enjoys social relations, he should not always be expected to sacrifice his wishes for those of the parent; the father should develop intimacy and display affection freely with the child; less than the average amount of obedience may well be required; a kindly rather than persecutory attitude must be developed among brothers and sisters; a sincere religious life but one free from a sense of guilt or sin may be cultivated; a natural attitude toward sex should be encouraged, and attachments to persons of either sex be permitted to flourish; and plenty of opportunity for association with persons of similar age and for the attainment of social recognition should be provided.

The influence of strong religious home training upon college sophomore men was studied by Shuttleworth.⁹⁹ He found that such training was associated to some extent with present religious activities of the students, but that it had little or no relation to cheating on a test, to reproductive imagination, or to intelligence.

Studies of delinquency rather uniformly have indicated various home conditions as important factors in this category of misbehavior. Healy and Bronner¹⁰⁰ reported that of the 4000 repeated offenders studied in Chicago and Boston, 40 percent came from homes where parental control was lacking. Success in the treatment of 675 cases in Chicago was not much affected by whether or not they came from broken homes, but was significantly affected by factors associated with the economic status of the family. Of those in destitute circumstances, only 34 percent made a successful adjustment, while 50 percent of those at the

comfort level and 68 percent at the luxury level made a successful adjustment. The same investigators also found the treatment of young delinquents in selected foster homes to be highly profitable.¹⁰¹ This procedure was successful in about 80 percent of the cases where the child was not seriously deficient or pathological in mind.

Among the most frequent factors revealed by King's study of forty-four delinquent girls¹⁰² were a desire for affection not found at home, lack of home training, homes with repressive or foreign atmosphere, over-indulgence at home, being reminded by parents of past mistakes, and conflicts with step-parents.

Bridges and Bridges¹⁰³ and Glueck and Glueck¹⁰⁴ found broken homes in 60 percent of the cases studied by them. The latter study showed that over 80 percent of the men had left the parental home, prior to sentence to the reformatory, for long periods and for reasons which indicated a serious breach in child-parent relationships. Half of these had left home at the age of fourteen years or earlier.

Burt's¹⁰⁵ comparison of delinquents and non-delinquents revealed the following facts with respect to home conditions and delinquency:

	Percent of delinquents	Percent of non-delinquents
Poverty in the home.....	52.8	38.2
Defective family relationships	57.9	25.7
Defective home discipline..	60.9	11.5
Vicious home	25.9	6.2

Several studies have indicated the importance of suitable sex instruction in the home, as well as the inadequate extent to which many parents give such instruction. Peck and Wells¹⁰⁶ obtained replies to questionnaires

⁹⁹ Shuttleworth, Frank K. "Influence of Early Religious Home Training on College Sophomore Men." *Religious Education* 22: 57-60; January, 1927.

¹⁰⁰ Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta F. *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. 317 p.

¹⁰¹ Healy, William; Bronner, Augusta F.; Baylor, Edith M. H.; and Murphy, J. Prentice. *Reconstructing Behavior in Youth: A Study of Problem Children in Foster Families*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929. 325 p.

¹⁰² King, Anna Elizabeth. *Changing the Delinquent Attitude: A Study of Effective Treatment in the Cases of Forty-Four Delinquent Girls*. Cleveland, Ohio: School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, 1927. 80 p.

¹⁰³ Bridges, J. W., and Bridges, K. M. Banham. "A Psychological Study of Juvenile Delinquency by Group Methods." *Genetic Psychology Monographs* 1: 411-506; September, 1926.

¹⁰⁴ Glueck, Sheldon, and Glueck, Eleanor T. *500 Criminal Careers*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. 365 p.

¹⁰⁵ Burt, Cyril. *The Young Delinquent*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1925. p. 51, 62-63.

¹⁰⁶ Peck, M. W., and Wells, F. L. "On the Psycho-Sexuality of College Graduate Men." *Mental Hygiene* 7: 697-714; October, 1923. Peck, M. W., and Wells, F. L. "Further Studies in Psycho-Sexuality of College Graduate Men." *Mental Hygiene* 9: 502-20; July, 1925.

from two groups of college graduate men. A majority of these men felt that they would have been helped by fuller information on sex hygiene than they had received. In one group, only 27 percent had received their principal information at home, whereas 56 percent believed that such information should be given by the home. In the other group, 9 percent and 8 percent had received such instruction from their fathers and mothers, respectively, whereas 47 percent thought it should be given by the father and 14 percent thought it should be given by the mother. Other agencies than the home were mentioned as best fitted for this responsibility by smaller proportions of the groups.

In a study of 120 high-school students, Heaton¹⁰⁷ found that among those who were receiving no sex instruction at home, 87 percent of the boys and 61 percent of the girls reported that they were reading "sex" magazines, while among those who were receiving sex instruction and help in their problems, only 43 percent of the boys and 45 percent of the girls were reading such magazines.

Davis¹⁰⁸ obtained the following results from a questionnaire study of one thousand unmarried women:

1. Sixty-two percent of the parents who gave their children sex information had been anticipated by other children or servants.
2. Only about 13 percent of the girls ever received complete information about reproduction from parents.
3. Whatever the sort of sex information received from parents, only 3 percent found it harmful, 60 percent found it helpful, and 37 percent found it merely a stimulus to get more information elsewhere.

Hamilton's study of marriage¹⁰⁹ indicated that a married person is likely to be somewhat happier if he or she has grown up equally fond of both parents, and if frank and free sex education was received from parents before the age of six years.

The foregoing studies leave little room for doubt that the home is still an important in-

fluence in character formation. This influence seems to depend partly upon the cultural and economic status of the parents. A more significant factor, however, is the care and intelligence with which parents guide their children in desirable ways of living. This is precisely the phase of home influence in which teachers and other school workers can be of most assistance. By tactfully discussing with parents the needs of individual children, and by suggesting specific ways of meeting these needs, the school can often help to improve the home environment from the standpoint of personality development.

The school's relation to the home will be referred to in the next issue of the *Research Bulletin* under the following headings: "The Case Method of Studying the Maladjusted Pupil," "Suggestions for Diagnosis and Treatment of Behavior Problems," "Specialists as Counselors," and "Relation of the School to Outside Agencies."

Neighborhood, community, and geographical area—The relation of very broad geographical groupings to the character of individuals has already been touched upon under "Race and nationality,"¹¹⁰ and the complexity of such factors has been pointed out. The smaller areas considered here, such as neighborhood and community, are also complex. Such areas often differ from one another not only with respect to material conditions, but also with respect to the personal and social characteristics of the people and the types of homes, churches, schools, and other institutions which they provide. That differences in these component factors affect the character development of children can hardly be doubted. The specific contribution of each factor to the total influence of community or neighborhood, however, is far from clear.

In one limited phase of their investigations, Hartshorne and May¹¹¹ compared extremely honest children with extremely dishonest children in regard to the general physical conditions of the neighborhoods in which the chil-

¹⁰⁷ Heaton, Kenneth L. *A Study of the Recreational Life of High School Students*. Unpublished doctor's thesis. University of Chicago, 1931. p. 207.

¹⁰⁸ Davis, Katharine Bement. *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-Two Hundred Women*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929. 430 p.

¹⁰⁹ Hamilton, G. V. *A Research in Marriage*. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., 1929. 570 p.

¹¹⁰ See p. 61-62 of this bulletin.

¹¹¹ Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I, p. 285, 294, 299-301.

dren lived. The average neighborhood rating of the honest children was somewhat higher than that of the dishonest ones who lied about their cheating, and very significantly higher than the rating of the dishonest children who freely admitted their cheating.

The same investigators¹¹² found that differences in the general economic and cultural levels of three distinct neighborhoods were associated with differences in the performance of the children of those neighborhoods on tests of cooperation, persistence, inhibition, and moral knowledge. The children in the poorest neighborhood on the social scale were found least generous and cooperative, but those from the middle neighborhood were more generous and cooperative than those from the best neighborhood. On the tests of inhibition the most favored social group did best and the least favored did poorest, but the differences were small. In persistence the least favored group surpassed the other two on the whole, altho not on every test. In moral knowledge and attitudes, however, the most favored children were far superior to both of the other groups.

Shaw's study¹¹³ of delinquency areas in Chicago showed a striking tendency for certain neighborhood environments to produce large numbers of delinquents regularly, and for others to produce relatively few delinquents, in proportion to the total population of the same age and sex. A distribution of delinquents by mile-zone areas, beginning with the "Loop" and working outward, revealed a pronounced decrease in delinquency rates corresponding to an increase in distance from the "Loop." That these differences were due largely to the general cultural patterns of the different neighborhoods was indicated by the tendency for the delinquency rate of a given group to change as the group moved from one neighborhood to another, while the delinquency rate of a given neighborhood remained relatively constant in spite of shifts in population.

Two studies showing the relation of geographical area to national or race prejudice may be mentioned. Watson¹¹⁴ found geographic factors of relatively little importance in determining the attitudes of Americans toward the Orient. For example, students in Ohio were more like students in California than they were like labor unions in Ohio. Reinhardt¹¹⁵ likewise found little difference between university students in West Virginia and those in North Dakota, both being ready to exclude two or more of nine national groups from business or neighborhood equality.

The character influences of neighborhood and community have great significance for the schools. There ought to be intelligent cooperation between the schools and all community agencies which are working to improve social conditions. Moreover, teachers and school administrators need to perform more seriously than ever before their duties as citizens of community, state, and nation. It is quite possible that teachers eventually will be able to exert as much influence upon the character development of children by their activities outside the school as by the performance of their school duties.

For additional discussion of school and community relations, see "Other community agencies in relation to the school," in the *May Research Bulletin*.

Friends and associates—The results of research point to the individual's friends and associates as among the most important influences in the development of his character. Certain aspects of this influence have already been considered in discussing the relation of character to family, neighborhood, and community conditions. The following paragraphs deal mainly with personal associations outside the family and in smaller units than the neighborhood or community.

Hartshorne, May, and others¹¹⁶ undertook to measure the influence of friends upon the

¹¹² Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, p. 177-80, 390-95. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Shuttleworth, F. K. *Studies in the Organization of Character*, p. 122-23.

¹¹³ Shaw, Clifford R., and others. *Delinquency Areas: A Study of the Geographic Distribution of School Truants, Juvenile Delinquents, and Adult Offenders in Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. 214 p.

¹¹⁴ Watson, Goodwin. "Orient and Occident: An Opinion Study." Summary in *Religious Education* 24: 322-28; April, 1929.

¹¹⁵ Reinhardt, James M. "Students and Race Feeling." *Survey* 61: 239-40; November 15, 1928.

¹¹⁶ Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I, p. 274-76. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, p. 237-39, 436-37. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; Shuttleworth, F. K. *Studies in the Organization of Character*, p. 99-101.

honesty, helpfulness, self-control, and moral knowledge of school children by correlating the test scores of one group with those of other children mentioned as friends by members of the first group. They observed a general tendency for these children to make scores similar to those of their friends on the same tests, especially when the friends were members of the same classroom in school. The results varied somewhat, however, in different groups and on different tests. Classmates in one school especially resembled one another in deception, and this tendency persisted even when the classmates were not friends. With the tests of service the correlations were somewhat lower and indicated that in this phase of character the association of individual friends was probably of more influence than mere classroom associations. Friends tended to resemble each other in persistence to about the same extent as in service, but in inhibition to a considerably lesser extent. In persistence, especially, friends from the same classroom showed far more resemblance than friends from different classrooms. A positive altho not high correlation was also found between friends on the tests of moral knowledge. This resemblance tended to increase with the age of the children, but seemed to be independent of the influence of similar age or sex among the paired friends. The investigators ranked the child's friends second in importance as a source of his knowledge of right and wrong, giving only the home a higher place as a source of such knowledge.

Several studies have shown a relation between undesirable behavior tendencies and a lack of opportunity for normal association with

other persons of similar age. Tilson¹¹⁷ found that preschool children who had little chance to play with other youngsters were often unduly dependent emotionally upon adults. Menninger¹¹⁸ discovered a marked difference between emotionally healthy and emotionally unhealthy college students with respect to the number of love affairs which they had had. Chassell's¹¹⁹ study indicated that one way to help prevent the development of shyness or self-consciousness is to encourage friendship with desirable persons of similar age and of both sexes.

Liberal or conservative attitudes toward other people and institutions seem to be definitely affected by acquaintance or friendship with the persons involved. Watson¹²⁰ and Orata¹²¹ found liberal attitudes toward the Orient more likely to characterize those who had friends or acquaintances among members of other races, especially Orientals.

Manry¹²² showed that students in certain colleges which select their populations from all over the country generally had more liberal international attitudes than those in colleges where most of the students come from the same state.

Children evidently get their information about sex more frequently from their companions than from any other one source. Peck and Wells¹²³ found that 34 percent of two hundred male college graduates had received such information principally from companions. Davis¹²⁴ discovered from a questionnaire answered by one thousand unmarried women, that in 62 percent of the cases in which their parents had given them sex information, such instruction had been anticipated by other children or servants.

¹¹⁷ Tilson, Marie Agnes. *Problems of Preschool Children: A Basis for Parental Education*. Contributions to Education, No. 356. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929. 90 p.

¹¹⁸ Menninger, Karl A. "Adaptation Difficulties in College Students." *Mental Hygiene* 11: 519-35; July, 1927.

¹¹⁹ Chassell, Joseph O. *Experience Variables: A Study of the Variable Factors in Experience Contributing to the Formation of Personality*. Doctor's thesis. Teachers College, Columbia University. Rochester, N. Y.: published by the author, University of Rochester Medical School, 1928.

¹²⁰ Watson, Goodwin. "Orient and Occident: An Opinion Study." Summary in *Religious Education* 24: 322-28; April, 1929.

¹²¹ Orata, Pedros T. "Race Prejudice." *Welfare Magazine* 18: 766-75; June, 1927.

¹²² Manry, James Campbell. *World Citizenship: A Measurement of Certain Factors Determining Information and Judgment of International Affairs*. University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. I, No. 1. Iowa City, Iowa: the University, 1927. 67 p.

¹²³ Peck, M. W., and Wells, F. L. "Further Studies in Psycho-Sexuality of College Graduate Men." *Mental Hygiene* 9: 501-20; July, 1925.

¹²⁴ Davis, Katharine Bement, *op. cit.*

Among the studies of delinquency, Healy and Bronner¹²⁵ found "bad companions" to be one of the contributory conditions in 62 percent of the delinquent cases investigated. King¹²⁶ found the same conditions among the most frequent causative factors in the delinquency of forty-four girls who later became satisfactorily adjusted. Burt¹²⁷ discovered a much larger proportion of delinquent children than of non-delinquents involved in unwholesome companionships outside the home.

Hendry¹²⁸ reported the work of one community in locating unsupervised gangs and engaging them in a constructive leisure-time program before they had a chance to become seriously delinquent. The influence of such groups upon their members is coming to be recognized as a serious problem calling for solution along the soundest of modern educational lines.

In view of the strong influence of friends and companions upon individual character, it is important for teachers to know the kinds of persons with whom their pupils associate outside as well as inside the school. The school should help to substitute wholesome companionships and desirable activities for unwholesome gang loyalties and anti-social behavior whenever the latter are exhibited by children.

Group and expert opinion—The influence of other people's opinions upon individual judgments or attitudes has been demonstrated by the experiments of Moore¹²⁹ and of Wheeler and Jordan.¹³⁰ Moore gave tests of linguistic, moral, and musical judgment to a group of students without warning, and then repeated the tests after the influences to be measured had been introduced. Care was taken to determine the percentage of reversals of judgment

which might be attributed to chance alone. After being told the majority opinions as revealed by the first testing, the students reversed their original opinions as follows: on linguistic questions, 62 percent; on moral questions, 50 percent; and on musical questions, 48 percent. After being told the opinion of an expert in each field with respect to the various questions, the group was tested again and showed further reversals of judgment as follows: linguistic, 48 percent; moral, 48 percent; and musical, 46 percent. The number of times majority opinion and expert opinion caused a reversal of judgment as compared with chance reversal is indicated below:

	Linguistic	Moral	Musical
Majority opinion	4.6	4.9	1.9
Expert opinion	3.5	4.6	1.8

Wheeler and Jordan's study was limited to questions on campus affairs and politics, and was concerned with the influence of majority opinion only. The results showed that (1) group opinion facilitated agreeing individual opinions to an extent almost three times as great as could have been attributed to chance, and (2) group opinion inhibited disagreeing opinions to almost one-half the extent which could have been accounted for by chance.

That there are wide differences among individuals in degree of susceptibility to group opinion was shown in another study by Moore,¹³¹ in which college students characterized as radicals made only a 12-percent change in their judgments while students classed as conservatives made a 31-percent change, on the average, after being told how the majority had responded on an earlier test.

¹²⁵ Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta F. *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. 317 p.

¹²⁶ King, Anna Elizabeth. *Changing the Delinquent Attitude: A Study of Effective Treatment in the Cases of Forty-Four Delinquent Girls*. Cleveland, Ohio: School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, 1927. 80 p.

¹²⁷ Burt, Cyril. *The Young Delinquent*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1925. p. 125.

¹²⁸ Hendry, Charles E. *A Study of Unsupervised Neighborhood Groups and Gangs in Kenosha, Wisconsin*. Research and Studies II. New York: Association Press, 1930.

¹²⁹ Moore, Henry T. "The Comparative Influence of Majority and Expert Opinion." *American Journal of Psychology* 32: 16-20; January, 1921.

¹³⁰ Wheeler, David, and Jordan, Howard. "Change of Individual Opinion to Accord with Group Opinion." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 24: 203-06; July, 1929.

¹³¹ Moore, Henry T. "Innate Factors in Radicalism and Conservatism." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 20: 234-44; October, 1925.

In the light of the preceding evidence, one might expect well-organized discussion groups to have considerable influence on the participants. Direct evidence on this point, however, is relatively meager. Lamb¹³² attempted to appraise the effect of an older boys' conference in terms of changes in the racial attitudes of those attending, and concluded that there had been a small but genuine improvement in such attitudes during the course of the conference. In Collins' questionnaire study of fifty relatively unprejudiced white Southerners, summer religious conferences were indicated most frequently as a factor in overcoming the prejudice of these people against negroes.¹³³ Discussion groups and other meetings under religious auspices also were mentioned as significant influences.

The apparently significant influence of group and expert opinion upon individual judgment may be utilized by the school thru pupil discussion of opinions concerning social and moral problems. The character values of the socialized discussion will be further considered in the *Research Bulletin* for May.

Agencies of communication—Before the development of modern industrial civilization, with its unprecedented application of science and machinery to the fulfilment of human wants, the ideas, opinions, and attitudes which influenced a person's character were largely those of members of his own family and local community. Modern methods of communication have helped to change this situation profoundly. Thru such agencies as the telephone, the telegraph, the radio, the press, and the motion picture, most people today are not only able but often compelled to take notice of ideas, opinions, and activities originating in all parts of the world. That this new multiplicity of stimuli is having an effect upon character formation cannot be doubted. The specific nature of its influence and the relative potency of its various phases, however, are still very obscure.

Research to date has barely scratched the surface of this complex problem.

Data concerning the influence of newspapers and magazines are somewhat conflicting. Lundberg¹³⁴ interviewed 940 men and women in Seattle in regard to their attitudes on four public questions which had been before the electorate within the preceding eight months. He found no significant relationship between the attitudes of these people and the viewpoints of the newspapers which they read most frequently. About half of those interviewed spent more than thirty minutes each day in reading newspapers. In a ranking of newspaper departments on the basis of reader interest, general news and editorials were first and second, with radio and puzzles seventh and eighth, respectively. Types of news according to reader interest ranked as follows: politics, disasters, graft, finance, crime, theater, marriage, and society.

Watson,¹³⁵ on the other hand, found a remarkably high correlation between the number of magazines read and a favorable attitude toward Chinese nationalism and the Soviet. This relationship was increased by considering the kind of magazines read as well as their number. Sullenger¹³⁶ found the newspaper to be an important contributing cause of juvenile delinquency by suggesting details of criminal procedure to immature readers.

During the last five or ten years much has been written concerning the influence of motion pictures and radio programs, both as tools of instruction in the school and as general cultural factors in life outside the school. There is considerable scientific evidence as to the effect of motion pictures upon personality and character, but very little in regard to the corresponding effect of radio programs.

Probably the outstanding program of research with respect to the personality influences of motion pictures was that initiated by the Motion Picture Research Council and conducted by the Committee on Educational Research

¹³² Lamb, C. S. *Appraising the Results of an Older Boys' Conference*. Research and Studies II. New York: Association Press, 1930.

¹³³ Collins, George L. "How Race Prejudice Is Overcome." *World Tomorrow* 11: 410-12; October, 1928.

¹³⁴ Lundberg, George A. "The Newspaper and Public Opinion." *Social Forces* 4: 709-15; June, 1926.

¹³⁵ Watson, Goodwin. "Orient and Occident: An Opinion Study." *Summary in Religious Education* 24: 322-28; April, 1929.

¹³⁶ Sullenger, T. E. *Social Determinants in Juvenile Delinquency*. Omaha, Nebr.: Douglas Printing Co., 1930. 87 p.

of the Payne Fund.¹²⁷ The results of this group of studies were too numerous and varied to permit an adequate summary here. In general, the investigators discovered that children of all ages attend commercial movies once a week on the average, and that the pictures which they see do have definite effects upon their attitudes and behavior. In his statement of introduction to the popularized summary of the studies, Charters states:

I agree with the author in the fundamental position that the motion picture is powerful to an unexpected degree in affecting the information, attitudes, emotional experiences and conduct patterns of children; that the content of current commercial motion pictures constitutes a valid basis for apprehension about their influence upon children; and that the commercial movies present a critical and complicated situation in which the whole-hearted and sincere cooperation of the producers with parents and public is essential to discover how to use motion pictures to the best advantage of children.¹²⁸

Hartshorne, May, and Maller¹²⁹ also reported significant relationships between motion pictures and children's attitudes and conduct. These studies compared the performances of pupils on tests of honesty, cooperation, persistence, and inhibition with the frequency of attendance at motion pictures. On each of these groups of tests there was a general tendency for pupils who attended less often to score higher than those who attended more often. The authors were inclined not to assume a direct causal connection, however, between seeing the pictures and behaving undesirably. They concluded that the relationships observed might be accounted for, to considerable extent at least, by a third factor or group of factors, such as intelligence and social-economic status, which were associated with

both attendance at movies and undesirable conduct.

The problems of making the motion picture and the radio contribute positively rather than negatively to personality development should not be overlooked by the school. Teachers ought to exert an organized influence upon public opinion in regard to the types of programs produced by commercial agencies in these fields. They can also help to improve children's tastes in movie and radio entertainment by suitable discussion and, if facilities permit, by presenting good programs to pupils in the school.

Transportation and travel—Modern methods of transportation and travel must also be reckoned with as potentially important factors in character development, altho there is a lack of objective evidence in regard to the precise nature of such influences. The tremendously increased speeds with which people can move from one locality to another enable them to experience at first hand innumerable ideas and modes of behavior which otherwise they could only read or hear about. Progress in transportation is perhaps best typified in the automobile, whose widespread availability, simplicity of control, and inexpensiveness of operation make it the almost universal mode of getting away from home for young and old alike. The opportunity thus provided to escape the surveillance of family and community may encourage departures from codes of conduct which are approved by these groups. On the other hand, cheap and rapid transportation offers fully as great opportunities for desirable experiences as for undesirable ones. The value of the experiences obtained doubtless depends more upon other factors than upon the mere availability of improved facilities for travel.

¹²⁷ For a popularized summary of these investigations, see: Forman, Henry James, *Our Movie Made Children*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. 288 p. The technical reports of the several investigations are found in the following volumes: Blumer, Herbert. *Movies and Conduct*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. 257 p. Blumer, Herbert, and Hauser, Philip M. *Movies, Delinquency, and Crime*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. 233 p. Charters, W. W. *Motion Pictures and Youth: A Summary*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. (Combined with *Getting Ideas from the Movies*, by P. W. Holaday and George D. Stoddard.) 168 p. Cressey, Paul G., and Thrasher, Frederick M. *Boys, Movies, and City Streets*. New York: Macmillan Co. In press. Dale, Edgar. *The Content of Motion Pictures*. New York: Macmillan Co. (Combined with *Children's Attendance at Motion Pictures*, by Edgar Dale.) In press. Dale, Edgar. *How to Appreciate Motion Pictures*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. 243 p. Dysinger, W. S., and Rucknick, Christian A. *The Emotional Responses of Children to the Motion Picture Situation*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. (Combined with *Motion Pictures and Standards of Morality*, by Charles C. Peters.) 407 p. Peterson, Ruth C., and Thurstone, L. L. *Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. (Combined with *The Social Conduct and Attitudes of Movie Fans*, by Frank K. Shuttleworth and Mark A. May.) 217 p. Renshaw, Samuel; Miller, Vernon L.; and Marquis, Dorothy. *Children's Sleep*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. 242 p.

¹²⁸ Forman, Henry James. *Our Movie Made Children*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. "Introduction," p. viii.

¹²⁹ Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I, p. 281-82. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, p. 228-32, 425-27.

Practically the only point at which scientific investigation has touched this field is the relation of certain types of travel to the opinions, attitudes, and prejudices of individuals. Studies by Watson,¹⁴⁰ Manry,¹⁴¹ and Patterson and Durgin¹⁴² revealed no significant relationship between amount of foreign travel and liberalism of attitudes toward foreign peoples. Diggins,¹⁴³ however, found the experience of such travel somewhat conducive to liberalism in a group of students which included a number of foreigners attending an American university.

The school can contribute to the character values of travel by encouraging children to visit interesting places for purposes that are personally and socially valuable. It can acquaint children with the kind of manners and conduct appropriate for trips away from home. The present tendency toward an excessive amount of unsupervised travel by young people in automobiles and otherwise may be counteracted somewhat by providing more interesting activities in the school and local community.

Organized recreational facilities—The influence of recreational activities upon character has been implied in the foregoing statements concerning home and family, neighborhood and community, friends and associates, and agencies of communication and transportation. This brief section is concerned primarily with the influence of specially organized but non-commercial facilities for recreational purposes, such as summer camps, clubs, and other organizations for young people.

There is no lack of organizations designed to meet the recreational needs of children. Nearly forty national agencies, such as the Boy Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, the Y.M.C.A., and the Y.W.C.A., are endeavor-

ing to foster sound physical development and desirable character growth. Pangburn¹⁴⁴ reported more than 110 kinds of activities as being carried on by these agencies, from woodcraft and athletics to airplane construction. Including every sort of public and private recreational agency in operation, it has been estimated that about sixteen million of the twenty-two million children from eight to eighteen years of age participate in some form of organized recreation.¹⁴⁵

The character-building values of most well-established recreational organizations are usually taken for granted; yet there is very little scientific evidence reflecting either favorably or unfavorably upon their work. Goodman and others¹⁴⁶ obtained responses to a questionnaire from two thousand Boy Scouts in several large cities with respect to the values which they had received from the Scout program. According to these boys, the features of the program which helped them most in living up to the Scout Oath and Law were (1) passing the Scout tests and requirements, (2) entrance into Scouting, preparation and investiture, and (3) the good-turn habit and the program of civic service. Least value was found in the patrol system and program, the council or district activities, and the troop camp. These findings, altho doubtless of value to leaders in the organization, can hardly serve as a basis for evaluating the Boy Scout movement as a whole. Many of the boys' responses were probably sincere, but the collection of children's statements concerning their own character growth is open to serious question as a scientific procedure.

Some evidence as to the relation between character and membership in certain clubs was presented by Hartshorne, May, and others.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁰ Watson, Goodwin. "Orient and Occident: An Opinion Study." Summary in *Religious Education* 24: 322-28; April, 1929.

¹⁴¹ Manry, James Campbell. *World Citizenship: A Measurement of Certain Factors Determining Information and Judgment of International Affairs*. University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. I, No. 1. Iowa City, Iowa: the University, 1927. 67 p.

¹⁴² Patterson, George S., and Durgin, R. *Educational Values in Friendship Tours—1928*. Research and Studies, No. 173. New York: Association Press, 1929.

¹⁴³ Diggins, Elmer. *A Statistical Study of National Prejudices*. Master's thesis, Columbia University, 1927.

¹⁴⁴ Pangburn, Weaver. "The Child and Organized Recreation." *League Scrip* (Minneapolis Teachers' League) 12: 23-26, 39; December, 1931.

¹⁴⁵ Pangburn, Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁴⁶ Goodman, E. U., and others. *Report of the Commission on Character Values of Scouting and How Obtained*. New York: Boy Scouts of America (2 Park Ave.), 47 p.

¹⁴⁷ Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I, p. 362-67. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, p. 224-48, 421-25. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Shuttleworth, F. K. *Studies in the Organization of Character*, p. 102, 132-34.

They concluded that one well-known organization for boys was either neutral or deleterious with respect to one of its major aims, the inculcation of honesty, insofar as the specific groups of children studied were concerned; that the members of several organizations, both of boys and of girls, were on the average significantly more cooperative but no more persistent or better inhibited than non-members; and that in certain groups the members made somewhat higher average scores than non-members on tests of moral knowledge. It was impossible to determine, however, whether the apparent superiority of members in helpfulness and in moral knowledge was due to the influence of the organizations or to the selection of superior children as members. A special comparison of children and their club leaders indicated little if any relationship between the scores of the children and the scores of their leaders on tests of moral knowledge.

Several studies¹⁴⁸ have attempted to measure the influence of boys' camps upon conduct and attitudes. Most of them have shown no very significant improvement on the average. Some of the boys appeared to improve during their stay at camp while others actually seemed to lose ground. Some types of behavior showed improvement, while other types did not. The most comprehensive of these studies was probably that by Dimock and Hendry,¹⁴⁹ who used a variety of measures. The camp program in question was of the "project" type, in which control was shared by the boys and their leaders, and artificial incentives played little part. In general, the greatest gains appeared in the following kinds of behavior: (1) friendly approach to unlikeable boy, (2) volunteering for a service task inconspicuously, (3) practising musical appreciation, (4) friendly approach to those of other social, economic, or racial status,

(5) shouldering responsibility, and (6) facing disagreeable facts. The loss exceeded the gain on such items as (1) laziness and indifference, (2) irregular sex behavior (increased number of observed offenses), (3) hurting another's feelings, and (4) disinterest in religious services. Parents were more optimistic than camp leaders as to gains in care of property, initiative, resourcefulness, and absence of grouching, while the leaders were more inclined to report gains in shouldering responsibility, displaying courage, and practising good table manners.

Hartshorne, May, and Maller¹⁵⁰ found a small group of children who had had summer camp experience no better than the average on tests of service and self-control.

The school, of course, should have recreational facilities and a well-developed program for their use outside as well as inside of school hours. In many communities, however, there are other non-commercial agencies equally well or better equipped than the school for providing certain kinds of recreation. With such agencies the school ought to cooperate in leading children to appreciate the finer recreational values, and in strongly opposing the ugly or vicious type of commercialized amusement. These points will be discussed further in the *May Research Bulletin* under "Out-of-Class School Activities" and "Relation of the School to Outside Agencies."

Religious affiliation and religious education—Some relation between church affiliation and certain behavior tendencies has been indicated by several studies. Orata¹⁵¹ found somewhat more prejudice against Orientals among college students with some church affiliation than among those without such affiliation. Woolston¹⁵² obtained similar results in his study

¹⁴⁸ Dimock, Hedley S. *An Appraisal of Behavior Changes in Boys at Camp Ahmek*. Research and Studies II. New York: Association Press, 1930. Dimock, Hedley S., and Hendry, Charles E. *Camping and Character: A Camp Experiment in Character Education*. New York: Association Press, 1929. 364 p. Hein, L. H. *Experiment with Behavior Frequency Tests at the Hastings Lake Camps of the Chicago Y. M. C. A.* Research and Studies II. New York: Association Press, 1930. Ure, Roland. *Report on the Use of Parent Information Blank and Judging Camp Results Blank in Camps during the 1929 Season*. Research and Studies II. New York: Association Press, 1930. Watson, Goodwin. *Some Accomplishments in Summer Camps*. New York: Association Press, 1928. 25 p.

¹⁴⁹ Dimock, Hedley S., and Hendry, Charles E. *Camping and Character: A Camp Experiment in Character Education*. New York: Association Press, 1929. 364 p.

¹⁵⁰ Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, p. 228, 425.

¹⁵¹ Orata, Pedros T. "Race Prejudice." *Welfare Magazine* 18: 766-75; June, 1927.

¹⁵² Woolston, Howard. "Stepbrothers: A Study of Prejudice and Convention." *Social Forces* 6: 368-75; March, 1928.

of prejudice and convention in a wider range of situations. Allport¹⁵³ found a group of college students with radical political attitudes to be only 69-percent Protestant, whereas those with conservative attitudes were 98-percent Protestant. In judging the issues of the 1928 presidential campaign, nearly all students in these groups stated that they considered religion a negligible factor, but only 7 per cent of the Catholics were in favor of the Protestant candidate.

In an analysis of 669 cases of delinquency in Chicago, Healy and Bronner¹⁵⁴ found that success in readjustment was slightly greater among the Catholic men than among the Protestant or Jewish men, but greater among the Jewish women than among the Protestant or Catholic women.

Hartshorne, May, and others¹⁵⁵ found some evidence of relationship between the religious affiliation of parents and the performance of their children on tests of honesty, cooperation, and moral knowledge. In the case of honesty and moral knowledge, most of the observed differences were attributed to the associated factors of intelligence and social-cultural background of the particular groups studied. Even when the factor of intelligence was controlled, however, the children of certain denominations tended to cheat somewhat more than others. On the tests of cooperation or service, the children of Protestant parents did uniformly better than the Catholic children, and generally better than the Jewish children. These differences did not appear to be closely associated with differences in intelligence or cultural level. No significant dif-

ferences were found among these groups on the tests of persistence and inhibition.

In the field of religious education, available evidence gives reason for doubt as to the character values of the traditional type of instruction. Reference has already been made to the studies of Hightower¹⁵⁶ and Taylor and Powers,¹⁵⁷ which indicated practically no correlation between character ratings or conduct scores and knowledge of the Bible, and to Shuttleworth's study¹⁵⁸ of religious home influence, which showed no relation between such influence and scores on tests of cheating and moral judgment.

Clarke¹⁵⁹ gave a "peeping" test to five hundred pupils in a daily vacation Bible school, and found 56 percent of the boys and 68 percent of the girls cheating on at least one of three trials. Amount of Sunday-school experience seemed to exert no influence on the amount of cheating. A second test given near the end of the school session showed a 17-percent improvement among the boys and a 31-percent gain among the girls. Of the pupils who were perfectly honest on the first test, 75 percent were honest on the closing test, while of those who were completely dishonest on the first, 50 percent remained dishonest on the closing test.

The investigations of Hartshorne, May, and others¹⁶⁰ revealed no significant relation between character tendencies and Sunday-school attendance that could be definitely attributed to the influence of the latter. Neither length nor regularity of attendance seemed to be associated with children's tendencies to deceive either at school or at home, or with their

¹⁵³ Allport, Gordon W. "The Composition of Political Attitudes." *American Journal of Sociology* 35: 220-38; September, 1929.

¹⁵⁴ Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta F. *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. 317 p.

¹⁵⁵ Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I, p. 253-56. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, p. 194-99, 401-05. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Shuttleworth, F. K. *Studies in the Organization of Character*, p. 128.

¹⁵⁶ Hightower, Pleasant Roscoe. *Biblical Information in Relation to Character and Conduct*. University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. III, No. 2. Iowa City, Iowa: the University, 1930. 72 p.

¹⁵⁷ Taylor, Howard R., and Powers, Francis F. "Bible Study and Character." *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 35: 294-302; June, 1928.

¹⁵⁸ Shuttleworth, Frank K. "Influence of Early Religious Home Training on College Sophomore Men." *Religious Education* 22: 57-60; January, 1927.

¹⁵⁹ Clarke, Frank A. "Some Character Tests." *American Educational Digest* 46: 225-26; January, 1927.

¹⁶⁰ Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I, p. 357-62. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, p. 219-24, 418-21. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Shuttleworth, F. K. *Studies in the Organization of Character*, p. 103, 128-32.

scores on tests of inhibition. In service and persistence the children who had attended Sunday-school longer appeared very slightly superior, while in moral knowledge and attitudes those who had attended regularly were definitely altho not greatly superior to those who had not. Superiority on the moral-knowledge tests was considered a possible cause of regular attendance, and not necessarily a result of it. No correlation was found between the moral knowledge of the children and that possessed by their Sunday-school teachers.

The generally negative results reported here should not be interpreted as an unfavorable criticism of all types of religious education. Some types of instruction most approved by leading thinkers in this field have not yet been tested, and the tests used thus far probably do not measure all of the desired outcomes. It is perhaps safe to say, however, that the type of religious education usually given probably has not been producing certain expected results. Knowledge of this fact will be appreciated fully as much by workers who are interested in improving religious education as by any other group.

The proper relation between the church and the public school in character education is a problem which, within certain limits, must be solved separately by each local community. The school can undoubtedly help to make religious organizations more effective by maintaining a fundamentally religious outlook in its own work. Members of the school staff may also be encouraged to participate in worthy church activities, including church programs of religious education. It should be pointed out also that in some communities the churches are given a certain amount of school time each week for instructing the pupils in religious and moral principles.

Public and other non-sectarian schools—The character influence of public and private schools which have no sectarian bias is being questioned by many people today. The evidence thus far presented indicates that the school is not, and perhaps cannot be, primarily

responsible for the character growth of children. There are innumerable other factors which, altho not predominant individually, together produce a resultant influence which tends to overshadow the influence of any single agency like the school. This fact is corroborated by a few studies which have attempted to obtain some measure of the social effectiveness of the school itself, or of specific phases of the school program. Studies of rather general nature are mentioned here. Others dealing more specifically with school methods in relation to character are referred to in the *Research Bulletin* for May.

It is usually difficult or impossible to study school influences independently of other influences, such as intelligence and social-economic status. This difficulty has been encountered in studies of crime and delinquency which have shown that certain groups of criminals had less schooling, on the average, than persons in the general population. For example, Glueck and Glueck¹⁶¹ found that only 9 percent of 454 prisoners in the Massachusetts Reformatory had gone beyond the eighth grade and only 55 percent had gone beyond the fifth grade, whereas the proportions of Boston public-school children progressing beyond these grades were considerably larger. The same study showed, however, that nearly 75 percent of the prisoners' families were either dependent or in marginal circumstances economically, that 60 percent came from broken homes, and that nearly 70 percent were either feeble-minded or of "border-line" intelligence. Such data do not indicate that lack of schooling was the major factor in the downfall of these individuals. On the other hand, there is no evidence whatever that education tends to encourage crime, altho the better-educated and more intelligent criminals probably are more successful in escaping arrest and conviction.¹⁶²

To the extent that early withdrawal from school has been a significant factor in the development of delinquent or criminal tendencies, the school itself may frequently have been

¹⁶¹ Glueck, Sheldon, and Glueck, Eleanor T. *500 Criminal Careers*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. p. 116-17, 132-33, 155-56.

¹⁶² For a further summary of research concerning the relation of crime to schools and education, see: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *The Prisoner's Antecedents*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1929, p. 19. National Education Association, Research Division. "Crime Prevention Through Education." *Research Bulletin* 10: 159-61; September, 1932. Washington, D. C.: the Association.

at fault. Brill¹⁰³ concluded from his study of causes underlying conduct disorders of forty boys referred to a habit clinic, that misgrading was the chief factor in causing difficulty and dissatisfaction at school. It was the motive for both truancy and misbehavior in the classroom in 50 percent of the cases studied. Glueck and Glueck's study¹⁰⁴ revealed a greater amount of school retardation among the reformatory group than among the general population as represented by Boston public-school children. Retardation may be due partly to low intelligence and other factors outside the control of the school, but too often the school program fails to take sufficient account of such factors.

Probably the most extensive studies of school influence are those of Hartshorne, May, and others.¹⁰⁵ In interpreting their data, however, it must be borne in mind that most of their work involved pupils in only four school grades, five to eight inclusive, and in only a few school systems. Final conclusions could not be drawn from such a restricted sampling, even if the tests and other technics used had been entirely adequate. Nevertheless, some of the findings are highly suggestive and deserve careful consideration.

Hartshorne and May found a small but definite increase in moral knowledge from the lower to the higher grades, but observed no corresponding general tendency toward improved performance on the conduct tests. Small but consistent increases in inhibition appeared from grade to grade, suggesting that school experience may exercise a definite influence in this direction. On the tests of persistence and service, however, the upper grades in some schools did better than the lower, while in one school located in a decidedly unfavorable environment the upper grades were inferior to the lower. With respect to deceptive behavior, the upper grades were rather generally inferior on certain tests, while on others the upper grades were sometimes superior and sometimes inferior, depending upon the particular school involved. It was impossible to

determine definitely the relative importance of school and out-of-school influences in producing these results. Quite obviously, however, the schools included in this study did not uniformly make their pupils either better or worse in the kinds of behavior measured.

In the same investigation, differences in conduct from one school to another were attributed partly to school atmosphere or morale, which in turn was thought of as a product of general administrative policy, type of supervision, and teacher-pupil relationships. The nature of this morale appeared to be partly dependent upon whether the school used progressive or conventional methods as a general policy. Schools using progressive methods were significantly less deceptive than those using conventional methods, even when such factors as intelligence and home background were equalized.

With regard to the specific influence of the teacher, the Hartshorne-May study was rather inconclusive. Wide differences among various classrooms were observed, even within the same grade level and within the same school. Such differences, however, could not be accounted for by measurable differences among individual teachers. No correlation was found between teachers' scores on the moral knowledge tests and the relative mean scores of their pupils on the same tests. Only occasionally did a teacher seem to diverge enough from his fellows in the same school to induce marked changes in honesty among the children in his class. It is probable, of course, that certain types of teacher influence were not measured at all.

The observed differences among comparable classrooms were attributed largely to a so-called "group morale," produced not so much by the personality or methods of any one teacher as by the continuous association of pupils as a group year after year. The influence of this association may have come ultimately from sources outside as well as inside the school. At any rate, the investigators concluded that each school classroom tends to develop its own

¹⁰³ Brill, Marion S. "Motivation of Conduct Disorders in Boys." *Journal of Delinquency* 11: 5-22; March, 1927.

¹⁰⁴ Glueck, Sheldon, and Glueck, Eleanor T., *op. cit.*, p. 133-34.

¹⁰⁵ Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*, Book I, p. 257-73, 313-38. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, p. 125-39, 143-45, 367-71, 375-79, 410-17. Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Shuttleworth, F. K. *Studies in the Organization of Character*, p. 101-02, 125, 112-13.

characteristic morale, whether good or bad, and that this morale grows stronger from year to year.

Numerous other studies have touched upon the relation of school experience to the attitudes, opinions, and prejudices of individuals. Symonds¹⁶⁶ gave an attitude test and an information test to high-school pupils in the Honolulu public schools and to students in the University of Hawaii. He found that altho the more advanced students were somewhat better informed, they were not significantly more liberal in their attitudes on social questions. Manry,¹⁶⁷ however, found liberal international attitudes more prevalent among college seniors than among college freshmen. His data also indicated that an orientation course given to freshmen produced some increase in liberalism. Jones's study showed differences between senior and freshman classes to be partly dependent upon the field of attitude considered. Seniors appeared more liberal on religion, while freshmen were more liberal on economics.¹⁶⁸

Woolston's study of one hundred university students revealed that those in liberal arts were more liberal in attitude than those in professional schools.¹⁶⁹ Orata¹⁷⁰ found that the liberal students were somewhat more active in cultural courses and societies than were the conservatives.

Jasper¹⁷¹ found that the general optimism of college students was greatest among the freshmen in an institution having a great deal of school spirit, and least among the seniors in a college with a strong intellectual tradition and little social life. Among this investigator's conclusions were the following:

1. Students from different college environments differ greatly in their characteristic social attitudes and personality traits.

2. Naive, unsophisticated enthusiasms are associated with optimism; and intellectual sophistication is associated with pessimism to some extent.

3. There seems to be no support for the common belief that college students have a tendency toward a dangerous depression.

Watson¹⁷² obtained statements from 377 college students as to why, in their own opinion, they had certain attitudes. Of 717 experiences listed, only 21 percent were school experiences. In one hundred replies dealing particularly with war, the school was mentioned in only 10 percent of the instances where a definite influence was referred to. The author suggests, however, that the great predomination of dramatic incidents reported is probably somewhat misleading.

Kornhauser¹⁷³ and Young¹⁷⁴ found, respectively, that a college course in economics and a course in American race problems produced relatively little increase in liberalism of attitude in either field. The influence of such courses doubtless depends upon the specific nature of their content and upon the methods by which they are taught. Bamesberger¹⁷⁵ found, for example, that in a group of public schools in Oklahoma City, a certain type of activity program covering historical and geographical aspects of ancient civilizations produced more new interests, more outside reading, and more constructive enterprises than did a control program of more formal textbook instruction covering the same field of knowledge.

¹⁶⁶ Symonds, Percival M. "A Social Attitude Questionnaire." *Journal of Education Psychology* 16: 316-22; May, 1925.

¹⁶⁷ Manry, James Campbell. *World Citizenship: A Measurement of Certain Factors Determining Information and Judgment of International Affairs*. University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. I, No. 1. Iowa City, Iowa: the University, 1927. 67 p.

¹⁶⁸ Jones, Edward S. "The Opinions of College Students." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 10: 427-36; December, 1926.

¹⁶⁹ Woolston, Howard. "Stepbrothers: A Study of Prejudice and Convention." *Social Forces* 6: 368-75; March, 1928.

¹⁷⁰ Orata, Pedros T. "Race Prejudice." *Welfare Magazine* 18: 766-75; June, 1927.

¹⁷¹ Jasper, Herbert H. "Optimism and Pessimism in College Environments." *American Journal of Sociology* 34: 856-73; March, 1929.

¹⁷² Watson, Goodwin. "Does World-Mindedness Depend upon Good-will or Information? Upon Character or Intelligence?" *Religious Education* 21: 188-94; April, 1926.

¹⁷³ Kornhauser, A. W. "Changes in Attitudes Resulting from a College Course in Economics." Paper, 1927 meeting of American Psychological Association. Abstracted in *Psychological Bulletin* 25: 195-96; 1928.

¹⁷⁴ Young, Donald R. "Some Effects of a Course in American Race Problems on the Race Prejudice of 450 Undergraduates at the University of Pennsylvania." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 22: 235-42, October, 1927-28.

¹⁷⁵ Bamesberger, Velda C. *An Appraisal of a Social Studies Course in Terms of Its Effect Upon the Achievement, Activities, and Interests of Pupils*. Contributions to Education, No. 328. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1928. 91 p.

Studies like those mentioned in this section clearly do not furnish a sufficient basis for evaluating the school's contribution to the formation of character. There seems to be little room for doubt, however, that the influence of the school can be increased and improved in the future. The May issue of the *Research Bulletin* will discuss ways and means of attacking this difficult problem.

Other factors—Many social factors in character development have been mentioned only indirectly or not at all in the preceding pages. Among the most important are the ideals of business and industry, their methods of dealing with employees and consumers, their modes of advertising, their attitudes with respect to service and profit, and their viewpoint regarding child labor and education. Governmental institutions are doubtless exerting increased influence upon young people's ideas of equality and justice. Still other factors are found in the great variety of amusements now so popular and so widely available, and in the many organizations of social, fraternal, economic, civic, professional, political, military, religious, scientific, and esthetic nature which characterize modern life.

Summary of Factors in Character Formation

The studies cited in the preceding pages suggest a wide variety of influencing factors in the formation of personality and character. Some of these factors, such as the fundamental drives, general intelligence, emotional condition, physical condition, and knowledge or understanding, are personal in nature altho not necessarily innate. Other factors, such as the home, the community, friends and companions, agencies of communication and travel, recreational facilities, and religious and educational institutions, are essentially social in their influence.

The available evidence does not permit definite conclusions as to the relative importance of the numerous factors mentioned. Most of them are so complex and interrelated that it is impossible to isolate them for separate study. Moreover, the individual's character is so complex and ever-changing that no entirely valid and practicable means of measuring it has yet been devised. These difficulties are reflected in research results that are often

fragmentary, conflicting, and merely suggestive rather than conclusive. There is special need for caution in the interpretation of correlations or statements of relationship between aspects of character and personal or social conditions. The presence of a statistically significant relationship between two series of measurements does not *prove* that either of the things measured is a cause of the other. Both may be caused by a third factor or group of factors. Moreover, the apparent absence of relationship does not *prove* that the factor under consideration has no influence upon character. One set of conditions may exert an influence which is obscured by counteracting conditions, or it may have an effect upon aspects of character other than those measured.

In spite of these limitations, a few general and somewhat tentative conclusions stand out as especially significant for education. First, character is a product of many factors, rather than of only one or a few. The larger the proportion of these factors that are positively favorable to desirable character growth, the greater is the likelihood that children will develop into desirable citizens. Second, altho both hereditary and environmental factors are influential in personality development, environment seems greatly to outweigh heredity in determining specific modes of response or conduct. Third, of the innumerable environmental forces playing upon the child, the most influential appear to center in those relatively intimate social groupings of the home, family, friends, and associates. It is possible, of course, that native tendencies are partially responsible for the similarities in character among the members of social groups, but the evidence indicates a strong social influence entirely apart from whatever biological factors may be operating.

Processes and Principles of Character Formation¹⁷⁸

From the viewpoint of psychology, how do the many factors just mentioned actually operate to form an individual's character? And what general suggestions concerning educational method can be drawn from the facts of character formation which may be of value

¹⁷⁸ For a more elaborate yet concise exposition of these processes and principles, see the Tenth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence, Chapter 4, "Theory of Character Education," p. 60-78.

in the school? The remainder of this section attempts to answer these questions briefly.

Formation of specific habits—The framework of character consists of relatively specific habits of response to specific situations. These may be habits of thinking and believing as well as of feeling and acting. They appear to be formed in accordance with certain rather definite laws. These laws recognize the motivating force of the fundamental drives, the alteration of responses by association, the strengthening of responses by correct practise and satisfying consequences, and the weakening of responses by annoying consequences and by lack of repetition.

Many habits and attitudes are due largely to emotional conditioning, that is, to the association of emotional reactions with new situations. This process is most simply illustrated in the behavior of animals or very young children. In a tiny baby, for example, rage is naturally aroused by restricting its freedom of movement, and fear is aroused by a sudden loud noise. These responses come to be aroused by a variety of other stimuli which at some time or other are in close association with the original stimuli. In other words, the mere association of objects or people with stimuli which originally made the child angry or afraid or affectionate, tends to make him respond in the same way to these new objects or persons, entirely without the necessity of reasoning or consciousness on his part.

In most situations, of course, conditioning does not operate in the simple fashion suggested. The individual's response has usually been conditioned by a variety of past experiences, some of which may have no obvious relation to the present situation. The effects of these past experiences often complicate the process of learning, and make it necessary to study carefully the history of the individual learner.

The process of emotional conditioning may be used to great advantage in the school, but care must be taken to avoid undesirable conditioning. Thus, judicious praise may win affection, inspire confidence, and stimulate effort, whereas punishment may have the opposite effect. This does not mean that punishment

should never be used. Wisely employed, it is sometimes effective in causing a person to avoid undesirable conduct. But it may be equally effective in discouraging desirable attitudes, and it rarely induces an individual to form a desirable habit.

Ideas and purposes may also play an important part in habit formation. Experiments in learning have shown that a person makes greater progress, other factors being equal, if he knows what is to be learned, why it should be learned, and how it may be learned most effectively. Altho ideas probably are not predominant in determining human conduct at present, there is reason to believe that by suitable training they may become increasingly influential in the future.¹⁷⁷

Generalizations and ideals—The fact that the character of younger children has been found to consist of specific responses to specific situations, without much reference to general principles for guidance, does not mean that children are incapable of generalizing. Generalization is possible for many children, but like habit formation, it proceeds in accordance with certain principles. Among the conditions essential to effective generalization are these: (1) situations in which it is desired that the same type of response be made must have a prepotent element in common; (2) the learner must begin with responses to specific situations, and proceed therefrom to the development of general principles; (3) the learner must have sufficient intelligence and experience to appreciate the similarity of important elements in different situations which call for the same type of response; and (4) the learner must have a desire to generalize from specific experiences.

Children cannot develop general traits or ideals merely by talking, hearing, or reading about them in general terms. Loyalty, obedience, fairness, and similar terms are given real meaning only thru specific experience. Moreover, two or more principles or ideals may conflict with one another in a given situation, and when this occurs the requirements of the situation must be given precedence over the demands of any particular principle. For these

¹⁷⁷ For further discussion of the principles of habit formation see such references as: Benson, Charles E., and others. *Psychology for Teachers*. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1933. Chapters 8 and 9, "The Learning Process," p. 131-203. Sandiford, Peter. *Educational Psychology*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928. Chapter 10, "The Laws of Learning," p. 183-205. Thorndike, E. L. *The Fundamentals of Learning*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932. 638 p.

reasons the learner's attention should be focused first of all on situations rather than on generalizations.

Any procedure for teaching generalizations needs to take into account also the wide differences among children in the capacity to generalize, due to differences in maturity, native intelligence, and previous training. Children in whom this capacity is limited need special training in regard to a large number of specific situations before they can be expected to generalize wisely and effectively.

Altho it seems wiser to approach character education thru specific situations rather than thru generalizations, the latter become increasingly possible and important as the child's experience increases. As rapidly as possible he should be led to draw general conclusions which, allowing for exceptions, will help him to meet similar situations in the future. One must, of course, guard against generalizing from insufficient evidence, and against the blind application of principles in situations for which they are not appropriate. However, in spite of the problems involved, the effort to develop the child's generalizing ability is likely to be more fruitful than a program which is limited to the teaching of specific habits alone. The situations which the individual will encounter during his lifetime are far too numerous and unpredictable to be taught separately and effectively during childhood.¹⁷⁸

Learning thru direct experience and thru language—A serious objection to the indiscriminate use of written codes or maxims in character education is that they often encourage mere verbalism. Children learn to recite or copy them without understanding their meaning or importance. They are usually generalizations which cannot be understood except in terms of specific instances or illustrations. This objection to the use of verbal precept has led some educators to the extreme viewpoint that an individual learns only by doing or by experiencing situations at first hand. Unquestionably direct observation and wise practise

are more effective than verbal description or instruction alone. This does not mean, however, that children can learn nothing worthwhile thru language. If this were true, men would be unable to profit by the experience of earlier generations. Language may be either vague or specific; it may deal either with glittering generalities or with concrete situations closely related to a person's experience and interests. If language itself is well taught, if verbal discussion leads to generalizations only thru adequate illustrations, and if differences in ability to comprehend and to generalize are recognized, the discussion of social and moral issues may serve as a valuable supplement to first-hand experience in real life situations.

Social control vs. individual reflection and self-direction—There is some difference of opinion as to whether children should be taught to depend largely upon social approval or upon individual analysis of situations as guides to conduct. One current trend in educational theory is toward the latter. From the evidence presented earlier in this bulletin,¹⁷⁹ however, it is clear that the pressure of group opinion and judgment will perhaps inevitably exert a powerful influence upon the individual. The child cannot reasonably be expected to assume full responsibility for his conduct in the highly complicated environment of today. During the first years of his life especially, he needs to be taught that certain situations call for certain definite responses. He should learn to make these responses promptly and surely, without undue vacillation or self-questioning. Before these responses have become too definitely crystallized as habits, however, the child may be led to consider the reasons for them. He may be told frankly that some questions of conduct are not completely settled, that there are differences of opinion, and that he will do well to begin thinking about the arguments on various sides of certain questions with a view to modifying the conduct he has learned if and when there seems to be adequate reason for doing so.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ For additional discussion bearing upon the question of generalization, see such references as: Benson, Charles E., and others, *op. cit.*, p. 177-87. Hollingworth, H. L. *Educational Psychology*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1933. Chapter 18, "Transfer of Training and Formal Discipline," p. 405-30. Kennedy-Fraser, David. *The Psychology of Education*. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924. "Results of the Learning Process," p. 165-83.

¹⁷⁹ See "Factors in Character Formation," p. 51-77.

¹⁸⁰ For additional treatment of the relation between social and individual control of behavior, see such references as: Hartshorne, Hugh. *Character in Human Relations*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932. Chapter 18, "Character a Mode of Interaction," p. 239-50. Myerson, Abraham. *The Foundations of Personality*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1921. Chapter 2, "The Environmental Basis of Character," p. 25-50.



CAN VIRTUE recount as many triumphs in the moral world as intellect has won in the material? Can our advances toward perfection in the cultivation of private and domestic virtues, and in the feeling of brotherhood and kindness towards all the members of our households, bear comparison with the improvements in our dwellings, our furniture, or our equipages? Have our charities for the poor, the debased, the ignorant, been multiplied in proportion to our revenues? Have we subdued low vices, low indulgences, and selfish feelings, and have we fertilized the waste places in the human heart as extensively as we have converted the wilderness into plenteous harvest-fields, or enlisted the running waters in our service? In fine, have the mightier and swifter agencies which we have created or applied in the material world any parallel, in new spiritual instrumentalities, by which truth can be more rapidly diffused, by which the high places of iniquity can be brought low, or its crooked ways made straight?

Must it not be acknowledged, that, morally speaking, we stand in arrears to the age in which we live, and must not some new measures be adopted by which we can redeem our forfeited obligations?—Horace Mann, Annual Report to the Massachusetts Board of Education, 1845.
