Jean Piaget

with the assistance of seven collaborators

Translated by Marjorie Gabain

The Moral Judgment of the Child

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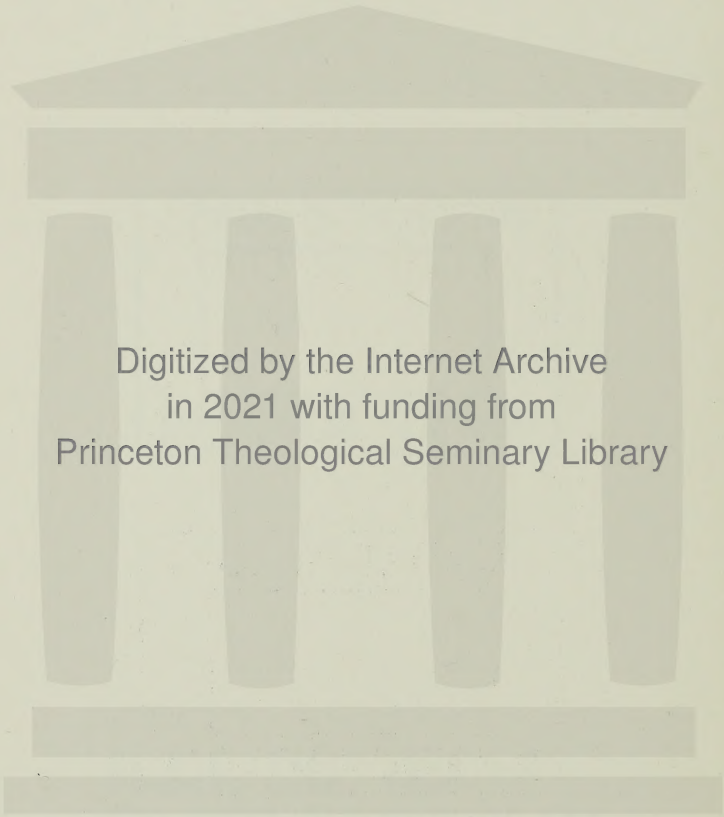

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The Moral Judgment of the Child

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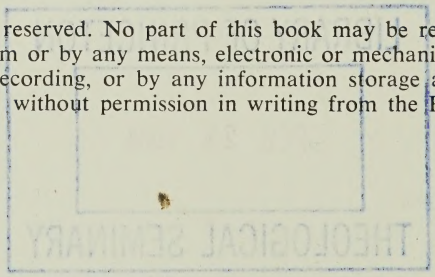

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Foreword

READERS will find in this book no direct analysis of child morality as it is practised in home and school life or in children's societies. It is the moral judgment that we propose to investigate, not moral behaviour or sentiments. With this aim in view we questioned a large number of children from the Geneva and Neuchâtel schools and held conversations with them, similar to those we had had before on their conception of the world and of causality. The present volume contains the results of these conversations.

First we had to establish what was meant by respect for rules from the child's point of view. This is why we have begun with an analysis of the rules of a social game in the obligatory aspect which these possess for a *bona fide* player. From the rules of games we have passed to the specifically moral rules laid down by adults and we have tried to see what idea the child forms of these particular duties. Children's ideas on lying were selected as being a privileged example. Finally we have examined the notions that arose out of the relations in which the children stood to each other and we were thus led to discuss the idea of justice as our special theme.

Having reached this point, our results seemed to us sufficiently consistent to be compared to some of the hypotheses now in favour among sociologists and writers on the psy-

chology of morals. It is to this final task that we have devoted our fourth chapter.

We are more conscious than anybody of the defects as of the advantages of the method we have used. The great danger, especially in matters of morality, is that of making the child say whatever one wants him to say. There is no infallible remedy for this; neither the good faith of the questioner nor the precautionary methods which we have laid stress upon elsewhere[1] are sufficient. The only safeguard lies in the collaboration of other investigators. If other psychologists take up our questions from different view-points and put them to children of differing social environment, it will be possible sooner or later to separate the objective from the arbitrary elements in the results which we bring forward in this work. An analogous task has been undertaken in various countries with regard to child logic and children's ideas on causality; and while certain exaggerations of which we had been guilty came to light in this way, the results up to date in no way tend to discourage us in the use of the method we have adopted.

The advantages of this method seem to us to be that it makes evident what observation left to itself can only surmise. During the last few years, for example, I have been engaged in taking down the spontaneous remarks made by my two little girls, to whom I have never set the questions examined in *The Child's Conception of the World* or in *The Child's Conception of Causality*. Now, broadly speaking, the tendencies to Realism, Animism, Artificialism and dynamic Causality, etc., come very clearly to light, but the meaning of these children's most interesting "whys," as of many of their chance remarks, would have almost completely eluded me if I had not in the past questioned hundreds of children personally on the same subjects. A child's spontaneous remark is, of course, more valuable than all the questioning in the world. But in child psychology such a remark cannot be seen

[1] See *The Child's Conception of the World,* Kegan Paul, which in the sequel will be designated by the letters *C.W.* My other books, *Language and Thought in the Child, Judgment and Reasoning in the Child,* and *The Child's Conception of Causality,* will be referred to by the initials *L.T., J.R.,* and *C.C.* respectively.

in its right perspective without the work of preparation constituted by those very interrogatories.

The present book on child morality is just such a preliminary piece of work. It is my sincere hope that it may supply a scaffolding which those living with children and observing their spontaneous reactions can use in erecting the actual edifice. In a sense, child morality throws light on adult morality. If we want to form men and women, nothing will fit us so well for the task as to study the laws that govern their formation.

The Moral Judgment of the Child

Chapter 1

The Rules of the Game[1]

CHILDREN'S GAMES constitute the most admirable social institutions. The game of marbles, for instance, as played by boys, contains an extremely complex system of rules, that is to say, a code of laws, a jurisprudence of its own. Only the psychologist, whose profession obliges him to become familiar with this instance of common law, and to get at the implicit morality underlying it, is in a position to estimate the extraordinary wealth of these rules by the difficulty he experiences in mastering their details.

If we wish to gain any understanding of child morality, it is obviously with the analysis of such facts as these that we must begin. All morality consists in a system of rules, and the essence of all morality is to be sought for in the respect which the individual acquires for these rules. The reflective analysis of Kant, the sociology of Durkheim, or the individualistic psychology of Bovet all meet on this point. The doctrines begin to diverge only from the moment that it has to be explained how the mind comes to respect these rules. For our part, it will be in the domain of child psychology that we shall undertake the analysis of this "how."

Now, most of the moral rules which the child learns to respect he receives from adults, which means that he receives

[1] With the collaboration of Mme. V. J. Piaget, MM M. Lambercier and L. Martinez.

them after they have been fully elaborated, and often elaborated, not in relation to him and as they are needed, but once and for all and through an uninterrupted succession of earlier adult generations.

In the case of the very simplest social games, on the contrary, we are in the presence of rules which have been elaborated by the children alone. It is of no moment whether these games strike us as "moral" or not in their contents. As psychologists we must ourselves adopt the point of view, not of the adult conscience, but of child morality. Now, the rules of the game of marbles are handed down, just like so-called moral realities, from one generation to another, and are preserved solely by the respect that is felt for them by individuals. The sole difference is that the relations in this case are only those that exist between children. The little boys who are beginning to play are gradually trained by the older ones in respect for the law; and in any case they aspire from their hearts to the virtue, supremely characteristic of human dignity, which consists in making a correct use of the customary practices of a game. As to the older ones, it is in their power to alter the rules. If this is not "morality," then where does morality begin? At least, it is respect for rules, and it appertains to an enquiry like ours to begin with the study of facts of this order. Of course the phenomena relating to the game of marbles are not among the most primitive. Before playing with his equals, the child is influenced by his parents. He is subjected from his cradle to a multiplicity of regulations, and even before language he becomes conscious of certain obligations. These circumstances even exercise, as we shall see, an undeniable influence upon the way in which the rules of games are elaborated. But in the case of play institutions, adult intervention is at any rate reduced to the minimum. We are therefore in the presence here of realities which, if not amongst the most elementary, should be classed nevertheless amongst the most spontaneous and the most instructive.

With regard to game rules there are two phenomena which it is particularly easy to study: first the *practice* of rules, *i.e.*, the way in which children of different ages effectively apply rules: second the *consciousness* of rules, *i.e.*, the idea which children of different ages form of the character of these game

rules, whether of something obligatory and sacred or of something subject to their own choice, whether of heteronomy or autonomy.

It is the comparison of these two groups of data which constitutes the real aim of this chapter. For the relations which exist between the practice and the consciousness of rules are those which will best enable us to define the psychological nature of moral realities.

One word more. Before embarking upon an analysis of the practice or of the consciousness of rules, we must first give some account of the actual content of these rules. We must therefore establish the social data of the problem. But we shall confine ourselves only to what is indispensable. We have not attempted to establish the sociology of the game of marbles; this would have meant finding out how this game was played in the past and how it is now played in different parts of the world (it is actually played by Negro children). Even confining ourselves to French Switzerland, we believe it would need several years of research to discover all the local variants of the game and, above all, to outline the history of these variants throughout the last few generations. Such an enquiry, which might be useful to the sociologist, is superfluous for the psychologist. All the latter needs in order to study how rules are learned is a thorough knowledge of a given custom in actual use, just as in order to study child language, all he needs is to know a given dialect, however localized, without troubling to reconstruct all its semantic and phonetic changes in time and space. We shall therefore confine ourselves to a short analysis of the content of the game as it is played in Geneva and Neuchâtel, in the districts where we conducted our work.

§ 1. The Rules of the Game of Marbles

Three essential facts must be noted if we wish to analyse simultaneously the practice and the consciousness of rules.

The first is that among children of a given generation and in a given locality, however small, there is never one single way of playing marbles, there are quantities of ways. There is the "square game" with which we shall occupy ourselves more especially. A square is drawn on the ground and a

number of marbles placed within it; the game consists in aiming at these from a distance and driving them out of the enclosure. There is the game of "courate" where two players aim at each other's marble in indefinite pursuit. There is the game of "troyat" from "trou" (=hole) or "creux" (=hollow), where the marbles are piled into a hole and have to be dislodged by means of a heavier marble, and so on. Every child is familiar with several games, a fact that may help according to his age to reinforce or to weaken his belief in the sacred character of rules.

In the second place, one and the same game, such as the Square game, admits of fairly important variations according to when and where it is played. As we had occasion to verify, the rules of the Square game are not the same in four of the communes of Neuchâtel [2] situated at 2-3 kilometres from each other. They are not the same in Geneva and in Neuchâtel. They differ, on certain points, from one district to another, from one school to another in the same town. In addition to this, as through our collaborators' kindness we were able to establish, variations occur from one generation to another. A student of twenty assured us that in his village the game is no longer played as it was "in his days." These variations according to time and place are important, because children are often aware of their existence. A child who has moved from one town, or merely from one school building to another will often explain to us that such and such a rule is in force in one place but not in the other. Very often, too, a child will tell us that his father played differently from him. Last of all, there is the boy of 14 who has given up playing because he is beginning to feel superior to the little ones, and who, according to his temperament, laughs or mourns over the fact that the customs of his generation are going by the board instead of being piously preserved by the rising generation.

Finally, and clearly as a result of the convergence of these local or historical currents, it will happen that one and the same game (like the Square game) played in the playground of one and the same school admits on certain points of sev-

[2] Neuchâtel, La Coudre, Hauterive and Saint-Blaise.

eral different rules. Children of 11 to 13 are familiar with these variants, and they generally agree before or during the gave to choose a given usage to the exclusion of others. These facts must therefore be borne in mind, for they undoubtedly condition the judgment which the child will make on the value of rules.

Having mentioned these points, we shall give a brief exposition of the rules of the Square game, which will serve as a prototype, and we shall begin by fixing the child's language so as to be able to understand the reports of the conversations which will be quoted later on. Besides, as is so often the case in child psychology, some aspects of this language are in themselves highly instructive.

A marble is called "un marbre" in Neuchâtel and "un cœillu" or "un mapis" in Geneva. There are marbles of different value. The cement marble has the place of honour. The "carron" which is smaller and made of the more brittle clay is of less value because it costs less. The marbles that are used for throwing[3] and are not placed inside the square are called according to their consistency "corna" (if in carnelian), "ago," or "agathe," "cassine" (glass ball with coloured veins), "plomb" (large marble containing lead), etc. Each is worth so many marbles or so many "carrons." To throw a marble is to "tirer" (shoot) and to touch another marble with one's own is to "tanner" (hit).

Then comes a set of terms of ritual *consecration,* that is, of expressions which the player uses in order to announce that he is going to perform such-and-such an operation and which thus consecrate it ritually as an accomplished fact. For, once these words have been uttered, the opponent is powerless against his partner's decision; whereas if he takes the initiative by means of the terms of ritual *interdiction,* which we shall examine in a moment, he will in this way prevent the operation which he fears. For example, in order to play first in circumstances when it is possible to do so, the child will say (at Neuchâtel) "prems"—obviously a corrup-

[3] The English technical equivalent is the generic term "shooter" which we shall use in the interrogatories given below. For the rest we have generally retained the French words as one cannot be sure that the English terms mean exactly the same. [Trans.]

tion of the word "premier" (first). If he wants to go back to the line that all the players start from at their first turn and which is called the "coche,"[4] he simply says "coche." If he wishes to advance or retreat to a distance twice as great, he says "deux coches," or if to a distance of one, two, or three hand-breadths he says "one (or two, or three) empans" (spans). If he wishes to place himself in relation to the square at a distance equal to that at which he finds himself at a given moment, but in another direction (so as to avoid the probable attacks of his opponent) he says "du mien" (mine), and if he wishes to prevent his opponent from doing the same thing he says "du tien" (yours). This applies to Neuchâtel. In Geneva these displacements are expressed by the terms "faire une entasse" or "entorse" (to make a twist). If you wish to give up your turn and be "dead" until your opponent has moved, you say "coup passé" (my turn passed).

As soon as these terms have been uttered in circumstances which of course are carefully regulated by a whole juridical system, the opponent has to submit. But if the opponent wishes to anticipate these operations, it is sufficient for him to pronounce the terms of ritual *interdiction,* which at Neuchâtel are simply the same terms but preceded by the prefix "fan," from "défendu" (forbidden). For example, "fan-du-mien," "fan-du-tien," "fan-coche," "fan-coup-passé," etc. Some children, not having understood this prefix, which does not, after all, correspond with anything in the speech they hear around them, say "femme-du-tien," "femme-coche," etc.

Two more particularly suggestive terms of consecration should be noted, which are current among the little Genevans: "glaine" and "toumiké." When a player places a marble of superior value in the square, thinking that he has put down an ordinary marble (say an "ago" instead of a "cœillu") he is naturally allowed, if he has noticed his mistake, to pick up his "ago" and put an ordinary marble in its place. Only a dishonest opponent would take advantage of his partner's absent-mindedness and pocket this "ago" after having hit it. The children we questioned on this point were unanimous in pronouncing such procedure equivalent to stealing. But if, on

[4] English, pitch-line (sometimes). [Trans.]

the other hand, the opponent spots his partner's mistake in time and utters the word "toumiké" or (by doubling the last syllable) "toumikémik," then the absent-minded player no longer has the right to pick up his "ago"; he must leave it on the ground like a common-or-garden "cœillu," and if one of the players succeeds in hitting it, this player will be allowed in all fairness to take possession of it. This shows us a very interesting example of a word consecrating a mistake and by doing so changing a dishonest action into one that is legitimate and recognized as such by all. We have here for the first time an example of that formalism, which belongs to certain aspects of childish morality, and into whose nature we shall go more deeply in the sequel in connection with objective responsibility.

In the same way, the word "glaine" legitimatizes piracy in certain well-defined conditions. When one of the players has succeeded, either by luck or by skill, in winning all his partners' marbles, it is a point of honour similar to that which sociologists designate with the term "potlatch" that he should offer to play a fresh set and should himself place in the square the necessary marbles, so as to give his less fortunate playmates the chance of recovering a portion of their possessions. If he refuses, of course no law can force him to do this; he has won and there is the end of it. If, however, one of the players pronounces the word "glaine" then the whole gang falls upon the miser, throws him down, empties his pockets and shares the booty. This act of piracy which in normal times is profoundly contrary to morality (since the marbles collected by the winner constitute his lawfully acquired possession) is thus changed into a legitimate act and even into an act of retributive justice approved by the general conscience when the word "glaine" has been pronounced.[5]

At Neuchâtel we noticed neither "glaine" nor "toumiké," but, on the other hand, we found "cougac." When one of the

[5] This word "glaine" really has a wider sense. According to several children it entitles whoever pronounces it simply to pick up all the marbles that are on the ground when a discussion arises about them, or if a player forgets to take possession of what is his due. It is in this sense that the word is taken, for instance, in Philippe Monnier's, *Le Livre de Blaise* (3rd ed., p. 135).

players has won too much (therefore in the situation just described) his defeated partner can force him to offer to play another set by uttering the word "cougac" (probably derived from coup-gagné just as "prems" was from premier). If the winner wishes to evade the obligation laid upon him by the fateful word, he has only to anticipate the blow by saying "fan-cougac."

Our reason for emphasizing these linguistic peculiarities is only to show from the first the juridical complexity of game rules. It is obvious that these facts could be analysed more fundamentally from other points of view. One could, for example, work out the whole psychology of consecration and interdiction in connection with the child and, above all, the psychology of social games. But these questions are really outside our scope.[6] Let us therefore return to what is the essential point so far as we are concerned, namely, the rules themselves.

The Square game thus consists, in a word, in putting a few marbles in a square, and in taking possession of them by dislodging them with a special marble, bigger than the rest. But when it comes to details this simple schema contains an indefinite series of complications. Let us take them in order, so as to get some idea of their richness.

First of all, there is the "pose" or outlay. One of the players draws a square and then each places his "pose." If there are two players, each one puts down two, three, or four marbles. If there are three players, each put down two marbles. If there are four or more players, it is customary to put down only one marble each. The main thing is equality: each one puts down what the others do. But in order to reach equality the relative value of the marbles must be taken into account. For an ordinary marble, you must put down eight "carrons." A little "corna" is worth eight "marbres," sixteen "carrons," and so on. The values are carefully regulated and correspond roughly to the price paid at the shop round the corner. But alongside of financial operations proper, there are

[6] With regard to social games we are awaiting the publication of R. Cousinet's book which will incorporate all the valuable material which this author has been accumulating for so many years.

between children various exchanges in kind which appreciably alter current values.

Then the game begins. A certain distance is agreed upon where the "coche" is drawn; this is the line from which the players start. It is drawn parallel to and generally one or two metres away from one of the sides of the square, and from it each player will fire his first shot. (To "fire" is to throw one's shooter—"agathe" or "cornaline"—into the square.)

All, therefore, start from the coche. In some games you return to the coche at each fresh turn, but it is more usual after the first shot to play from the place that your marble has rolled to. Sometimes this rule is limited by saying that the marble must not be further removed from the square than the coche. Thus if your marble has rolled two metres away from the square in any direction whatsoever, you bring it back to a distance of 1m. 50 if this is the distance at which the coche itself stands.

But before the game begins you must settle who is to play first. For the first player has the advantage of "firing" into a square full of marbles, whereas those who follow are faced only with what is left after the gains of the preceding players. In order to know who is to begin, a series of well-known rites are put in action. Two children walk towards each other stepping heel to toe, and whichever steps on the other's toe has the right to begin. Or else rhymed formulæ or even syllables devoid of any meaning are recited in sacramental order. Each syllable corresponds to a player, and he on whom the last syllable falls is the lucky one. In addition to these customary usages there is a method of procedure peculiar to the game of marbles. Each boy throws his "shooter" in the direction of the coche or of a line specially traced for the purpose. Whoever comes nearest up to the line begins. The others follow in order of their nearness up to the line. The last to play is the boy who has gone beyond the coche, and if several have gone beyond it, the last to play will be the boy whose marble has gone furthest.

The order of the players having been settled in this way, the game begins. Each player in turn stands behind the coche and "fires" into the square. There are three ways of throwing one's marble: "Piquette" (Engl., "shooting") which consists in

projecting the marble by a jerk of the thumb, the marble being placed against the thumb-nail and kept in place by the first finger; "Roulette" (Engl., "bowling") which consists simply in rolling your marble along the ground, and "Poussette" (Engl., "hunching") which consists in addition in carrying your hand along with it over a sufficient distance to correct the initial direction. Poussette is always banned and may in this connection be compared to the push stroke of a bad billiard player. At Neuchâtel it is customary to say "fan-poussette" or again "femme-poussette." In Geneva, the simpler expression "défendu de trainer" (dragging forbidden) is in use. Roulette ("bowling") is also generally banned ("fan-roulette") but is at times tolerated, in which case everyone will of course have the right to play in this way, and absolute equality before the law will even be agreed upon at the beginning of the game.

The players are therefore throwing in the manner that has been agreed upon. Suppose one of the marbles included in the square has been hit. If it has gone outside the square it becomes the property of the boy who has dislodged it. If it remains inside the enclosure it cannot be taken. If, finally, it remains on the line the case is judged by the partners: a marble which is half outside is regarded as out, not otherwise. Here, naturally, a whole lot of subsidiary rules will establish the procedure in disputed cases. There remains the case of the marble with which one shoots (the shooter, or taw, etc.) remaining in the square or failing to lie beyond one of the lines of the square by at least half of its diameter: its owner is "cuit" (dished), *i.e.*, he cannot play any more. If this marble is projected outside the square by that of another player, it becomes, like the others, the latter's property, except in the case of special conventions generally agreed upon at the beginning of the game. Finally, there are the possible complications arising from cases of rebounding marbles. A marble that bounces out of the square off another is sometimes not held to be won, and *a fortiori* in the case of a marble of value.[7] In other cases, everything that goes outside the enclo-

[7] This is expressed by saying that the "revenette" does not count.

sure belongs to the player who has expelled it. The particular cases that arise in this way are settled in conformity with principles that are established either before or during the game by mutual agreement between all the participants.

Then comes the question of the number of "shots" to be allowed to each. The player who has succeeded in winning one or more marbles has the right to play again, and so on, for as long as he wins. But sometimes the following reservation is made: for the first round in each game every player plays once in turn, independently of gains or losses. Here again, therefore, it is a matter of previous arrangement.

In addition—and this is an essential rule—everyone has the right not only to "fire" at the marbles in the square, but also to "tanner" (hit) his neighbour's shooter, even outside the enclosure and indeed wherever it may happen to be in the course of the game. And of course the great difficulty is to shoot at the square without placing yourself within reach of your partners. This is why, when a shot would involve too many risks, you are allowed to say "coup-passé" and to remain where you are, provided, of course, that no one has foreseen this decision and said "fan-coup-passé." And this, really, is why you are allowed to change your position provided you place yourself at the same distance from the square as before, and provided you first say "du mien" (mine), unless, once again, your opponent has anticipated your move by saying "du tien" (yours).

Finally, a series of special rules deserves mention, the observance of which depends upon the particular town or school in question. The first player who says "place-pour-moi" (place for me) is not obliged to take up his position at one of the corners of the square. Any player who has succeeded in winning the equivalent of his "pose" (*i.e.*, two marbles if he has placed two in the square, and so on) can say "queue-de-pose" which will allow him to have the first shot from the coche in the next game, and so on.

The game, regulated in this way by an indefinite number of rules, is carried on until the square is empty. The boy who has pocketed the largest number of marbles has won.

§ 2. The Interrogatory and Its General Results

The rules that we have outlined above constitute a well-marked social reality, "independent of individuals" (in Durkheim's sense) and transmitted, like a language, from one generation to another. This set of customs is obviously more or less plastic. But individual innovations, just as in the case of language, succeed only when they meet a general need and when they are collectively sanctioned as being in conformity with the "spirit of the game." But while fully recognizing the interest attaching to this sociological aspect of the problem, it was from a different standpoint that we raised the questions which we are now going to study. We simply asked ourselves (1) how the individuals adapt themselves to these rules, *i.e.*, how they observe rules at each age and level of mental development; (2) how far they become conscious of rules, in other words, what types of obligation result (always according to the children's ages) from the increasing ascendancy exercised by rules.

The interrogatory is therefore easy to carry out. During the first part, it is sufficient to ask the children (we questioned about 20 boys ranging from 4 to 12-13) how one plays marbles. The experimenter speaks more or less as follows. "Here are some marbles." (The marbles are placed on a large baize-covered table beside a piece of chalk.) "You must show me how to play. When I was little I used to play a lot, but now I've quite forgotten how to. I'd like to play again. Let's play together. You'll teach me the rules and I'll play with you." The child then draws a square, takes half the marbles, puts down his "pose," and the game begins. It is important to bear in mind all possible contingencies of the game and to ask the child about each. This means that you must avoid making any sort of suggestions. All you need do is to appear completely ignorant, and even to make intentional mistakes so that the child may each time point out clearly what the rule is. Naturally, you must take the whole thing very seriously, all through the game. Then you ask who has won and why, and if everything is not quite clear, you begin a new set.

It is of paramount importance during this first half of the

interrogatory to play your part in a simple spirit and to let the child feel a certain superiority at the game (while not omitting to show by an occasional good shot that you are not a complete duffer). In this way the child is put at ease, and the information he gives as to how he plays is all the more conclusive. Many of our children became absorbed in the game to the extent of treating me completely as one of them. "You are dished!" cries Ben (10 years) when my marble stops inside the square.

In the case of the little ones, who find difficulty in formulating the rules which they observe in practice, the best way is to make them play in pairs. You begin by playing with one of them in the manner described above, and ask him to tell you all the rules he knows. Then you make the same request of the second boy (the first being no longer present), and finally you bring the two together and ask them to have a game. This control experiment is not needed for older children, except in doubtful cases.

Then comes the second part of the interrogatory, that, namely, which bears upon the consciousness of rules. You begin by asking the child if he could invent a new rule. He generally does this easily enough, but it is advisable to make sure that it really is a new rule and not one of the many existing variants of which this particular child may already have knowledge. "I want a rule that is only by you, a rule that you've made up yourself and that no one else knows—the rule of N—— (the child's name)." Once the new rule has been formulated, you ask the child whether it could give rise to a new game: "Would it be all right to play like that with your pals? Would they want to play that way? etc." The child either agrees to the suggestion or disputes it. If he agrees, you immediately ask him whether the new rule is a "fair" rule, a "real" rule, one "like the others," and try to get at the various motives that enter into the answers. If, on the other hand, the child disagrees with all this, you ask him whether the new rule, could not by being generalized become a real rule. "When you are a big boy, suppose you tell your new rule to a lot of children, then perhaps they'll all play that way and everyone will forget the old rules. Then which rule will be fairest—yours that everyone knows, or the old

one that everyone has forgotten?" The formula can naturally be altered in accordance with the turn which the conversation is taking, but the main point is to find out whether one may legitimately alter rules and whether a rule is fair or just because it conforms to general usage (even newly introduced), or because it is endowed with an intrinsic and eternal value.

Having cleared up this point it will be easy enough to ask the two following questions. (1) Have people always played as they do to-day: "Did your daddy play this way when he was little, and your grand-dad, and children in the time of William Tell, Noah, and Adam and Eve, etc., did they all play the way you showed me, or differently?" (2) What is the origin of rules: Are they invented by children or laid down by parents and grown-ups in general?

Sometimes it is best to begin by these last two questions before asking whether rules can be changed; this avoids perseveration, or rather reverses its direction, and so facilitates the interpretation of the answers. All this part of the interrogatory, moreover, requires extremely delicate handling; suggestion is always ready to occur, and the danger of romancing is ever present. But it goes without saying that the main thing is simply to grasp the child's mental orientation. Does he believe in the mystical virtue of rules or in their finality? Does he subscribe to a heteronomy of divine law, or is he conscious of his own autonomy? This is the only question that interests us. The child has naturally got no ready-made beliefs on the origin and endurance of the rules of his games; the ideas which he invents then and there are only indices of his fundamental attitude, and this must be steadily borne in mind throughout the whole of the interrogatory.

The results which we obtained from this double interrogatory and which we shall examine in greater detail later on, are roughly the following.

From the point of view of the practice or application of rules four successive stages can be distinguished.

A first stage of a purely *motor* and *individual* character, during which the child handles the marbles at the dictation of his desires and motor habits. This leads to the formation of more or less ritualized schemas, but since play is still purely

individual, one can only talk of motor rules and not of truly collective rules.

The second may be called *egocentric* for the following reasons. This stage begins at the moment when the child receives from outside the example of codified rules, that is to say, some time between the ages of two and five. But though the child imitates this example, he continues to play either by himself without bothering to find play-fellows, or with others, but without trying to win, and therefore without attempting to unify the different ways of playing. In other words, children of this stage, even when they are playing together, play each one "on his own" (everyone can win at once) and without regard for any codification of rules. This dual character, combining imitation of others with a purely individual use of the examples received, we have designated by the term Egocentrism.

A third stage appears between 7 and 8, which we shall call the stage of incipient *cooperation.* Each player now tries to win, and all, therefore, begin to concern themselves with the question of mutual control and of unification of the rules. But while a certain agreement may be reached in the course of one game, ideas about the rules in general are still rather vague. In other words, children of 7-8, who belong to the same class at school and are therefore constantly playing with each other, give, when they are questioned separately, disparate and often entirely contradictory accounts of the rules observed in playing marbles.

Finally, between the years of 11 and 12, appears a fourth stage, which is that of the *codification of rules.* Not only is every detail of procedure in the game fixed, but the actual code of rules to be observed is known to the whole society. There is remarkable concordance in the information given by children of 10-12 belonging to the same class at school, when they are questioned on the rules of the game and their possible variations.

These stages must of course be taken only for what they are worth. It is convenient for the purposes of exposition to divide the children up in age-classes or stages, but the facts present themselves as a continuum which cannot be cut up into sections. This continuum, moreover, is not linear in

character, and its general direction can only be observed by schematizing the material and ignoring the minor oscillations which render it infinitely complicated in detail. So that ten children chosen at random will perhaps not give the impression of a steady advance which gradually emerges from the interrogatory put to the hundred odd subjects examined by us at Geneva and Neuchâtel.

If, now, we turn to the consciousness of rules we shall find a progression that is even more elusive in detail, but no less clearly marked if taken on a big scale. We may express this by saying that the progression runs through three stages, of which the second begins during the egocentric stage and ends towards the middle of the stage of cooperation (9-10), and of which the third covers the remainder of this co-operating stage and the whole of the stage marked by the codification of rules.

During the first stage rules are not yet coercive in character, either because they are purely motor, or else (at the beginning of the egocentric stage) because they are received, as it were, unconsciously, and as interesting examples rather than as obligatory realities.

During the second stage (apogee of egocentric and first half of cooperating stage) rules are regarded as sacred and untouchable, emanating from adults and lasting forever. Every suggested alteration strikes the child as a transgression.

Finally, during the third stage, a rule is looked upon as a law due to mutual consent, which you must respect if you want to be loyal but which it is permissible to alter on the condition of enlisting general opinion on your side.

The correlation between the three stages in the development of the consciousness of rules and the four stages relating to their practical observance is of course only a statistical correlation and therefore very crude. But broadly speaking the relation seems to us indisputable. The collective rule is at first something external to the individual and consequently sacred to him; then, as he gradually makes it his own, it comes to that extent to be felt as the free product of mutual agreement and an autonomous conscience. And with regard to practical use, it is only natural that a mystical respect for laws should be accompanied by a rudimentary knowledge and

application of their contents, while a rational and well-founded respect is accompanied by an effective application of each rule in detail.

There would therefore seem to be two types of respect for rules corresponding to two types of social behaviour. This conclusion deserves to be closely examined, for if it holds good, it should be of the greatest value to the analysis of child morality. One can see at once all that it suggests in regard to the relation between child and adult. Take the insubordination of the child towards its parents and teachers, joined to its sincere respect for the commands it receives and its extraordinary mental docility. Could not this be due to that complex of attitudes which we can observe during the egocentric stage and which combines so paradoxically an unstable practice of the law with a mystical attitude towards it? And will not cooperation between adult and child, in so far as it can be realized and in so far as it is facilitated by co-operation between children themselves, supply the key to the interiorization of commands and to the autonomy of the moral consciousness? Let us therefore not be afraid of devoting a certain amount of time to the patient analysis of the rules of a game, for we are here in possession of a method infinitely more supple, and consequently more sure, than that of merely questioning children about little stories, a method which we shall be obliged to adopt in the latter part of this book.

§ 3. The Practice of Rules. I. The First Two Stages

We need not dwell at any length upon the first stage, as it is not directly connected with our subject. At the same time, it is important that we should know whether the rules which come into being previous to any collaboration between children are of the same type as collective rules.

Let us give a handful of ten marbles to a child of three years and four months and take note of its reactions:

Jacqueline has the marbles in her hands and looks at them with curiosity (it is the first time she has seen any); then she lets them drop on to the carpet. After this she puts them in the hollow of an arm-chair. "*Aren't they animals?*—Oh, no.—*Are they balls?*—Yes." She puts them back on the carpet and

lets them drop from a certain height. She sits on the carpet with her legs apart and throws the marbles a few inches in front of her. She then picks them up and puts them on the arm-chair and in the same hole as before. (The arm-chair is studded with buttons which create depressions in the material.) Then she collects the lot and lets them drop, first all together, then one by one. After this she replaces them in the arm-chair, first in the same place and then in the other holes. Then she piles them up in a pyramid: *"What are marbles?*— What do you think?— . . ." She puts them on the floor, then back on to the arm-chair, in the same holes.—We both go out on to the balcony: she lets the marbles drop from a height to make them bounce.

The following days, Jacqueline again places the marbles on the chairs and arm-chairs, or puts them into her little saucepan to cook dinner. Or else she simply repeats the behaviour described above.

Three points should be noted with regard to facts such as these. In the first place, the lack of continuity and direction in the sequence of behaviour. The child is undoubtedly trying first and foremost to understand the nature of marbles and to adapt its motor schemas to this novel reality. This is why it tries one experiment after another: throwing them, heaping them into pyramids or nests, letting them drop, making them bounce, etc. But once it has got over the first moments of astonishment, the game still remains incoherent, or rather still subject to the whim of the moment. On days when the child plays at cooking dinner, the marbles serve as food to be stewed in a pot. On days when it is interested in classifying and arranging, the marbles are put in heaps in the holes of arm-chairs, and so on. In the general manner in which the game is carried on there are therefore no rules.

The second thing to note is that there are certain regularities of detail, for it is remarkable how quickly certain particular acts in the child's behaviour become schematized and even ritualized. The act of collecting the marbles in the hollow of an arm-chair is at first simply an experiment, but it immediately becomes a motor schema bound up with the perception of the marbles. After a few days it is merely a rite, still per-

formed with interest, but without any fresh effort of adaptation.

In the third place, it is important to note the symbolism[8] that immediately becomes grafted upon the child's motor schemas. These symbols are undoubtedly enacted in play rather than thought out, but they imply a certain amount of imagination: the marbles are food to be cooked, eggs in a nest, etc.

This being so, the rules of games might be thought to derive either from rites analogous to those we have just examined or from a symbolism that has become collective. Let us briefly examine the genesis and ultimate destiny of these modes of behaviour.

Genetically speaking, the explanation both of rites and of symbols would seem to lie in the conditions of preverbal motor intelligence. When it is presented with any new thing, a baby of 5 to 8 months will respond with a dual reaction; it will accommodate itself to the new object and it will assimilate the object to earlier motor schemas. Give the baby a marble, and it will explore its surface and consistency, but will at the same time use it as something to grasp, to suck, to rub against the sides of its cradle, and so on. This assimilation of every fresh object to already existing motor schemas may be conceived of as the starting point of ritual acts and symbols, at any rate from the moment that assimilation becomes stronger than actual accommodation itself. With regard to ritual acts, indeed, one is struck by the fact that from the age of about 8 to 10 months all the child's motor schemas, apart from moments of adaptation in the real sense, gives rise to a sort of functioning in the void, in which the child takes pleasure as in a game. Thus, after having contracted the habit of pressing her face against her parents' cheeks, crumpling up her nose and breathing deeply the while, Jacqueline began to perform this rite as a joke, crumpling up her nose and breathing deeply in advance, merely suggesting contact with another person's face, but without, as before, expressing any particular

[8] We use the term "symbol" in the sense given to it in the linguistic school of Saussure, as the contrary of sign. A sign is arbitrary, a symbol is motivated. It is in this sense, too, that Freud speaks of symbolic thought.

affection by the act. Thus from being actual, and incorporated in an effective adaptation this schema has become ritualized and serves only as a game.[9] Or again, Jacqueline in her bath is engaged in rubbing her hair; she lets go of it to splash the water. Immediately, she repeats the movement, touching her hair and the water alternately, and during the next few days the schema has become ritualized to such an extent that she cannot strike the surface of the water without first outlining the movement of smoothing her hair.[10] In no way automatic, this rite is a game that amuses her by its very regularity. Anyone observing a baby of 10 to 12 months will notice a number of these rites which undoubtedly anticipate the rules of future games.

As for symbols, they appear towards the end of the first year and in consequence of the ritual acts. For the habit of repeating a given gesture ritually, gradually leads to the consciousness of "pretending." The ritual of going to bed, for instance (laying down one's head and arranging the corner of the pillow with the hundred and one complications which every baby invents), is sooner or later utilized "in the void," and the smile of the child as it shuts its eyes in carrying out this rite is enough to show that it is perfectly conscious of "pretending" to go to sleep. Here already we have a symbol, but a "played" symbol. Finally, when language and imagery come to be added to motor intelligence, the symbol becomes an object of thought. The child who pushes a box along saying "tuff-tuff" is assimilating in imagination the box's movement to that of a motor-car: the play symbol has definitely come into being.

This being so, can one seek among rites and symbols for the origin of the actual rules of games? Can the game of marbles, with its infinite complexity both with regard to the actual rules and to all that relates to the verbo-motor system of signs in use—can the game of marbles, then, be conceived simply as the result of an accumulation of individual rites and symbols? We do not think that it can. We believe that the individual rite and the individual symbol constitute the sub-

[9] Age: 10 months.
[10] Age: 12 months.

structure for the development of rules and collective signs, its necessary, but not its sufficient condition. There is something more in the collective rule than in the motor rule or the individual ritual, just as there is something more in the sign than in the symbol.

With regard to motor or ritualistic rules, there can be no doubt that they have something in common with rules in the ordinary sense, namely the consciousness of regularity. When we see the delight taken by a baby of 10 to 12 months or a child of 2-3 in reproducing a given behaviour in all its details, and the scrupulous attention with which it observes the right order in these operations, we cannot help recognizing the *Regelbewusstsein* of which Bühler speaks. But we must distinguish carefully between the behaviour into which there enters only the pleasure of regularity, and that into which there enters an element of obligation. It is this consciousness of obligation which seems to us, as to Durkheim[11] and Bovet,[12] to distinguish a rule in the true sense from mere regularity.

Now this element of obligation, or, to confine ourselves to the question of the practice of rules, this element of obedience intervenes as soon as there is a society, *i.e.*, a relation between at least two individuals. As soon as a ritual is imposed upon a child by adults or seniors for whom he has respect (Bovet), or as soon, we would add, as a ritual comes into being as the result of the collaboration of two children, it acquires in the subject's mind a new character which is precisely that of a rule. This character may vary according to the type of respect which predominates (respect for the senior or mutual respect) but in all cases there enters an element of submission which was not contained in the rite pure and simple.

In actual fact, of course, there is every degree of variety between the simple regularity discovered by the individual and the rule to which a whole social group submits itself. Thus during the egocentric stage we can observe a whole series of cases in which the child will use a rule as a mere

[11] *L'Education Morale.*

[12] "Les Conditions de l'Obligation de la Conscience", *Année Psychol.*, 1912.

rite, to be bent and modified at will, while at the same time he already tries to submit to the common laws. Just as the child very soon acquires the use of language and of the abstract and general concepts while retaining in his attitude to these much that still belongs to egocentric modes of thought and even to the methods peculiar to symbolic and play thought, so, under the rules that are imposed upon him, he will for a long time contrive (in all good faith, needless to say) to maintain his own phantasy in the matter of personal decisions. But this factual continuity between ritual and rule does not exclude a qualitative difference between the two types of behaviour.

Let us not, however, anticipate what will be said in our analysis of the consciousness of rules, but return to the matter of ritual. The individual rite develops quite naturally, as we have just shown, into a more or less complex symbolism. Can this symbolism be regarded as the starting point of that system of obligatory verbo-motor signs which are connected with the rules of every collective game? As with the previous problem, we believe that the symbol is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition of the appearance of signs. The sign is general and abstract (arbitrary), the symbol is individual and motivated. If the sign is to follow upon the symbol, a group must therefore strip the individual's imagination of all its personal fantasy and then elaborate a common and obligatory imagery which will go hand in hand with the code of rules itself.

Here is an observation showing how far removed are individual rites and symbols from rules and signs, though moving towards these realities in so far as collaboration between children becomes established.

Jacqueline (after the observations given above) is playing with Jacques (2 years, 11 months and 15 days), who sees marbles for the first time. I. Jacques takes the marbles and lets them drop from a height one after another. After which he picks them up and goes away. II. Jacques arranges them on the ground, in a hollow and says, *"I'm making a little nest."* Jacqueline takes one and sticks it in the ground in imitation. III. Jacques also takes one, buries it and makes a

mud-pie above it. He digs it up and begins over again. Then he takes 2 at a time which he buries. Then 3, 4, 5 and up to 6 at a time, increasing the number of marbles systematically each time by one. Jacqueline imitates him: she first puts one marble down and makes a mud-pie over it, then two or three at random and without adopting a fixed system of progression. IV. Jacques puts all the marbles on a pile, then he places an india-rubber ball beside them and says: *"That's the Mummy ball and the baby balls."* V. He piles them together again and covers them up with earth which he levels down. Jacqueline imitates him but with only one marble which she covers up without levelling the earth. She adds: *"It's lost,"* then digs it up and begins over again.

This example shows very clearly how all the elements of individual fantasy or symbolism remain uncommunicated; as soon as the game takes on an imaginative turn each child evokes its favourite images without paying any attention to anyone else's. It will also be observed how totally devoid of any general direction are the ritualized schemas successively tried. But as soon as there is reciprocal imitation (end of II and whole of III) we have the beginnings of a rule: each child tries to bury the marbles in the same way as the other, in a common order only more or less successfully adhered to. In bringing out this aspect, the observation leads us to the stage of egocentrism during which the child learns other peoples' rules but practises them in accordance with his own fantasy.

We shall conclude this analysis of the first stage by repeating that before games are played in common, no rules in the proper sense can come into existence. Regularities and ritualized schemas are already there, but these rites, being the work of the individual, cannot call forth that submission to something superior to the self which characterizes the appearance of any rule.

The second stage is the stage of *egocentrism.* In studying the practice of rules we shall make use of a notion which has served on earlier occasions in the descriptions we have given of the child's intellectual behaviour; and, in both cases, indeed, the phenomenon is of exactly the same order. Egocentrism

appears to us as a form of behaviour intermediate between purely individual and socialized behaviour. Through imitation and language, as also through the whole content of adult thought which exercises pressure on the child's mind as soon as verbal intercourse has become possible, the child begins, in a sense, to be socialized from the end of its first year. But the very nature of the relations which the child sustains with the adults around him prevents this socialization for the moment from reaching that state of equilibrium which is propitious to the development of reason. We mean, of course, the state of cooperation, in which the individuals, regarding each other as equals, can exercise a mutual control and thus attain to objectivity. In other words, the very nature of the relation between child and adult places the child apart, so that his thought is isolated, and while he believes himself to be sharing the point of view of the world at large he is really still shut up in his own point of view. The social bond itself, by which the child is held, close as it may seem when viewed from outside, thus implies an unconscious intellectual egocentrism which is further promoted by the spontaneous egocentrism peculiar to all primitive mentality.

Similarly, with regard to the rules of games, it is easy to see, and greater authorities than ourselves[13] have already pointed out that the beginnings of children's games are characterized by long periods of egocentrism. The child is dominated on the one hand by a whole set of rules and examples that are imposed upon him from outside. But unable as he is, on the other hand, to place himself on a level of equality with regard to his seniors, he utilizes for his own ends, unaware even of his own isolation, all that he has succeeded in grasping of the social realities that surround him.

To confine ourselves to the game of marbles, the child of 3 to 5 years old will discover, according to what other children he may happen to come across, that in order to play this game one must trace a square, put the marbles inside it, try to expel the marbles from the square by hitting them with

[13] Stern in his *Psychology of Early Childhood* notes the identity of the stages we have established in children's conversations with those he has himself established with regard to play, pp. 177 and 332.

another marble, start from a line that has been drawn beforehand, and so on. But though he imitates what he observes, and believes in perfect good faith that he is playing like the others, the child thinks of nothing at first but of utilizing these new acquisitions for himself. He plays in an individualistic manner with material that is social. Such is egocentrism.

Let us analyse the facts of the case.

MAR (6) [14] seizes hold of the marbles we offer him, and without bothering to make a square he heaps them up together and begins to hit the pile. He removes the marbles he has displaced and puts them aside or replaces them immediately without any method. "Do you always play like that?—*In the street you make a square.*—Well, you do the same as they do in the street.—*I'm making a square, I am.*" (He draws the square, places the marbles inside it and begins to play again.) I play with him, imitating each of his movements. "Who has won?—*We've both won.*—But who has won most? . . ."—(Mar does not understand.)

BAUM (6½) begins by making a square and puts down three marbles, adding: *"Sometimes you put* 4, *or* 3, *or* 2.—Or 5?—*No, not* 5, *but sometimes* 6 *or* 8.—Who begins when you play with the boys?—*Sometimes me, sometimes the other one.*—Isn't there a dodge for knowing who is to begin?—*No.*—Do you know what a coche is?—*Rather!*" But the sequel shows that he knows nothing about the coche and thinks of this word as designating another game. "And which of us will begin?—*You.*—Why?—*I want to see how you do it.*" We play for a while and I ask who has won: *"The one who has hit a mib,*[15] *well, he has won.*—Well! who has won?—*I have, and then you.*" I then arrange things so as to take 4 while he takes 2: "Who has won?—*I have, and then you.*" We begin again. He takes two, I none. "Who has won?—*I have.*—And I?—*You've lost.*"

[14] The numbers in brackets give the child's age. The words of the child are in italics, those of the examiner in Roman lettering. Quotation marks indicate the beginning and end of a conversation reported *verbatim.* All the subjects are boys unless the letter G is added, indicating that the subject is a girl.

[15] English equivalent for "marbre." [Trans.]

Loeff (6) often pretends to be playing with Mae, of whom we shall speak later. He knows neither how to make a square nor to draw a coche. He immediately begins to "fire" at the marbles assembled in a heap and plays without either stopping or paying any attention to us. "Have you won?—*I don't know. I think I have.*—Why?—*Yes, because I threw the mibs.*—and I?—*Yes, because you threw the mibs.*"

Desarz (6): "Do you play often?—*Yes, rather!*—With whom?—*All by myself.*—Do you like playing alone best?—*You don't need two. You can play only one.*" He gathers the marbles together without a square and "fires" into the heap.

Let us now see how two children, who have grown accustomed to playing together, set about it when they are left alone. They are two boys of whom one (Mae) is a very representative example of the present stage, while the other (Wid) stands at the border line between the present stage and the next. The analyses of these cases will be all the more conclusive as the children in question are no mere beginners at the game.

Mae (6) and Wid (7) declare that they are always playing together. Mae tells us that they both *"played again, yesterday."* I first examine Mae by himself. He piles his marbles in a corner without counting them and throws his shooter into the pile. He then places 4 marbles close together and puts a fifth on top (in a pyramid). Mae denies that a square is ever drawn. Then he corrects himself and affirms that he always does so: "How do you and Wid know which is to begin?—*One of the two throws his shooter and the other tries to hit it. If he hits it, he begins.*" Mae then shows us what the game consists in: he throws his shooter without taking into account the distances or the manner of playing ("piquette"), and when he succeeds in driving a marble out of the square he immediately puts it back. Thus the game has no end. "Does it go on like that all the time?—*You take one away to make a change* (he takes a marble out of the square, but not the one that he has touched). *It'll only be finished when there's only one left* (he 'fires' again twice). *One more shot, and then you take one away.*" Then he affirms: *"every third shot you take*

one away." He does so. Mae removes a marble every third shot independently of whether he has hit or missed, which is completely irregular and corresponds to nothing in the game as habitually played, or as we have seen it played in Neuchâtel or Geneva. It is therefore a rule which he has invented then and there but which he has the impression of remembering because it presents a vague analogy with what really happens when the player removes the marble he has just "hit" (touched). This game of Mae's is therefore a characteristic game of the second stage, an egocentric game in which "to win" does not mean getting the better of the others, but simply playing on one's own.

Wid, whom I now prepare to question and who has not assisted at Mae's interrogatory, begins by making a square. He places 4 marbles at the 4 corners and one in the middle (the same disposition as Mae's, which was probably a deformation of it). Wid does not know what to do to decide which is to begin, and declares that he understands nothing of the method which Mae had shewn me as being familiar to both of them (trying to hit one's partner's shooter). Wid then throws his shooter in the direction of the square, knocking out one marble which he puts in his pocket. Then I take my turn, but fail to touch anything. He plays again and wins all the marbles, one after the other, keeping them each time. He also declares that when you have knocked a marble out, you have the right to play another shot straight away. After having taken everything he says: *"I've won."* Wid therefore belongs to the third stage if this explanation is taken as a whole, but the sequel will show that he takes no notice of Mae's doings when they are playing together. Wid stands therefore at the boundary line which separates the stage of egocentrism from the stage of cooperation.

I then tell Mae to come into the room and the two children begin to play with each other. Mae draws a square and Wid disposes the marbles in accordance with his habitual schema. Mae begins (he plays "Roulette" whereas Wid most of the time plays "Piquette") and dislodges four marbles. *"I can play four times, now,"* adds Mae. This is contrary to all the rules, but Wid finds the statement quite natural. So one game succeeds another. But the marbles are placed in the square by

one child or the other as the spirit moves them (according to the rules each must put his "pose") and the dislodged marbles are sometimes put straight back into the square, sometimes retained by the boy who has won them. Each plays from whatever place he chooses, unchecked by his partner, and each "fires" as many times as he likes (it thus often happens that Mae and Wid are playing at the same time).

I now send Wid out of the room and ask Mae to explain the game to us for a last time. Mae places 16 marbles in the middle of the square. "Why so many as that? *So as to win.*—How many do you put down at home with Wid?—*I put five, but when I'm alone, I put lots.*" Mae then begins to play and dislodges a marble which he puts on one side. I do the same. The game continues in this way, each playing one shot at a time without taking the dislodged marbles into account (which is contrary to what Mae was doing a moment ago). Mae then places five marbles in the square, like Wid. This time I arrange the five marbles as Mae himself had done at the beginning of the interrogatory (four close together and one on top) but Mae seems to have forgotten this way of doing things. In the end Mae plays by taking away a marble every three shots, as before, and says to us: *"It's so that it should stop."*

We have quoted the whole of this example in order to show how little two children from the same class at school, living in the same house, and accustomed to playing with each other, are able to understand each other at this age. Not only do they tell us of totally different rules (this still occurs throughout the third stage), but when they play together they do not watch each other and do not unify their respective rules even for the duration of one game. The fact of the matter is that neither is trying to get the better of the other: each is merely having a game on his own, trying to hit the marbles in the square, *i.e.*, trying to "win" from his point of view.

This shows the characteristics of the stage. The child plays for himself. His interest does not in any way consist in competing with his companions and in binding himself by common rules so as to see who will get the better of the others. His aims are different. They are indeed dual, and it is this

mixed behaviour that really defines egocentrism. On the one hand, the child feels very strongly the desire to play like the other boys, and especially like those older than himself; he longs, that is to say, to feel himself a member of the very honorable fraternity of those who know how to play marbles correctly. But quickly persuading himself, on the other hand, that his playing is "right" (he can convince himself as easily on this point as in all his attempts to imitate adult behaviour) the child thinks only of utilizing these acquisitions for himself: his pleasure still consists in the mere development of skill, in carrying out the strokes he sets himself to play. It is, as in the previous stage, essentially a motor pleasure, not a social one. The true "socius" of the player who has reached this stage is not the flesh and blood partner but the ideal and abstract elder whom one inwardly strives to imitate and who sums up all the examples one has ever received.

It little matters, therefore, what one's companion is doing, since one is not trying to contend against him. It little matters what the details of the rules may be, since there is no real contact between the players. This is why the child, as soon as he can schematically copy the big boys' game, believes himself to be in possession of the whole truth. Each for himself, and all in communion with the "Elder": such might be the formula of egocentric play.

It is striking to note the affinity between this attitude of children of 4 to 6 in the game of marbles and the attitude of those same children in their conversations with each other. For alongside of the rare cases of true conversation where there is a genuine interchange of opinions or commands, one can observe in children between 2 and 6 a characteristic type of pseudo-conversation or "collective monologue," during which the children speak only for themselves, although they wish to be in the presence of interlocutors who will serve as a stimulus. Now here again, each feels himself to be in communion with the group because he is inwardly addressing the Adult who knows and understands everything, but here again, each is only concerned with himself, for lack of having dissociated the "ego" from the "socius."

These features of the egocentric stage will not, however,

appear in their full light until we come to analyse the consciousness of rules which accompanies this type of conduct.

§ 4. The Practice of Rules. II. Third and Fourth Stages

Towards the age of 7-8 appears the desire for mutual understanding in the sphere of play (as also, indeed, in the conversations between children). This felt need for understanding is what defines the third stage. As a criterion of the appearance of this stage we shall take the moment when by "winning" the child refers to the fact of getting the better of the others, therefore of gaining more marbles than the others, and when he no longer says he has won when he has done no more than to knock a marble out of the square, regardless of what his partners have done. As a matter of fact, no child, even from among the older ones, ever attributes very great importance to the fact of knocking out a few more marbles than his opponents. Mere competition is therefore not what constitutes the affective motive-power of the game. In seeking to win the child is trying above all to contend with his partners *while observing common rules*. The specific pleasure of the game thus ceases to be muscular and egocentric, and becomes social. Henceforth, a game of marbles constitutes the equivalent in action of what takes place in discussion in words: a mutual evaluation of the competing powers which leads, thanks to the observation of common rules, to a conclusion that is accepted by all.

As to the difference between the third and fourth stages, it is only one of degree. The children of about 7 to 10 (third stage) do not yet know the rules in detail. They try to learn them owing to their increasing interest in the game played in common, but when different children of the same class at school are questioned on the subject the discrepancies are still considerable in the information obtained. It is only when they are at play that these same children succeed in understanding each other, either by copying the boy who seems to know most about it, or, more frequently, by omitting any usage that might be disputed. In this way they play a sort of simplified game. Children of the fourth stage, on the contrary, have thoroughly mastered their code and even take pleasure in

juridical discussions, whether of principle or merely of procedure, which may at times arise out of the points in dispute.

Let us examine some examples of the third stage, and, in order to point more clearly to the differentiating characters of this stage, let us begin by setting side by side the answers of two little boys attending the same class at school and accustomed to playing together. (The children were naturally questioned separately in order to avoid any suggestion between them, but we afterwards compared their answers with one another.)

Ben (10) and Nus (11, backward, one year below the school standard) are both in the fourth year of the lower school and both play marbles a great deal. They agree in regarding the square as necessary. Nus declares that you always place 4 marbles in the square, either at the corners or else 3 in the center with one on top (in a pyramid). Ben, however, tells us that you place 2 to 10 marbles in the enclosure (not less than 2, not more than 10).

To know who is to begin you draw, according to Nus, a line called the "coche" and everyone tries to get near it: whoever gets nearest plays first, and whoever goes beyond it plays last. Ben, however, knows nothing about the coche: you begin "*as you like.*—Isn't there a dodge for knowing who is to play first?—*No.*—Don't you try with the coche?—*Yes, sometimes.*—What is the coche?— . . . (he cannot explain)." On the other hand, Ben affirms that you "fire" the first shot at a distance of 2 to 3 steps from the square. A single step is not enough, and "*four isn't any good either.*" Nus is ignorant of this law and considers the distance to be a matter of convention.

With regard to the manner of "firing," Nus is equally tolerant. According to him you can play "piquette" or " roulette," but "*when you play piquette everyone must play the same. When one boy says that you must play roulette, everyone plays that way.*" Nus prefers roulette because "*that is the best way*": piquette is more difficult. Ben, however, regards piquette as obligatory in all cases. He is ignorant, moreover, of the term roulette and when we show him what it is he

says: *"That is bowled piquette!* [Fr., Piquette roulée] *That's cheating!"*

According to Nus everyone must play from the coche, and all through the game. When, after having shot at the square you land anywhere, you must therefore come back to the coche to "fire" the next shot. Ben, on the contrary, who on this point represents the more general usage, is of opinion that only the first shot should be fired from the coche: after that *"you must play from where you are."*

Nus and Ben thus agree in stating that the marbles that have gone out of the square remain in the possession of the boy who dislodged them. This is the only point, this and the actual drawing of the square, on which the children give us results that are in agreement.

When we begin to play, I arrange to stay in the square (to leave my shooter inside the enclosure). *"You are dished* (Fr. cuit), cries Ben, delighted, *you can't play again until I get you out!"* Nus knows nothing of this rule. Again, when I play carelessly and let the shooter drop out of my hand, Ben exclaims *"Fan-coup"* to prevent me from saying "coup-passé" and having another shot. Nus is ignorant of this rule.

At one point Ben succeeds in hitting my shooter. He concludes from this that he can have another shot, just as though he had hit one of the marbles placed in the square. Nus, in the same circumstances does not draw the same conclusions (each must play in turn according to him) but deduces that he will be able to play the first shot in the next game.

In the same way, Ben thinks that everyone plays from the place the last shot has led him to and knows the rule that authorizes the player to change places, saying *"du mien"* or *"un empan,"* whereas Nus, who has certainly heard those words, does not know what they mean.

These two cases, chosen at random out of a class of 10-year-old pupils, show straight away what are the two differential features of the second stage. 1) There is a general will to discover the rules that are fixed and common to all players (cf. the way Nus explains to us that if one of the partners plays piquette *"everyone must play the same"*). 2) In spite of this there is considerable discrepancy in the children's in-

formation. Lest the reader should think the above examples exceptional here are, on the same point, the answers of another child from the same class:

Ross (11; I): *"First, every one puts two marbles on the square. You can make the square bigger when there are more playing."* Ross knows the method of the coche for knowing who is to begin. Like Nus, he allows both roulette and piquette. He also allows what is not only contrary to all established usages but also to the sense of the words, a way of playing which he calls "femme-poussette" which consists in carrying one's hand along with the marble as one throws it (push stroke in billiards). Now this is always forbidden, and the very word that Ross has deformed says so—"fan-poussette." According to Ross, you play from the place you have reached with the last shot, and when you have won a marble you have the right to another shot straight away. To change your place you must say "du mien." *"If a stone gets in our way, you say 'coup-passé' and have another shot. If it slips* [if the marble slips out of your hand] *you say 'laché'* (Engl. 'gone'). *If you don't say that, you can't have another turn. It's the rules!"* Ross here stands mid-way between Nus and Ben. Finally, Ross knows of a rather peculiar custom which is unknown to Nus and Ben. *"If you stay in the square you can be hit and then he picks up the marbles* [=If your shooter stays inside the square and is touched by your opponent's shooter, he is entitled to all the marbles in the square]. *He* (the opponent) *can have two shots* [to try and hit the shooter in question] *and if he misses the first he can take* [at the second shot] *the shooter from anywhere* [though of course only from the outside of the square] *and make the marbles go out* [=take them]." This rule has generally only been described to us by children of the fourth stage, but the rest of Ross' interrogatory is typically third stage.

Such then is the third stage. The child's chief interest is no longer psycho-motor, it is social. In other words, to dislodge a marble from a square by manual dexterity is no longer an aim in itself. The thing now is not only to fight the other boys but also and primarily to regulate the game with a

whole set of systematic rules which will ensure the most complete reciprocity in the methods used. The game has therefore become social. We say "become" because it is only after this stage that any real cooperation exists between the players. Before this, each played for himself. Each sought, it is true, to imitate the play of older boys and of the initiated, but more for the satisfaction, still purely personal, of feeling himself to be a member of a mystical community whose sacred institutions are handed down by the elders out of the remote past, than from any real desire to cooperate with his playmates or with anyone else. If cooperation be regarded as more social than this mixture of egocentrism and respect for one's seniors which characterizes the beginnings of collective life among children, then we may say that it is from the third stage onwards that the game of marbles begins to be a truly social game.

As yet, however, this cooperation exists to a great extent only in intention. Being an honest man is not enough to make one to know the law. It is not even enough to enable us to solve all the problems that may arise in our concrete "moral experience." The child fares in the same way during the present stage, and succeeds, at best, in creating for himself a "provisional morality," putting off till a later date the task of setting up a code of laws and a system of jurisprudence. Nor do boys of 7 to 10 ever succeed in agreeing amongst themselves for longer than the duration of one and the same game; they are still incapable of legislating on all possible cases that may arise, for each still has a purely personal opinion about the rules of the game.

To use an apter comparison, we may say that the child of 7 to 10 plays as he reasons. We have already[16] tried to establish the fact that about the age of 7 or 8, precisely, that is to say, at the moment when our third stage appears, in the very poor districts where we conducted our work,[17] discus-

[16] *J.R.*, chap. IV.

[17] We take this opportunity of reminding the reader of what has not been sufficiently emphasized in our earlier books, viz. that most of our research has been carried out on children from the poorer parts of Geneva. In different surroundings the age averages would certainly have been different.

sion and reflection gain an increasing ascendency over unproved affirmation and intellectual egocentrism. Now, these new habits of thought lead to genuine deductions (as opposed to primitive "transductions") and to deductions in which the child grapples with a given fact of experience, either present or past. But something is still lacking if deduction is to be generalized and made completely rational: the child must be able to reason formally, *i.e.*, he must have a conscious realization of the rules of reasoning which will enable him to apply them to any case whatsoever, including purely hypothetical cases (mere assumptions). In the same way, a child who, with regard to the rules of games, has reached the third stage, will achieve momentary coordinations of a collective order (a well ordered game may be compared on this point to a good discussion), but feels no interest as yet in the actual legislation of the game, in the discussions of principle which alone will give him complete mastery of the game in all its strictness. (From this point of view the juridico-moral discussions of the fourth stage may be compared to formal reasoning in general.)

It is, on an average, towards the age of 11 or 12 that these interests develop. In order to understand what is the practice of rules among children of this fourth stage let us question separately several children from the same class at school, and we shall see how subtle are their answers, and how well they agree with one another.

Rit (12), Gros (13) and Vua (13) often play marbles. We questioned them each separately and took steps to prevent them from communicating to each other during our absence the contents of our interrogatory.

With regard to the square, the "pose," the manner of throwing, and generally speaking all the rules we have already examined, these three children are naturally in full agreement with each other. To know who is to play first, Rit, who has lived in two neighbouring villages before coming to town, tells us that various customs are in usage. You draw a line, the coche, and whoever gets nearest to it plays first. If you go beyond the line, either, according to some, it does not matter, or else *"there is another game: when you go beyond*

the line, you play last." Gros and Vua know only of this custom, the only one that is really put into practice by the boys of the neighbourhood.

But there are complications about which the younger boys left us in the dark. "*Whoever,* according to Gros, *says 'queue' plays second. It's easier because he doesn't get 'hit'* [=if a player's shooter lands near the square, it is exposed to hits from the other players]." In the same way, Vua tells us that "*whoever says 'queue de deux' plays last.*" And he adds the following rule, also recognized by Gros: "*When you are all at the same distance from the coche whoever cries 'egaux-queque' plays second*" (the problem is therefore to play sufficiently soon still to find marbles in the square, but not first, for fear of being hit).

On the other hand, Gros tells us: "*Whoever takes out two* [two of the marbles placed inside the square, *i.e.*, the equivalent of the player's 'pose'] *can say 'queue-de-pose.' In that way he can play second from the coche in the next game.*" And Vua: "*When there are two outside* [when two marbles have been knocked out of the square] *you can dare to say 'queue-de-pose,' and you can play second from the coche again in the second game.*" Rit gives us the same information.

This is not all. According to Rit, "*if you say 'deux-coups-de-coche' you can have two shots from the line. If you say 'deux-coups-d'empan' you play the second shot from where you are. You can only say that when the other* [=the opponent] *has made up his pose* [=has won back as many marbles as he had originally deposited in the square]." This rule is observed in the same way by the other two children.

In addition, there is a whole set of rules, unknown to the younger boys, which bear upon the position of the marbles in the square. According to Gros "*the first boy who says 'place-pour-moi'* [Eng., place-for-me] *does not have to place himself at one of the corners of the square,*" and "*the one who has said 'places-des-marbres'* (Engl., place for the marbles) *can put them down as he likes, in a 'troyat'* (all in a heap) *or at the four corners.*" Vua is of the same opinion and adds: "*If you say 'place-pour-toi-pour-tout-le-jeu'* (Engl., your-place-for-the-whole-game) *the other chap* [=the opponent] *must stay at the same place.*" Rit, who knows both these rules, adds

the further detail that *"you can't say 'place-pour-moi" if you have already said 'place-pour-toi.'"* This gives some idea of the complications of procedure!

Our three legal experts also point the measures of clemency in use for the protection of the weak. According to Vua *"if you knock out three at one shot and there's only one left* [one marble in the square] *the other chap* [the opponent] *has the right to play from half-way* [half-way between the coche and the square] *because the first boy has made more than his 'pose.'"* Also: *"the boy who has been beaten is allowed to begin."* According to Gros, *"if there is one marble left at the end, the boy who has won, instead of taking it, can give it to the other chap."* And again, *"When there's one boy who has won too much, the others say 'coujac,' and he is bound to play another game."*

The number of shots at the disposal of each player also gives rise to a whole series of regulations on which the three boys lay stress, as before, in full agreement with each other. For the sake of brevity we refer the reader on this point to the general rules outlined in Section I.

There is only one point on which we saw our subjects differ. Rit who, it will be remembered, has known the game in three different districts, tells us that the boy whose shooter stays inside the square may generally come out of it. He added, it is true, that in some games the player in such a plight is "dished" (Fr., *brulé*), but this rule does not seem to him obligatory. Vua and Gros, on the contrary, are of opinion that in all cases *"when you stay inside the square you are dished."* We think we may confuse Vua by saying: "Rit didn't say that!—*The fact is,* answers Vua, *that sometimes people play differently. Then you ask each other what you want to do.*—And if you can't agree?—*We scrap for a bit and then we fix things up."*

These answers show what the fourth stage is. Interest seems to have shifted its ground since the last stage. Not only do these children seek to cooperate, to "fix things up," as Vua puts it, rather than to play for themselves alone, but also —and this undoubtedly is something new—they seem to take a peculiar pleasure in anticipating all possible cases and in

codifying them. Considering that the square game is only one of the five or ten varieties of the game of marbles, it is almost alarming in face of the complexity of rules and procedure in the square game, to think of what a child of twelve has to store away in his memory. These rules, with their overlapping and their exceptions, are at least as complex as the current rules of spelling. It is somewhat humiliating, in this connection, to see how heavily traditional education sets about the task of making spelling enter into brains that assimilate with such ease the mnemonic contents of the game of marbles. But then, memory is dependent upon activity, and a real activity presupposes interest.

Throughout this fourth stage, then, the dominating interest seems to be interest in the rules themselves. For mere cooperation would not require such subtleties as those attending the disposition of the marbles in the square ("place-pour-moi," "place-des-marbres," "place-pour-toi-pour-tout-le-jeu," etc.). The fact that the child enjoys complicating things at will proves that what he is after is rules for their own sake. We have described elsewhere[18] the extraordinary behavior of eight boys of 10 to 11 who, in order to throw snow-balls at each other, began by wasting a good quarter-of-an-hour in electing a president, fixing the rules of voting, then in dividing themselves into two camps, in deciding upon the distances of the shots, and finally in foreseeing what would be the sanctions to be applied in cases of infringement of these laws. Many other facts analogous to this could be culled from studies that have been made on children's societies.

In conclusion, the acquisition and practice of the rules of a game follow very simple and very natural laws, the stages of which may be defined as follows: 1) Simple individual regularity. 2) Imitation of seniors with egocentrism. 3) Cooperation. 4) Interest in rules for their own sake. Let us now see whether the consciousness of rules describes in its evolution an equally uncomplicated curve.

§ 5. Consciousness of Rules. I. The First Two Stages

As all our results have shown, consciousness of rules cannot be isolated from the moral life of the child as a whole.

[18] *J.R.*, p. 96.

We might, at the most, study the practical applications of rules without bothering about obedience in general, *i.e.*, about the child's whole social and moral behaviour. But as soon as we try, as in the present case, to analyse a child's feelings and thoughts about rules, we shall find that he assimilates them unconsciously along with the commands to which he is subjected taken as a whole. This comes out particularly clearly in the case of the little ones, for whom the constraint exercised by older children evokes adult authority itself in an attenuated form.

Thus the great difficulty here, even more than with the practice of rules, is to establish the exact significance of the primitive facts. Do the simple individual regularities that precede the rules imposed by a group of players give rise to the consciousness of rules, or do they not? And if they do, is this consciousness directly influenced by the commands of adults? This very delicate point must be settled before we can embark upon the analysis of the more transparent data furnished by the interrogatory of older children. With regard to consciousness of rules, we shall designate as the first stage that which corresponds to the purely individualistic stage studied above. During this stage the child, as we noted, plays at marbles in its own way, seeking merely to satisfy its motor interests or its symbolic fantasy. Only, it very soon contracts habits which constitute individual rules of a sort. This phenomenon, far from being unique, is the counterpart of that sort of ritualization of behaviour which can be observed in any baby before it can speak or have experienced any specifically moral adult pressure. Not only does every act of adaptation extend beyond its content of intellectual effort into a ritual kept up for its own sake, but the baby will often invent such rituals for its own pleasure; hence the primitive reactions of very young children in the presence of marbles.

But in order to know to what consciousness of rules these individual schemas correspond it should be remembered that from its tenderest years everything conspires to impress upon the baby the notion of regularity. Certain physical events (alternation of day and night, sameness of scenery during walks, etc.) are repeated with sufficient accuracy to produce an awareness of "law," or at any rate to favour the appearance

of motor schemas of prevision. The parents, moreover, impose upon the baby a certain number of moral obligations, the source of further regularities (meals, bed-time, cleanliness, etc.) which are completely (and to the child indissociably) connected with the external regularities. From its earliest months the child is therefore bathed in an atmosphere of rules, so that the task of discerning what comes from itself in the rites that it respects and what results from the pressure of things or the constraint of the social environment is one of extreme difficulty. In the content of each ritual act it is certainly possible to know what has been invented by the child, what discovered in nature, and what imposed by the adult. But in the consciousness of rules, taken as a formal structure, these differentiations are non-existent from the point of view of the subject himself.[19]

An analysis of the rites practised by older children, however, will allow us to introduce a fundamental distinction at this point. On the one hand, certain forms of behaviour are, as it were, ritualized by the child himself (*e.g.*, not to walk on the lines that separate the paving stones from the kerb of the pavement). Now, so long as no other factor intervenes, these motor rules never give rise to the feeling of obligation proper. (This is true even of the example we selected intentionally just now—that of a simple game which only becomes obligatory when it becomes connected later on with a pact, *i.e.*, with a social operation, for the pact with oneself is undoubtedly a derivative of the pact with others.) On the other hand, certain rules—it matters not whether they were previously invented by the child, imitated, or received from outside—are at a given moment sanctioned by the environment, *i.e.*, approved of or enjoined. Only in such a case as this are rules accompanied by a feeling of obligation. Now, although it is always difficult to know to what extent an obligatory rule covers up in the mind of a child of one or two years a motor ritual, it is at any rate obvious that the two things are psy-

[19] *e.g.* Heat burns (physical law), it is forbidden to touch the fire (moral law) and the child playing about in the kitchen will amuse himself by touching every piece of furniture except the stove (individual ritual). How can the subject's mind distinguish at first between these three types of regularity?

chologically distinct. And this distinction should be borne in mind when we come to the study of the rules of the game.

The reader will recognize in the way in which we have stated the problem the striking thesis of M. Bovet on the genesis of the feeling of moral obligation in man's conscience: the feeling of obligation only appears when the child accepts a command emanating from someone whom he respects. All the material analysed in the present work, beginning with the facts relating to consciousness of the rules of the game, confirm this thesis, which is parallel rather than contradictory to Durkheim's doctrine of the social genesis of respect and morality. The only change we wish to effect in Bovet's theory is to extend it and to introduce alongside of the unilateral respect of the younger child for the grown-up, the mutual respect that is entertained among equals. Consequently, a collective rule will appear to us as much the product of the reciprocal approbation of two individuals as of the authority of one individual over another.

What then does consciousness of rules amount to during our first stage? In so far as the child has never seen anyone else play, we can allow that it is engaged here upon purely personal and individual ritual acts. The child, enjoying as it does any form of repetition, gives itself schemas of action, but there is nothing in this that implies an obligatory rule. At the same time, and this is where the analysis becomes so difficult, it is obvious that by the time a child can speak, even if it has never seen marbles before, it is already permeated with rules and regulations due to the environment, and this in the most varied spheres. It knows that some things are allowed and others forbidden. Even in the most modern form of training one cannot avoid imposing certain obligations with regard to sleeping, eating, and even in connection with certain details of no apparent importance (not to touch a pile of plates, daddy's desk, etc., etc.). It is therefore quite possible that when the child comes across marbles for the first time, it is already convinced that certain rules apply to these new objects. And this is why the origins of consciousness of rules even in so restricted a field as that of the game of marbles are conditioned by the child's moral life as a whole.

This becomes clear in the second stage, the most interest-

ing for our thesis. This second stage sets in from the moment when the child, either through imitation or as the result of verbal exchange, begins to want to play in conformity with certain rules received from outside. What idea does he form of these rules? This is the point that we must now try to establish.

We made use of three groups of questions for the purpose of analysing the consciousness of rules in this second stage. Can rules be changed? Have rules always been the same as they are to-day? How did rules begin? Obviously the first of these questions is the best. It is the least verbal of the three. Instead of making the child think about a problem that has never occurred to him (as do the other two), it confronts the subject with a new fact, a rule invented by himself, and it is relatively easy to note the child's resulting reactions, however clumsy he may be in formulating them. The other two questions, on the contrary, incur all the objections that can be made against questioning pure and simple—the possibility of suggestion, of perseveration, etc. We are of opinion, nevertheless, that these questions have their use, if only as indices of the respect felt for rules and as complementary to the first.

Now, as soon as the second stage begins, *i.e.*, from the moment that the child begins to imitate the rules of others, no matter how egocentric in practice his play may be, he regards the rules of the game as sacred and untouchable; he refuses to alter these rules and claims that any modification, even if accepted by general opinion, would be wrong.

Actually, it is not until about the age of 6 that this attitude appears quite clearly and explicitly. Children of 4-5 seem, therefore, to form an exception and to take rules rather casually, a feature which, if judged purely externally, recalls the liberalism of older children. In reality, we believe that this analogy is superficial, and that little children, even when they seem not to be so, are always conservative in the matter of rules. If they accept innovations that are proposed to them, it is because they do not realize that there was any innovation.

Let us begin by one of the more difficult cases, the difficulty being all the greater because the child is very young and consequently very much inclined to romance.

Fal (5) is at the second stage with regard to the practice of rules. "Long ago when people were beginning to build the town of Neuchâtel, did little children play at marbles the way you showed me?—*Yes.*—Always that way?—*Yes.*—How did you get to know the rules?—*When I was quite little my brother showed me. My Daddy showed my brother.*—And how did your daddy know?—*My Daddy just knew. No one told him.*—How did he know?—*No one showed him!*" "Am I older than your Daddy?—*No, you're young. My Daddy had been born when we came to Neuchâtel. My Daddy was born before me.*—Tell me some people older than your daddy.—*My grand-dad.*—Did he play marbles?—*Yes.*—Then he played before your daddy?—*Yes, but not with rules!* [said with great conviction].—What do you mean by rules?— . . . [Fal does not know this word, which he has just heard from our lips for the first time. But he realizes that it means an essential property of the game of marbles; that is why he asserts so emphatically that his grand-dad did not play with rules so as to show how superior his daddy is to everyone else in the world.]—Was it a long time ago when people played for the first time?—*Oh, yes.*—How did they find out how to play?—*Well, they took some marbles, and then they made a square, and then they put the marbles inside it* . . . etc. [he enumerates the rules that he knows].—Was it little children who found out or grown-up gentlemen?—*Grown-up gentlemen.*—Tell me who was born first, your daddy or your grand-dad?—*My Daddy was born before my grand-dad.*—Who invented the game of marbles?—*My Daddy did.*—Who is the oldest person in Neuchâtel?—*I dunno.*—Who do you think? —*God.*—Did people know how to play marbles before your daddy?—*Other gentlemen played* [before? at the same time?]. —In the same way as your daddy?—*Yes.*—How did they know how to?—*They made it up.*—Where is God?—*In the sky.*—Is he older than your daddy?—*Not so old.*" "Could one find a new way of playing?—*I can't play any other way.* —Try . . . [Fal does not move]. Couldn't you put them like this [we place the marbles in a circle without a square]?—*Oh, yes.*—Would it be fair?—*Oh, yes.*—As fair as the square? —*Yes.*—Did your daddy use to play that way or not?—*Oh, yes.*—Could one play still other ways?—*Oh, yes.*" We then

arrange the marbles in the shape of a T, we put them on a matchbox, etc. Fal says he has never seen this done before, but that it is all quite fair and that you can change things as much as you like. Only his daddy knows all this!

Fal is typical of the cases we were discussing above. He is ready to change all the established rules. A circle, a T., anything will do just as well as the square. It looks, at first, as though Fal were not near those older children who, as we shall see, no longer believe in the sacred character of rules and adopt any convention so long as it is received by all. But in reality this is not the case. However great a romancer Fal may be, the text of which we have quoted the greater part seems to show that he has a great respect for rules. He attributes them to his father, which amounts to saying that he regards them as endowed with divine right. Fal's curious ideas about his father's age are worth noting in this connection; his daddy was born before his grand-dad, and is older than God! These remarks, which fully coincide with those collected by M. Bovet,[20] would seem to indicate that in attributing the rules to his father, Fal makes them more or less contemporaneous with what is for him the beginning of the world. Characteristic, too, is the manner in which the child conceives this invention of rules on the part of his father: this gentleman thought of them without having been told or shown anything, but other gentlemen may equally have thought of the same thing. This is not, in our opinion, mere psittacism. One should be careful, of course, not to read into these remarks more logic than they contain: they simply mean that rules are sacred and unchangeable because they partake of paternal authority. But this affective postulate can be translated into a sort of infantile theory of invention, and of the eternity of essences. To the child who attaches no precise meaning to the terms "before" and "after" and who measures time in terms of his immediate or deeper feelings, to invent means almost the same thing as to discover an eternal and pre-existing reality in oneself. Or to put it more simply, the child cannot differentiate as we do between the activity which con-

20 P. Bovet, *The Child's Religion,* London, 1930.

sists in inventing something new and that which consists in remembering the past. (Hence the mixture of romancing and exact reproduction which characterizes his stories or his memory.) For the child, as for Plato, intellectual creation merges into reminiscence.[21] What, then, is the meaning of Fal's tolerance with regard to the new laws we suggested to him? Simply this, that confident of the unlimited wealth of rules in the game of marbles, he imagines, as soon as he is in possession of a new rule, that he has merely rediscovered a rule that was already in existence.

In order to understand the attitude of the children of the early part of the second stage—they all answer more or less like Fal—we must remember that up till the age of 6-7 the child has great difficulty in knowing what comes from himself and what from others in his own fund of knowledge. This comes primarily from his difficulty in retrospection (see *J. R.*, Chap. IV, § 1), and secondly from the lack of organization in memory itself. In this way the child is led to think that he has always known something which in fact he has only just learned. We have often had the experience of telling a child something which immediately afterwards he will imagine himself to have known for months. This indifference to distinctions of before and after, old and new, explains the inability of which we spoke just now to differentiate between invention and reminiscence. The child very often feels that what he makes up, even on the spur of the moment, expresses, in some way, an eternal truth. This being so, one cannot say that very young children have no respect for rules because they allow these to be changed; innovations are not real innovations to them.

Added to this there is a curious attitude which appears throughout the whole of the egocentric stage, and which may be compared to the mental states characteristic of inspiration. The child more or less pleases himself in his application of the rules. At the same time, Fal and others like him will allow any sort of change in the established usage. And yet they one and all insist upon the point that rules have always been the

[21] Cf. *C.W.*, p. 52, the case of Kauf (8; 8): this child believes that the stories she tells were written in her brain by God. *"Before I was born, he put them there."*

same as they are at present, and that they are due to adult authority, particularly the authority of the father. Is this contradictory? It is so only in appearance. If we call to mind the peculiar mentality of children of this age, for whom society is not so much a successful cooperation between equals as a feeling of continuous communion between the ego and the Word of the Elder or Adult, then the contradiction ceases. Just as the mystic can no longer dissociate his own wishes from the will of his God, so the little child cannot differentiate between the impulses of his personal fancy and the rules imposed on him from above.

Let us now pass on to the typical cases of this stage, *i.e.*, to children who out of respect to rules are hostile to any innovation whatsoever.

We must begin by quoting a child of 5½ years, LEH, whose reaction was among the most spontaneous that we had occasion to note. Leh was telling us about the rules of the game before we had questioned him about consciousness of rules. He had just begun to speak and was showing us how to play from the coche (which was about the only thing in the game that he knew) when the following dialogue took place. We asked Leh quite simply if everyone played from the coche or whether one could not (as is actually done) put the older ones at the coche and let the little ones play closer up. "*No,* answered Leh, *that wouldn't be fair.*—Why not?—*Because God would make the little boy's shot not reach the marbles and the big boy's shot would reach them.*" In other words, divine justice is opposed to any change in the rules of marbles, and if one player, even a very young one were favored in any way, God Himself would prevent him from reaching the square.

PHA (5½): "Do people always play like that?—*Yes, always like that.*—Why?—*'Cos you couldn't play any other way.*—Couldn't you play like this [we arrange the marbles in a circle, then in a triangle]?—*Yes, but the others wouldn't want to.*—Why?—*'Cos squares is better.*—Why better?—. . ." We are less successful, however, with regard to the origins of the game: "Did your daddy play at marbles before you were born?—*No, never, because I wasn't there yet!*—But he was a child like you before you were born.—*I was*

there already when he was like me. He was bigger." "When did people begin to play marbles?—*When the others began, I began too.*" It would be impossible to outdo Pha in placing oneself at the centre of the universe, in time as well as in space! And yet Pha feels very strongly that rules stand above him: they cannot be changed.

Geo (6) tells us that the game of marbles began with "*people, with the Gentlemen of the Commune* [the Town Council whom he has probably heard mentioned in connection with road-mending and the police].—How was that?—*It came into the gentlemen's heads and they made some marbles.*—How did they know how to play?—*In their head. They taught people. Daddies show little boys how to.*—Can one play differently from how you showed me? Can you change the game?—*I think you can, but I don't know how* [Geo is alluding here to the variants already in existence].—Anyhow?—*No there are no games you play anyhow.*—Why?—*Because God didn't teach them* [the Town Council].—Try and change the game.—[Geo then invents an arrangement which he regards as quite new and which consists in making a big square with three rows of three marbles in each].—Is that one fair, like the other one?—*No, because there are only three lines of three.*—Could people always play that way and stop playing the old way?—*Yes, M'sieu.*—How did you find this game?—*In my head.*—Can we say, then, that the other games don't count and this is the one people must take?—*Yes, M'sieur. There's others too that the Gentlemen of the Commune know.*—Do they know this one that you have made up?—*Yes* [*!*].—But it was you who found it out. Did you find that game in your head?—*Yes.*—How?—*All of a sudden. God told it to me.*—You know, I have spoken to the gentlemen of the Commune, and I don't think they know your new game.—*Oh!* [Geo is very much taken aback].—But I know some children who don't know how to play yet. Which game shall I teach them, yours, or the other one?—*The one of the Gentlemen of the Commune.*—Why?—*Because it is prettier.*" "Later on when you are a big man and have got moustaches perhaps there won't be many children left who play the game of the Gentlemen of the Commune. But there may be lots of boys who play at your game. Then

which game will be fairest, yours, which will be played most, or the game of the Gentlemen of the Commune, which will be nearly forgotten?—*The game of the Gentlemen of the Commune.*"

The case of Geo comes as a beautiful confirmation of what we said in connection with Fal, viz., that for little children inventing a game comes to the same thing as finding in one's head a game that has already been anticipated and classified by the most competent authorities. Geo attributes the game he has invented to divine inspiration, and supposes it to be already known to the "Gentlemen of the Commune." As soon as we undeceive him he undervalues his own invention and refuses to regard it as right even if ratified by general usage.

Mar (6), whose behaviour in the practice of rules we have already examined in § 3, declares that in the time of his daddy and of Jesus, people played as they do now. He refuses to invent a new game. "*I've never invented games.*" We then suggest a new game which consists of putting marbles on a box and making them fall off by hitting the box: "Can one play like this?—*Yes* [He does so, and seems to enjoy it].—Could this game ever become a fair game?—*No, because it's not the same.*" Another attempt calls forth the same reaction.

Stor (7) tells us that children played at marbles before Noah's ark: "How did they play?—*Like we played.*—How did it begin?—*They bought some marbles.*—But how did they learn?—*His daddy taught them.*" Stor invents a new game in the shape of a triangle. He admits that his friends would be glad to play at it, "*but not all of them. Not the big ones, the quite big ones.*—Why?—*Because it isn't a game for the big ones.*—Is it as fair a game as the one you showed me?—*No.*—Why?—*Because it isn't a square.*—And if everyone played that way, even the big ones, would it be fair?—*No.*—Why not?—*Because it isn't a square.*"

With regard to the practical application of rules all these children therefore belong to the stage of egocentrism. The result is clearly paradoxical. Here are children playing more or less as they choose; they are influenced, it is true, by a few examples that have been set before them and observe

roughly the general schema of the game; but they do so without troubling to obey in detail the rules they know or could know with a little attention, and without attributing the least importance to the most serious infringements of which they may be guilty. Besides all this, each child plays for himself, he pays no attention to his neighbour, does not seek to control him and is not controlled by him, does not even try to beat him—"to win" simply means to succeed in hitting the marbles one has aimed at. And yet these same children harbour an almost mystical respect for rules: rules are eternal, due to the authority of parents, of the Gentlemen of the Commune, and even of an almighty God. It is forbidden to change them, and even if the whole of general opinion supported such a change, general opinion would be in the wrong: the unanimous consent of all the children would be powerless against the truth of Tradition. As to any apparent changes, these are only complementary additions to the initial Revelation: thus Geo (the most primitive of the above cases, and therefore nearest to those represented by Fal and so confirming what we said about the latter) believes the rule invented by him to be directly due to a divine inspiration analogous to the inspiration of which the Gentlemen of the Commune were the first recipients.

In reality, however, this paradox is general in child behavior and constitutes, as we shall show towards the end of the book, the most significant feature of the morality belonging to the egocentric stage. Childish egocentrism, far from being asocial, always goes hand in hand with adult constraint. It is presocial only in relation to cooperation. In all spheres, two types of social relations must be distinguished: constraint and cooperation. The first implies an element of unilateral respect, of authority and prestige; the second is simply the intercourse between two individuals on an equal footing. Now egocentrism is contradictory only to cooperation, for the latter alone is really able to socialize the individual. Constraint, on the other hand, is always the ally of childish egocentrism. Indeed it is because the child cannot establish a genuinely mutual contact with the adult that he remains shut up in his own ego. The child is, on the one hand, too apt to have the illusion of agreement where actually

he is only following his own fantasy; the adult, on the other, takes advantage of his situation instead of seeking equality. With regard to moral rules, the child submits more or less completely in intention to the rules laid down for him, but these, remaining, as it were, external to the subject's conscience, do not really transform his conduct. This is why the child looks upon rules as sacred though he does not really put them into practice.

As far as the game of marbles is concerned, there is therefore no contradiction between the egocentric practice of games and the mystical respect entertained for rules. This respect is the mark of a mentality fashioned, not by free cooperation between equals, but by adult constraint. When the child imitates the rules practised by his older companions he feels that he is submitting to an unalterable law, due, therefore, to his parents themselves. Thus the pressure exercised by older on younger children is assimilated here, as so often, to adult pressure. This action of the older children is still constraint, for cooperation can only arise between equals. Nor does the submission of the younger children to the rules of the older ones lead to any sort of cooperation in action; it simply produces a sort of mysticism, a diffused feeling of collective participation, which, as in the case of many mystics, fits in perfectly well with egocentrism. For we shall see eventually that cooperation between equals not only brings about a gradual change in the child's practical attitude, but that it also does away with the mystical feeling towards authority.

In the meantime let us examine the subjects of the final period of the present stage. We found only three stages with reward to consciousness of rules, whereas there seemed to be four with regard to the practice of the game. In other words, the cooperation that sets in from the age of 7-8 is not sufficient at first to repress the mystical attitude to authority, and the last part of the present stage (in the consciousness of rules) really coincides with the first half of the cooperative stage (in the practice of the game).

Ben (10 yrs.), whose answers we have given with regard to the practice of rules (third stage) is still at the second

stage from the point of view that is occupying us just now: "Can one invent new rules?—*Some boys do, so as to win more marbles, but it doesn't always come off. One chap* [quite recently, in his class] *thought of saying 'Deux Empans'* (two spans) *so as to get nearer* [actually this is a rule already known to the older boys]. *It didn't come off.*—And with the little ones?—*Yes, it came off all right with them.*—Invent a rule.—*I couldn't invent one straight away like that.*—Yes you could. I can see that you are cleverer than you make yourself out to be.—*Well, let's say that you're not caught when you are in the square.*—Good. Would that come off with the others?—*Oh, yes, they'd like to do that.*—Then people could play that way?—*Oh, no, because it would be cheating.*—But all your pals would like to, wouldn't they?—*Yes, they all would.*—Then why would it be cheating?—*Because I invented it: it isn't a rule! It's a wrong rule because it's outside of the rules. A fair rule is one that is in the game.*—How does one know if it is fair?—*The good players know it.*—And suppose the good players wanted to play with your rule?—*It wouldn't work. Besides they would say it was cheating.*—And if they all said that the rule was right, would it work?—*Oh, yes, it would. . . . But it's a wrong rule!*—But if they all said it was right how would anyone know that it was wrong?—*Because when you are in the square it's like a garden with a fence, you're shut in* [so that if the shooter stays inside the square, you are 'dished'].—And suppose we draw a square like this [we draw a square with a break in one of the sides like a fence broken by a door]?—*Some boys do that. But it isn't fair. It's just for fun for passing the time.*—Why?—*Because the square ought to be closed.*—But if some boys do it, is it fair or not?—*It's both fair and not fair.*—Why is it fair?—*It is fair for waiting* [for fun].—And why is it not fair?—*Because the square ought to be closed.*—When you are big, suppose everyone plays that way, will it be right or not?—*It will be right then because there will be new children who will learn the rule.*—And for you?—*It will be wrong.*—And what will it be 'really and truly'?—*It will really be wrong.*" Later on, however, Ben admits that his father and grandfather played differently from him, and that rules can therefore be changed by children. But this does not prevent him from

sticking to the view that rules contain an intrinsic truth which is independent of usage.

Borderline cases like these are particularly interesting. Ben stands midway between the second and third stages. On the one hand, he has already learned, thanks to cooperation, the existence of possible variations in the use of rules, and he knows, therefore, that the actual rules are recent and have been made by children. But on the other hand, he believes in the absolute and intrinsic truth of rules. Does cooperation, then, impose upon this child a mystical attitude to law similar to the respect felt by little children for the commands given them by adults? Or is Ben's respect for the rules of the game inherited from the constraint that has not yet been eliminated by cooperation? The sequel will show that the latter interpretation is the right one. Older children cease to believe in the intrinsic value of rules, and they do so in the exact measure that they learn to put them into practice. Ben's attitude should therefore be regarded as a survival of the features due to constraint.

Generally speaking, it is a perfectly normal thing that in its beginnings cooperation—on the plane of action—should not immediately abolish the mental states created—on the plane of thought—by the complexus: egocentricity and constraint. Thought always lags behind action and cooperation has to be practised for a very long time before its consequences can be brought fully to light by reflective thought. This is a fresh example of the law of *prise de conscience* or conscious realization formulated by Claparède[22] and of the time-lag[23] or "shifting" which we have observed in so many other spheres (see *J. R.*, Chap. V, § 2 and *C. C.*, 2nd part). A phenomenon such as this is, moreover, well fitted to simplify the problem of egocentrism in general since it explains

[22] This term (Claparède's *prise de conscience*) simply means "coming into consciousness," and has nothing to do with intellectual formulation. [*Trans.*].

[23] This is the term that has been selected by the author for the French *décalage,* a somewhat more complex notion which in previous volumes, cf. *L.T.*, p. 208, ff., has been rendered as a process of "shifting." [*Trans.*].

why intellectual egocentrism is so much more stubborn than egocentrism in action.

§ 6. Consciousness of Rules. II. Third Stage

After the age of 10 on the average, *i.e.*, from the second half of the cooperative stage and during the whole of the stage when the rules are codified, consciousness of rules undergoes a complete transformation. Autonomy follows upon heteronomy: the rule of a game appears to the child no longer as an external law, sacred in so far as it has been laid down by adults; but as the outcome of a free decision and worthy of respect in the measure that it has enlisted mutual consent.

This change can be seen by three concordant symptoms. In the first place, the child allows a change in the rules so long as it enlists the votes of all. Anything is possible, so long as, and to the extent that you undertake to respect the new decisions. Thus democracy follows on theocracy and gerontocracy: there are no more crimes of opinion, but only breaches in procedure. All opinions are tolerated so long as their protagonists urge their acceptance by legal methods. Of course some opinions are more reasonable than others. Among the new rules that may be proposed, there are innovations worthy of acceptance because they will add to the interest of the game (pleasure in risks, art for art's sake, etc.). And there are new rules that are worthless because they give precedence to easy winning as against work and skill. But the child counts on the agreement among the players to eliminate these immoral innovations. He no longer relies, as do the littles ones, upon an all-wise tradition. He no longer thinks that everything has been arranged for the best in the past and that the only way of avoiding trouble is by religiously respecting the established order. He believes in the value of experiment in so far as it is sanctioned by collective opinion.

In the second place, the child ceases *ipso facto* to look upon rules as eternal and as having been handed down unchanged from one generation to another. Thirdly and finally, his ideas on the origin of the rules and of the game do not differ from ours: originally, marbles must simply have

been rounded pebbles which children threw about to amuse themselves, and rules, far from having been imposed as such by adults, must have become gradually fixed on the initiative of the children themselves.

Here are examples:

Ross (11) belongs to the third stage in regard to the practise of rules. He claims that he often invents new rules with his playmates: *"We make them* [up] *sometimes. We go up to 200. We play about and then hit each other, and then he says to me: 'If you go up to 100 I'll give you a marble.'* Is this new rule fair like the old ones, or not?—*Perhaps it isn't quite fair, because it isn't very hard to take four marbles that way!*—If everyone does it, will it be a real rule, or not?—*If they do it often, it will become a real rule.*—Did your father play the way you showed me, or differently?—*Oh, I don't know. It may have been a different game. It changes. It still changes quite often.*—Have people been playing for long?—*At least fifty years.*—Did people play marbles in the days of the 'Old Swiss'?—*Oh, I don't think so.*—How did it begin?—*Some boys took some motor balls* (ball bearings) *and then they played. And after that there were marbles in shops.*—Why are there rules in the game of marbles?—*So as not to be always quarrelling you must have rules, and then play properly.*—How did these rules begin?—*Some boys came to an agreement amongst themselves and made them.*—Could you invent a new rule?—*Perhaps . . .* [he thinks] *you put three marbles together and you drop another from above on to the middle one.*—Could one play that way?—*Oh, yes.*—Is that a fair rule like the others?—*The chaps might say it wasn't very fair because it's luck. To be a good rule, it has to be skill.*—But if everyone played that way, would it be a fair rule or not?—*Oh, yes, you could play just as well with that rule as with the others."*

Malb (12) belongs to the fourth stage in the practice of rules: "Does everyone play the way you showed me?—*Yes.*—And did they play like that long ago?—*No.*—Why not?—*They used different words.*—And how about the rules?—*They didn't use them either, because my father told me he didn't play that way.*—But long ago did people play with the

same rules?—*Not quite the same.*—How about the rule not hitting for one?—*I think that must have come later.*—Did they play marbles when your grandfather was little?—*Yes.* —Like they do now?—*Oh, no, different kinds of games.*— And at the time of the battle of Morat?—*No, I don't think they played then.*—How do you think the game of marbles began?—*At first, children looked for round pebbles.*—And the rules?—*I expect they played from the coche. Later on, boys wanted to play differently and they invented other rules.* —And how did the coche begin?—*I expect they had fun hitting the pebbles. And then they invented the coche.*—Could one change the rules?—*Yes.*—Could you?—*Yes, I could make up another game. We were playing at home one evening and we found out a new one* [he shows it to us].—Are these new rules as fair as the others?—*Yes.*—Which is the fairest, the game you showed me first or the one you invented?—*Both the same.*—If you show this new game to the little ones what will they do?—*Perhaps they will play at it.*— And if they forget the square game and only play this one, which will be the true game, the new one that will be better known, or the old one?—*The best known one will be the fairest.*"

Gros (13 yrs. at the fourth stage in the practice of the rules) has shown us the rules as we saw above. "Did your father play that way when he was little?—*No, they had other rules. They didn't play with a square.*—And did the other boys of your father's time play with a square?—*There must have been one who knew, since we know it now.*—And how did that one know about the square?—*They thought they would see if it was nicer than the other game.*—How old was the boy who invented the square?—*I expect thirteen* [his own age].—Did the children of the Swiss who lived at the time of the battle of Morat play at marbles?—*They may have played with a hole, and then later on with a square.*—And in the time of David de Purry [a periwigged gentleman whose statue on one of the public squares of Neuchâtel is known to all]?—*I expect they had a bit of a lark too!*—Have rules changed since the square was invented?—*There may have been little changes.*—And do the rules still change?—*No. You always play the same way.*—Are you allowed to change the

rules at all?—*Oh, yes. Some want to, and some don't. If the boys play that way* (changing something) *you have to play like they do.*—Do you think you could invent a new rule?—*Oh, yes . . .* [he thinks]; *you could play with your feet.*—Would it be fair?—*I don't know. It's just my idea.*—And if you showed it to the others would it work?—*It would work all right. Some other boys would want to try. Some wouldn't, by Jove! They would stick to the old rules. They'd think they'd have less of a chance with this new game.*—And if everyone played your way?—*Then it would be a rule like the others.*—Which is the fairest now, yours or the old one?—*The old one.*—Why?—*Because they can't cheat.* (Note this excellent justification of rules: the old rule is better than the innovation, not yet sanctioned by usage, because only the old rule has the force of a law and can thus prevent cheating.) And if nearly everyone played with their feet, then which would be fairest?—*If nearly everyone played with their feet, then that would be the fairest.*"—Finally we ask Gros, "Suppose there are two games, an easy one where you win often, and a difficult one where you win seldom, which would you like best?—*The most difficult. You end by winning that way.*"

Vua (13), whose answers about the practice of rules we have already examined (4th stage) tells us that his father and his grandfather played differently from him. "In the days of the 'Three Swiss' did boys play at marbles?—*No. They had to work at home. They played other games.*—Did they play marbles in the days of the battle of Morat?—*Perhaps, after the war.*—Who invented this game?—*Some kids. They saw their parents playing at bowls, and they thought they might do the same thing.*—Could other rules be invented?—*Yes* [he shows us one he has invented and which he calls 'the line' because the marbles are arranged in a row and not in a square].—Which is the real game, yours or the square?—*The square, because it is the one that is always used.*—Which do you like best, an easy game or a difficult one?—*The more difficult, because it is more interesting. The 'Troyat'* (a game that consists in heaping the balls into piles) *is not quite the real game. Some boys invented it. They wanted to win all the marbles.*" On this point Vua seems to be answering like

a child of the preceding stage who will invoke the "real game" that conforms to tradition as against contemporary innovations. But Vua seems to us rather to be contrasting a demagogic procedure (the "Troyat," which by allowing too great a part to chance gives rise to illicit and immoral gains) with practices that are in keeping with the spirit of the game, whether they are ancient, like the square, or recent like his own game. The proof of this would seem to lie in the following remarks relating to his own playing: "Is the game you invented as fair as the square, or less fair?—*It is just as fair because the marbles are far apart* (therefore the game is difficult).—If in a few years' time everyone played your line game and only one or two boys played the square game, which would be the fairest, the line or the square?—*The line would be fairest.*"

Blas (12, 4th stage in the practice of rules) thinks that the game of marbles must have begun round about 1500 at the time of the Reformation. "*Children invented the game. They made little balls with earth and water and then they amused themselves by rolling them about. They found it was rather fun making them hit, and then they had the idea of inventing a game, and they said that when you hit anyone else's marble with your own you could have the marble you hit. After that I expect they invented the square, so that you should have to make the marbles go out of the square. They invented the line, so that all the marbles should be at the same distance. They only invented it later. When cement was discovered, marbles were made like they are to-day. The marbles of earth weren't strong enough, so the children asked the manufacturers to make some in cement.*" We ask Blas to make up a new rule, and this is what he thinks of. First there must be a competition, and whoever makes his marbles go furthest can play first. But the rule seems "*bad because you'd have to run too far back to fetch the marbles.*" He then thinks of another which consists in playing in two squares one inside the other. "Would everyone want to play that way?—*Those who invented it would.*—Later on, if your game is played just as much as the square, which will be the fairest?—*Both the same.*"

The psychological and educational interest of all this stands out very clearly. We are now definitely in the presence of a social reality that has rational and moral organization and is yet peculiar to childhood. Also we can actually put our finger upon the conjunction of cooperation and autonomy, which follows upon the conjunction of egocentrism and constraint.

Up to the present, rules have been imposed upon the younger children by the older ones. As such they had been assimilated by the former to the commands given by adults. They therefore appeared to the child as sacred and untouchable, the guarantee of their truth being precisely this immutability. Actually this conformity, like all conformity, remained external to the individual. In appearance docile, in his own eyes submissive and constantly imbued as it were with the spirit of the Elders or the Gods, the child could in actual fact achieve little more than a simulation of sociality, to say nothing of morality. External constraint does not destroy egocentrism. It covers and conceals when it does not actually strengthen it.

But from henceforward a rule is conceived as the free pronouncement of the actual individual minds themselves. It is no longer external and coercive: it can be modified and adapted to the tendencies of the group. It constitutes no revealed truth whose sacred character derives from its divine origin and historical permanence; it is something that is built up progressively and autonomously. But does this not make it cease to be a real rule? Is it perhaps not a mark of decadence rather than of progress in relation to the earlier stage? That is the problem. The facts, however, seem definitely to authorize the opposite conclusion: it is from the moment that it replaces the rule of constraint that the rule of cooperation becomes an effective moral law.

In the first place, one is struck by the synchronism between the appearance of this new type of consciousness of rules and a genuine observation of the rules. This third stage of rule consciousness appears towards the age of 10-11. And it is at this same age that the simple cooperation characteristic of the third stage in the practice of rules begins to be complicated by a desire for codification and complete application of the law. The two phenomena are therefore related to each other.

But is it the consciousness of autonomy that leads to the practical respect for the law, or does this respect for the law lead to the feeling of autonomy? These are simply two aspects of the same reality: when a rule ceases to be external to children and depends only on their free collective will, it becomes incorporated in the mind of each, and individual obedience is henceforth purely spontaneous. True, the difficulty reappears each time that the child, while still remaining faithful to a rule that favours him, is tempted to slur over some article of the law or some point of procedure that favours his opponent. But the peculiar function of cooperation is to lead the child to the practice of reciprocity, hence of moral universality and generosity in his relations with his playmates.

This last point introduces us to yet another sign of the bond between autonomy and true respect for the law. By modifying rules, *i.e.*, by becoming a sovereign and legislator in the democracy which towards the age of 10-11 follows upon the earlier gerontocracy, the child takes cognizance of the *raison d'être* of laws. A rule becomes the necessary condition for agreement. *"So as not to be always quarrelling,"* says Ross, *"you must have rules and then play properly* [=stick to them]." The fairest rule, Gros maintains, is that which unites the opinion of the players, *"because* [then] *they can't cheat."*

Thirdly, what shows most clearly that the autonomy achieved during this stage leads more surely to respect for rules than the heteronomy of the preceding stage is the truly political and democratic way in which children of 12-13 distinguish lawless whims from constitutional innovation. Everything is allowed, every individual proposition is, by rights, worthy of attention. There are no more breaches of opinion, in the sense that to desire to change the laws is no longer to sin against them. Only—and each of our subjects was perfectly clear on this point—no one has the right to introduce an innovation except by legal channels, *i.e.*, by previously persuading the other players and by submitting in advance to the verdict of the majority. There may therefore be breaches but they are of procedure only: procedure alone is obligatory, opinions can always be subjected to discussion.

Thus Gros tells us that if a change is proposed *"Some want to and some don't. If boys play that way* [allow an alteration] *you have to play like they do."* As Vua said in connection with the practice of rules (§ 4) *"sometimes people play differently. Then you ask each other what you want to do. . . . We scrap for a bit and then we fix things up."*

In short, law now emanates from the sovereign people and no longer from the tradition laid down by the Elders. And correlatively with this change, the respective values attaching to custom and the rights of reason come to be practically reversed.

In the past, custom had always prevailed over rights. Only, as in all cases where a human being is enslaved to a custom that is not part of his inner life, the child regarded this Custom imposed by his elders as a sort of Decalogue revealed by divine beings (*i.e.*, adults, including God, who is, according to Fal, the oldest gentleman in Neuchâtel after his own father). With the result that, in the eyes of a little child, no alteration of usage will dispense the individual from remaining faithful to the eternal law. Even if people forget the square game, says Ben, and adopt another, this new game *"will really be wrong."* The child therefore distinguishes between a rule that is true in itself and mere custom, present or future. And yet he is all the time enslaved to custom and not to any juridico-moral reason or reality distinct from this custom and superior to it. Nor indeed is this way of thinking very different from that of many conservative adults who delude themselves into thinking that they are assisting the triumph of eternal reason over present fashion, when they are really the slaves of past custom at the expense of the permanent laws of rational cooperation.

But from now on, by the mere fact of tying himself down to certain rules of discussion and collaboration, and thus cooperating with his neighbours in full reciprocity (without any false respect for tradition nor for the will of any one individual) the child will be enabled to dissociate custom from the rational ideal. For it is of the essence of cooperation as opposed to social constraint that, side by side with the body of provisional opinion which exists in fact, it also allows for an ideal of what is right functionally implied in the very mecha-

nism of discussion and reciprocity. The constraint of tradition imposes opinions or customs, and there is an end of it. Cooperation imposes nothing except the actual methods of intellectual or moral interchange (Baldwin's[24] synnomic as opposed to his syndoxic). Consequently we must distinguish alongside of the actual agreement that exists between minds, an ideal agreement defined by the more and more intensive application of the processes of mental interchange.[25] As far as our children are concerned, this simply means that in addition to the rules agreed upon in a given group and at a given moment (constituted morality or rights in the sense in which M. Lalande speaks of "raison constituée") [26] the child has in mind a sort of ideal or spirit of the game which cannot be formulated in terms of rules (constitutive morality or rights in the sense of "raison constituante"). For if there is to be any reciprocity between players in the application of established rules or in the elaboration of new rules, everything must be eliminated that would compromise this reciprocity (inequalities due to chance, excessive individual differences in skill or muscular power, etc.). Thus usages are gradually purified in virtue of an ideal that is superior to custom since it arises from the very functioning of cooperation.

This is why, when innovations are proposed to the child, he regards them as fair or unfair not only according as they are likely or not to rally the majority of players in their favour, but also according as they are in keeping with that spirit of the game itself, which is nothing more or less than the spirit of reciprocity. Ross tells us, for instance, concerning his own proposition, *"Perhaps it isn't quite fair, because it isn't very hard to take four marbles that way,"* and again, *"The chaps might say it wasn't very fair because it's luck. To be a good rule, it has to be skill."* The Troyat, Vua informs us, is less fair than the square (though equally widespread and equally well known to former generations), because it was invented *"to win all the marbles."* In this way,

[24] J. M. Baldwin, *Genetic Theory of Reality.*
[25] See our article, "Logique génétique et sociologie," *Revue Philosophique,* 1928.
[26] Lalande, A., "Raison constituante et raison constituée," *Revue des Cours et des Conférence.*

Vua draws a distinction between demagogy and a sane democracy. In the same way, Gros and Vua prefer difficult games because they are more "interesting": cleverness and skill now matter more than winning. Art for art's sake is far more disinterested than playing for gain.

In a word, as soon as we have cooperation, the rational notions of the just and the unjust become regulative of custom, because they are implied in the actual functioning of social life among equals—a point which will be developed in the third chapter of this book. During the preceding stages, on the contrary, custom overbore the issue of right, precisely in so far as it was deified and remained external to the minds of individuals.

Let us now see what sort of philosophy of history the child will adopt in consequence of having discovered democracy. It is very interesting, in this connection, to note the following synchronism. The moment a child decides that rules can be changed, he ceases to believe in their endless past and in their adult origin. In other words, he regards rules as having constantly changed and as having been invented and modified by children themselves. External events may of course play a certain part in bringing this about. Sooner or later, for example, the child may learn from his father that the game was different for previous generations. But so unmistakable is the correlation (on the average, of course) between the appearance of this new type of consciousness of rules and the disappearance of the belief in the adult origin of the game that the connection must be founded on reality. Is it, then, the loss of belief in the divine or adult origin of rules that allows the child to think of innovations, or is it the consciousness of autonomy that dispels the myth of revelation?

Only someone completely ignorant of the character of childish beliefs could imagine that a change in the child's ideas about the origin of rules could be of a nature to exercise so profound an influence on his social conduct. On the contrary, here as in so many cases, belief merely reflects behaviour. There can be no doubt that children very rarely reflect upon the original institution of the game of marbles. There are even strong reasons for assuming that as far as the

children we examined are concerned such a problem never even entered their heads until the day when a psychologist had the ridiculous idea of asking them how marbles were played in the days of the Old Swiss and of the Old Testament. Even if the question of the origin of rules did pass through the minds of some of these children during the spontaneous interrogatories that so often deal with rules in general (*L. T.*, Chap. V, §§ 5 and 10) the answer which the child would give himself would probably be found without very much reflection. In most cases the questions we asked were entirely new to the subject, and the answers were dictated by the feelings which the game had aroused in them in varying intensity. Thus, when the little ones tell us that rules have an adult origin and have never changed, one should beware of taking this as the expression of a systematic belief; all they mean is that the laws of the game must be left alone. And when, conversely, the older ones tell us that rules have varied and were invented by children, this belief is perhaps more thought out since it is held by more developed subjects, but it is still only valuable as an indication: the child simply means that he is free to make the law.

We may well ask ourselves, then, whether it is legitimate to question the child about such verbal beliefs, since these beliefs do not correspond to thought properly so called, and since the child's true thought lies much deeper, somewhere below the level of formulation. But in our opinion these beliefs have their interest because the same phenomena reappear in adult mental life and because the psychological facts lead by a series of intermediate steps to metaphysical systems themselves. What Pareto,[27] basing his relatively simple conclusions on such a wealth of erudition, has called "derivations" are really present in germ in our children's remarks about the origin of games. These remarks have no intellectual value, but they contain a very resistant, affective and social element—the "residuum" to quote Pareto again. To the residuum peculiar to the conforming attitude of the little ones correspond the derivations "divine or adult origin" and "permanence in

[27] *Traité de Sociologie générale.*

history." To the residuum peculiar to the more democratic attitude of the older children correspond the derivations "natural (childish) origin" and "progress."

One more fundamental question must still be discussed. How is it that democratic practice is so developed in the games of marbles played by boys of 11 to 13, whereas it is still so unfamiliar to the adult in many spheres of life? Of course it is easier to agree upon some subjects than on others, and feeling will not run so high on the subject of the rules of the "Square" as in an argument about the laws of property or the legitimacy of war. But apart from these questions (and after all, is it so obvious that social questions are more important to us than are the rules of a game to the child of 12?) there are others of greater psychological and sociological interest. For it must not be forgotten that the game of marbles is dropped towards the age of 14-15 at the latest. With regard to this game, therefore, children of 11-13 have no seniors. The following circumstance is important. Since they no longer have to endure the pressure of play-mates who impose their views by virtue of their prestige, the children whose reactions we have been studying are clearly able to become conscious of their autonomy much sooner than if the game of marbles lasted till the age of 18. In the same way, most of the phenomena which characterize adult societies would be quite other than they are if the average length of human life were appreciably different from what it is. Sociologists have tended to overlook this fact, though Auguste Comte pointed out that the pressure of one generation upon the other was the most important phenomenon of social life.

We shall have occasion to see, moreover, that towards the age of 11 the consciousness of autonomy appears in a large number of different spheres. Whether this is the repercussion of collective games on the whole moral life of the child is a question which will be taken up later.

§ 7. A Girls' Game: "Îlet Cachant"

Before drawing any general conclusion from the facts set out above, it may be useful to see whether they are peculiar to the game of marbles as played by boys or whether similar

examples cannot be found in different fields. For this purpose we studied, with the same method, but questioning only girls, a much simpler game than the game of marbles.

The most superficial observation is sufficient to show that in the main the legal sense is far less developed in little girls than in boys. We did not succeed in finding a single collective game played by girls in which there were as many rules and, above all, as fine and consistent an organization and codification of these rules as in the game of marbles examined above. A significant example in this connection is the game of "Marelle" (Engl., Hop-scotch) (also called "la Semaine" or "le Ciel") which consists in hopping on one leg and kicking a stone through various sections drawn on the ground representing the days of the week or anything else one likes. The few rules embodied in this game (not to put the other foot down, to make the pebble go into the right square with one kick, not to let the pebble stop on a boundary line, permission to rest in a special section called Heaven, etc.) show well enough how possible it would have been to complicate the game by constructing new rules on these initial data. Instead of which girls, though they are very fond of this game and play it much oftener than boys, have applied all their ingenuity in inventing new figures. For the game of Marelle exists in a multitude of forms; the sections drawn in chalk on the pavement succeed one another in a straight line, in parallel lines, in the shape of a spiral, a circle, an oval, of the pipe of a stove, etc. But each game in itself is very simple and never presents the splendid codification and complicated jurisprudence of the game of marbles. As to the game of marbles itself, the few little girls who take any interest in it seem more concerned with achieving dexterity at the game than with the legal structure of this social institution.

As the extremely polymorphous nature of the game of Marelle made any interrogatory on rule consciousness difficult, we decided to study a very simple game containing a minimum of rules and to try and find out up to what point girls look upon rules as obligatory. In this case, as in those already dealt with, what interests us of course is to see what types of obligation appear at different ages and whether the

youngest children are those who are most hostile to any alteration in the social heritage. As the game is simple and only girls are questioned, the conditions before us are as different as possible from the boys' game of marbles. Such analogies as do eventually appear will therefore be all the more valuable.

The game of "îlet cachant" is one of the most primitive forms of the game of hide-and-seek. The little girl who is îlet (the derivation of the word seems to be "il est," as the expressions "îlet courant," "îlet cachant," etc., seem to suggest) remains at a spot called the "tauche" (= the place one touches) while the others hide. Once the signal has been given the girl who is "îlet" begins to look for the others who try to reach the "tauche" before being caught. Whoever is caught is "îlet" for the next game. The first to play "îlet" is selected according to the well-known ritual formula, "Une boule—deux boules—trois boules—roulent!" etc. The little girls call this "plunging." "The last to plunge is îlet."

The game being so simple, we shall not waste time by describing the stages during which it is learnt and the rules are put into practice. It will be sufficient to distinguish two stages—one before the age of 7 and one which extends from 6-7 years to 11-12.

During the first of these stages, which here again we can designate as the stage of *egocentrism,* the children take great pleasure in imitating the ordered doings of their elders, but in practice know nothing of their *raison d'être;* each plays essentially for himself, just for the fun of running about or hiding, and above all, so as to do the same as the others.

Jacqueline (5; 7) is initiated into the game of "îlet" by an older friend (10 yrs.) who has immense prestige in her eyes, and she plays with this friend and with a few children of 8 to 12. As long as the game lasts (about three-quarters of an hour) she runs and hides with apparently the greatest enjoyment but without understanding the point of the "tauche." As soon as one of the children runs towards "home" crying *"I've touched it,"* Jacqueline also runs to touch it ritually but without any relation to the other's conduct. She

is quite happy playing her own little game on the fringe of the real game.

The following days she behaves in the same way. Several days later she plays for half an hour, alone with the friend who has initiated her. This is what she does: 1) she still does not understand why you touch or hit the "tauche" but goes on touching it as soon as her playmate does (which is quite senseless, since the other child touches home to escape from her); 2) while she is waiting for her playmate to hide, she cheats in all good faith (she looks round on the sly, pretending to cover her face with her hands, she askes me for information who am simply an onlooker, etc.); 3) she enjoys losing quite as much as winning, her sole aim being to do the same as her older friend, though all the time she is running and hiding and shouting entirely on her own.

The analogy strikes one at once between this and the behaviour of contemporary marble players: imitation of seniors mixed with egocentric play, no competition, no mutual control in the matter of rules. The child knows that there are rules and respects their external manifestation: thus Jacqueline insists upon touching the "home" ritually, because she feels that this is an obligatory rite in the serious performance of the game of "îlet." But this is far more participation in the life of the older children than an effort to cooperate with them. As for the application of rules, it allows for any amount of individual caprice (there is not even any consciousness of cheating) since the aim of the game is not yet social in the sense of ordered competition.

But after the age of 6-7 in the average the child changes in his attitude and begins to observe rules. What matters to him now is not so much to do what the older ones are doing, though still acting entirely for himself, as beating his partners by doing exactly the same thing as they. Hence the appearance of mutual control in the application of the law, together with an effective respect for obligations (not to cheat when one is "he," etc.). We shall call this the stage of *cooperation.*

The next point to settle is, what are the feelings which the little girls entertain towards rules? When we suggest some

modification in the accepted usages, shall we meet with an opposition that increases as the child grows older, or shall we find that girls, like boys, gradually subordinate rules to mutual agreement and abandon the absolutely binding element in tradition?

The facts give unmistakable answer, though they point to a slight difference from what we observed in boys. Where the analogy is complete is that girls also begin by regarding the law as untouchable and innovations as illegitimate, and admit later on that rules become endowed with the force of law in so far as they are ratified by the collective will. On the other hand—and this rather complicated our interrogatory, in relation to what we know about boys—this change of orientation takes place on the average towards the age of 8, that is to say, it almost completely coincides with the inception of the cooperating stage. This early tolerance is clearly connected with the somewhat loosely knit character of the game of "îlet-cachant."

Roughly speaking, we can distinguish three stages. The first is contemporaneous with the beginnings of the game itself, with the first half, that is, of the egocentric stage. At this stage, the child seems ready to change all the rules and to show no inner respect for tradition and the example of its seniors. But, as we saw in the case of the game of marbles, this is so only in appearance, and the child accepts proposed modifications in so far as it believes them to correspond with earlier decrees. Thus Jacqueline touches the "home" in so far as she sees this rite practised by others, but if anyone neglects to carry out this duty, she is in no way scandalized, deeming that this too is among the things that "are done." There is no need to go over this period again, which in any case is a short one and very difficult to analyse for lack of any consistency in the children's answers.

During a second stage, extending on the average up to the end of the seventh year, the little girls we questioned showed themselves to be firmly attached to the prevailing usage. Also, like boys, they think that rules are of adult and quasi-divine origin.

Mol (6½): "Are there things you must do and things you

mustn't do in this game?—*Yes. The things you must do are the rules of the game.*—Could you invent a new rule?— . . . —Supposing you said that the third who plunged was 'he'?—*Yes.*—Would it be all right to play that way or not?—*It'd be all right.*—Is it a fair rule like the others?—*Less fair.*—Why?—*Because the last one has to be 'he.'*—And if everyone played that way, would it become a fair rule?—*No.*—Why?—*Because the game isn't like that.*—How did the rules begin?— . . . —How do you know how to play?—*I learn'd the first time. I didn't know how. We played with a little girl who told us.*—And how did the little girl know?—*She learn'd.*—And did your Mummy play when she was little?—*Yes. The school-teacher taught her.*—But how did it begin?—*People learn'd with the school-teacher.*—Who made up the rules, grown-ups or children?—*Grown-ups.*—And if a child invents a new rule, is that all right?—*No it isn't.*—Why not?—*Because they don't know how to.*"

Age (7 yrs.) admits that the third child to be caught could be regarded as "he," but she refuses to recognize this new rule as fair. "Is it a real rule?—*Yes.*—Is it fair?—*No. Because that is not the way you play.*" (The conversation is resumed after break.) "Would that new rule be all right?—*No, because the first one who is caught has to be 'he.'*—Why?—*Because otherwise it wouldn't be fair.*—But if everyone played like that?—*It wouldn't do because the third mustn't be 'he'.*"

Bon (7 yrs.) admits that her companions would be pleased with such an innovation, but this would be "*not fair.*—Why?—*Because it upsets the whole game, because it's wrong.*"

Ros (8½) invents a new rule: "*You might say that only one goes and hides and then the others would go and look for her.*—Would that be all right for playing?—*Yes.*—Is this new way fairer than the other way or less fair?—*Less fair.*—Why?—*Because you don't play with that one.*—But if everyone played that way?—*Then it would be just a little bit fair.*—Why a little bit?—*Because, after all, it is a little the same way.*—But it isn't quite fair?—*No.*—Why?— . . . —And if everyone agreed to play that way would it be the same, or would it not?—*It would be all right* (reluctantly).—Which is best, always to play the same way or to change?—*To change* (still reluctantly).—Why?—*Because that game is truer.*—

Which one?—*Not the one I made up.*—Then is it best to change it or to leave it as it is?—*Best to leave it.*" The game of "îlet cachant" has been invented by *"a Gentleman."* "Has it been changed since then, or is it the same as when it was invented?—*Yes, it hasn't been changed.*—But if people want to, they can change it?—*Yes.*—Can children?—*Yes.*—If they invent something will it be more fair or less fair?—*Less fair.* —Why?—*Because it isn't the real game.*—What is the real game?—*The one the gentleman invented.*—Why?—*Because that is the one you always play.*"

Lil (8; 10): "How did the game begin the very first time of all?—*I think a lady invented it.*—Do you think the game has changed since then?—*People may have changed it.*—Who changed it, grown-ups or children?—*Grown-ups.*—But do you think children can change it?—*Yes, they can.*—Could you, for instance, if you wanted to?—*Oh, if I wanted to, yes.*— Would it do or would it not do?—*It would do just as well.*— Would your friends be pleased?—*They'd be just as pleased.* —Would it be as fair or less fair?—*Less fair.*—Fair in what way?—*I think the lady who invented it invented it better.*— Why?—*Because grown-ups are cleverer, because they have been at school longer than children.*"

These examples show that girls of this stage, while perhaps not quite so keen on conformity as boys, show a sufficient feeling for tradition to ensure respect for rules. We even come across the divine right of mothers to lay down the laws of "îlet cachant." Buc tells us at 6 years old that *"God taught them."*

But at the age of 8 a good half of the girls we questioned have changed their attitude and declare that the new rule is as good as the old, provided it is practicable and, above all, provided it rallies all the votes. It is on this point that the girls, more tolerant and more easily reconciled to innovations, struck us as being slightly different from the boys.

Bag (10; 4) is asked to judge a new rule suggested by one of her companions and which consists in not *"struggling"* when you are caught. "Is it just as fair or less fair?—*Just as fair.*—Is it a real rule or not?—*A real rule.*—What is a real rule?—*It's something you play at really and truly.*—But no

one has played yet with the rule invented by your friend; is it real all the same, or not?—*It is real.*—Would it work?—*Yes.*—Would your friends be pleased or not?—*Not pleased, because they'd never want to be 'he'* (in that way).—And if they agreed about it, would it be fair or not?—*Yes.*"

Cho (9 yrs.): "Is this rule as real as the others?—*No.*—Why?—*Because you never play that way.*—Would it be all right to play that way?—*Yes.*—Would your friends like it?—*Yes.*—Is this new rule more fair or less fair than the other?—*Both the same.*—Which is the most real?—*Both the same.*—How did rules begin?—*Somebody invented them.*—Who?—*A child . . . There were some kids who were playing and the others did the same thing.*—Were the rules those children made fair?—*Yes.*—When is a rule fair?—*When it's all right for playing.*—When is it real?—*When it's all right for playing.*"

These reactions, which are characteristic of what we found in girls, are thus both like and unlike those of boys. They are alike in so far as cooperation between the players brings about the gradual diminution of rule mysticism: the rule is no longer an imperative coming from an adult and accepted without discussion, it is a means of agreement resulting from cooperation itself. But girls are less explicit about this agreement and this is our reason for suspecting them of being less concerned with legal elaborations. A rule is good so long as the game repays it.

Little girls are therefore extremely tolerant, and it never occurs to them to introduce a *distinguo* and to codify the possible cases or even the very conditions of agreement.

Is this difference due to the somewhat loosely-knit character of the game of "îlet cachant" or to the actual mentality of little girls? Both these suppositions probably amount to the same thing, since we noticed that all girls' games are marked by this polymorphism and tolerance. The question, moreover, does not interest us here, and it is not this contrast which we propose to study. All that needs to be emphasized from the point of view of the psychology of rules is that, in spite of these differences in the structure of the game and, apparently, in the players' mentality, we find the same process at work

as in the evolution of the game of marble: first a mystical respect for the law, which is conceived as untouchable and of transcendental origin, then a cooperation that liberates the individuals from their practical egocentrism and introduces a new and more immanent conception of rules.

§ 8. Conclusions: I. Motor Rules and the Two Kinds of Respect

In order to pursue our analysis with any profit we shall have to draw from the material that has been presented above certain conclusions which will serve as guiding hypotheses in the chapters that are to follow. In other words, we shall try to find in the various stages we have examined certain evolutionary processes which are likely to reappear in our future enquiries.

Two prefatory questions confront us. The first has to do with differences of structure and differences of degree. Rules evolve as the child grows older; neither the practice nor the consciousness of rules is the same at six as it is at twelve. Is the difference one of nature or of degree? After having done our utmost to show that child thought differs from adult thought not only in degree but in its very nature, we confess that we no longer know precisely what is meant by these terms. From the methodological point of view their meaning is, of course, perfectly clear; they tell us to beware of facile analogies and to look for the less obvious differences before pointing to resemblances that will stand out of themselves. But how does the matter stand from the theoretical point of view? Psychologically, as M. Bergson has well shown, every difference of degree or quantity is also a difference of quality. Conversely, it is difficult to think of a difference in kind without the presence of at least some functional continuity, so that between two successive structures a succession of intermediate degrees could be found. For instance, after having tried to describe the child's mentality as distinct from the adult's we have found ourselves obliged to include it in our descriptions of the adult mind in so far as the adult still remains a child. This happens particularly in the case of moral psychology, since certain features of child morality always appear to be

closely connected with a situation that from the first predominates in childhood (egocentrism, resulting from the inequality between the child and the adult surrounding which presses upon him) but which may recur in adult life, especially in the strictly conformist and gerontocratic societies designated as primitive. Conversely, in certain circumstances where he experiments in new types of conduct by cooperating with his equals, the child is already an adult. There is an adult in every child and a child in every adult. The difference in nature reduces itself to this. There exist in the child certain attitudes and beliefs which intellectual development will more and more tend to eliminate: there are others which will acquire more and more importance. The latter are not simply derived from the former but are partly antagonistic to them. The two sets of phenomena are to be met both in the child and in the adult, but one set predominates in the one, the other in the other. It is, we may say, simply a question of the proportions in which they are mixed; so long as we remember that every difference of proportion is also a difference of general quality, for the spirit is one and undivided.

Between the various types of rules which we shall give there will therefore be at once continuity and qualitative difference: continuity of function and difference of structure. This renders arbitrary any attempt to cut mental reality up into stages. The matter is further complicated by the "Law of conscious realization" and the resulting time-lag. The appearance of a new type of rule on the practical plane does not necessarily mean that this rule will come into the subject's consciousness, for each mental operation has to be relearnt on the different planes of action and of thought. There are therefore no inclusive stages which define the whole of a subject's mental life at a given point of his evolution; the stages should be thought of as the successive phases of regular processes recurring like a rhythm on the superposed planes of behavior and of consciousness. A given individual may, for example, have reached the stage of autonomy with regard to a certain group of rules, while his consciousness of these rules, together with the practice of certain more subtle rules, will

still be coloured with heteronomy.[28] We cannot therefore speak of global or inclusive stages characterized as such by autonomy or heteronomy, but only of phases of heteronomy or autonomy which define a process that is repeated for each new set of rules or for each new plane of thought or reflection.

A second prefatory question faces us: that of society and the individual. We have sought to contrast the child and the civilized adult on the ground of their respective social attitudes. The baby (at the stage of motor intelligence) is asocial, the egocentric child is subject to external constrait but has little capacity for cooperation, the civilized adult of to-day presents the essential character of cooperation between differentiated personalities who regard each other as equals. There are therefore three types of behavior: motor behaviour, egocentric behaviour (with external constraint), and cooperation. And to these three types of social behaviour there correspond three types of rules: motor rules, rules due to unilateral respect, and rules due to mutual respect. But here again, one must beware of laying down the law: for things are motor, individual and social all at once. As we shall have occasion to show, rules of cooperation are in some respects the outcome of the rules of coercion and of the motor rules. On the other hand, coercion is applied during the first days of an infant's life, and the earliest social relations contain the germs of cooperation. Here again, it is not so much a question of these successive features themselves as of the proportions in which they are present. Moreover, the way in which conscious realization and the time-lag from one level to another come into play is a further bar to our arranging these phenomena in a strict sequence, as though they made a single appearance and then disappeared from the scene once and for all.

With these reservations in mind, let us then try to outline the processes which govern the evolution of the idea of rules. And if language and discursive thought which, according to

[28] A child of 10 will, for example, show signs of autonomy in his application of the rules of the game of marbles, but will give proof of heteronomy in the extent to which he is conscious of these rules and in his application of rules relating to lying and justice.

a famous metaphor, are necessarily cinematographic in character, tend to lay too much emphasis on discontinuity, let it be understood once and for all, that any over-sharp discontinuities are analytical devices and not objective results.

To continue, our enquiry into the nature of games would seem to reveal the existence of three types of rules, and the problem before us will be to determine the exact relations between them. There is the *motor rule,* due to preverbal motor intelligence and relatively independent of any social contact; the *coercive rule* due to unilateral respect; and the *rational rule* due to mutual respect. Let us examine these three rules in succession.

The motor rule. In its beginnings the motor rule merges into habit. During the first few months of an infant's life, its manner of taking the breast, of laying its head on the pillow, etc., becomes crystallized into imperative habits. This is why education must begin in the cradle. To accustom the infant to get out of its own difficulties or to calm it by rocking it may be to lay the foundations of a good or of a bad disposition. But not every habit will give rise to the knowledge of a rule. The habit must first be frustrated, and the ensuing conflict must lead to an active search for the habitual. Above all, the particular succession must be perceived as regular, *i.e.,* there must be judgment or consciousness of regularity (*Regelbewusstsein*). The motor rule is therefore the result of a feeling of repetition which arises out of ritualization of schemas of motor adaptation. The primitive rules of the game of marbles (throwing the marbles, heaping them, burying them, etc.) which we observed towards the age of 2-3 are nothing else. The behaviour in question starts from a desire for a form of exercise which takes account of the particular object that is being handled. The child begins by incorporating the marbles into one or the other of the schemas of assimilation already known to him, such as making a nest, hiding under earth, etc. Then he adapts these schemas to the nature of the object by preventing the marbles from rolling away by putting them in a hole, by throwing them, etc. This mixture of assimilation to earlier schemas and adaptation to the actual conditions of the situation is what defines motor intelligence. But—and this is where rules come into existence—as soon as a balance is

established between adaptation and assimilation, the course of conduct adopted becomes crystallized and ritualized. New schemas are even established which the child looks for and retains with care, as though they were obligatory or charged with efficacy.

But is this early behaviour accompanied by consciousness of obligation or by a feeling of the necessity of the rule? We do not think so. Without the feeling of regularity which goes to the formation of any intelligence and already so clearly characterizes motor intelligence, the consciousness of obligation would no doubt never make its appearance. But there is more in this consciousness of obligation than a mere perception of regularity, there is a feeling of respect and authority which, as Durkheim and Bovet have clearly shown, could not come from the individual alone. One might even be tempted to say that rules only begin when this consciousness of obligation, *i.e.*, when the social element has made its appearance. But the material we have collected all goes to show that this obligatory and sacred character only marks an episode in the evolution of rules. After being unilateral, respect becomes mutual. In this way, the rule becomes rational, *i.e.*, it appears as the fruit of a mutual engagement. And what is this rational rule but the primitive motor rule freed from individual caprice and submitted to the control of reciprocity?

Let us therefore turn to the influence of inter-individual relations in the constitution of rules. In the first place, we repeat, the social element is to be found everywhere. From the hour of its birth certain regularities of conduct are imposed upon the infant by the adult, and, as we have shown elsewhere (*C.W.* and *C.C.*), every regularity observed in nature, every "law" appears to the child for a long time as both physical and moral. Even in connection with the preverbal stage, characterized as it is by the motor rule in all its purity, people have spoken of child "sociology." Thus Mme Ch. Bühler, in her interesting studies on the first year, has very accurately noted how much more interested a baby is in people than in things. Two considerations, however, forbid us to regard these facts as playing a very important part in the development of motor rules. In the first place, a baby, as Mme Bühler has acutely noted, is more interested in adults

than in its contemporaries. Now, surely this shows either that an interest in what is big, powerful, and mysterious (to say nothing of the interest in food and physical comfort bound up with the person of the parents) still outweighs any social interest, or—what perhaps comes to the same thing—that inter-individual relations based on admiration and unilateral respect are stronger than relations based on cooperation. In either case, a baby of 10-12 months, which elaborates all sorts of ritual acts connected with the objects it handles, may be influenced indirectly by its feelings for the adult, but neither the baby nor anyone observing it could distinguish these influences from the rest of what constitutes its universe. But the same child at about two, once he is able to speak or to understand what is said to him, will be acutely conscious of the rules that are imposed upon him (sitting down to meals or going to bed when he would like to go on playing) and will distinguish them perfectly well from the motor rules or rituals which he has himself established in the course of his games. It is the increasing constraint exercised upon the child by those around him that we regard as the intervention of the social factor.

In the case of play rules, the discontinuity between this process and the purely motor processes is obvious. On a given occasion, the child meets with others, older than himself, who play marbles according to a code. Immediately he feels that he *ought* to play in the same way himself; immediately he assimilates the rules adopted in this way to the totality of commands which control his way of living. In other words, he immediately places the example of children older than himself on the same plane as the hundred and one other customs and obligations imposed by adults. This is not an explicit process of reasoning. The child of three or four is saturated with adult rules. His universe is dominated by the idea that things are as they ought to be, that everyone's actions conform to laws that are both physical and moral, in a word, that there is a Universal Order. The revelation of the rules of the game, of "the real game" as played by his seniors is immediately incorporated into this universe. A rule imitated in this way is felt from the first as something obligatory and sacred.

Only, the main result of our enquiry, and one which will receive repeated confirmation in the latter part of this book, is that the social factor is not just one thing. If there is relative discontinuity between the early motor activity and adult intervention, the discontinuity is no less marked between the unilateral respect which accompanies this intervention and the mutual respect which gradually comes into being later on. Once again, let there be no misunderstanding: the qualities in question are not more important than the proportions in which they are mixed. Between the unilateral respect of the little child who receives a command without even the possibility of disagreement and the mutual respect of two adolescents who exchange their points of view there is room for any number of intermediate stages. Constraint is never unadulterated, nor, therefore, is respect ever purely unilateral: the most submissive child has the feeling that he can, or could, argue that a mutual sympathy surrounds relationships that are most heavily charged with authority. And conversely, cooperation is never absolutely pure: in any discussion between equals, one of the disputants can always exert pressure on the other by making overt or hidden appeals to custom and authority. Cooperation, indeed, seems rather to be the limiting term, the ideal equilibrium to which all relations of constraint tend. As the child grows up, his relations with adults approximate to equality, and as communities develop, their group ideas leave more room for free discussion between individuals. Nevertheless, every time the proportion of constraint and cooperation is changed, mental states and conduct are marked by a correspondingly fresh quality, so that, however artificial the analysis may seem, it is necessary to distinguish these two processes as leading to different results.

Let us begin with *unilateral respect* and the *coercive rule* to which it leads. The outstanding fact here, and what differentiates this type of respect from its successor, is the close connection which we have noted between respect due to the constraint of older children or adults and the egocentric behaviour of the child between 3 and 7. Let us therefore examine this point afresh in order to establish its general significance.

The facts are, it will be remembered, as follows. On the

one hand, the child knows that there are rules, the "real rules," and that they must be obeyed because they are obligatory and sacred; but on the other hand, although the child vaguely takes note of the general scheme of these rules (making a square, aiming at the square, etc.) he still plays more or less as he did during the previous stage, *i.e.*, he plays more or less for himself, regardless of his partners, and takes more pleasure in his own movements than in the observance of the rules themselves, thus confusing his own wishes with universality.

The right interpretation of these facts calls for very close scrutiny, so easy is it to fall into mistakes in dealing with the problem of the socialization of the child. In the first place, let us remind the reader that the behaviour of children of 3 to 7 with regard to the game of marbles is comparable on all points to the behavior of children of the same age in regard to their conversations or to their social and intellectual life in general. But the egocentrism common to all these types of behaviour admits of at least two interpretations. Some people think—and in all our previous works we have claimed to be of their number—that egocentrism is presocial in the sense that it marks a transition between the individual and the social, between the motor and quasi-solipsistic stage of the baby and the stage of cooperation proper. However closely connected with unilateral respect egocentrism may be, this mixture of coercion and subjectivity which characterizes the stage lasting from 2 to 7 years does seem to us less social than cooperation (which is the one determining factor in the formation of the rational elements in ethics and in logic). Other thinkers, on the contrary, consider egocentric behaviour to be in no way presocial—the social element remaining identical with itself throughout all the various stages—but take it to be, as it were, parasocial behaviour, analogous to what occurs in the adult when private feeling obscures his objectivity or when he is left out of a conversation from which he is precluded by his incompetence or stupidity.[29] Thinkers belonging to this second group can see no essential

[29] See Blondel, "Le Langage et la Pensée chez l'enfant d'après un livre récent." *Revue Hist. Phil. Rel.* (Strasburg), Vol. IV (1924), p. 474 *et seq.*

difference between cooperation and coercion; hence their view that the social factor is a permanent element throughout the whole course of mental development.

The data with which the present discussion is concerned would seem to be of a nature to remove these ambiguities. Egocentrism is both presocial, in view of the eventual cooperation, and parasocial, or simply social, in relation to the constraint of which it constitutes the most direct effect.

To understand this we need only analyse the relations of the younger to the older children. Every observer has noted that the younger the child, the less sense he has of his own ego. From the intellectual point of view, he does not distinguish between external and internal, subjective and objective. From the point of view of action, he yields to every suggestion, and if he does oppose to other people's wills a certain negativism which has been called "the spirit of contradiction"[30] this only points to his real defencelessness against his surroundings. A strong personality can maintain itself without the help of this particular weapon. The adult and the older child have complete power over him. They impose their opinions and their wishes, and the child accepts them without knowing that he does so. Only—and this is the other side of the picture—as the child does not dissociate his ego from the environment, whether physical or social, he mixes into all his thoughts and all his actions, ideas and practices that are due to the intervention of his ego and which, just because he fails to recognize them as subjective, exercise a check upon his complete socialization. From the intellectual point of view, he mingles his own fantasies with accepted opinions, whence arise pseudo lies (or sincere lies), syncretism, and all the features of child thought. From the point of view of action, he interprets in his own fashion the examples he has adopted, whence the egocentric form of play we were examining above. The only way of avoiding these individual refractions would lie in true cooperation, such that both child and senior would each make allowance for his own individuality and for the realities that were held in common.

[30] See Mme Reynier, "L'Esprit de contradiction chez l'enfant," *La Nouvelle Education,* V. 1926, pp. 45-52.

But this presupposes minds that know themselves and can take up their positions in relation to each other. It therefore presupposes intellectual equality and reciprocity, both of them factors that are not brought about by unilateral respect as such.

Egocentrism in so far as it means confusion of the ego and the external world, and egocentrism in so far as it means lack of cooperation, constitute one and the same phenomenon. So long as the child does not dissociate his ego from the suggestions coming from the physical and from the social world, he cannot cooperate, for in order to cooperate one must be conscious of one's ego and situate it in relation to thought in general. And in order to become conscious of one's ego, it is necessary to liberate oneself from the thought and will of others. The coercion exercised by the adult or the older child is therefore inseparable from the unconscious egocentrism of the very young child.

If, now, we turn to children's societies below the age of 8, we shall constantly meet with phenomena of this order. No setting seems so favourable to the contagion and even the constraint of the older ones than these early societies; not a gesture of the little ones but has been, as it were, commanded or suggested to them. We have not here any autonomous individuals, any conscious minds that impose themselves in virtue of an inner law to which they themselves are subject. And yet there is far less unity, far less real cooperation than in a society of 12-year-olds. Egocentrism and imitation are one,[31] and the same applies later on to autonomy and cooperation. It is therefore no mere chance that nearly all little children assimilate the rules learned in these surroundings to the moral rules imposed by adults and by the parents themselves.

It is perhaps possible to go further and to connect egocentrism with the belief in the divine origin of institutions. Childish egocentrism is in its essence an inability to differentiate between the ego and the social environment. Now the result of this non-differentiation is that the mind is unwittingly dominated by its own tendencies, in so far as these are not

[31] See *L.T.*, p. 41.

diminished or rendered conscious by cooperation. But at the same time, all the opinions and commands that are adopted appear to be endowed with a transcendental origin. We have already (§ 5) drawn attention to the very significant difficulty experienced by very young children in distinguishing between what they have invented themselves and what has been imposed upon them from outside. The mind's content is felt both as very familiar and as superpersonal, permanent and in a sense revealed. Nothing is more characteristic of childhood memories than this complex sensation of gaining access to one's most intimate possessions and at the same time of being dominated by something greater than oneself which seems like a source of inspiration. There is little mysticism without an element of transcendence, and, conversely, there is no transcendence without a certain degree of egocentrism. It may be that the genesis of these experiences is to be sought in the unique situation of the very young child in relation to adults. The theory of the filial origin of the religious sense seems to us singularly convincing in this connection.

To return, however, to our analysis of the game of marbles, it is a highly significant fact that it is the younger and not the older children who believe in the adult origin of rules, although they are incapable of really putting them into practice. The belief here is analogous to that prevalent in conformist communities, whose laws and customs are always attributed to some transcendental will. And the explanation is always the same. So long as a practice is not submitted to conscious, autonomous elaboration and remains, as it were, external to the individual, this externality is symbolized as transcendence. Now in the case of the child, exteriority and egocentrism go hand in hand in so far as egocentrism is preserved by the constraint exercised from outside. If, therefore, the children of the earlier stages were those who showed the maximum respect for rules together with the most pronounced belief in their transcendental origin, this was not due to any fortuitous resemblance. The two features coexisted in virtue of an inner logic which is the logic of unilateral respect.

Let us now deal with *mutual respect* and *rational rules*. There is, in our opinion, the same relation between mutual respect and autonomy as between unilateral respect and ego-

centrism, provided the essential qualification be added, that mutual respect far more than unilateral respect, joins forces with the rationality already incipient in the motor stage, and therefore extends beyond the phase that is marked by the intervention of constraint and egocentrism.

We have, in connection with the actual facts examined, pointed to the obvious correlation between cooperation and the consciousness of autonomy. From the moment that children really begin to submit to rules and to apply them in a spirit of genuine cooperation, they acquire a new conception of these rules. Rules become something that can be changed if it is agreed that they should be, for the truth of a rule does not rest on tradition but on mutual agreement and reciprocity. How are these facts to be interpreted? In order to understand them, all we have to do is to take as our starting-point the functional equation uniting constraint and egocentrism and to take the first term of the equation through the successive values which link up constraint and cooperation. At the outset of this genetic progression, the child has no idea of his own ego; external constraint works upon him and he distorts its influence in terms of his subjectivity, but he does not distinguish the part played by his subjectivity from that played by the environmental pressure. Rules therefore seem to him external and of transcendental origin, although he actually fails to put them into practice. Now, in so far as constraint is replaced by cooperation, the child dissociates his ego from the thought of other people. For as the child grows up, the prestige of older children diminishes, he can discuss matters more and more as an equal and has increasing opportunities (beyond the scope of suggestion, obedience, or negativism) of freely contrasting his point of view with that of others. Henceforward, he will not only discover the boundaries that separate his self from the other person, but will learn to understand the other person and be understood by him. So that cooperation is really a factor in the creation of personality, if by personality we mean, not the unconscious self of childish egocentrism, nor the anarchical self of egoism in general, but the self that takes up its stand on the norms of reciprocity and objective discussion, and knows how to submit to these in order to make itself

respected. Personality is thus the opposite of the ego[32] and this explains why the mutual respect felt by two personalities for each other is genuine respect and not to be confused with the mutual consent of two individual "selves" capable of joining forces for evil as well as for good. Cooperation being the source of personality, rules cease, in accordance with the same principle, to be external. They become both the constitutive factors of personality and its fruit, in accordance with the circular process so frequently emplified in the course of mental development. In this way autonomy succeeds heteronomy.

This analysis will have shown how new in quality are the results of mutual respect as compared with those that arose out of unilateral respect. And yet the former is the outcome of the latter. Mutual respect is, in a sense, the state of equilibrium towards which unilateral respect is tending when differences between child and adult, younger and older are becoming effaced; just as cooperation is the form of equilibrium to which constraint is tending in the same circumstances. In spite of this continuity in the facts it is necessary, nevertheless, to distinguish between the two kinds of respect, for their products differ as greatly as do autonomy and egocentrism.

It can even be maintained that mutual respect and cooperation are never completely realized. They are not only limiting terms, but ideals of equilibrium. Everywhere and always the quota of generally accepted rules and opinions weighs, however lightly, on the individual spirit, and it is only in theory that the child of 12-14 can submit all rules to a critical examination. Even the most rational of adults does not subject to his "moral experience" more than an infinitesimal proportion of the rules that hedge him round. Anxious though he was to escape from his "provisional morality," Descartes retained it to the end of his days.

But we are not concerned with the question as to whether cooperation is ever completely realized or whether it remains only a theoretical ideal. Psychologically, the same rule is a

[32] See Ramon Fernandez, *De la Personnalité,* Au Sans Pareil (Paris), 1928

completely different reality for the child of 7 who regards it as sacred and untouchable and for the child of 12 who, without interfering with it, regards it as valid only after it has been mutually agreed upon. The great difference between constraint and cooperation or between unilateral respect and mutual respect, is that the first imposes beliefs or rules that are ready made and to be accepted *en bloc,* while the second only suggests a method—a method of verification and reciprocal control in the intellectual field, of justification and discussion in the domain of morals. It matters little whether this method be applied immediately to all the rules imposed by the environment or only to one aspect of behaviour: once it has come into existence it has the right to be applied to everything.

This fundamental difference between constraint and cooperation (the one laying down ready-made rules, the other giving a method for the elaboration of rules) will supply us straight away with an answer to an objection which is bound to crop up in the course of our analysis of the products of mutual respect. Supposing, it will be said, that mutual respect does constitute the essential factor in the behaviour of children of 12-13 and over, how can we attribute to it a genuinely moral effect? It is easy enough to see that mutual consent is sufficient to explain the establishment of rules of the game, since the child is urged to play both by interest and by pleasure. But when we come to actual moral rules (not to lie, not to steal, etc.), why is it that mutual respect does not make the children come to some agreement on the subject of what adults consider to be wrong? Take a band of young ruffians whose collective activity consists in thieving and in playing practical jokes on honest folk; is not the mutual consent subsisting between its members comparable, psychologically, to the mutual respect that holds between marble players? Now, apart from the fact that there is honour among thieves, this difficulty can easily be disposed of. In the first place, a distinction should, as we have seen, be drawn between mutual consent in general and mutual respect. There may be mutual consent in vice, since nothing will prevent the anarchical tendencies of one individual from converging with those of another individual. Whereas the word "respect" implies (at

least as regards mutual respect) admiration for a personality precisely in so far as this personality subjects itself to rules. Mutual respect would therefore seem to be possible only within what the individuals themselves regard as morality.

Moreover, as soon as cooperation comes into being (in the moral as well as in the intellectual field) one must distinguish between the method and its results, or, as a contemporary logician has so cogently put it, between "constitutive reason" (practical or theoretical) and "constituted reason." There are two kinds of rules, those that are constitutive and render possible the exercise of cooperation, and those that are constituted and are the result of this very exercise. We have already been led to make this distinction in connection with the rules of a game. The rules of the Square, of the Coche, etc., which are observed by children of 11-13 are "constituted" rules, due to mutual consent and capable of being altered by general opinion. The precedence given to justice as opposed to chance, on the other hand, of effort over easy gain are "constitutive" rules, for without this "spirit of the game" no cooperation would be possible. In the same way, so-called moral rules can, generally speaking, be divided into constituted rules dependent upon mutual consent, and constitutive rules or functional principles which render cooperation and reciprocity possible. But how can these constitutive rules be regarded as themselves the outcome of mutual respect since they are necessary to the latter's formation? The difficulty here is purely formal. Between mutual respect and the rules which condition it there exists a circular relation analogous to that which holds between organ and function. Since cooperation is a method, it is hard to see how it could come into being except by its own exercise. No amount of constraint could determine its emergence. If mutual respect does derive from unilateral respect, it does so by opposition.

We are faced, then, with three types of rules: the motor rule, the coercive rule founded on unilateral respect, and the rational rule (constituted or constitutive) due to mutual respect. We have outlined above the relation in which the last two types stand to each other. We have examined elsewhere how the first two succeed one another. It remains for us to

show what are the relations of the rational rule to the motor rule.

Generally speaking, one can say that motor intelligence contains the germs of completed reason. But it gives promise of more than reason pure and simple. From the moral as from the intellectual point of view, the child is born neither good nor bad, but master of his destiny. Now, if there is intelligence in the schemas of motor adaptation, there is also the element of play. The intentionality peculiar to motor activity is not a search for truth but the pursuit of a result, whether objective or subjective; and to succeed is not to discover a truth.

The motor rule is therefore a sort of experimental legality or rational regularity, and at the same time a play ritual. It will take one or other of these two forms according to circumstances. Now, at the moment when language and imagination are added to movement, egocentrism directs the child's activity towards subjective satisfaction, while, at the same time, adult pressure imposes on his mind a system of realities which at first remains opaque and external. Constraint and egocentrism therefore interpose between motor intelligence and reason a complexus of realities which seem to interrupt the continuity of evolution. It is at this point that the motor rule is followed by the coercive rule, a crystallized social product which shows the sharpest contrast with the fragile tentative products of the initial motor intelligence, though, as we have seen, egocentric play continues in a sense the early gropings of the motor stage.

But as the element of constraint is gradually eliminated by cooperation, and the ego is dominated by the personality, the rational rule so constituted recaptures the advantages of the motor rule. The play of 11-year-old children is in some ways closer to the motor accommodation of the one-year-old child in all its richness and truly experimental qualities than to the play of 7-year-olds. The boy of eleven plans his strokes like a geometrician and an artist in movement, just as the baby acts as a mechanician in handling objects and as an experimenter in inventing its rules. At the age of 6 or 7, on the contrary, the child is apt to neglect this element of inven-

tion, and to confine himself to imitation and the preservation of rites. But the immense superiority of the eleven-year-old player over the one-year-old, a superiority perhaps acquired by passing through the intermediate stage, is that his motor creations are no longer at the mercy of individual fantasy. The eleven-year-old has re-discovered the schema of experimental legality and rational regularity practised by the baby. But the motor rule found by the baby tends constantly to degenerate into play ritual, whereas the eleven-year-old invents nothing without the collaboration of his equals. He is free to create, but on condition of submitting to the norms of reciprocity. The motor being and the social being are one. Harmony is achieved by the union of reason and nature, whereas moral constraint and unilateral respect oppose supernature to nature and mysticism to rational experiment.

The discussion of the game of marbles seems to have led us into rather deep waters. But in the eyes of children the history of the game of marbles has quite as much importance as the history of religion or of forms of government. It is a history, moreover, that is magnificently spontaneous; and it was therefore perhaps not entirely useless to seek to throw light on the child's judgment of moral value by a preliminary study of the social behaviour of children amongst themselves.

§ 9. Conclusions: II. Respect for the Group or Respect for Persons. Search for a Guiding Hypothesis

Before pursuing our analysis any further, it will be well to consider the results we have so far obtained in the light of the two principal hypotheses that have been brought forward concerning the psychological nature of respect and moral laws. If we refuse to accept Kant's view of respect as inexplicable from the point of view of experience,[33] only two solutions remain. Either respect is directed to the group and results from the pressure exercised by the group upon the individual or else it is directed to individuals and is the outcome of the relations of individuals amongst themselves. The first of these theses is upheld by Durkheim, the second by M. Bovet. The moment has not yet come for us to discuss

[33] Kant, *Metaphysics of Ethics,* pp. 9-10 and 104-113.

these doctrines for their own sake, but at the same time we must, without anticipating our final critical examination, develop a working hypothesis that will take account of all possible points of view. This is all the more indispensable since the discrepancy between results obtained by these authors is chiefly due, as will be shown later on, to differences of method. Now, a method is just what we are looking for at present in order to enable us to pass from the study of the rules of games to the analysis of moral realities imposed upon the child by the adult. It is only from the point of view of the right method to adopt that we shall here shortly touch upon the vexed question of the individual and society.

One way of attacking the problem is to analyse and explain the rules objectively, taking account of their connection with social groups defined by their morphology. This is the method which Durkheim used, and no one would think of denying his contribution to the subject of the evolution of moral realities. The mere fact of individuals living in groups is sufficient to give rise to new features of obligation and regularity in their lives. The pressure of the group upon the individual would thus explain the appearance of this *sui generis* feeling which we call respect and which is the source of all religion and morality. For the group could not impose itself upon the individual without surrounding itself with a halo of sanctity and without arousing in the individual the feeling of moral obligation. A rule is therefore nothing but the condition for the existence of a social group; and if to the individual conscience rules seem to be charged with obligation, this is because communal life alters the very structure of consciousness by inculcating into it the feeling of respect.

It is a striking fact, in this connection, that even such ephemeral groupings as those formed by children's societies or created primarily for the purpose of play have their rules and that these rules command the respect of individual minds. It is also curious to note how stable these rules remain in their main features and in their spirit throughout successive generations, and to what degree of elaboration and stylization they attain.

But, as we have shown above, rules, although their content continues to be the same, do not remain identical throughout

the child's social development from the point of view of the kind of respect connected with them.

For very young children, a rule is a sacred reality because it is traditional; for the older ones it depends upon mutual agreement. Heteronomy and autonomy are the two poles of this evolution. Does Durkheim's method enable us to explain these facts?

No one has felt more deeply than Durkheim nor submitted to a more searching analysis the development and disappearance of obligatory conformity. In societies of a segmented type conformity is at its maximum: each social unit is a closed system, all the individuals are identical with each other except in the matter of age, and tradition leans with its full weight on the spirit of each. But as a society increases in size and density the barriers between its clans are broken down, local conformities are wiped out as a result of this fusion, and individuals can escape from their own people's supervision. And above all, the division of labour which comes as the necessary result of this increasing density differentiates the individuals from one another psychologically and gives rise to individualism and to the formation of personalities in the true sense. Individual heteronomy and autonomy would thus seem to be in direct correlation with the morphology and the functioning of the group as a whole.

Now, does this analysis apply to our children's societies? In many respects, undoubtedly, it does. There is certainly a resemblance between segmented or mechanical solidarity and the societies formed by children of 5 to 8. As in the organized clan so in these groups, temporarily formed and isolated in relation to each other, the individual does not count. Social life and individual life are one. Suggestion and imitation are all-powerful. All individuals are alike except for differences of prestige and age. The traditional rule is coercive and conformity is demanded of all.

As to the gradual disappearance of conformity as the child grows older, this too we could explain by some of the factors defined by Durkheim. To the increasing size and density of social groups and to the ensuing liberation of the individual we can compare the fact that our children, as they grow older, take part in an ever-increasing number of local traditions.