A STUDY OF PUNISHMENT

IN EDUCATION

A Thesis

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An introduction and background of the study, the
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the definitions of the terms used, and the organization of
the remainder of the study are encompassed in this chapter.

INTRODUCTION

Punishment has for ages been the most widely used
method of controlling behavior problems of children. For
centuries the use of punishment went almost unquestioned,
and later only corporal punishment was doubted. Certainly,
those who did not spank their children were considered by
many to be doing their children irreparable harm, as can be
seen in the once popular statements, "He that spareth his
rod hateth his son. . . ,"[1] and "Spare the rod and spoil
the child." More recently in history, punishment has been
praised and blamed, popular and unpopular, and we have in
the last few decades seen the pendulum swing from strictness
to permissiveness and back again.

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[1]Proverbs 13:24, King James Version.

THE PROBLEM

One of the most controversial aspects of education is the use of punishment. Many educators believe punishment to be a desirable incentive to learning. According to an opinion poll of superintendents, seventy-two percent were in favor of using corporal punishment to control student behavior.[2] In a similar but more recent study it was found that more than nine out of ten administrators believed that a paddling was necessary to put misbehaving students back in line.[3] A majority of parents were also convinced that punishment was a necessary ingredient for good discipline. One survey of parents reported fifty-five percent in favor of permitting teachers to spank students.[4] These figures indicated that there was disagreement over the use of corporal punishment. But during the last fifty years a small amount of experimentation has been done concerning the effectiveness of punishment. Some scientific experimentation studying the effect of punishment on the individual has been conducted. Other research has been in the nature of experimental schools that used little or no punishment.

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[2]A. H. Rice, "Most Superintendents Favor the Use of Corporal Punishment," Nations Schools, LVIII (July, 1956), 57.

[3]"Swat Students Who Misbehave Say 9 out of 10," Nations Schools, LXXIII (July, 1964), 58.

[4]William W. Brickman, "Leadership, the Rod and Education," School Society, LXXXI (February, 1955), 43.

The result has been to place the wisdom of using any punishment in serious doubt. This doubt was further supported when it was found that numerous psychologists held a position similar to Lane who wrote, "All punishment, all fear, forces the child into deeper forms of immorality than the one we try to cure."[5] Apparently there is a controversy over the use of punishment. The present study has attempted to help resolve the issue regarding its effectiveness as a deterrent to misbehavior.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was: (1) to evaluate the effectiveness of punishment as a method of maintaining classroom discipline and correcting behavior problems, (2) to investigate the evidence from those scientific studies that have tested the effect punishment has on the individual, (3) to describe the attempts at maintaining discipline without the use of punishment and the results of these attempts, (4) to consider any psychological evidence concerning the emotional stability of individuals who administer punishment, (5) to study the phenomenon of self-destructive impulses of students and to interpret the findings and their implications on using punishment in education, (6) to draw tentative conclusions that are suggested by an

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[5]Homer Lane, Talks to Parents and Teachers (New York: Hermitage Press, Inc., 1949), p. 34.

analysis of the data, and (7) to make specific recommenda-
tions for further research. Generally, then, this study
can be explained by the question: Should the use of punish-
ment in education be retained?

Statement of the Hypotheses

Four hypotheses were chosen because it appeared to
the writer that insufficient study had been devoted to the
problems to enable a definite educational policy to be
established. An initial investigation of the literature
indicated that there may be a relationship between the mental
health of students and the methods used in treating their
behavior problems. Hence, the first hypothesis was developed.
This examination of punishment revealed that there are many
nonpunitive techniques available for maintaining discipline
but that they are not in common use. There did not seem to
be an answer immediately available to the question: Are
punitive and nonpunitive techniques equally effective in
controlling behavior problems? Thus, the second hypothesis
was formulated. Neill wrote that "In the act of punishing
the teacher or parent is hating the child . . . ."[6]
Although this statement was only a partially supported asser-
tion, the writer believed that it did pose a question of
significant importance, which should be answered. The third

[6]A. S. Neill, Summerhill (New York: Hart Publishing
Company, 1960), p. 165.

hypothesis was developed from Neill's statement. Like the
first three, the fourth hypothesis was constructed after an
initial survey of the literature. It was found that some
studies had linked self-destructive tendencies to the seeking
of punishment. The writer felt that if there were sufficient
evidence to warrant such a connection, it would have impor-
tant implications for the use of punishment in education.
Although research has been done in each area respectively,
very little has been done to interpret the data as they
applied to education.

The following hypotheses were formed:

1. There is no difference between the mental health of
   students who have been punished and those who have
   had behavior problems corrected by other means.

2. There is no difference in the effectiveness of school
   discipline that is maintained by the use of punish-
   ment and school discipline maintained without the use
   of punishment.

3. There is no difference in the emotional stability of
   educators who use punishment and educators who
   refrain from punishing.

4. There is no difference in the way punishment is
   received by students who have strong self-destructive
   tendencies and those who do not have strong self-
   destructive tendencies.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The primary method used to accumulate the data in this study was bibliographical research. The literature included reports of scientific experimentation and the writings of educational and psychological authorities. Besides this primary technique in gathering data, a secondary technique was employed. A short questionnaire was designed, evaluated, and sent to a small number of selected psychologists and psychiatrists. The reason for the questionnaire was not to accumulate statistical data but rather to supplement the data compiled by bibliographical research.

The questionnaire was constructed by the writer after a careful examination of literature concerning questionnaires and punishment in education. It was then submitted to all members of the committee for critique. After a revised questionnaire was developed, it was given to two local authorities for answering and further suggestions. A final questionnaire was then designed and sent to selected psychologists and psychiatrists. A list of those to whom questionnaires were mailed has been included in the Appendix. The evidence found which concerned each of the four hypotheses has been reported in the fourth chapter. To verify or reject the hypotheses, the evidence was evaluated concerning the amount of evidence supporting a given position, the

significance of the evidence, the specific implications
of the evidence, and the nature of the evidence.

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

In this study it has been necessary to define the
terms and to establish clear differences between related
terms. It is important to point out at this time that many
of the authors quoted used the terms "punishment" and
"discipline" interchangeably. However, in an attempt to
avoid confusion, it was decided to define "punishment" as
a forceful procedure and "discipline" as orderly behavior
(see below for complete definition).

Punishment. This term referred to an unpleasant
experience which was self-induced or administered by another
person for the purpose of retribution or of causing the
individual to suffer for his behavior.[7]

Restraint. Restraint is applied by another person:
(1) to prevent the individual from infringing upon the rights
of others, and (2) to prevent the individual from harming
himself.

Discipline. Discipline has referred to the orderly
behavior of an individual in respect to the rights and
privileges of others and to his prior agreements, whether such
behavior was self-initiated or forced by another authority.

[7]Carter V. Good, Dictionary of Education (New York:
McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959), p. 431.

LIMITATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

Limitation of Study

This study has made no attempt to conduct experimental research concerning the hypotheses. Nor has the writer tried specifically to observe consequences of punishment or reward in education for the purpose of gathering data for this study. The information was collected by bibliographical research. Literature concerning experimental schools operating with the use of little or no punishment has been examined. The study has made use of past scientific research that has studied the effect of punishment. Careful attention has also been given to the writings and opinions of psychologists on the subject of punishment. This study was concerned with the education of "normal" students, leaving it to other studies to investigate how punishment related to the needs of children with special problems. It was recognized that public schools deal with many individuals who have special needs, such as juvenile delinquents, emotionally disturbed or mentally retarded children. Any reference to these special cases was included because of the implications for all public school education.

Significance of the Study

Several factors have contributed to the significance of this study. First, controversy over the issue of punishment indicated the need for more research in the area.

Secondly, because this study has attempted to exhaust the
possibility of developing a general philosophical approach
to the topic of punishment, it has exposed the strengths and
weaknesses of the arguments concerning punishment. Therefore,
this study has shown that additional research and experi-
mentation is needed by the proponents of both sides of the
controversy. The writer also attempted to present an
interpretation of the research that has been done, of the
opinions held by several prominent psychologists and
psychiatrists across the country, and to relate these
interpretations to the educational situation. Therefore, it
can be said that the primary significance of this study has
been at the philosophical, interpretative level rather than
the level of experimental research.

ORGANIZATION OF REMAINDER OF THE THESIS

The remainder of the thesis has been organized into
five chapters. Chapter two presents a review of related
literature. The third chapter is concerned with development
and results of the questionnaire. An analysis of the data
gathered by bibliographical research is the topic of Chapter
four. It was divided into four sections so that each of the
four hypotheses could be considered separately. Chapter
five encompassed an interpretation of the data and the
verification or rejection of the four hypotheses, respec-
tively. The sixth and final chapter includes the summary,
conclusions, and recommendations.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter reviews the literature that is closely
related in content and procedure to the present study,
surveys the experimental research on punishing, considers
selected material concerning the punishment of prisoners, and
reviews evidence regarding the punishment of children in the
home.

LITERATURE RELATED IN CONTENT AND PROCEDURE

Murphy, in a study done at Ohio State University,
used a questionnaire to determine the opinions of teachers,
counselors, and administrators on the management of specific
behavior problems. He recommended that studies should be
made to compare and evaluate various methods educators use
in handling student misbehavior.[1] The present study has
been developed partially from that suggestion.

Another study, completed at Eastern New Mexico
University, was similar to the present study. Collie

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[1]Thomas P. Murphy, "Attitudes and Practices for
Handling Behavior Problems" (unpublished Master's thesis,
Ohio State University, 1963), p. 76.

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wrote that the purpose of her study was to compile
"suggestions made by authorities concerning the treatment
of problem children who display some of the most common
unfavorable behavior patterns."[2] Collie indicated that
punishment should be used only with great care:

> Punishment is something to be administered with
> the future--not the past--in mind. It should be
> considered from the standpoint of its effect on the
> child, not from the standpoint of the annoyance or
> expense caused by the act.[3]

She recommended that punishment should be avoided in cases
such as temper tantrums, fighting, stealing, and lying.
An understanding, counseling approach, combined with
preventive measures, was considered superior for these
behavior problems.[4]

Bauer conducted an experimental study using sixth
grade students as subjects. They were divided into low,
medium, and high ability groups with four sub-groups for
each level. One sub-group received reward and punishment,
the second reward and no punishment, the third punishment
but no reward, and the fourth served as a control group,
receiving no punishment or reward. Each group and sub-group

[2]Blanche Collie, "Behavior Problems and Treatment of
the Primary Child" (unpublished Master's thesis, Eastern
New Mexico University, 1960), p. 2.

[3]Collie, p. 30.

[4]Collie, pp. 34-46.

was given a discriminative learning task. Bauer found that,
"Reward had a greater effect than punishment, or no incentive,
on directing the attention of low and average ability as to
the relevant stimuli in the learning experiment."[5] He also
found that, if punishment were used in combination with reward,
it would cause average and low ability students to perform
more poorly than the group that received only reward.[6] This
was in support of Thorndike, who indicated that positive
reinforcement was superior to punishment for promoting
learning.[7] However, contrary to Thorndike, Bauer found that
punishment was equally effective as reward for high ability
students.[8]

In a study conducted at Western Kentucky University,
Stevenson found three categories of current disciplinary
trends. She collected her data from six periodicals, which
a previous study had determined to be widely read by public
school teachers. The periodicals were Instructor, N.E.A.
Journal, Grade Teacher, English Journal, Mathematics
Teacher, and Reading Teacher.[9] Categories that she

[5]David H. Bauer, "An Initial Investigation into the
Motivation Options Available to the Classroom Teacher"
(unpublished Master's thesis, Bucknell University, 1967), p. 60.

[6]Bauer, p. 60.

[7]Ernest R. Hilgard and Gordon H. Bower, Theories of
Learning (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), p. 26.

[8]Bauer, p. 60.

[9]Jane Stevenson, "Trends in Educational Thinking
Respecting Classroom Control as Revealed Through Professional
Periodicals 1960-1965" (unpublished Master's thesis, Western
Kentucky University, 1967), p. 3.

identified were, ". . . Self-Control vs. External Control;

Cause of Misbehavior vs. Symptom; and Student-Teacher

Participation in Classroom Planning vs. Teacher-Dominated

Classroom."[10] In each case she reported the trend moved

toward the first of each paired set. Finally, she concluded

that the movement to self-control was of greatest importance

for education.[11] Caution should be exercised in inter-

preting these data. The data did indicate that the trend was

to eliminate punishment as an external control in favor of

helping the student accept responsibility for his own behavior.

However, the data did not indicate that there was a

corresponding movement to eliminate positive reinforcement

as an external control.

GENERAL DATA ON PUNISHING

Most of the evidence supporting punishment as a

valuable technique in controlling behavior has come from

experimental research. Solomon summarized some of the

factors concerning the use of punishment. In his summary

he indicated that scientific research has shown that

punishment inflicted immediately and with sufficient

intensity will dissuade a person from the specific punished

behavior. However, it does not serve as a deterrent to those

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[10]Stevenson, p. 56.

[11]Stevenson, p. 56.

individuals who may have witnessed punishment of others, but who were not directly treated by punishment.[12]

Research studies have been conducted on what effect varying degrees of punishment intensity have on behavior. "Preliminary studies in our laboratory . . . support Azrin's findings that recovery of a punished response is dependent on the intensity of the shock."[13] Other experiments have supported and explained the use of punishment. Whiting and Mowrer studied the use of punishment on rats. They found that punishment was superior to both a physical barrier and non-reward in teaching rats to " . . . abandon the shorter of two routes to a goal and accept the longer as a substitute . . . ."[14]

For education, one of the most important contributions concerning the use of punishment was made by Estes. He stated:

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[12]Richard L. Solomon, "Punishment," American Psychologist, XIX (April, 1964), 251.

[13]Gary C. Walters and Judith V. Rogers, "Aversive Stimulation of the Rat: Long Term Effects on Subsequent Behavior," Punishment: Issues and Experiments, eds. Erling E. Boe and Russell M. Church (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968), p. 230.

[14]John W. Whiting and O. H. Mowrer, "Habit Progression and Regression--a Laboratory Study of Some Factors Relevant to Human Socialization," Punishment: Issues and Experiments, eds. Erling E. Boe and Russell M. Church (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968), p. 83.

In many instances, one is interested not so much in
actually eliminating a response as in supplanting an
undesired response to a situation with a more
acceptable one.   Punishment can be usefully employed
as a means of temporarily suppressing the original
response while some other response is strengthened by
reinforcement.[15]

He indicated that teachers could choose a particular behavior

to be changed.   The teacher would punish that behavior

every time it occurred in a certain situation; this would

hold the wrong behavior at a low level of occurrence.

During this same time, the teacher would watch closely for

an acceptable behavior to occur in the same situation; when

such behavior did occur, it would be reinforced.   The

reinforced behavior will occur more frequently while the

punished behavior will occur less often.   Eventually, the

acceptable behavior will replace the unacceptable one.

However, according to Estes, one must be careful using

punishment in this way.   If the original punishment is too

severe, the wrong behavior may not recur in that situation.

If the individual does not behave inappropriately again in

front of the teacher, it may mean that he has not learned a

better behavior but has learned to avoid getting caught.[16]

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[15]William K. Estes, "An Experimental Study of
Punishment," Punishment: Issues and Experiments, eds.
Erling E. Boe and Russell M. Church (New York: Appleton-
Century-Crofts, 1968), p. 165.

[16]Estes, p. 164.

Guthrie viewed punishment somewhat differently than the other psychologists mentioned:

> . . . It is not the feeling caused by punishment, but the specific action caused by punishment that determines what will be learned. To train a dog to jump through a hoop, the effectiveness of punishment depends on where it is applied, front or rear. It is what the punishment makes him feel.[17]

Skinner did not completely concur with Guthrie regarding punishment. Skinner called punishment a poor method for controlling behavior. The first effect of punishment is to temporarily suppress behavior, making it appear successful when it is not. Secondly, punishment produces emotional behavior such as anger or crying. Replacing undesirable behavior with emotional behavior is not a good solution. Thirdly, the emotional response may become conditioned to some other stimulus, possibly the stimulus of the punisher himself. Therefore, punishment is an unreliable technique for controlling behavior and could cause undesirable side effects.[18]

PUNISHMENT OF CRIMINALS

Despite the evidence that behavior can be controlled if punishment is administered immediately and severely, Menninger concluded that human beings cannot be controlled by punishment:

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[17]E. R. Guthrie, The Psychology of Learning (New York: Harper and Row, 1935), p. 158.

[18]B. F. Skinner, Science of Human Behavior (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1953), pp. 184-190.

It is facile and fallacious to assume from this fact that human beings in general can be conditioned by threats of punishment or by the delayed infliction of penalties of attenuated painfulness from yielding to the temptation of impulsive crimes. If society were able to catch most offenders, and then if it were willing to punish them promptly without any discrimination, inflicting the penalties fairly but ruthlessly, as it were, most crime could be prevented.[19]

Menninger was writing about criminals, not students, but what he said may have relevance to the use of punishment in education.

There was a long list of psychologists and social scientists who advocated abolishing much or all of the punishment of criminals in favor of psychological treatment. Sington and Playfair criticized imprisonment as a form of punishment. "Nearly all the worst crimes are committed by graduates of penal establishments."[20] This idea was further supported by Bernard who wrote, "A study of the history of penal methods indicates that punishment has uniformly been a failure as far as improved behavior control is concerned."[21] Bernard goes on to claim that punishment has an even less secure basis in school than it does in dealing with criminals: "The control is external and does nothing to secure the internal direction that is

[19]Karl Menninger, The Crime of Punishment (New York: The Viking Press, 1968), p. 208.

[20]Derrick Sington and Giles Playfair, Crime, Punishment, and Cure (London: The Camelot Press Limited, 1965), p. 25.

[21]Harold Bernard, Mental Hygiene for Classroom Teachers (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1961), p. 231.

desirable in our society."[22] In close agreement with the other writers cited in this chapter, Kessler supported psychological treatment for juvenile offenders:

> Too many people feel that the psychological approach to juvenile delinquency will only result in molly coddling the offender and speeding the day when society's barricade against crime will no longer stand. Stern punishment is still viewed by some as the only solution for badness, despite over-whelming evidence to the contrary.[23]

There was a great deal of support from the various branches of the social scientists for minimizing the use of punishment in the treatment of criminals. Although this provided no evidence for the elimination of punishment in school, it suggested the possibility that if criminals were most successfully treated without the use of punishment, students might also be treated successfully without punishment.

PUNISHMENT IN THE HOME

The use of punishment as a means of maintaining discipline in the home has been used throughout history. Many specific punishments such as spanking, sitting in the corner, or going without supper are among the first to come to one's mind. Parents have relied primarily on common sense

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[22]Bernard, p. 231.

[23]Jane W. Kessler, Psychopathology of Childhood (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 328.

in using punishment. It is true that when a child associates a particular act with an unpleasant punishment, he refrains from the objectional behavior. In psychological terms, this is called the pleasure-pain principle and logically is sound reasoning. Not only did it make sense, but there was always a plentiful supply of adults who were ready to offer testimonials claiming that it was punishment that got them on the right path.

Frequently, parents resort to punishment in an effort to protect their children from some danger in the environment such as a hot furnace or a busy street. However, contrary to this position, Neill wrote that punishment is not even necessary in those circumstances:

> Some years ago, I visited my friend Wilhelm Reich in Maine. His son, Peter, was three years old. The lake at the doorstep was deep. Reich and his wife simply told Peter that he should not go near the water. Having had no hateful training and therefore having trust in his parents, Peter did not go near the water.[24]

The example showed that in one case the child was protected from danger without the use of punishment.

Ginott in his book, <u>Between Parent and Child</u>, wrote of the possible dangers involved in spanking a child. He stated:

> Frequent spankings, too, may have a negative impact on sex development. Because of the proximity of the organs, a child may get sexually aroused when spanked.

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[24]A. S. Neill, <u>Summerhill</u> (New York: Hart Publishing Company, 1960), p. 159.

Or he may so enjoy the making-up that follows the punishment that he will come to seek suffering as a necessary prelude to love.[25]

The evidence presented in this chapter has been concerned with the use of punishment in various settings of our culture. This review of literature indicated that the controversy which exists over the use of punishment in education extends to every aspect of our culture. The data has shown punishment (good or bad) to be an ingrained characteristic of our society that will not easily be changed.

In conducting this survey of related literature, the writer became aware that excellent material existed on the topic of punishment which was not directly concerned with the use of punishment in education. In an attempt to discover the opinions on punishment in education of those who had expressed themselves concerning punishment in related areas, a questionnaire was designed and sent to selected professionals. The following chapter will pertain to the results of that questionnaire.

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[25]Hiam Ginott, Between Parent and Child (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), p. 150.

Chapter 3

DEVELOPMENT AND RESULTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This chapter is concerned with the reasons for
using a questionnaire, the methods and procedures used in
developing and sending the questionnaire, and the results
obtained from it.

REASONS FOR THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Early in the investigation of the topic, it became
apparent that many of the leading psychologists and
psychiatrists in this country had not recently written about
their position on the use of punishment in education. Many
had expressed their views earlier; others had written about
the punishment of criminals or children in the home but had
not expressed themselves on the use of punishment in educa-
tion. Recognizing that professionals may change their
views over the years, the writer thought that it might be
valuable to assess their present position. Also, it was
thought that those who had expressed their views on the
punishment of criminals or children in the home would also
have valuable opinions on the use of punishment in school.
Finally, it was thought that outstanding professionals in
psychology may have important insight into a given topic,

even though they had never published material on that

topic. Therefore, in an effort to research thoroughly the

professional opinions, as well as the empirical evidence,

it was considered important to poll a selected group of

outstanding psychologists and psychiatrists in various

areas of professional practice.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

In the development of the questionnaire, it was

decided that a list of punishments frequently used by

teachers would be provided with a scale so that the individual

could indicate whether he would suggest the use of a partic-

ular punishment frequently, regularly, seldom, or never.

According to Laycock, in his book Mental Hygiene in the

School, there are some twelve punishments that are frequently

used in the school.[1] His list was employed in constructing

the first page of the questionnaire. A list of these

punishments can be found in Table 1, page 26.

On the second page of the questionnaire, seven

questions were asked, in an effort to determine the position

of these professionals on specific issues concerning punish-

ment in education. A list of the questions can be found in

the Appendix on page 98.

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[1]Samuel R. Laycock, Mental Hygiene in the School
(Montreal: The Copp Clark Publishing Co. Limited, 1960),
pp. 99-102.

In the development of the questionnaire, the writer designed an original plan, which was shown to the committee and to two other professors of psychology for critique. After conferences with each of the five professors concerning their suggestions for improving the questionnaire, it was revised and submitted to the committee for final approval.

The next step was to compile a selected list of forty well known psychologists and psychiatrists, to whom the questionnaire would be sent. The list was compiled with the help of the committee and a psychology professor. An effort was made to select a balanced list from the four historical-traditional schools of thought: psychoanalytic, phenomenological, behavioral, and bio-physical. Of the forty on the original list, the questionnaire reached thirty-six of them. One was deceased, one was in failing health, and two were out of the country on extended leaves and were not available at the time. Of the remaining thirty-six questionnaires that were sent, twenty-three were returned, or sixty-four percent.

The two-page questionnaire was mailed with a self-addressed, stamped envelope and a short cover letter which explained the purpose and use of the questionnaire. Two weeks later a follow-up letter was sent to those who had not yet returned the questionnaire; after two additional weeks a second follow-up letter was sent.

RESULTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Of those who returned questionnaires, six considered themselves psychoanalytic, two phenomenological, ten behavioral, one bio-physical, one psychobiological, and three eclectic. Although it was unfortunate that only two phenomenological psychologists returned their questionnaires, the writer believed that the response was good. The discrepancy in the total number tallied for the various punishments in the table on page 26, can be accounted for by the decision of some not to indicate their positions on certain punishments.

In regard to the first three punishments listed, name calling, sarcasm and ridicule, and nagging, the respondents rejected overwhelmingly the use of these punishments. Eighty-six percent of those responding indicated that they would never recommend sarcasm or ridicule, and seventy-seven percent would never suggest nagging. The only other punishments which received unfavorable recommendations from the respondents were corporal punishment, with seventy-two percent answering "never," and expulsion, with sixty-three percent reporting "never." Other punishments that were marginally approved to be used "seldom" were scolding, group punishment, and detention. Just over fifty percent of those polled indicated that they would seldom suggest scolding, group punishment, and detention for use in correcting classroom behavior problems. It was recommended by sixty-three percent that suspension be used

sparingly. The remaining three-mild verbal disapproval,
deprivation of privileges, and rectification--received clear
support for moderate use.

Table 1

Tabulated Results of Questionnaire, Page 1

Types of Punishments	Frequently	Regularly	Seldom	Never
1. Name Calling			3	19
2. Sarcasm and Ridicule			4	19
3. Nagging			5	17
4. Scolding			11	10
5. Mild Verbal Disapproval	1	9	10	1
6. Group Punishment	1	2	10	8
7. Detention		1	11	9
8. Deprivation of Privileges	3	9	9	1
9. Rectification	4	7	4	1
10. Corporal Punishment	1		5	16
11. Suspension			14	8
12. Expulsion			8	14

As indicated in Chapter one, and supported by the
first part of the questionnaire, there are various positions
concerning the use of punishment in education. As a result
of these differences, questions were designed in an effort
to determine the position of these professionals on the
various aspects of punishment. The first question, which
seemed to be the crux of disagreement, was, "Do you believe
that behavior problems of students can be corrected without
the use of punishment?" Fourteen answered "yes," six
answered "no," and three reported "usually," "sometimes," and
"often" as their responses. Therefore, it can be concluded
that using techniques other than punishment received strong
support from those polled. Some of the evidence the writer
reviewed indicated that punishment may actually serve as a
cause of behavior problems. Hence, the second question, "Is
punishment an important cause of behavior problems in youth?"
Once again the question received strong "yes" support with
fifteen responding "yes," six responding "no," one indicating
"sometimes," and another saying he did not know. According
to the answers on the first two questions of the questionnaire,
many professional psychologists apparently believe that
punishment is both unnecessary and harmful.

The third question to be asked was, "Do you believe
that punishment is a useful tool in correcting behavior
problems?" Fourteen answered "yes" and nine "no." The
answers to this question indicate clear support for punishment
as a tool in correcting behavior.

Question four refers directly to the third hypothesis concerning the emotional stability of teachers who use punishment. The question, "Is there any relationship between the emotional stability of a teacher and the severity and frequency of the punishments he administers?," received eighteen "yes" responses and three "no" responses. One individual indicated that he did not know.

Questions five and six were asked in an effort to determine if these professionals believed teacher training to be partially responsible for the use of punishment in education. Fifteen of those returning questionnaires indicated that, with proper training, teachers could deal effectively with behavior problems without resorting to punishment. Six indicated that teachers could not, and one wrote in "more often." Question six asked, "Do you believe it would be practical and realistic to implement such training in teacher preparation programs?" An overwhelming majority of seventeen responded "yes," while one said "no," and another indicated that the teacher should consult with a counselor. The response to the last two questions indicated that the professionals consulted in this study strongly supported further training for teachers in dealing with behavior problems of students. When one considers the answers given to all the questions on the second page of the questionnaire, it must be concluded that many psychologists believe that

methods superior to punishment could be utilized by teachers
if they were properly trained in how to correct behavior
problems.

It is believed that the questionnaire has been
useful in providing professional opinions on the various
topics to be considered throughout the study. The informa-
tion reported in this chapter is used further in supporting
or negating the four hypotheses examined in the following
chapter.

Chapter 4

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

This chapter is concerned with an analysis of the
data as they pertained to each of the four hypotheses
respectively.

PUNISHMENT AND MENTAL HEALTH

The first hypothesis was: There is no difference
between the mental health of students who have been punished
and those who have had behavior problems corrected by other
means.

It was no easy task to define mental health, but
some authorities in the field have given fairly clear
guidelines as to what constitutes mental health. Redl and
Wattenberg held that there are three criteria for good mental
health: adjustment, maturity, and normality. "Adjustment
represents the ability of an individual to live harmoniously
with his environment and with himself and to keep intact his
personal integrity."[1] An individual should be able to
adjust himself to the environment and the environment to
himself in such a way that his behavior is both tolerable to
others and to his own conscience.

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[1]Fritz Redl and William Wattenberg, Mental Hygiene
in Teaching (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1951),
p. 182.

"Maturity is relative to age and environment. Behavior is mature when it is appropriate to the age level, the problems, and the setting of the individual."[2] This should not be interpreted as a perfect standard to be attained but instead as a level of development.

> Normality, as we have seen, can have three meanings.
> Behavior is normal when it is typical of the group,
> when a great many others in similar circumstances act
> the same way. We can also regard conduct as normal when,
> even though somewhat unusual, it is what we can
> reasonably expect an individual to do under the
> conditions which he confronts. Lastly . . . we would
> hesitate to call any actions, thoughts, or feelings
> abnormal unless they indicated marked disorder.[3]

Redl and Wattenberg have provided us with a working definition of the concept of mental health. However, the writer has supplemented the definition with three characteristics of mental health as explained by Laycock. It was felt that these points would help in clarifying certain interpretations later in this chapter. First, mentally healthy people generally feel comfortable about themselves. They develop self-respect and a feeling of being worthwhile. They are capable of accepting disappointments and of being tolerant of shortcomings in themselves and others. Secondly, those who are mentally healthy feel good about other people; they are capable of loving and being considerate of others. People who are mentally healthy should be able to build personal

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[2] Redl and Wattenberg, p. 182.

[3] Redl and Wattenberg, p. 183.

relationships that are satisfying and lasting. Thirdly, individuals who are mentally healthy should be able to meet the various problems of life with a reasonable degree of stability. They should be able to accept responsibility for their behavior being profitable to both themselves and to others.[4]

In Chapter two on related literature, it was reported that there is scientific evidence indicating that punishment is an effective tool in the control of human behavior. It was further reported that the common-sense position, which implies that an individual refrains from punished acts in an effort to avoid pain, has its foundation in the pleasure-pain principle of Freudian psychology. This evidence supported the usefulness of punishment as a control technique. In psychological theory there are clear implications that punishment is not only useful but absolutely necessary for the development of a conscience.

> According to most current psychological theories the essence of conscience is a "must"--a dread of punishment if one commits or omits an action.[5]
> . . . .
> . . . in the case of conscience it is punishment rather than reward that seems to be the decisive agent.[6]

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[4]Samuel R. Laycock, Mental Hygiene in the School (Montreal: The Copp Clark Publishing Co. Limited, 1960), pp. 2-3.

[5]Gordon W. Allport, Becoming (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1955), p. 72.

[6]Allport, p. 69.

As a result of some scientific data and certain psychological theories, evidence has been found supporting the retention of punishment in education. According to Blair, there are five primary purposes for using punishment in education: (1) to instill respect for authority, (2) to prevent undesirable behavior, (3) to force the child to do things considered important by the teacher which he would otherwise not do, (4) to serve as an example for potential offenders, and (5) to serve as motivation for the learning of assigned material.[7] These are the goals of educators who use punishment.

A scientific study conducted by Kounin and Gump compared the influence of punitive and nonpunitive teachers on first grade children. Their first hypothesis was, "Punitive teachers will create or activate more aggression-tension than will nonpunitive teachers." The data they gathered strongly supported this hypothesis. The most serious aggression was displayed by children who had punitive teachers. These children produced more acts that were destructive to the school environment, misbehaved in more

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[7] Glenn M. Blair, R. Steward Jones and Ray H. Simpson, Educational Psychology (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1962), pp. 197-98.

dangerous ways, were involved in more physical assaults, and produced more physical harm to their targets than did children with nonpunitive teachers.[8]

Their second hypothesis, "Children with punitive teachers will be more unsettled and conflicted [turmoiled] about misbehavior in school," was supported by the findings. "Children with punitive teachers express more abhorrence for the misdeeds which they have selected and yet select misdeeds which require 'malice and forethought.'"[9]

Kounin and Gump also found that the punitiveness of teachers detracted from the children's concern with school-unique values. From this aspect of their research, the important findings for the present study were that children who had punitive teachers talked more about physical attacks on peers and less about learning and achievement than did children with nonpunitive teachers.[10]

This writer has discovered much unfavorable evidence concerning the use of punishment in education. Blair listed five undesirable aspects of punishment: (1) resentment and hostility toward the "punisher," (2) increased emotionality

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[8]Jacob S. Kounin and Paul V. Gump, "Influence of Punitive and Nonpunitive Teachers," Readings in Psychological Foundations of Education, eds. Walter H. MacGinitie and Samuel Ball (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1968), p. 238.

[9]Kounin and Gump, p. 238.

[10]Kounin and Gump, p. 238.

often so severe that any learning during the phase of activity

elicited by the punishment is unlikely, (3) learning in

order to avoid punishment rather than for the intrinsic

value of the material to be learned, (4) fatigue due to

tension created by anxiety, and (5) disintegration of class

morale.[11] According to the definition of mental health

presented earlier in this chapter, characteristics one,

two, and five of the preceding list represent hazards to a

punished student's mental health. However, there was no

evidence presented by Blair to indicate that another form of

behavior control would be without those hazards. Fortunately,

research has been done on this precise point. Hetherington

and Klinger conducted a task learning experiment with one-

hundred fifty female college students. The subjects were

divided into three groups. Each group was assigned to learn

a task under one of the three conditions: verbal reward,

verbal punishment, and a neutral condition. "The results

directly support the hypothesis that psychopathy is

associated with learning under conditions of punishment."[12]

It was not indicated that reward or neutral conditions had

any relation to the development of psychopathy.

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[11]Blair, Jones, and Simpson, p. 198.

[12]E. Mavis Hetherington and Eric Klinger,
"Psychopathy and Punishment," Journal of Abnormal and Social
Psychology, LXIX (July, 1964), 115.

Skinner has long advocated that excessive control of people, especially if they are controlled by punishment, may result in mental disorder. The punishment and inhibitation of strong behaviors may result in psychosomatic illness or other chronic conditions which interfere with daily life.[13] Skinner stated further that:

> The phobias represent excessive fear reactions to circumstances which are not always clearly associated with control. But the fact that they are "unreasonable" fears--fears for which no commensurate causal condition can be found--suggest that they are primarily responses to punishment and that the fear generated by excessive control has simply been displaced.[14]

Skinner stated that the need for psychotherapy results when an individual has been excessively controlled by punishment. He classified the unfortunate by-products of punishment in two types, (1) emotional and (2) operant behavior. The emotional responses were anxiety, anger or rage, and depression. Operant behavior by-products of punishment were drug addiction, excessively vigorous behavior, excessively restrained behavior, defective stimulus control, defective self-knowledge, and aversive self-stimulation.[15]

Further evidence was found which supported the idea that punishment results in resentment felt toward the punisher. To summarize Mower's writing, the harmful effects

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[13]B. F. Skinner, Science and Human Behavior (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953), p. 191.

[14]Skinner, pp. 361-62.

[15]Skinner, pp. 359-71.

of punishment on the learning processes are connected with anxiety from punishment, which spreads and effects other stimuli that are closely associated with the punished behavior.[16] Symonds explained how this applied to education. When emotional responses and inhibitions are aroused, they are likely to spread and effect other stimuli present at the time of punishment. Therefore, a teacher who punishes a child may arouse feelings of hate toward himself, teachers in general, or even the school and everything associated with it. But the dangerous effects of punishment do not stop there. Punishment may inhibit behavior other than the undesired one, or it may inhibit the punished behavior as well as other closely connected behaviors.[17] For example, a child may tear a page out of a book and be severely punished for it. The punishment may or may not be severe enough to inhibit the behavior of handling books or even reading. To refrain from an acceptable behavior because of an irrational fear of being punished reflects maladjustment on the part of the individual.

Tiegs and Katz, in their book Mental Hygiene in Education, wrote that numerous punishments may be largely

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[16]O. H. Mowrer, "A Stimulus-Response Analysis of Anxiety and Its Role as a Reinforcing Agent," Psychological Review, XLVI (November, 1939), 553-65.

[17]Percival Symonds, "Classroom Discipline," Readings in Educational Psychology, ed. Jerome Seidman (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), p. 71.

responsible for inferiority complexes. Some of the causes
of inferiority complexes in children are rejection, name
calling, scolding, nagging, ridicule, constant deprivation of
privileges, corporal punishments, and repeated threats of
bodily harm.[18]

Symonds, in complete support of Tiegs and Katz,
wrote:

> Perhaps the most devastating effect of punishment
> is the lowering of self-esteem and the arousal of
> feelings of inferiority that follow in its wake. The
> punished child feels that he has fallen from the good
> graces of the punishing person and that as a result
> he is a person of less value. Snygg and Combs bring
> out clearly the point that an individual acts in
> accordance with his conception of himself. If he is
> made to think of himself as bad, incompetent, worthless,
> an outcast (as punishment helps him think of himself,)
> then he will tend to act in accordance with his concept
> of himself.[19]

An important study concerning the effects of
punishment on the mental health of students was done by
Frenkel-Brunswik in her research about prejudice in children.

> The admiration the ethnocentric child tends to have
> for success, power, and prestige may be assumed to result
> from submission to authority based on his fear of
> punishment and retaliation.[20]

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[18]Ernest W. Tiegs and Barney Katz, Mental Hygiene in
Education (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1941),
pp. 342-43.

[19]Symonds, pp. 71-72.

[20]Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "A Study of Prejudice in
Children," Human Development, eds. Morris L. Haimowitz and
Natalie Reader Haimowitz (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell
Company, 1966), p. 433.

She supported her position with numerous examples of ethnocentric children who said that they should be punished when they failed to live up to parental expectations. She claims this was not the case with non-prejudiced children.[21] Her research was conducted by compiling case studies of children from age eleven to sixteen. She gathered her information from attitude and personality tests as well as from interviews with the children and their parents. She found that as a rule an unprejudiced child did not have to submit to harsh authority. Because he did not have to submit to authority, a non-prejudiced child did not long for the opportunity to be stronger and assert his strength against those who were weaker. She wrote, "the 'anti-weakness' attitude referred to above seems thus to be directly related to the fearful submission to authority."[22]

> The liberal child, on the other hand, takes internal values and principles more seriously. Since he fears punishment and retaliation less than does the ethnocentric child, he is more able really to incorporate the values of society imposed upon him. The liberal child employs the help of adults in working out his problems of sex and aggression, and thus can more easily withstand hateful propaganda both in forms of defamation of minorities and of glorification of war. By virtue of the greater integration of his instinctual life he becomes a more creative and sublimated individual.[23]

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[21]Frenkel-Brunswik, pp. 428-34.

[22]Frenkel-Brunswik, p. 434.

[23]Frenkel-Brunswik, p. 438.

This section of the chapter which has been concerned with the effects of punishment on mental health has shown evidence indicating that punishment has been considered important in conscience development, and that it has been found to be harmful to the mental health of children.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PUNISHMENT

The second hypothesis is considered in this section. The null statement of the hypothesis was: There is no difference in the effectiveness of school discipline that is maintained by the use of punishment and school discipline maintained without the use of punishment.

In an experimental study conducted in an educational setting with small children serving as subjects, Parke determined that punishment under some conditions was an effective tool in controlling the behavior of his subjects. He found, ". . . that high intensity punishment produces greater response inhibition than low-intensity punishment."[24] His finding was in direct support of previous studies that have shown high-intensity punishment is more effective in inhibiting behavior than low-intensity punishment is. He

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[24]Ross D. Parke, "Effectiveness of Punishment as an Interaction of Intensity, Timing Agent, Nurturance and Cognitive Structuring," Child Development, XL (March, 1969), 233.

found also that response inhibition was greater when a high degree of cognitive structure was provided.[25] Under the conditions of high cognitive structure, an explanation was provided as to why the behavior was forbidden; under conditions of low cognitive structure, no explanation was given.[26] This indicated that when punishment is accompanied by an explanation as to why the student is being punished, it is more effective than when no reason is provided.

In his study, Parke found another point of significance for educators:

> Finally, the prediction that Ss who experienced nurturant interaction with the agent of punishment prior to the punishment training would deviate less than children with whom the agent had had only impersonal contact, received some support.[27]

One further finding in Parke's study was somewhat surprising in the light of previous studies. Parke concluded that immediate punishment is only necessary when the punishment is of low intensity or under conditions of low cognitive structure.[28]

Redl has written extensively about the conditions under which punishment may be effective. He claims that the effectiveness of punishment depends mostly upon various factors within the individual child. Redl indicates the

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[25]Parke, p. 233.

[26]Parke, p. 233.

[27]Parke, p. 233.

[28]Parke, p. 231.

element of time in punishing consists of three specific
issues. The first is whether an individual will get confused
during the time between the offense and the punishment. The
second issue is concerned with the individual's ego being
able to sustain him throughout the punishment experience.
The final issue is the future usability of the punishment
experience for the individual.[29] Thus, Redl is in partial
agreement with Parke, but goes beyond the cognitive aspect
of the time element involved in punishment.

In the same article, Redl outlined what must happen
to a child if a punishment experience is to work. (1) The
individual experiences displeasure. (2) There is an
"upsurge of anger in the child." (3) The child perceives not
only "the source of his predicament" (the punisher) but also
the reason for his predicament (the offense). (4) The anger
which is aroused must be directed at himself and not at the
person who punishes him. (5) This anger has to be trans-
formed into energy that can be used for his own benefit.
(6) He must regret his action and resolve not to repeat the
action. (7) In the future, he must recall the unpleasant
experience.[30] In regard to the third step, Redl pointed out

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[29]Fritz Redl, "The Concept of Punishment," Conflict
in the Classroom, eds. Nicholas J. Long, William C. Morse,
and Ruth G. Newman (Belmont, California: Wadsworth
Publishing Company, Inc., 1965), p. 350.

[30]Redl, "The Concept of Punishment," pp. 345-46.

that small children have difficulty discriminating between
the reason for punishment and the punisher. "Some older
children regress to that level under the impact of
displeasure or pain."[31] Redl continued that one must be
very careful in regard to the ego of the individual to be
punished. A child may admit he was wrong, but his ego may
be incapable of coping with frustration or aggression.[32]
The most serious question of all is what a child will do with
the anger once he gets angry at himself. Unless he can use
this to determine that he is not going to commit the offense
again, then the punishment will do more harm than good. Redl
suggested that a person may as well save the effort unless he
can be reasonably sure that a child will react according to
the seven steps required for punishment to work.[33]

In Chapter three, it was reported that rectification
(correcting the damage done) received a fairly strong
recommendation from those psychologists and psychiatrists
responding to the questionnaire. Redl wrote that rectifica-
tion is a very useful punishment only if a child is sorry for
what he has done and feels relieved when the damage is
repaired. If a child is not sorry for what he has done and
is not willing to make it up, rectification is of no value.[34]

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[31]Redl, "The Concept of Punishment," p. 347.

[32]Redl, "The Concept of Punishment," p. 347.

[33]Redl, "The Concept of Punishment," pp. 347-51.

[34]Redl, "The Concept of Punishment," p. 351.

Considering further the conditions under which punishment is effective, Symonds suggested that a child who has been positively reinforced and seldom punished will respond better to punishment. A child who has had positive reinforcement withheld much of the time or has been punished frequently is unlikely to change his behavior because his prior experiences provide him with little reason to expect reinforcement if he changes his behavior. The punishment is something with which he learns to live.[35]

In a study with kindergarten students serving as subjects, Kounin and Gump showed some previous assumptions to be in error. They demonstrated that what a teacher does to control a child's behavior affects both the corrected child and others who watch. Such a phenomenon was labeled a "ripple effect." It was found that the most effective way to control the ripple effect is to give clear instructions to a corrected child, while avoiding roughness or punishment. If the other children watching are also inclined to deviancy, they are best disuaded by the teacher's firmness with the misbehaving child. It was further demonstrated that there is a clear difference between firmness and roughness. Roughness was shown to be characterized by anger and punitiveness, while firmness is characterized by a secure determination that the

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[35]Percival Symonds, What Education Has to Learn From Psychology (New York: Teachers College Press, 1965), p. 32.

directions are to be followed. Finally, "The study does not support the notion that the teacher must 'bear down' on the first day or 'make an example' of a child." It was found that such steps are not necessary.[36]

A study was conducted to compare the use of punitive reprimands with praise as a technique used in controlling disruptive behavior. A first-grade class of nineteen students served as subjects in a five-phase experiment conducted by O'Leary and Becker. In each phase the school day was broken into intervals of fifty seconds each. The percent referred to below and throughout the discussion of the O'Leary-Becker study is the percent of fifty-second intervals in which deviant behavior occurred. A baseline of fifty-four percent for deviant behavior was found during the initial observation of the first-grade class:

> . . . The children talked incessantly. They would look at each other and make faces. They would play with things in their desks, and a few children would even walk around the room when they were supposed to be resting.[37]

In the second phase of the experiment, O'Leary and Becker praised appropriate behavior and ignored disruptive behavior. This reinforcement of desired behavior and ignoring of undesired behavior reduced inappropriate behavior

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[36]Jacob S. Kounin and Paul V. Gump, "The Ripple Effect in Discipline," Readings in Psychological Foundations of Education, eds. Walter H. MacGinitie and Samuel Ball (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1968), pp. 246-47.

[37]K. Daniel O'Leary and Wesley C. Becker, "The Effects of the Intensity of a Teacher's Reprimands on Children's Behavior," Journal of School Psychology, VII (July, 1968), 9.

to thirty-two percent. The third phase did not bring
results significantly different from the second. Deviant
behavior was quietly and privately reprimanded during the
third phase. There was only a slight rise in disruptive
behavior from thirty-two to thirty-nine percent. Reprimands
were given aloud so the whole class could hear in the
fourth phase of the experiment. This resulted in a signifi-
cant increase of misbehavior--fifty-three percent. During
the final phase of the study, they returned to praising
appropriate behavior and ignoring deviant behavior which
resulted in a decrease of deviant behavior to thirty-five
percent.[38]

They explained their findings with the following
statement:

> . . . Children who are behavior problems in school
> probably have been subject to a great deal of punitive
> control at home, and a teacher who yells and commands
> her children may elicit undesirable conditioned
> emotional reactions which provide the stimuli for many
> inappropriate behaviors.[39]

These results were in support of other studies.
Anderson and Brewer concluded that a dominating teacher
adversely effects children by causing resistance.[40]

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[38] O'Leary and Becker, pp. 8-10.

[39] O'Leary and Becker, p. 11.

[40] H. Anderson and J. Brewer, "Studies of Teachers'
Classroom Personalities. II Effects of Teachers' Dominative
and Integrative Contacts on Children's Classroom Behavior,"
Applied Psychological Monographs, 8 (1946), 128.

Becker and others also conducted a study in 1967, which supported the findings that praising appropriate behavior and ignoring misbehavior resulted in a decrease of mis-behavior.[41]

In a similar study with twenty-seven aggressive nursery-school boys serving as subjects, Brown and Elliott found that reward is an effective way to control aggression. They observed the boys for a week to determine a baseline for aggressive behavior. They found an average of sixty-four aggressive acts per hour of free play. These were acts such as pushing, pulling, holding, hitting, annoying, teasing, and interfering. The teachers were instructed not to punish the children or force apologies from them. It was requested that teachers reward good behavior with a pat on the head and a statement, "That's good." After two weeks of ignoring aggressive behavior and rewarding peaceful behavior, the teachers found that the average rate of aggression dropped to forty-three per hour. Then, for ten days, the teachers handled the situations in their own ways, which consisted of scolding, reprimands, and punishment. The aggression rate rose to fifty-two per hour at which time the experiment was reintroduced. Aggression was once again ignored and

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[41]Wesley C. Becker and others, "The Contingent Use of Teacher Attention and Praise in Reducing Classroom Behavior Problems," Journal of Special Education, I (March, 1967), 287-307.

coexistence was rewarded. After an additional two weeks of
the experiment, the average dropped to twenty-six aggressive
acts per hour.[42]

Hamblin and his associates conducted a study much
like the preceding one, but with even more striking results.
They selected five extremely aggressive four-year-old boys.
A teacher was hired to work with them. Her efforts were
observed for eight days in order to establish a baseline for
the behavior. The average number of aggressive sequences
per day was one-hundred fifty during the first eight days.
The teacher was not aware that she had unintentionally
structured the consistent reinforcement of aggression.

> . . . whenever she fought with them, she always
> lost. Second, more subtly, she reinforced their
> aggressive pattern by giving it serious attention--
> by looking, talking, scolding, cajoling, becoming
> angry, even striking back.[43]

The teacher was taught how to reinforce good behavior and to
ignore aggression. When she learned to do this, cooperation
increased from fifty-six to one-hundred fifteen sequences
per day while aggression dropped from one-hundred fifty to
about sixty sequences in a day. At that point, the token
exchange system was restructured, and the teacher was
instructed to see that all aggression was punished by

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[42]P. Brown and R. Elliott, "Control of Aggression in
a Nursery School Class," Journal of Experimental Child
Psychology, II (February, 1965), 103-107.

[43]Robert L. Hamblin and others, "Changing the Game
from 'Get the Teacher' to 'Learn,'" Transaction, VI (January,
1969), 23.

charging tokens for misbehavior. "To our surprise, the
frequency of cooperation remained stable, . . . but
aggression increased to about 110 sequences per day!"[44]
What had happened was that the fines were serving as a
reinforcement. The children were still playing the game,
"get the teacher," and the fines proved their success. So
once again, Hamblin and his associates returned to having
the teacher ignore aggressive behavior and reinforce good
behavior. Aggression dropped to sixteen sequences per day
(fifteen was considered normal), and cooperation increased
to about one-hundred forty sequences per day. Eventually,
with the use of tokens, aggression was decreased to seven
times per day and cooperation increased to one-hundred
eighty-one times per day.[45]

> . . . To terminate bizarre, disruptive or explosive
> patterns, we stop whatever has been reinforcing that
> undesirable behavior--actions or attention that
> teachers or parents have unwittingly been giving him.
> Study after study has shown that whenever a child
> persists in behaving badly, some adult has, perhaps
> inadvertently, been rewarding him for it.[46]

Hamblin and his associates indicated that they were extremely
skeptical about the effectiveness of punishment. "The
traditional treatment for aggressive juveniles is punishment--
often harsh punishment. This is not only of dubious moral

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[44]Hamblin and others, p. 23.

[45]Hamblin and others, p. 23.

[46]Hamblin and others, p. 20.

value, but generally it does not work."[47] They have also devised a program for the treatment of autistic children which differed from similar programs in that they did not use punishment or other negative stimuli. Both their program for aggressive children and autistic children have been exceedingly successful without the use of punishment.[48]

The last several studies cited have indicated that positive reinforcement has been an effective alternative to several punishments that have been used in classrooms. Other studies have shown that corporal punishment is not effective as a control technique in school. The Times Educational Supplement reported a study in England concerning the use of corporal punishment. "It is notable that the schools where corporal punishment was absent had the best records of behavior and delinquency."[49] This was found in spite of the fact that judging from the economic and social conditions in the neighborhoods of the respective schools, one would have been led to predict the opposite.[50] Similarly, a National Education Association study concluded that giving the

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[47]Hamblin and others, p. 21.

[48]Hamblin and others, p. 30.

[49]"Caning, Behavior and Delinquency in Secondary Schools," Times Educational Supplement, XIII (October, 1961), 478.

[50]"Caning, Behavior and Delinquency in Secondary Schools," p. 478.

teacher or principal the authority to administer corporal
punishment has no effect whatever in reducing behavior
problems.[51]

Many psychologists and educators alike who have had
considerable experience dealing with children in clinical
and educational settings have testified in one way or
another to the ineffectiveness of punishment. Kessler
stated that punishment in the classroom is often defended on
grounds that it discourages others from misbehaving. This
may to some extent be true, but one should realize that
punishment of one child will increase the anxiety level of
the entire group and that even the best behaved child may
identify more strongly with the punished child.[52] In
reference to both the school and the home, Adler wrote,
". . . it cannot be overemphasized that nothing is gained by
punishing, admonishing and preaching."[53]

Neill, an educator for over forty years who gained
international fame from his book Summerhill, wrote, "Today

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[51]"Teacher Opinion on Pupil Behavior," N.E.A. Research
Bulletin, XXXIV, 2 (April, 1956), 89.

[52]Jane Kessler, Psychopathology of Childhood
(Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966),
p. 494.

[53]Alfred Adler, The Science of Living (Garden
City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969), p. 11.

I know from experience that punishment is unnecessary. I
never punish a child, never have any temptation to punish a
child."[54] Neill did not deny that in the days when
Summerhill was an experimental school (he later called it a
demonstration school because he no longer experimented), he
frequently whipped children; but through experience he
learned that punishment was not effective. Wills is also
an English educator, similar in philosophy to Neill. He
wrote, "I personally believe that punishment is in any
case not nearly so necessary for preservation of order as
most people assume."[55]

In further support of the position that punishment
is not a very effective tool in controlling children's
behavior in school, Morse wrote, "Teachers can talk
effectively with children without resorting to ineffectual
moralizing or punitiveness, the usual stock in trade."[56]
When Morse, a psychologist, wrote, "talk effectively to
children," he was referring to the technique of life space
interviewing. He admitted that it is not a simple technique
to be learned. However, he wrote further:

[54]A. S. Neill, Summerhill (New York: Hart Publishing
Company, 1960), p. 165.

[55]David W. Wills, Throw Away Thy Rod (London: Victor
Gollancz Ltd., 1960), p. 40.

[56]William C. Morse, "The School's Responsibility for
Discipline," Conflict in the Classroom, eds. Nicholas J.
Long, William C. Morse, and Ruth G. Newman (Belmont,
California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1965), p. 325.

. . . But it is a skill teachers can learn to practice effectively. Properly trained in its use, teachers will have the basic instrument for hygienic management.[57]

Glasser, a psychiatrist, has developed his own psychological theory called reality therapy. In his theory, Glasser has placed the responsibility on the client for changing inappropriate behavior or maintaining proper behavior. Traditionally, teachers have told the child that if he misbehaves he will be punished. This,

. . . removes the responsibility for his bad behavior from the child. The teacher makes the judgement and enforces the punishment; the child has little responsibility for what happens.[58]

Glasser has written that a child can be taught from kindergarten on through high school to choose his own actions. He believes that every child should be allowed to make his own value judgements concerning what course of action would be best for him and others. But the important aspect of reality therapy is that once a student makes a commitment, no excuse for failing to live up to the commitment is acceptable. The teacher helps the child develop a plan for fulfilling his commitment. The teacher never blames the

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[57]Morse, p. 325.

[58]William Glasser, Schools Without Failure (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1969), p. 22.

child or punishes him for failing in his commitment, but
rather helps the child learn how to behave in a better
manner.[59]   When Glasser served as consultant for the
Los Angeles City Schools, he discontinued all corporal
punishment and recommended that the teachers avoid using
sarcasm or ridicule, which he claims is as bad as corporal
punishment. "Without fear of punishment, children will enter
into a dialogue with us so that counseling becomes possible."[60]
When students got completely out of hand, they were given a
short suspension to cool off.   They could come back any time
they wanted if they would just make a new commitment.
Glasser reported that this approach met with a good deal of
success in the public city schools.[61]

     Later in his book, he wrote further about punishment:

     . . . The pseudo solution of problems through fault
finding is one of the most worthless pursuits continually
to occupy all segments of our society. Its constant
companion, punishment, is equally ineffective. Punish-
ment usually works only the first time, if at all.
After the first time, it works only with successful
people, who ordinarily don't need it. More often
punishment serves as an excuse for not solving a problem
rather than leading toward a solution.[62]

Glasser does not recommend the use of any punishments, rather
he advises that punishment never be used. He uses suspension,
but refuses to call it punishment as used in his approach.

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[59]Glasser, pp. 19-23.

[60]Glasser, p. 86.

[61]Glasser, p. 86.

[62]Glasser, pp. 129-30.

Redl, cited earlier in this section, held that
punishment under certain conditions could be useful in
correcting behavior problems. Redl and Wattenberg listed
twenty influence techniques, one of which is punishment,
that have been used successfully in schools for controlling
behavior. They believed that no one technique can be called
the best. A teacher must become skilled in using all of the
techniques and in analyzing the situation to determine which
technique would be best at that time.[63] A discussion of
Redl and Wattenberg's influence techniques was considered
essential to a report comparing the effectiveness of
punishing and non-punishing techniques. Further support and
verification that these techniques are effective was found
in Children Who Hate by Redl and Wineman.

One of the techniques, signal interference, has been
used with a good deal of success. A nod of the head or a
frown is all that is necessary to control certain behavior.
Miss Barkley only had to clear her throat to get a group of
boys to put a comic book away.[64]

Another method is called proximity control. It
proves especially successful in working with small children.

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[63]Fritz Redl and William W. Wattenberg, Mental
Hygiene in Teaching (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company,
1951), pp. 282-83.

[64]Redl and Wattenberg, pp. 283-84.

One teacher walked among the children using proximity
control as a means to build rapport and to help the children
identify with her and what she expected of them.[65] Another
approach used is humor. Mr. Katzman walked into the room
to find a funny picture on the blackboard labeled "teacher."
He walked to the board, erased the nose, and drew in a much
larger one. The class laughed and everyone felt much better.
Redl and Wattenberg claim that young people usually consider
humor as a sign of strength and security.[66]

A gripe session can be used to help a class drain
off hostile feelings or aggressive behavior. The students
are allowed to say anything they like without fear of
repercussions from the teacher. Students realize that it is
alright to feel angry and to work off their anger by talking,
but that destructive behavior is not tolerated.[67] Similar
techniques were found to be advocated by Glasser, Baruch,
and Ginott.[68]

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[65]Nicholas J. Long and Ruth G. Newman, "Managing
Surface Behavior of Children in School," Conflict in the
Classroom, eds. Nicholas J. Long, William C. Morse, and
Ruth G. Newman (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing
Inc., 1965), pp. 357-58.

[66]Long and Newman, pp. 285-286.

[67]Long and Newman, pp. 287-88.

[68]An explanation of the class meeting, which can be
used as a gripe session, may be found in Schools Without
Failure by William Glasser. Dorothy Baruch in New Ways in
Discipline, and Hiam Ginott in Between Parent and Child
explain how to help drain hostile feelings.

Sometimes the classroom situation gets to the place that it needs to be restructured. A teacher has to be flexible enough to alter the situation as needed. A good example was given by Long and Newman. The basketball coach had to cancel a practice shortly before a big tournament. The players were upset with him over the cancellation. When he walked into class that day, the basketball boys were signaling everyone to remain quiet throughout the hour. Apparently they were going to get full cooperation. The teacher-coach who had planned a class discussion for the hour changed the plans to written work. He later explained to the basketball boys why he had cancelled practice. A confrontation had been avoided.[69]

Painless removal is a nonpunitive technique which can be used very effectively in preventing complete disorder. One child in the fifth grade got the giggles and could not stop. The teacher quietly asked him to go to the washroom for a few minutes until he had stopped laughing. The child was rather grateful for the opportunity to leave the room, and the class was soon back to normal.[70]

Physical restraint was suggested as sometimes being necessary. Restraint is not used as punishment nor as

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[69]Long and Newman, p. 359.

[70]Redl and Wattenberg, pp. 290-91.

therapy. It is simply a means of preventing damage from being done. It must not be used as a victory for the teacher, but rather as a security measure for all concerned.[71]

The preceding is not a complete list of the techniques listed by Redl and Wattenberg. Some techniques such as punishment, praise, reward, and ignoring were omitted because they had been considered earlier in this section. The techniques considered here did show the effectiveness of nonpunitive approaches in some situations.

The second part of Chapter four has supported that punishment has been shown to be an effective technique, and a technique valuable under certain conditions and for certain children. Also reported were several empirical studies indicating that positive reinforcement was superior to punishment in controlling behavior.

PUNISHING AND EMOTIONAL STABILITY

The third hypothesis was: There is no difference in the emotional stability of educators who use punishment and educators who refrain from punishing.

The problem of emotional stability in teachers was not a new one. In 1942, the American Association of School Administrators declared that emotionally unstable teachers should be forbidden to remain in the classroom. Some of

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[71]Redl and Wattenberg, p. 291.

the behaviors that were attributed to the emotionally

unstable teachers were punitive. Some examples of this

behavior were wild temper, sarcasm, and habitual scolding.[72]

Bard gave examples of what some emotionally disturbed

teachers have done in punishing children. "Mrs. M. told

of a teacher who 'pulls kids by the ears, picks them up

bodily and throws them into a corner.'"[73] The principal

explained that the teacher had emotional problems at home.[74]

 According to Nash, a prominent educational theorist,

"It is well known that people with sadistic tendencies

actively seek out situations where they may indulge their

compulsions within a framework of legal and moral support."[75]

Nash indicated that a school system which sanctioned

corporal punishment and other forms of harsh punishment is a

natural attraction for individuals with sadistic impulses.[76]

 Peck and Mitchell gave further support of Nash's

position when they wrote that the teaching profession was

unique in regard to its opportunities for need fulfillment.

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[72]Bernard Bard, "Mentally Unfit Teachers," Ladies Home Journal, LXXXVI (February, 1969), 81.

[73]Bard, p. 117.

[74]Bard, p. 117.

[75]Paul Nash, "Corporal Punishment in an Age of Violence," Educational Theory, XIII (October, 1963), 299.

[76]Nash, p. 299.

An altruistic or constructive need can be fulfilled through teaching. A classroom can also:

> . . . provide a setting for relatively vicious destructive, or neurotic kinds of satisfactions. Even the milder forms of these neurotic satisfactions cannot be taken lightly, for their efforts always extend beyond the confines of the teacher's personal life to the development and general well-being of his students.[77]

Morgan listed five reasons why adults punish children. Three of these reasons were a type of emotional reaction from the adult punisher. Punishment is sometimes delivered as retribution or an attempt to "get even" with an offending person. Morgan considered retribution an emotional expression of anger because of having been personally offended. Secondly, he wrote, ". . . there is usually the element of emotional reaction against some personal indignity in all punishment . . . ."[78] It was difficult to distinguish between the first and second reasons, but Morgan listed them separately. Thirdly, he claimed that, "Many adults . . . have a tendency to be cruel in the treatment of children."[79] Later, Tiegs and Katz, professors of education and psychology at the University of Southern California, endorsed Morgan's position on the reasons for punishment.[80]

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[77]Robert F. Peck and James V. Mitchell, Jr., "The Mental Health of the Teacher," Readings in Educational Psychology, ed. Jerome Seidman (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), p. 78.

[78]John Morgan, Child Psychology (New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith Inc., 1932), p. 181.

[79]Morgan, p. 181.

[80]Ernest Tiegs and Barney Katz, Mental Hygiene in Education (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1941), p. 208.

Shipley wrote that corporal punishment provided an
outlet for a teacher's irritation and bullying impulses.
These immediate effects ". . . lead some weak or sadistic
teachers to ignore its deeper harm."[81] Existing knowledge
of sadism and masochism has revealed a relationship between
physical pain or violence and sex. "There are teachers
whose lives have been sexually frustrated, who seem to
delight in, or at least to indulge in, frequent infliction
of petty physical pain."[82] He believes that the use of
corporal punishment by teachers can be a symptom of a
basic personality disorder.[83] The following was one
example which Shipley gave:

> Miss Sandman varied her disciplinary technique
> between blows and silence . . . . The psychiatrist
> reported: "Psychoneurosis of the chronic, mixed type,
> with some anxiety trends and emotional instability in
> a person with a schizoid personality structure."[84]

Kozol, who taught in the Boston Public Schools,
found further examples of cruelty and sadism among teachers.
He reported that there are those teachers who speak of
corporal punishment with a special delight and satisfaction
in their eyes and voices. Some teachers speak of it as

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[81]Joseph Shipley, The Mentally Disturbed Teacher
(New York: The Chilton Company, 1961), p. 79.

[82]Shipley, p. 75.

[83]Shipley, p. 68.

[84]Shipley, p. 69.

". . . a physical accomplishment or even some kind of military feat."[85]   According to Kozol, corporal punishment is also used as an expression of prejudice:

> What does matter is that today it is being used by whites on Negroes and that it is being used in too many cases to act out, on a number of persuasive pretexts, a deeply seated racial hate.[86]

A teacher will sometimes say to a child that he is punishing: It hurts me worse than it hurts you. Menninger addressed himself to this very point:

> A little more erotization and what we call sadism merges into those severe, ostensible kindnesses which characterize many school teachers, judges and others in authority who lovingly administer what they assure their victims "hurts me worse than it does you." This is not always punishment. It may be a compulsive insistence upon rule and ritual in the name of some ideal . . . .[87]

Weihofen also claims that the need to punish is a result of one's own emotional instability. Punishment allows an individual to suppress impulses which he cannot tolerate in his consciousness. "Often it is an outlet for our own antisocial aggressiveness which we have more or less effectively but guiltily repressed."[88] Rivlin wrote on the

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[85]Jonathan Kozol, Death At An Early Age (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), pp. 16-17.

[86]Kozol, p. 18.

[87]Karl Menninger, Man Against Himself (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1938), p. 27.

[88]Henry Weihofen, The Urge to Punish (New York: Farra, Straus and Cudahy, 1956), p. 138.

same theme, "Punishment is often just thinly veiled
vengeance . . . ."[89] Wall wrote in support of the same
position, ". . . in many classrooms punishments are
inflicted more to assuage the outraged dignity of the
teacher than for any other reason."[90] In still further
support of the position that punishment is sometimes a
betrayal of sadistic tendencies, Symonds wrote:

> The need for repressive discipline is often an
> indication of the otherwise unexpressed hostile
> impulses of the teacher. It is well known that many
> teachers use the classroom situation as an outlet
> for their sadistic impulses, and children are subjected
> to strict and punitive control in order to satisfy the
> teachers' needs.[91]

Finally, Neill argued that corporal punishment in the
classroom and the torturing of Jews in World War II are
basically the same. Both are expressions of sexual
perversion and are sadistic in nature.[92]

Solomon gave an example of how a teacher worked
off his emotional frustration on students:

> A man teaching the fourth grade has all his life
> "been in revolt." He permits pandemonium in his

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[89]Harry Rivlin, Educating for Adjustment (New York:
D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1936), p. 317.

[90]W. D. Wall, Education and Mental Health (Paris,
France: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural
Organization, 1955), p. 200.

[91]Percival Symonds, "Classroom Discipline," Readings
in Educational Psychology, ed. Jerome Seidman (Boston:
Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), p. 74.

[92]Neill, p. 270.

classroom. He says, "I think a certain amount of naughtiness in children is desirable." But he lets it get too extreme and then has to "use the paddle, which," he says, "relieves us all." Thus in the countertransference he acts out; he lets the children be naughty and then he gains restitution by punishing them as representatives of his guilty self.[93]

A similar point was made by Sperling when she wrote that some parents and educators, who are themselves afraid of their impulses, were unduly harsh in their discipline of children. They attempt to suppress in children the impulses they themselves have repressed: they fear that the act of a child may provoke their own impulses to action. Punishing harshly will keep the desires adequately repressed. Teachers who fear themselves, ". . . mete out punishment in accordance with the degree of panic elicited by the original feeling as reflected in the offender."[94]

From a somewhat different view, Redl wrote that the term "punitive" usually conveyed "hostility," "meanness," and "lack of concern" for the child and his feelings. He concluded that, "We can never afford to be punitive when we punish."[95] By this, he clearly supported using punishment

[93]Joseph C. Solomon, "Neuroses of School Teachers," Conflict in the Classroom, eds. Nicholas J. Long, William C. Morse, and Ruth G. Newman (Belmont, California: The Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1965), p. 318.

[94]Melitta Sperling, "Psychoanalytic Aspects of Discipline," Conflict in the Classroom, eds. Nicholas J. Long, William C. Morse, and Ruth G. Newman (Belmont, California: The Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1965), p. 298.

[95]Fritz Redl, When We Deal with Children (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 376.

as a part of a carefully planned program for correcting

behavior. His statement indicated that punishment could be

an emotional reaction on the part of the teacher, but that

it could also be a rational constructive instrument for

correcting behavior.

This section has presented the data concerning the

emotional stability of those who use punishment in

controlling behavior. It was found that a school which

permits harsh punishment is an attraction for individuals

with sadistic tendencies. Further evidence was reported

which indicated that frequent and harsh use of punishment

is a likely indication of emotional instability.

PUNISHMENT AND SELF-DESTRUCTIVE TENDENCIES

The fourth hypothesis was: There is no difference in

the way punishment is received by students who have strong

self-destructive tendencies and those who do not have strong

self-destructive tendencies.

The implication was that individuals with strong

self-destructive tendencies could receive punishment as

reinforcing or gratifying in nature. "Self-destructive

tendencies" refers to a variety of impulses such as suicide,

self-mutilation, masochism, and the seeking of punishment.

The need for punishment is a less aggressive, less chronic

form of self-destruction.[96] No material was found concerning

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[96]Menninger, Man Against Himself, pp. 377-78.

the effect of punishment on the most severe types of self-destructive individuals; therefore the effect of punishment on those who seek punishment was considered in this section.

Nash wrote that corporal punishment is welcomed by some children, ". . .. there are children for whom the punishment gives a deeper pleasure than the crime."[97] Indicating a similar position, Haimowitz wrote, "The problem is that what punishment is to one may be reward to another."[98] Although he was writing about criminals, the concept is equally valid for the educational setting. One child might feel punished at losing a recess period, but another frail and withdrawn child who does poorly at vigorous games may feel relieved at getting to stay inside. Concerning this same concept Loree wrote, "Punishment may even be rewarding if the punished response becomes associated with some reward."[99] This is precisely what happened in the previous example. It was such a relief to avoid the humiliation of failure at vigorous activities, that staying inside was actually positive reinforcement for misbehavior.

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[97]Paul Nash, "Corporal Punishment in an Age of Violence," Educational Theory, XIII (October, 1963), 300.

[98]Morris L. Haimowitz, "Criminals are Made, Not Born," Human Development, eds. Morris L. Haimowitz and Natalie Reader Haimowitz (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1966), p. 403.

[99]M. Ray Loree, Psychology of Education (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1965), p. 280.

A somewhat different concept was theorized and later demonstrated by Stone and Hokanson: a child can learn to terminate punishment from an adult by hurting himself. This causes a reduction in anxiety aroused by the punishment and serves as a means of escaping the displeasure.[100] They constructed an experiment in which such a phenomenon was demonstrated to exist:

> In effect, an interpersonal situation was developed in which psychologically "normal" subjects received aggression from someone else, to which they likely responded with self-aggression; and furthermore, a cathartic-like arousal reduction accompanied these self-punitive responses.[101]

Menninger indicated that achieving satisfaction through punishment is not an uncommon occurrence.[102] Perhaps the best explanation of an individual seeking punishment was found in the punishment-guilt reduction theory. English and Finch wrote that it is very important to realize that a transgression of the conscience produces extreme guilt feelings. An individual will do almost anything to relieve or avoid the painful state. Since punishment serves to neutralize guilt, an individual may seek punishment. The individual is not conscious of his

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[100]Lewis T. Stone and Jack Hokanson, "Arousal Reduction via Self-Punitive Behavior," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, XII (May, 1969), 78.

[101]Stone and Hokanson, p. 77.

[102]Menninger, Man Against Himself, p. 45.

problem, thus the conflict causes unconscious guilt, and the individual unconsciously seeks punishment, often in a disguised manner. "Since he hasn't access to his unconscious conflict it continues the endless cycle of guilt and punishment."[103] In support of their position, Menninger wrote, "The sense of guilt on account of past aggressions is apt to stimulate further aggressions in the hope . . . of exciting retaliation and punishment."[104]

Ginott indicated that guilt could cause one to seek punishment, but stipulated that in such a case, punishment should not be administered. "A child who asks for punishment needs help with managing his guilt and anger, not compliance with his request."[105] One psychiatrist explained the concept more carefully:

> A few words are relevant about the conception of a need for punishment. The pressure from the part of the superego to which the ego is exposed creates first of all a need for getting rid of this pressure, for regaining the lost self-esteem, and for reassurance against possible feelings of annihilation. This aim is best achieved by "forgiveness." After the experience that punishment may be a means of achieving forgiveness, a need for punishment actually may develop.[106]

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[103]Spurgeon O. English and Stuart M. Finch, Introduction to Psychiatry (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1964), p. 38.

[104]Menninger, Man Against Himself, p. 378.

[105]Hiam Ginott, Between Parent and Child (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), p. 108.

[106]Otto Fenichel, The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1945), p. 138.

Horney also held that seeking punishment was a neurotic
way to escape guilt feelings. She wrote: ". . . the
neurotic person has guilt feelings so strong that he
develops a need for punishment in order to get rid of
them."[107] Finally, Jones also wrote in support of the
guilt-reduction concept of seeking punishment. "A child
may misbehave in order to be punished and so assuage a
pre-existing sense of guilt. . . ."[108]

One of the primary characteristics of punishment
seeking behavior is misbehaving in such a manner as to
provoke an authority figure into punishing.[109] Jones wrote
about this same concept which he called "testing-out-
behavior": seeing if an adult could be lured into
punishing and thus proving that adults are hostile and
dangerous.[110] Bettelheim supported the same phenomenon with
an example of a boy with severe self-destructive tendencies
who demanded that he be punished for his bad behavior.
Sometimes the boy would shout at his counselor or
Bettelheim, "'I want to hurt you so that you'll hurt me!'
Thus he openly stated his aggressive wishes and his desire

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[107]Karen Horney, The Neurotic Personality of Our
Time (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1937), p. 232.

[108]Howard Jones, Reluctant Rebels (New York:
Association Press, 1960), p. 87.

[109]Fenichel, p. 360.

[110]Jones, p. 104.

to be punished for them."[111]   Redl and Wineman wrote that

they had experienced the same behavior in delinquent boys.

Sometimes the boys actually verbalized their request for

punishment. However, more frequently the boys attempted

to provoke punishment.[112]

In work that preceded Redl and Wineman by several

years, Aichhorn found the same "need" for punishment. He

worked with the treatment of aggressive delinquents who

sought punishment in an effort to arrest unconscious guilt.

They obtained satisfaction by inflicting and receiving

pain. He found it necessary to deprive the boys of their

perverted gratification from pain in order to treat them.[113]

It was found that self-destructive tendencies and self-

punishment were common among delinquent and neurotic individ-

uals. "It is interesting to note that 16 percent of the

total group of delinquent and neurotic cases show tendencies

towards self-punishment, . . . or provoking punishment."[114]

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[111]Bruno Bettelheim, Truants From Life (Glencoe,
Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), p. 442.

[112]Fritz Redl and David Wineman, Children Who Hate
(New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 257.

[113]August Aichhorn, Wayward Youth (New York:
Meridian Books, Inc., 1955), pp. 129-43.

[114]Ivy Bennett, Delinquent and Neurotic Children
(New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1960), p. 203.

Dollard and Miller have written about a somewhat different effect that punishment could have on individuals who seek punishment. The position already examined in this section indicated that the motivation for seeking punishment was to relieve guilt. Miller and Dollard have supplemented this concept by introducing the idea that some individuals may be motivated to seek punishment in order to escape fear. The effect of punishment then in this case would be to reduce fear rather than guilt. They wrote that a child who has been punished severely when small and helpless can develop a "disproportionate or unrealistic" fear of being punished. In such a case, the discomfort caused by the unconscious fear could be greater than the pain which accompanies present punishments. The punishment would serve temporarily to relieve the fear of being severely hurt. Thus, the relief provided by the punishment would function as a positive reinforcer for provoking punishment.[115] Several studies support these findings. One recent experimental study conducted by Galvani concluded: ". . . the present study is clearly in accord with the conditioned-fear interpretation of self-punitive behavior . . . ."[116]

Redl mentioned another effect which punishment could have on a moral masochist:

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[115]John Dollard and Neal E. Miller, Personality and Psychotherapy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950), p. 189.

[116]Peter F. Galvani, "Self-Punitive Behavior as a Function of Number of Prior Fear-Conditioning Traits," Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology, LXVIII (July, 1969), 362-63.

A really good moral masochist loves to feel sorry
for himself and nurse his grudge against the world,
which has "done him wrong." Most punishments, for him,
do not hold much displeasure, and what little they hold
he turns around into self-pitying delight or juicy
gratification of a perverted need.[117]

One further motivation for behaving in a manner
which will cause punishment was found. However, the punish-
ment resulted in a somewhat different effect. Fenichel wrote:
". . . it may also simply aim at achieving a feeling of moral
superiority. The feeling [is] 'Whatever I do is still less
wicked than what has been done to me' . . . ."[118]

The final section of the chapter has been concerned
with the effect punishment has on a self-punitive individual.
It was shown that punishment could actually serve as a
reward, relieve unconscious guilt feelings, relieve
unrealistic fear, satisfy a perverted need, or nourish a
feeling of moral superiority.

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[117]Redl, "The Concept of Punishment," p. 346.

[118]Fenichel, p. 497.

Chapter 5 .

INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

This chapter is concerned with interpretation of
the data and verification or rejection of each of the
hypotheses.

HYPOTHESIS ONE

The first hypothesis was stated as follows: There
is no difference between the mental health of students who
have been punished and those who have had behavior problems
corrected by other means.

It was found that most psychological theories
indicated that punishment was imperative for proper develop-
ment of conscience. However, no experimental or clinical
evidence was found which supported that theory. On the
contrary, it was found that students who had punitive
teachers were more physically aggressive, had greater
conflicts about their misbehavior, and were more poorly
adjusted to the school environment. This was interpreted
as meaning that students who had punitive teachers were less
able to live harmoniously with themselves and their environ-
ment. Since it had been established that harmonious living
was an essential characteristic of good mental health, it
was concluded that this evidence was contrary to the null
hypothesis.

Similarly, the study by Hetherington and Klinger reported they had found psychopathy to be ". . . associated with learning under conditions of punishment."[1] There was no indication that reward caused psychopathy.

Punishment was shown to be most effective as a controlling agent when it was of sufficient intensity to inhibit behavior, was administered immediately, and was administered for every infraction. However, the data also indicated that when punishment was used excessively and caused behavior to be suppressed, a variety of mental disorders may result, such as psychopathy, psychosomatic illness, emotional disturbance, phobias, and drug addiction. Therefore, it was concluded that for punishment to be effective, it must be of sufficient but not excessive strength. Punishment of excessive strength is most likely to be detrimental to a child's mental health.

It was also reported that punishment could cause feelings of hostility toward the punisher, inferiority complexes, and prejudice in children. None of these were considered to be mentally healthy characteristics. It was established that mental health consisted of ·feeling worth-while (contrary to an inferiority complex), of being capable of loving, and of expressing consideration for others

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[1]E. Mavis Hetherington and Eric Klinger, "Psychopathy and Punishment," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LXIX (July, 1964), 115.

(contrary to hostility and prejudice). Furthermore, the psychologists and psychiatrists responding to the questionnaire provided strong support for the notion that punishment is a cause of behavior problems in youth.

It was therefore concluded that the first hypothesis was invalid. Punishment can be detrimental to the mental health of students. It should be pointed out that any conclusion reached as a result of bibliographical research is tentative. As more data become available, the conclusion may or may not continue to have validity. This study found that punishment has been detrimental to the mental health of students. It should be assumed that this conclusion is valid until further evidence is available.

HYPOTHESIS TWO

The second hypothesis was: There is no difference in the effectiveness of school discipline that is maintained by the use of punishment and school discipline maintained without the use of punishment.

It was revealed that punishment under certain conditions was an effective way of controlling behavior. Redl indicated that his experience had shown punishment to be effective, but only if the child were capable of using the punishment experience advantageously. This indicated that the effectiveness of punishment was dependent upon the characteristics of the particular punishment as well as the

personality structure of the child. No attempt was made to show punishment to be more effective than other techniques. Redl emphasized that punishment was only one of many techniques available for controlling behavior.[2]

The data revealed that punitive techniques caused greater misbehavior of the other students in the class. The "ripple effect" indicated that at times punishment may be ineffective as a technique for maintaining discipline.

Part of the data indicated that positive reinforcement of desired behavior accompanied, by ignoring disruptive behavior, was superior to punishment as a method of maintaining classroom order.

It was also revealed that corporal punishment was not effective as a behavior control technique. Four psychologists and educators indicated that their experience had shown punishment not to be necessary.

Glasser wrote that punishment was not only unnecessary, but that it actually interfered with the development of individual and social responsibility. He believes that punishment is a technique for avoiding, rather than solving, problems.[3]

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[2]Fritz Redl and William W. Wattenberg, Mental Hygiene in Teaching (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1951), pp. 282-83.

[3]William Glasser, Schools Without Failure (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1969), pp. 129-30.

The results of the questionnaire revealed that certain punishments were recommended by the respondents for classroom use. Also, they responded that behavior problems could be solved without the use of punishment, but that punishment is a useful and recommended technique.

The data reported did not support this hypothesis. The several experimental studies which reported positive reinforcement as being superior to punishment in controlling behavior were of significance. However, it should be recognized that in all of the experiments the teachers were trained to use positive reinforcement, but they were given no training for the punishing phase. It has been reported that punishment is a complicated technique; therefore, the teachers may not have been adequately trained in its use. The experiments have proved that positive reinforcement, properly used, was superior to punishment, as used by the teachers. Presently, there seems to be some reason for questioning the effectiveness of punishment, but there are not sufficient data available to reject the use of punishment. Perhaps the most important aspect revealed by these data is that punishment is only one of many techniques. It may at times be useful, but should not be used as if it were the only useful technique.

HYPOTHESIS THREE

The third hypothesis was: There is no difference in the emotional stability of educators who use punishment and educators who refrain from punishing.

Several examples were cited in which a teacher's punitive behavior had been a symptom of emotional disturbance. It was also reported that a school system which condones physical or harsh punishment is an attractive location for an individual who has a perverted need to strike out at children. Morgan wrote that emotional instability was certainly one of the primary reasons for administering punishment.[4] In support of Morgan's view, data were found which indicated that punishing behavior was often evidence of an emotional disturbance. Part of the data implied that punitiveness could be an indication of emotional instability. It was revealed from the questionnaire that an overwhelming majority of the respondents believed the use of frequent and severe punishment to be an indication of emotional instability.

There was no indication that all use of punishment was evidence of emotional instability. Therefore, the hypothesis must be considered valid as it was written. There were no data which could lead one to conclude that moderate

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[4]John Morgan, Child Psychology (New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith Inc., 1932), p. 181.

use of mild punishments is in any way a sign of emotional
problems. However, it was found that frequent and severe
punishing behavior by a teacher is almost certainly an
indication of emotional disturbance.

HYPOTHESIS FOUR

The fourth hypothesis was: There is no difference
in the way punishment is received by students who have strong
self-destructive tendencies and those who do not have strong
self-destructive tendencies.

The strongest characteristics of self-destructive
tendencies were found to be suicide, self-mutilation,
polysurgery, and severe psychosomatic illness. However, no
information was found concerning how punishment affected
these individuals. Therefore, the moderately strong self-
destructive tendencies of masochism and a need for punish-
ment were researched in reference to the hypothesis.

According to part of the data, punishment could
actually be pleasurable to some students. This was further
supported by evidence which indicated that a specific
consequence could serve as punishment to some children and
reward to others. It was also reported that punishment could
have the effect of causing self-punishment or mild self-
destructive tendencies.

Perhaps the most important evidence was found in
support of the guilt-reduction concept of the need for
punishment. Numerous writers, including Menninger, Ginott,

Fenichel, and Horney, stated that the most common reason for
seeking punishment was to relieve previous guilt feelings.
This was generally done by a child's provoking an authority
figure into punishing him for his misdeeds. It was further
reported that the child would sometimes verbally request
that he be punished.

Evidence was also cited which indicated that the
seeking of punishment could be motivated by a need to
relieve a disproportionate fear. It was finally reported
that punishment might be sought in an effort to justify a
feeling of moral superiority.

The most important characteristic of all the data
was that regardless of what the suggested motivation is for
seeking punishment, the intended punishment always serves as
positive reinforcement for behaving in a way that will again
draw punishment. There did not appear to be any evidence
indicating that children who do not consistently provoke
punishment are positively reinforced by it. Therefore, it
was concluded that punishment does effect students who have
strong self-destructive tendencies differently than students
who do not have strong self-destructive tendencies. Thus,
the null statement of the hypothesis was found to be invalid.

It has been concluded in this chapter that punishment
is detrimental to the mental health of those receiving
punishment, that it is a useful technique in controlling

behavior, that it is not necessarily an indication of
emotional instability on the part of those who administer
punishment, and that it does serve as positive reinforcement
for those who seek punishment.

Chapter 6 .

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A summary of the entire study, the conclusions
reached as a result of the study, and the writer's
recommendations are encompassed in this chapter.

SUMMARY

This study was primarily prompted by the existing
controversy over the use of punishment in education. The
purpose of the study was: (1) to evaluate the effectiveness
of punishment, (2) to investigate the effect punishment has
on the individual, (3) to describe the success of non-
punitive techniques in controlling behavior, (4) to consider
the emotional stability of individuals who use punishment,
and (5) to investigate the effect punishment has on an
individual with self-destructive tendencies. The data were
gathered by bibliographical research. This method of
research was chosen because the writer thought that it was
necessary to examine the topic from a broad perspective
before further meaningful experimental research could be
conducted. A questionnaire was developed for the purpose
of supplementing the bibliographical research because it
was believed that an important source of information would be

overlooked if the study were limited to what had been written on the topic of punishment. The results of the questionnaire and the bibliographical research were presented in the third and fourth chapters, respectively.

The first hypothesis was found to be invalid: There is no difference between the mental health of students who have been punished and those who have had behavior problems corrected by other means. The data strongly supported the position that punishment is a cause of mental health problems in students. No corresponding evidence was found indicating that other behavior control techniques are also responsible for mental health problems of students.

The data indicated some support for verification of the second hypothesis which stated: There is no difference in the effectiveness of school discipline that is maintained by the use of punishment and school discipline maintained without the use of punishment. Although evidence was presented which would negate this hypothesis, it was considered insufficient to warrant complete rejection of the hypothesis. It was established, however, that many other influence techniques do exist which should be used widely.

The third hypothesis was found to be valid as stated: There is no difference in the emotional stability of educators who use punishment and educators who refrain from punishing. Although the data did support that frequent and severe use of punishment by educators could be a sign of

emotional instability, there was no reason to believe that moderate or infrequent use of punishment was an indication of any instability.

The final hypotheses was rejected: There is no difference in the way punishment is received by students who have strong self-destructive tendencies and those who do not have strong self-destructive tendencies. It should be noted that this conclusion referred only to those who characterize their self-destructive tendencies by self-punishment or punishment seeking. No evidence was found that referred to the most severe forms of self-destruction. A significant finding concerning the fourth hypothesis was that punishment always serves as positive reinforcement for those who seek punishment.

CONCLUSIONS

There are several implications for education that can be drawn from this study. First, it was shown that punishment is frequently detrimental to the mental health of students. On the basis of this finding, it is concluded that punishment should be avoided whenever possible in controlling behavior. It has been shown that a number of other techniques are available for behavior management. These are not necessarily simple techniques to learn or use, but, according to the data, neither is punishment. Hence, it is further concluded that both teachers and teacher training institutions must accept responsibility for teachers' knowing

how properly to use punishment and other techniques of behavior management. It was established by the data that nonpunitive techniques are effective methods for maintaining discipline. If these techniques are properly and more widely employed, the need for using punishment should diminish, thereby reducing the number of mental health problems caused by punishment.

The data indicated that frequent and severe use of punishment could be an indication of emotional instability of a teacher. Whenever such overuse of punishment is recognized, it should be drawn immediately to the attention of the administrator. A psychological examination of the teacher should be required and if necessary, treatment should be made available. Care should be taken to prevent over-reaction to this recommendation. It was not found that moderate use of mild punishment or even infrequent use of severe punish- ment is any cause for alarm. The data pertaining to this part of the study were inconclusive except concerning the most extreme cases.

It was found that what is inflicted upon an individual as punishment may actually serve as positive reinforcement. Much care should be taken to see that individuals who repeatedly attempt to provoke punishment are not punished but are treated in some other manner. It is one thing to meet a child's needs and quite another to meet his perverted needs. When a perverted need is gratified, the

individual is likely to become more dependent upon its
gratification. It is important that a teacher avoid
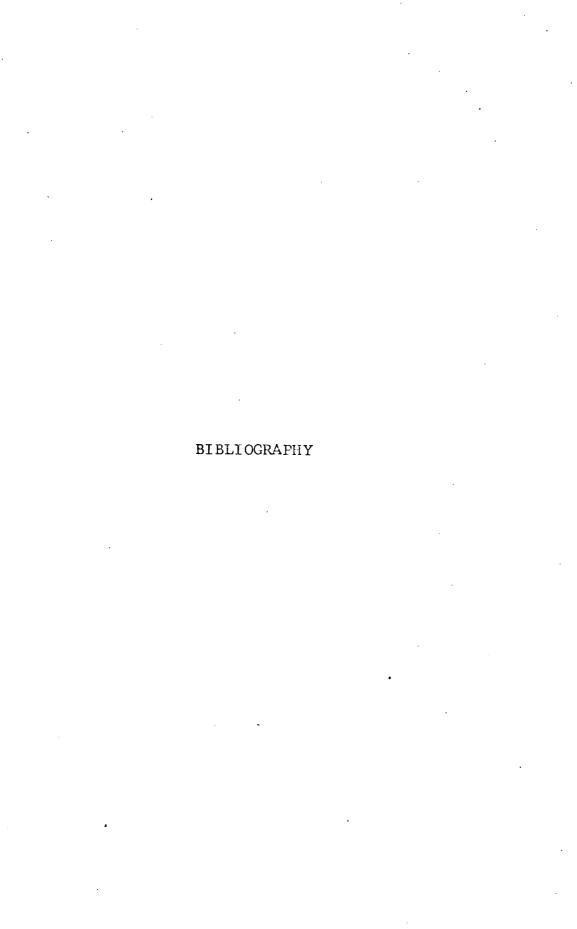punishing when it reinforces a need for punishment.

At the beginning of this study the question was asked:
Should the use of punishment in education be retained? There
was not sufficient evidence found by this study to conclude
that the use of punishment in schools should be abolished.
However, the data did imply that the use of punishment
should be kept to an absolute minimum. It is only one
of many available techniques. Punishment is a difficult
technique to use and should only be administered by a
teacher properly trained in its use who can determine that
a particular punishment would serve as a learning experience
for a particular student.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The respondents to the questionnaire overwhelmingly
indicated that teachers could be trained to handle behavior
problems without using punishment. They also recommended
that such training should be implemented. It is a rare
teacher who has been trained in using behavior modification,
life space interviewing, reality therapy, and influence
techniques in controlling students' behavior. However, the
data in this study indicates all of these approaches to be
useful in dealing with behavior problems. Thus, it is
recommended that teacher training institutions make greater

efforts to see that teachers are properly trained in using several techniques for behavior management. This should include the proper use of punishment. If teachers are to be successful in classroom management, they must be trained to use several control techniques, one of which may be punishment.

One of the most important needs for the educational setting is research into the application of all the techniques for behavior management. Such questions as the following need to be answered: How widespread is the use of each method? How effective is each? Are some of the techniques more appropriate for specific grade levels and subject matter areas than others are? Which schools are training teachers to use these behavior control techniques? How are teachers being trained to use the control approaches? Which training methods are most successful? These are questions which need to be answered by future research.

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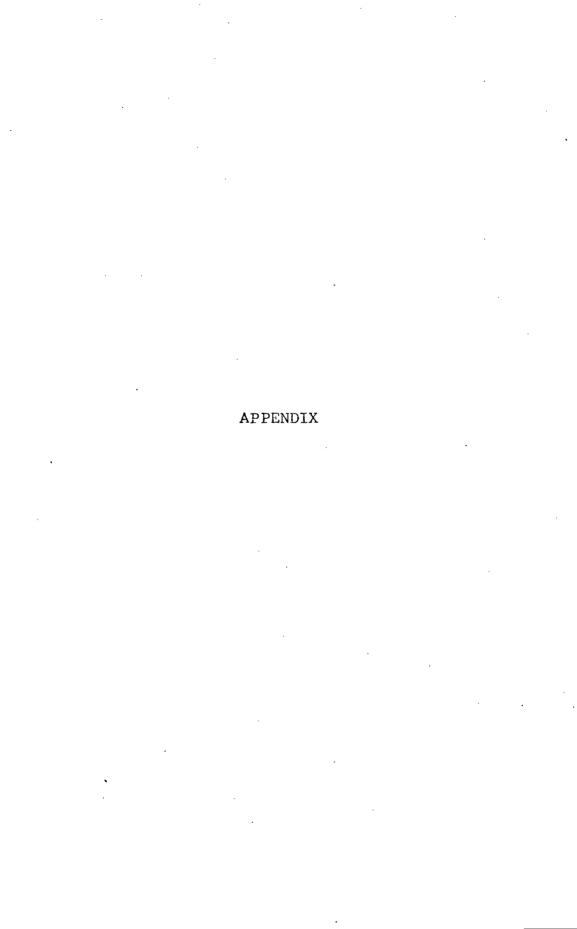Wills, David W. Throw Away Thy Rod. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1960.

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APPENDIX

416 East Eleventh
Emporia, Kansas 66801
August 15, 1969

Dr. B. F. Skinner
33 Kirkland
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Dr. Skinner:

Presently, a research study is being conducted at
Kansas State Teachers College concerning the desirability
of using punishment in public education. Enclosed you
will find a short questionnaire that has been sent to
selected psychiatrists and psychologists throughout the
country. It would be appreciated if you would cooperate
with this study by responding to the questionnaire and
returning it at your earliest convenience in the stamped
envelope that has been provided.

Sincerely,

Art Willans

416 East Eleventh
Emporia, Kansas 66801
August 29, 1969

Dr. B. F. Skinner
33 Kirkland
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Dr. Skinner:

As you will recall, two weeks ago you received a
questionnaire concerning the use of punishment in
education. Upon the mailing of this letter, your
response has not been received. An additional questionnaire
and envelope are enclosed in case you have misplaced the
first mailing. It would be appreciated if you would
contribute to the significance of this study by answering
the questions and returning them at your earliest
convenience.

Sincerely,

Art Willans

PLEASE FEEL FREE TO DELETE OR REVISE ANY QUESTION SO THAT
YOUR ANSWER WILL BE MOST CONSISTENT WITH YOUR PROFESSIONAL
BELIEFS.

Would you suggest teachers use such punishments as
listed below in correcting classroom behavior problems?

	FREQUENTLY	REGULARLY	SELDOM	NEVER
1. Name Calling	___	___	___	___
2. Sarcasm and ridicule	___	___	___	___
3. Nagging	___	___	___	___
4. Scolding	___	___	___	___
5. Mild verbal disapproval	___	___	___	___
6. Group punishment	___	___	___	___
7. Detention	___	___	___	___
8. Deprivation of privileges	___	___	___	___
9. Rectification	___	___	___	___
10. Corporal punishment	___	___	___	___
11. Suspension	___	___	___	___
12. Expulsion	___	___	___	___

1. Do you believe that behavior problems of students can be corrected without the use of punishment? Yes___ No___

2. Do you believe that punishment is an important cause of behavior problems in youth? Yes___ No___

3. Do you believe the punishment is a useful tool in correcting behavior problems? Yes___ No___

4. Do you believe that there is any relationship between the emotional stability of a teacher and the severity and frequency of the punishments he administers?
   Yes ___ No ___

5. Do you believe that if teachers had the proper training they could deal effectively with behavior problems without resorting to punishment? Yes___ No___

6. If your answer was yes to the previous question, do you believe that it would be practical and realistic to implement such training in teacher preparation programs? Yes___ No___

7. To which school of psychological thought do you belong?
   _____ a. Psychoanalytic   _____ d. Bio-Physical
   _____ b. Phenomenological   _____ e. Other_____
   _____ c. Behavioral

MAILING LIST FOR QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Dr. Albert Bandura
2. Dr. Bruno Bettelheim
3. Dr. Jerome S. Bruner
4. Dr. John W. Chotlos*
5. Dr. Bernice T. Eiduson*
6. Dr. Hans J. Eysenck*
7. Dr. Charles B. Ferster*
8. Dr. Erich Fromm
9. Dr. Reilly W. Gardnar*
10. Dr. Jacob W. Getzels
11. Dr. Hiam Ginott
12. Dr. William Glasser
13. Dr. William H. Grier
14. Dr. Donald Hebb*
15. Dr. Harold E. Himwich*
16. Dr. J. McVicker Hunt*
17. Dr. Jerome Kagan*
18. Dr. Franz J. Kallmann
19. Dr. Leonard Krasner*
20. Dr. Richard S. Lazarus*
21. Dr. Ogden R. Lindsley*
22. Dr. Albert Luker*
23. Dr. Melvin H. Marx*
24. Dr. Abraham Maslow
25. Dr. Rolla May
26. Dr. Karl A. Menninger
27. Dr. Myron Messenheimer*
28. Dr. Neal Miller*
29. Dr. Orval H. Mowrer
30. Dr. Edwin Price*
31. Dr. Fritz Redl
32. Dr. Carl Rogers
33. Dr. Mark R. Rosenzweig
34. Dr. William H. Shelton*
35. Dr. B. F. Skinner*
36. Dr. Benjamin Spock
37. Dr. Leonard P. Ullman*
38. Dr. Lewis Wolberg*
39. Dr. Joseph Wolpe*
40. Name Withheld Upon Request*

*Questionnaire returned.