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entitled A STUDY OF THE SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT OF FIFTY-FIVE
DELINQUENT CHILDREN

be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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A STUDY OF THE SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT OF FIFTY-FIVE
DELINQUENT CHILDREN

A dissertation submitted to

The Graduate Faculty of the Teachers College
of the University of Cincinnati

in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

1954

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CHAPTER I

DEFINITION OF PROBLEM

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this investigation is to examine certain aspects of the school adjustment of fifty-five delinquent children with emphasis upon the following major questions:

1. What are the school achievement patterns of these subjects, in terms of attendance, number of schools attended, progress through the grades, measured achievement levels, and school marks received?
2. What kinds of relationships do they tend to establish with their school peers?
3. What patterns of conduct do the subjects exhibit in school?
4. What provisions are made in the schools for meeting the needs of the subjects in terms of personal and social welfare, development of personal and social skills, and personal and social adjustment?
5. What kinds of relationships exist between the subjects and their teachers and between their parents and the school?
6. Finally, what are the implications of this study for education and the general problem of delinquency?

Need for Study

This study is justified on the following bases:

1. Significance for social welfare
2. Significance for education
3. Significance for the local community.

Significance for social welfare.-- There is continuous need for study of the delinquent personality, for only in this way can one understand the meaning and impulses of this personality and discover the factors, both in society and culture and within the deviant himself, which induce this type of social adaptation. As Young remarks, "Until we understand these factors in conduct, we cannot hope to predict and hence control such behavior in the best interests of the larger community" (257:624). The material and social waste of delinquency is appalling; it is estimated that fifteen billion dollars is spent every year upon crime and yet less than one-fourth of this amount is spent on education (15:268). The human waste that criminality produces is inestimable, since not only are the lives of the criminals damaged and often destroyed, but so are those lives that they touch through their family and other social relationships. Countless needs exist in the areas of crime prevention and treatment.

Since most adult criminality has its roots in childhood, more attention should be given to the whole problem of juvenile delinquency, including its detection, prevention, and treatment. It is commonly known that delinquent activities serve very real needs for the offender, even though these needs find expression on a destructive level. The punitive and correctional measures that so often are used in treating these difficulties are inadequate. Something more is needed than punishment, but the best therapeutic measures can only be determined after an understanding of the dynamic factors has been reached and a plan evolved that will strike at the roots of the problem. According to Allen, to do

this means

...the wider application of a more individual type of approach which seeks an understanding knowledge of the psychic factors at work in each case, an approach that is necessary not only in our juvenile courts, but in the classroom, the home, and all other community organizations that deal with the child. (5a:774)

The problems of juvenile delinquency are so far reaching and complex that all agencies of social welfare, including the school, have a measure of responsibility for the prevention and treatment of these problems. Consequently, a special study of the function and effectiveness of any one of these agencies in treating these problems should contribute to the total social welfare of a community. Delinquency is so closely related to other social problems that any progress toward its solution naturally has some alleviating effect upon related social problems.

Significance for education.-- Many writers concur in the idea that the school, next to the home, can become the most potent force, not only in teaching subject matter, but also for the conservation of the integrity of childhood and the protection of society (184:138). In a discussion of the basic needs of childhood and the school's responsibility in meeting them in a White House conference report, it is implied that the need for security and the need for development are basic in childhood, and as much as we have hoped for from the developmental responsibility of the schools, "their primary function as a security institution remains" (248:99). This point gives added impetus to the "whole-child" concepts of education which have stimulated teachers to study the out-of-school lives of school children. This trend also places greater responsibility

for the detection, prevention, and treatment of the problems of delinquency upon the school, because practically all delinquent children are attending school, before and while their problems are developing. No other agency has such wide and intimate contact with youth. Ralph Truitt goes so far as to say,

If we are going to help healthy individuals to make a better mental adjustment and also prevent dependency, delinquency, insanity, and general social inadequacy, undoubtedly the school should be the focus of attack. (238:270)

He also states that the home and school occupy key positions in relation to the mental hygiene of childhood, but that the school surpasses the home in its potential understanding, its objectivity, and its possibility of "consecrated effort." Sullenger declares that many criminal careers result from the failure of the school to adjust curricula to children's needs. Many children are maladjusted because they fail to fit into the routine of the standardized school regime. Children should be helped in school by diagnosing and meeting their needs effectively; by adjusting the curricula, class organization, and methodology to their interest. "All this calls for socially-minded and socially-trained teachers" (223:97).

A number of studies point up rather clearly the personal and social characteristics and needs of delinquent children, but these investigations have not been directly concerned with the school problems faced by these children. Individual situations of delinquents have needed study in relation to their specific school problems as they are seen and felt by the delinquents themselves and as they are actually

dealt with in the schools.

Studies of attitudes of children toward their teachers and toward school have proved revealing to students of education (115:231), and a study of these factors as they relate to delinquent children should be valuable to teachers and others who deal with problems of delinquents. Fenton found that many of his delinquent subjects had been maladjusted in school (83:81), and Beard reported in her study that most of the probationers whose school problems were solved made satisfactory social adjustments later, but that those who remained in frustrating school situations tended to adjust poorly outside of school (28:143). These facts imply that there is a need for specialized study of school problems as they operate in the adjustment of delinquents.

Teacher attitudes play a larger role in the adjustment of children to school than the school program itself, which of course should be well planned and flexible. As has been well said in a Children's Bureau bulletin,

It is primarily through the emotional relationship between one human being and another that growth and change occur.... We must make sure that the teachers to whom we entrust our children are understanding and stable and not likely to "take out" on the youngsters their own frustrations. (48:29)

Children tend to improve in mental health in proportion to their teachers' understanding of their home backgrounds and of their personal problems, according to some investigators (180:147).

The penetration of research into the "private world" of the delinquent, where his needs, wishes, and own feelings and attitudes are at play, is a new approach in the study of delinquency (101:209; 163:212).

Any approach that might throw light on the meaning of his behavior to the delinquent, whether it is manifested in or outside of school, is of importance to those who are trying to meet his needs and facilitate his rehabilitation. An investigation of such factors calls for dynamic techniques of research.

The interaction of basic factors in the school adjustment of children has been given little attention in research. To understand how the problems and needs a child is bringing with him to the school situation might provoke a particular pattern of behavior in the child and in turn a particular pattern of response from other persons in the school situation is of special value to the educator. A picture of the administrator's role in the delinquent's school adjustment has been needed for administrative planning and organization.

Educators are asking that research be made into the problem of the school adjustment of delinquents so that the school may define its new role in the total area of delinquency prevention and treatment (113: 269).

Educators, both policy makers and those who have the responsibility of training teachers, need as many facts as possible concerning the components of pupil-teacher relationships and other psychological dynamics involved in a child's adjustment to school. While the exploratory nature of the present study precludes a detailed analysis of the fore-stated psychological problems, certain challenging areas of the major problems are disclosed.

Significance for the local community.--- Cincinnati and Hamilton

County are especially suitable for making such a study as the present one, for several reasons. In the first place, the public school system of Cincinnati conducts a continuous program of research which serves as a basis for consistent improvement in the over-all job of meeting the needs of children at the school level. For this reason, research of value is always acceptable to and welcomed by the public school system.

On the other hand, the community has neither a coordinated plan for the prevention and treatment of delinquency, nor any research findings upon which to base such a program. This lack of coordination has given rise to confusion in thinking and diversification of views in the community, and probably has contributed to inter-agency misunderstanding regarding the problem. The community lacks a fundamental and unified point of view and philosophy regarding the total problem and its treatment. Any research should serve to orient community thinking and motivate interest in recognizing the problem and attacking it on a coordinated basis. As McCluskey states, "A positive program for the prevention of delinquency must be a responsibility of the entire community... But it should be equally clear that the school occupies a uniquely favorable position, some would say the most favorable, for seeing that the total resources of the community are mobilized" (162:192, 212).

Not only has the community at large concentrated little on joint planning toward the prevention and treatment of delinquency, but individual agencies including the schools have given exceedingly limited attention to the problem. This study should point up the need for such a coordinated approach to the problem.

Nature of the Study

This study is an exploratory survey presenting data on the patterns of school adjustment of fifty-five delinquent children. The case-study procedure was used in gathering the evidence for this investigation. No matched group of non-delinquent children was studied in comparison to the delinquent subjects; therefore, no statistical conclusions are presented regarding causal relationships. Considerable discussion of interrelationships of the dynamic factors in school situations of delinquents has been given, but without any claim that the findings are final and common only to delinquent children. This study claims to be exploratory in function, that is, to have examined a major unexplored problem of which the finer aspects may be analyzed in later studies.

The study differs from other delinquency studies which relate to or include school adjustment largely in the following ways:

1. With few exceptions the data of this study were collected specifically for research purposes, an objective which necessitates more uniformity in procedure in collection and sources of data, and in the interpretation of findings, than many of the delinquency studies have employed, especially those using case records and past school histories as a primary source of data.

2. It was focussed primarily upon the current school adjustment of delinquent children who were living, with few exceptions, in their own homes and whose problems were currently expressed and faced by the Juvenile Court and the school. School adjustment has not been a major

focus of the other studies. Many of the studies have been made of delinquents already committed to correctional schools. Some of these studies interpreted attitudes of adjustment of the children within the correctional school as school adjustment. Certain investigators had the children recall what their problems had been when they were attending public schools.

3. A dual approach to the problem of school adjustment of the subjects was made by securing testimony not only from the children, but also from teachers and principals who were facing problems of adjustment firsthand with these subjects. Teachers had not previously been interviewed concurrently with delinquent subjects whose school adjustment was being investigated. This approach provided a dynamic picture of the personalities that the children of this study were presenting in their schools.

4. The evaluation of the acceptance of delinquent children by their peers in school is a unique feature of the investigation.

5. Teacher and school management of most problems presented by delinquent children in the school situation has seldom been treated in research.

6. Although the children were not actually observed in their classrooms, an attempt was made through interviews and case analysis to identify and interpret some of the emotional elements involved in their school adjustment. Some factors relating to the child's own feelings and attitudes and those of his peers and teachers toward him are presented in illustrative case reports throughout the study. Interpretation of the

specific needs in school adjustment of these children is made from case study data throughout the investigation.

7. The children were not selected at school on the basis of their school behavior alone; instead, a group of children who were adjusting to society through antisocial behavior were selected outside of their school situations and followed into the schools where their mode of adapting to school situations was explored.

8. In the selection of subjects for study, other investigators have limited their studies to one sex, or race, or to certain intelligence levels. This study includes delinquent children who were attending public schools, selected without reference to the characteristics named above.

9. Finally, the case method of research has revealed the dynamic operation, within the school adjustment of these children, of factors which could not be depicted by statistical treatment.

Setting of Study

Psychological Clinic of Juvenile Court.-- Children are referred by court workers to The Psychological Clinic of The Juvenile Court when their maladjustment and delinquent behavior warrant psychological study and evaluation for planning purposes. These children have usually developed patterns of delinquent behavior, the etiology of which is significant to the Court in planning treatment. The Clinic was considered a good source for the selection of subjects for this study for several reasons. In the first place, the problem was focussed upon the delinquent personality,

and consequently it was necessary to establish that the subjects had definitely adopted delinquent patterns of behavior. Many children who are seen in the general routine of a juvenile court have become involved in delinquent behavior through other influences than those stemming from an antisocial adaptation to life. Some delinquent offenses are accidental or incidental and some have no personal significance for the offender. Because the children who were referred to the clinic of the Court had adopted patterns of delinquent behavior the clinic became a good source for securing a group of true delinquents.

Secondly, since the treatment and analysis of the problem necessitated considerable insight into the personalities and individual needs of the children, a clinical setting, providing extensive data on the cases, was regarded as advantageous to the study. Cases presenting minor problems are not referred to the clinic, which is able to study less than ten per cent of the children brought to the Court.

Additional advantages of the clinic setting were associated with the neutral location and permissive atmosphere of the clinic, away from the school and from the official setting of the Juvenile Court. In this location the children might be relatively free to express their feelings and attitudes toward their personal and school adjustment. The clinic program could be readily adapted to the present research problem because interviewing and testing, which comprised the techniques used with the subjects, are routine activities in the clinic. Although normally the testing and interviewing do not follow a set pattern with every child seen in the clinic, the clinic program was so designed during the

investigation that every child of this study was given Form L of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale, Form D of the Stanford Achievement Tests in reading and arithmetic, the Rorschach Test of Personality, and an identically structured interview. The Rorschach findings were not used however in this report.

A large percentage of the children studied in the Court Clinic are interviewed by a psychiatrist. This interview is always followed by a clinic conference. At the clinic conference the psychiatrist, psychologist, social workers, and representatives from the schools pool their findings and impressions of the individual cases. This kind of analysis provides a clear-cut picture of the child's personality and needs. It was not practical to include this phase of the clinic routine in this research project. However, it was exceedingly helpful in the case study procedure that forty-seven out of the fifty-five subjects had had such evaluations.

Schools attended by subjects.-- Not only were the children interviewed and tested in the clinic, but they were followed into their individual school situations where their principals, counselors, home-room teachers, and regular classroom teachers were interviewed. The information provided by these persons comprises a large part of the data. The personnel in all schools were interviewed in their respective schools, all but one of which were located within the Cincinnati school district. One school was in Hamilton County, just outside the city. These thirty-two schools consisted of twenty-three elementary schools, two junior high schools, four senior high schools, two trade schools, and one special

school. One of the schools had both elementary and junior-high departments which were attended by subjects, and one school had both junior and senior high departments attended by subjects. One of the elementary schools had a special unit for problem boys. Six children attended other special classes of various kinds within elementary schools. Eight of the subjects had attended two schools each during the school term.

Sixteen of the schools were located in the basin area of Cincinnati. Twelve schools were located in non-basin and suburban areas, while three were on the fringe of the basin area. One boy attended for three months a village school outside of the city limits but within the county.

Procedure and Sources of Data

Subjects.--- The fifty-five subjects were those children who were referred to the Psychological Clinic of the Juvenile Court of Hamilton County for study over a six-month period beginning November 1, 1947, and who were attending public schools. Details regarding the selection and description of the subjects are presented in Chapter III.

Data from subjects.--- Every subject was given Form L of The Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test in the clinic. Form D of The Stanford-Achievement series was administered, to secure achievement levels in arithmetic and reading. A structured interview, held by the writer with each subject, covered the following topics: personal-social data; school achievement; peer relationships; school services provided for the subject's personal and social welfare, his development, and adjustment; attitudes

toward teachers and principals; home-school relationships; and attitudes toward school and the school program. The child's statements on these topics were recorded verbatim. The subject was then asked to write his three chief wishes about school. The interview form used with children comprises Appendix A. Certain other test and questionnaire data were secured which were not used in this study, in particular, the Rorschach Test of Personality.

Data from probation officers.-- After the delinquent subject was studied in the clinic, his probation officer checked a questionnaire which provided social history material about the child. Because case histories are subjective and are not written uniformly, they are not often usable for research purposes. In order to ensure uniform reporting of the case material, each probation officer was given a guide sheet of definitions covering each item of the questionnaire. This sheet was modified from definitions that had been devised by Glueck and Glueck for classifying social history material uniformly for research purposes (100:302). A copy of the guide appears in Appendix B. Case records of subjects were reviewed and pertinent material made note of and inserted in the child's personal research file.

Data from principals.-- Each school attended by every subject for at least one month during the school year of 1947-1948 was visited. The principal's office was visited first. Here the principal or assistant principal, or both, were interviewed regarding the child and a schedule was made for visiting all of the child's teachers at their convenience.

The interview with the principal covered topics pertaining to the services provided the child by the school, conduct problems presented by the subject and school management of these problems, relationships of the child with his teachers, and attitudes manifested by the parents toward the school. Where there were counselors in the schools, they were also interviewed. The interview form used with principals comprises Appendix C.

Data from homeroom teachers.-- The homeroom teachers were interviewed by a structured procedure (see Appendix D) regarding the child's school adjustment, and their answers were recorded verbatim. The interview included questions relating to the subjects' needs, the school's provisions for meeting these needs, relations of the subjects with their peers, problems presented and management of these problems, pupil-teacher relationships, and the parents' attitudes toward the school.

The homeroom teacher was asked to give a sociometric test (see Appendix F) to the delinquent child's class, for the purpose of analyzing relationships with peers. He was also asked to rate the child's school behavior on the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman rating scale. Both tests were carefully explained and written instructions for administering them were given to the teacher. A date was set for the writer to return for the sociometric material. In most instances the behavior rating scale was checked while other teachers were being interviewed.

Data from classroom teachers.-- Each teacher of every subject was interviewed, after the homeroom teacher was seen, and their replies were recorded verbatim on a structured sheet similar to that used with

the homeroom teachers. (See Appendix E)

Data from cumulative records.-- School records were copied on duplicate cumulative forms which became a part of the child's individual research file.

Interpretation.-- All the data from the above sources were recorded on large data sheets designed for classifying and grouping the findings. The data are analyzed in classified form in the various sections of this report but are consistently documented with case material, to encourage and assist interpretation in dynamic terms.

Definition of Terms

School adjustment.-- As used in this study, "school adjustment" includes two concepts of adjustment which are defined by Good as follows: (1) School adjustment is the act or process of fitting the school environment to the needs of the pupil. (2) Adjustment is the favorable, neutral, or unfavorable adaptation of an organism to external and internal stimulation (104:10). The latter definition applies to the subjects of this study and their modes of adapting to the school situation. The first definition applies to the schools' efforts in meeting the needs of the subjects of the study.

Juvenile delinquent.-- The definition of "juvenile delinquent" given by Good is applicable to the present study (104:123). He defines "juvenile delinquent" as:

Any child or youth whose conduct deviates sufficiently from normal social usage to warrant his being considered a menace to himself, to his future interests, or to society itself; more strictly, as defined

in the Ohio School Code of 1935, "any child: (1) who violates any law of the state, the United States, or any ordinance or regulation of a sub-division of the state; (2) who does not subject itself to the reasonable control of its parents, teachers, guardian or custodian, by reason of being wayward or habitually disobedient; (3) who is a habitual truant from home or school; (4) who so deports itself as to injure or endanger the morals or health of itself or others; (5) who attempts to enter the marriage relation in this or any other state without the consent of its parents, custodian, legal guardian or other legal authority, as required by the laws of this state."

The children referred to the Psychological Clinic of the Court consistently represented the above situations.

Case method of research.-- The case method of research was the primary tool used in this investigation and is defined as follows:

In research, the use of detailed studies of single individuals as a basis for induction of principles; (2) a methodology of social investigation that concerns itself with the careful examination of everything that is significant in the lives of the selected persons, groups or institutions, emphasis being placed on discovering what is unique to the case under consideration rather than what is characteristic of large numbers. (104:58)

Social history.-- The term "social history" is used to describe the information that was provided by the probation officers of the study. Social history is defined as:

A record of the unique experiences of a person that reveals the manner in which he has integrated his organic and social heritages into a life organization. (104:204)

Case record.-- The case records of subjects were used as a source of information in the study. The case record prepared for the Juvenile Court consists of a chronological narrative of the behavior of the subject and the contacts made by the court with the subject and his family. The court's case records usually contain a social history and documentary entries and papers that pertain to the child's case.

Dynamics.-- Dynamics is a frequently used term in the study and

is described by Good as:

The active, functional relationships of importance in the causation of the phenomenon in question;... energetic interaction and shifting equilibriums; frequently used in connection with emotional factors underlying behavior; to be contrasted with pure (static) description or normative data and distinguished from the Freudian concept of dynamism. (104:142)

Scope and Limitations of the Study

This investigation was limited to the fifty-five subjects seen over a six-month's period in the clinic because of the thoroughness with which each of the subjects was studied. A larger number of cases would have added more statistical value to the findings of the study. However, the exploratory function of the investigation limited it to an intensive survey project which was intended to lay the groundwork for more extensive studies. To have included a group of children matched with the subjects of the study might have established certain existing factors within the problem of school adjustment that can only be inferred from the present study. While matching of the groups would have increased the validity of certain aspects of the results, this procedure would, on the other hand, have penalized the thoroughness of study given to individual cases. Moreover, it might have obscured dynamic relationships that can not be evaluated by statistical procedures.

Other limitations of the study are those which pertain to the subjectivity of the case method of research. Interviewing, recording of case data, giving of social data by informants, and interpretation of case findings are all subject to errors. As many objective devices and procedures as possible were employed in order to lessen the effects of

subjectivity.

Only the children enrolled in public schools were studied, as the procedure would have had to be modified considerably if out-of-school or parochial school delinquents had been included.

Plan of Report

The findings of this study are reported in nine chapters. An extensive survey of related literature provides a background and certain comparative data needed for the presentation of the findings. Following the presentation of related literature is a discussion of the characteristics of the subjects of the study, so that comparisons with other groups can be readily made.

The intensive analysis of the data begins with Chapter IV, which deals with various aspects of the school achievement patterns of the subjects. The number of schools attended by subjects, their attendance patterns, their patterns of progress through the grades, their achievement levels in arithmetic and reading, and their teachers' evaluations of their instructional needs and progress are reported and discussed. Illustrative case material is used freely to point up and document findings and implications.

The peer relationships of subjects are treated in Chapter V. The children's own analysis of their friendships and data from a sociometric study of these friendships are supported by case reports in this discussion.

An analysis of the school conduct of and problems presented by the subjects are given in Chapter VI. The provisions made in school for

the personal and social adjustment and development of the subjects are presented in Chapter VII.

The way the children feel toward their teachers and the kind of general relationships that they have with their teachers are explored in Chapter VIII. Also discussed in this chapter is evidence pointing to the level of understanding and cooperation that exists between the parents of delinquents and the schools.

In the final chapter a summarization of all the findings is given. Interpretation of these findings in terms of needs and implications for education is also attempted in Chapter IX.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

There is an abundance of published material on the general problem of delinquency. Some areas have been more thoroughly explored than others. Dale B. Harris evaluates the literature on delinquency as follows:

There is considerable sound research on the social origins of delinquency; less on the psychological and educational aspects of the problem. There is widespread and growing concern among schoolmen about contributing to the control or prevention of delinquency in children. A number of basic issues, still quite confused in the literature, require clear thinking on the part of individual teachers, if they are to recognize their problems with and responsibilities to delinquent children. (113:247)

The structure of this chapter parallels largely that of the total report. The first section covers briefly some theories and concepts of delinquency, while the second presents characteristics of delinquents. The third section reviews the literature relating to those aspects of the school adjustment of delinquent children which are explored in this study. These areas include achievement, peer relations, school conduct of delinquents, provisions for personal and social welfare, development, and adjustment, and pupil-teacher and home-school relationships.

Theories and Concepts of Delinquency

Theories and concepts of delinquency have suffered the usual growing pains of social thought. Although the earlier idea that the delinquent is "possessed" of the devil still lingers in some present-day

thinking and a few people still believe that the delinquent "is born that way" considerable progress has been made in this area of social thought.

Legal theories and concepts.-- The humanitarian movement had its influence upon legal concepts of delinquency. During the last century the legal and penal codes were modified in theory and practice to eliminate undue barbarisms and severities in treatment of the delinquent by legal and law enforcement agencies. Reckless reports, "The crowning step in the humanizing process was the establishment of the Juvenile Court in 1899." Separate places for detention of juveniles apart from hardened criminals were established and out of this step developed more humane methods of handling the juvenile and meeting his problems. The consensus of legal and humanitarian thinking has tended to the view that delinquency is a problem in adjustment of the child's personality (189:9). Children are no longer hanged for felonious acts, as they were a century ago (1:323). The idea that hanging and severe punishment would deter other children from delinquent behavior has gradually changed into the positive concept that delinquent children should be rehabilitated to normal social adjustment through constructive therapeutic methods.

Sociological theories.-- Some sociologists say that the criminal is a product of the forces of society and "if we are to understand the criminal we must investigate the forces as well as the criminal" (229:25).

One sociological theory stresses the impact of such primary groups as the family, neighborhood, and gang upon delinquency and other social problems (225:50). An exponent of this view, Sutherland, feels

that loopholes in the punitive system (police detection, conviction, punishment) are influential factors and that the treatment of the individual is not effective if his primary group remains the same. His primary groups cannot be changed says Sutherland, until the social processes determining their development are changed. This theory emphasizes economic organization, cultural lag, mobility, and social disorganization, and explains "systematic criminality" as a result of the interactional process (225:51, 68).

Other theories emphasize other factors in delinquency. The concept of delinquency areas was advanced by Clifford Shaw (203). Some sociologists say that culture conflicts are the major basis of crime (225:52). Paul Tappan states that theories of delinquency, at best, must be speculative, because a set of verified laws and principles of human behavior and misbehavior has not been established (230:56). He believes that the configurational nature of delinquency demands a multiple and configurational approach to its study.

Psychological theories.--- During the nineteenth century psychological emphasis was placed upon the concept of "moral insanity." Later concepts included moral imbecile, psychopathic personality, constitutional inferior, ethical degeneracy, and neuropathic constitution (130:800).

Healy and Bronner reported, "It becomes evident from our data that there is practical value in a more penetrating interpretation of delinquency as a form of rational behavior just as dependent on definite causations as is any other form of behavior." Delinquent behavior was found in their studies to have a specific meaning for the offender

himself, and delinquency as a reactive response was said to represent an attempted solution of the individual's problem. Healy and Bronner further reported that both biological and social factors are components in the development of the delinquent personality (123:200).

Some psychologists stress motivation in delinquency. Eissler states, "Delinquency...refers to behavior, thoughts, and feelings that tend to infringe upon values. In human personalities these values find representation to a varying degree of intensity, consciousness, and awareness" (72:5). Eissler further reported that the delinquent personality tends to attack the environment through aggressive drives. His primary disturbance, he states, concerns his unwillingness or incapacity to give preferences to value enforcement over the immediate attainment of a pleasurable goal." His goals are described by Eissler as superficial, and the superficiality of his goal is sometimes overlooked in view of the delinquent's intensive interest in the world. "There is a strong tie that binds him to the world." This is said to account for his intensive activity in the environment. He has usually suffered a reality injustice at the hands of those with whom he ought to identify himself, and who should serve as ideals and thus as sources of conscience formation for him. This often has caused a disposition toward an unhampered release of aggression. The delinquent lacks insight into his own needs and behavior (72:11, 16).

Defective ego organization is a theory closely related to the above discussion. Surek states,

Our theories of delinquency rest on the implicit assumption... that the child has failed in certain essential areas of integration.

These areas are the integration into his ego organization of attitudes of confidence that by and large his essential needs will be gratified. Since he has not integrated such attitudes of confidence he is driven instead to defiant, either open or surreptitious, aggressive and ego-centric pursuit of these gratifications. The emphasis is...on the ego-centric nature of the pursuit, i.e., with disregard for the rights of others and without consideration for their needs or feelings. (224:124)

This result occurs, according to Surek, when the child has suffered the same experiences from others who have disregarded his needs, feelings, and welfare.

Although social thinking and attitudes have shown considerable progress in American culture, residual concepts of early thinking in the three primary fields that have been concerned with the delinquency problem still exist. During their developmental process, legal, sociological, and psychological theories and concepts have been at variance, but presently are beginning to agree in basic concepts. All three fields are tending to settle on the concept that delinquency seems to be a problem of personality adjustment, influenced by a complexity of social and personal factors.

Personal-Social Characteristics

Investigations of the personal-social characteristics of delinquents have tended to uncover certain patterns. Literature relating to the intelligence, special abilities, health and physical make up, leisure time, and personalities of delinquents is reviewed in this section. A brief survey is also presented of literature pertaining to family background, including education and economic status of parents, family structure, intra-family adjustment, and moral and social standards of the

homes of delinquents.

Intelligence.--- Although studies have consistently supported the theory that intelligence has no direct relationship to delinquency and crime, it is commonly acknowledged that the delinquent group rates slightly below the general population in intelligence.

Kvaraceus found a mean I.Q. of 88.74 for his delinquent group, with the girls rating slightly below the boys in intelligence. No significant differences were observed in his study in the comparison of Negro and white delinquents (142:122). Steinbach found that a group of delinquents in Virginia rated within the dull normal range of intelligence and that boys rated slightly higher than the girls (217:695). Metfessel reported a mean I.Q. of 87.96 for a group of seven hundred delinquent boys studied by Lane and Witty (164:153). Glueck compared one thousand juvenile delinquents with 3,638 school children and concluded that the expectancy of delinquency among those of lower intelligence is at least five times as great as for those of higher intelligence (99:549).

Other investigators obtained slightly higher ratings on the delinquents they studied. Krause's group rated a mean I.Q. of 89.4 (141:36), Fenton's institutional group rated a mean I.Q. of 91.7 (83:64), and the five hundred consecutive examinations given to the delinquents studied in California by Maude Merrill yielded a mean I.Q. of 92.5 (163:161). Glueck and Glueck obtained a mean I.Q. of 92.28 in a study of delinquents published in 1950 (101:356). All these studies stress the slight intellectual inferiority of the delinquent group.

A recent study was made by Feldman at the Juvenile Court in Cincinnati, comparing the ratings that fifty delinquent boys earned on the Stanford-Binet intelligence test with those earned by them on the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for children. He obtained the following mean ratings on the boys: Stanford-Binet, I.Q., 91.0; WISC, Full Scale I.Q., 91.5; WISC, Verbal I.Q., 93.4; WISC, Performance I.Q., 91.0 (72:26).

The quality of intellectual functioning of delinquents was analyzed by the Gluecks. They concluded that delinquents are less methodical in their approach to problems than non-delinquents and "tend to express themselves intellectually in a direct, immediate, and concrete manner rather than through the use of intermediate symbols or abstractions. There seems also to be a somewhat greater disharmony connected with their performance of intellectual tasks" (101:276).

Special abilities and talents.-- Findings vary regarding the ability of delinquent children to rate higher in mechanical or other special skills than other children. Typical of these studies are those reported by Zakolski, who concluded that the delinquent boy is less intelligent, and has less of a certain type of mechanical or clinical ability than the non-delinquent. His group was more poorly adjusted and exhibited poor abilities in school (260). In contrast to the above findings, Hirsch reported, "Thus a high percentage of delinquents are only borderline in general intelligence, but are above average in mechanical ability" (126:239). Fenton concluded from a review of studies that although delinquents were lower in intelligence and school progress than their brothers, they were superior in mechanical ability as measured

by the Stenquist Mechanical Ability Test and superior to unselected children. Regarding athletic ability he concluded, "although delinquent boys were potentially slightly superior athletes, actually they were as a group inferior to the high school boys in athletic achievement." The delinquent boy is considered to be on a par with the non-delinquent in respect to physical maturity, but the delinquent is very much inferior in psychomotor activity (83:104; 128).

Health and physical make-up.-- Although health has not been found to be related directly to delinquency, more physical defects in varying degrees have been found in delinquent groups (43:239; 50:18; 101:181). Most of the defects were relatively of minor consequence, like dental disorders (50:18) and mild weaknesses and irritations (43:239).

Jenkins related factors of brain dysfunction to delinquency, especially for the group who tend to be poorly adjusted in school because of their restlessness, rebellion, and truancy (133). Lurie and Levy stressed that early whooping cough may lead to serious behavior problems (158).

Davidoff and Noetzel report, "A variety of organic conditions of inherent, congenital, constitutional or acquired type may contribute to early conduct disorder or mental deficiency. Thirty-three per cent of children observed in our clinic have manifested organic disturbances" (60:130).

Delinquent children are said to be more physically mature than non-delinquents. Todd reported that delinquent girls were from one to five years more developed than "normal well adjusted youngsters...

delinquents were developmentally out of tune. Their bodies have adjusted miraculously to social demands" (235:498). Glueck and Glueck found no difference in the physical condition of delinquents and non-delinquents, but discovered that delinquents were more mesomorphic (muscular) in physical build (101:181).

Leisure time.-- Delinquent children do not use their leisure time constructively (101:161). Although they may come from the same neighborhoods as non-delinquents, and have the same access to recreational facilities, clubs, and organizations, the delinquents do not belong to as many clubs nor do they participate in as many supervised programs as the non-delinquents (163:92; 47). They attend more movies, especially of western films (47; 101:161; 163:91). The gang boy is of an "action" type and does not like reading (191:367; 234:104). The characteristics of the play life of the delinquent, according to Harris, are: (1) greater freedom from supervision, and (2) identification with a free "tough" pattern of activity. Delinquents reflect laxness of parental supervision, have freedom to roam widely, and identify themselves with mature kinds of activities common in delinquency areas (112:634).

Personalities.-- Most investigators agree with Lawson Lowrey that, "The delinquent personality is, in general, characterized by immaturity, egocentricity, and inability to establish emotional relationships with others, primarily because of lack of ability to identify or because of actual hostility (156:818). Lowrey explains this statement by saying that immaturity implies inability to restrain impulses toward present pleasures in favor of long-time goals; inadequate control of emotional

reactions; and a lack of the poise and balance expressed by the average child of one's age and sex. Egocentricity appears in the delinquent's search for personal pleasure, lack of consideration for others, absence of a sense of guilt (a condition often resulting in blaming others for difficulties really dependent on the individual), and a carping, critical attitude toward others. The delinquent not only projects blame on others, Lowrey reports, but also feels that his emotional outbursts should be accepted without complaint by others. General moral and ethical ideas are considered only in the light of their advantages to the self. No one factor has been found to be responsible for the development of a delinquent personality, but there are a great many important factors which may lead to increased hostility, egocentricity, and lack of consideration for others. These may depend largely upon abnormalities of constitution, or upon the effects of early, distorted, or thwarted relationships in the family or its substitute. "Delinquency," Lowrey finally concludes, "is probably most frequently due to the subtle effects of inter-actions between individual and environment, leading to the establishment of particular personality sets" (156:818).

Delinquents gave evidence in a study by Healy and Bronner of having been unhappy, discontented, or emotionally disturbed. They were said to have strong feelings of rejection, deep feelings of being thwarted affectionately and otherwise, feelings of inferiority, and intense feelings of discomfort about family disharmonies, parental misconduct, and other conditions of their family life. They were also said to have a conscious or unconscious sense of guilt and usually to feel keenly discriminated

against (123:128, 129).

The unsocial traits of delinquents have also been revealed in studies by the following investigators: Bartlett and Harris (21), Durea and Fertman (69), Daniels (61), Topping (236), and Zakolski (260).

Psychoanalysts have become interested in the delinquent personality and tend to characterize the delinquent as an alloplastic individual whose energy and aggression are directed externally and whose sense of values, reality perception, and general ego development are not in keeping with the norms of his age mates. He has not learned to cope with reality principle. He is pleasure seeking and egocentric (4:73; 91).

Redl describes delinquents as "children who hate" (192). Aggression he says, is one of the strongest traits manifested by the delinquent personality. Even the shy delinquent has his way of venting his hatred and hostility upon society (192:23).

Education of parents.-- Parents of delinquent children tend to be more poorly educated than either the general population or than parents of non-delinquents who come from the same socio-economic background (101:68; 99).

Economic status of parents.-- It is indicated in various investigations that the economic status of the families of delinquent children is somewhat lower than that of the general population. Although the delinquents were matched socio-economically with non-delinquents, the families of the delinquents in the recent study by Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck had been assisted more often by public agencies (101:105). In the Glueck study of one thousand juvenile delinquents, less than a fourth of the parents of the delinquents were in comfortable circumstances.

(100:69). Merrill's delinquents also came primarily from economically marginal homes (163:78). Inferior housing is associated with delinquency (129).

Employment of mothers is frequent in delinquent situations, according to some investigators (43:66; 100:70; 142:90). The fathers and mothers of delinquents tend to be unskilled workers. However, this fact is less important than the way in which the individual reacts to his socio-economic status (163:79).

Although statistics invariably show some relationship between poverty and delinquency, recent investigations have indicated that delinquency rates tend to vary directly with prosperity (34; 66; 250; 251).

Tappan sums up the relationship of poverty to delinquency as follows:

Poverty is related to delinquency but chiefly because along with subnormal circumstances go other elements in the training and experience of the child that themselves are more important in determining character, values, and reactions to the law; domestic conflicts, gangs, and so on... very rarely does cold or hunger turn the person to theft in any simple direct way.... The economic influences are pivotal, but they do not function in isolation, as is shown most clearly by the fact that even in neighborhoods of concentrated delinquency and in homes marked by poverty and unemployment, most individuals are law abiding. (230:142)

Family structure.-- Delinquent children are generally of legitimate birth (100:6; 143:116). Their families are usually larger, however, than average American families (117:119; 142:79).

Order of birth has been found to have some relationship to delinquency. Miller concluded that first-born children were more prone to deviate from average social behavior than others (166:271). Hirsch (126:239) and Sletto (210; 211) reported from their investigations that family position had as much influence upon their social deviancy as did the roles

the children were playing in family interaction. A comparison of only-child delinquents with those of large families was made by Hart and Axelrad, who concluded that parent-child relationship was more important than family position (117). Burt found many of his delinquent subjects to be only children (43:91).

Broken homes are often found in the situations of delinquent children (19:82; 142:72; 163:66; 223:9; 237:359). However, it is widely accepted that, "The most important factors leading to delinquency are undoubtedly to be found in the variations of the family drama, those interpersonal relationships so important during the early formative years" (156:801).

Intra-family adjustment.-- Practically all investigators agree that one basic problem in the delinquent's situation is that of poor relationships within the family. Aichorn reports that delinquent children do not usually suffer from an excess of love. They usually face deprivation of love on the one hand and punishment and cruelty on the other (228:10). Parental handling and attitudes toward the children are crucial factors in the delinquents' situations (17:127; 83:82; 100:74; 144:150; 159:596; 228:10; 257:629). Baruch states that inter-parental relations are important in children's development, and that "the most significant tensions in children are those most closely related to affectional and ego values lying within the relationship of one partner to another" (22:171).

The kind of identification that children are able to make with their parents is a significant factor in the child's ego development and

continued readiness to grow psychologically and sociologically toward maturity (12; 263; 264). Zucker states,

Affectional identification of most delinquent children with their parents is either deficient or lacking and this condition is dynamically related to the extent to which these children introject the standards, morals, and values of their parents on an effective emotional level (264:12).

According to Zucker this situation is an important factor in the etiology of delinquency.

Moral and social standards of the home.--- Criminality of family members (100:79), general social and moral standards of the home (100:79; 101:110), and other cultural and social conflicts of the family with the larger culture of the community are evident in delinquents' situations. Family migratoriness (26), social class conflict (143:51; 223:73), and ecological problems (100:72; 128:155) are common in the delinquents' family situations and tend to intensify the existing etiological problems.

School Adjustment

The school adjustment of delinquent children is usually poor.

Merrill states,

In spite of the efforts of the progressive educators to train the whole child, we find, in actual practice, little recognition on the part of the majority of schools and teachers of needs other than those served by the traditional attitudes and educational procedures. (163:96)

Achievement in school is an important factor in the school adjustment of children. Literature on this topic, on peer relations of delinquents, on school services for their personal-social welfare and development, school conduct of delinquents, and its management by the schools, pupil-teacher

relationships, and home-school relationships is reviewed.

School achievement.-- Peyser says, "School failure appears to be more highly correlated with the incidence of delinquency than is any other condition, including poverty, broken home, absence of religious association, physical defect, mental defectiveness, psychopathic condition or truancy." He further states that retarded elementary-school children made up from 84.4 per cent to 92.8 per cent of the delinquent groups he investigated in New York City (95:211).

Coleman reports that twice as many problem pupils as non-problem pupils have been retarded in elementary school, and that in high school more than five-sixths of the semester failures were in the problem group (54). Some investigators report their delinquent groups to be no more than one year retarded in school (101:136; 163:98), while others report from one and a half to two years of retardation (10; 80). Lane and Witty found their group to be almost three years below the grade norm for boys of their chronological ages (146).

Retardation of delinquents is reported in terms of percentage by some investigators. Kvaraceus stated that 43.5 per cent of his 661 delinquents had repeated at least one term, in comparison to seventeen per cent for the city of Passaic, New Jersey (142:139). He compared this with Glueck's finding that 84.5 per cent of his cases had repeated at least one year in school (100:138). Kvaraceus found that only 1.6 per cent of his delinquent group were making above minimum passing marks, and that 26.5 per cent were making failing marks in school (142:139).

A study made by the Ohio Educational Association adds further

evidence that delinquents receive poor marks. Only 10.3 per cent of ninety-seven boys studied at the Boys' Industrial School at Lancaster, Ohio, were receiving good grades. Forty-five per cent of these boys were receiving poor grades (216:64).

When delinquent children are rated on achievement tests they tend to show considerable deficiency in achievement. According to Stullken, twenty per cent of all the boys who enter the Montefiore School for problem boys in Chicago have severe reading disabilities. Over ninety per cent are retarded one or more years below the level of their chronological age (221). Bond discovered a disparity of five years between reading and age levels of his group of 187 delinquents at Randall Island, New York (35:238).

The delinquent subjects in a study made by Armstrong were from four to five years retarded chronologically in arithmetic and three to four years retarded in reading (9a:30).

Kvaraceus noted that such frustrating conditions as the disruption of educational progress through school changing created problems in school achievement for the subjects of his study (142:146).

Peer relations.-- Delinquents are reported in a recent study by Glueck and Glueck to get along poorly with schoolmates (101:146). Techniques of sociometry, sociodrama, and psychodrama are enabling teachers to evaluate the peer relations of pupils and help pupils gain social acceptance from their schoolmates (41; 74; 92; 165; 185). Although this technique may not be as useful with delinquent groups, some teachers have used it under certain circumstances with delinquents (78; 134; 252).

Since the selection of friends is often based upon many of those assets which are not possessed by the delinquents, his chances for being selected by his peers seem rather limited and hopeless. Some of the factors found to influence lack of peer acceptance are unhappiness, pressing personal problems, low social class status, family problems, and dislike for school (140).

Flotow reported that it is difficult for teachers to improve the peer relations of maladjusted children. Such factors as school and physical skills, cleanliness, dependability, cooperativeness, maturity, personal relations at home, and socio-economic status are significant in peer acceptance (86).

Some studies report a definite relationship between social class status and social acceptance by peers (7; 36; 56; 108; 121; 42; 174).

Members of delinquent groups chose friends who were taller, heavier, lower in frequency of misconduct, and lower in intelligence than themselves (78). Williams' delinquent group gave as reasons for their choices, fairness, full of fun, sportsmanship, and friendliness. They also stressed sticking by a friend "through thick and thin" (252). Jennings identified factors of leadership and isolation in an institution for problem girls. He reported that factors of selection proved to be products of interpersonal interaction, rather than attributes within the persons (134).

School conduct of delinquents.--- The personality that the delinquent manifests in the classroom and school situation has not been thoroughly described in research. How much of the delinquent behavior

is carried over into the school situation and how much he refrains from expressing in the school have not been explored. Redl and Wineman have given a detailed and dynamic description of the behavior of delinquents who lived in a small group home, and of what it means to live with delinquents (192). If aggressive behavior is carried over by delinquents into their classroom situations, new insights and adjustment techniques are needed for dealing with this problem in the school situation.

Glueck compared the behavior of delinquents with non-delinquents in school. The analysis was considered somewhat inadequate because the delinquents had been out of the schools for some time. However, the report revealed that delinquents showed more lack of interest in their school work.

They were unreliable, inattentive, careless, lazy, untruthful, disobedient, usually tardy, attention seeking, and disorderly in class. Teachers reported that more delinquents were restless, smoked in school, were more easily discouraged, were stubborn, cheated, and were unhappy or depressed. They were also characterized as defiant, suggestible, resentful, having temper tantrums in school, sullen, unsociable and impudent; more wrote obscene notes or talked obscenely, were quarrelsome, showed themselves to be physical cowards, were selfish, suspicious, cruel, or bullying; more destroyed school materials, were domineering, indulged in imaginative lying and profanity. (101:149)

Glueck concluded that some manifestations of school conduct may be essentially reactive; others seem to reflect root traits and fundamental drives. "They all fit consistently, however, into the temperamental segment of the general pattern that has been inductively achieved" (101:277).

Although no exploration has been made of the dynamic function of the delinquent personality in the school situation, attention has been given to certain problems which teachers face in dealing with the

delinquent. Birkenness and Johnson found delinquents to be unimaginative and limited in creative ability, retarded in achievement, poor in attendance, and unreliable. They were limited in resourcefulness, lacked feelings of security and acceptance, and definiteness of purpose (31).

Delinquents were found by Bartlett and Harris to show emotional instability, poor family relationships, participation in undesirable leisure time activities, and cheating in tests (21). Institutional teachers of delinquents reported them as lazy, disobedient, resentful toward discipline, inattentive, quarrelsome, lying, swearing, unstable in mood, and bullying (240).

Personality problems manifested by delinquents are sometimes associated with their learning problems. Studies in this field have dealt with maladjustment in reading (96), emotional maturity and learning (262), and anxiety and other psychological problems and learning (153; 154).

Some specific problems that have been given special attention are truancy (2; 87; 135; 226), aggression (94; 132), stealing (93; 125), and sex (241).

The etiology and meaning of the major problems exhibited by the delinquent are analyzed in a general treatment by Kimball Young (257).

School treatment of personal and social adjustment of delinquents.--

Because of his direct proximity to the school conduct of the delinquent child, the teacher's role becomes pivotal in the total management of the delinquent's problems. Likewise, the classroom becomes the proving ground for the kind of pattern of school adjustment that the delinquent is going to establish. Dexter declares,

As the teacher's perception of potential problems becomes more sensitive and her skill in handling them increases, she becomes a radiating center for prevention and treatment affecting a larger group than any specialized department in the school system or any specialized agency in the community could reach. (64:450)

The teacher's feelings and attitudes toward the delinquent and his problems (14; 37; 75; 249), the teacher's own background and personality (20; 82:48; 102; 213), and his insight into the meaning of these problems (30; 44; 180; 218; 259) are powerful forces in his effectiveness in dealing with them. From his understanding of the delinquent child and his needs the teacher knows that the behavior of the delinquent is symptomatic (82; 243) and that the delinquent is usually a rejected child at home (85). He will also understand that rejection of the delinquent in school only heightens the tension and augments the tendency toward unwholesome behavior (242).

Although very limited material has been published on treatment or discipline techniques for the classroom teacher who must handle a multiplicity of conduct problems each day, some general theories of discipline have been proposed. Redl indicated that the group situation precludes the handling of discipline problems with respect to the actors only, and that the group climate and structure must always be considered. Group climate alone might give rise to certain discipline problems. Redl has further stated that the handling of individual cases of discipline disturbers for their own good is one matter, while the handling of the group so that the problem producing factors are eliminated is another matter. According to Redl, teachers need considerable help on situational analysis and group dynamics (190).

Discipline is considered a developmental need of children, according to Geisel. It gives the child a sense of security if he knows his limits, his boundaries, and his freedoms. Geisel differentiates discipline from punishment and external control. Discipline represents system, order, and arrangement (97). Ruth Strang discusses the value of preventive discipline (220). Dickens and others view discipline as positive and as congruent with democratic ideals (194:78). Slavson states that social interaction is inherently disciplining and ego strengthening and that repressive methods weaken the ego (208). Others advocate the positive use of authority (68; 83; 109).

Some writers warn against the negative use of punishment (204:277). According to Brickman, punishment must not be administered as revenge, but in accordance with sound rehabilitative principles (40). Banay states emphatically that punishment of delinquents has always failed; recidivism proves this. He states that children can be trained without punishment but not without discipline. Banay further indicates that the relatively primitive conduct of the delinquent tends to stir similar tendencies in others and activates their sense of guilt. By punishing the delinquent or criminal, the righteous citizen bolsters his own self-respect. The more holier-than-thou he can feel, the less disturbed he is by his own guilt. He advocates that the ultimate aim of discipline should be to develop in children a degree of self discipline whereby they can accept and learn to administer authority, and "can meet their environment without trying to break it (through delinquency) or be broken by it (through emotional illness)" (18:164). Fenton also states that corporal

punishment is usually a relief to the irritated adult rather than a correctional device for children (83:31).

Because many delinquents have received malignant disciplining like severe beating, from parents, further handling of this kind only intensifies the problem and may precipitate some pathological development. This is especially true in the cases of some sex aberrations, where beating becomes libidinized.

School services for personal and social welfare and development.--

The present confusion regarding the ultimate responsibility of the home or of society for the child seems to be responsible for the inconsistency in school systems and the lack of clarity in the minds of school personnel in making specific provisions for delinquent and other needy children.

Glueck says there is little the school can do in solving the basic problems of delinquency except through early detection of potential delinquents (101:135). Others emphasize that the school has a definite responsibility for prevention and treatment of delinquency (59; 124; 142:4; 248:99). The school's role in prevention is stressed by some writers (17; 200; 247), who state that the role of the school is especially crucial in meeting all mental hygiene problems of childhood at the preventive and therapeutic level, because of the critical state of the mental health of the larger society. Cameron reports that one of every twenty children now in public schools will at some time in his life be a patient in a mental hospital; one of every ten will have a breakdown of lesser severity; and one of every four will have physical complaints

which are mainly emotional in their origin (45:43). Increasing the severity of this problem are those large numbers whose behavior is socially deviant but who never become exposed to mental health services, and others who have various physical handicaps. The school's responsibility for the welfare of its children is a major one.

Any adequate well rounded program that provides for maximum personal and social development of children is both preventive and therapeutic in its effects. However, some programs seemed to give special attention to delinquency prevention (107; 212; 214). Some schools also recognize physical health and other welfare services (182: 349). Adjustment and therapeutic programs are becoming more common. Some school systems provide for special services in the form of visiting teachers, counselors, special classes and schools, child guidance clinics, child study departments, recreational programs, and health and welfare services (106:100-125). Schools are urged to make use of community services and agencies in meeting adjustment and developmental needs of children (162). These agencies may render services involving welfare needs, family problems, physical and mental health, law enforcement, housing, child welfare and protection, legislation, and others.

Community services and special school services are used as secondary measures by the school since the school lives with and must deal with the delinquent intimately and constantly. School personnel have a direct role to play in meeting the needs of the delinquent child in class groups and in the school at large. Many different approaches have been devised by schools which are attacking the problem directly.

Techniques include courses in family living (135; 168), reassignment therapy (49; 138), creative dramatics (83;126), music therapy (245), puppet shows (29), finger painting (202), group therapy (207; 208), sociodrama (169), psychodrama (205; 261), social therapy (136), art therapy (173), bibliotherapy (3; 38; 183), and various expressive methods (6).

The play situation is used with other projective techniques by psychologists for diagnosing needs of children and also for therapy. The play technique is discussed by a number of authors (11; 23; 55; 70; 127; 150; 167; 176).

Other therapeutic techniques involve skilled handling and counseling on the part of school personnel. The skills range all the way from simple personality assets for relating oneself to children (42; 98; 152; 232) to vocational guidance (88) and other highly technical skills like non-directive counseling and psychotherapy (199; 244). Basic skills for dealing with the maladjusted and delinquent child are needed by the classroom teacher (82; 163;107) and the administrator (143a). According to some writers the teacher's skills in guidance should include those relating to group direction (219) and individual counseling (13; 25; 58; 71; 149; 165; 177; 206; 233; 257;653). Lauck advocates guidance at the elementary-school level for preventing delinquency (148).

Pupil-teacher relationships.--- The literature does not provide a picture of the feelings and attitudes of teachers toward the delinquent; it does show that his behavior is considered by teachers to be more serious than other types of problems that teachers face. A few

investigators reveal that the delinquent usually considers the relationship between his teachers and himself to be poor (83:81; 216).

Every child needs an adult friend, according to Lane. He states further the child needs a grown-up who approves of him as he is. Failing to find such a friend in the regular channels of living, many children are driven to bad companions "to satisfy this requirement." Lane also says that scarcely ever do we find a delinquent child who has a parent, a teacher, or a neighbor with whom he can talk without reservation (145:275). Others stress the need of children to be accepted by teachers and pupils (227:164).

Merrill and others emphasize the importance of the personal influence of the teacher upon the delinquent (147; 163:107). Some go so far as to say that children need to be able to identify themselves with their teachers. Wirth says, "In most instances it is not the fear of punishment that makes them honest, but the identification with a culture ideal or the emulation of a person, such as a teacher, who symbolized that ideal" (253:486). The wish to please the loved person and to identify with them as ego-ideals because they are loved and admired is a double incentive in learning (33:412). Orgel also stresses the importance of identification in the child's life (181).

The identification concept has been found by psychoanalysts to lie at the core of their success in treating delinquents. The spectacular treatment carried out by Aichorn with a group of delinquents was based upon the theory of transference, which is in essence an identification technique (4). Among others who have successfully used this technique are

Eisler, Anna Freud, Friedlander, and Surek (72:18; 89:196; 91:202; 224:123).

Home-school relationships.--- The relationship between the home and school for delinquents is undoubtedly affected by the general inadequacy and indifference of parents of delinquent children. However, some definite approaches and plans are suggested by Ojeman for working with these parents. He recognizes the usual problems that arise from these contacts and suggests concrete approaches. He stresses preventive work with parents through parent and adult education and special preparation of teachers for assuming their role in the home-school relationships (179).

Baker advocates teacher visitation as an aid in the cooperative working of the home and the school (16:189). Others see the major responsibility for the treatment of delinquency as a home-school one (161; 178; 222).

Summary

From this review of the literature certain patterns regarding the delinquent emerge. The primary problem of delinquency is seen to be one of personality adjustment, influenced by the interplay of a multiplicity of social and personal factors.

The average delinquent is slightly less intelligent than the average child, but is as physically healthy. He participates in fewer supervised and constructive leisure time activities. His personality is characterized by immaturity, egocentricity, aggression, and destructiveness.

Parental relationships and the general emotional climate and social standards of the homes of delinquents are notably poor. These children have not generally had the consistent affectional handling, supervision, and training by their parents that are necessary to wholesome personality development. Their cultural backgrounds have been inferior.

The school adjustment of the delinquent is usually poor in areas of achievement, participation, and interpersonal adjustment. The delinquent possesses many qualities that render him unacceptable to his schoolmates. Teachers find his typical behavior quite offensive and disturbing. Dynamic techniques for handling the aggressive, offensive, and overtly antisocial child in the classroom situation are not usually discussed in the literature. Limited attention is given in school programs to meeting the fundamental and specific needs of the delinquent child. However, it is recognized that the classroom teacher is inescapably a counselor, because of his physical and emotional proximity

to the children. He needs to have skills for diagnosing and meeting needs of children at the classroom level. Analyses of such situations, including the position, role, function, and goals of the teacher, the offender, and the group, have not been made. The literature does not reveal the psychological factors at work or the nature and effect of their interaction in such situations.

Components of good pupil-teacher relationships, especially in the case of emotionally deprived children, are not generally defined and clarified in the literature. The goals and dynamics of such a relationship are not adequately treated in the literature. Good home-school relationships are advocated, but little attention is given to detailed methods of understanding and working with parents of the deviant and maladjusted child. The paucity of and need for this kind of material is recognized by educational leaders.

CHAPTER III

THE SUBJECTS OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The group of subjects with which this investigation is concerned is described in this chapter. The basis of selection of the subjects is first reported. Data are presented on their distribution in terms of race, sex, age, and intelligence. Since the fifty-five subjects to some degree represent a limited clinic population, they are then compared with the larger groups in terms of the above variables. A comparison is also made between the subjects and the total group of children with whom the Juvenile Court dealt during a two-year period. Finally, certain personal-social characteristics of the subjects are discussed.

Selection of Subjects

As stated in Chapter I, referral to the Psychological Clinic of the Juvenile Court of Hamilton County was used as a basis of selection of the subjects because those children referred to the clinic could be classified more validly as delinquents than could many of those who were referred to the Juvenile Court in general.

Since the school adjustment of delinquents was the primary focus of the study, only those children who had attended school for at least one month of the 1947-48 school term were included. The subjects were further restricted to children attending public schools.

The subjects finally comprised all children who were referred to the Psychological Clinic during a six-month period and who had attended a public school for at least one month or more during the 1947-48 school

term. The six-month period chosen was from November 1, 1947, to May 1, 1948. During this period the clinic studied fifty-five subjects who met the requirements that have been stated.

General Description of Subjects

Race, sex, age and intelligence.-- Facts as to the race, sex, age, and intelligence of the subjects are shown in Table 1. The group included slightly more boys than girls, and more white children than Negro children.

The mean age of the group was 14.2 years.¹ The mean age of each sex and racial subgroup varied by no more than two-tenths of a year from the mean age of the entire group.

The mean intelligence quotient of the group was 92.4. The mean intelligence quotients for the subgroups ranged from 90.4 to 93.9.

Comparison of Subjects with Larger Groups

Comparison with total clinic referrals.-- In order to determine whether the subjects, who were all the public school children referred to the clinic during the six-month period of November 1, 1947, to May 1, 1948, were representative of the total group of delinquents dealt with by the clinic, the group of subjects was compared in race, sex, age, and I.Q. with two other groups. First, comparison of the subjects was made

1

Statistical data on ages are reported in terms of years and tenths of a year (e.g., 14.2), in keeping with the practice of earlier investigations (101; 123). Data on the ages of individual subjects are reported in terms of years and months (e.g., 14-2), in keeping with standard clinical practice.

TABLE 1
RACE, SEX, MEAN AGE, AND MEAN I.Q. OF SUBJECTS

Race & Sex	Frequency	Per cent	Mean Age	Mean I.Q.
Boys	32	58.1	14.0	93.9
Girls	23	41.9	14.3	90.4
Negro	24	43.6	14.4	91.0
White	31	56.4	14.0	93.8
TOTAL	55	100.0	14.2	92.4

with the group of public school children seen in The Psychological Clinic over a two-year period from January 1, 1947, to January 1, 1949. Second, the subjects were compared with the total group of children (those attending plus those not attending school) referred to the Clinic over a two-year period from January 1, 1947, to January 1, 1949.

Figures on sex and race for the subjects, for the public school children referred to the clinic during a two-year period, and for the total group of children referred during the same two-year period are shown in Table 2. The sex and racial subgroups show almost identical proportions for the subjects and for the two-year public school group. The group of subjects was also similar in proportions of boys and girls, and Negro and white children to the total group of children referred to the clinic during the two-year period.

Age data for the same groups are presented in Table 3. The differences in mean chronological age are small between the group of subjects, the two-year public school group, and the total two-year group of children referred to the clinic. The mean ages of all the subgroups in this table differ by less than a year.

Data on intelligence quotients for the same groups are presented in Table 4. The mean I.Q.'s of the three total groups vary by less than three points. Differences between the mean I.Q.'s for sex and racial subgroups of the subjects and of the two larger groups are less than six points.

Comparison of subjects with total group of children known to Juvenile Court.-- Data on the sex and racial distribution of all the

TABLE 2
RACE AND SEX OF VARIOUS GROUPS OF CHILDREN REFERRED TO
PSYCHOLOGICAL CLINIC OF JUVENILE COURT OF HAMILTON COUNTY

Race and Sex	Subjects of Study (55 consecutive school cases - six-month period		In Public Schools 1947-1948		Total Referred 1947-1948	
	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency	Per cent
Boys	32	58.1	136	61.9	218	63.5
Girls	23	41.9	87	38.1	125	36.5
Negro	24	43.6	97	43.9	140	40.8
White	31	56.4	126	56.1	203	59.2
TOTAL	55	100.0	223	100.0	343	100.0

TABLE 3

MEAN CHRONOLOGICAL AGES OF VARIOUS GROUPS OF CHILDREN
REFERRED TO PSYCHOLOGICAL CLINIC OF JUVENILE COURT OF
HAMILTON COUNTY

Race and Sex	Subjects of Study	In Public School 1947-1948	Total Referred 1947-1948
Boys	14.0	14.1	14.6
Girls	14.3	14.4	14.3
Negro	14.4	14.4	14.9
White	14.0	14.2	14.8
TOTAL	14.2	14.3	14.6

TABLE 4

MEAN I.Q.'S OF VARIOUS GROUPS OF CHILDREN REFERRED TO THE
PSYCHOLOGICAL CLINIC OF THE JUVENILE COURT

Race and Sex	Subjects of Study	In Public School 1947-1948	Total Referred 1947-1948
Boys	93.9	92.3	89.2
Girls	90.4	90.5	88.1
Negro	91.0	86.7	85.2
White	93.8	96.1	93.6
TOTAL	92.4	91.4	89.6

children referred to the Juvenile Court during 1947 and 1948 whether or not they were referred to the clinic are presented in Table 5. A comparison with Table 1, which gives the sex and racial distribution of the subjects of the study, shows that larger proportions of girls and Negro children were included in this study than are in the general Juvenile Court population.

The mean age of the total Juvenile Court population was 14.6; that of the group of subjects of this study was 14.2. The difference appears slight.

Significance.-- The data presented in this section have some bearing on the extent to which it may be legitimate to generalize from the results of this study to other delinquents.

If the selection of subjects had covered a two-year period instead of a six-month period, the proportions of boys and girls and of Negro and white children would not have been materially changed, nor would the mean ages and I.Q.'s of the subgroups selected for sex and race.

The subjects also represent rather closely, in proportions of boys and girls and of Negro and white children, and in mean ages and I.Q.'s of the subgroups selected for sex and race, the children referred to the Juvenile Court Clinic during a two-year period.

However, the proportions of girls and of Negro children in the group of subjects were larger than in the total groups of children handled by the Juvenile Court in a two-year period. The subjects thus are probably more representative in racial distribution of delinquents referred to a psychological clinic than they are of children known to a

TABLE 5

REFERRALS OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN TO
JUVENILE COURT DURING 1947 AND 1948

Race and Sex	Frequency	Per cent
Boys	5162	76.8
Girls	1557	23.2
Negro	1934	28.8
White	4785	71.2
TOTAL	6719	100.0

Juvenile Court. Limited preventive and treatment facilities for Negro children in the community might cause somewhat of a concentration of Negro cases in the Psychological Clinic of the Court.

Personal-Social Data

It is important to consider the characteristics of the subjects not only in the light of the larger groups referred to the Psychological Clinic and to the Juvenile Court, but also in terms of the characteristics of delinquent children in general. In Chapter II the personal-social characteristics of delinquent children were presented as revealed in related literature. The present section presents data on the health of the subjects; their use of leisure time; the birthplace, religious affiliation, education, and economic status of the parents of the subjects; the homes of the subjects, including family structure and intra-family adjustments; and the social and moral standards of the homes and communities in which the subjects lived.

Procedure for securing personal and social data.--- All the personal-social data were secured by the probation officers of the Juvenile Court in their study of the individual cases.

The probation officers of the Juvenile Court regularly serve as social workers investigating the situations of delinquent children and working with them in the court's service to these children. An account of the activities of the probation officers and of their findings is recorded in the case record of each child. Social histories and other case materials are difficult to adapt to research use because of their

subjectivity and the lack of uniformity in treatment from case to case. In order to lessen the effects of subjectivity and other problems as much as possible in the present study, a social history form comprising items pertaining to personal-social data of subjects and including definitions for each item listed on the form was used to secure the personal and social data re subjects from probation officers. This form is an adaptation and combination of the form used by Glueck and Glueck for securing and classifying social history information and the guide for definitions of social history items used by them in their study of one thousand juvenile delinquents (100:301). (See copy in Appendix B.)

Health of subjects.-- The social history form provided space for probation officers to rate the health of the subjects as good, fair, or poor, and in the form each category was carefully defined. Although physical examinations were not given specifically for the study, social investigations by probation officers contained considerable data pertaining to the health of the subjects. Thirty-nine, or almost two-thirds of the subjects were rated as being in good physical health, while twelve were reported in fair condition and four in poor condition. Diseases that the subjects had incurred ranked as follows in order of frequency: (1) measles, (2) whooping cough, (3) mumps, and (4) chicken pox. Pneumonia, fractures, scarlet fever, and other diseases had occurred less frequently.

Use of leisure time.-- As discussed in Chapter II, delinquent children tend to make poor use of their leisure time. Twenty-eight of the subjects were reported to be participating in harmful activities, and

fifteen in negative activities, i.e., activities not regarded as harmful, but also not regarded as constructive. Eight children were participating in both constructive and harmful activities; for example, they might belong to a destructive gang and at the same time attend the Boys' Club. Only four subjects were using leisure time in ways clearly recognized as constructive.

Only four of the fifty-five subjects were members of well-supervised groups. Twenty-three had never been members of these groups, while seventeen had participated sporadically. Probation officers had not secured information on this point about eleven subjects, at the time of the study.

Companions and one's habits were considered by Glueck as factors in the use of leisure time (100:323). Twenty-five subjects had both bad companions and bad habits. Nineteen had bad companions, six had bad habits only, and only one subject was reported as having no bad habits or bad companions. There was no report on four subjects. (See Appendix B for definitions of bad habits.)

The friendship and group affiliations of the subjects were reported upon by the probation officers as follows: thirteen belonged to a gang; fifteen belonged to a crowd; fourteen had one or two friends; and thirteen had no friends at all. (See Appendix B for differentiation of the above groups.)

Birthplace of parents.--- Three-fourths of the parents of these children were born outside of Ohio, as shown in Table 6. Most of those were from Kentucky or other southern states. This fact seems to indicate

TABLE 6
BIRTHPLACE OF PARENTS OF FIFTY-FIVE DELINQUENT CHILDREN

State or Country	Fathers	Mothers	Total
Kentucky	16	19	35
Ohio	10	14	24
Alabama	4	4	8
Tennessee	3	4	7
Georgia	2	4	6
Indiana	2	2	4
South Carolina	2	1	3
Mississippi	2		2
Florida	1	1	2
Virginia	1		1
North Carolina	1		1
Iowa	1		1
Texas	1		1
Missouri		1	1
Illinois		1	1
West Virginia	1		1
New Jersey	1		1
Roumania	1		1
Unknown	4		4
TOTAL*	52	52	104

* The fifty-five subjects included three sets of siblings.

that many of the subjects had cultural backgrounds that might be in conflict with that of the city culture in which they were living. These data also suggest that the families of the subjects may have been more or less migrant.

Religious affiliation of parents.-- Forty-nine of the children were from Protestant families. Four of the subjects were of mixed Catholic-Protestant families and only two were from fully Catholic families. This distribution was affected by the fact that only those children attending public schools were included in the study.

Education of parents.-- Parents of delinquent children tend to be more poorly educated than the general population, as was reported in Chapter II. The parents of these subjects were limited in their educational achievement. Five parents were barely literate. In twenty-eight cases, both parents had attended common, or elementary school. In ten cases one parent had gone to high school, while in six cases both parents had attended high school. Only one parent, a father, was a college graduate.

Economic status of parents.-- Probation officers reported that thirty-six, or well over half, of the parents were in marginal circumstances economically and only five were considered in comfortable circumstances. Fourteen families were dependent upon the community for their support.

As further evidence of the economic status of the families of these subjects, occupations of fathers and step-fathers are presented in Table 7. Twenty-one of the forty-three individuals whose occupations

TABLE 7
OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS AND STEPFATHERS OF SUBJECTS

Occupation	Frequency
Common laborer	21
Sell ice and coal	2
In prison	2
Maintenance man	2
Factory hand	2
Merchant	1
Brewmaster	1
Certified public accountant	1
Unskilled machinist	1
Meatpacker	1
Cook	1
Manager of restaurant	1
Gardener	1
Shoe repair helper	1
Department store handyman	1
Yard and houseman	1
Taxicab driver	1
Laborer and minister	1
Clerk in factory	1
Unemployed	12
TOTAL	55

were known were common laborers, while most of the other fathers engaged in work which probably required little if any training or special skill. Only one father was of professional status.

Mothers' occupations show a similar picture (see Table 8). Most of the twenty-two mothers who were working were in occupations within the laboring or unskilled category. One mother was an insurance agent, but an unsuccessful one. Thirty-three mothers were not working, and presumably had free time in which to supervise their children.

The probation officers inquired as to what weekly allowance parents provided. Not a single child in this study was reported as having a definite or regular allowance.

Some of the occupations listed in Tables 7 and 8 are of a seasonal character. Irregular employment was common for both fathers and mothers. Of the mothers listed as unemployed, many undoubtedly held jobs at irregular intervals.

Work experiences of subjects.--- Children who must go to work early in their lives are often exposed to many social hazards. Often they are forced to work because parents are rejecting them. Twenty-eight subjects had had work experience. Four of the subjects of this study began work when from eight to ten years of age, eight from eleven to twelve, thirteen from thirteen to fourteen, and three after they had become fifteen years of age.

The jobs held by the subjects were primarily in street trades; e.g., bootblackening, selling newspapers, errand running, and peddling. Four girls had worked as baby sitters, two as maids, and one as a

TABLE 8
OCCUPATIONS OF MOTHERS AND STEPMOTHERS OF SUBJECTS

Occupation	Frequency
Domestic service	7
Unskilled laborer	3
Factory hand	3
Waitress	2
Laundry hand	2
Beautician working at home	1
Cateress	1
Charwoman	1
Elevator operator	1
Insurance agent	1
Unemployed	33
TOTAL	55

waitress. Two boys had worked as stock boys, two as helpers to unskilled workers, and two as store clerks.

Family structure.-- Family size, birth order, broken homes, legitimacy, and household membership are important factors in the life adjustment of children.

Fourteen of the fifty-five subjects were of illegitimate birth.

Delinquent children tend to come from large families. The mean number of children per family of this group was 4.42. Eleven subjects were only children. The families of the other subjects included from two to twelve children a piece.

The birth order of the subjects ranged from one to twelve. Nineteen ranked first in order of birth, fifteen ranked second, and five ranked third. Four of the subjects ranked fourth, four fifth, and four ranked sixth in order of birth; two ranked seventh, one ranked ninth, and one twelfth.

When a home is broken, there is an effect upon the psychological climate in which a child grows up. The absence of a parent, and the presence of a step-parent influence the degree of security the child feels and may determine his measure of conformity. Only twenty-two of the subjects had both parents living in their homes. A little more than half of the children came from homes broken by death, divorce, extended separation, or desertion. Fourteen of the subjects were of illegitimate birth.

One subject was living in an institution at the time of the study. All the remaining subjects were in homes where there was a mother-figure present. In forty-nine cases this was the child's own mother. Three

children lived with step-mothers, one with a grandmother, and one with a foster mother.

Forty-three of the subjects were in homes where a father-figure was present. In twenty-six cases this was the child's own father. Sixteen children lived with step-fathers and one with a foster father. In addition to the institutionalized subject, eleven subjects were without father-figures.

Intra-family adjustment.-- The most important factors leading to delinquency are often said to be found in the variations of the family drama, where occur the chief interpersonal relationships during the formative years. Parental supervision and discipline of children, and acceptance or rejection of children by parents, marital relations of parents, and social and moral standards of the home and neighborhood are significant features in the family situation. Probation officers reported on parental acceptance or rejection for forty of the subjects. The evidence on this point was secured in the preparation of social histories of the subjects. Thirty-five of these forty subjects were not wanted at birth. Five parents only had seemed to welcome the birth of these subjects. Probation officers were not able to evaluate the parental attitudes toward the birth of the subjects in fifteen cases.

In the judgment of the probation officers, more mothers than fathers followed acceptable practices in supervisory and disciplinary methods with the subjects. The ratings, which include judgments on some parents who were not in the homes of the subjects at the time of the study, were as follows: good practices, followed by five fathers and thirteen mothers; fair, by thirteen fathers and twenty-two

mothers; poor, by twenty-nine fathers and twenty mothers. In only four cases were the practices followed by both the father and the mother judged as good.

An evaluation by the officers of the marital relations of parent persons revealed that in twenty-seven cases the parents or parent figures were in severe marital conflict, while twelve were getting along only fairly well. In only sixteen cases did the parents show evidence of having good marital relationships. These figures include the judgments of the probation officers on those homes which had become broken at the time of the study. The relationships indicated are those which had existed between the parents of the subjects.

The relationships of the subjects with their parents, in the judgment of the officers, were just as poor as the parents' marital relations. Although more mothers than fathers seemed to have good relationships with the subjects, for both parents the relationships tended to be of poor quality. Twenty-three mothers and fourteen fathers had, or had had, good relationships with the subjects while eighteen mothers and eighteen fathers had poor relationships. Fourteen mothers and eighteen fathers were reported to have, or have had, only fair relationships with the subjects. The relationships of five fathers or father figures with their children had not been ascertained by the workers at the time of the study.

Social and moral standards of home and community.--- The family's own social values are almost certain to affect the social values and adjustment of the children. Only eight of the children in this study were

found not to have some delinquency in their families. The Juvenile Court itself had fifty different records on family members of thirty-nine of the subjects. These varied from records on one or both parents of some cases to unofficial records of relatives of some of the children.

Twenty-seven of the children had lived outside of their own homes at some time during their early lives, generally in foster homes or institutions.

Ratings of good, fair, and poor were made by probation officers on the social and moral standards of the homes of the subjects. Only ten subjects were reported to come from good homes, while fifteen came from fair homes, and thirty from homes considered to be of poor standing socially and morally.

The neighborhoods in which the subjects lived were rated on the same basis as their homes. Seven subjects came from neighborhoods, rated as good, fourteen from neighborhoods rated as poor, and thirty-four from neighborhoods rated as fair.

Summary

The subjects of this study were fifty-five delinquent children, comprising all the children meeting two requirements: (1) referral by the Juvenile Court of Hamilton County to the Psychological Clinic of the Court during the six-month period from November 1, 1947, to May 1, 1948, and (2) attendance at a public school for at least one month of the 1947-1948 school term.

The group of subjects included a few more boys than girls and a few more white than Negro children. The mean age of the entire group of subjects was 14.2 years. The mean I.Q. of the group was 92.4. These means vary only slightly from the means for subgroups of subjects selected by sex and race.

A number of comparisons were made (1) between the group of subjects and those children who would have been selected as subjects on the basis of the same criteria (referral to the Clinic and public-school attendance) if the study had covered the two calendar years 1947 and 1948; (2) between the group of subjects and all children referred to the Clinic during the same two-year period, 1947-1948, whether attending public schools or not. The comparisons were in terms of proportions of boys and girls, proportions of white and Negro children, mean chronological age, and mean I.Q. All the differences noted in these comparisons were small.

Comparisons were also made between the group of subjects and the total Juvenile Court population for the two-year period of 1947-1948. The subjects included a larger proportion of girls and a larger proportion

of Negro children than were found in the total Juvenile Court population. The mean age of the subjects and that of the total Court population did not differ greatly.

The subjects represent rather closely the larger clinic groups from which they were selected, so far as the data show. They are less representative of the total population of juvenile delinquents passing through the Court.

The probation officers of the Court regularly secured personal and social data on the children referred to the Clinic. These officers provided such information on the subjects of this study, and answered questions concerning them, following a form adapted from forms developed by Glueck and Glueck. Following are major conclusions:

1. Most of the subjects were rated as being in good or fair health.
2. Constructive use of leisure time by the subjects was rare; poor use was common.
3. Three-fourths of the parents of the subjects were born outside Ohio, a fact suggesting that the subjects often faced a culture conflict and instability in living in their homes.
4. Nearly all the subjects were from Protestant families.
5. The formal education of most of the parents of the subjects was limited to the elementary school.
6. The economic status of the parents of the subjects was generally low. The parents largely worked as common laborers or in other unskilled occupations.

7. Half of the subjects had had work experiences, most often in street trades.

8. More than half of the homes of the subjects were broken by death, desertion, or divorce.

9. Most of the subjects had been in homes where disciplinary and supervisory procedures were regarded as poor.

10. Relationships existing in the homes of the subjects between the parents or parent-figures were considered generally poor, as were those between the parent-figures and the subjects.

11. The social and moral standards of the homes and neighborhoods in which the subjects lived were rated as poor.

It is evident that the subjects of this study faced emotional and social handicaps similar to those reported in the studies of delinquents which are reviewed in Chapter II.

CHAPTER IV

SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT OF SUBJECTS

Introduction

A sense of achievement is an essential aspect of one's personal adjustment. The child's sense of achievement is often determined by the kind of experiences he has in school. The school, with its achievement criteria of report cards, school marks, class grouping, and promotions, plays a major part in developing rather early in life a child's feeling of superiority or inferiority in learning ability. It shows him whether he is slow or fast "to catch on," dull or bright, a success or a failure. Children need, in Prescott's words, "to obtain the satisfaction which comes from accomplishment and from having added to one's sense of self-esteem" (187:124).

Children need a sense of balance between success and failure. They need to have confidence in their own ability to succeed, a confidence which grows out of the experience of succeeding, and they need to feel adequate in capacity and skill to meet a fair proportion of the situations they are called upon to face. These are important factors in a child's total adjustment. As Prescott says, "Unfortunately, experience overweighted with failure proves to many children that they are 'no good' even though they actually possess intelligence and energy" (187:124).

If school achievement is such a vital force in one's development, total adjustment, and general feeling of self-esteem, it may have special significance for the delinquent child because of the severity of his needs in all these areas of life adjustment.

Various aspects of the school achievement patterns of delinquent children are explored in this chapter. The major topics treated are: the problem of school transferring and changing, attendance patterns, achievement levels, failure patterns, and instructional needs. Except for the last of these topics, the basic data for the chapter come mainly from school records, including cumulative record cards and records of test scores. Data pertaining to instructional needs were provided by teachers in interviews. To clarify the discussion of the problems of this chapter, a number of brief case reports are presented. Such reports tend to illustrate specific points rather than to provide data for sweeping generalizations. In particular, the case reports aid in interpreting the dynamic relationships involved in the school behavior of the subjects.

The Problem of School Transferring and Changing

The frequency of school changes is, in the main, a by-product of the transiency or mobility of the child's family. With this factor may be associated such intra-family problems as instability, emotional and economic insecurity, congested housing and poorly equipped living quarters, and cultural conflicts in a new urban environment. The experience of moving, with a change of school, has a definite effect upon the school adjustment and achievement of any child, whether delinquent or not. The extent of school changing and the effects of school transfers upon the total school adjustment of the subjects are discussed in this section.

Extent in study.--- The data of the present study indicate that these delinquent children tended to change schools frequently. The

number of schools attended by each subject was ascertained from cumulative records and interviews with the children. Cumulative records for four of the subjects had been lost in the schools at the time the study was made. However, these four children were able to supply information regarding the different schools they attended.

It was found that forty-nine of the fifty-five children had changed schools one or more times during their school career. Table 9 shows the number of different schools attended by the subjects. Although the group had attended, on the average, five different schools each, one child (Case 53) had attended as many as thirteen different schools, and another had attended twelve. Only six of the children, all boys, had not changed schools during their entire school careers. These data seem substantially in agreement with the finding of Lane and Witty that delinquent children tend to change schools frequently (146:696). Glueck's delinquent subjects attended on the average six schools each, in comparison to an average of four and one-half schools each attended by non-delinquents (101:137).

Relationship to school adjustment and achievement.-- Although school changing by delinquent children generally creates problems in adjustment for the children, under some circumstances changing a school may serve as an advantage in one's adjustment to school. The latter outcome is more likely if the transfers are not too frequent and not punitive in nature. Both negative and positive effects are disclosed in the following discussion.

When a child becomes such a problem that he is sent to another

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED BY FIFTY-FIVE DELINQUENT CHILDREN

Schools Attended	Frequency
1	6
2-3	16
4-6	25
7-9	6
10-12	1
13-15	1
TOTAL	55

school to relieve the current school, or to punish him for his behavior, this practice is referred to as "forced transferring." Forced transferring was found to have occurred for a number of children. The number of children who had had the experience of forced transferring could not be determined. Twelve of the subjects were, at the time of the study, in school situations where they had been placed during the school year because of their behavior problems. In some of these cases, the child had been placed in a class especially designed for problem children. In other cases the principal, teacher, and child agreed that the transfer was made because of the child's behavior. Seven of the twelve children considered these transfers as punishment, since they reported that they had been threatened by teachers or principals with such placement before the transfer occurred. All but one of the seven were rejecting the new school situation in one way or another. Of the seven children who had considered their placements as punishment, three (two boys and one girl) reported that they had been told that they were sent to an all-Negro school as punishment for their conduct. One boy said he demanded a transfer to the all Negro school because he knew he would be sent there anyway. The three Negro boys in this group were severe attendance problems in their new school.

Five of the total number of twelve who were transferred for behavior reasons did not consider their placement as punishment by the school. All five of these were making an improved adjustment in the new school situations.

Frequent school changing may aggravate a maladjustment arising in a home situation and may prevent teachers from gaining insight into a

child's problems. The case which follows is an illustration.

Jim (Case 37: C.A. 16-3, M.A. 19-5, I.Q. 129, Grade 8).-- Jim had attended nine different schools, changing three times in the sixth grade. Two of the schools were outside of Cincinnati. Different subjects and materials were taught in the sixth grade of each school he entered. "I don't see how I passed that year" was Jim's comment on his sixth-grade changing episodes. In spite of his high I.Q., he had accepted a lagging and failing pattern of progress for himself because he had lost interest in achievement. With the acceptance of a failing status came truancy and a general deterioration of behavior. Because Jim had certain justifiable reasons to hate school, the school became an easy target for the aggression and hatred that he released for the sake of his own emotional survival. Not all of his negative behavior toward the school was warranted.

He was quite hostile towards teachers because, he said, "They bow and scrape to the rich kids at that school." However, it was felt by social workers and psychologists that Jim's hostility really originated in his home against his parents and was being transferred from the parents to the teachers at school. The mother was a nagging, hypercritical, suppressing, rigid person who compelled Jim's father and Jim to leave the house to smoke and to remove their shoes before entering the home lest they bring in dirt. From interpretation of case data, women teachers seemed to represent his mother to Jim, because teachers permitted Jim's provocative behavior to trap them into a nagging, rejecting, hypercritical role. He blamed his father for accepting the submissive role imposed by the mother, and it appeared that he transferred his lack of respect to men teachers in the school. Jim burglarized the school and smoked on the school grounds in defiance of the rules. It seemed evident that his one wish was to defy the mother by smoking in the home, but for fear of losing her love he acted out this conflict in the school situation.

Jim withdrew from any participation in the school program or activities, saying that his favorite activities were day-dreaming, reading, and generally being alone.

While it is certain that frequent changing of schools alone could not have caused this development in Jim, since the home and other school factors certainly contributed a great share to his nuclear problems, a secure, stimulating, less interrupted school experience directed by accepting, mature, professionally-minded school personnel might have made a difference in the life of this boy of superior intelligence.

Peer rejection made a new school situation, into which another subject, Wanda, had transferred, unbearable for her. Some details on Wanda follow.

Wanda (Case 26: C.A. 15-6, M.A. 18-4, I.Q. 125, Grade 10).-- Although Wanda could adapt somewhat to the new teaching methods and curriculum in the new high school she was attending, she found the children to be very "snobbish" and unfriendly and the teachers to be "somewhat like that too." She said that she regretted that her family moved into the new district. Peer approval meant a great deal to Wanda, since she did not feel secure in the affection of her parents. The father openly rejected and abused her, and the mother's time was taken by the two pre-school sisters in the home. Although she had run away from home for several weeks at a time to escape an unbearable home situation, she had enjoyed her school experience, especially relationships with teachers and pupils in her former school. In the new school Wanda soon began to play truant. The feelings of rejection she experienced at home were now being intensified by her new school situation, in which she felt greatly rejected.

Wanda's attempt to escape her home situation, the behavior for which she was brought into court, was paralleled later by her truancy from the school to which she had been transferred.

The following case, that of Roger, is discussed at length to show his adjustment and achievement pattern and how being forced to transfer from a school he liked brought to the surface the deep-seated problems and conflicts in a very disturbed and highly traumatized boy. A school experience that caused his suspension, his transfer to an all-Negro school, and many discussions in his classroom intensified inferiority feelings that originated in his relations with his parents but which had become associated with race and with every other rationalization Roger could find. This case also shows how neurotic mechanisms of a psychosomatic type can develop in response to school problems.

Roger (Case 15: C.A. 13-9, M.A. 11-2, I.Q. 83, Grade Special-Problem-Boys).-- Because the incident forcing Roger to transfer

represented to him racial discrimination and rejection by school people, volumes of hatred, resentment, and rebellion were mobilized against school, which now symbolized the typical mistreatment of Negroes by white people. Roger said he struck a white girl on her arm and was then told by the principal that he would have to go to an all-Negro school "where he said I belonged."

Roger had also received his first failing experience at the school from which he was transferred. He said that he had been in the former school long enough to pass when his first term there ended. To the question, "How did you feel when you failed the first time," he replied, "I didn't know I had stuck, so when the others got up to go to the fifth grade, I got up too, and the teacher said, 'You sit down because you stuck.' I felt bad, awful bad, but there was a lot of girls and boys who had just moved there the way I did, and they stuck too." He continued in this school from the fourth grade (repeating) through the seventh grade and the beginning of the eighth grade, when the incident occurred with the white girl. He played truant a few times during this period, but said he really "didn't want to miss school because I liked my subjects then."

Roger liked his teachers "pretty well, although they sent me home two or three times for fighting," he reported. Regarding the difficulty that precipitated his transfer, Roger said, "After I was absent one day, the colored boys had seen that white girl take my fountain pen and things from my desk and I said to her, 'I heard you got my things out of my desk' and she said she didn't. Then I got so mad I hit her on her arm, real hard, like this. I shouldn't have done it 'cause I never had hit a girl before, then she said, 'I'll get you for this, you.' Her mother hates colored folks too. At lunch time the principal sent for me and gave me eleven swats and told me to go get my mom. The kids said I had 'messed' up and I got scared and tore up the letter he sent mom. I told mom I was sick and could not go back to school. Then I did get sick."

Roger described how he often got sick "at the stomach" when he was faced with unpleasant situations. Regarding a murder he saw in the West End he said, "I saw him die before the police got there. I got sick at my stomach and just walked on away. He bled a awful lot." Roger said one of his teachers used to tell his class how Negroes looked "dark" and acted "bad" in the South, and how they would "git whapped" for acting that way. He said it made him feel "shame" when the teacher told about how bad "they acted." He said, it "made me sick at the stomach and mad when he told us about them getting beaten in the South."

Roger was afraid that white people riding on street cars through the West End would see Negroes "drunk and acting bad and would think all Negroes acted that way." The fact that Roger's foster parents and own mother were alcoholic and were known to fight viciously when they

were intoxicated was a definite source of shame to the boy. When he was asked when he was most unhappy at home, he stated, "when Dad is drunk." He was always happiest during the week, he said, "for Dad is always drunk on Saturday and Sunday. When he gets half-drunk, he gets out of his mind--he don't know what he's doing--flies off and tries to hurt you." Roger was ashamed of being identified with Negro people because he had been convinced by his teacher that "they get drunk and fight." This was borne out by his own parents, whom he loved but who were also a great source of shame and humiliation. Now to be told by the principal that he had to go to an all-Negro school because he too fought was forcing Roger to think of himself as "bad and no-good."

When Roger was first interviewed, he was refusing completely to go to the Negro school. The home visitor had brought him into juvenile detention to remain until he accepted the all-Negro school. He finally agreed to attend the school. After going there for one month he was interviewed again by the writer. The Negro teacher had worked very hard to help Roger adjust in the new school situation. He had visited his home, an action which pleased Roger, he said, "cause he didn't act mad when he came in, and he didn't tell my mom all the bad things on you like teachers usually do." The teacher had appointed Roger as street guard, an assignment for which he was so happy that he reported one-half hour earlier than necessary for duty each morning. Yet he could not understand why his parents liked even this teacher, "cause he ain't no good, cause he was late coming to the room." This teacher was in charge of the school guards and occasionally was late getting to his room. Roger had been convinced that "colored people were no good" and therefore his colored teacher "was no good" either.

He liked a teacher he had had at the former school better than any teacher he had known. He said he liked least of all the teacher who "talked about your color." His best friend was also in his former school. When asked what were some of the things he did to make his friends like him better, he replied, "Nuttin' -- I don't try to make 'em like me. Even if they liked me I still wouldn't like them 'cause they try to be all bad. I don't want 'em to like me. I might be a little better about it now, but first time I went there I didn't like nobody in there." He was then attending the Negro school. Despite this contention Roger made the three following wishes about school: "(1) learn me how to divide, (2) learn me how to paint more (he wanted to be a house painter), (3) make some of the children like me."

Forced transferring was definitely not the sole cause of Roger's difficulties, but he had made fair progress and had been fairly happy in school until the forced transfer occurred. The principal's feelings and insights regarding emotional conflicts of children, especially of a

racial nature, are not known, but it seems reasonable to assume that he might not have made this type of transfer had he known the damage that was being done to an already greatly disturbed boy. It may be noted that Roger may not have reported accurately the incident which led to his transfer. His feelings about the event and other school experiences are more important in solving his problems than the actual occurrences. Roger never made a school adjustment after the transfer. He soon "dropped out" altogether. He ran away and could not be located.

The following case is one in which a girl was transferred to an all-Negro school, for a reason similar to that given by Roger for his transfer. However, because her needs were not as deep seated as Roger's the school was able to help her make a fair adjustment.

Laura (Case 1: C.A. 13-6, M.A. 10-6, I.Q. 79, Grade Special).-- Laura had been sent to the same all-Negro school because she had "fought white girls." She said, "I hated it because I didn't want to go there. They say you can't get a job when you finish from there." Despite her resistance to her school placement, Laura was making a much better adjustment than Roger. Her basic problems were not so serious and she was somewhat less dependent upon and less affected by the emotional tone of her school experience than was Roger. Her mother was rejecting and cruel but had some assets as a mother. She provided for the girl's physical and recreational needs, and was able, at times, to express some affection for Laura. Laura had learned to like one of her teachers and was exhibiting a measure of responsiveness to other teachers. This was accomplished despite her feeling that the school was not nearly so good as the "white schools."

If a child is permitted to participate in his transfer and it is made on a therapeutic basis, the change may have a positive influence on the child's later school adjustment. Positive effects of school transfers were found in the cases of five boys and one girl who presented very serious problems to their schools and were transferred for this reason to new schools. One of these cases, that of Walter, is described

below. Walter's transfer had been made on a positive basis, with the child participating in planning the transfer. The change of schools resulted in definite therapeutic effects upon the boy.

Walter (Case 21: C.A. 13-5, M.A. 14-0, I.Q. 106, Grade 7).--
Walter had burglarized the school and the neighborhood grocery and committed other delinquencies with a gang of boys, most of whom attended his school (an elementary school). His entire problem had been discussed with him, including the kind of unhealthy influence he and his friends had upon each other, his need for special trade training, and other related matters. He was given a chance to choose the new school or to remain in his present school with the assurance that he was not unwelcome there. He reported to the writer, "I was not put out of the school; I can go back if I want to...they like me over there, but after thinking it over, I decided to go to trade school." He had been a very serious behavior problem in his former school because of his gang associations. In the trade school he was smaller than most of the boys and not nearly so powerful a leader. He was called "a pretty good boy" in his new school situation. He had gained the feeling that he was representing his former school in the new trade school and said the principal and home room teacher of the former school "are kinda depending on me to do good over there."

Another transfer with a favorable outcome was that of Millie. Millie was transferred because her father, estranged from the family, lived directly opposite the child's school and often induced her to play truant to visit him. Her flippancy and social precocity also caused her to be a problem in her junior high school. In this case the transfer was so managed as to give the child the feeling that it was for her good.

Millie (Case 20: C.A. 14-10, M.A. 15-10, I.Q. 111, Grade 9).--
The school welcomed Millie's transfer because Millie was presenting a defiant, "smart aleck" attitude, and her sexual precocity was sure "to get her into trouble," as the assistant principal reported. The transfer was made between semi-annual terms or semesters, on the basis that Millie wanted to specialize in "commercial work" so that she could be prepared for a definite job upon graduation from high school. Although she soon revealed her flippancy and impudence in the new school, her sexual precocity and independent air were much less conspicuous in a more mature group of children. She judged that she was getting along fairly well in the school to which she transferred, although she had only been there a short time. Her mother had had to go to Millie's new school

only once, but had been going to the former school every week, Millie said, "especially when I got expelled." She had been expelled two or three times she said, "for chewing gum, for going out at lunch time, and when a girl saw me smoking." Her transfer was made on a positive basis and had definite therapeutic effects upon Millie's adjustment in the new school. She no longer was truant nor were her smoking and precocity a problem.

The following case is that of a boy whose transfer proved beneficial because the homeroom teacher in his new school understood his needs and was meeting them on an objective basis.

Milton (Case 48: C.A. 15-5, M.A. 15-2, I.Q. 104, Grade 8).-- Although Milton had been sent from his junior high school to an elementary school far out of his district to punish him for his part in the theft of a car, he found a haven in the school to which he went. There were several factors that were obviously contributing to his adjustment: first, was the clinical and accepting attitude of the homeroom teacher whose training in the Cincinnati child study program had prepared him to diagnose early in his contacts with children their needs and problems. Although Milton had only been with this teacher for one month when he was visited there by the writer, the teacher had a clear conception of the boy's needs, and had already begun meeting them by giving Milton responsibilities and experiences in the areas of his skills and interests. Some of Milton's own confusion about social participation and status had been cleared up through open group discussions. Teachers did not like him in the former school because, they said, "He was always bidding for the limelight." Another factor in his new adjustment was the smaller number of boys of his own age with whom he had to compete in the newer school. Too, he did not need the facade he had assumed in the former school, where he had posed beyond his economic capacity and means, since in his present school there was less stress placed on social and economic status among peers and teachers. This placement might have proved disastrous for Milton, since the receiving school felt that it had been exploited by the transferring school. The principal of the receiving school reported that the other school "dumped their problem boy onto us...He even lives out of our district."

Two of the three subjects who were attending a class which was especially designed for problem boys were adjusting satisfactorily there after their transfer. The program included considerable free activity, used concrete teaching methods and materials and was conducted with much permissiveness, yet with reasonable restraint and authority.

The teacher had great adaptiveness and acceptance, but also manifested the inner strength that delinquents need to feel in adults as support for their own weak egos or personality structure. In spite of these advantages, the third subject who was in this class continued to be greatly upset, because he considered his placement as punishment.

Some types of school changes either within the school or outside of the school might have been beneficial to the six subjects who had not changed schools at all. All of them had been severely stigmatized by their delinquent reputations and were experiencing rejection by teachers and peers. Three children (Cases 14, 16, 22) who had never changed schools attended small elementary schools and were so well known to all the teachers and children that there seemed to be no way of creating a better reputation or securing acceptance for them in their schools under the circumstances. Three of the four children who had changed schools only once also had very poor reputations. The fourth boy's acceptance by teachers and children probably could have been improved within his present school setting since his rejection by them was less marked.

The mere transferring of a delinquent child into a new school situation is not the total solution to his problems, for it usually takes only a short time for his reputation to become known in the new school situation. Twenty-two of the fifty-five subjects had entered their present schools during the current school year, and already seventeen of the twenty-two had revealed their personalities in the schools to teachers and principals through truancy, stealing, defying teachers, running away, or other negative behavior.

A transfer carried out on a therapeutic basis, with the new school program having some tangible appeal, may be helpful to the child's adjustment. Punitive transferring was found to have definite negative effects unless the new school situation could offset these effects.

Analysis of problem of school transferring and changing.-- The following possibilities are suggested, in explanation of the difficulties arising from school transfers.

1. Problems created for the child who must change schools frequently may arise from unfamiliar teaching methods and curriculum materials, friendly and unfriendly personalities of teachers and peers, and new codes of peer society.

2. Frequent changing of schools may cause children to lose interest in achievement and thereby to establish and accept a pattern of failing or lagging progress in school. As a further result of school changing, truancy and other attendance problems may result. The child's own personal adjustment may deteriorate with his inability to keep pace with the changing demands of each new school situation. Truancy is a known forerunner of other more serious delinquent behavior and may be originally motivated by a pattern of changing schools (2:324).

3. Hostility and aggression, if not caused by the frustration resulting from frequent changing of schools, may be intensified by this experience. Most delinquent children express aggression in some form (257:641). It is not known how much of this aggression may be directly or indirectly related to frequent changing of schools, but transferring

may be a contributing factor in many instances because of the frustration experienced.

4. Other ill effects that may be exhibited to a lesser degree than aggression among delinquent children are those of non-participation and withdrawal from the school program and activities.

5. Some factors that may influence beneficial transferring of delinquents to new schools are: (a) permitting the child to participate in transfer plans, (b) giving him a feeling of assurance that he is not being rejected by his transferring school, (c) offering a new school for tangible, concrete reasons, rather than punitive or unstated ones, (d) a clinical and accepting attitude of the new school personnel in studying needs of children and in immediately helping the child to develop a feeling of belonging and of security in the new group, (e) permitting the child to share in new school and classroom responsibilities and activities, and (f) attainable peer standards. A school program suitable to the child's emotional and training needs, together with the foregoing factors, may accentuate positive effects of transferring.

Attendance Patterns

A variety of factors especially of a dynamic nature may influence the attendance patterns of delinquent children. In this section the following topics are discussed: extent of absence from school by subjects, dynamic factors in non-attendance at school, and dynamic factors in regular school attendance of subjects. A series of case studies are included

in the two latter topics of discussion.

Extent of absence from school by subjects.--- The children of this study were similar to other delinquent children in irregularity of school attendance (101:148; 142:144). These subjects had missed on the average, twenty-four days, or thirteen per cent of every school year that they had attended school. The mean number of days missed by subjects was ascertained by averaging the days absent from school as recorded on their cumulative reports. Cumulative reports for four children were lost in the schools. For these subjects data on absences were not available. Table 10 gives a distribution of the average number of days per year missed in school by fifty-one children. One child (Case 13) had missed, on the average, 74 days every year that she had been in school.

Dynamic factors in non-attendance at school.--- All factors contributing to non-attendance at school do not exist in every attendance case, nor do interrelated factors exist in the same proportions in every case. Like other personality manifestations as Klein says, "Chronic, well established truancy is a complex phenomenon involving the interaction of social and intrapsychic forces. Secondary gains are prominent, and the original intrapsychic causes tend to become obscured" (139:268).

In analyzing the case records in court and other collected data regarding the subjects of this study who had poor school attendance records, certain dynamic factors, which never appeared in isolation or in any particular configuration, seemed to be outstanding. Weak and

TABLE 10
AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS MISSED FROM SCHOOL PER SCHOOL
YEAR BY DELINQUENT CHILDREN*

Average Number of Days Missed Each Year	Frequency
70-79	1
60-69	0
50-59	1
40-49	2
30-39	12
20-29	15
10-19	11
1- 9	9
TOTAL	51

* Four cumulative records were lost.

ineffectual parents who did not have the strength to counteract a child's resistance to school attendance were notable. Often coupled with this ineffective control over school attendance were other manifestations of poor control in supervision, authority, and guidance of the child. Case histories further revealed that in some cases school attendance and achievement records of parents had been poor and that they had not resolved their own resentment and bitterness against school or other authority (Cases 2, 6, 13, 29). The parents themselves usually had a low level of appreciation for the value of education. This factor carried over to other aspects of the parents' social adjustment, which contributed to the child's total pattern of delinquency as well as to his truancy. The quality of relationship that existed between the child and his parent correlated, not only with the attendance of the child in school, but also with his general pattern of delinquency. Most of the other factors found to exist in the cases of exceedingly poor school attendance and in actual truancy existed in combination with poor parental relationships. Factors verbalized by the children were: rejection by teachers and peers (e.g., Cases 6, 26, 32), influence of peers on attendance patterns (Case 40), punitive transfers forced or imposed by schools (e.g., Case 15), suspension, illness, poor curriculum, dislike for school and teachers, sense of failure and poor achievement, and loss of interest in work. Although these factors to which the children point did usually exist, it is believed that they are secondary to intrapsychic factors caused by poor parental relationships and home conditions.

It has been said by Kvaraceus that "Delinquent boys and girls tend

often to retreat from school because...they have much from which to seek refuge" (142:145). Fornwalt reported that teachers are more responsible for truancy than they realize, because of "name-calling," ridicule, and humiliation. "Truancy may be a minor problem in most schools, but it is not a problem with minor consequences" (87:89). Only four of the children of this study blamed teachers directly for their truancy. The children gave such reasons for missing school as, "Dumb teachers don't understand" and "I hated my teacher." Sixteen admitted playing truant and eleven used some form of illness as an excuse. Family laxity and other problems were noted in such reasons as, "I stayed home with the baby" (Case 13); "I got up too late;" "I ran away from home two months;" "Dad beat me so I couldn't sit down" (Case 26). Examples of those situations relating directly to dislike for school were, "School is monotonous and dull;" "I hated the routine;" "School is doing me no good;" "No fun in school;" and "School is dull."

Each case presented contains several of these factors, some cases having more than others. The first child to be discussed is Ola whose attendance was chiefly influenced by her home and her own low intelligence, but was also affected by teacher attitudes.

Ola (Case 13: C.A. 14-10, M.A. 11-8, I.Q. 82, Grade 8).-- Ola had the poorest attendance record of any subject. She had been absent an average of seventy-four days a year throughout her school career. Ola's poor attendance, like that for most of the group, seemed to stem primarily from poor home control, organization, and motivation, with low intelligence intensifying the problem. The mother was weak and ineffectual in discipline and had limited appreciation for education. She readily signed unwarranted excuse slips for Ola to take to school or to the home visitor. Moreover, she helped to create situations for Ola to remain out of school, like caring for the four-year-old nephew of the mother. The mother had been a juvenile delinquent herself and had been

sent to Hillcrest School, a residential school for problem girls. The father was living with his fifth wife in a nearby city and showed no interest in Ola. She had not seen him during the seven years the parents had been divorced. Ola was not opposed to the basin, or downtown schools that she had attended, because "Teachers and kids treated you nice." She said she was very unhappy, however, in the school she was now attending, because "The kids thought they were better than me 'cause they had better clothes, more money, and lived in them fine houses." Her feelings of inferiority and social class sensitiveness had been greatly intensified when one of the teachers kept saying, in Ola's words, "Them kids was better than 'down-town' kids that she called the lower class." Ola identified herself with the lower-class children and in their defense said, "They're a lot 'realer' than them snubs up there." This particular teacher reported that she had tried very hard to motivate Ola and rescue her from delinquency, but she had unknowingly made the child dislike her intensely in her discussions with the children of middle-class and lower-class culture. Ola's attendance had been better one year when she was attending her favorite basin school. She said she felt more at home with pupils and teachers in this school and attended school more regularly that year of her own accord. Evidently this school was able to offer some tangible appeal for and security to this dull girl in spite of her mother's uncooperative attitude.

Van (Case 40), who is discussed below, became a serious problem from the standpoint of truancy in the tenth grade. His situation was somewhat similar to that of Ola, except that his mother did not encourage poor attendance as Ola's mother did. The immaturity and dependency needs of Van and the school's apparent inability to meet the early needs of this boy were predominant factors. The origin of the truancy pattern is also demonstrated in this case, while another factor was the lack of "push from home" through social anxiety of parents about achievement and "pull from school by lure of reward," described by Allison Davis (62a: 145) in discussing poor home motivation and school appeal. A poor sense of achievement, with subsequent loss of interest, also appears in this case. The lack of early diagnosis of the boy's problems and of appropriate treatment by the schools may have been a contributing factor to the

poor interest and effort shown in school by this highly intelligent boy.

Van (Case 40: C.A. 16-6, M.A. 18-9, I.Q. 125, Grade 10).-- According to the case record, Van was referred to the Juvenile Court because "He refuses to attend school...Mother is unable to do anything with the boy and is requesting the court to place Van elsewhere." Van, a tall, stoop-shouldered Negro boy, spent his time reading, mostly funny books, and just "hanging 'round various restaurants and joints." He was the only child of divorced parents and lived with his mother in the basin, or downtown area of the city. He had never known his father. Although he had an I.Q. of 125, he was repeating the 10th grade. He felt that his truancy had caused him to fail and added, "I've only been to school one-third of this school year -- I'm a veteran truant, you know...I started in the first grade when a boy said 'let's ditch our books and go for a walk'...I've been truanting ever since when I didn't feel like going to school." He said he did not enjoy "truanting" but just hated school "so bad." He lost all interest in school when he started the ninth grade, because he thought high school work would be more interesting than it was.

Van never worked up to his capacity in school. He usually remained in the lowest one-third of his class, he said. He had always wanted to be a writer, or actor, or maybe a pharmacist. He would not mind going back to school, he said, "If I could see results in what I was taking or see myself getting close to an end of some kind." His wishes regarding school were, (1) to be filled with the ambition to go ahead and finish school, (2) to take exactly in school what I wanted and the way I wanted to take it, (3) to be able to participate in extra-curricular activities. Van obtained a grade rating above eleven on the advanced reading test of the Stanford Achievement Series and a grade level of eight on the advanced arithmetic test.

The homeroom teacher did not know Van very well, because she spent only five minutes a day with the homeroom group and Van was truant so much that she knew even less about him than she knew about her average homeroom pupil. However, she reported, "He was quiet and caused no trouble." The other teachers told her that he had done some creative writing in English classes, but was a very lazy boy. She further said that she often told him to "straighten up because he was so stooped in walking." His mathematics teacher said that he was reported to have good ability, but "he never wrote one paper nor prepared one single assignment in my class." She had felt often that she could help children like Van, but the counselors had told teachers to say nothing to pupils about their problems. "This makes it hard for the teacher, especially when the child comes to you for help with his problems," she noted. She tried to stimulate Van in class, but finally gave up and just "let him sit." Other teachers confirmed the report that he was lazy and indifferent and that he began deteriorating in attitude and achievement during the current year "right under our very eyes." The teachers used various

methods of stimulating the boy, such as moving him to the front of the class, putting pressure on him, talking to him, and letting him make up work. One teacher said, "He was one of the most capable I ever taught, but was such a dreamer." When asked what she, as his teacher, would like to do for Van she stated, "build a fire under him." Van quit school completely and was still drifting from "one joint to another" when school closed.

The effects of rejection by the school were seen to operate strongly in the attendance problems of three boys (Cases 15, 28, and 54), all of whom have been discussed earlier in this chapter. They had been transferred to new schools because of their behavior and maladjustment in their former schools. These boys were such serious attendance problems at the time of the study that all the pressure that the court and the schools could bring to bear could not force them into attending school. All were under sixteen years of age, and their I.Q.'s ranged from 83 (Case 15) to 125 (Case 54). Two had been transferred to an all-Negro school because they had been serious problems in the racially mixed schools they had attended. One said he requested a transfer to the all-Negro school because he knew he was being sent there anyway. They felt greatly rejected and punished by school people, and one boy (Case 28) reported, "I'll go to the electric chair before I go back to school." He had no other delinquencies than truancy on record. It is recognized that this boy's open conflict with the former principal did precipitate and intensify the truancy problem. It was evident that a pathological fear of being beaten up in school was the original and deeper motivation for his truancy. Roger, (Case 15) who had come from an elementary school, also felt exceedingly hostile toward school, because of his transfer. At the time of this study, efforts were being made to help him to work through some of his most serious problems under the guidance of an

understanding teacher of problem boys. However, the boy did not respond to this help, as he quit school altogether and disappeared within a few months at the age of fourteen years. All of these children had serious intrapsychic disturbances which were intensified by school rejection.

Dynamic factors in regular school attendance of delinquents.--

Of the seven subjects with the best attendance, six were as delinquent as the other subjects of the study. All of these six were still trying and hoping to gain the security and affection, especially through teacher or peer approval and acceptance, that they did not feel at home. These six cases are described briefly below, each in a single paragraph. Individual differences appeared in this group of subjects, as will be noted, but all of them found school in some way more satisfying than home.

Margie (Case 53: C.A. 14-3, M.A. 14-10, I.Q. 107, Grade 8).--
Margie who was discussed earlier under extent of school changing, had changed schools thirteen times, but was attending school regularly at the time of the study. She was using unsuccessfully every possible method to wring from teachers the affection and acceptance she had been denied by other adults in her life. She had missed only one day of school during the year.

Tommy (Case 10: C.A. 8-7, M.A. 7, I.Q. 82, Grade Special).--
Tommy had found a real reservoir of love and affection in his principal. He managed to get to school even when his mother and eight siblings were evicted from their home, with their belongings placed in the streets in sub-zero weather. The father served periodic jail terms for petty thievery. Both parents were grossly ignorant. Tommy had been expelled from one school when he was six, because he was too unsocialized to adjust to the group. During the study, he was attending a special class in the school directed by his principal-friend. Of the principal, Tommy said, "He's the best friend I ever had."

Grace (Case 38: C.A. 15-7, M.A. 14-8, I.Q. 99, Grade 9).--
Grace had a sense of achievement and acceptance in her school and was

considerably better adjusted in school than any of the other children of this study. She had averaged only 8.5 days of absence each year she had been in school. She had no particular motivation at home to attend school, since the father was alcoholic and syphilitic, the mother was dead, and the grandparents old and dependent upon Aid for the Aged funds. However, they loved Grace in their simple but assuring, consistent way. The school showed considerable acceptance of Grace and helped her gain recognition in many constructive ways. Her sex delinquency for which she was known to the Court was characteristic of her cultural milieu.

Kelley (Case 39: C.A. 15-10, M.A. 10-10, I.Q. 73, Grade Special).---
Kelley had shifted between parochial and public schools, and had averaged fifty-seven absences every year that he had attended public schools, but was attending regularly at the time of the study. He had been expelled the previous year from parochial school for his delinquent conduct and truancy. His adjustment and attendance had improved since his placement in a special class in an East End elementary school, because his teacher kept in constant contact with the mother and also worked intensively with Kelley on his own problems as he faced them. She reported, "He is a handful."

Harry (Case 45: C.A. 15-10, M.A. 14-6, I.Q. 97, Grade 9).---
Harry had gained acceptance by being the school "clown" and "cut-up." It was the only way that he had ever gained attention in his life, since his mother openly preferred his younger brother to him, and his deserting father paid no attention to him. Harry's school attendance was good in comparison to that of other delinquents. He had missed, on the average, nine days each year that he had been in school. He ran into some difficulty when he entered high school, because there were two teachers who did not applaud his clowning. They talked to him of gaining approval in more constructive ways than belittling himself and clowning. This frustration was so upsetting at first that Harry began playing truant. Finally a young gymnasium teacher started pointing out his specific physical potentialities like agility, which he could develop into superior skills. Harry experienced his first real sense of achievement in school in this way, and therefore, gained a new motive for attending school.

Wilson (Case 24: C.A. 14-1, M.A. 14-2, I.Q. 94, Grade 9).---
Wilson had averaged only 9.5 days of absence from school because he had always managed to get on baseball and basketball teams. He was considered an all-round good athlete but a "poor sport" in his basin junior high school. His feeling of being displaced in his mother's affection by a stepfather made it hard for Wilson to share with others or yield to them in games, because of fear of losing status. However, because he was skilled in games and enjoyed success in them, he attended school regularly. He did not care for subjects other than sports. Wilson and his mother had been the sole survivors of a family feud in Kentucky,

which intensified his attachment to his mother, and thus created serious problems for him when he was displaced by a stepfather. His Juvenile Court referral came when he stole some guns from a hardware store.

Of the six children discussed above, Margie and Tommy sought affection in the school situation; Fay, Kelley and Wilson each found a measure of success in some phase of the school program; Harry used the school as a center for clowning as a way of seeking recognition. While Fay had some initial support from her grandparents, she needed school acceptance to make up for the lack of parental affection.

Another subject, Henry (Case 7), who is discussed below, also had a good attendance record. In his case, there was parental motivation for him to make a good school record.

Henry (Case 7: C.A. 17-4, M.A. 17-4, I.Q. 116, Grade 12).-- Henry came from a home where motivation to attend school was strong; his two older sisters were high school graduates. There was also close supervision in the home, despite the mother's religious fanaticism and other strongly neurotic traits. This boy was not embarrassed as some children would be when his mother drew out her Bible in an unofficial court hearing to read long scriptures to the probation officer. The family was closely knit and loyal. Henry had averaged only 3.7 days of absence every year that he had been in school. He was a seriously neurotic boy, who manifested his disorder in stuttering and in deep-seated hatred of people whom he strongly felt were persecuting him. He insisted vehemently that "The assistant principal and gym teacher framed me when they said I stole from that boy's locker." He was graduating from the twelfth grade and had a good sense of achievement.

Four boys among the subjects (Cases 15, 18, 32 and 46) had shown some improvement in attendance at the time of the study, because of the flexibility of the program in their special classes which were designed for problem boys. The firm but friendly control of the teachers in these classes, and their permissive emotional atmosphere no doubt contributed to the improvement in attendance.

Analysis of attendance patterns.-- Several generalizations seem appropriate with reference to attendance patterns.

1. Poor attendance patterns of delinquent children often originate with poor motivation and controls in their homes. Their parents sometimes still defy authority. Feeling that school and other authorities "are against us," the parents may introject this defiance into their children.

2. Delinquent children known to the Juvenile Court generally come from lower social class levels, and resent being set aside from other groups in school. This sensitiveness is also true of other minority groups. The feeling of being rejected or less chosen than their more fortunate peers may affect their school attendance. Their sensitiveness to peer rejections may also cause them to play truant. The feelings of rejection that delinquent children have in school regarding teachers, principals, and their peers may have a real or imagined basis. However, these feelings in most cases are projected from the child's own family experiences into the school situation. Most delinquent children have poor relationships with their families and siblings (264).

3. Fears of some aspects of the school situation might cause truancy, as the fear of the teacher, the children, or of failure. Expulsion and punitive transfers to other schools so intensify the rejection and hostility within the already disturbed child that poorer attendance habits and sometimes absolute rebellion against school may result. Transferring a child may have therapeutic effects upon his attendance and general attitudes toward school, but only when such a transfer is made on a positive basis.

4. Attendance of delinquents is often helped when teachers work closely with the home and intensively with the child on his own personal problems. This success depends largely upon the teacher's own attitude of acceptance. For example, she can not have the need to counteract aggression with aggression or punishment, regardless of the size of her class groups or pressure of work. The teacher also has to be able not to blame parents or the children openly for problems presented.

5. Aside from teacher personality and peer relations, it is found that a program in a special class designed with a certain amount of free activity, a somewhat permissive yet restricted atmosphere, and without the rigidity and formality of the regular academic program, makes attendance easier for these children.

6. Some delinquent children have good attendance patterns, because they are obviously still searching for affection and security that they do not receive from adults in their homes.

7. When delinquent children can find some means of satisfaction through their experiences in achievement in subject matter, or through athletics or other activities, their desire to attend school may be enhanced. Few delinquents find achievement an incentive to attend school, since they achieve poorly in subject matter and skills.

Achievement Levels

The following topics are discussed in this section: the achievement levels of the subjects in terms of grade level and chronological

age, normally placed subjects, chronologically retarded subjects, special class placement, grade level and mental capacity, achievement scores on reading and arithmetic tests, and dynamic factors in the achievement of the subjects.

Average age and grade level.--- The mean grade placement of the fifty-five subjects of this study was 7.7. The range of placement was from grade two to grade twelve, with thirteen of the subjects being in special classes of some kind. The mean chronological age of the group was 14.2 at the time of study, a fact which indicated an average retardation for the group of approximately one and one-half to two grades (Table 11).

Grade level and chronological age.--- In Table 11 is shown the age-grade placement of the subjects. The Engelhardt age-grade norms (76:352) were used for constructing the age-grade charts of this study. Only seven of the fifty-five subjects were at those grade levels considered normal for their ages. A report of the Superintendent of Schools, Cincinnati, Ohio, published in September, 1947 (1a:9), shows the age-grade distribution of all pupils enrolled in the local public schools, and also the percentages of normal, underage, and overage pupils at each grade level. Overageness was most common in the seventh and eighth grades. Even in these grades, nearly eighty per cent of the children were placed at their proper age-grade levels. On the other hand, Table 11 shows that of the delinquents all the seventh-grade children of this study and all but two of the eighth-grade children were overage.

Normally placed subjects.--- Five of the seven normally placed

TABLE 11

CHRONOLOGICAL AGES AND GRADE PLACEMENT OF FIFTY-FIVE DELINQUENT CHILDREN

Chronological Ages in Years and Months	Normal Age Limits for Each Grade												Total
	5-9 to 7-3	6-9 to 8-3	7-9 to 9-3	8-9 to 10-3	9-9 to 11-3	10-9 to 12-3	11-9 to 13-3	12-9 to 14-3	13-9 to 15-3	14-9 to 16-3	15-9 to 17-3	16-9 to 18-3	
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	
6-9 to 7-3													
7-3 to 7-9													
7-9 to 8-3													
8-3 to 8-9													
8-9 to 9-3		1											1
9-3 to 9-9			1										1
9-9 to 10-3													1
10-3 to 10-9													1
10-9 to 11-3				1									1
11-3 to 11-9				1	2								1
11-9 to 12-3					2								1
12-3 to 12-9						2							1
12-9 to 13-3					1								1
13-3 to 13-9					2								1
13-9 to 14-3						1							1
14-3 to 14-9							2						1
14-9 to 15-3								2					1
15-3 to 15-9								2					1
15-9 to 16-3									1				1
16-3 to 16-9										1			1
16-9 to 17-3											1		1
17-3 to 17-9												1	1
17-9 to 18-3													1
Total	1	1	1	2	7	3	4	10	10	2	1	1	55
Normal Age								2		1	1	1	8
Overage	1	1	1	2	7	3	4	8	8	1			34
Underage													0
Special classes													13
													13

subjects had I.Q.'s above 111. However, only one of these five was working at the level expected of his mental capacity. The two who were not of superior intelligence had I.Q.'s of 92 and 87. The latter, a girl (Case 4), was placed one year above her mental capacity. She was in the lowest section of the eighth grade in her school. There had been considerable pressure placed by her family on her to achieve in school, since two sisters of the father had graduated from college, and two others were attending college.

All seven normally placed subjects had a sense of economic security and some measure of stability in their home lives. Such major forces disintegrating to family life as alcoholism, desertion, mental disease, and criminality were not present in their family situations. While over-restraining or neurotic parents may have contributed to the general maladjustment of these seven children, the parental problems were not so serious that the disintegration of the homes was in progress. The seven children had attended from two to six schools each, with an average of four schools, while the whole group of fifty-five had attended an average of five different schools each. None of these children showed long-standing truancy. Only two of the group presented serious truancy. One of these was a Negro boy with an I.Q. of 125 (Case 54), who was discussed earlier in this chapter, and who rebelled through serious truancy against placement in an all-Negro school. The second was a girl (Case 25) who had developed a strong sexual attachment to an older man. The delinquencies exhibited by these seven normally placed children were, on the whole, less serious than those of most of the remaining forty-eight

subjects. Of the latter, thirty-six were retarded in school, and twelve were placed in special classes. It seems to be indicated that such factors as intelligence, family stability and motivation, socio-economic status, regularity of school attendance, less school changing, and less serious personality problems had aided certain children in making normal progress in school, despite the fact that all had exhibited some form of delinquent behavior.

Chronologically retarded subjects.-- As is shown in Table 11, thirty-four of the forty-two subjects in regular classes were, by most age-grade tables, from one to three grades retarded chronologically in school. Overageness, without the complication of other problems, can create serious problems of adjustment for children in school. All eighteen children below the eighth grade were overage. Eight of the ten subjects who were in the eighth grade were overage. Of five children who were three grades below normal, one was in the seventh grade, two were in the eighth grade, and two were in the fifth grade.

Special class placement.-- Thirteen of the fifty-five children were in special classes of various kinds. Four of the boys (Cases 15, 18, 32 and 46) with I.Q.'s ranging from 83 to 100, were placed in classes designed for problem boys. Three of these boys (Cases 18, 32, 46) were attending a school which offered a special program for problem boys, and one (Case 15) a special class in a basin all-Negro school. Four children (Cases 1, 10, 39, 51) with I.Q.'s of 70 to 82, were in slow-learning classes in regular elementary and junior high schools. Four others (Cases 2, 29, 33, 43), with I.Q.'s of 53 to 79 were in a special

school for slow-learning children. Five of the six slow-learning children had been placed in special classes or schools because they were behavior problems and were also of low intelligence. In other words, they were both serious behavior and learning problems. Intelligence seemed to be a stronger factor in special class grouping and placement of these children than was emotional adjustment or other problems presented by them.

Of the total group, only one child was in a class designed for children with physical handicaps. Although this girl (Case 42) was attending a sight-saving class, she was doing much of her work with normal sixth-graders in the school.

On the whole the subjects in the special classes were not so poorly adjusted as those who were in regular classes. One reason seemed to be that the children in special classes were receiving much more individual attention from teachers.

Nine-year-old Ralph (Case 43) and fifteen-year-old Leroy (Case 2) had resented at first being sent to the special school for slow-learning children because it was called "the nut and bolt school," but both said they became satisfied later. Leroy had learned to do arithmetic and to read some words for the first time in his life, and Ralph was glad he had learned to read a little. Ralph said he had found a "teacher who is good to me."

Grade level and mental capacity.--- The extent to which the subjects were retarded in terms of their age-grade status seems less serious when their mental capacity is considered, however, it is serious enough

to warrent attention. An age-grade chart based on mental ages, Table 12, shows the relation of grade placement to mental ages for forty-two of the subjects not in special classes. The mental ages were determined from the Stanford-Binet Intelligence test. Fourteen of these subjects were placed at grade levels appropriate to their mental age ratings. Sixteen were below and twelve above the appropriate grade levels.

All sixteen children who were working below their mental capacity had I.Q.'s of 94 or above, while fifteen of them had I.Q.'s of one hundred or above. Only one boy with an I.Q. above one hundred (Case 7; I.Q. 116, Grade 12) was working up to the grade level expected of one with his mental age.

The following brief discussion illustrates the limited use that the delinquent was making of his capacity, and how teachers because of the quality of their performance and their behavior were sometimes unaware of the child's real mental capacity.

Jim (Case 37: C.A. 16-3, M.A. 19-5, I.Q. 129, Grade 8).--- Jim, a rebellious but withdrawing boy, who has already been discussed in this chapter showed the greatest discrepancy between capacity and grade placement. His teachers were all concerned because he would not participate in class activities, "He seemed to be so withdrawn," reported one teacher. Another teacher who did not recognize his high level of intelligence, felt that he would have made a better adjustment in a "slow-moving class."

He was working below his proper grade level both mentally and chronologically, as were ten others of the sixteen who were placed in grades below their mental capacity. Only five of the sixteen who were working below capacity were placed in their proper grades chronologically. None was accelerated.

Of the eleven subjects whose grade level was above their mental

TABLE 12

MENTAL AGES AND GRADE PLACEMENT OF FIFTY-FIVE DELINQUENT CHILDREN

Mental Ages in Years & Months	Normal Age Limits for Each Grade												Sp.	Total
	5-9 to 7-3 1st	6-9 to 8-3 2nd	7-9 to 9-3 3rd	8-9 to 10-3 4th	9-9 to 11-3 5th	10-9 to 12-3 6th	11-9 to 13-3 7th	12-9 to 14-3 8th	13-9 to 15-3 9th	14-9 to 16-3 10th	15-9 to 17-3 11th	16-9 to 18-3 12th		
6-9 to 7-3	1												1	2
7-3 to 7-9		1											2	2
7-9 to 8-3			1										1	1
8-3 to 8-9				1									1	1
8-9 to 9-3					1								1	1
9-3 to 9-9			1										1	3
9-9 to 10-3				1									1	3
10-3 to 10-9					1								1	2
10-9 to 11-3						1							1	6
11-3 to 11-9					2								1	3
11-9 to 12-3					1								1	4
12-3 to 12-9					1								2	4
12-9 to 13-3					1								1	2
13-3 to 13-9						1							1	1
13-9 to 14-3							1						1	3
14-3 to 14-9								1					3	4
14-9 to 15-3									2				1	4
15-3 to 15-9										1			1	1
15-9 to 16-3											1		1	1
16-3 to 16-9												1	1	1
16-9 to 17-3													1	1
17-3 to 17-9													1	1
17-9 to 18-3													1	1
18-3 to 18-9										2			2	2
18-9 to 19-3													1	1
19-3 to 19-9									1					1
19-9 to 20-3														1
20-3 to 20-9														1
Total	1	1	1	2	7	3	4	10	10	2	1	1	13	55
Normal grade for M.A.	0	1	0	1	3	1	2	1	5	0	0	1	0	15
Below grade for M.A.			1	0	3	1	1	3	4	2	1	0		16
Above grade for M.A.				1	1	1	1	6	1	0	0	0		11
Special classes													13	13

capacity, nine were chronologically retarded and two were working at their proper age-grade levels. More than two-thirds of the delinquent children of this study were working up to their mental capacity in terms of the grade levels they had reached in school.

Achievement test scores.-- In order to measure objectively the actual achievement of the children in reading and arithmetic, Form D of the Stanford Achievement Test was administered individually when each child was tested in the clinic.

The mean grade level scored on the test in reading by these children was 4.88, with grade scores ranging from the first through the eleventh grades. If norms are extrapolated beyond the eleventh grade, it may be judged that three of the children were reading at twelfth-grade level. Six children were reading only at the first-grade level. The mode was at the fourth-grade level. With the reading scores averaging grade 4.88 and the grade placement of the children averaging 7.73, the average retardation in reading was almost three grades.

Age equivalent scores in reading ranged from 6.8 years, to sixteen years and above, with the mode and mean eleven years. Since the average mental age was 12.3 years, the average reading achievement was 1.3 years below that appropriate for the mental capacity of the subjects.

Since the average chronological age was 14.2, and the average reading age was eleven years, the subjects averaged 3.2 years below the level appropriate for their age.

The three boys who rated highest of all on the reading test were all placed in school at grade levels greatly below their capacity. All

had played truant, one more seriously than the other two. Jim (Case 37) was one of these boys, and Van (Case 40) was another. Both of these boys were discussed earlier in this chapter under school transferring and absence from school. The third boy was Steve (Case 9), whose I.Q. was 138, and who was in grade eleven in one of the suburban high schools in the city. His achievement pattern is presented briefly.

Steve (Case 9: C.C. 16-9, M.A. 20-8, I.Q. 138, Grade 11).-- Steve's school marks averaged in the seventies, and he was aware that he was working quite below his capacity in school. In his first year in a Catholic high school he made a general average of 93.5. He said he was never absent or tardy. The following year he changed to public school and averaged marks of 80.8 in his subjects. He was truant thirty-four days during that year. The current year he had already received by December, five marks of "incomplete" and had been absent thirty-five days and tardy four days. He said he had played truant because school was so monotonous and routine. His favorite subject was physics, because it was interesting. He liked English least of all, because it was so "sissified." He felt that most subjects were not stimulating or practical. He felt that school subjects should have a more concrete function "for kids than just teaching you to think." He felt that his work rated no better than that of the poorest group of his class. The clinical workers agreed that the crux of Steve's problem was a conflict with a very strict and depriving father. Despite the fact that he had excellent reading and intellectual skills he was not applying them to his school work. He had put forth such limited effort that his teachers were unaware of his potentialities. However, a study of the boy's needs, with some attempt to meet them, might have given Steve enough freedom from his emotional burdens for him to perform more adequately in school.

Although a few of the delinquent subjects had gained superior skills in reading, they were not using these skills constructively in or out of school. Steve (Case 9, I.Q. 138), read little outside of required school assignments. Van (Case 40), had an I.Q. of 129 and read funny books and cheap comic magazines. Jim (Case 37), with an I.Q. of 129, read adventure stories or other materials that could feed his day-dreams and fantasies. On the other hand, not to be able to read can

become a serious obsession with such children.

Nine-year-old Ralph rated lower than any other child in the group on the reading test.

Ralph (Case 43: C.A. 9-8, M.A. 7-8, I.Q. 79, Grade Special).-- Ralph had been transferred to a special school for slow learning children and within a few weeks had begun to read. The teacher felt that when he gained more self-confidence, his reading would improve. She declared, "No wonder he lies and steals and sulks." Ralph said, "I hope I can stay with my teacher, she is so good to me. That teacher in the other school beat me for everything I did. I'm gettin' pretty good in reading now." Although Ralph thought he was the "hardest to learn" in his class he was already beginning to gain confidence in his ability to read.

The average arithmetic grade equivalent score made by the group on the Stanford Achievement Test was 4.14. This score is slightly below their average reading achievement grade score of 4.88. Feinberg (3a:203-12) also found that his delinquent subjects tended to rate lower on arithmetic items than reading items (3a:203). He concluded, "This configuration bespeaks an inability to organize oneself for careful, exact, or disciplined thinking." Grade equivalent scores in arithmetic ranged from grade 1.4 to 11 $\frac{1}{4}$. A score of 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in arithmetic was made by Steve (Case 9), whose case was discussed above. Van (Case 40) made the next highest grade score in arithmetic, one of 8.0 and Wanda (Case 26), whose case was discussed earlier in this chapter under attendance patterns, made the third highest grade equivalent score in arithmetic, one of 7.8. She had made a grade score in reading of 10.1. Jim (Case 37), whose reading score was 11 $\frac{1}{4}$, made an arithmetic grade score of 6.5. Three children made a rating at the grade level of one in arithmetic.

The average arithmetic grade score of 4.14 is 3.63 grades below the average grade placement of 7.73 of the subjects. The mean age

equivalent score of ten years in arithmetic is 2.3 years below the average mental age of 12.3, and 4.2 years below the average chronological age of 14.2. These discrepancies may have intensified the problems of the school adjustment for the delinquent children of this study.

Although fourteen of the children were placed in grades at the high school level, only one of them (Case 9) scored at his actual grade level on the arithmetic test. The twelfth-grade boy Henry (Case 7) was rated at grade 5.9 on the arithmetic test. The scores of the other high school delinquents were concentrated at grade six. The following excerpt from a case shows the severe feelings of inferiority that were associated with poor school achievement.

One of the most notable deficiencies in arithmetic was exhibited by the following subject.

Joan (Case 31: C.A. 13-10, M.A. 14-8, I.Q. 108, Grade 6).-- Joan rated a grade score of 3.8 in arithmetic, had changed schools twelve times, and was quite sensitive because of her large size in her classroom. She thought that it was both her fault and the teacher's fault that she had "not learned arithmetic very well." She reported, "They don't do nothing down home in Tennessee like they do it here in school." Her present teacher helped her, but others she said "jump down your throat and tell you to do it or else -, then I'm so mad at them I can't do anything." Joan said she had tried to get arithmetic but "could not learn it." Although Joan had high average intelligence one of her wishes was, "I wish I could learn as fast as the other kids in school." She was planning to quit school as soon as possible.

Although delinquent children tend to do poorly in reading, their skills in arithmetic are generally even more deficient. They feel these deficiencies keenly but often are convinced, "I can't do any better," as expressed by Joan.

Dynamic factors in school achievement.-- It is impossible to determine how much, if at all, the problems of school achievement and

delinquency mutually affected each other in this study. The evidence suggests, however, that overageness and being retarded seemed to intensify the general maladjustment of the subjects. The most retarded children in the study were five boys, one of whom was in the seventh grade (Case 28), two who were in the eighth grade (Cases 37 and 41), and two in the fifth grade (Cases 17 and 47). All were at least three grades below their normal chronological grade placement.

The two following subjects are discussed to show how poor achievement and progress in school might intensify and in some instances create problems of maladjustment in the school situation. These two boys were the oldest of the most retarded subjects and were presenting the most difficult adjustment problems in school of all the fifty-five subjects. They could be considered the most frustrated of all the children. (For their specific problems see a fuller discussion in Chapter VI.) The cases are discussed together because their situations are so closely parallel in home backgrounds and in school adjustment. The most outstanding difference between them was the ratings they made on intelligence and achievement tests.

Jim (Case 37: C.A. 16-3, M.A. 19-5, I.Q. 129, Grade 8); Ronald (Case 41: C.A. 16-4, M.A. 12-0, I.Q. 80, Grade 8).--- Although Jim's mental capacity and reading ability were superior to those of Ronald, he was just as frustrated and presented just as serious problems to teachers as did Ronald. Jim had a grade level rating in arithmetic of 7.2 and one of 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ in reading. Ronald had grade level ratings of 4.9 and 5.3 in arithmetic and reading respectively. Both entered school at age six. Jim had attended nine different schools and Ronald four. Jim had repeated the fifth and eighth grades and Ronald the second and fourth, repeating the latter grade twice. Jim blamed the teachers and himself for failing. Ronald said he guessed it "was nobody's fault," that he failed. Both boys felt that they did their poorest work in mathematics. Both boys had played truant over a period of two to three years. Jim said he

missed about two months during the current school year and two months during the preceding year, because he had lost interest in school.

These two boys showed strikingly similar personalities in school, yet neither boy knew the other. Neither boy lived in the slums, came from a broken home, or knew serious economic deprivation. It was felt from the analysis of case history material, however, that both boys were acting out family and other conflicts in their schools. Both named other siblings as favorite children of the parents. They had burglarized schools, and each felt keenly rejected and discriminated against in his school.

Jim felt that the teachers "bowed and scraped to the rich kids in the school," and thus discriminated against him. Ronald felt that his teachers "picked on us colored kids." It is certain that the reasons given by each boy were not the basic causes for the "chip on the shoulder" attitude manifested by them. However, certain teachers of each boy did exhibit the attitudes of which they had been accused by the subjects. Several teachers in Jim's school spoke rather proudly of the "wealthy children in our school." One teacher mentioned that Jim was really somewhat out of place in "our school," because he was always wearing "odd pieces of old uniforms." Such attitudes are probably not uncommon; some writers have stated that teachers are "social-class minded," and that the average teacher who is of middle-class standing tends to favor the middle and upper-class children (174).

Ronald's favorite shop in his trade school was "plastics," but he said that he "quit trying" in that class after the teacher told him, "There was no point in Negro boys learning the plastics trade, because there were no jobs for them." When the teacher was interviewed by the writer he showed great concern that "Negro boys seemed to have such little interest and drive" in their work. He was evidently unaware that he was not creating an incentive for them to work. He wondered if it was characteristic of the race to be "ambitionless and lazy." Jim and Ronald each had a teacher say of him, "He will be good prey for subversive influences." Both boys had always found some basis in schools for acting out their hostile impulses. Ronald said that he had always had trouble with teachers, even in elementary school. "When the teachers smacked me, I just smacked 'em right back," he said.

Two other boys of the most retarded groups are discussed below. These boys were in the fifth grade. Although they were presenting problems in school, they were somewhat more passive than the two foregoing cases in their adjustment to school. Two outstanding factors seemed to make them less offensive in the school situation: (1) they

were able to earn a measure of recognition on a positive basis, since one had art ability and the other had some athletic skills; (2) they were less aggressive and openly offensive especially to teachers than the two above cases. The latter factor was, no doubt, aided by the outlet that their recognition was providing. These two boys are similar in their home backgrounds and school adjustment, as were Jim and Ronald. Their cases are presented to illustrate further dynamic factors in the school adjustment of the severely retarded delinquent.

Joe (Case 17: C.A. 13-9, M.A. 12-1, I.Q. 90, Grade 5); Dave (Case 47: C.A. 13-5, M.A. 12-6, I.Q. 94, Grade 5).-- Like the boys above, Joe and Dave did not know each other, nor had they ever attended the same schools. As Jim and Ronald, one was white and one Negro. There had been limited school changing in each case, with Joe attending two schools and Dave only one. Both had generally poor achievement records. Joe had failed the third grade twice and the fourth grade once; Dave failed the first and fourth grades. Although Joe felt that conflicts with his teachers had influenced his failure in the fourth grade, he acknowledged that truancy had caused him to fail the third grade the first time. The second time he failed the third grade, he had been confined in the hospital for two or three months with an infected ear. Dave said he failed because he played truant and was confined in the hospital for two or three months because of an infection and operation on his face. In discussing their activities while playing truant, Joe said he hid his fishing pole and went fishing in the Ohio river while Dave said, "I just walked up and down the railroad."

Both boys were exceedingly large in size in comparison to their classmates. This may have been a factor in the shyness and rather withdrawing manner that each exhibited in school. Both were sensitive because they could not read which they tended to deny strongly.

The schools of both boys made definite efforts to appeal to them through their special abilities. Joe was considered the school's special artist and Dave received a great deal of recognition for his proficiency in throwing, running, and jumping.

The boys presented similar problems in their schools. Both had burglarized their schools, had played truant, were not making good use of their time, and were showing no progress in achievement despite their average intelligence. Although they were primarily shy, both had been somewhat aggressive in some of their relationships with teachers and with

peers. Joe had been rude one time when the principal stopped him from taking other children's marbles in their games. He had also staged a game called "blue-goosing" in which he claimed other children's marbles. Dave had been caught cheating and had gotten another boy to forge a note for him. His teacher said, "Everytime I thought I had him going well, he would go truant and end up in jail. I never got anyplace with him. He was very backward and sensitive about his size. He did not keep up his work and his scholarship was very poor." Joe's teachers were trying to help him transfer his "marble snatching" into positive channels. They were sponsoring his participation in a city-wide marble-shooting contest.

The home situations of these two boys were similar in that both fathers drank heavily but provided some small measure of companionship to the boys. Supervision was lax and disciplinary methods were inconsistent and ineffective.

Broken morale and discouragement were evidenced in the plans of many who were quitting school as soon as possible. Thirty-two out of the fifty-five reported that they had no reason for continuing school beyond their sixteenth birthday, which is the legal age of beginning work. The youngest children in the study (Cases 10 and 36), aged eight years, seven months and eight years, eleven months, stated that they would quit as soon as they could. Fran, the second of these children, said "I want to stop now, I hate it." Leroy (Case 2) was glad that he had learned "to figure a little" but stated, "I may as well to quit now, I ain't learnin' nothing nohow." Attitudes such as these are, of course, common to retarded children, whether delinquent or not. Seymour discovered that holding back children in the early grades broke their morale and had a significant effect upon their leaving school at an early date in later years (201).

Analysis of school achievement.--- The following generalizations are suggested in the light of the foregoing findings:

1. Although a majority of delinquent children are retarded in school, it cannot be established from the evidence of this study that retardation causes delinquency or that delinquency causes retardation. However, it does seem reasonable to assume that the basic factors in the situations of delinquents may contribute to both delinquency and retardation. Poor family relationships and other basic problems, including personality make-up, affect not only the child's social behavior but also his learning patterns and attitudes. Because the basic problems exist, the interaction of retardation and delinquency intensifies the total adjustment problem both in school and the community.

2. From the analysis of the individual cases may be seen a certain interrelationship of factors that intensify the whole problem of retardation as faced by the subjects. They tend to lack those assets both personally and socially that make for good school progress and adjustment. These same traits also make for delinquent personalities. As has already been brought out, family mobility is usually great, and family stability and security are poor. School attendance is poor and there is more than average transferring from one school to another. Delinquents tend to have poor learning attitudes. They are apt to transfer their family conflicts into the school situations. Often they focus on tangible or concrete weaknesses in the school program, upon which they project blame for their school maladjustment. Although aggression against the school is usually present, and expressed through hostility, burglary, or the like, it may be combined with an outwardly passive manner in some delinquent children.

3. It is understandable that delinquent children do make poor progress in school, since most of their energies have to be used in adjusting to their personal problems. Martin calls this mechanism "reactive effort." "There can be self-determined, active, 'spontaneous' effort, and on the other hand there can be reflex, reactive effort" (160:1). He further states that if a child is exposed to a hostile world in the formative years, that is, "exposed to factors that are detrimental to healthy growth, or deprived of factors that are essential for healthy growth," then he is driven to resort to many extreme and often conflicting ways to resolve his difficulties. If the hostility is very great then all his energies are spent reactively rather than actively. This theory explains the fact that delinquent children have little spontaneous or active effort to spend on school achievement. Their energies are utilized in reacting against or defending themselves against many forces of a hostile world. They may react aggressively or passively to the school situation, but the fact remains that very little genuine progress is made in school.

4. Although delinquents seem to be generally limited in skills and talents, their limited abilities, or any other assets which serve as means of recognition, might help to give them a sense of achievement and of being worth while, and thus might make school more comfortable and satisfying for them.

Failure Patterns

Marks on report cards represent the most concrete symbols of all the school criteria of achievement. In this section discussion is given

of the following topics: marks on report cards, grades repeated, and dynamic factors in repeated failure.

Marks on report cards.-- The final evaluation of a child's achievement and progress in each subject is in the hands of the teacher. Children in Cincinnati public schools receive report cards which contain numerical and letter marks earned at regular intervals in various subjects and in certain basic personal and social skills. In the Cincinnati public schools, at the time of this study, three marking systems were used. In the primary grades the system was S, satisfactory; I, unsatisfactory but improving; and U, unsatisfactory. In grades four, five and six, and in grades seven and eight if an eight-year elementary school, the system was A, excellent; B, good; C, fair; D, poor; E, failure. Junior and senior high schools used a numerical percentage system, which can be roughly equated with the letter marks in the intermediate grades as follows: A, 90-100; B, 80-89; C, 70-79; D, 60-69; E, below 60. These letter and numerical marks are transcribed on a master cumulative card that is sent to each school which the child attends in the city system. Cumulative records of children were copied when available. Four cumulative records had been lost. These records belonged to children who had changed schools a great many times while attending both local and out-of-town schools.

Tables 13 and 14 show marks received on report cards for fifty-one subjects during their entire school careers on whom cumulative records were available. Table 13 shows that about half of the marks received by the subjects in the primary grades were I and U, or unsatisfactory. The mark I represents some degree of failure, and U is definite

TABLE 13

DISTRIBUTION OF LETTER MARKS RECEIVED IN PRIMARY GRADES
BY FIFTY-ONE DELINQUENT CHILDREN

Letter Grade	Frequency	Per Cent
S	1460	49.9
I	828	27.9
U	681	22.2
Total	2969	100.0

TABLE 11

DISTRIBUTION OF LETTER MARKS RECEIVED ABOVE PRIMARY
GRADES BY FIFTY-ONE DELINQUENT CHILDREN

Letter Grade (Equivalent)	Frequency	Per Cent
A (90-100)	446	8.3
B (80-89)	1407	26.3
C (70-79)	2133	39.8
D (60-69)	882	16.5
E (Failure)	484	9.1
Total	5352	100.0

failure. It is clear from this evidence that academic failure was commonly faced in the early school experiences of these children. Intermediate and high school children in the study received a considerable portion of unsatisfactory marks, since D and E account for almost twenty-five percent of their marks at these levels. Although the intermediate and high school records are not as poor as the primary ones, the marks indicate that the children had faced many frustrating experiences at these levels also. Since the distribution of marks received by the non-delinquents in the same classes is not available, it cannot be concluded that the above distribution is common only to delinquent children. However, the facts are significant in light of other features of the school achievement of delinquents.

Four of the children had received no failing marks at all. Seven had received between one and nine failures each in school subjects. The mean number of failing marks received by the fifty-one children for whom cumulative records were available was 15.8.

Kvaraceus (142:141) found in comparing marks made by his delinquent group with those of the school population that 1.6 per cent and sixty-four per cent of all the marks received respectively by the two groups ranked above the level of minimum passing. Of the total marks received by delinquents in the Kvaraceus study 26.5 per cent were failing. Only six percent of the marks received by the general school population in his comparison were failures.

A study of the number of failing marks received by the individual subjects of this study confirmed the conclusion that many of them had

established a pattern of failure. One child, Leroy (Case 2), received a total of 110 failing marks during his school career. This child developed a very strong sense of failure and inadequacy because of this repetitive failing. Ralph (Case 43), who could not read a word until his placement in a school for slow-learning children, had been convinced that he could not learn in school by his total of 106 failing marks which he had received by the time he was nine years of age.

Barbara (Case 12) had received ninety-one failing marks in her four-year school career. She considered herself the "dumbest" in the room in arithmetic, but thought she could read "pretty good." She commented, "I wish they'd let me pass up a grade 'cause I'm so big to be in that room. The kids tease me and call me fatty." Barbara wanted her art work exhibited, and explained, "but it ain't no good though." All her teachers recognized her extreme social maturity for the fourth grade but her work, especially in arithmetic, did not warrant her passing to a higher grade level.

In summary, the evidence shows the generally mediocre and poor quality of achievement of the delinquents in the study. The symbol of achievement or failure, the report card, goes a long way in establishing school status for the child. Moreover, it is possibly a factor of greater significance than is now realized in building for a child his own conception of self and personal value in the world. For a child who is constantly stimulated by his good marks, the effect of the report card would be more positive than for one who faces D, E, and U repeatedly throughout the years. The acceptance of a worthless or incapable self is common among delinquent children, as was shown in earlier discussions of Barbara

(Case 12), Joan (Case 31), and Leroy (Case 2).

Grades repeated.-- Non-promotion was found to be a common experience among the subjects. Only nine of the fifty-five children had never repeated a grade in school. In the Cincinnati public schools, promotions are made annually. When a child fails a grade, the entire year's work must be repeated. In Table 15 are shown the grades most frequently failed by these children. Grade one was most commonly repeated, with grade two ranking second, and grades three and five ranking third in frequency of repetition.

Twenty-five children had failed one grade, fourteen had failed two grades, and seven had failed three grades. Four of those children who had failed the greatest number of times were discussed earlier in this chapter. The effects of repetitive grade failure were found to be loss of interest in school, a deeply entrenched sense of failure and shame, discouragement, and often truancy. The reasons given for failure by the children generally included illness, truancy, poor application, and prejudice of teachers against them.

School subjects most frequently failed.-- In order to determine the subjects most frequently failed by delinquents during their school careers, and also to determine how extensively they tended to fail in given subjects, the cumulative records of the subjects were analyzed (Table 16).

Reading ranks first as the most frequently failed subject, and arithmetic ranks second. The total group received the greatest number of failing marks, E and U, in reading. Thirty-three of the fifty-one children

TABLE 15
FREQUENCY OF REPETITION OF VARIOUS SCHOOL GRADES
BY THE DELINQUENT SUBJECTS

Grade Repeated	Frequency
10	1
9	1
8	3
7	0
6	4
5	7
4	6
3	7
2	9
1	19

TABLE 16

NUMBER OF FAILING MARKS RECEIVED IN EACH SUBJECT BY
FIFTY-ONE DELINQUENTS

Subject	Total failures received in each subject by delinquents	Number of children having failures in each subject	Maximum number of failing marks in each subject by any child
Reading	193	33	30
Arithmetic	140	35	12
Language	126	27	16
Spelling	97	23	15
Handwriting	79	27	8
Art	67	24	6
Social studies	50	22	6
Music	40	12	7
English	23	12	4
Science	17	9	4
Health	15	8	4
Physical education	12	10	2

had received from one to thirty failing marks each in reading. Arithmetic ranked next in order of greatest number of failing marks received by the group: thirty-five of the fifty-one children had received from one to twelve failing marks each in arithmetic. Arithmetic was not failed repeatedly by individual children as often as reading but was failed by a greater number of the children. Twenty-seven of the delinquents had received from one to sixteen failing marks each in language, with spelling ranking next. Those failing language and spelling had a greater number of individual failures in these subjects than individuals failing arithmetic.

Dynamic factors in repeated failure.--- No matter how limited children are in intelligence and skills, they seem to feel that certain basic skills like reading, writing, and figuring should be gained through their school experiences. Ely (Case 32), a sixteen-year-old boy attending a special class for problem boys, said, "I don't like it real well cause there ain't no book learnin'." These delinquent subjects often measured their progress in school by their achievement or failure in basic school subjects, especially reading and arithmetic. Most of them wanted to make good marks in their school subjects and to learn basic skills, whether they applied themselves or not. They considered not learning in school a very real problem. They often recognized their inability to solve their problems of learning and wanted and expected the school to take the major responsibility in helping them, even to exerting more pressure on them to study and work. One child (Case 49), said she liked her favorite teacher "Because she told us when to study our words."

Many children said about their favorite teachers, "She helps us get out work." When Laura (Case 1) was asked, "What could your school do to help you get along better in your subjects," she replied, "Make me study more." Others said they wished that they had "extra home work," and that "they would keep me after school, or help me."

Various personality manifestations appeared in reaction to the frustrations of the children in not learning desired subject matter. Many appeared sullen. Destructiveness was common, sometimes directed against the outside world, especially the school, and sometimes against themselves. Open hostility and aggression toward teachers or pupils, self contempt, complete withdrawal and truancy, apathy, repression, denial of the existence of learning problems, and many conflicts seemed to follow the failing experience.

An extended analysis will be reported of the school record of one boy who felt his failures keenly. He was able to verbalize his feelings more effectively than many of the children and therefore the dynamics appear more clearly in his case.

Leroy (Case 2: C.A. 15-3, M.A. 10-10, I.Q. 75, Grade Special).-- Every mark in reading, with three exceptions, that Leroy had ever received on his report card during nine years of school attendance was U or E. Twice in his second year in the first grade he had been marked I (unsatisfactory but improving). A fifth-grade teacher had marked him D at the first report period for the year. After that, like all his other teachers, she had marked him as failing. Thirty times during his school career when he had received a report card he had faced failure in reading. He had received during his first five years in school eighteen consecutive failing marks in language or English before earning one "D" and three "C's" while repeating the fourth grade. For the following two years, in grades five and six, every mark in language was "D" or "E". He received a mark in science sixteen times: twelve marks of E and four of D. The pattern of his marks in arithmetic, for the four years before he entered a special school was identical with that for science. He received three B's in arithmetic after entering the special school for

slow-learning children and thus experienced his first real sense of achievement. The best marks of the boy's entire school record, which appeared during the four report periods of his first year in the fourth grade were in health habits, effort, and conduct. He failed the fourth grade that year. His ratings for the same traits were lower during the following year, and deteriorated even more during the next two years, in grades five and six.

It was when Leroy was repeating the fourth grade, his second time to repeat a grade, that he became known to the Juvenile Court for delinquent behavior. His problems were drinking beer on the streets, running away from home three times, receiving stolen money, playing truant, and stealing. While the definite relationship of Leroy's school experiences to his delinquency and general maladjustment cannot be determined, it is notable that he maintained a good attendance record up to the fourth grade.

An important factor in Leroy's situation was that the father deserted the family periodically, and thus forced the mother to earn the major support for the family.

On the Stanford Achievement Test given at the time of this study, Leroy scored a grade equivalent of 1.8 in reading and 3.1 in arithmetic. His teachers at school were eager to help the boy gain basic skills in reading and other subjects, but felt there was little they could do at this late age, as he would probably be leaving school at sixteen. Moreover, they said that he had "been kept in other schools too long." One teacher said of him, "If he could read he would be a different boy altogether." The teachers described him as "inert," "snarling," "quiet," "indifferent," "unresponsive," "apathetic," "willing," as very eager to learn but as "getting nowhere" and therefore "a very pitiful case." Another teacher felt that he had become apathetic and indifferent because he had gone to school so long and achieved nothing.

The boy's own feelings are expressed clearly in the following verbatim report on part of an interview held with him at Juvenile Court by the writer.

Q. In what subjects do you make your best marks?

A. Arithmetic.

Q. In what subjects do you make your poorest marks?

A. Reading and spelling.

Q. Why don't you think you do good work in these subjects?

A. Because I can't read.

Q. What special help has been given you at school in your school work?

A. Been learning how to read some but not much.

- Q. In what subjects and skills do you feel that you need special help?
A. Reading and spelling.
- Q. Why?
A. 'Cause I want to learn how to read.
- Q. What is your favorite subject?
A. Arithmetic.
- Q. Why do you like it best?
A. Because I know how to do it.
- Q. What subject do you like least of all?
A. Woodwork.
- Q. Why?
A. Too hard to do; don't like to make those little old things you put knick-knacks on.
- Q. What grades have you skipped?
A. None.
- Q. What grades have you repeated?
A. First and fourth.
- Q. Why did you fail?
A. On account of my reading.
- Q. How did you feel when you failed the first time?
A. I felt bad, ashamed.
- Q. The second time you failed?
A. Didn't care then, I guess, no use caring no more, couldn't learn no-how.
- Q. Did you hate your teacher for not passing you either time?
A. No.
- Q. Did you hate yourself for not passing?
A. Yes.
- Q. Were you ever put out of any school or transferred to another school?
A. One school because I couldn't do their work.
- Q. How did you feel?
A. I felt bad. Didn't want to go down to that new school but it was O.K. after I learned to know the boys.

Q. Do you work as hard as you can in school?

A. Mighty near as hard. -- I try to learn some'n.

This interview reveals the discouragement Leroy faced the second time he failed. He failed still a third time, which must have intensified his conflict. Self-contempt was brought out when he said he hated himself for not passing, yet he was manifesting hopelessness and despair. His feelings of inadequacy were intensified when he was sent from a former school because of his inferior achievement. This boy's whole discussion was pervaded with a tone of eagerness to learn, but despair and hopelessness about his ability to learn.

Aggression against teachers due to frustration in achievement was revealed in the earlier discussion in this chapter of Jim (Case 37), under school transferring. Denial and distortion of reality is another typical reaction to repetitive failure. This mechanism was shown by both Joe (Case 17) and Dave (Case 47), two greatly retarded fifth-grade boys who were discussed earlier in this chapter. Both of these boys distorted reality, as was their habit, by saying they were not weak in reading. Actually they were very weak in this subject. They were seemingly repressing this weakness in reading because of the potential damage and threat it bore to self-esteem if they faced it. Joe unknowingly revealed his deficiency in reading when he replied to a question regarding the books he read with, "I just look at funny books, I don't read nothing. I don't read books cause I don't like 'em."

In some cases where children were doing poor work in a subject, they would sit and sleep or withdraw in some other manner from the class

work. The teachers said of Jenny (Case 52), a seventeen-year-old high school girl, "She wanders around in a daze...she had to be demoted so she could build up background for high-school work." She was described by other teachers as "stupid," "lazy," "bored," "stubborn," "having a grudge against the world and fatigued all the time." One teacher reported, "She's the weakest child I have in 175. She has no skills. In English and spelling she is very poor. She does not benefit from help."

Analysis of failure patterns.-- The following generalizations are suggested from the above data:

1. The report card becomes a symbol of failure for the delinquent child and is often a contributing factor to the low self-esteem so commonly evidenced by the delinquent.
2. No matter how poorly motivated or adjusted in school children may be, they want to learn basic skills like reading, figuring, and writing.
3. Repetitive failure may affect their interest in school work and subsequent pattern of achievement. The frustrations caused by repetitive failing are often manifested in sullenness, destructiveness, open hostility and aggression, self-contempt, withdrawal, apathy, repression, and other conflicts.

Instructional Needs

The instructional needs of the subjects were evaluated in terms of subject matter needs and poor learning attitudes. These comprise the topics in this section.

Subject-matter needs.--- The teachers of the fifty-five children were interviewed regarding each individual child. The teachers were asked what they considered to be the children's greatest instructional needs in subjects and skills. They were also asked to describe the social needs of each child. Every child was reported by at least one of his teachers as having some instructional need or problem in subjects, skills, or attitudes. In some instances teachers stated that individuals had combinations of weaknesses in subjects or skills, but no child was considered to be completely without some special needs in a subject or in skills. A poor foundation, shown by low marks in all subjects, was found to be the most common weakness among the group. Arithmetic ranked second, gymnasium third, and reading, fourth. These children tended to be poorly coordinated in physical skills, and showed weakness in gymnasium more often than in reading, according to their teachers. Fifteen teachers said they did not know what the specific instructional needs of the children were because the children were in school so little.

Poor learning attitudes.--- Personality problems of various kinds were regarded by most of the teachers as exerting a major influence on school achievement. In other words, they felt that the children needed help in making better personality adjustments before help could be given successfully in specific subject matter areas. Questioning of teachers as to the subject-matter weaknesses of the delinquent children elicited more discussion of personality than of school achievement. The personality problems mentioned by teachers ranged from indifference and apathy to open rebellion and aggression. Although an extended discussion of

such problems is presented in Chapter VI, some consideration is given to them in the following paragraphs because of the way they were interlocked with the school failures and academic difficulties treated in this chapter.

Most of the characteristics reported by the teachers can be classified under aggression. This means that the child's learning problem, as seen by the teacher, most often was exhibited through some form of aggressive behavior. However, the teachers noted a considerable amount of non-aggressive problem behavior. They felt just as blocked or defeated in their efforts to teach children when they showed indifferent or non-aggressive behavior as when they were defiant, noisy, or boastful.

As would be expected from the earlier sections of this chapter, non-attendance is emphasized by teachers as a handicap to achievement. Truancy may be classified as aggressive or defiant behavior. Other ways in which the teachers reported that the subjects challenged the school and its authority included various forms of attention seeking behavior, such as clowning, meanness, antagonism, and impudence; overbearing and boastful behavior; sullen and vindictive behavior; and stealing, cheating, and lying.

Other types of behavior were almost as troublesome, although non-aggressive in character.

Teachers felt blocked in helping children when they withdrew or were apathetic, or exhibited no drive or interest in their work. For a child to "just sit" without reacting one way or another was frustrating to the teachers' efforts to help him.

It was found that in many instances individual subjects exhibited

different personalities in various classroom situations. A thirteen-year-old eighth-grade girl (Case 4) showed off in music, showed no interest in art, was fatigued in gym, read comic books and was moody in her arithmetic class. She flared up easily in sewing, and the counselor had faced the problem of truancy with her. A fourteen-year-old girl (Case 20) who was in the ninth grade was reported by one teacher as being impudent and chewing gum; by a second teacher as not dependable, probably not well, failing in work, flippant, liking own way; by a third teacher as self-centered, absent too much, and needing to work up to capacity. The fourth teacher stated, "She comes unprepared for work, and is resistant to correction." In describing the instructional needs of a sixteen-year-old ninth grade boy (Case 24), the teachers commented as follows: First teacher, "Boy is O.K. in his work (mechanical drawing) but is so defiant and has such a bad attitude;" second teacher, "He shows good physical skills in gym, but resents decisions not in his favor, is sulky, and a poor sport;" third teacher, "Does very poor work in English, is dishonest and not trustworthy;" fourth teacher, "The boy is not making the most of his ability, is immature, and shows off;" fifth teacher, "In woodwork he has little ability, is a slicker, talks out of everything."

In a few instances aggressive or negative behavior was exhibited fairly consistently as a pattern of adjustment throughout the school situation. For example, Van (Case 40) exhibited a consistently negative attitude and was commented upon as follows by teachers: homeroom teacher,

"I did not teach the boy but teachers say he was lazy, was so stooped in walking;" mathematics teacher, "They say he had good ability but he did nothing for me; I had to fail him, he made absolutely no effort, and showed no interest;" Latin teacher, "He could have made good, but would slump down and go to sleep, he put forth no effort;" English teacher, "He was brilliant but lazy; when pushed he wrote well."

Characteristics which relate to poor drive and rather negativistic behavior were also stressed by teachers. The most commonly reported negative problems were laziness and working below capacity. Some negative traits described by teachers of the subjects were indifference, uncooperativeness, malingering, and sleeping in class. Teachers also felt blocked when the personality of the child was unstable, or if he mixed poorly with people or was unreliable and irresponsible. A teacher was so distraught with one boy (Case 39), with whom he had a great sense of failure, that he commented, "He is just simply no good like his family, I know them all."

Analysis of instructional needs.-- The following generalizations are indicated from the above data:

1. When the instructional needs of delinquents are carefully evaluated by teachers, they are found to correspond closely to the findings of this study and others which indicate that delinquent children are deficient in arithmetic and reading. However, delinquent children generally have a poor foundation in all subjects.

2. The kind of behavior characteristics expressed in the learning situation by delinquents and in their inter personal relationships

with teachers definitely affect growth and learning. Their teachers feel that limited aid, if any, can be given delinquents in their instructional activities until basic personality problems are solved. Many teachers try through their own efforts or through the help of counselors and principals to effect these personality adjustments. Other teachers adopt a hopeless attitude toward helping the delinquent achieve success in learning.

3. Aggressive behavior is the most common handicap to learning for delinquents. Some teachers, however, find such traits as apathy, sullenness, and silent resistance to be just as handicapping in teaching delinquents as fighting, impudence, and defiance.

Summary

The general school achievement of the subjects of this study was found to be very poor. Such factors as frequent changing of schools, intensified by forced or punitive transferring, poor attendance records, retardation in grade placement, and repetitive failure in subjects and grades were notable in their achievement records.

The average subject of this study had attended five schools. Some of the problems created by frequent transferring were loss of interest, poor adjustment in new schools, truancy, retardation, over-aggressiveness, and withdrawal. Forced or punitive transferring was found to be somewhat common among the group. The children were invariably hostile and maladjusted in the new schools, if they considered their placement as punishment. Although many negative effects were noted in forced transferring, in some instances transfer became therapeutic, especially when children participated in planning the transfer and saw some tangible advantage in transferring.

Delinquent children have primarily poor school attendance records. Some factors contributing to their poor attendance patterns were lax parental supervision, poor attitudes of parents toward school because of their own childhood experiences, poor relationships between the children and their parents, rejection by teachers and peers, influence of peers on attendance patterns, poor achievement, and forced or punitive transferring. Those who were attending school fairly regularly were still searching for some security or recognition. Various activities like art work, athletics, and "clowning" were used by the children to gain attention and recognition in their schools.

More than a fourth of the subjects were in special classes of various kinds. The remaining forty-three subjects averaged a grade level of 7.7, one and one-half grades below the grade level indicated by age-grade norms. Thirty-six out of the forty-three were one or more years retarded in school. The subjects were found to be working generally below their mental capacities and also below normal grade levels. Actual achievement in reading and arithmetic, as measured by tests, rated below the mental capacity of the subjects and below that appropriate for their grade levels in school. Deficiency in arithmetic was more marked than reading on the tests. Some effects of retardation were broken morale, defensive behavior, especially of an aggressive and revengeful nature, and "dropping out."

Patterns of failure stood out strongly in the histories of these children. Most of the marks on report cards made by them during their school careers were of mediocre and very poor caliber. Forty-seven out of fifty-one had received from one to 110 failing marks each on report cards while attending school. The grades most frequently repeated by the children were the first, second, third, and fifth respectively. Reading was failed most frequently by the children, with arithmetic ranking second. However, a greater number of different children had actually failed arithmetic. The children felt their inadequacies in school subjects, especially arithmetic and reading, most keenly. "If I could just learn to read" was a common statement made by the children. Aggression, denial of failure and inadequacy, withdrawal, hopelessness, and self-contempt were found to be common effects of repeated failure.

When teachers evaluated the needs and weaknesses of the children in the subject matter, the most frequently reported condition was "poor foundation; weak in all subjects." Arithmetic was the subject that teachers most often felt was a problem, with reading and physical education next. From the discussion with teachers, it was revealed that the subjects had poor physical skills and coordination when compared with other children. The teachers were not nearly so concerned about the subject matter as they were about the disturbing behavior and personalities exhibited in the school situations. The most offensive behavior was of an aggressive nature, while laziness, poor drive, listlessness, lack of interest, and other negative attitudes were also disturbing to teachers and handicapping to learning.

The children were not particularly consistent in expressing aggressive or negative tendencies in all classrooms. Some were most aggressive with particular teachers, indifferent and sullen with others, and fairly well adjusted with others.

Teachers felt blocked in helping the children gain skills in specific subject matter because of their disturbed and disturbing personalities. Many teachers were trying through their own efforts to help the subjects make an adjustment in the school situation. Some had enlisted the aid of principals and the special services in the school of counselors, home visitors, and visiting teachers, while others gave up and reported they were "letting sleeping dogs lie."

The above generalizations apply to most of the delinquents studied. However, a few of the subjects had fairly satisfactory school records.

CHAPTER V

PEER RELATIONSHIPS OF SUBJECTS

Introduction

Social adjustment involves two complementary processes, orientation and socialization. Orientation is the process through which an individual finds channels for expressing his inner motivations in a system of social relationships. Every individual has to dovetail his behavior into a society, or into some social group within a society. His problem is to learn skills and techniques, rules and sanctions, symbols and values, and attitudes which permit him to maintain his place as a social being in the society and at the same time give him a sense of personal identity. Socialization is the process of presenting alternative channels for individual behavior together with positive and negative sanctions which will lead to the acceptance of some channels and the rejection of others. The influence of social groups, both formal and informal, is a significant factor in personality development and the quality of the social adjustment that persons make. As a result of the socialization process, the individual learns a culture (120:345):

The delinquent is inadequately oriented to social expectations. To some degree he has rejected the culture which non-delinquents accept. He has not integrated the symbols and values, rules and sanctions, and skills and techniques into a value system and mode of behavior adequate enough to earn him an accepted role in society. The culture he has learned has brought him into conflict with the larger society. Does this also apply to his peer society?

Adolescent peer culture is a strong force in the life of the adolescent. Boys and girls in their teens have a culture of their own with moral standards and with moral pressures behind those standards. Boys and girls who seek the approval of their age mates follow the fashions of the peer culture in morals, dress, and speech; and the "moral standards and practices of the adolescent peer culture are probably an important factor in character formation" (121:35). Adjustment to peers is an important factor in the school adjustment of children.

An evaluation of the peer adjustment of these subjects of this study is made in this chapter, with special reference to the following problems: Procedure for analyzing peer relations of subjects; school as a source of friendships; evaluation of friendships by subjects; evaluation of friendships by peers, a detailed sociometric analysis; and teachers' evaluation of peer relationships.

Procedure for Analyzing Peer Relations of Subjects

Questions for the interviews with the subjects were designed to permit them to evaluate certain aspects of their friendships. These questions related to the meaning of the peer friendships to the subjects and the techniques of the subjects in relating themselves to their peers. Their methods of earning and retaining friendships, both in and out of the classroom were analyzed. The following questions were asked the subjects in interviews:

1. Who is your best friend?
2. Where did you meet him?
3. Why do you like him?

4. Are the children at school the best friends you have?
5. Do you feel that most of your classmates like you?
6. Do you wish your friends liked you better?
7. What are some of the things you do to make your classmates like you better?
8. Do you wish most of the kids in your room liked you better?
9. Who is your best friend in your class?
10. Whom do you like least of all in your class?

The responses to these questions are reported in the text and are documented by quotations from the subjects.

Sociometric tests were administered in classes attended by forty-five of the delinquent subjects. A total of 1,247 children responded. On this test the children wrote the names of the classmates whom they would choose first as friends and also of those they would choose last, and stated their reasons for their choices.

The sociometric findings are presented in the text, in sociograms, and in quotations from the peers of the subjects.

Teachers were asked the following questions about the acceptance of the subjects in the classroom by ~~their~~ classmates:

1. Where does this child usually make his friends?
2. Is he well liked in the classroom by his classmates? Why?

Teachers also answered questions on the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale, pertaining to peer relations of the subjects. The teachers' reports of peer relationships are discussed and interpreted, and are documented with direct quotations from the teachers and subjects.

School as a Source of Friendships

"To be socially accepted by a classmate is considered a step toward the possibility of the development of a happy personal relationship" (32:512). Children come into such intimate contact with their classmates that the relationships become very meaningful to them. This association should be such that the child gains a sense of belonging, of feeling necessary to the group, and of feeling adequate to contribute to it. Close friendships, small intimate group relationships, larger groups, and more inclusive group experiences should be fostered by the school. The urge for social acceptance among boys and girls plays an important role in their lives (32:512).

Friendships are even more meaningful to the delinquent child because his relationships with members of his own family are usually very poor (100:133; 263:31). Where does the delinquent child turn, then, to establish these meaningful relationships?

The subjects revealed that they considered school the largest single source of their friendships, with the neighborhood and community at large representing other sources.

As is shown in Table 17, two-fifths of the children stated that they had met their best friends at school, while almost a third of them had met their best friends in the neighborhood or on the street. Only six subjects had met their best friends in a directed activity group such as the church, settlement, or other group agency. The remaining ten subjects reported various locations, such as detention home, own home, movies, and parks, for meeting their friends; while two did not remember where they had met their best friends.

TABLE 17
SOURCES OF FIRST CONTACTS OF SUBJECTS WITH
THEIR BEST FRIENDS

Source	Number
School	22
Neighborhood or street	17
Y.M.C.A., community center, etc.	4
Church	2
Detention home	2
At home	1
Movies	1
Park	1
Through another friend	1
National Guard Camp	1
Mothers worked together	1
Don't remember	2
Total	55

Evaluation of Friendships by Subjects

The following topics comprise this section: meaning of friendships, security in friendships, and classroom relationships. Generalizations are made after each discussion to depict the patterns of the findings.

Meaning of friendships.-- The subjects indicated through their discussions that they were seeking fulfillment of basic security needs in their friendships. The need to be protected, the need to be fed, the need for recognition, the need for affection and companionship, and the need to be administered to and cared for were revealed through their own statements.

The most common reasons given by the subjects for liking their best friends revealed direct contributions of some kind that the friends were making to the subjects, and especially indicated the subjects' own dependency needs. Such reasons given by the subjects were, "Takes up for me in a fight;" "He pays my way to a show;" "She divided three dollars with me that she snuck off her ole man;" "She's popular and can mix with a croud;" "She understands me better;" "He will do what I ask."

Reasons given by the subjects for liking their friends revealed a need for satisfying companionship and for affection and tenderness. Their own statements included the following: "He don't cuss;" "He is friendly;" "We could never find nothing to fight about;" "We just had one fight." Although the subjects enjoyed pleasantness in other persons it is significant that most of the subjects were themselves contentious, antagonistic, and belligerent. Their friendships often dissolved after

they and their friends "got into trouble together."

Jim is typical of the children who valued friendship for the companionship it offered, but who discontinued the friendship after "getting into trouble together."

Jim (Case 37: C.A. 16-3, M.A. 19-5, I.Q. 129, Grade 8).-- Jim who was most unpleasant to almost everyone in school, said of his best friend, "He has no bad temper and is very friendly and nice, but we aren't friends anymore since we got into trouble together." Jim made all his friends (as few as they were) in school, because his other contacts and activities were very limited. He said, "I go by myself most of the time." He made the following statement about a big boy in his class whom he liked least of all, "I was supposed to fight him one time because he was such a bully, he was conceited about girls, had plenty girls but they were all lower-class. He thought he was better than any one else." Jim had not been able to interest any girls in himself, even those he considered "lower-class girls." Jim was quite conscious of social class structure. He blamed his teachers for favoring "upper-class kids" in his school.

Nine children gave playing together as a reason for liking friends. Two of the nine children who gave this reason said frankly they did not like the playmate, but, as one of them said, "I can't get no one else to play with me." Nine-year-old Ralph (Case 43), who is also discussed in Chapter IV, made this statement.

Ralph (Case 43: C.A. 9-8, M.A. 7-8, I.Q. 79, Grade Special).-- Ralph met his best friend on a playground and they attended different schools. He had no friends in his class, but had tried to make his classmates like him by "telling them stories." He played with his best friend to make him "like me better," Ralph said, even though, "I don't like him."

Four of the subjects reported that their friendships were based on common interests and problems. Ola (Case 13), whose teacher had provoked her by "discussing lower-class children in school," said, "I like 'Dot' because she is silly and crazy and dumb in her subjects just like me." Jim (Case 37) reported that when he and his friend both failed the

seventh grade they became friends because they had something in common. Some common interests, like movies and dancing, were of a recreational nature. Three of the children depended largely upon their friends to provide their fun and entertainment. Two of those three subjects were notably lacking in spontaneity and warmth, but wanted their friends to have this asset.

Two of the girls Millie and Barbara (Cases 20 and 12), discussed in Chapter IV, said their friends "did not act better" than they themselves. A discussion of Barbara follows.

Barbara (Case 12: C.A. 11-7, M.A. 8-6, I.Q. 73, Grade 4).--- Barbara felt severely rejected by her school peers and teachers. She said she liked her best friend because "She's the only one in the whole school who don't make fun of me, she's nice to me and don't call me names." Her classmates called her "Fatso" and hit her, she said. Barbara had tried to make her classmates like her by "talking nice" to them but she explained, "They talk mean back to me." She wished they liked her better because she had no friends outside of school either. She was an only child and was often left alone by her mother, who was known throughout the slum area as a heavy drinker, and a constant patron of saloons in the vicinity. The father had deserted and the mother had lived with several other men. Loneliness and insecurity may have caused Barbara to yearn intensely for affection from peers. When she failed to gain their approval, she felt this lack more keenly than many other children.

Two boys said they liked their best friends "Because they don't run around like other boys and get into trouble." These boys seemed to be depending upon their friends to keep them "out of trouble."

Analysis of meaning of friendships.--- The following generalizations emerge from the foregoing evidence:

1. Friends seemed to fill protective, dependency, and other security and social needs;
2. and also filled affectional needs;
3. Friends provided companionship, especially in recreation;

4. Friends shared interests and problems with subjects;
5. Friends provided social acceptance and recognition for subjects;
6. Friends were tending to counteract negative traits in the delinquent's own personality.

Security in friendships.-- The children reported for the most part that they felt secure in their friendships. However, twenty of the fifty-five subjects said that they wished their friends liked them better, indicating feelings of insecurity in the friendships.

All of the subjects wanted their friends to like them, and used various methods in retaining those attachments (Table 18). A number of subjects said they laughed, joked, and told funny stories to hold their friends' interest. Some used recreation for this purpose; for example, they said, "I play with her;" "I go to the movies with him;" and "I go places they like to go." Others gave their friends money or other gifts. As one child said, "I give 'em money, and don't fuss and cheat 'em," and another remarked, "I buy 'em ice cream when they don't have money." Still other subjects found special favors to do for their friends which they expressed in the following ways: "I help her with her work;" "I let him play with my baseball glove;" "I help her with her dishes and don't let her help me." Other methods used by the subjects for making their friends like them were revealed through such statements as, "I compliment him;" "I don't take her boy friends;" "I don't boss 'em;" and "I fight for him."

A comparison of the reasons the subjects gave for liking their

TABLE 18

METHODS USED BY SUBJECTS TO WIN AND RETAIN FRIENDS

Method	Frequency
Trying to entertain friends by humor	14
Providing companionship in recreation	13
Bribing with gifts	11
Providing services	9
Miscellaneous	8
Total	55

friends with the methods they used to make friends like them revealed the price these children were paying for the kindness and protection they were seeking through their friendships. Laura (Case 1) said that she liked her best friend, "Because she is real nice and don't fight," and in turn she reported, "I give her my things and money." Laura had been expelled from one school for fighting "white girls" and was known in school as a fighter. Barbara (Case 12) said she liked her friend, "Because she is the only one at school who doesn't make fun of me." Barbara reported what she did to make her friend like her: "I listen to records with her and go to movies with her." Andy (Case 16) said that he liked his friend because he played marbles with him. In order to make his friend like him, Andy noted that he helped his friend with his work.

Earl (Case 28) said he liked his best friend because "He don't ever argue or fight with me," and made the friend like him by "doing him favors and helping him with arithmetic." Bertha (Case 34) said of her friend, "She is nice to me, she took up for me and divided \$3.00 she snuck off her old man." In return, Bertha said, "I try to be nice to her." Van (Case 40), who was discussed in Chapter IV, under school attendance, stated that he liked his friend because, "He seems to enjoy the things I do." To make his friend like him, Van said, "I go places with him, take up for him, and give him cigarettes and money." Rose (Case 50), who lacked spontaneity, said of her friend, "I like her because she is a lot of fun and I can get along with her." When asked how she made her friend like her, she said, "I loan her money and help her in other ways."

Analysis of security in friendships.-- The following generalizations are suggested from the above data:

1. In order to retain the relationships they formed with their peers, delinquents had to pay in a tangible, often expensive, way such as, working or buying gifts for their friends.

2. Delinquents are not able to give to a friendship the warmth and affection which they so desperately seek in the relationship. This limitation puts extra pressure on the delinquent to over-emphasize material contributions to friendship, which in turn might create hostility in both parties and thus destructiveness to the friendship. Hostility may occur in this kind of relationship because the over-paying donor resents his subservient role and the recipient resents being made to accept the apparently unearned gifts and the superior status which are thrust upon him.

Classroom relationships.-- Although most of the children verbalized a feeling of security, indirectly they revealed the high degree of insecurity they were feeling in their relationships. When the classroom as an original source of best friends was discussed with the subjects, only fifteen of the fifty-five said that their best friends were now in their classes at school. Forty subjects reported that their best friends were in other classes, in other schools, or not in school at all. Of these forty subjects, twenty-nine felt that they were liked by their classmates, and eleven felt they were disliked.

The fifteen who said their best friends were in their classes and the twenty-nine others who felt that their classmates liked them, gave as

reasons for being liked that they performed various tasks for their classmates, clowned for them, and tried to be agreeable and sociable with them. The inadequacy of these efforts, which often proved very strenuous and costly for the subjects, is discussed in the following section in connection with the sociometric analyses of classroom friendships.

Typical of the statements which indicated that subjects had performed tasks to earn favor with classmates were, "I ride 'em on my bike;" "I do their lessons;" "They get their arithmetic answers off me." Typical of the child putting forth those efforts was Bertha (Case 35), who said, "I always have candy and they ask me spelling questions."

Some subjects who reported that they were trying to be friendly with classmates were actually clowning as indicated in their own statements and also in the reports of their teachers. These children described their efforts to make their classmates like them in the following statements: "By acting silly;" "By cracking jokes with 'em;" and "They get fun out of me." Margie (Case 53) said she always acted "silly" and cracked jokes with her classmates.

A possible origin of clowning is proposed by Emanuel Klein. He states,

The child who clowns in the classroom very commonly is found to have a history of teasing by his companions, because of his timidity... The boy tries to meet the painful situation by actively bringing on the laughter of his companions rather than waiting to endure it passively. He clowns and in this way determines when the other boys laugh at him. The clowning still brings him a good deal of ridicule, but is tempered by some admiration and, therefore, is more acceptable to him. At the same time, making other boys laugh has as its motive disarming them, making them laugh at him instead of beating him; it is a kind of plea for mercy and a self degradation, in relation to the other boys. (139:274).

Joe (Case 17) said that he made his classmates like him by playing marbles with them. The teachers and principal revealed, however, that he was actually greatly disliked by classmates because he cheated at marbles and bullied some children out of their marbles.

Four subjects claimed that classmates liked them because they did not "act mad." Mark (Case 14) said he was liked by classmates because he was not afraid to fight. On the other hand, some children said they disliked him for this reason.

The reactions of the peer group against a member who has violated certain standards, as by playing truant, becoming a sex delinquent, and tattling are significant factors in this analysis. The eleven subjects who felt disliked by classmates gave such explanations as these: "They call me names and say I play hookey;" "They act funny since I got in trouble;" "I tell on 'em some time;" "They don't treat me like they like me;" "Some like me and some don't;" "I'm the only colored in my room and they don't like colored;" "Some try to pick fights with me;" "The boys make fun of me."

Dora (Case 25) had played truant and had become a sex delinquent. The teacher said that classmates were rejecting Dora for this reason. Dora expressed her feelings toward their rejection clearly when she said, "They act funny since I got in trouble." Investigators report that teachers impose their middle-class standards on the school children and that children who do not live up to these standards find themselves in disfavor with their teachers. The truant and sex delinquent may become rejected by peers for this reason (174:305). Three of the children were

probably "scapegoats" in their classrooms, since they were the victims of teasing, ridicule, and fighting. When loyalty codes are violated by "tattling and snitching," the group is likely to react against the violator. However, it may be an attempt of the violator to gain acceptance from the teacher. He must sometimes sacrifice peer acceptance for teacher approval.

The subjects were asked if they wished their classmates liked them better. Twenty-six subjects admitted that they yearned to be better liked by their classmates, while twenty-nine said they did not wish to be better liked. Eighteen of the latter group felt that they were liked well enough by classmates but eleven gave such replies as, "It makes me no difference;" "I don't care if they do or if they don't;" "I ain't gonna like them no better than they like me;" "I don't ask nobody to like me;" "It don't matter to me;" "I don't care now if they like me, but at first I didn't want 'em to." The latter group obviously exhibited a sense of failure in adjusting to their classroom groups. All of these eleven children had been or were at the time of the study playing truant from school.

The twenty-six children who said they wanted to be liked better by their classmates gave such reasons as, "I guess I want to be more popular;" "So I could get along better;" "So they wouldn't make fun of nor be mean to me;" "I like to be liked;" "They ought to treat me better 'cause I treat them good;" "Cause I'd like them better." These statements, like those of the eleven who said they did not want to be liked and were assuming an outward manner of indifference, definitely expose the depth of

insecurity felt by these subjects in their classroom situations. On the whole, the delinquents expressed considerable insecurity in their relationships with their classmates.

Analysis of classroom relationships.-- The following generalizations are indicated from the subjects' discussion of their classroom relationships:

1. Delinquents are frequently insecure with their classmates, but try to satisfy their basic emotional needs through these classroom relationships.
2. Delinquents are likely to try to purchase the approval of classmates or to win their approval by rendering services to them. A technique often employed for winning group acceptance is clowning. This technique is not often used to secure personal friends. Clowning and bribery are debasing ways of seeking social approval.
3. Those who consciously acknowledge rejection are often aware of the causes of this rejection but are unable to remedy the situation. They are aware that peer rejection results from their efforts to gain teacher approval by "snitching and tattling" on peers, but are unable to cope with this predicament. They are also helplessly aware at times that peer rejection is caused by their violation of moral and other codes.
4. Delinquents generally reveal limited insight into the various aspects of their classroom relationships, which may represent denial and thus insulation against the painful reality of their lack of social acceptance.
5. When delinquents give up the struggle for classroom acceptance they tend to evade school altogether through truancy or other means.

Evaluation of Friendships by Peers

Considerable light can be shed on the personalities of children by studying their relationships with their classmates. Classmates of the subjects of this study evaluated their friendships with subjects through sociometric tests, and the findings are reported in this section. The topics of the discussions follow in this order: Sociometric techniques for studying friendships, Sociometry as used in this study, Acceptance by classmates, Mutual choices, Rejections, and Isolates.

Sociometric techniques for studying friendships.-- Asking children to name confidentially those classmates whom they would select as best friends, as work partners or seat mates, and to name those with whom they would not like to be friends or with whom they would not like to work has proved an excellent device for analyzing children's attitudes toward each other. Through this method significant factors influencing peer relationships have been revealed, such as the following: intelligence, socioeconomic status, emotional and personal adjustment, reading ability and other achievement, teachers' standards and attitudes toward individual children, family size, social skills, unhappiness, and dislike for school. Bonney concluded in a study of children's friendships, "Apparently the most important factor in social success is the kind of total personality which has attained the necessary social skills for winning satisfying responses from others" (36:26). Through free choices and selections children's roles with their peers can be identified. Among the roles are stars, who are those children most favored by classmates, rejected children, leaders, isolates and social "normals" (92:71).

Sociometry as used in this study.-- The homeroom teacher of each subject in the study was asked to give a sociometric test to the class of which the subject was a member. On the test each pupil was asked to write the name of the person in the class whom he would choose as a best friend, and also to write the name of the person in the class whom he would choose last as a friend. They were also asked to give reasons for their choices. Choices of best friends are called acceptances in the study and choices of the least acceptable are referred to as rejections.

This test was planned by the writer with the following features in view:

- (1) It should be usable in a variety of classroom situations, including elementary and high school grades and special classes.
- (2) The language of the test should be as simple and clear as possible, to insure adequate comprehension by both high and low levels of intelligence.
- (3) It should take a minimum of time and effort to administer.
- (4) It should provide for the utmost freedom of expression.
- (5) It should serve some purpose and consequently have some appeal to the classroom teacher, so that she would have maximum interest in gaining the best possible cooperation and most accurate responses from the children.

A copy of the sociometric test appears in Appendix F, together with a copy of the instructions to teachers for giving the test.

The sociometric test was administered in forty different classroom situations, to forty-five of the subjects and their classmates. In three different situations there were two delinquent subjects in the same class, and in one classroom there were three of these subjects present. The sociometric tests were not given in the classes of nine children, for

various reasons. In most of these classes the teachers and investigators agreed that conditions were unfavorable to securing valid data by a sociometric test.

Acceptance by classmates.--- The delinquent children of this study did not tend to be well accepted by their classmates, as revealed in the sociometric studies. The subjects had evidently not developed the social skills for winning satisfying peer responses. Yet the subjects, as shown through their own comments, were eager to gain recognition and approval from their classmates.

As shown in individual sociograms, many children in the class groups of the subjects were chosen as best friend by more than one classmate. The delinquents were not usually so fortunate. The data reveal that only eighteen, or less than half, of the forty-five subjects studied sociometrically were chosen by a classmate as a best friend. Only two of these (Cases 22 and 35) were able to draw "best friend" selections from as many as two different classmates. The remaining sixteen who received selections were chosen by only one each of his or her classmates as a best friend.

Of the remaining sixteen subjects who received one acceptance each from one classmate, four only received no rejections and five received one rejection each. The other six subjects received from two to six rejections each in their classes. Wanda (Case 26), discussed in Chapter IV, and Henry (Case 7) received one acceptance and no rejections, but tended to choose friends who did not mutually choose them. They might have been chosen by these friends if more choices than one had been made by each

child. The other two subjects (Cases 53 and 48) who received one acceptance and no rejection were mutually chosen by their friends.

The reasons given by classmates who chose the delinquent subjects as best friends revealed a limited variety of assets among the subjects. The reasons given were: "He likes me;" "I can leave my things with her;" "We play together;" "I can depend on her;" (only one child received this comment), "He is fun;" "We go places together;" "He plays with me;" "We divide." The latter comment was made by another delinquent girl. It is not known how many of the friends of the sixteen delinquents who were chosen as best friends were also delinquents, or at least borderline delinquents, since they spoke often of playing and associating together. The friends selected by subjects were usually not stars in the class, but on the other hand tended to receive fewer rejections than the subjects.

Twenty-six of the forty-five subjects received no best friend selections. This fact shows their lack of acceptance by their classmates. A total of twenty-one best friend selections were received by the entire group in contrast to the ninety-six rejections they received.

Bertha (Case 35) is presented to show the position of a delinquent girl who has managed to win some measure of peer acceptance in her classroom. Figures 1 and 2 are sociograms of her class. The way her classmates felt about her, her teachers' attitudes toward her, and her role in the classroom are discussed below. Following the discussion of Bertha, consideration will be given to the case of Ross, another subject who won acceptance from two of his peers.

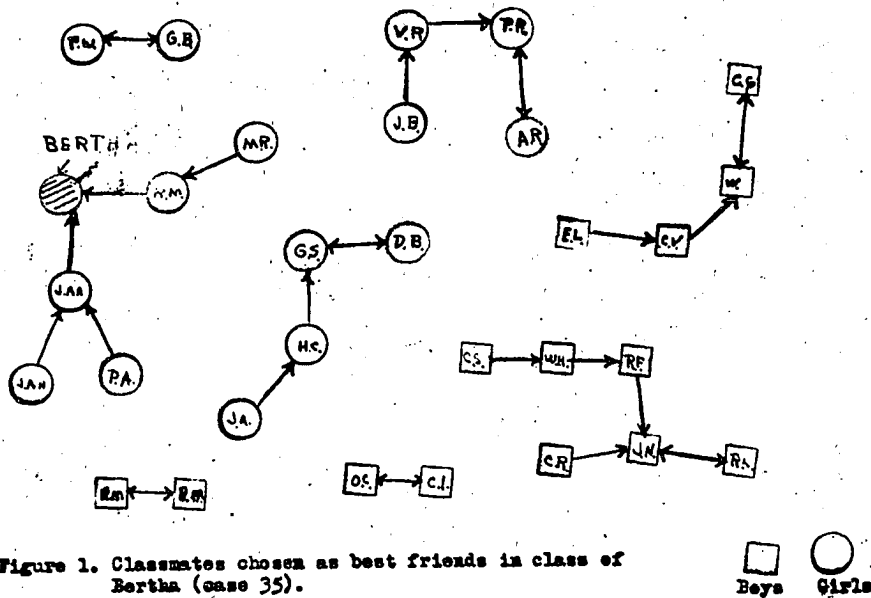


Figure 1. Classmates chosen as best friends in class of Bertha (case 35).

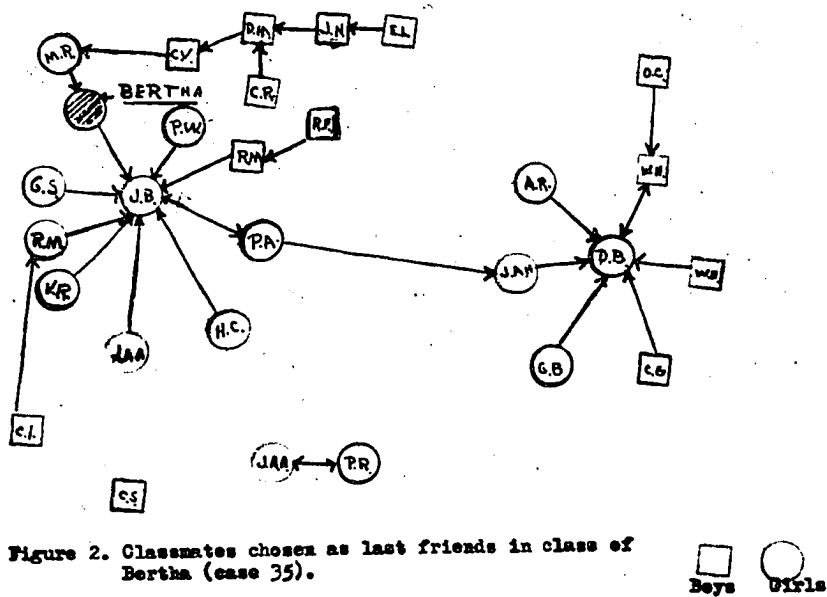


Figure 2. Classmates chosen as last friends in class of Bertha (case 35).

Bertha (Case 35: C.A. 12-1, M.A. 9-0, I.Q. 74, Grade 5).--

Bertha was chosen by two of her classmates, as shown in Figure 1. They gave as reasons for choosing Bertha, "She's a nice girl to play with" and "I can depend on her." Bertha said of the girl she chose on the sociometric test, "I like her because she is a nice girl and she is the kind of girl to play with." Bertha received only one rejection in contrast to Ross. (Figures 3 and 4) She was able to present a more likeable and certainly less offensive personality in the school situation than Ross, who will be presented later. Although Bertha possessed qualities that usually stimulate rejection in school such as uncleanliness, poor work habits, and loud and boisterous manner, her ingratiating, solicitous efforts to be liked apparently partially won her a comfortable status role with her classmates.

Bertha was shabbily dressed and unclean most of the time. She was considerably more underprivileged than most of the children in her school. She was retarded two years chronologically in achievement, but was quite small for her age and was no larger than her classmates. However, she was as socially mature, except in sex interests, as the average twelve-year-old girl from a slum area. Bertha explained in the interview that her classmates liked her, "Because I always have candy and they ask me spelling questions." However, she considered her best friend to be a girl in her neighborhood. She said she admired this friend and wanted to be like her " 'cause she is big and can beat up kids. She's smart too."

Bertha's teachers found her more offensive than children did. Her homeroom teacher said of her, "She does not seem to care, makes only a little effort and shrugs her shoulders. She is pleasant in a way, but has defied in a stubborn way. She is not saucy or rude, and when spoken to she looks as if she's sprouting wings. She isn't the kind of child you would like to do things for, she does not warrant that kind of sympathy. There is nothing much you can do for her, you can't get under that thick skin." Her physical education teacher said, "She tried to conform, but is not a good worker. She is not clean, and her home conditions are poor. At times she is erratic but the group likes her; she's quite popular with them. She likes to talk loud and appears coarse at times. She is not too much of a problem, and is a good athlete though small." The language arts teacher, who also taught her health and social studies, said, "She is fairly polite, but has poor study habits, and jumps from one thing to another. She flits over the room, writes notes and is a very social being. She is always bidding for attention and extra help, and seems to cover up her feelings well." Her practical arts and art teacher commented on her uncleanliness and her socializing ability.

The psychiatrist at the Juvenile Court said of Bertha, "She has a pleasing personality and seems to want to be accepted by others." In evaluating her home situation he reported, "This has been primarily a family and social situation. Three of the older children have been

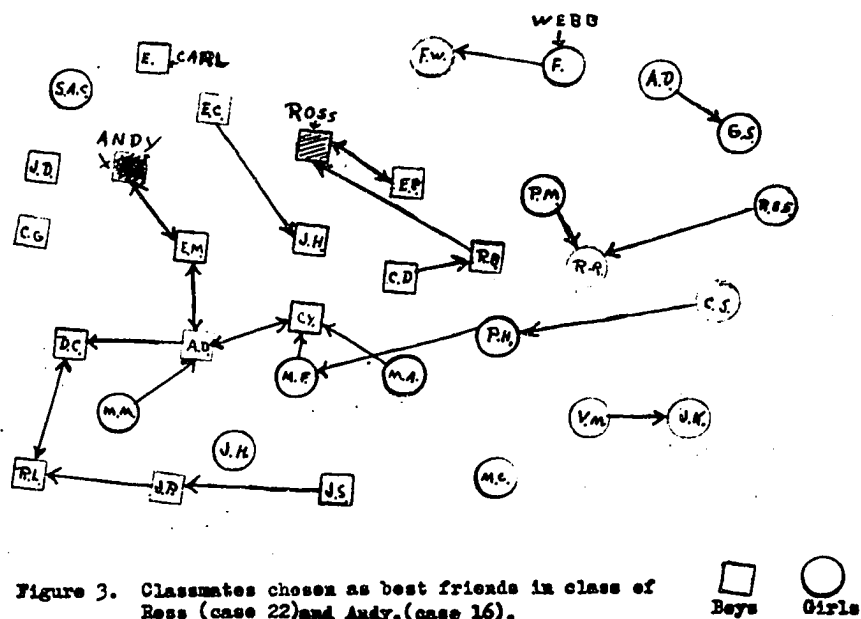


Figure 3. Classmates chosen as best friends in class of Ross (case 22) and Andy. (case 16).

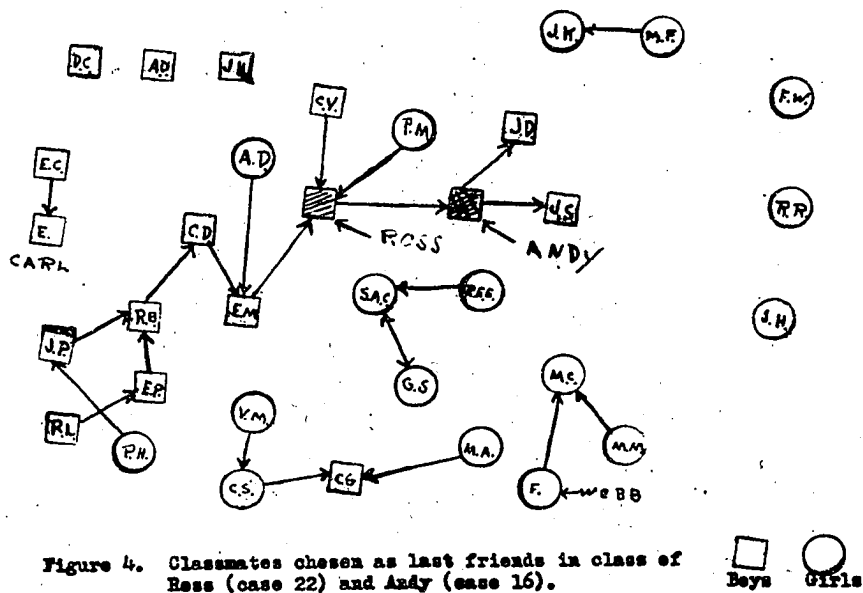


Figure 4. Classmates chosen as last friends in class of Ross (case 22) and Andy (case 16).

studied. As they, in turn, became old enough they became involved in delinquency and have been placed in various institutions. The parents have been separated a long time. The father is alcoholic and has shown low moral standards before his children when they visited him. The mother has been very inadequate." Of Bertha he stated, "She is not so delinquent at this time."

Bertha was more successful in peer relationships than her older sister Babbs (Case 34), a more serious delinquent, (who was the second most rejected child in any of the classroom groups). Bertha's classmate who rejected her said of her, "She never likes anything I like and I like some things she does but not all the time." Figure 2 shows that Bertha was rejected by one child in her class. Bertha herself rejected the same child as did many of her classmates.

Some of the factors contributing to Bertha's acceptance by some of her classmates have been mentioned: her friendliness, reasonable conformity to adult standards, and dependability. Other factors may have been her resemblance in behavior to the boisterous, unkempt boys in her class and the comparatively minor character of her delinquency.

The other child who received two selections as a best friend was Ross (Figure 3). Both boys who gave Ross the selections stated, "I play with him and he is fun."

Ross (Case 22: C.A. 11-7, M.A. 10-0, I.Q. 86, Grade 5).-- Although Ross had received more acceptances by classmates than the average delinquent child, Figure 4 shows that he was also the most rejected child in his class. The reasons given by the children for rejecting him were, "He hits me;" "He is a show off;" "He is a rat;" "He is mean;" "He makes trouble;" and "He has bad manners." He was attending a basin elementary school. He told the writer in an interview at Juvenile Court that his best friend was E.P. (noted on sociogram) who lived in his neighborhood. They had become friends when their mothers worked together, he said, "We got to liking each other." He thought his friends liked him well enough. When asked if he wished "kids" in his room liked him better, he stated, "I don't care if they do or if they don't." He admitted, however, that he "helped 'em out in spelling" to make them like him better. He said he thought his being a "good marble player" made the boys like him a great deal. He said of his best friend in the room, "He sits up in front of me and we work together." He liked Andy (Case 16), a child with whom he had once broken into the school, least of all in his class because "He's always doing mean things like breaking in school, but them guys (meaning Andy and others) was begging me to break in with 'em."

Ross' teacher of English and social studies considered him popular, she said, "Because he is liked by the children," but stated, "He can be annoying and troublesome. He is no angel. He provokes people to annoy him and then he hollers. He is very disturbing in the classroom and is a fighter too." She felt that he was very "spoiled" because he had had ear trouble for a long time. The art teacher had to keep Ross away from the other children because he had the wrong kind of influence on them. He was disturbing and had undue sex curiosity and tended to spread obscene literature among children. "His father is in the penitentiary and the mother is now living as wife with the father's brother. This must have some bad influence on Ross," she said. She finally stated that the class would be much better off without Ross and Andy. Ross' practical arts teacher said about him, "He does not appeal to children, he is so underhanded, he is disagreeable and will fight." She said further, "He is always arguing and fussing so much that I wonder if it's his condition. His mind is simply away from school work. He is lazy, quarrelsome, and unwilling to work. He has never been chosen in the room by the children to share any responsibilities and duties; I had to spank him but it did no good." The arithmetic teacher reported, "He is quite a trial, has ear trouble and you feel sorry for him, but have to keep an eye on him. He likes to show off and be funny, and to make a clown of himself." She said, "The children like him fairly well; he takes advantage of you so you have to get severe with him. I talked and spanked to get him under control." The physical education teacher said, "Ross is slick, gives that cute little grin and has no respect for rules or anybody. He accepts his swats though, and is not resentful. A kid suspected him of taking one dollar. He's silly and neither he nor Andy fits in with other children. He's pretty good in physical activities."

He did not regret being caught and punished for breaking into the school, Ross said, "Because I'd done so much other stuff that they never caught me in." He openly blamed his friends for his delinquencies. Throughout his interview there existed this pattern of projecting blame onto other people for his problems. However, it was notable that he defended his mother in every respect. Somehow, he could not bring himself to talk realistically about her. His inability to face this problem may have been the primary stimulus in his projecting the blame onto others.

The data regarding Ross' classroom relationships show that the assets which apparently won him some admiration from friends were his smile, his skill as a marble player, and his physical skills. His two best friends and Andy, whom Ross disliked, all said they liked Ross because he played with them. On the whole, his social skills appeared very limited. This limitation probably accounts for his not being able to be

more attractive to peers. Both teachers and peers described him as annoying, mean, quarrelsome, and underhanded, as having bad manners, as exploitive, and disrespectful. He had provoked one classmate into calling him "a rat." These personality traits, as in the case of many delinquent children, prevented Ross from being liked by adults and children alike. Another trait exhibited by Ross that appears in many delinquent personalities and may influence social attitudes against them was his lack of feeling of responsibility or duty to other people.

Analysis of evaluation of acceptance by classmates.--- The sociometric data on peer acceptance in the classrooms of the subjects lead to the following generalizations:

1. Delinquent subjects tend to be chosen as best friends by their classmates much less frequently than they are rejected or completely ignored by them.
2. Those few subjects who gain acceptance from one or more classmates also tend to incite hostility in others by their offensive personality traits.
3. Since teachers and classmates both stress the offensiveness of the delinquent personality, there may be some relationship between teacher and pupil reactions to the subjects; e.g., a teacher's dislike for a child may influence other children to dislike the child.
4. The assets which win friendships for the children are usually limited to rendering services and sharing recreation. The few delinquents who possess good play skills spoil the usefulness of these skills in their inter-personal relations by cheating, bickering, and bullying.

5. The sex of the peers and the developmental level of the subject and his class group may influence the acceptance delinquents gain with their peers, since different codes operate at different age or developmental levels with each sex.

Mutual choices.--- When children choose each other as best friends in a sociometric study, this kind of selection is known as a "mutual choice." If a child is favored by the person whom he likes best in his class, the satisfaction and rewards of such a relationship should offset some of the effects of other problems faced by the child. It may also enhance his acceptance in the total class group.

Twelve of the subjects of this study received mutual choices from their classmates, including Bertha (Case 35) and Ross (Case 22) who were discussed above. Of these twelve, two subjects, Milton (Case 48) and Margie (Case 53) received no rejections from classmates. The other ten receiving mutual choices received from one to six rejections each.

Although these two subjects were able to draw mutual choice selections without rejection from classmates, one of them (Case 53) did not appear to be any better adjusted in her group than the other delinquent children were in their respective groups. With the other subject (Case 48) several positive factors were showing effects in his situation. Milton (Case 48) was possibly aided by his friend in avoiding peer rejection in the new group, despite the fact that he possessed many of the traits of his most rejected classmate, against whom the children were violently reacting. Figures 5 and 6 represent the best and last friend choices in his former school where he was very poorly adjusted, and Figures 7 and 8 represent the choices made in his most recent school where

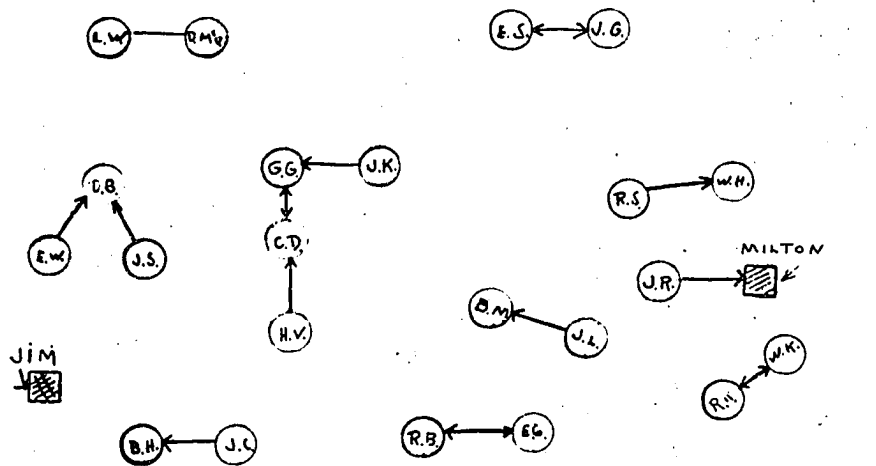


Figure 5. Classmates chosen as best friends in first class of Milton (case 48) and Jim (case 37). ☐ Boys ☐ Girls

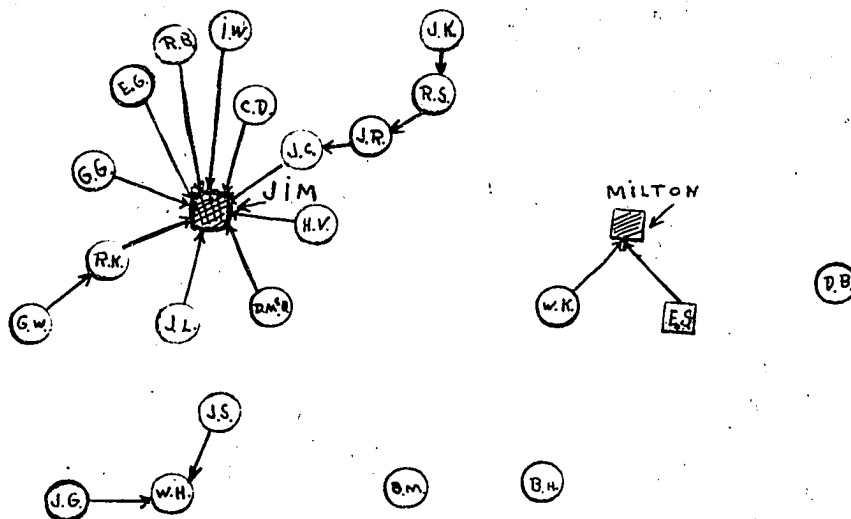
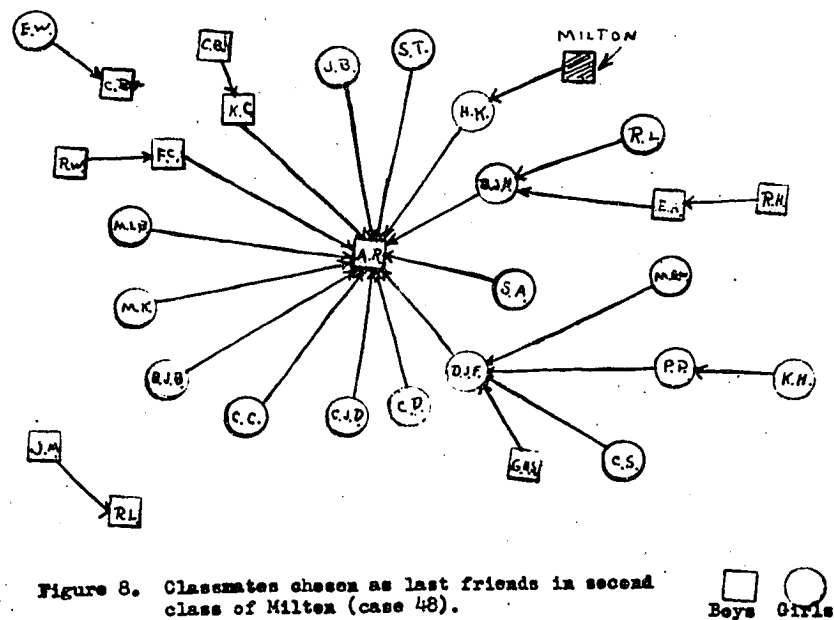
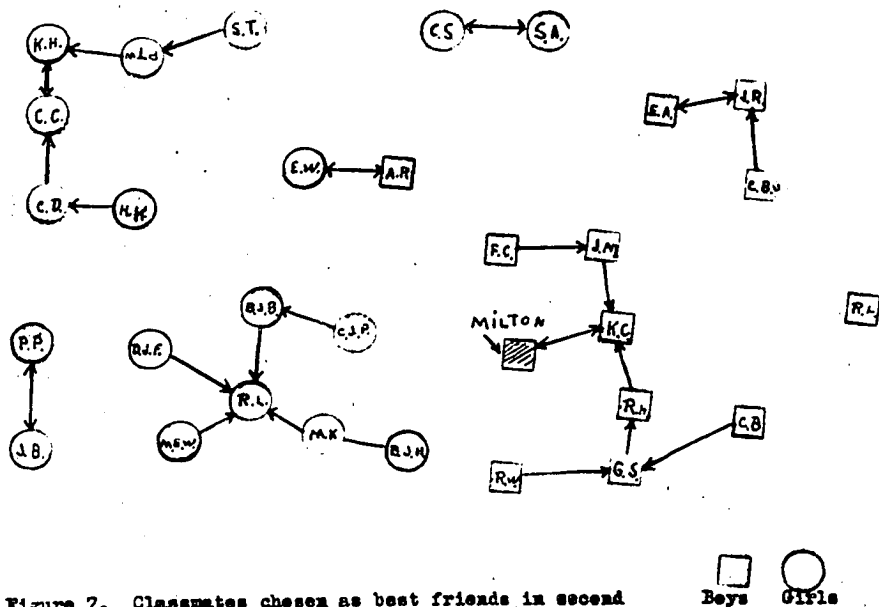


Figure 6. Classmates chosen as last friends in first class of Milton (case 48) and Jim (case 37).



he was able to earn a mutual choice. Other factors also apparently contributed to Milton's ability to avoid rejections in his new class:

- (1) He had attended the new school only one month, and was not very well known.
- (2) Children were reacting so intensely against another boy that Milton's offensiveness had not come into prominence.
- (3) He seemed to be more at ease with the present peer group than he had been in the former school and thus was less self-assertive and defensive.
- (4) Finally, the homeroom teacher had diagnosed the boy's needs early in his contacts with him and was meeting them effectively in the classroom situation.

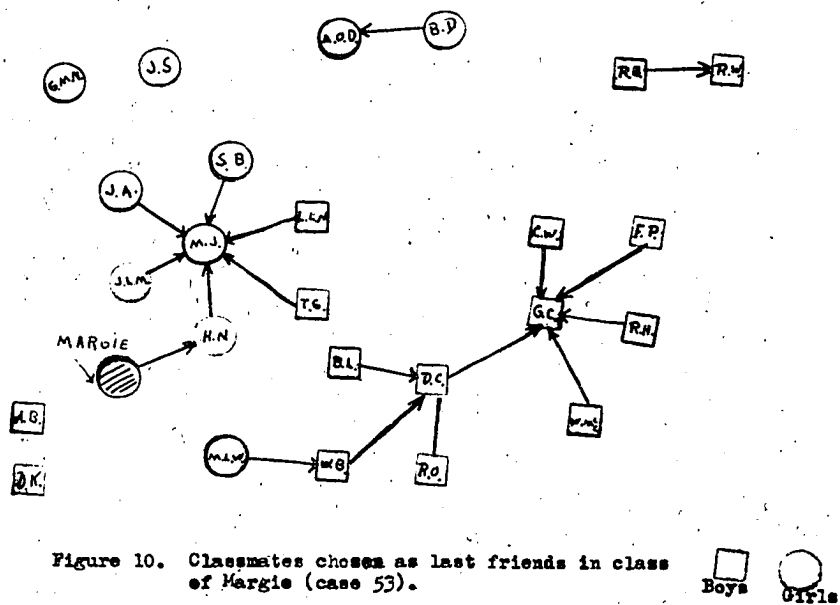
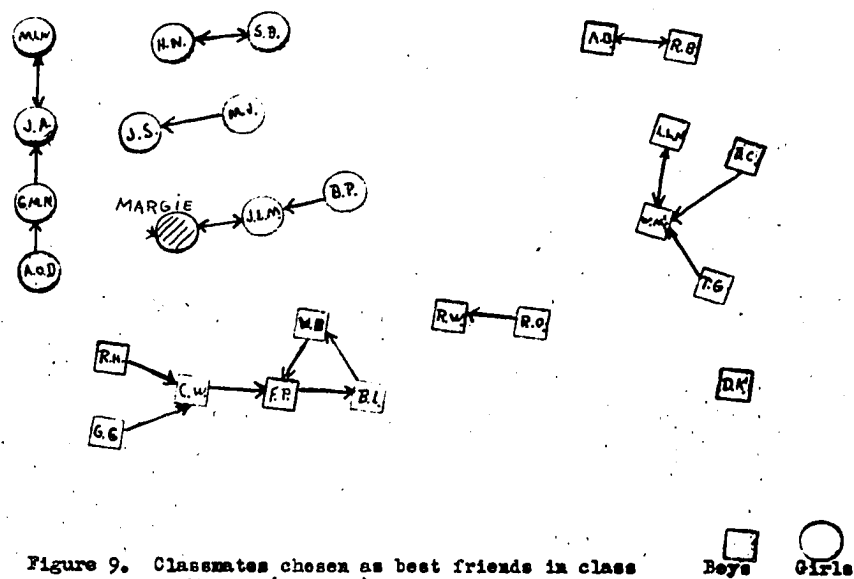
Sociometric tests were made in two schools attended by Milton

(Case 48).

Margie (Case 53) managed to receive a mutual choice in her class.

However, she continued to clown and use every effort to gain attention from the entire class group. Although she did not draw rejections from her classmates, teachers reported that she was always disrupting classes because of her attention getting antics, and for this reason was not liked by her classmates. The teachers reported that this behavior was offensive to her classmates, yet none of the group rejected Margie on the sociometric test, as shown in Figures 9 and 10. The following discussion shows the feelings that she and her friends had toward each other, which was satisfactory but did not meet her deeper needs.

Margie (Case 53: C.A. 14-3, M.A. 14-10, I.Q. 107, Grade 8).---
Margie's best friend said of her, "I could depend on her. She wasn't very popular with most people but because I really got to know her she was a real friend." Margie felt that she was liked well enough by children at school. However, she admitted putting forth special efforts to be liked. She said, "I tried to be full of fun and cracked jokes with them." She

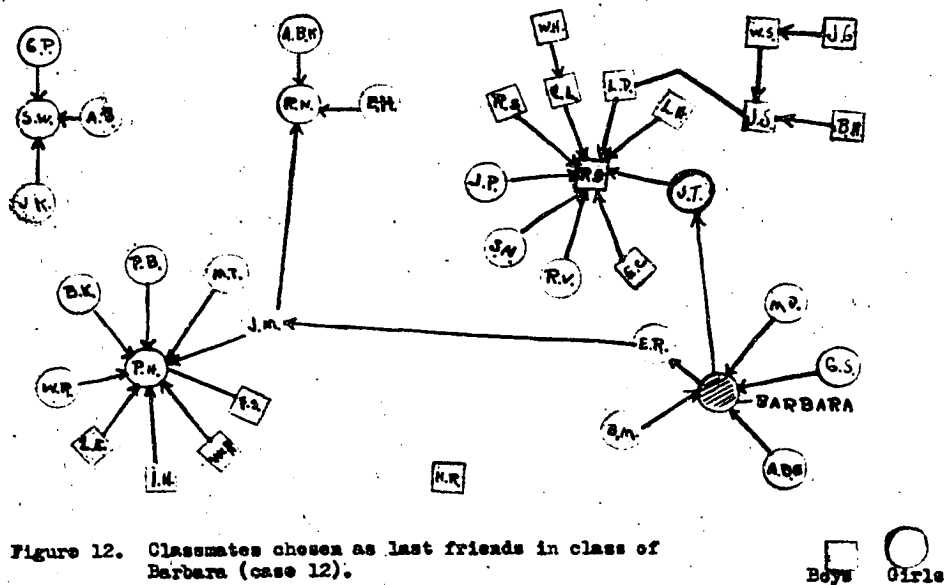
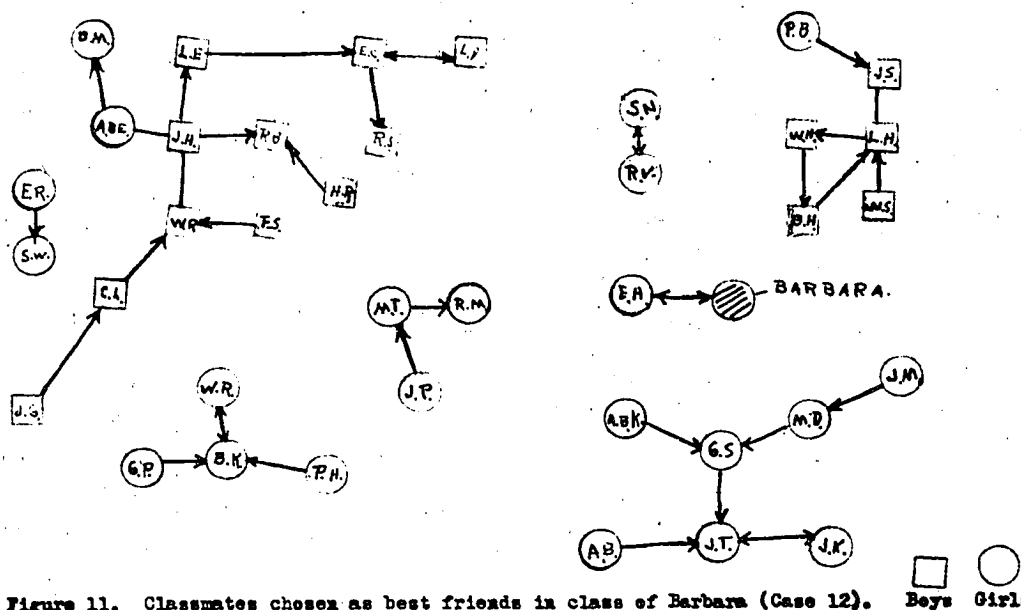


also said she tried to help them "settle their fights." Classmates showed Margie they liked her, she said, "They treated me so nice." Margie had had a very traumatic and unstable background. She had been severely beaten by the stepmother who constantly and openly rejected her, and had been sexually attacked by the stepgrandfather. She had changed schools thirteen times, but had managed to be promoted each year. Her school work was beginning to deteriorate currently, with the development of delinquent behavior.

In this case the dynamics of peer relationships are not clear enough to clarify Margie's role with her class group or to determine what security she received in her mutual friendship with her girl friend. It is possible that her pleasantness and her jesting may have outweighed her annoying and disruptive behavior and thus prevented overt rejection by her classmates.

Barbara (Case 12) felt that she was the most disliked child in her room and the school, yet as shown in the sociograms, Figures 11 and 12, she received a mutual choice and only four rejections in comparison to eight rejections apiece received by two of her classmates, P.H. and R.B. The data on this case reveal how deeply children feel rejection by peers, despite the fact that they may be enjoying a mutual friendship.

Name calling, ridicule, and other forms of teasing may hurt the victim deeply, but may not always carry with them the real hostility and hatred that may be implied in the children's actions. Scapegoating seems to be the crux of Barbara's maladjustment with her peers. Since teachers and the principal voiced open rejection of Barbara, their attitude may have indirectly placed her in the position of a "scapegoat" and thus caused rejection by peers in the school. Her mutual friendship could not offset this problem for Barbara.



Barbara (Case 12: C.A. 11-7, M.A. 8-6, I.Q. 73, Grade 4).--- On the sociometric test her best and mutual friend said she liked Barbara, "Because I can leave things with her." The four rejections Barbara received were based on the reasons, "She don't play nicely;" "I never play with her;" and "She acts too stuck-up." One girl and one boy in Barbara's room were more rejected than she, although she felt that everyone disliked her most in the room. The reasons given were that the girl was "bossy;" "She talks too much, starts fights;" "Is not honest;" The boy in the class was considered "silly," "noisy," "rough," "dishonest," and "he steals," by classmates. The girl later came to the Juvenile Court as a delinquent.

Barbara's cumulative record contained twenty-one different addresses where Barbara and her mother had lived during the six years the child had attended school. Although Barbara had earned a mutual friendship choice she was exceedingly insecure with her peers in school.

Barbara said she "felt bad" when she failed in school because "It seemed that all the kids were better'n me. I just can't get along at school 'cause they call me fatty, though I try not to pay any attention to it. I wish they didn't make fun of me. Some boy at school threw a snowball and hit me in the ear and it hurt so I couldn't go back to school that afternoon. When they talk about me I don't even want to go back to school. The kids told lies on me. They said I hit 'em and I didn't and she swatted me for it anyway." Tears were in her eyes as she related this story. When asked whether she would like to make better marks, she replied, "I can't, cause the kids talk about me, I try but I can't." (tears in eyes again) Barbara continued, "A girl in practical arts class puts my name down for talking cause she don't like me, and I had to write 200 times that I won't talk. The teacher won't believe me when I tell her I don't talk." Her present girl friend, Barbara said, "is the only one who doesn't make fun of me." She said, "She plays with me, I like her because she is nice to me and doesn't call me names. We met at school." Barbara felt that her classmates did not like her and gave as reasons, "They call me names. They tell me I play hookey and I don't. They call me Fatso and hit me."

Barbara's homeroom teacher said the pupils in her class liked Barbara, but the boys called her "girl without a neck." The homeroom teacher said, "Her home training is poor and appearance poor." She admired Barbara for not contaminating children's minds with her experiences. "She seems to have some sense of decency about not telling," the teacher related. She stated that she knew the girl had "bad experiences" because the home visitor reported finding the girl and mother in bed practically intoxicated. The mother had taken the child to a beer parlor where they had gotten drunk. Other teachers said Barbara was liked by most of her classmates. "She was sexy and had a tendency to show off. She is a friendly kid and children responded to that," they noted. Her social studies and English teacher said, "She is able to get sympathy without

trying. Children seem to have a soft spot for her. She seeks more mature children. This girl needs help and we teachers want to help her, but schools are so highly organized now there's no place for teachers to help kids. The home visitor is active." The physical education teacher said, "She tried so hard, but she looks so funny when she bends over in gym that it splits your side to look at her. She's so fat and dumpy." The principal said that Barbara was offensive to her, and also to children and teachers, "because she smells like onions all the time. The odor seems to come out all over her body."

The most rejected of all the subjects who had received a mutual choice was Kelley (Case 39), who was also discussed in Chapter IV under dynamic factors in regular school attendance. He was in a slow learning class of an eight-grade elementary school. Kelley illustrates how a delinquent boy with a mutual friend may be regarded by his classmates in a slow-learning class. His sociograms are Figures 13 and 14. Also shown in this discussion is a teacher's methods for trying to help a rejected boy gain acceptance with his peers.

Kelley (Case 39; C.A. 15-10, M.A. 10-10, I.Q. 73, Grade-Special).--
Kelley's mutual friend selected him, he said, "Because he ain't no punk." Six classmates rejected him, they said, "Because he steals;" "He always hit around on me;" "He fights me;" "He is a crook and no good;" "He get you in trouble;" "He is a crab and a trouble maker;" "He always in trouble in the room with all the boys;" "He is a crook and a thief;" "He ain't no good;" "He all way make trouble for everybody, that why I don't wount him for a fran or to play with." One of the special teachers gave a reaction similar to Kelley's classmates, when he stated, "He is no good like his family, I know the whole bunch of them." The homeroom teacher said, "Kelley is a serious stealing problem, gets unruly and ungovernable, which is often caused by his truancy. He was friendly with C.D. until they got into escapades and then became staunch enemies." C.D. and Kelley mutually rejected each other on the test (Figure 14). The teacher said that Kelley is liked fairly well in the classroom, but stated, "It is miserable in the room when he is on the outs with anyone, he is very vindictive." Another teacher said, "Other kids resent his bullying and dominating them."

In evaluating Kelley's case, the court psychiatrist wrote, "This youth is the next to the last child of a very large family. While the parents have had some ideals, apparently the size of the family, neighborhood, and limited income have all been factors in, not only the delinquency

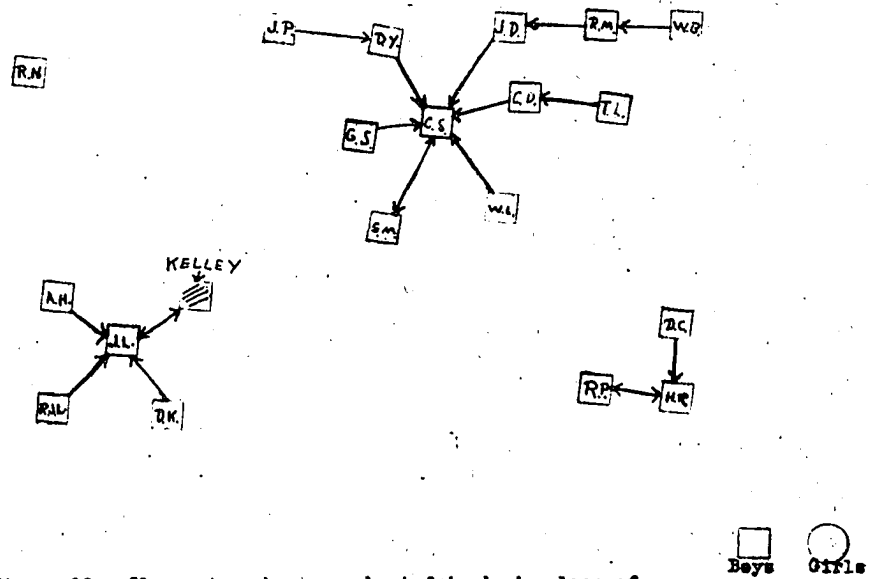


Figure 13. Classmates chosen as best friends in class of Kelley (case 39).

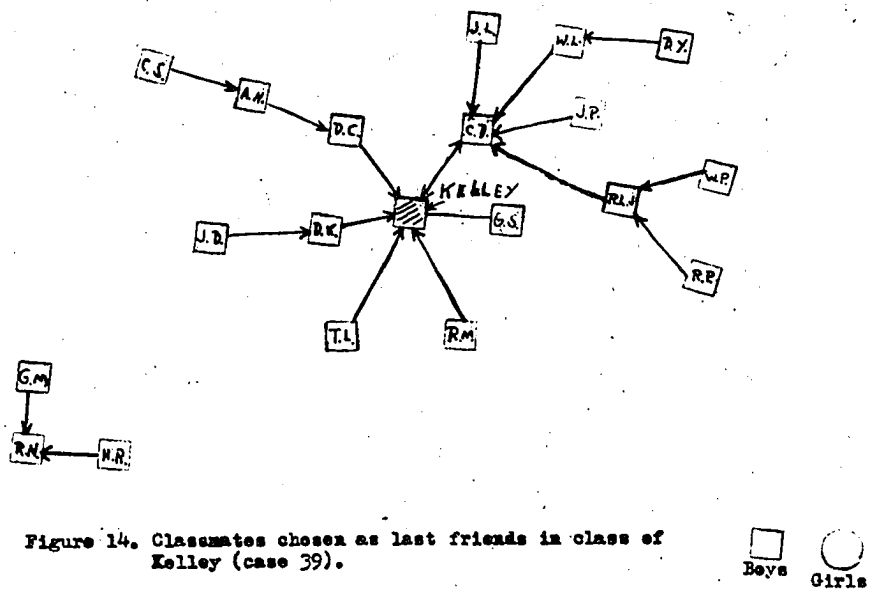


Figure 14. Classmates chosen as last friends in class of Kelley (case 39).

Boys Girls

of this boy, but that of his several brothers. The children all seem quite dependent on the home. Apparently this is due to the fact that the mother is a giving person. The father has not been a worthy ideal, at least in the physical sense in that he is elderly and is crippled. The mother also has heart trouble and varicose veins. In the present offense and in other times, it is believed that Kelley has been definitely influenced unfavorably by some of his older siblings, particularly by his brother Henry."

The teacher in this case had worked very closely with Kelley's home situation gaining the cooperation of the mother, as much as the mother was able to give. The mother had a need to cover up and defend Kelley's problems. She often denied them even to herself. The teacher was careful not to blame or indict the mother for the boy's problems. In this way she kept Kelley in fairly regular attendance at school and his problems under control. However, she seemed not to be able to help him gain peer acceptance because his offensive and unacceptable traits were so deeply rooted in the personality structure which his family and his culture had nourished so well. The way his peers described him on sociometric tests gave good insight into the boy's personality and needs, although all were slow learning boys.

This case illustrates how delinquent behavior and an offensive personality may provoke resentment and rejection even in children of dull intelligence. The mutual friendship had no effect upon the group acceptance of Kelley because in this slow learning class the peer standards and codes were even more rigid and inflexible than shown in classes of brighter children, as noted through the comments of the children in Kelley's class. Kelley gained additional strength from his friend to release his negative feelings upon the group, but was just as destructive toward his friend when he was angry with him. The teacher had taught him skills in games in an effort to help him gain entrance into the group, but his offensiveness was so over-bearing that the group still rejected him.

Analysis of mutual choices of friends.-- In summarizing the discussion of mutual choices of friends made on the sociometric tests in the classrooms of subjects, the following generalizations are suggested:

1. Although a mutual friendship between children in a classroom is often thought to be more satisfying and to produce a greater sense of

security for a child than the gaining of many choices with less individual security, the mutual choice relationships of delinquent subjects do not apparently serve this purpose for them.

2. Although some delinquent subjects manage to gain one or two mutual friendships in classrooms, on the other hand, they tend to incite hostility in other classmates because of their apparent need to act out their conflicts with peers. This behavior counteracts the good effects upon the group of the mutual relationship.

3. The delinquent's mutual relationship is not satisfying enough to offset his clowning and other efforts to win a place in the total group.

4. Mutual friendships may not elevate a delinquent child from his position as a scapegoat with teachers and schoolmates, even though the friendship may be a kind of refuge for the victimized child.

5. Exaggerated feelings of persecution of the delinquent are not lessened effectively by his mutual friendships.

6. A mutual friendship may motivate freer expression of aggression and other negative behavior by a delinquent toward his class group. Without a supporter he may be less likely to release his intensive feelings upon the group.

7. The quality of feeling that exists in the mutual friendships of the delinquent subject is questionable since he can change readily from apparent devotion to a friend to an attitude of extreme hatred and destructiveness toward him. This type of ambivalent behavior may reveal a clue to the inability of the delinquent to form and cultivate stable and meaningful inter personal relationships.

Rejections.-- Rejections have already been mentioned in connection with acceptance and mutual choices because the whole sociometric pattern was heavily weighted with the rejections received by the subjects in their classrooms. A total of ninety-six rejections were received by the subjects on the sociometric tests given in forty classrooms, in comparison to a total of twenty-one acceptances received by them.

One child of the study was rejected by twenty of his classmates on the sociometric test. Others received thirteen, ten, eight, and seven rejections each in their classrooms. Four of the subjects received six rejections each from classmates. Substantiating the general pattern of rejection faced by this group in the classroom is the fact that while twenty-six of the forty-five subjects received no first choice selections as friends, only thirteen received no rejections on the test.

Figures 15 and 16 represent the sociograms of the most rejected boy in the study, Mark (Case 14). His case is presented, to show how thoroughly a child can be rejected by teachers and pupils in a school situation, and how negative attitudes might develop against an offensive child. His feelings are also interpreted from the data.

Mark (Case 14: C.A. 11-4, M.A. 11-2, I.Q. 99, Grade 5).-- The children gave the following reasons on the sociometric test for not liking Mark; "Because he disturbs the class and never pays what he owes;" "He always acts smart in all classrooms, and going home, and always gets reported;" "He is not fair to the class;" "He gets the class in trouble;" "He steals and lies;" "He cares for nobody and is very impudent;" "If you play with him he will ask you to come out at night, if you cannot come at night, sneak out, he would say, if you would not come out he would beat you and he would say, I would give you money;" "He's always in trouble and has too much money;" "He take things that is not his, and always trading;" "He is always trading and has to make money;" "I do not like Mark because he stole in the fourth grade;" "He always steals and trades and never pay;" "He always picks on little boys and never his size and always gets into trouble;" "He don't play fair in games;" "He

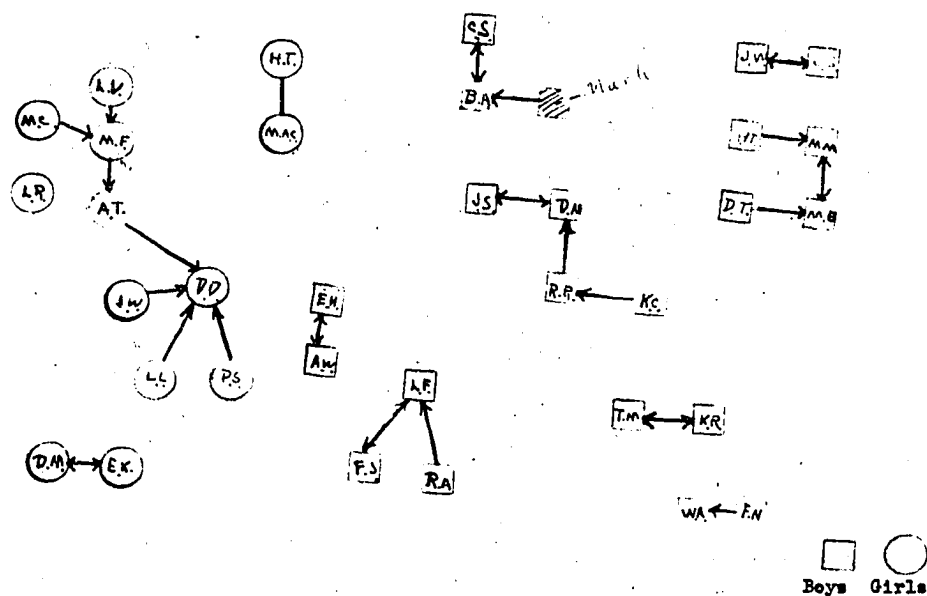


Figure 15. Classmates chosen as best friends in class of Mark (case 14).

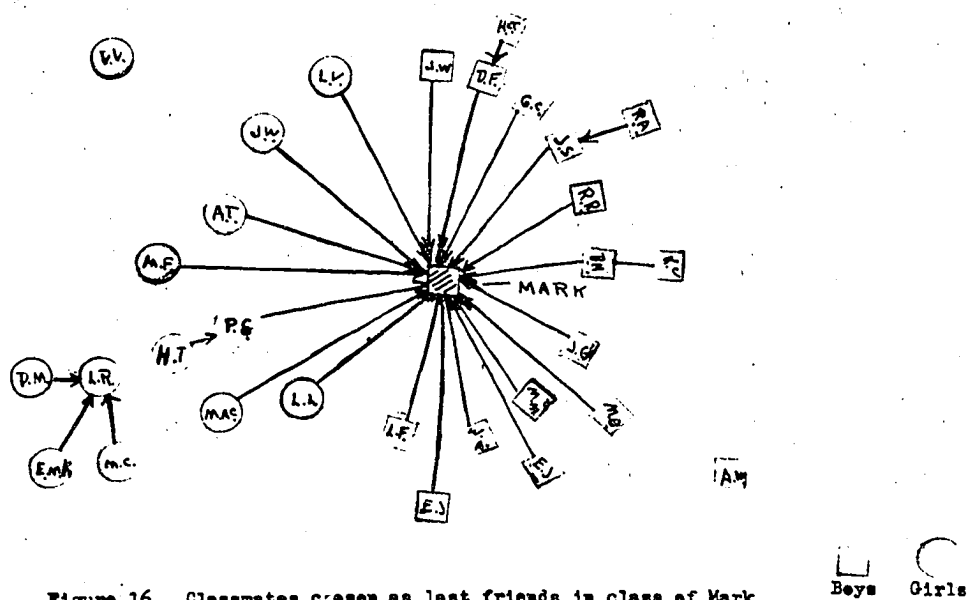


Figure 16. Classmates chosen as last friends in class of Mark (case 14).

disturbs the class and all time in trouble with everybody;" "is a trouble maker;" "He talks back to his teachers;" "is not true;" "tells lies;" "He is a bad boy;" "He stole some money;" "He would cheat in games, break things, not kind;" "You can't get along with him and he is mean in class;" "He is not honest and can't be trusted," "He talks out in the classroom," "He stole a check out of the mail box, and cannot be depended on."

Mark had been suspended from school the day before he was seen in the psychological clinic at the court. Mark reported, "They thought I stole a dollar from a girl and I didn't, I let two boys search me and two other boys wouldn't stand to be searched and they didn't send them home. The principal said some'n about robbing Peter to pay Paul and I didn't know what he meant. He also said that I ought to go back to Kentucky where I belong. I want to go back there but I didn't want him to tell me." Mark said that his best friend was Ben, "Cause we're all time playing together and everything; we used to fight in the room, he thought he could beat me but he couldn't." Ben did not select Mark as his friend on the test. Mark said his classmates liked him, "Cause I'm not afraid to fight 'em I guess. They all fight me except the girls. My best friends are at school." To make his friends like him better, he said, "We divide our candy, do our work together and tell each other when we don't know." He wished his friends liked him better. He wanted classmates to like him better too, but said, "I don't know nothing to do but just play with 'em and give 'em my things." He liked least of all Minnie, "a big colored girl, she is always mauling me over the head with her shoe. She fights too." One of Mark's wishes about school was, "I wish the kids would watch their money and stuff and not lose it so they wouldn't think somebody had it."

The homeroom teacher said, "Mark is a serious stealing problem which has lasted throughout school, he has poor home background. He truants and lies, but is pleasing and congenial. He can look you in the eye and deny his guilt. He has a few friends in class, has a magnetic personality, craves attention, and gets it through delinquency instead of constructive channels." She said, "Mark was not liked in the class by girls but boys liked him in spite of all he did. He stole everything that wasn't nailed down and persisted from kindergarten throughout. He took something every day. He was afraid of most kids." Another teacher said she did not know exactly how children felt about Mark, and added, "They snitched on him, but I don't think there was gross antagonism against him. He bought friendships and later bought favors, gave a boy one dollar for endorsing or forging a check and offered another boy a dollar and wanted to buy a whole group of children lunch. He was always swapping with the children. He would trade them out of the whites of their eyes." He was constantly trying to pull deals with kids. He took small ones into his basement and bullied them, and possibly started or tried sex play with them."

Mark's arithmetic teacher, who was his favorite, said, "He was not liked by his classmates because they were disgusted with his responses, his lack of cooperation, and lack of drive. He kept them back. He is easily led and is without a tinge of conscience." Mark's crafts teacher said, "The boy's greatest need was in getting along with other children. He is sneaky, never returns favors, is tricky, and is liked by practically none of his classmates. I could appeal to him in no way. I tried talking and paddling." The music teacher reported Mark to be like a waxed figure. She said, "He just sits in the room with a smirk on his face, makes friends at school, but has to buy their friendships with lunch. Classmates don't like him. They just endure him, are ashamed of him and don't trust him. He doesn't pal with anyone."

Because Mark has attended only this school since coming to Cincinnati, his first and fourth grade teachers were interviewed. They remembered the boy very vividly when he was in their rooms. He had been in the low section of the fourth grade. The teacher said, "He stole shoes from another boy. They were found under Mark's bed and he denied knowing anything about them. His achievement was poor. His people were poor white trash and could not adjust to city living. They were here for what they could get. The boy lies and absentmindedness is marked." The first-grade teacher had also taught Mark in the second grade. She reported, "In the first grade, he liked to play in back of the playhouse, and often went into the children's lockers and took crayons, scissors, and other items. When he was caught he would deny it. In second grade, he would take children's clothing and hide it by throwing it on top of the cupboard and sticking it behind the cupboard. He always denied everything he did. Finally, change disappeared from my table drawer, and children saw him with it at the table. Later, more change disappeared, and he was found with it. He never observed rules of the room and would never come to me, so I reached out to him. He was delighted at recognition, he liked me, for he never stayed out of school; yet he could never let himself go enough to come up to me. He was not timid, was more withdrawn. He stopped stealing before the end of the year."

This analysis by Mark's peers and his teachers reveals the selfish, grasping, cheating, exploiting, bullying, dishonest practices he used with his peers with the resulting effects upon inter personal relationships. He was rejected by more than two-thirds of his class, the highest proportion of rejections for any subject. He was very unaware of the causes and extent of his rejection. Yet utter helplessness, desperation, and anxiety were displayed by him when he said of his classmates, "I don't know nothing else to do but just play with 'em and give 'em my things."

He was paying increasingly more for friendships. In addition to resenting his antisocial and other aggressive traits, the children resented having class progress and order disturbed by Mark.

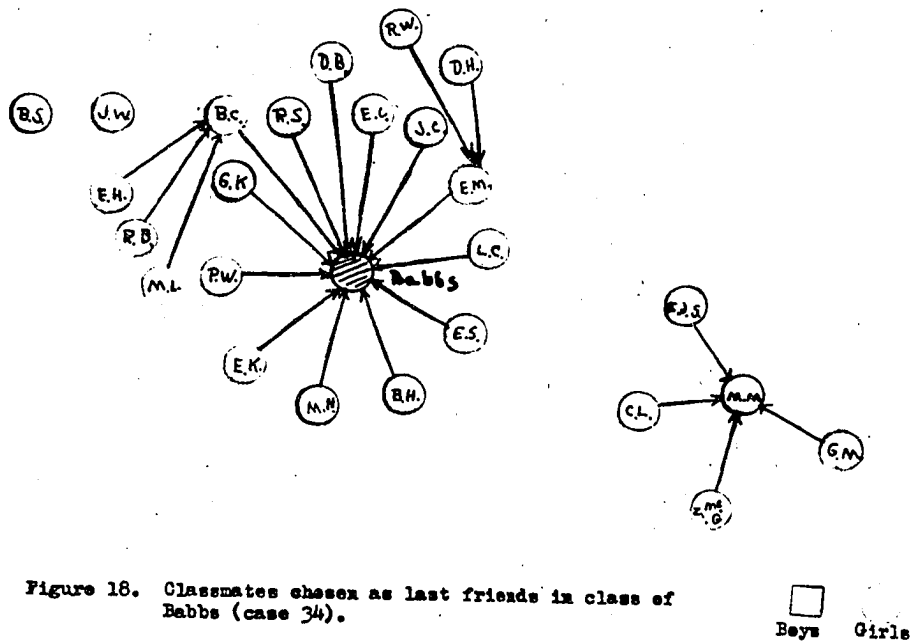
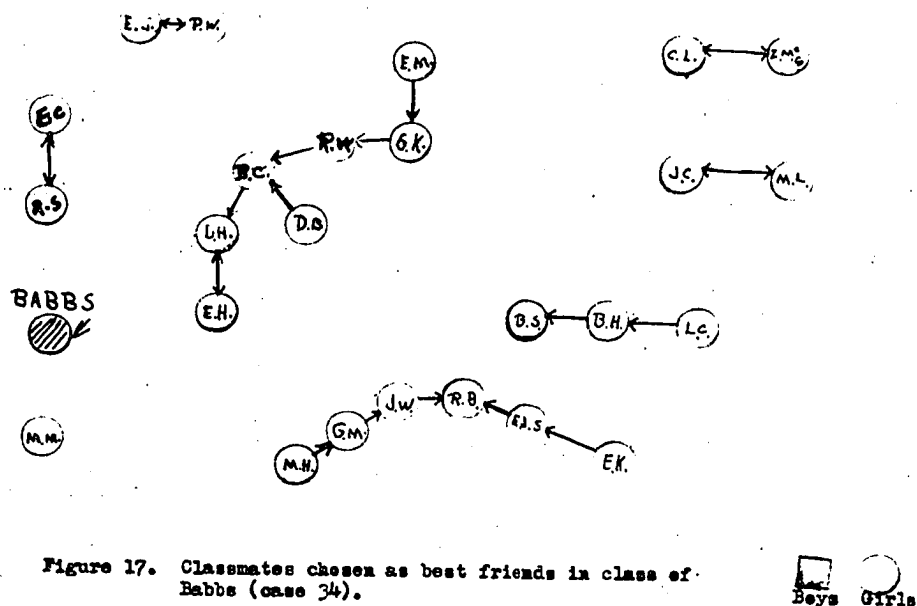
Mark had fundamental needs for affection and acceptance, which had long been met with frustration. If his need to possess and grasp could have continued to be met, as it was by the second grade teacher, through recognition and affection, Mark might have been free to present his more positive traits to peers. All of his teachers said of him, "He is not a mean boy." Mark was not consciously aware of the extent of his rejection in the school, yet he was beginning to ponder the principal's statement, "You go back to Kentucky" and something about "robbing Peter to pay Paul." These remarks had represented the keenest kind of rejection to Mark and hurt him deeply. The school did not know that Mark had been displaced after six years of being the family baby by two younger sisters who were born when he was in the first and second grades of school. It was at this time that he began stealing and taking other children's clothing and various items. The following quotation may help to interpret the case of Mark. Weiss states:

The most decisive factor for the favorable emotional development of the child is doubtless the experience of being accepted and loved by the mother...The proverbial mother love gives the child a model and is an indispensable element in everyone of his subsequent love attachments... A similar influence is exerted later by his need for his father's approval, and, still later, by his wish to be accepted and respected by the community and by society in general...It is for this reason that the experience of abandonment or rejection by the mother constitutes one of the severest shocks that can be inflicted upon a child and can result in lasting feelings of insecurity...Lasting insecurity very frequently results when the parents' love and attention are diverted to a younger sibling, and the child feels that his own position as the center of their interest is lost (246:65).

The extent to which a child can develop compassion and pity for others in preference to his own selfish gratification, his ability to set limitations on his own conduct, his judgment of and incorporation of "right and wrong" standards within his own personality, and his development of a conscience depend upon a good relationship with his parents and other adults in positions of authority. Mark's history shows only one step toward identification with school people, when he found acceptance from his second-grade teacher. It was only at this time that the inner controls of behavior mentioned above worked effectively. As the second-grade teacher reported, "the stealing stopped before the end of the year."

Figures 17 and 18 are sociograms of Babbs (Case 34). They show as revealed in the following presentation the extreme rejections that delinquent children can provoke from classmates in school, and some of the factors influencing peer rejection in an adolescent group.

Babbs (Case 34: C.A. 14-3, M.A. 11-0, I.Q. 96, Grade 7).--- Babbs was chosen as last friend by thirteen of her twenty-five classmates. Her situation presents quite a contrast to that of her twelve-year-old sister Bertha (Case 35), who was attending a six-grade elementary school on the fringe of the basin area, and who found two classmates to accept her as a best friend. Babbs' classmates wrote of her on the sociometric test, "She acts so smart when boys are around;" "She is a flirt and acts smart;" "She don't come to school all the time, you can't have fun with her;" "She plays too rough and likes to chase after boys;" "She is not dependable;" "She doesn't care how she looks, what she says or does;" "She loves trying to break the rules;" "She always wants to use things and she never gives them back, instead she lets another girl have it;" "I don't like the way she acts;" "She does not keep herself cleaned up and starts a quarrel with some girl in every game." "People talk about her, she isn't a nice girl;" "She acts crazy, she don't ever look like she combs her hair, she wears her clothes sloppy, she don't look like she's clean, but I would never let her know I didn't like her, or any other girl;" "She thinks she's better than somebody, wants everyone to do as she says, tries to act bigger than someone and if you go with her she wants you to do as she tells you and if you don't she starts acting smart."



Babbs felt that she was liked by her classmates, she said, "Because I try to be nice, don't sass 'em, if they are mean just walk off and they like you." She had chosen her best friend, she reported, "Because she is always cracking jokes, her laugh will kill anybody, she is cute, blonde with big eyes." Her teachers said they found Babbs to be "stubborn," "defiant," "truant," "dirty in appearance," "not friendly," "not accepted well by children," "undernourished, but losing her snarling chip-on-shoulder attitude." "She is improving."

From this case report it is noted again that the aggressive, ego-centric, offensive, untidy, selfish personality will provoke resentment and rejection in peers. The children seem to use appearance as a strong criterion for acceptance-rejection at the adolescent level. Babbs' sister Bertha, a pre-adolescent, was offensive to teachers because of her unclean appearance but the children did not react strongly to this feature. (discussed under acceptance by classmates). Probably Babbs' adolescent peers, being nearer to adulthood, had absorbed more of the adult standards than the ten and eleven-year-olds in Bertha's class. Bertha's personality offset her handicaps to some extent, it is certain. She had more of the qualities to aid acceptance by her peers.

Jim (Case 37) was rejected by ten of his classmates. Figures 5 and 6 presented in discussion of Milton under mutual choices, are also Jim's sociograms. Jim was one of the most retarded boys academically in the study, although of superior ability.

Jim (Case 37: C.A. 16-3, M.A. 19-5, I.Q. 129, Grade 8).-- Teachers reported Jim to be aggressive, haughty, defiant, and uncooperative in school. The children gave as reasons for rejecting Jim, "He gets you in trouble;" "He messes around too much;" "I don't like his actions;" "He's a lot older than me;" "He was always acting like a big-shot and always taking paper out of my notebook. He was always talking nasty around me. He always had dirty pictures and jokes; when a teacher is talking he would always make remarks;" "His ways and people he hangs around with;" "He is a thief and tries to get other people to steal;" "If you want to stay out of trouble, don't go with Jim;" "I just don't like him;" "He goes with older fellows."

From this verbatim report of the reactions of Jim's peers it is noted that the breaking of certain moral and social codes and standards such as practicing obscenity and stealing, and influencing other boys to break their own codes of behavior were factors leading to Jim's severe rejection in his class. Avoiding the stigma of getting into trouble also appeared as a factor in this sociometric pattern. Otto's conclusion can be appropriately applied to Jim, "Psychologists seem to be in reasonable agreement that the interrelationship between learning, personality development, and a child's status in the group is a very real one..." (182:184).

Analysis of rejections by classmates.--- The following generalizations are suggested from the analysis of patterns of rejection in the sociometric studies of the delinquent subjects:

1. Delinquent children tended to receive between four and five times as many rejections on sociometric tests from their classmates as "best friend" selections.
2. The personality traits of delinquents, primarily of an aggressive, offensive nature, tended to motivate their peers to reject them.
3. Some children resented the anti-social behavior that the delinquent manifested, especially when the delinquent tried to impose this behavior upon others.
4. There was a tendency for children to resent those children who impeded the progress of their school work and disturb the class. These feelings intensify the rejection of delinquent children, since the behavior of many of them is characterized by interference with others and disturbance of order and routine.

5. The disregard of the subjects for the rights of others is more offensive than much other negative behavior.
6. There is a close relationship between adult and child standards of acceptable behavior and between the reactions of adults and children to unacceptable behavior.
7. The offensive behavior of the delinquent seems to represent personality needs of a deep-seated type, so critical that the delinquent is constantly acting out in the classroom the conflicts these basic needs create within him. This behavior motivates rejection by his peers.
8. Rejected children at school are frequently children who have first been rejected at home. Home relationships are an important factor in the kind of relationship that a child forms with teachers and pupils, and certainly influence the kind of personality he presents to them.
9. Because the delinquent is so involved in his own problems, he tends to be oblivious to many peer codes and to the standards of a school group which he may be violating, and thus may show little insight into his own personality or how it may be affecting others. This lack of insight may also be influenced by his need to deny the painful reality of his unacceptability to peers and his inability to cope with the situation.

Isolates.-- "A child who has a close personal relationship with another child is generally well accepted by his classmates, but the child without a friend, though he may not be rejected, is not generally sought out as a companion by his classmates" (185:69).

When children cease to react emotionally to each other in any fashion, the personality is in need of careful study. Although the quiet

and withdrawn children present fewer overt problems in the school situation than the aggressive and overbearing children, often their needs are of a more serious nature. A few delinquent children fit into this group.

It was found in the present study that twenty-six of the forty-five delinquents studied sociometrically were not chosen by any of their classmates as best friends and that nine of these twenty-six received neither rejections nor acceptances. Some of these nine subjects might have been chosen as a friend or might have been rejected, had the sociometric procedure permitted second or third choices.

The nine members of this group were neither strongly accepted nor strongly rejected. Three of the subjects had left school from one to three months prior to the writer's visit and therefore might have been forgotten by their peers. One subject (Case 27) was such a serious truant that the children did not see him enough to react in any way toward him. One boy (Case 15) was the youngest, though tallest, in a class of problem boys where he had attended only one month. Four of the subjects were practically non-communicative and probably represent most truly the children who were typically isolated in the group.

Rose (Case 50) was one of these isolates. Her sociograms comprise Figures 19 and 20. Her case is discussed in detail to present the picture of isolation in a class group. She was completely detached emotionally from the teachers and the children. This type of isolation creates a difficult problem for the teachers as shown in the case presentation.

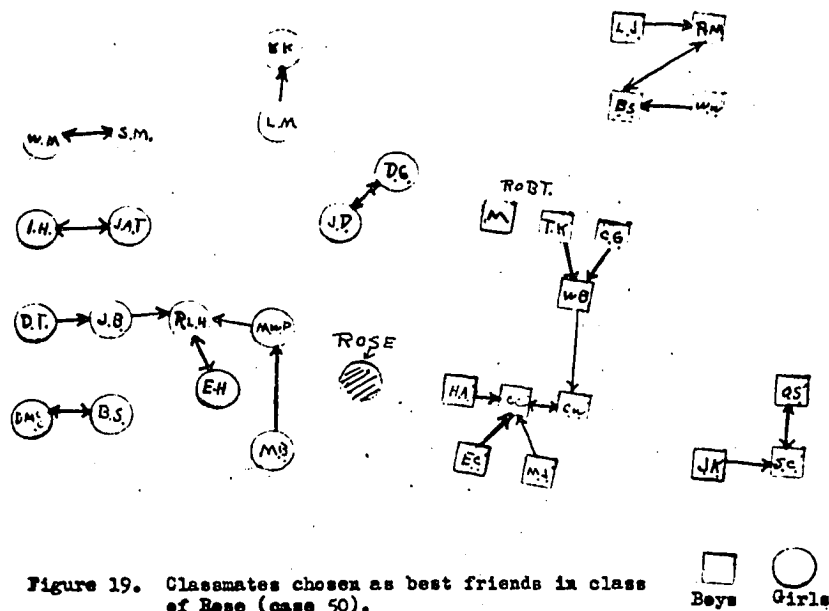


Figure 19. Classmates chosen as best friends in class of Rose (case 50).

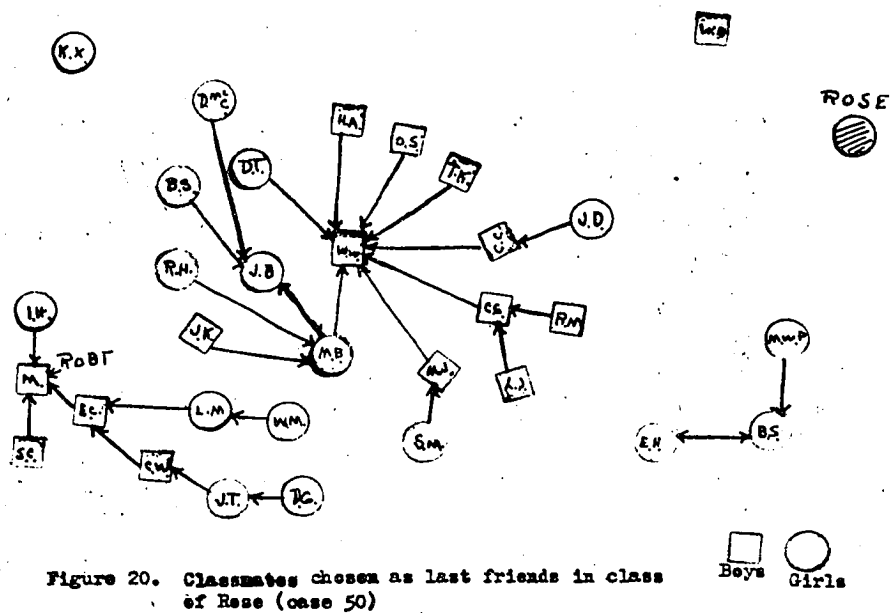


Figure 20. Classmates chosen as last friends in class of Rose (case 50)

Rose (Case 50: C.A. 16-1, M.A. 15-3, I.Q. 102, Grade 9).--
 Since the children did not react to Rose in any fashion on the socio-metric test, no evaluation from the children was available in this case.

Her two best friends were fourteen and fifteen years of age and lived across the street from Rose. They really were friends of a younger sister on whom Rose was greatly dependent for companionship and leadership. Rose did not know whether her classmates liked her or not, she said; "In fact," she stated, "I don't care whether they like me or not, I'm not so well acquainted with them." She said she had no friends in her class and did not particularly dislike them, for "they are all the same."

Rose had never failed a grade in school, making average marks of B and C, and only a few E's during her entire school experience. Her reading achievement level on the Stanford test was grade 10.2. Her arithmetic achievement rated at grade 6.4. Her school attendance had been somewhat poor through the years. She said, "I stayed home when I did not feel like going."

The teachers described Rose as follows: "She is quiet;" "She is no trouble;" "She never responds anytime;" "She just sits blank in the room;" "I consider her chair empty if she is here or not; She is very colorless and negative, I could never stimulate her;" "She day-dreams excessively;" "She makes no contacts ever with anyone at any time;" "She is introversive and is not always so neat and clean;" "She is very shy and backwards, has poor home conditions." Teachers described her relationship with children as follows, "She lives apart from class;" "Children just leave her alone;" "Children are indifferent to her, and she to them;" "She has no friends in school, is very singular, goes around alone;" "I have tried to help her consider herself a member of the group, she makes no reaction to people about her;" "We had field trips, she stayed out to keep from going;" "She does not mix well, is too retiring and shy;" "She won't participate in activities;" "She does not participate in noon-day recreation, just sits or stands around."

Rose was referred to the Juvenile Court for running away from home, during which time she travelled about neighboring states in intimate relations with truck drivers. In a psychiatric report, the following evaluation was given, "This girl shows several points of interest from a psychiatric viewpoint. By definition she could be called psychotic but practically she is not. While not having hallucinations or delusions, as far as is known, she has come to live an extremely restricted life. She seems to have accepted her younger sister as a directing force. Just what the relationship is between them is difficult to state...the girl has not had much of a father ideal. In fact, the father has played more of a passive and feminine role. All of this may explain Rose's attitude toward men...She has almost a prostitute's attitude toward men. As far as can be seen her younger sister Helen is the only loved person in her life."

Rose's case reveals the complete isolation and withdrawal that a child can adopt in the school situation. Emotionally she made no contact with anyone. The sociometric picture and the reports of the teachers and the psychiatrist bespeak a seriously disturbed girl.

The three boys who were apparently withdrawn somewhat like Rose and had similar remarks made about them by teachers (Cases 47, 18, and 32), are discussed briefly to show how teachers feel about these children. Dave's sociograms are Figures 21 and 22.

Dave (Case 47: C.A. 13-5, M.A. 12-6, I.Q. 94, Grade 5).--- Dave was said by teachers to be "shy and self conscious because of missing front teeth," "lacking in self confidence;" "Responsive only when spoken to;" "Overage and sensitive about this;" "backward;" "not talkative;" and "stolid." Some reported that he had a few friends and that he liked to play ball and other athletic games with the children. Others said that he was irregular in attendance and was poor in scholarship. Dave stole a bicycle, burglarized his school, robbed a woman, and committed acts of sex delinquency and auto-tampering.

Ely (Case 32: C.A. 16-0, M.A. 14-2, I.Q. 94, Grade Special).--- Ely attended a special class for problem boys. Since Ely had attended another school during the current term, both schools were visited. The teachers in both schools stated that he presented no discipline problems in school, and reported, "He stayed alone a great deal;" "He was not associating with children;" "He lacked confidence;" "He was somewhat pleasant though very glum looking." One teacher said he was sullen and "sat like a bump on a log, walked alone in the halls, and had nothing to do with the other boys. He paid no attention to girls either. You may as well have had a block of wood in your room." Ely said he met his best friend in the Detention home "When I was here last. I don't have many friends. I wish I had a boy friend to talk to." The psychiatrist said that Ely appeared to be without emotion. Ely had stolen from stores with his younger brother (Case 19) and had been caught tampering with cars.

Dan (Case 18: C.A. 16-0, M.A. 15-0, I.Q. 100, Grade Special).--- Dan was described by his teachers as follows: "He lacks self confidence;" "He runs away from difficulties;" "He must make friends outside;" "He has no friends here;" "He is not drawn to kids, stays to himself a lot;" "He withdraws easily;" "He daydreams;" "He is so withdrawn that it is difficult to get him to enter the spirit of games." Dan said he had no particular friend in his room.

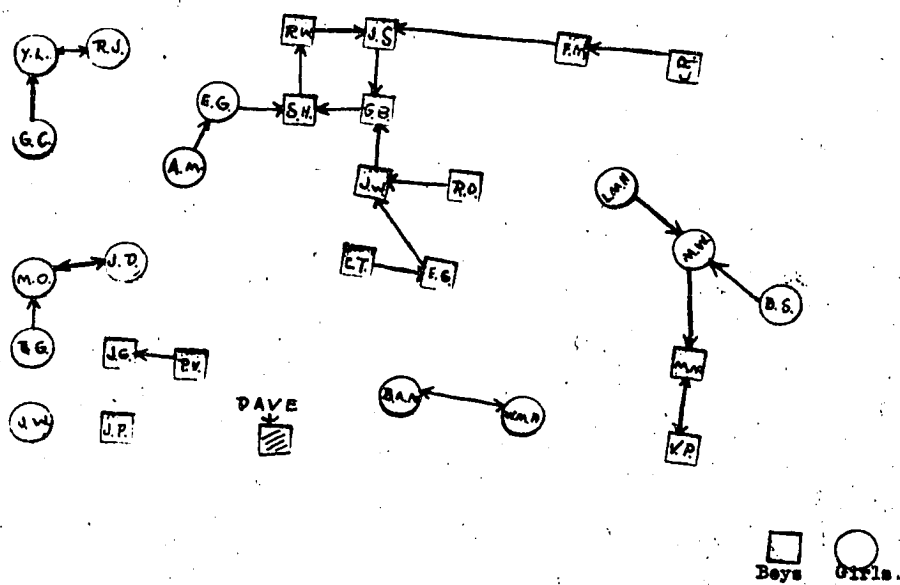


Figure 21. Classmates chosen as best friends in class of Dave (case 47).

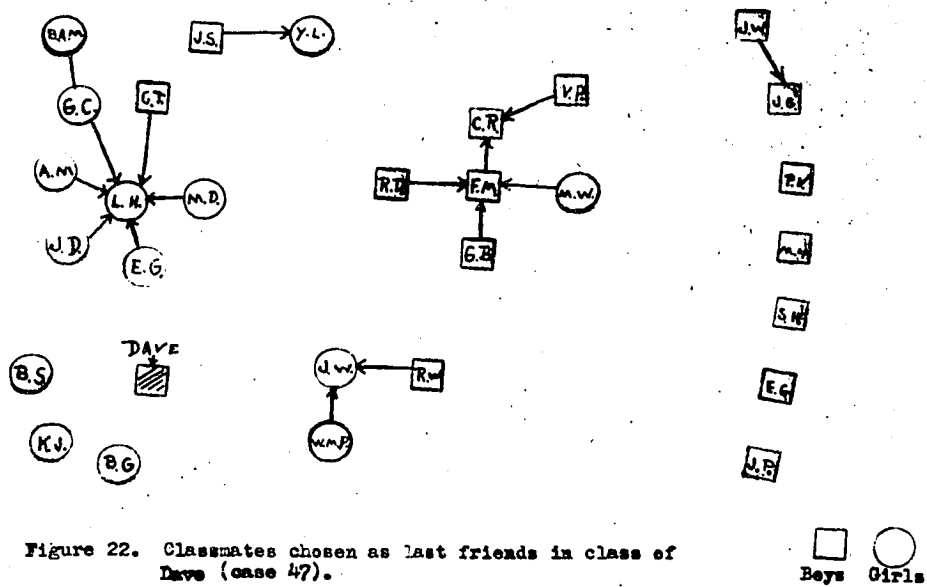


Figure 22. Classmates chosen as last friends in class of Dave (case 47).

Dan had served as an accomplice to two adults who were charged with the armed robbery of a furniture store.

Analysis of Isolates in friendships.--- The following generalizations are suggested from the above findings:

1. Although the greatest percentage of delinquent children are very offensively aggressive and thus greatly rejected in their school situations, a few delinquents are quite withdrawn and less conspicuous in school. They are generally unnoticed by their peers.

2. The isolate is often considered inoffensive by adults and well adjusted in school because he does not come into open conflict with others, yet he may have more serious disturbances than the child who acts out his conflicts in an aggressive and offensive way.

Teachers' Evaluation of Peer Relationships

Teachers can often facilitate the school adjustment of children if they understand the roles that children are playing in their own peer society. In the following section will be presented an analysis of the teachers' reports of peer acceptance of the subjects.

Teachers' reports on peer relations of subjects.--- The teachers were asked in the interviews if the children were liked by their classmates. They were also asked if the subjects made their friends inside or outside of the school. One hundred twenty-five, somewhat less than half, of the teachers said that the subjects were liked by their classmates, while one hundred eight thought the subjects were not liked. Forty-two teachers said they did not know whether the subjects were liked or not by their classmates. It will be recalled that the subjects were strongly

rejected by their classmates more than four times as often as they were strongly accepted. One hundred twenty-two, or nearly half, of the teachers did not know where the children made their friends. Only nineteen, or one-third of the teachers reported that they did not know what the peer relations of the subjects were like. Seventy-nine teachers said that the children chose their friends in the school, while sixty-one reported that subjects were choosing friends outside of school. A majority of the subjects reported that they had met their best friends outside of school.

The ideas of teachers about the acceptance of subjects by their peers were often inaccurate. For example, Mark (Case 14), who received twenty rejections by classmates, was thought to be liked in his classroom by two of his teachers. Three felt that Mark was not liked by peers, and one teacher did not know whether he was liked or not by his peers. One teacher reported that he had "a few friends at school." Two of his teachers did not know where he made his friends. Mark reported that his friends were made primarily at school.

Barbara (Case 12), who felt greatly rejected, was considered by her teachers to be well liked by her peers. Two teachers did not know how the children felt about Barbara and one thought she was disliked by peers. Four of Barbara's teachers did not know where she made her friends. One teacher thought she must have made friends on the outside, and one teacher knew that she had one girl friend at school.

Roger (Case 15) was reported by all three of his teachers as being liked by the other problem boys in his class. All felt that school must

have served as the main source of friendships for him. Roger said that he had not a single friend in school. He was an "isolate" in socio-metric testing.

Wanda (Case 26) was very maladjusted in her new school because her peers were "snobbish." Five of her teachers did not know where she made her friends. One teacher thought that she must have been making her friends outside of school, since she never saw her with friends in school. Two teachers thought that her classmates liked her, two thought that she was not liked, and two did not know how classmates felt about her.

Earl (Case 28) had never been seen associating with other boys, therefore, teachers did not know what his friendship patterns were. Three reported that they did not know where he made his friends. The homeroom teacher reported that he had no friends. One teacher said he must have made friends in "the street." Three teachers knew that he was not liked by classmates and two did not know how his peers felt about him.

Ely (Case 32), who stated, "I wish I had a friend," was thought by one teacher to be liked by classmates, and by the other teacher, "not liked." Neither teacher knew where he made his friends.

It may be inferred from the data that there was a lack of understanding by teachers of the deep seated yearning of the subjects for security in their friendships. No one, teacher or principal, among whom they moved daily seemed, from this evidence, to have any awareness of the intensity of this longing of the subjects. The evidence reveals a need for teachers to understand the intense feelings of children about their

interpersonal relations, and about the ways in which these feelings may affect children's growth and adjustment in the school situation.

Comparison of findings on the behavior rating scale and sociometric tests.-- Homeroom teachers of each subject were asked to fill in the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale for children (110). The teachers were asked to check the category that best described the occurrence of a particular trait. These categories were, (1) frequent occurrence, (2) occasional occurrence, (3) has occurred once or twice, (4) has never occurred. The item "unpopular with children" on the scale was especially noted for this study.

Twelve subjects were checked on the rating scale as very unpopular with classmates by homeroom teachers. Thirteen were considered unpopular occasionally, seven as unpopular once or twice, and twenty-three as never unpopular with other children. About half of the children faced the problem according to homeroom teacher ratings, of unpopularity. In comparison, the sociometric results revealed that the children received more than four times as many rejections as acceptances in their classrooms.

Clearer insight into the comparison of the Wickman ratings by homeroom teachers and sociometric pattern of individual children may be found in some individual case reports. Mark's homeroom teacher thought he was not faced with the problem of unpopularity with his classmates, but he received twenty rejections on the sociometric test. However, homeroom teachers of Babbs (Case 34) and Jim (Case 37) were aware that they were unpopular with their classmates.

The teacher of Ola (Case 13) was unaware that she was faced with

this problem. Ola received eight rejections from classmates. Dora (Case 25) had a teacher who was aware of the children's feelings toward her and had tried conscientiously to influence the classmates to be kinder to Dora. The girl felt even more rejected than the sociometric test revealed.

The best-friend selections of subjects by their classmates were compared with the Wickman ratings of these subjects by homeroom teachers. One boy (Case 22), who was thought to be quite unpopular with children, received two best friend selections. It is significant, however, that he also received three rejections. His teacher had some awareness of his being disliked in the group. Twenty-two of the subjects were known by their teachers to be unpopular with their classmates, and seven to be mildly unpopular.

This evidence suggests that the homeroom teachers did have some measure of awareness of the poor peer relations that the children were experiencing in school. It is important, however, to stress that thirteen of the children of the sociometric study were in special classes and that these teachers could evaluate the children's friendships, as well as other factors, more accurately because of the time spent with the individual children. They had fewer children to deal with, because of smaller class loads and non-rotating classes. Also, there seemed to be extra effort put forth by the special-class teachers to understand the emotional problems of the children.

The teachers of children in senior high schools seemed to be less informed as revealed by rating scales and interviews, about peer relations

than those teachers in the elementary, junior high, and vocational schools, and in special classes. Homeroom teachers in the senior high schools usually saw the children only for morning roll call and dismissal, and knew very little about the children. Senior high school teachers were usually removed emotionally and were detached from the children often because of the formality of their teaching methods. The teachers of Van (Case 40) said they "tried to help him come out of his shell," but were stopped by counselors who felt that this help was beyond the function of the classroom teacher.¹

Working with children in trades activities seemed to create a closeness between teachers and subjects and therefore insight into specific needs that was not noted in the more formal academic classes. These trades teachers usually had good insight into the personality needs and adjustment of the children. Physical education teachers also had insight into the personalities of the children. This fact was confirmed by interview responses and the behavior rating scale.

Analysis of teachers' reports on peer relations of subjects.--

The following generalizations are suggested from the analysis of the teachers' reports of the peer relations of these subjects:

1. Some of the teachers of the delinquent subjects were aware of the subjects' acceptance, rejection, or isolation by peers, while other teachers were not. Some teachers had not observed the social relationships

¹ Since this study was made, an extensive homeroom program has been set up in Cincinnati high schools, providing more opportunities for teachers to become acquainted with pupils.

of the children at all. Some teachers erroneously assume that children must be making friends outside of school when they have no friends at school.

2. A teacher who has relatively few children to work with, for example, a teacher of a special class or of a self-contained class, is more likely to have insight into the peer relations and other personal needs of the individual child. The degree of teacher-insight may also be affected by the nature of the subject taught; informal subjects, for example, seem to bring the teacher closer to the child than more formal ones. The homeroom provides opportunities for teachers to gain insight into the peer relations of the pupils, except where routine matters comprise the homeroom function.

3. Teachers of high school children often refrain from seeking insight into children's needs because of the fear of encroaching upon the specialized function of the guidance workers in the schools. More formal teaching methods may also contribute to this problem in the high school.

4. Most notable is the lack of understanding by most teachers of the deep meaning that peer acceptance and rejection has for delinquent children.

Summary

The fifty-five subjects were asked specific questions in the interviews about the sources of their friendships, their techniques of gaining and holding friends both in and out of the classrooms, and their reasons for liking their friends. Sociometric tests were given in the classes in which forty-five subjects were members, in an attempt to gain some measure of the acceptance and rejection of subjects by their classmates. Teachers were asked to evaluate the peer relationships in interviews and by the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale. Interpretation was made of case data.

The greatest single source of friendships for the subjects of this study was found to be the school. Nearly half of the children said that their friends were made at school. The next largest source was the neighborhood. Few group agencies, such as settlements, churches, and Y.M.C.A.'s proved to be sources of friendships for the group.

The subjects revealed in interviews their insecurity in friendships and their need for dependency gratification, affection, and protection through friendships. They liked their friends to have pleasing traits that were directly opposite to their own offensive traits, such as "fussing," "fighting," and "cussing." Some subjects admitted having friends just "to play with," who were not liked by the subjects. Some were trying to gain social acceptance and status because their friends were "popular" and could "mix well in a crowd." Since they were searching for assets in friendships which they were usually unable to reciprocate, they tried to retain their friends through gifts, work, "fighting for 'em,"

and doing various kinds of favors. Evidence of their insecurity with their friends was notable through their remarks. Most of the children said their friends were in other classrooms, or in other schools, yet most of them felt that they were liked by their classmates. They put forth special efforts to be liked by classmates through clowning, buying favor, and efforts to be compatible in games and activities. Violation of loyalty codes, as in tattling, and of moral and other standards were acknowledged practices that got subjects into disfavor with their classmates. They were unable to cope with this kind of disfavor. The children revealed clearly their feelings of insecurity with their classmates, although some denied the insecurity. Some were able to acknowledge the problem frankly. Those subjects who had ceased to struggle for class acceptance were playing truant. Feelings of insecurity may commonly exist in non-delinquent school groups also, but it is believed that such feelings are more significant with the child who is insecure in his family and other basic relationships, as is known to exist in the situations of delinquent children.

The delinquent children received many more rejections on sociometric tests than acceptances from their classmates. Reasons given by peers for selecting the subjects as best friends revealed their limited assets. Reasons given by those who rejected subjects revealed the many personality weaknesses that foster peer rejection. The subjects did not seem to be secure even in mutual friendships. Neither did mutual friendships facilitate their acceptance with other classmates, as is often the case. Factors influencing the pattern of rejection experienced by these

children were: offensive personality traits, social class status, appearance, poor achievement, social and physical skills, violation of middle-class ethical standards, violation of peer codes and standards, group destructiveness, and possible teacher influence.

Some delinquents made no effort to associate or communicate with other children, because of deep-seated disturbances within their own personalities. These withdrawal signs, whether occurring in delinquents or non-delinquents, are generally regarded as grave indicators of serious personality disorders. These less offensive subjects were no better accepted by their classmates.

Homeroom teachers of most of the delinquents, except those in the senior high school, could evaluate with reasonable accuracy the peer status of the subjects. Teachers of self-contained classes and teachers who taught the children shop courses and physical education seemed to have considerable insight into the peer relationships and other problems of adjustment of the group. However, most of the regular classroom teachers of the subjects made more incorrect judgments than correct ones as to the acceptance and rejection of the subjects by their peers. In general, teachers greatly over-estimated the acceptability of the subjects to other children.

CHAPTER VI

SCHOOL CONDUCT OF SUBJECTS

Introduction

The school conduct of children is regulated by many subtle and profound influences. The kind of relationships a child has had with members of his family, his past and current experiences, and interpersonal relationships in school, the kind of group climate in the school, the basic needs of the child, and other factors affect the kind of conduct a child might exhibit in school.

In the present study it has been borne out repeatedly through analyses of the subjects' achievement patterns and needs, of their relationships with their peers, that aggressive and offensive behavior was a major handicap in their school adjustment. Meeting the needs of the aggressive child becomes a special skill within itself. Handling, channelizing, and absorbing aggression and offensiveness in pupil personalities puts an extra burden on the teacher, because he not only is concerned with the needs of each individual in the class but also feels that he has as great a responsibility to the total class group.

A specific evaluation of the dynamics of the problematic behavior of the subjects, of the way it manifests itself in the school situation, and of the kind of treatment given these problems becomes one of the essential focuses of this study. In this chapter, reports by teachers, principals, and the subjects on the school conduct of the subjects will be analyzed. Methods used by teachers and principals in treating this behavior will be discussed in Chapter VII.

The present chapter presents in succession, accounts of the school conduct of the subjects, as given by their teachers, by their principals, or adjustment personnel, and by themselves. Analyses of the most commonly occurring conduct problems are presented in a series of case reports.

Reports by Teachers of School Conduct of Subjects

Wickman and other investigators have reported that teachers tend to regard immoralities, transgressions against authority, and violations of classroom routine as more serious than maladjustments of personality and behavior of a non-aggressive nature (14:249). This fact is understandable because of the destructive effects that aggressive conduct has upon the group, the individual, pupils, and upon the teacher's own feelings of security within herself and upon her feelings of security with the class group. In this section the following topics are discussed: Problems revealed through interviews with teachers, Problems reported on behavior rating scale, Most annoying problems of subjects.

Problems revealed through interviews with teachers.-- Teachers of each delinquent subject were asked,

1. What negative reactions have you found him making to you and to the classroom group?
2. Of the problems he has presented at school, which do you consider the most serious?
3. What other problems has he presented in the classroom or in school?

Teachers described a total of 618 different problems that were presented by the fifty-five subjects in the school situation. The mean

number of different problems was 11.2 per child.

In Table 19 is presented a detailed list of problems reported by teachers. The words of the teachers are used in this table. In many cases one child was reported as exhibiting a number of the types of behavior listed. Obviously the terms used overlap in meaning. The table shows something of the terms in which teachers discussed the behavior of the subjects.

These statements by teachers suggest that many different ways in which the negative conduct of the subjects displayed itself. Attitudes were exhibited by the delinquents ranging from extreme aggression to marked apathy and lethargy. One child (Case 23) had killed a dog in cold blood, an episode which was known by the teachers and children in the school. He also stole in school, twisted children's wrists, and had tried to strangle a girl. Other subjects showed in the schools many traits of an anti-social nature, like arguing, fighting, and resistance. Some were critical of their teachers and antagonistic to them. There were others who daydreamed, drifted, appeared fatigued, were lazy, and showed poor initiative. Many had poor study habits and showed limited interest in their school work.

Table 20 was prepared by classifying and tabulating the data on which Table 19 is based. While it is recognized that the classification is imperfect and includes some overlapping terms, it suggests the relative frequency with which certain problems were reported by the teachers. Truancy and its correlates occurred more frequently than other problems, however, when those traits relating directly or indirectly to defiance

TABLE 19

RANGE OF PROBLEMS AND NEGATIVE REACTIONS EXHIBITED BY FIFTY-FIVE DELINQUENT SUBJECTS IN SCHOOL AS REPORTED BY TEACHERS

Problem	Problem
Accusing teacher of stealing	Daydreaming
Acting babyish	Deceptiveness
Aggressiveness	Defensiveness
Aloneness	Defiance
Animation lacking	Delinquent behavior
Annoying	Dependency marked
Antagonism	Determined attitude
Anti-social behavior	Dirty appearance
Arguing	Disciplinary attitude poor
Attention seeking	Disdainfulness
	Disobedience
Being easily led	Disorganizing parental conflict
Belligerence	Disrupting behavior
Blaming others	Doing everything bad one could do
Boastfulness	Doing wrong things always
Body odor	Drifting attitude
Boisterousness	Drive poor
Bothering kids	Dullness
Breaking into school	
Breaking rules	Edginess
Bossiness	Egotistic attitude
Bullying	Erratic behavior
	Evading teacher's class
Cantankerousness	Evasiveness
Cheating	Exhibitionism
Chewing gum	
Clowning for attention	Faking excuses
Coarse personality	Fatigued appearance
Comic book reading	Feeling of rejection
Confidence lacking	Fighting back
Conflict with men teachers	Fighting constantly
Contentiousness	Flaring up
Cowardliness	Flightiness
Critical attitudes toward teacher	Flippant attitude
Crooked behavior	Flying off
Crudeness	Forging notes
Cruelty to animals	Foreflushing
Cursing	Frustrated attitude

The terms used by the teachers have been included in this table without change.

TABLE 19
(continued)

Problem	Problem
Fussiness	Obnoxious manner
Giggling all time	Obscenity
Giving up easily	Orneriness
Hating school	Overageness
Hating teachers	Overbearing attitude
Having questionable companions	Overmaturity
Headstrong attitude	Pesty manner
Idleness	Poor application
Immaturity	Poor attention
Impudence	Poor attitude
Indifference	Poor concentration
Initiative poor	Poor conformity
Instability	Poor control
Interest poor in school work	Poor effort
Intolerance	Poor group adjustment
Intruding on others	Poor sport
Irresponsible attitude	Pouting attitude
Irritability	Provoking
Laziness	Ragged appearance
Leading innocent children	Rascal nature
Learning problems	Rebelliousness
Lethargy	Refusing to do arithmetic
Loafing	Refusing swats
Loudness	Rejection at home
Lower class socially	Relations with married men
Lying	Resentment generally
Lying about teachers	Resentment in games
Making excuses	Resentment of correction
Making trouble	Resistance (passive)
Meanness	Resistance to authority
Monopolizing teacher's time	Resistance to criticism
Moodiness	Resistance to teaching
Negative attitude	Respect for authority poor
Negative leadership	Respect for rules poor
Nonentity in class	Restlessness
Non-existent in class	Roughhousing manner
Nuisance	Rudeness
	Running away
	Sassiness
	Scholarship poor

TABLE 19
(Concluded)

Problem	Problem
Secretiveness	Talking back
Seclusiveness	Taking advantage of situation
Selfishness	Talking too much
Sensitive to criticism	Tardiness
Sex problems	Teasing attitude
Shifty manner	Temperamental nature
Shyness	Temper outbursts
Sullenness	Throwing chalk
Skeptical attitude	Thumb sucking
Showing off	Timidity
Silence	Troublesome attitude
Sleeping in class	Truancy
Slick attitude	
Sloppiness	Uncooperative attitude
Slothful attitude	Underhanded manner
Slouching down in seat	Unrealistic outlook
Slow	Unreliable personality
Slyness	Unstable personality
Smart aleck attitude	
Smirking	Vanity
Smoking	Vile language
Smooth operator	Vindictiveness
Snarling	
Sneaking behavior	Walking out of room
Sneering	Wanderlust marked
Social control poor	Warped attitude
Sophisticated manner	Wasting time
Sportsmanship poor	Weak in personality
Staying out all night	"What's use" attitude
Stealing	Willfulness
Stealing in the blood	Withdrawing
Stooped in walking	Without money
Stubbornness	Work habits poor
Stupidity	Worried
Stuporous	
Suggestibility	
Sullenness	
Surliness	

TABLE 20

FREQUENCY OF CHIEF PROBLEMS PRESENTED BY DELINQUENTS IN
CLASSROOMS AS REPORTED BY THEIR TEACHERS

Problem	Frequency of Report
Truancy	82
Defiance	31
Stealing	22
Resistance (To authority, to teaching, to criticism, passive resistance)	15
Laziness and disinterest in work	14
Sex problems	13
Stubbornness	12
Sullenness	11
Lack of cooperation	11
Underhandedness	10
Lying	9
Bullying	9
Surliness	8
Withdrawing behavior	8
Poor work habits	8
Talkativeness	7

and resistance as, stubbornness, sullenness, lack of cooperation, bullying, and surliness were grouped together, they outnumbered all others.

Passive traits were noted most infrequently in comparison to those relating to aggressiveness. Poor work habits and disinterest in school work were reported rarely in comparison to definite conduct problems.

Problems reported on behavior rating scale.-- Homeroom teachers checked The Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale (110) regarding each one of the subjects:

This scale was used to provide further data on the conduct of the subjects in school. The interview questions were of the open-end type, whereas, the rating scale required responses that were more directed. In the tabulation of frequencies of occurrence of the various problems listed in the rating scale, any indication by the rater that the problem had occurred for a given subject was counted as a frequency of one. To illustrate, a child might be reported for "disinterest in school work" by marking "frequent occurrence," "occasional occurrence," "has occurred once or twice," or "has never occurred." If any one of the first three answers was checked, the child was counted as showing some disinterest in school work. Accordingly, the frequencies in Table 21, where the data are presented represent the total number of cases reported as presenting each problem, whether to a slight degree or as a major problem.

Comparison of Tables 20 and 21 shows that the categories of behavior reported by all teachers in interviews and reported by the homeroom teachers on the rating scale are similar. The problem reported most

TABLE 21

FREQUENCY OF PROBLEMS REPORTED BY HOMEROOM TEACHERS ON
HAGGERTY-OLSON-WICKMAN RATING SCALE

Problem	Frequency
Disinterest in school work	52
Truancy	44
Lying	39
Defiance to discipline	38
Unnecessary tardiness	34
Unpopular with children	32
Cheating	31
Temper outbursts	27
Bullying	26
Stealing	23
Marked overactivity	20
Obscene notes	17
Imaginative lying	17
Sex offenses	9
Speech difficulties	7

frequently on the rating scale was disinterest in school work. Only three subjects, (Cases 7, 20 and 38) were exhibiting consistent interest in their school work. Although the teachers discussed in interviews the disinterest in school work of the individual subjects, they did not report it as one of the most serious problems of the subjects, except in relation to their laziness and lack of effort. Most of the problems mentioned in the interviews denoted some kind of open conflict or sense of frustration that teachers were experiencing with subjects. It is assumed that these problems were of greatest concern to the teachers.

The sixth problem listed in Table 21 is the item, "unpopular with children," an item which did not appear when teachers were reporting problems in interviews. The difference, then, between the problems reported by the teachers in interviews and those reported by homeroom teachers on the rating scale, is the appearance in the latter list of the problems of "disinterest in school" and "poor peer relations."

Most annoying problems of subjects.--- In the interviews, the teachers of the subjects were asked what problems presented by the subjects they found especially annoying and in particular whether they found the subjects to be extremely upsetting at times and whether they would rather have them out of their classes. One hundred eighty-five of the 275 teachers said that these children were upsetting to them, no matter what conduct they were exhibiting. The answers implied a general personality offensiveness on the part of the subjects because of the clash with group activities and group purposes. Twenty-five of the teachers said they could tolerate the subjects in their classes, despite the array of

problems they presented.

Truancy was found to be especially provoking to teachers. Some were agitated that the children were always so far "behind with their work" and needed the extra help and time from the teacher that other pupils deserved because they had been "consistent in their attendance and application." Some were annoyed with truancy because it represented personal failure for the teacher. One teacher remarked, "They say if your work is appealing enough the student will attend school. I don't know what else on earth I could do to appeal to him."

Truancy was frustrating to teachers, because they often felt that they had no chance actually to work with a child. One teacher remarked, "If you could just get hold of her in school, then you could work with her. If I could just talk to her for an hour or so, but counselors would not like that." Several teachers at the high school level felt that they might have been more successful with truants, especially the brighter and promising ones, if their teaching methods had not become so impersonal. In some instances in which counselors and other school workers dealt with truancy, teachers felt that they should not discuss attendance with the child, "because the counselors want you to say nothing to kids of a personal nature." Many teachers said that the large numbers that they had to teach because of departmentalization of teaching kept them from appealing to truants. "The child who needed personal attention was lost in the masses," was reported by many teachers. It was often said by teachers, "If I had known early enough about this child's potentialities and problems I could have tried harder to challenge and stimulate him..."

each teacher has to learn every child for herself."

Defiance by children was annoying to the teachers because it threatened their control and role of authority with the group. Defiance retarded group achievement because often the children forced a showdown immediately, and the teacher could not afford to "lose face with the class group." One teacher said of a boy (Case 2), "It was nip and tuck between us to see who would win." Most of the other problems that especially annoyed teachers were related to aggressive behavior, stubbornness, stealing, sullenness, temper outbursts, trouble making, vindictiveness, meanness, pouting, and similar traits. Resistance of delinquent subjects to teaching, and to authority and to change and development was annoying and upsetting. Insecure children often resist taking new and complex steps because the new procedures are too threatening; the children tend to cling to the old and familiar for security's sake. (30:585)

There are those who resist because they know that this is an effective way of annoying and upsetting the teacher. When asked by the writer how they acted when teachers hurt their feelings, such answers as the following were common: "Won't talk to 'em;" "Go sit down and just look at 'em;" "Sit and pout;" "Don't pay 'em no attention and that makes 'em mad;" "Ignore her, they don't like to be ignored."

Laziness was often faced by teachers with this group and may also have represented a type of resistance. Lethargy and indifference were mentioned by only three teachers as the most annoying problem of a child. When a child was quiet and unobtrusive, this trait was usually considered as pleasing.

Pleasing traits of subjects.--- In order to get a more balanced picture of the personalities that delinquents exhibited in their classrooms, teachers were asked what they found to be the most pleasing traits of the children. Out of 275 teachers, 234 found no pleasing traits in any of the fifty-five subjects whom they taught. The other forty-one teachers found some traits to commend. The total of the pleasing personality traits reported by the teachers, averaged less than one trait per child. In contrast, however, the average number of conduct problems reported by teachers was 11.2 per child. Among the traits that teachers found pleasing were: (1) Pleasant, likes to please; (2) Polite, courteous, nice; (3) Quiet; (4) Cooperative, willing; (5) Lovable, friendly; (6) Has sociability, is approachable; (7) Sense of humor; (8) Agreeable; (9) Wants to be liked.

Analysis of school conduct of subjects as reported by teachers.---

The following generalizations are indicated from the foregoing discussion:

1. Teachers regard disinterest in school work as a major problem of delinquents. Motivating the delinquent in school work is especially difficult because his energies are absorbed by his own inner conflicts. These conflicts limit his potential for experiencing spontaneous, constructive, creative experiences, or responding to learning stimuli.

2. Truancy is a complex phenomenon involving both intrapsychic conflicts (e.g., a child's frustration in being rejected both by her father and by men teachers) and secondary gain. (e.g., freedom to go to a show while out of school). The latter may be so prominent that the intrapsychic conflicts may be obscured. The pleasure-seeking make-up of

the delinquent may magnify the importance of the secondary gain, but to effectively combat the problem, intrapsychic conflicts should be explored. It is difficult for the school to compete with the highly commercialized, vice-ridden neighborhood of the average delinquent. This emphasizes the importance of the school recognizing and treating as early as possible the factors which primarily motivate the truancy pattern. This interpretation implies that truancy is a symptom of deeper emotional problems and that the primary emotional disturbances should have greater attention, despite the fact that some treatment may also be given at the symptomatic level.

3. The foregoing generalizations also apply to problems in other categories; e.g., defiance, stealing, resistance to authority, laziness, sex delinquency, and stubbornness.

4. Defiant and aggressive behavior is especially difficult for teachers to face because of its destructive effects upon both individuals and groups. Because of the intensity of this problem in delinquent children, special exploration should be made of aggressive behavior and the most effective ways of handling it in the school situation.

5. Since the personality problems and conflicts of these subjects tend to hamper the teacher and the subject himself in the teaching and learning processes, teachers need special help in understanding these personalities and in gaining effective methods of motivating and treating the maladjusted and disturbed child.

6. Although teachers may understand thoroughly that school conduct is merely symptomatic of deeper emotional needs of the delinquent, these problems are such that they must be dealt with immediately and most

often in the presence of other children, which fact makes it especially urgent that teachers gain insight into the etiology of this conduct.

Reports By Principals of School Conduct of Subjects

The principals of the schools which the subjects attended were asked in interviews what problems they had faced with the subjects and how they had treated these problems. They were also asked what problems faced by the children's teachers had been most annoying, to the teachers and how teachers had reacted to and handled these problems.

Problems faced by principals.-- Table 22 shows the problems which the principals or their adjustment personnel reported as most common among the subjects. Only problems with a frequency of four or more are listed. Twenty-two additional problems were mentioned from one to three times each. These problems concerned certain offensive personality traits of the delinquents which had come to the attention of the principals, such as deceitfulness, slyness, clowning, gossiping, malingering, loafing, egocentrism, extreme immaturity, begging, talkativeness, and inferiority feelings. Such acts as setting fires in the school yard, and demanding a transfer to another school were also problems faced by the principals.

A comparison of Table 22 with Table 20 shows that the lists of problems mentioned by teachers and principals or their adjustment aids were similar. The teachers mentioned more individual adjustment problems than the principals or their assistants. On the other hand, the principals and assistants reported burglary, which the teachers did not mention, and health problems which were mentioned too infrequently by the teachers to be listed in Table 20.

TABLE 22

FREQUENCY OF CHIEF PROBLEMS PRESENTED BY DELINQUENTS IN SCHOOL AS REPORTED BY THEIR PRINCIPALS AND ADJUSTMENT PERSONNEL

Problem	Frequency of Report
Truancy	33
Defiance, fighting	26
Stealing, burglary	20
Poor achievement, disinterest in work	7
Lying	5
Laziness	5
Health problems	5
Sex problems	4
Lack of cooperation	4
Troublesome attitude	4
Shiftiness and unreliability	4
Cruelty (to children and animals)	4
Withdrawing behavior	4

Interpretation by principals of problems most annoying to teachers.--

The principals or adjustment personnel were asked:

1. What aspects of the child's behavior does each teacher find especially annoying and upsetting?

The problems reported by principals as most annoying to teachers were very similar with one exception to those problems which the principals and assistants themselves had faced with the subjects. The principals had not been faced with the problem of indifference as the teachers had with the subjects.

Principals and their assistants reported that teachers were most annoyed with the problem of truancy. Teachers had also indicated that this conduct of subjects was annoying as revealed in an earlier discussion in this chapter. Teachers reported defiance as the second most annoying problem, but principals reported indifference as the next most annoying problem to teachers. Indifference was possibly frustrating to teachers, whether occurring a few or many times, because it undoubtedly gave the teacher a sense of failure in his efforts to motivate interest in school work. Problems of subjects which were reported by teachers and principals as most serious but which principals did not mention as problems frequently proving annoying to teachers were resistance, laziness, sullenness, stubbornness, lying, bullying, withdrawing behavior, poor work habits, and talkativeness. However, the teachers had indicated that these problems were annoying to them. This finding indicates that principals were not totally aware of the difficulties these children were presenting in their classroom situations. Twelve of the principals said they did not know what problems of the subjects were the most annoying to teachers.

Analysis of principals' reports regarding school problems of subjects.-- The following generalizations are suggested from the foregoing analysis:

1. Principals and their adjustment personnel face primarily with delinquent children those problems which are referred to them by teachers for adjustment.
2. Many school principals and other officials show little awareness of the extensive range of problems faced with delinquents because the teachers do not always seek help with the problems. Those principals who are best informed are usually in elementary school, those least informed in high schools. In junior high schools the principals, assistant principals, and counselors usually know the problems presented by the subjects, but know little as to how teachers feel about these problems.
3. In schools with counselors, the principals are apt not to know the pupils well, and neither they nor the counselors can usually analyze the classroom adjustment of the subjects. However, there are exceptions to these general statements.
4. Many elementary-school principals are well-informed as to the children's classroom adjustment.

Reports By Subjects of Their Own School Conduct

A child's own concepts of his problems may be real or imagined, but it is important to understand these concepts because of the reality they have to the subjects. In order to gain a picture of their own conception of their problems the subjects were asked in interviews:

1. What was the last trouble you had at school?

2. Why did you do this?
3. What did the teachers do?
4. What did the principal do?
5. Did you feel that this was fair? Why?
6. What other trouble have you had in school?
7. What do you think was the most serious trouble you have at school? Why?

Most serious problems at school.-- The children reported fighting, arguing, defiance, and "spatting" with children and teachers almost exclusively as their most serious problems. Some also mentioned this offensive behavior in combination with truancy and stealing. Only ten children reported truancy as the most serious trouble they had given. Therefore, the children's impressions of their serious problems were somewhat different from those of their teachers and principals. The teachers and principals had reported truancy as the children's most serious conduct problems in school and defiance, which included arguing and "fussing," as the subjects next more serious problem. The subjects were aware that they were in constant conflict in the school situation, both with school personnel and with peers. They were not reluctant to report these conflicts. Invariably they stressed that they were reacting to something that had been done to them by teachers or by other children. They did not seem to see themselves as the teachers and children had seen them, i.e., as the original or principal offenders. The subjects were not reluctant to stress the aggressive and punitive reactions that teachers were making to them, as will be discussed in Chapter VII. Some of the following statements typify the children's reports of their most

serious problems in school: "I'm a veteran truant, you know;" "I've been expelled from two schools;" "I hit a teacher so hard he had to go to a rest home;" "The teacher called me a snotty brat and I told her to go to hell;" "I was fighting with a principal." The following cases are presented briefly to illustrate what behavior the children regarded as serious: (The first two cases were reported consistently as being interested in their school work.)

Grace (Case 38: C.A. 15-7, M.A. 14-8, I.Q. 99, Grade 9-Vocational).--- Although Grace was considered one of the best adjusted children of the fifty-five subjects, and was presenting few problems in the school, she had experienced suspension several times in an earlier school for fighting. However, she was fighting because she was accused by a school peer of having a disease after she had been "running around with Judy," (Case 6), in this study. She stated, "The teacher sent us to the office and the principal suspended us until our parents came to school with us." When she was asked if she felt this treatment was fair, she said, "It could have been settled at school without our parents coming into it. It would have made it more pleasant at school."

Grace was asked, "What other trouble have you had in school?" To this question she replied, "I had a fight with Mary Jones in gym and another one at lunch time." To the question, "What do you think is the most serious trouble you ever gave at school?" The answer was, "When I got suspended." She thought this was serious because her parents had to come to school. In fact, she stated that this experience created the worst feelings she ever had in school. She hated to have her father visit the school under those circumstances. When asked how she acted when the teachers or principal had hurt her feelings, she said, "I don't like 'em and I cry often."

Millie (Case 20: C.A. 14-10, M.A. 15-10, I.Q. 111, Grade 9).--- Millie said she had been expelled three times, "for chewing gum;" "for going off the grounds at lunch time;" and "when a girl saw me smoking." She had been sent to Juvenile Court, she reported, "for going to my father's house to play cards." The most serious trouble she said was when she went off the school ground at lunch time without permission, this was serious, because it was the first time she had been expelled from school. When asked how she felt when teachers or principals had hurt her feelings she said, "I want to cry, but I would cuss out Miss

."

Several children reported that their most serious trouble consisted of misunderstandings with teachers.

Dolly (Case 3: C.A. 15-9, M.A. 17-1, I.Q. 115, Grade 9).-- Dolly appeared amused when she said that she felt "sad" because she had hit Mr. _____ so hard that he had to go to a rest home. She stated, "He was old and nervous anyway." She had struck him, she reported, "Because he jerked me out of my seat for daydreaming. I hit him before I knew it." She was suspended for this behavior. Dolly said that her worst feeling in school was the time "I had told the teacher off when she called me lazy and I said I wasn't; then when she said I was impudent, I said she was too." Dolly's last trouble occurred, she said, when she left school one day without an excuse, because "I didn't feel good." Dolly was now in high school and had been sent to the dean. She was given six periods in detention and "got two more for missing one." She said, "I'm still serving these d.t.'s out, I missed that first d.t. because I got madder the more I thought about it and just walked off from school...I was too upset to do anything about it at school...Then mama got upset and got to fussing...If there had been an understanding dean I may have talked it over with her and stayed."

Some children had broken into their schools and showed signs of feeling the seriousness of this behavior, such children were Andy (Case 16), Joe (Case 17), Ross (Case 22), and Dave (Case 47). Andy's remarks typify those of the other children.

Andy (Case 16: C.A. 13-1, M.A. 11-6, I.Q. 88, Grade 5).--- Andy reported his latest difficulty as occurring "when I played hookey about a month ago." He played hookey, he said, because "My brother did, and George, a big boy, said he'd beat us up if we didn't play hookey." He said the most serious trouble was, "When I broke in the school with some other boys; George said he'd beat us up if we didn't. It wasn't right and I didn't feel good about it. My Mom told 'em about us breaking in when she found out. They sent us to Juvenile Court." The worst feeling Andy ever had, he related, "Was when they found out about us stealing those things from the school when we broke in." When teachers or principals hurt his feelings, he said, "I just sit there, I feel sad like crying, but if I cried kids would laugh at me and I don't want 'em laughing at me."

Various other feelings were expressed by subjects. Gary said, "I had to pay for a notebook I didn't take...that was not fair." Van (Case 40) said that truancy was his most serious problem, "I'm a veteran

truant, you know." His teacher and principal also said truancy was his major problem. Erma (Case 29) said the teacher "called us liars, and I talked back." The teachers and principal regarded sex delinquency as Erma's most serious problem.

Although these children discussed their problems rather freely and apparently in complete sincerity as the problems appeared to them, it is notable that the problems that many of them considered most serious were those which had brought the most serious consequences for the subjects themselves, especially in the form of punishment. If delinquents do have defective value systems, as is often thought, they might be more dependent than the average non-delinquent upon external cues as conduct guides, for example, reactions of teachers and others for interpreting to them the meaning and seriousness of their behavior.

The two children (Cases 11 and 25) who reported that they had given no trouble were considered severe problem cases by school people because they were both severe sex delinquents in the community. This was known in the school and was causing difficulty in peer and teacher adjustment for the girls.

Accounts by subjects of latest trouble they had given at school.--

The subjects were asked what the latest trouble was that they had given at school, what the teacher did, and what the principal did. These questions brought out the children's analyses of problem situations participated in by the children, the teachers, and the principals. A detailed table of the problems and the reactions of the teachers and principals to the subjects and their problems is presented in Chapter VII. In Table 23

TABLE 23

LATEST PROBLEMS FIFTY-FIVE DELINQUENTS REPORTED PRESENTING AT SCHOOL

Problem	Number Reports
Defiance	23
Fighting and arguing	
Truancy	14
Tardiness, skipping class	
Stealing	2
Running away from home	2
Malingering (denied)	2
Making up work	1
Poor peer relations	1
Talking	1
Quitting school	1
Cheating	1
Loud and boisterous activity	1
Regarding work certificate	1
Defacing school property	1
Smoking	1
Teacher fussing	1
No trouble	2
Total Reports	55

is given a summary of the latest problems the children reported presenting at school. Again, as in their previous statements regarding their most serious problems, the children reported that fighting and arguing were common problems exhibited by them in school. They also considered truancy as a common problem which they had presented, but it was not as frequently reported by children as it had been reported by teachers and principals. Some of the children reported the latest trouble they had given but proceeded to deny their actual involvement in the problems implying and reporting that teachers had falsely accused them. In most cases they attempted to justify their behavior in one way or another as reported in the cases in the preceeding section.

Analysis of subjects' reports of school conduct.-- From an analysis of the reports made by the subjects of the problems they presented in school the following generalizations are suggested:

1. The severity of the consequences of the problems the subjects presented served as the primary indicator of the seriousness of the problems to the children. For example, chewing gum is serious if one is expelled as a consequence. Since defiance tended to provoke more aggressive reactions in teachers and principals, this behavior was regarded by delinquents as especially serious. It is not known to what extent the severe treatment deterred the subjects from repeating their behavior. However, manifestations of serious personality disturbance were still occurring, either through repetition of the earlier conduct or in different ways.

2. Realization of the fact that their aggressive behavior is most disturbing to teachers and the school situation does not lessen the use of aggression by delinquents.
3. The delinquent subjects did not seem to have a well clarified concept of the roles they played in the school situation. This lack of insight applied to the delinquents' own feelings toward himself, to the feelings and attitudes of others toward him, including teachers and pupils, and the nature of the conflict his behavior caused in the school situation.
4. Some of the aggression exhibited by delinquents in the school situation may be consciously designed to provoke aggression in teachers and other pupils. These reactions then serve to justify the delinquents' own aggressive behavior.
5. Having a defective value system may cause the delinquent to test the seriousness of his own actions by the reactions of others to his behavior.
6. Some of the conduct problems of the delinquent are their reactions to pressures like rigid school schedules and rules and also pressure of peer attitudes which may affect or often determine his group acceptance.
7. The delinquent as a rule acknowledges that he derives limited pleasure from his deviant conduct in school like truancy, breaking into the school, or fighting with pupils and teachers. This behavior is often the result of the delinquent's limited capacity for tolerating various pressures and the unpleasantness of an unappealing school program and

schedule. After he commits the offensive behavior, he often feels guilty and ashamed but is likely to cover up these feelings with further defensive behavior like denial of involvement, lying, arguing, or defiance. Often subjects project blame for their problems on teachers and other children. This defensiveness spares them from further unpleasantness like self blame and blame from others.

Dynamic Factors in School Conduct of Subjects

Cases illustrating the most serious problems of school conduct of the subjects are discussed in this section. Some of the children presented only one of the major conduct problems, while others presented a complexity of problems. The case discussions are presented under the topics of truancy, defiance, stealing, sex delinquency, and laziness. These problems were reported by teachers and principals as the most serious conduct problems of the subjects. The children acknowledged truancy, defiance and other aggressive behavior as serious problems.

Truancy.-- All the subjects but eight had actually been or were currently playing truant from school. All but three of the forty-seven who played truant presented additional problems of delinquency in the school, or in the community or in both. The three subjects whose sole problem of delinquency was truancy were such serious truants that the Juvenile Court had been asked to aid the school in regulating their attendance. Those children who played truant but were able to establish at least a partial record of attendance expressed their conflicts through other forms of problem behavior in addition to truancy. The most common problems coupled with truancy were sex delinquency among the girls, and

stealing and fighting among the boys. The eight children who were not playing truant were better adjusted in school than the truants, but contributed their share of problems to the classroom situation. Showing off and attention-seeking were the most common problems of the non-truants. Bullying was practiced by three of the four male non-truants, while three of the four girl non-truants were sex delinquents.

It should be stressed at this point that most of the children's problems were not limited to one or two each per child, although one or two delinquent problems often seemed to be more deeply established than others within the individual personality. Truancy usually accompanied many other delinquencies either preceding or following the onset of the delinquency problem. A fuller discussion of the relationship of truancy to other school factors such as poor home supervision and motivation, school organization and practices, and intrapsychic problems was presented in Chapter IV.

Two of the most serious truancy cases are discussed to show how the truancy mechanism originated, how it operated within the personality, and how it affected the total pattern of school adjustment. Neither boy had insight into the real factors in his truancy. Van's case was discussed partially in Chapter IV, but here is reviewed more fully to point out how the problem functioned. His dependency needs were marked.

Van (Case 40: C.A. 16-6, M.A. 18-9, I.Q. 125, Grade 10).--- Van had created quite a problem for the teachers in his high school because of his chronic truancy. Teachers recognized his excellent potentialities and were trying to motivate him in every way they could. In spite of all they did he continued to play truant. Although he had an I.Q. of 125, he was repeating the tenth grade. His teachers described him as lazy and always idle. He never exerted efforts in his school work or prepared assignments. One teacher said that he deteriorated before their eyes and grew repulsive in appearance. He was always polite and courteous, however.

He was given a chance to make up his work in order to pass his grade but even played truant on those days. He would often "slump down," in his seat and sleep according to teachers. They described him as "brilliant but lazy." All teachers had a great sense of failure with Van. The realization that Van had such good potentials intensified the teachers' frustration.

Van said that he had played truant since the first grade and could remember from that time only that a boy friend had said, "Let's ditch our books and go for a walk." Thereafter, he played truant whenever he did not feel like going to school. Van was an only child and had lived alone with his mother practically all of his life. When asked, "Do you wish you would grow faster or slower?" his answer was, "Slower-I don't want responsibilities, when you grow up you can't be a child anymore -- I want to be a child as long as I can." Van's stooped-shouldered walking may also have indicated a wish to remain small and not grow up. Furthermore, he did not like the teachers in school who would not help him when he asked for it. When one teacher refused to help Van in mathematics he dropped the subject. Yet he admitted that he never worked up to his capacity in school. When asked if he wished that his teachers would like him better, he said, "I don't care, I really care about my mother liking me." He liked a school he had formerly attended better than any other because it was like home over there, he noted.

Van stayed out of school because, he said, "I just did not want to go. I got bored going through the same old routine day after day. The subjects ceased to be interesting to me." He further noted, "I stayed around home since Mother was at work. Occasionally I went to the movies, and usually I was all alone. I did not like to be truant, but just hated to go to school. I did not work as hard as I could in school because I lost all interest while in the ninth grade. I thought high school work would be more interesting; but it got worse, I wanted to get out worse than ever."

Van never had many friends in school. He said of friends, "I was indifferent to most of them." He stated frankly that he did not want to go to school any more. He said he did not mind going to "oral school where I wouldn't have to write." This statement was further evidence of Van's dependency needs. Van said that his worst feeling in school occurred when he left the Detention Home the last time and was told that he was going to the Boy's Industrial School if he played truant, but he said, "I soon forgot the threats and started staying out again."

Van presented a difficult problem for both school and clinic. His dependency needs were so serious that their effects were felt by everyone who tried to deal with Van. He needed intensive help either at the case-work level or through psychotherapy. There was skilled personnel in the

schools and in the community who could have provided this help sooner. Earlier detection and treatment of his truancy problems might have offset such a serious development.

A second serious truancy case was that of Earl. In addition to showing strong dependency needs, Earl showed a strong fear of being beaten up by big boys a fear, which, no doubt, contributed to and probably caused his truancy.

Earl (Case 28: C.A. 15-5, M.A. 12-4, I.Q. 88, Grade 7).-- Earl was called "cowardly and sneaking and lazy" by one teacher. This teacher said Earl did not "have the guts to even take his swats." Other teachers said he was "lazy and quiet and never left his seat. He gave no trouble in the classroom. His mother covered up for the boy when he truanted." Earl had attended two schools during the year of the study and attended so little that he was hardly known by teachers outside of his homeroom in each school. He did not mix well with other children.

Earl talked in the interview a great deal about boys fighting and how unpleasant fighting was to him. He wanted to move from the "West End," in order to get away from so many "fighting boys." He had asked to leave his former school because "They were always wanting to beat on us colored boys. The principal tried to slap me in my face for playing hookey and I ducked." This episode had precipitated Earl's transferral to an all-Negro school which he said had totally "disgusted" him with school. He used this experience as the reason for his severe truancy. Although he spoke consistently of his anxiety about fighting boys and teachers who paddled, he never related this anxiety to his truancy pattern.

Earl thought his friends liked him, he said, "because I don't try to fight none of 'em." He felt that his classmates ought to treat him better than they do. He said there was only one boy in his class who did not "argue and try to pick fights." Earl preferred playing baseball because football was "too rough." He said he would like teachers "If they didn't fuss at you so much. I think they ought to talk to kids instead of trying to paddle them." His favorite teacher never paddled because, Earl said, "Paddlin' makes boys feel worse toward a man." Earl liked one teacher least of all he noted, "Because he beats kids with a leather strap for talking and he didn't even know who was talking 'cause the machinery was going. All teachers paddle, I never knew but one who didn't." Earl said that he would rather work than go to school even if he did not need the money, because he said, "I don't like school so hot, never did like school and never wanted to go...I'm gonna try to make it to twelfth to suit my mom."

The latest trouble Earl had at school, he reported, occurred when "Me and some boy got in a fight over back of the playground. He was arguing at me and walked up and slapped me. I hit him back." The best time Earl reported having at school was "When we have parties," and the worst time was "When teachers started hollering at you and wanting to push you around." Earl's three wishes about school were: (1) I wish you don't have to go; (2) I wish you would get out when you want to; (3) Boys don't fight.

Klein states that the fear of other children plays a reinforcing rather than a dominating role in truancy. He reports,

The timid boy is often fearful of being hit, teased or bullied by his companions. This occurs most often in poor neighborhoods where many of the children are relatively unrestrained in their social relations. ...The social life of the children is marred by violence, gang formation, exploitation of the weak by the strong, seizure of playthings, and extortion threats. The timid boy meets the situation early by clinging to home and mother. At school age he must have further contact with his fellows through school attendance, and he shrinks from it. (139:263)

In addition to "fighting boys," Earl also faced "fighting teachers and principals," a condition which made school a greater threat and an unsafe place for him to be. His fear had caused him to lose status with a teacher who considered him to be "weak and without guts." Insight into the problem might have helped the teacher to use a different approach with Earl, so that he could have found school a safer and more secure place.

Defiance.-- Thirty-five of the subjects exhibited defiant or other offensive and overly aggressive behavior in the classroom. The defiance was expressed through belligerence with teachers and children, antagonism, temper outbursts, contentiousness, sensitiveness, explosiveness, fore-flushing, boasting, provoking and pouting, resisting swats, roughhousing, agitating, and willfulness. The twenty subjects who were not openly offensive and difficult to manage presented other problems

which ranged from clowning, disturbing children, and gum chewing to complete withdrawal and non-communication in the classrooms.

Case reports of two subjects, a boy and a girl, are given to illustrate various ways in which the defiant personality can manifest itself in the school situation. The first of these, Don, was in constant conflict with everyone, teachers and children alike. He was so difficult that practically all of the time that the principal and teachers could give him had to be taken up in their efforts to get along with him, in any way possible. There was little they could do to help him with academic needs. He was in a class of problem boys and had only two teachers.

Don (Case 46: C.A. 14-9, M.A. 13-2, I.Q. 93, Grade-Special).--- Don, "could be a courteous sort of fellow but made himself obnoxious to boys and they rode him," according to his homeroom teacher. This teacher further stated, "He would steal and try to get away with the most obvious things. He could tell the biggest stories. He showed initiative but in a destructive sort of way, and was very stubborn; he was defiant and had a general attitude of resistance. He could not be trusted. He used every second to get into and cause trouble in the classroom, which was all a bid for attention. He was always insinuating and was so persistent. Lying, deception, and stealing were his worst problems. He carried a chip on his shoulder and needed twenty-four hour supervision." The physical education teacher said of Don, "He is vicious, mean, high-tempered, vindictive, and a trouble maker. He is generally defiant to authority. He is a dangerous menace to the community. I saw him try to start a race riot one day. He provokes anger in the boys, pushes and cheats in games, steals, and lies. His parents never disciplined him." This was the boy who felt so keenly about being seen by peers with free lunch tickets.

Another complex set of problems involving defiance was exhibited by Judy. Judy likewise had a bad reputation with teachers, and got along poorly with everyone.

Judy (Case 6: C.A. 15-10, M.A. 11-0, I.Q. 79, Grade 8).--- Judy's homeroom teacher said, "She is one of the few children whom I've seen with no assets. She is repeating Grade 8. She is underhanded and always

making trouble. If ever there is a disturbance in the school this girl is in it. She fought smaller children in the sixth grade and had been a trouble maker since the fourth grade. Her mother never comes, only when the child is in trouble, and then upholds the child. Judy has older delinquent friends outside. She has a severe body odor. She is defensive, sensitive, can't be trusted, bullies, takes advantage of others, openly resists discipline, is stubborn. She is a hopeless case. Everyone hated to see her come back here." Her physical education teacher said of her, "She is unclean about her person. It is reported that she associated with a married man. She has a filthy mouth, is obstinate, belligerent, resents direction, and retaliates in a severe way. She is moody, temperamental, not adaptive, is the aggressor in fights. She flies off the handle." Her science teacher said, "She is boisterous, unattractive, and very frustrated." The social studies teacher said, "Judy had a persecution complex, was resentful of help and discipline." He said, "She is very sensitive and repels you so. She is a truant." The sewing teacher said, "She runs her mouth so much I have to put her by herself to work." The music teacher said, "She is moody, negative, resistant, stirs up trouble among children and starts arguments. She is crafty and can put on a good scene. She lies and cannot get along with people. Certain traits like deceit and craftiness have been so engrained that it is difficult to work with her in the school situation, I wish we could use it constructively some way."

These two cases of defiance illustrate the tendency of teachers to generalize their accounts of school behavior by making statements and using opprobrious adjectives, rather than to study specific behavior and seek to understand causes. The delinquents who have been described as defiant were behaving as they did because of various factors in their lives which the statements above do not touch. Certainly the behavior of Don and Judy bred strong negative reactions on the part of their teachers, reactions which probably increased the strength of the defiance by these children.

Stealing.-- The stealing problem was presented rather frequently in the school situation by the subjects of this study, but not so frequently as outside of school. One child (Case 1) had stolen funny books, while money, shoes, school supplies, and other items had been stolen by

other children from their classmates, from teachers, and from the school office. Thirty-two subjects were known to present the problem of stealing in the community, but eleven of these thirty-two were not known to steal in their school situations. Seven of the boys of the study had burglarized their schools. Nine-year-old Ralph (Case 43) had burglarized a school in his neighborhood and set fire to it. He had also been caught throwing lighted matches in the school he was attending at the time of the study.

Marlene (Case 51) stole five dollars from her teacher and was paying back the money when the writer visited her school. A few weeks later she burglarized a filling station so that she could repay her teacher for the money she stole from her. Her case is presented to show how the pattern of stealing may be manifested in the school situation, how it may tie in with other delinquencies, and how etiological factors operate in the delinquency situation.

Marlene (Case 51: C.A. 11-6, M.A. 8-1, I.Q. 70, Grade-Special).-- Marlene presented problems of fighting, stealing, lying, staying away from home until late and sometimes all night. She begged, especially from men. The psychiatrist said, "Much of Marlene's behavior can be seen as efforts to satisfy herself for various kinds of deprivation. Her begging and stealing is one kind and her sex interest is another. Presumably her syphilitic infection was acquired ten years ago. The father died a number of years ago. The mother took up with the stepfather in a common-law relationship. There have been eight children. The stepfather has worked little, due to epilepsy and other causes." Marlene told the writer that she liked her stepfather less than "anyone in the world."

When she played hockey, Marlene reported, she went to a girl's house and played hide-and-go-seek. Marlene said she had a "lot of trouble with kids at school." She had a fight recently when a girl called her mother a prostitute. When teachers hurt her feelings at school, Marlene said, "I act mean, I put my head down and say I'm sick."

Marlene was in a self-contained classroom and her teacher knew her very well. The teacher said that Marlene had stolen five dollars from

her and way paying it back in pennies. The teacher suspected that Marlene was teaching her little brother to steal. The teacher was glad the home situation had improved with the exit of the stepfather. Marlene was not resentful or hateful in school. She would stand on her own feet, however, when necessary. Because she stole, Marlene could not be given much responsibility, but she liked to wash blackboards and put up chairs. She got angry when children told her about taking money. The teacher said of Marlene, "We love each other or her situation would be unbearable."

Although Marlene was a serious problem in her school she had some traits that were somewhat appealing. The school was working intensively with social agencies regarding Marlene. She had a sense of security in the school situation which probably kept her from getting into more serious difficulty.

Sex delinquency.-- Most of the girls were known to the court to be sex delinquents. They were also known by their teachers to be sexually delinquent. However, all the girls were not acting out this behavior in the school situation. Only five of the eighteen known sex delinquents had let this fact be known among the pupils in their school situations. Only two of the girls were definitely spreading sex information in the schools. Seventeen subjects had been found at some time to write obscene notes or pass obscene literature.

Pearl's case is discussed to show how a pattern of sex delinquency originated and how it was manifested in the school situation.

Pearl (Case 11: C.A. 14-4, M.A. 12-6, I.Q. 90, Grade 7).-- Pearl was called "Smokey" by her classmates because she smoked incessantly. Her brother was in the same classroom but would have nothing to do with her. Teachers thought that he was aware that children were discussing "her morals," the smoking, and sex delinquency. The teachers showed considerable sympathy for Pearl, because, they said, "She was good, responsive, and gave no trouble. She was more of a problem within herself than she was to the school. The biggest problem we have had is her smoking and talking with other girls about sex. Her only interest is boys. She

has their names and hearts drawn all over her arms. She is not clean in appearance and shows a great deal of parental neglect. She should be placed outside of her home...Her brother is unhappy too. She never looks too happy, is never enthusiastic about things even though she takes part. She just looks like she is down." Pearl was known by certain teachers to attend "wild parties" given by older women in the neighborhood. Every one of her teachers was aware that her problem related to emotional deprivation. They had met her needs as best they could in the school situation but were aware that placement was indicated.

Pearl told the court psychiatrist that she was flirtatious because she could gain attention that way. She realized that she had not received affection in her home. She acknowledged that she had been promiscuous. She said that her sex and romantic fantasies were very strong, and were among the chief reasons for her inability to concentrate on her school work. She talked freely of how she realized she could take the greatest privileges while at home. She said that she had often gone to the home of a girl friend or her older sister on a pretext of visiting but was really meeting boys there. This was the beginning of her sex delinquency.

Pearl made the three following wishes about school: (1) I wish I could quit school and get a job. (2) I wish I could go back to my old school. (3) I wish I could study in school. She said she was hardly ever happy in school anymore.

Although Pearl had been interested and active in various school activities before she became sexually delinquent, she lost interest in all phases of school, afterwards. No matter how effective the school program is or how interested the teachers are in the child, when the lax supervision in the home and poor social conditions in the neighborhood cause the child to become delinquent, the school has a very difficult time holding its appeal for the child. However, a richer emotional experience in school might have prevented the search for affection through sex activity.

Laziness and disinterest in school work.--- Teachers were also concerned because so many of the children were "lazy" or exhibited poor drive and limited interest in their work. Van (Case 40) and Earl (Case 28) discussed earlier in the present chapter are typical examples of the laziness

and inertia exhibited by the children.

It has been said that we can distinguish two kinds of effort, namely, reactive and active. Reactive effort occurs in response to some outside stimulus; active effort arises from within as "spontaneous," self-initiated, and expresses itself in growth and development. A child faced with a hostile world may spend his entire energies reactively instead of actively. (160:1)

If this theory is applied to the delinquent child, it can readily be seen that most of his energies are absorbed in reactive effort. He is fighting, "fussing," resisting, withdrawing, daydreaming, and following many other channels of reactive expression so that he has little or no energy left for active, spontaneous creative effort.

The problems of withdrawing and unresponsiveness were exhibited by several of the children. Such problems were discussed in the presentation in Chapter V under Isolates, of Rose (Case 50), Dave (Case 47), and in Cases 18 and 32. These children were practically non-communicative with persons in the school situation.

Other problems.-- Additional problems exhibited in the classroom by subjects as lying, underhandedness, stubbornness, bullying and poor work habits have appeared in illustrative cases discussed above. Specific problems do not usually appear in isolation in the delinquent personality, but in combination with other problems. Some may be more dominant than others.

Analysis of dynamic factors in school conduct of subjects.-- The following generalizations are based upon the analysis of dynamic factors

in the school conduct of subjects:

1. Truancy is a chief conduct problem of delinquent children and is usually associated with other conduct problems. In this study the most common problems that accompanied truancy among the boys were fighting and stealing, and among the girls was sex delinquency. It is not known whether truancy usually precedes or follows the onset of other problems, however, it is clear that the appearance of truancy in a child's school adjustment pattern is usually an indicator not only of poor school adjustment but of total personality maladjustment. In the personality make-up and situations of the truant may be found strong dependency needs often combined with such factors as an over-attachment to the mother, fear of other children and teachers, life in a vice-ridden neighborhood which satisfies pleasure seeking and adventurous impulses, and some tangible concrete element in the school situation which the child can blame for his truancy.

2. The aggressive and offensive nature of the delinquent is a prominent factor in his school conduct. He is generally in conflict with all other personalities in the school situation, including children, teachers, and principals. He is greatly limited in relationship skills. Such limited study has been made of the total problem of aggression in the school child, that it cannot be speculated here that aggression in the delinquent child can be differentiated in source, meaning, and manifestation from that of aggressive non-delinquent children. A more thorough understanding of the problems of aggression is needed before teachers and others can be expected to make constructive use of aggressive

tendencies in the school situation. The case studies of delinquents reveal that intense emotion, often of a destructive and hostile kind, is a common characteristic in the delinquent's personality.

3. The personality of the delinquent is generally so thoroughly saturated with offensiveness that this characteristic must have originated prior to the development of the delinquent behavior. Although offensiveness and belligerence are not solely characteristic of the delinquent personality, this behavior in young children is, no doubt, an indication of personality disturbance and mal-development, and if given recognition and attention early enough, serious developments of one kind or another might be prevented.

4. Individual problems exhibited by a child, such as truancy, stealing, sex delinquency, fighting, and defiance cannot be wholly understood except in the light of the total dynamics of the child's situation. The meaning of the problem cannot be understood if seen out of context of the total case. Practically every problem represents a complexity of factors which play a dynamic part not only in the presenting problem, but in the total situation. The school should be as objective in evaluating its own role as well as other factors involved in the delinquent's case.

5. The immaturity of the delinquent and his need for security stand out as prominent characteristics when his total situation is analyzed. He is generally impulsive, demanding immediate ego gratification, and often cannot postpone responses to situations. The school should be mindful of this fact in studying delinquents' situations.

Summary

In this chapter detailed accounts were given of the school conduct of the subjects, as viewed by teachers, principals or adjustment personnel, and the subjects themselves. Case study reports were presented to show how the most common problems of the subjects were manifested within the school situation.

The teachers reported that subjects presented a wide range of conduct problems in their schools. These problems which were primarily of an aggressive nature were exhibited more than ten times as frequently as were pleasing traits. The most common problems faced by teachers with subjects were truancy, defiance, stealing, resistance, laziness and disinterest in school work, and sex problems. Other problems involved various types of aggressive behavior. Less than one-fifth of the children had exhibited non-aggressive problems in their classrooms. When home-room teachers rated the school conduct of subjects on rating scales, disinterest in school work was most common with truancy rating second. Other forms of aggressive behavior were prominent, while subjects were also reported on the rating scales as being unpopular with other children. Although teachers acknowledged that subjects were generally offensive, the most annoying problems faced by teachers were truancy, defiance, laziness, and disinterest in school work. These problems, like offensive aggression, seemed to bear considerable threat to and reflection upon teachers. A few teachers found a few pleasing traits in some of the subjects like pleasantness, courteousness, and quietness. Teachers did not generally discuss the problems in terms of causation. Problems were

discussed primarily in relation to group adjustment and difficulty created.

Principals and adjustment personnel considered truancy as the most common problem of subjects with defiance, fighting, stealing and burglary ranking next in order. Principals were generally aware of the aggressive and troublesome nature of the subjects, but did not tend to understand the extensive range of problems faced by teachers with the delinquents in the classrooms. Principals seemed to understand the individual problems in the light of those which came to the attention of the office personnel. Elementary school principals had greater insight into the classroom and total adjustment of the subjects than did high school principals who were aided by counselors or other adjustment personnel.

Although the delinquents were generally aware that they were in constant conflict in the school situation, and that much of their behavior was aggressive and offensive, they showed limited insight into the nature or meaning of their problems. They determined the seriousness of their behavior often by the consequences of punishment and other treatment it received from authority. Truancy was acknowledged as a common problem by subjects but was second to defiance and fighting in their opinion.

Subjects were found to exhibit various combinations of problems. Truancy was the problem that occurred frequently in combination with other problems.

Truants were found to differ from each other as individuals. However, in chronic and severe cases of truancy were found a complexity of problems which usually involved both intrapsychic conflict and secondary gain. Since delinquents tended to rationalize their behavior with some concrete problem that they were facing, deeper conflicts were often obscured. Their over-reaction to problems in the school situation may have represented this tendency. When school personnel in turn reacted to the exaggerated behavior in like manner, further conflicts and problems were generated. Very often teachers were forced by the delinquent into roles that confirmed the subject's distrust of adults. Teachers should gain skills in understanding and reacting to such deviant personalities. The unprofessional reactions that the offensiveness of the delinquent tended to provoke in teachers were certainly not typical, one would surmise, of the emotional control and behavior with which teachers normally reacted to the stimuli. It is more reasonable to assume that the delinquent bears a unique offensiveness because of his moral transgressions, defiance, belligerence, and truancy, an offensiveness which may provoke rejection and other strongly charged reactions from the teacher and school personnel. Understanding is needed by the teachers and school personnel, then, not only of the emotional make-up of the delinquent but also of the teacher's own emotion involved in his interaction with the delinquent.

The need for deeper understanding of the problem of aggression in a child's personality was repeatedly revealed throughout the chapter. Research is needed on its meanings to the child and to those who must relate themselves to him, and moreover, research is needed on the most

efficacious methods of dealing with aggression in the school situation.

Individual problems of delinquents cannot be thoroughly understood except in the context of their total situations. There may be grave danger in labeling a child by one or two of his major traits.

CHAPTER VII

SCHOOL TREATMENT OF SUBJECTS

"The pupil brings his entire self to school, and that self is the product of all the years that have gone before." (259:249) Zachry, who makes this statement, adds that these life experiences affect profoundly a child's relationship to his teachers and peers as well as his response to the school program, his interest in his studies, and his ability to master and cope with school work. Zachry also declares that teachers need to interpret the child's personality in the light of individual and group needs and to adapt their tools of program, method, and organization to meet these needs. She describes the formal or traditional school as violating every principle of mental hygiene, with its narrow pedantic course of study, regimentation in work, distant and formal pupil-teacher relationships, and the tendency to ignore the emotional aspect of growth and to limit its objectives to training the intellect alone. She contrasts this picture with that of the modern school, which establishes affectional relationships with children, teaches children to live together and care for each other, helps them to find real meaning and a real place for themselves in the enriched program, and creates an environment that is conducive to wholesome development and living. (259:249-57).

With recognition by school people of the close relationship between the personal and social well-being of a child and his learning pattern, they have developed programs in schools for meeting many of the personal and social needs of children.

In the present chapter data are presented from reports concerning the provisions made in the schools for meeting the needs of the subjects of this study in the following areas: personal and social welfare, development of personal and social skills, and personal and social adjustment.

Provisions for Personal and Social Welfare

A well-rounded school program for personal and social welfare includes the detection of children's needs and a planned approach for meeting them. Among the welfare services provided by the school may be direct aid to children in the form of food, clothing, medical care, adjustment services, and carefully designed group activities. In this section emphasis is placed upon such services as bathing at school, free lunches, and health services. Adjustment services are discussed in a later section of the chapter. Principals, counselors, teachers, and the subjects themselves served as sources of information.

Services reported by school personnel.-- The writer visited every school attended by the subjects of the study and interviewed the principal or assistant principal, the counselor, and each teacher of the pupils who served as subjects. The questions asked of the teachers and principals included the following:

1. What services have been given the child by the school for his physical welfare, e.g., baths, lunches, clothing?
2. What other provisions have been made for his welfare by or through the school, such as referrals to social agencies?

The services reported by school personnel were largely of an economic nature or concerned with health. Twelve children received more than

one physical welfare service from the school. Forty-three of the subjects were reported by school personnel to be taking baths in their schools. Eleven schools attended by the subjects had no facilities for children to take baths. One girl (Case 6) refused to bathe at school. Eight children had been given free school lunches and eight had received free clothing through the school. Three subjects had been sent to health clinics, two had been referred to the nurse, and one (Case 32) to the dental clinic. One girl (Case 20) had been placed in a nutrition class by a counselor at her mother's expense. One boy (Case 49) had been placed on a free feeding program, where he received juice and cod liver oil tablets, in the first grade. Three children had received eye glasses through their schools. One child was receiving sight-saving care through a sight-saving class. A counselor had secured support for a girl (Case 38) from a neglectful father through the Court of Domestic Relations. One child's family (Case 51) had received relief through efforts of the school principal. The principal had had considerable difficulty getting aid for the family because the mother could not establish legal residence in the city. The principal said, "The family was actually starving to death, and I just went to the front for those little children." This principal was especially conscious of and attentive to community problems. She had actively participated in organizing a community center in the neighborhood of her school so that many personal and social needs of the children and their families could be met effectively.

According to the reports, limited efforts were made toward aiding children or families on problems pertaining to intra-family conflicts or

disorganization. One counselor had reported such assistance. Family casework agencies were not mentioned by school personnel in their reports.

Services reported by the subjects.-- The children were asked in interviews:

1. Does the school provide baths for any "kids?" Explain.
2. Have you taken baths besides gym baths, at school?
3. Do you wish you could take baths other than gym baths at school? Why?
4. Does the school provide free lunches for any "kids?"
5. Have you eaten free lunches at school? When? About how many times?
6. Do you sometimes wish you could have free (or more) lunches at school? Why?
7. Does the school give clothing to any "kids" at school?
8. Have you ever received any free clothing from school? When? What clothing?
9. Do you wish the school would give you clothing now? Why?
10. Has school ever helped you or your family to get relief or other help from social agencies? What agency?

Economic status and cultural and emotional attitudes of the children probably affected their reactions to bathing and other personal and social services. Twenty-eight, or about half, of the children thought they liked or would like taking the extra baths. Twenty-six of the children said they did not like bathing at school, because they bathed at home.

The subjects who wanted the baths said they enjoyed keeping clean and felt refreshed after bathing. Some had no bath facilities at home. Those who did not like to bathe at school revealed certain cultural and personal conflicts. "Too much bathin' ain't good" was the remark of a

boy (Case 24) from the Kentucky hills. Feelings of embarrassment and sensitiveness were revealed. Some children felt that school bathing was a reflection on their home standards. Some revealed the need for closer supervision of showers. They reported that the water was too hot, that some girls exposed themselves, and that they caught cold or "sore toe."

Eight children reported that they had received free lunches, but fifteen other children wished that they could have received free lunches at school. They gave as reasons: "Sometimes I don't get enough to eat" (Case 32); "I get hungry, I don't eat breakfast either" (Case 34); "I don't have lunch money;" "When I don't have money, I don't eat lunch;" "I get hungry." Four subjects stated that they could save their own money if lunches were free. One boy (Case 49) said, "You could get something for nothing." This remark came from a boy who was obviously the most malnourished child in the study. His wanting to get something for nothing was not understandable since his need for aid was a valid one.

Some subjects said they did not want to accept charity. Case 24 stated, "I don't ask for charity, I do without if I ain't got it." One child (Case 35) stated that she would like to eat free lunches, "if you could pay it back." One boy (Case 46) reported, "I'd rather pay or go without than for kids to see me give that 'free' lunch check to the cook." He had asked for a few free lunch tickets, but was ashamed most of the time to let his needs be known. He was presenting very serious personality problems in school. He is discussed in Chapter VI under defiance.

Almost a third of the children wished they could have had provisions

made at school for their lunches. Typical of recipients of relief and other services, the subjects exhibited a spread of attitudes ranging from "chiseling" to excessive pride. Most of those wishing for free lunches were not eating lunch at all. Evidently there are children, probably more than is generally realized, who attend school on empty stomachs. The girl (Case 34) who ate neither breakfast nor lunch was very irritable in school with peers and teachers. Hunger might have contributed to the irritability.

Nine children reported that they wished school would give them clothing because they needed it, while eight had already received it. The children had received such articles of clothing as snow suits, sweat shirts, a knitted cap, shoes, pants, and dresses. One boy (Case 49) said, "I had holes in my shoes and they gave me some." Nine-year-old Ralph (Case 43) said he had received shirts, pants, and shoes at school, "this year." Babbs (Case 34) said that a teacher gave her a snow suit one time because her daughter wore Babbs' size. One boy (Case 19), brother of Case 32, had been given glasses by the school. One child (Case 44) stated, "I would take clothes but not free food." She needed both.

Eight children stated in one way or another that they did not want charity, or "something for nothing." One child (Case 54) stated, "I don't want nobody to give me any clothes, even though I needed 'em." Another (Case 28) stated, "I don't want 'em to give me nothing." Bertha (Case 35), a shabbily dressed child, stated, "Others need 'em badder than I do." Jean (Case 31) came to detention in zero weather wearing bottomless shoes and no underwear. She did not want the school to give her

clothing. Ola (Case 13), who felt that she was about the only girl in her school who would not receive a particle of clothing or anything for Easter, said she did not want the school to give her clothing, because "I don't want charity." Thirty children felt that their clothing was adequate.

One subject (Case 45) said, "My brother got free shoes through Mrs. _____, but I didn't want free shoes." One child (Case 24) said, "The school got the clinic to fix my teeth." He had stated earlier that he wanted "no charity." One child (Case 49) reported, "My teacher gave us boxes of food when Dad was sick." The writer discovered in the latter case that the teacher had assumed personal responsibility at times for the subject's food at school, and was still showing great concern about the boy's malnourished condition.

The subjects were asked if the school had helped their families to get relief or other help. Eleven indicated that they had received this kind of help through the school, while forty-four reported, "No." One family (Case 52) was reported by the child to have received a basket from a school, when the father was not working. Case 51 said her family had gotten relief two or three months ago through the efforts of the principal of her school. The principal verified this report. No case work agencies which meet needs pertaining to family conflicts and disorganization were mentioned by children or teachers.

Analysis of personal and social welfare services.--- From the interpretation of the reports of the services provided by the schools attended by the subjects, the following generalizations are suggested:

1. Some teachers and other personnel were concerned about the personal and social welfare of delinquent children, although their methods of providing aid followed no definite pattern. Some stressed health services while others stressed the giving of food and clothing. Problems of social disorganization involving intra-family deterioration and related problems were not evidently attacked by teachers. Teachers were doing considerable personal sharing of food and clothing with needy delinquents.

2. Some principals and other school personnel exerted pressure upon community resources and services to satisfy the welfare needs of these children when the needs were known. Teachers were often unaware of social and personal needs of delinquent children because the children concealed these problems for reasons of pride or shame at their condition. They were ashamed to report their need or did not want charity. There was a need for closer study by teachers of children's total food intake, including school lunches, of other physical needs, and of plans for aiding needy children which would prove less embarrassing for them. Delinquent children were divided in their attitudes about bathing at school. Limited facilities in the home and the wish to keep clean and refreshed made bathing at school advantageous. Some objections to school bathing were of cultural and emotional origin and others revealed the need for closer supervision of showers.

3. The delinquent child's resistance to charity was probably a reflection of the total culture in which he lived. The self-respect of some as well as their status in the social group seemed to be threatened when they were faced with social dependency, especially if it was known to others.

Provisions for Development of Personal and Social Skills

One method of meeting the needs of children is through a well planned program of activities in the school. The activities may be of an organized or more informal nature; they may be creative or practical; they may be directed or more or less free. Any activities or experiences provided for the development of personal and social skills of the delinquent child are particularly pertinent in his school program because his crucial needs lie in this area. Since the school sees the average delinquent for longer periods than any other agency, some activities in the school should be planned with a view toward meeting the specific needs of this deviant group.

In this section are presented reports of teachers and subjects concerning special instructional aid given to subjects; creative, personal expression, and communicative activities participated in by the subjects; duties and responsibilities assumed in the school by the subjects; and special recognition earned by or provided subjects. The findings are interpreted and analyzed.

Special aid given to subjects in instructional activities.--

Children often make a better adjustment in school if they feel that they are receiving a special kind of help that they need. The teachers were asked what special help they had been able to give these subjects in their school learning. Some of the teachers reported in terms of individual teaching, and others in terms of aid in adjustment, since they felt that intellectual development was blocked by the adjustment needs of the children. The belief that poor social adjustment impedes pupil growth

is consistent with other findings of this study (Chapter VI).

Thirty of the teachers felt that they had been able to give the children very little instructional aid. Three felt that they had helped the subjects a great deal. One reported giving a "normal" amount of help, and one reported having given fairly good instructional aid to a child. Some had tried through group adjustment, special motivation, and other means to render special aid to the children.

The actual subjects and skills in which children were most often aided by teachers were (1) reading, (2) arithmetic, (3) handwork, and (4) special class work. In some cases, a single teacher reported that he had helped a child in English, writing, spelling, music, handwork, band, or manual training. One teacher claimed to have helped a child to make up his work and in physical coordination.

A total of 115 teachers reported that they had not been able to give special instructional aid to the children because of poor attendance, poor attitudes, or open resistance to help. Some children were unable to use help given them by teachers because of the children's emotional involvement. The teacher's manner of offering help was not revealed. In some cases this might have contributed to the child's resistance to help. One teacher felt that if Leroy (Case 2), who was a fifteen-year-old non-reader (I.Q. 75) and was attending a special school for slow learners, had been placed in this school before he became so emotionally involved with his learning problems, she might have been able to give him some valuable instructional aid. Two teachers felt that a boy (Case 33) did not have enough ability to use special instructional aid. One child

talked too much and one was so annoying that the teacher said she could not help him.

The children were asked in the interviews:

1. What special help has been given you at school in your school work?
2. In what subjects and skills do you feel that you need special help?

Seventeen children reported receiving special help from teachers, primarily in arithmetic and the language arts, as shown in Table 24.

Five children did not specify the special help they had received. Some of the children commented as follows regarding the help they had received from teachers: (Case 1) "The teacher sat me at her desk and helped me with my work;" (Case 8) "The teacher stays and helps us and gives us special work;" (Case 11) "The teacher has patience in music;" and (Case 30) "The science teacher gave me a book to read."

Forty-four of the subjects reported that they needed special help in their work. Eleven said they did not need help, for one reason or another. Eight children reported more than one subject in which they needed special help, while thirty-five named one subject in which they needed help. One subject (Case 9) said he needed help in all of his subjects.

In Table 25 are listed the school subjects in which the children reported they needed special help. Almost half of the children reported some form of mathematics as the subject in which they needed special help. The language arts, social studies, and science were mentioned by a number of children. One child (Case 55) felt that he needed help in etiquette and manners. He had been known to associate with children of a higher

TABLE 24

SCHOOL SUBJECTS REPORTED BY CHILDREN IN WHICH THEY HAD RECEIVED
SPECIAL HELP FROM TEACHERS

Subject	Number of children
Arithmetic	7
Spelling	3
Music	2
English	1
Reading	1
Writing and Printing	1
Science	1
History	1
Total	17

TABLE 25

SCHOOL SUBJECTS REPORTED BY FORTY-FOUR CHILDREN IN
WHICH THEY NEEDED SPECIAL HELP

Subject	Number of children
Arithmetic, Mathematics, Algebra, Numbers	23
Spelling, Reading, English	15
Social Studies, History	7
Science	6
Music	1
Practical Arts	1
Manners and Etiquette	1
Total	54

social class than his own and said he needed this help because he was self-conscious. When the children gave reasons for needing help in the various school subjects the following comments were common: "I can't read;" "I want to learn how to read;" "It is hard for me;" "I am poor in division;" "I don't know percentage;" "I can't divide;" "I get low marks;" "I got behind in my work;" "I don't understand it;" "I can't do it;" and "I get worst grades in it."

Thirty-four of the subjects said they had never received any special help from their teachers. One of the children of this group (Case 37) said that a teacher had offered to help him but he was working after school and did not have the time for her to help him. Five who had not received help felt that they did not need it. This means that twenty-eight of the children had wanted or felt that they needed help but had never received any special help from teachers. Pertinent statements made by two subjects were, (Case 32) "Teachers here don't help us," and (Case 42) "Teachers don't take time with us kids."

Twenty-one subjects reported that they had received help from one of their teachers. One subject had received special help from two different teachers.

Creative, expressive, and communicative activities.--- The teachers were asked:

1. What special activities of a creative, personal expression, and communicative nature has he participated in (dramatics, dancing, writing)?
2. Has the school provided recreation or other club experiences in order to meet this child's needs? In what way?

3. What other activities do you plan providing for him?
4. What clubs and other extra-instructional activities (clubs, music, etc.) have been participated in by this child?

The teachers reported that the children tended to participate in very simple creative activities or none at all. Twenty-eight subjects were reported by their teachers to participate in no creative activities. Nine of the subjects had creative experiences in art. In one instance, (Case 53), the creative work was said to be quite crude.

Four of the subjects had had creative experience through plays in which they had participated in their classrooms. Four were considered by their teachers to be "good in practical arts." One boy had made a house in practical arts. Two children liked to dance, and one of them participated in noon-hour dancing. Nine of the subjects had had some creative experience through activities in their English classes, such as writing themes, speaking, writing poems, and other creative writing.

Again it is seen that negative aspects tend to overshadow the constructive part of the picture. A total of 257 teachers could think of no creative experiences that these children had had under their direction. Seventeen teachers reported that the children were absent too much. Ten children were said to show no interest, nine to have "no creative ability," and three to be too maladjusted. One boy (Case 53) was said by a teacher "to have a good creative mind, but was just a no-good boy." Another boy (Case 27) was ejected from the school "follies," a musical show, because he was unreliable. He would not report for rehearsal.

All school personnel felt that their school programs included adequate recreational and other activities if only the subjects would participate in them properly and with the right attitude.

Thirty-four of the 275 teachers thought they might provide additional activities to meet the needs of twenty-five of these children. Twelve of the thirty-four were physical education teachers, eight of whom were planning for subjects to participate in intramural activities such as track. One child was to be placed on a baseball team, one in a folk-dancing group and two were to participate in regular class activities. Twelve teachers were to provide extra activities for the children in their classrooms, including arithmetic, English, art, and practical arts. Four teachers planned to include the children in shows or musical activities. One teacher each planned the following activities: town meeting in the room, to exhibit work at Open House, hobby fair participation, and field trips. One child (Case 17) had four of his five teachers planning special activities for him. He was to exhibit art work, to be in the track meet, to sing on a choral program, and to have one teacher plan special classroom work for him. Five children had two each of their teachers planning special activities for them, while one teacher each was planning special activities for nineteen of the children. Thirty children had no teachers planning any special activities for them.

The 241 teachers who were planning no special activities to meet the needs of the children gave comments as follows: "She is not here enough;" "She won't respond;" "She is not reliable, I am afraid to put her in a play;" "He is a good runner, but not a good team worker;"

"I'm too glad to get rid of her;" "He is too hopeless;" "He is too weak for track." Comments regarding the poor attendance and uncooperative attitude of subjects were frequent. Regarding one girl (Case 53), a teacher said, "She is too difficult to work with." Another teacher said of her, "She is too stout."

Regarding clubs and extra-instructional activities, the teachers felt generally that the children were not interested in these activities and were not stable enough to maintain membership in regular organized activities. Thirty-five of the fifty-five subjects were not known by teachers to hold membership in clubs or to participate in extra-instructional or other organized activities. Fifteen had membership in the following school clubs: four were in the Gra-Y (Y.M.C.A.) clubs, three in subject-matter clubs, three were in compulsory clubs in schools where the entire school enrollment was compelled to join a club, and one each belonged to a fraternity, a Y.W.C.A. club, a dance group, and a choir. Activities which were participated in by one subject each, but on an irregular or inadequate basis, were band, athletics, and church school.

The attitudes of the children were said to be very poor. They could not be depended upon to report for rehearsals in the choir, band, or athletics. Their interest was often spasmodic and participation in any activities was often affected by truancy or poor habits of attendance. Furthermore, teachers felt that many of them were lacking in physical, social, intellectual, and general leadership skills which their classmates and teachers considered necessary to qualify them for these activities.

The children were asked in interviews:

1. Do you like to draw or paint?
2. Can you draw or paint well?
3. Do you sing or play an instrument? Which one?
4. What musical activities have you participated in at school?
5. What musical activities would you like to take part in at school?
6. Have you ever been in plays at school?
7. What part did you play?
8. Would you like to be in plays? Why?
9. What other programs or activities (athletic, etc.) have you taken part in?

Most of the children liked participating in these activities but in general they did not feel especially talented. They usually described their ability as only fair.

Twenty-nine of the children said they liked to draw, seven reported liking to paint, four said they liked to do both, and fifteen said they did not like to draw or paint. Twenty-six said they could draw well or fairly well, six said they could paint well, two could do both, while twenty-one said they could neither paint nor draw well.

Thirty-five said they could sing or play an instrument to some extent. Six subjects reported possessing some skill with instruments as follows: two with the clarinet, two with the piano, and one each with the drums and accordion. Two said they could sing and play a piano both fairly well, while twenty-nine reported the ability to sing fairly well. Twenty said they could do neither.

Twenty-two children reported that they had never participated in any musical activities, while thirty-three reported some form of musical activity in school. The most common musical activity was singing. Fourteen said they had sung in a chorus, choir, or glee club, and seven had sung only in their classrooms. Six had sung Christmas or other songs on programs or in plays, and only two reported that they had sung in a minstrel show and school follies. Three had played instruments. One of these said, "I played a clarinet a short while until the teacher took it away from me and gave to another boy."

Forty subjects discussed various musical activities in which they would like to participate. Fifteen did not care to participate in musical activities. Nineteen said they would like to sing in a choir, chorus, glee club, or school show. Twenty-one wanted to play instruments, of these, six wished to be in a school band or an orchestra. The instruments they wanted to learn to play were the piano, trumpet, clarinet, drums, horn, saxophone, and violin. Although they wished to take part in these activities, some said they were unable to do so for such reasons as, "Would like to be in the orchestra but there is nothing for colored children to be in;" "Would like to play the trumpet but I have no chance;" "Wanted to be in band at _____ Junior High School, but could get no instrument." Of the fifteen subjects who did not care to participate in musical activities, ten had never taken part in them in school. Of the twenty-two who had never participated in musical activities, twelve wished they had the opportunity.

Thirty-six of the subjects reported that they had been in plays

at school while nineteen said they had never had the opportunity. Seven had sung in plays and five had been in Christmas plays. Four reported having "little parts," while two said they had had leading parts. Three said they had been in a play in the classroom, two had said a verse in a play, one played a tambourine, and one worked puppets in a play. Twelve others told of some character part they had played such as a soldier, "A bunny when I was little," an announcer, a sailor, "Mother bear in first grade," "Ginger girl in Greta and Hansel," "A doodle-bug," "A traveling man," "A bell boy in a hotel," "An Indian chief in the third grade," and "An old selfish woman who cried." From the foregoing reports, it is evident that the subjects played rather small or insignificant roles in plays, although the experience had obviously meant a great deal to them.

Thirty-seven children said they wished they could be in plays and eighteen did not wish to be in them. Twenty said they wanted to be in plays because they liked acting, or "It is fun to act." Nine said they did not know why they wanted to be in plays. One each said they would like to sing or announce in a play, and would like to have a class play. One said he wanted to be in a play, "but my teacher won't trust me." Another said, "I would like it but I can't act well, though." One said, "If I were in a play, I could go to the school exercises," and another said he wanted to be in a play but had never tried.

When thirty-five of the children reported other programs and activities they had participated in, all activities, with few exceptions, consisted of athletics (Table 26). Twenty children reported having participated in no additional activities. Track and other competitive

TABLE 26

ADDITIONAL ACTIVITIES PARTICIPATED IN BY THIRTY-FIVE SUBJECTS
AND REPORTED BY THEM

Activity	Number of Cases Reported
Athletics:	
Track	12
Racing and Jumping	6
Basketball	4
Jr. Olympics	4
Baseball	3
Dash (50 yd. etc.)	3
Football	3
Volley ball	2
Soccer	1
Jumping	1
Throwing	1
Stunts	1
Music:	
Singing on programs	2
May Festival	1
Clubs:	
Camera	1
Gym, dramatics	2
Poetry	1
Total Reports	48

activities, such as racing, dash, jumping, and throwing were most often reported. Thirteen gave special mention to their membership on baseball, basketball, volleyball, and soccer teams. Three children said they had sung in programs, including a May Festival performance, three said they had belonged to school clubs, and one had written a poem which he felt was somewhat special.

When the children named the activities they would like to participate in, they ranked as follows: track, athletics, kickball, baseball, basketball, swimming, running, football, gym, and bowling. Non-athletic activities appeared about one-seventh as often as athletics and ranked as follows: choir or singing, band or orchestra, and dramatics.

The children's reports of their activities were somewhat different from the reports of their teachers in terms of their participation. The maladjustment of the children might have curtailed their participation in current activities which no doubt were the focus of the teachers' discussions. The children reviewed their total school experiences in their discussions.

It is significant that the children regarded athletics as their most special activities and that physical education teachers were doing more planning of special activities for the children than any other single group of teachers. A general finding emerging from the foregoing reports is that the subjects seem more interested and possibly better adapted to activities not too greatly organized and structured and yet requiring intense physical energy. These physical activities may be suitable for channelizing the aggressiveness of the delinquent that creates a problem

for all who must deal with him. Parenthetically, activities permitting other forms of self expression and acting out one's feelings, such as dramatics and singing, seemed to appeal to the delinquent subject. It was difficult to determine if the opportunity for physical activity valuable to the delinquent was more than the general attitudes of tolerance and acceptance shown by most physical education teachers, or whether both factors entered into the situation.

Special recognition received in school by subjects.-- A child's development may be greatly enhanced by the kind of recognition he receives in school. The principals and teachers were asked the question:

1. What recognition has the subject received in school?
2. What chances have you had to provide recognition for him in the school situation?

Teachers said they were generally unable to find ways of helping the children gain recognition in the school situations. Two hundred twenty-four of the 275 teachers felt they had failed in this respect with individual subjects. They felt that problems of truancy, unworthiness, unreliability and instability, lack of interest, laziness, peer rejection, lack of cooperation, clowning, lack of talent, and stealing prevented them from providing recognition for the children. Only fifty-one teachers claimed success in providing any measure of recognition for the children. Thirteen subjects had received some measure of recognition through their physical education classes or activities, which included track and other competitive sports, baseball, passing physical efficiency tests, and classroom activities in the gym. Nine subjects received some recognition

through art, but only one boy in the study, (Case 17), had real ability, according to teachers. Six of the subjects could sing well enough to have gained some measure of recognition in school and classroom. However, only two subjects (Cases 3 and 20) had sung on programs outside of their immediate school rooms. Three subjects had been given some special recognition through their classroom activities. Two each had been given recognition through musical activities, teacher praise, and stars on papers. One boy (Case 2) had received recognition for printing signs. However, the teacher reported that he took advantage of this recognition by showing off. One each of the subjects had received recognition through band and "jitterbugging."

These reports indicate again the frustration that teachers face in meeting the needs of these delinquent children. Despite this fact, some few teachers are resourceful enough to find means at the level of interest and ability of the children to help them gain some measure of recognition in their school situations.

In order to determine activities in which the children had participated and which had special meaning for them, the questions were asked,

1. What other very special things have you done in school?
2. Has any of your art work been exhibited at school?
3. Would you like for your art work to be exhibited at school?
Why?

Twenty of the children felt that they had never participated in any special activities in their entire school careers. Very few of the

activities considered to be special seemed to have much creative significance, but they had real meaning for the children. Many of the activities were of a performance nature, required intense energy, and implied an audience. Singing, dancing, ushering, tumbling, jumping, racing, and displaying their work were some of the activities mentioned. Writing poems and essays and a few special skills like painting and doing arithmetic were also pleasing to the children.

Performing tasks for the teacher, such as printing and washing blackboards, were considered very special. Even collecting waste paper was an activity highly respected by one boy (Case 19). Leroy (Case 2) was proud of the printing he had been doing for the teacher, but she had reported that she would use him no more because he had taken advantage of the opportunity. The simplicity of these "special activities" is striking, especially when the depth of meaning that they had for the children is revealed. Some of their comments were as follows: "I made a record in Music class;" "The teacher let me demonstrate a hand-stand in gym;" "Five of us were in a corny tumbling act and got mixed up, but I liked being in it;" "I said some verses when I was small;" "I shot marbles in a contest;" "I was in a tumbling act for PTA." One girl (Case 34) said she had never done anything special at school, but "I sang in a saloon for \$6.00 where my Dad took me."

Forty-five subjects reported that they had had their art work exhibited. Three fourths of the forty-five subjects exhibiting work had never had art work exhibited outside of their own classrooms, while seven had had work displayed in the halls of their schools. Only three

of the forty-five subjects had had work exhibited outside of their own schools. These facts give further indication of the limited recognition received by this group of children. Yet their eagerness to be approved and accepted by others is seen in the reasons given by them for wanting their work displayed. The children's own comments were as follows: "I like for folks to see it;" "I want my mom to see it;" "It makes me feel important;" "When folks say - whose is that, the teacher will say - that little girl over there;" "I never put my name on mine 'cause I'm 'shamed of it;" "It makes you feel like you're doing good;" "Not for the beauty but for the meaning;" "It ain't no good, but I want to show it."

Fifteen children did not want their art work exhibited, primarily because they regarded it as no good. Ten of the fifteen had never had work exhibited. One child (Case 40) said "Mine is bad art work. It took me sixteen years to learn to draw a box." Another said, "She didn't want them up unless they were very good."

Duties and responsibilities given to subjects.-- Teachers were asked regarding each subject, "What duties and responsibilities have been given him at school, for example, patrols, and so forth?" Two hundred fifty-six of the 275 teachers interviewed had given no duties and responsibilities to the subject. The reasons for not giving duties included: subjects were absent too much, they were not reliable, their grade placement was too low, and they could not be trusted.

Although it is noted that many of these children are not given duties and responsibilities in the school for such reasons as

unreliability and frequent absence, seventy-seven teachers had devised methods of letting these children share in the responsibilities of the school. Most of the duties were simple and required a small amount of responsibility, but were meeting a great need of the children. The duties most frequently assumed by these subjects were housekeeping, cleaning, and passing out materials. These tasks were used in twenty-five classroom situations. Eight teachers permitted subjects to share in routine classroom duties. Thirteen permitted children to work as housekeepers, or let them clean tables and floors. Ten let them serve as guards of stairs, hall, or room, or with the school patrol. Subjects were usually dismissed from the guards as unsatisfactory or failing to report for duty. Five teachers had subjects serve as squad or room leaders.

When the children were asked what duties and responsibilities they had assumed in school, twenty-eight replied "none." Nineteen said they had served as guards for hallways, stairways, playgrounds, or street crossings. Some had washed blackboards and painted for their teachers.

Very minor duties that children had held at one time in their school careers had meant a great deal to them. Wanda (Case 26) said that she had never had duties given her in school, but had helped her girl friend collect money for the school annual. Case 31 reported, "I was a messenger. She trusted me to take care of the flag and her desk. Then I used to lead the lines down for fire drill." Ely (Case 32) stated, "I helped people across the streets when I was a boy scout."

Case 38 reported, "I took second-and third-grade children home, they could leave at 2:30." Case 43 said, "I took children to the playground." "I was a reporter for the paper, and was a guide for visitors," related Case 45. Case 48 proudly stated, "I was a guide for one night for a street carnival." The children said they were glad to have various duties. One child (Case 16) said he liked being on the patrol, because "You get a big belt for patrol, and only get arm bands as guards." Some said it made them proud of themselves to have duties. And some said (for example, Case 7) "I like to have the authority." Others said, "People look up to you."

When the children were asked what duties they would like to have, twelve stated, "None." Twenty-two of the children said they would like to have been guards in halls, streets, and on stairways. Three cases (numbers 7, 38, 40) said they would like to have been members of the student council. Case 3 wished she could have been in the a capella choir and glee club, and could have written for the school paper. Milton (Case 48) had striven very hard to be accepted by his "upper-class peers" (reported by teachers and confirmed by boy) in the junior high school from which he had been forced to transfer. He wished that he could join a fraternity.

Harry (Case 45) had gained what acceptance he could through clowning and histrionics in school. He wished he could be in the school minstrels, but said, "Colored kids were looked down upon by other colored kids" if they participated in the minstrels, "Because they made the colored kids put black on their faces and act silly in our school." He

wanted to be a clown and act funny in the shows, but he did not want to be made a discredit to his race in doing so, nor did he want to earn disfavor with peers of his own race. For this reason he never tried out for the school show.

In summary, the most common duty assumed by these subjects in the school was guard duty. However, most of them, because of their instability and lack of interest, were given no duties and responsibilities. Those children wishing to assume duties preferred being guards of various kinds, possibly because of the authority and self esteem they enjoyed. Their interest in other responsibilities was relatively limited. About a fifth of the subjects admitted frankly that they wished to carry no responsibility in the schools. One child's fear of receiving disapproval by his racial group kept him from seeking parts in a minstrel show.

Analysis of provisions for development of personal and social skills.-- The following generalizations are indicated from the analysis of the reports made by school personnel and children of activities provided by the school for the development of personal and social skills.

1. These children participated to a limited extent in those activities which were provided for the development of their personal and social skills by their schools, including clubs, room responsibilities, and activities of a creative and personal expression nature. Teachers felt that this limited participation was related to the poor personal and social adjustment patterns and limited social abilities of the subjects. These limitations were also handicapping to the

subjects in earning recognition and to the teachers in providing recognition in the school situation.

2. In spite of the severe handicaps noted above, a few teachers managed to provide opportunities at the children's own interest and ability levels for club and activity participation, and for assuming duties and responsibilities in the school situation. For the same reasons regarding subjects' limitations, teachers found it difficult to aid their personal and social development through help in instructional activities.

3. When the delinquent subject was able to share in clubs or activities and duties and responsibilities to any degree and at the simplest of levels, the experiences provided great meaning and satisfaction to him.

4. If the activities provided for the development of personal and social skills of the delinquent subjects, and probably a number of other maladjusted children, were not meeting the children's needs because of the inability of the subjects or any other reason, the schools then should have provided activities designed especially to meet the developmental and adjustment needs of these subjects in accordance with their abilities, interests, and personality make-up.

5. Since these delinquent subjects had a sense of achieving and excelling in activities requiring intense energy output, it is possible that much of their aggression, a great amount of which is generally expressed destructively, could be channelized through activities requiring intensive physical output but which are not too rigidly regimented and structured.

6. Recognition received in school might serve as a criterion of self worth to children. On the other hand the child with low self esteem might find ego satisfaction and nourishment through any recognition received in school.

Provisions for Personal and Social Adjustment

Since the major problems of the delinquent subject lie in the area of personal and social adjustment, and logically should have a tremendous effect upon his school adjustment, the school's method of handling these crucial problems is of vital importance. Various techniques may be employed by teachers and other school personnel to cope with problems of personal and social adjustment. Guidance or counseling, art therapy, play therapy, relationship therapy, and biblio-therapy are some of the individual techniques that may be used. Various socialization procedures, such as sociodrama, psychodrama, creative dramatics, and recreation are among the methods being used for personal and social adjustment purposes.

Some writers feel that all teachers and principals should be skilled in preventive and corrective techniques of guidance in order to prevent the development of problems of maladjustment as well as to treat those already established (45:47; 198:216; 25:202). Such techniques are especially needed by those who must deal with the delinquent subject, because his needs are such that he requires a special kind of careful, skillful understanding, and goal-directed handling (257:653-7; 152:195; 232:19; 136:236; 41a:672). Any effective adjustment methods

should be based on the premise that personal and social problems are symptoms of deeper emotional needs of the delinquent (257:659).

An analysis is made in this section of the reports given by principals, homeroom, and other classroom teachers, deans, counselors, and subjects themselves, regarding methods used by school personnel in aiding the personal or social adjustment of subjects.

Statements by homeroom and classroom teachers.-- The homeroom and classroom teachers were asked, "What assistance has the school, or have you, tried to give this child in his personal-social adjustment?" Their reports cover a variety of techniques, as is shown in Table 27. All but twelve of the homeroom teachers had rendered some kind of aid in adjustment to the subjects. Ninety-six of the regular classroom teachers reported that they had not aided the personal and social adjustment of the subjects. Counseling, punishment, and group management were the most commonly employed methods of both groups. In both cases most teachers used a combination of methods. Although there was great similarity between the methods used by homeroom and classroom teachers, some differences occurred. The differences in methods seem to indicate that homeroom teachers carried extra responsibility for the children's adjustment. For example, homeroom teachers referred the children to home visitors and counselors and also gave the children vocational aid and special instructional help. More homeroom teachers than regular classroom teachers had worked with families of the children. However, only three homeroom teachers had actually visited homes of children. Some classroom as well as homeroom teachers showed a keen personal

TABLE 27

METHODS REPORTED BY ONE HUNDRED THIRTY-SIX TEACHERS IN AIDING PERSONAL
AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF FIFTY-FIVE SUBJECTS

Methods	Classroom Teachers	Homeroom Teachers
Talking with children		
Counseling or lecturing	98	22
Begging, coaxing, kidding	2	1
Administration of punishment		
Paddling	5	1
Other punitive methods	7	3
Firm, rigid control	1	1
Referral to another authority		
Principal	3	4
Dean or counselor		3
Homeroom teacher	1	
Home visitor		4
Treatment through class or group activities	33	6
Showing interest and kindness	5	4
Ignoring subject	2	
Giving vocational help		3
Providing welfare services	6	2
Giving special instructional aid		2
Worked with family	1	6
Conferences	3	
Total number of reports	164	156

interest in the children, which was evidenced in such ways as personal donations to children, bringing children into school from truancy episodes, taking them home after a fight, buying glasses and meals, and donating food and clothing to children and their families.

A variety of group techniques were tried by both homeroom and classroom teachers, including punishing in front of a class, group recreation, talking to an entire group about specific problems, like personal hygiene, for the benefits of an individual child, providing opportunities for group recognition through music, art, and other subjects, and by providing specific duties for subjects. Some teachers, realizing that the children were "lone wolves," had provided socializing experiences and opportunities for social acceptance. Some classroom teachers had worked with the homeroom teachers in an effort to meet the adjustment needs of the subjects.

More light was given on teachers' methods of meeting the adjustment needs of the subjects when the teachers were asked in interviews to discuss specific problems that had been presented by the subjects and how the teachers had dealt with those specific problems. The teachers were asked the following questions in the interviews, regarding each subject.

1. Of the problems he has presented at school, which do you consider the most serious?
2. What methods did you use in treating these more serious problems?
3. What other problems had he (she) presented in the classroom or in the school?
4. How did you treat these problems?

The problems reported by teachers were presented in Chapter VI. There is some difference in the teachers' methods of meeting general adjustment needs and of handling the specific problems which subjects presented. A comparison of Tables 27 and 28 reveals these differences. Table 28 classifies 336 reports by 275 teachers on the methods they used in dealing with the problems presented in their classes by the fifty-five subjects. A very common approach was to talk with the child. Such talk might consist of the teacher "giving a lecture," or might be as mild in tone as kidding. Counseling of an unspecified nature was also reported.

Punishments of various sorts were frequently administered. Paddling was not reported many times, however. A few teachers reported efforts to forestall difficulties by a firm control over the child's behavior.

A considerable number of teachers reported passing on their problems to other persons or agencies. In some cases, this doubtless meant that some one else was given the task of administering punishment in place of the teacher.

Positive attempts to deal with problems by class or group activities, or even by showing personal interest and kindness, were reported much less frequently than the procedures already mentioned.

Finally, in a few instances, teachers reported trying to ignore problems, presumably in the hope that if ignored they would disappear.

The following comments are based, not upon quantitative data, but upon the interviews with the teachers, in which they revealed their

TABLE 28

METHODS REPORTED BY 275 TEACHERS IN DEALING WITH PROBLEMS OF
FIFTY-FIVE DELINQUENT SUBJECTS

Method	Frequency
Talking with children	
Counseling and lecturing	80
Begging, coaxing, kidding	19
Administration of punishment	
Paddling	18
Other punitive methods	68
Firm, rigid control	13
Referral to another authority	
Principal	25
Homeroom teacher	17
Home visitor	9
Treatment through class or group activities	33
Showing interest and kindness	28
Ignoring subject	16
Total number of reports	336

reactions to the conduct problems presented by the subjects.

The teachers called attention to other factors which influenced them, in addition to the actual behavior itself; e.g., such factors as the age, intellect, grade, and social maturity level of the children in the class and school; the philosophy and policies of the school; the personality and emotional needs of the teacher; and the cultural area of the school. The total adjustment needs of the child had less bearing upon the methods used in meeting the problems.

The welfare of the group or class was often of primary concern to the teachers when they reacted to the subjects. Practically all of the teachers were concerned about the great amount of time the delinquent child took which the other children could have been using profitably. This often caused the teachers to use harsher methods of management than they wished to use with the subjects.

The effect of the subjects' behavior upon the group and the effects of the teachers' own methods of treatment upon the total class group were of greater concern to the teachers than the effects the treatment had upon the individual offender. For example, if the teacher felt that the group wanted and expected him to react in a certain way to the offender's conduct, he generally felt that he must do so. In some cases, teachers felt that in order to impress the group with their fairness and impartiality, they should behave in a certain way toward the delinquent in the classroom. Several felt that to show an attitude of acceptance toward the delinquent was to appear to condone his offensive behavior in the presence of the group. The teachers sometimes felt

bound to apply the punishments which the class anticipated. Teachers' own emotional reactions to specific behavior problems, and teacher assistance to delinquents seemed often to be determined by the pupil group.

It may be noted in this connection that the subjects, in their interviews, confirmed the general finding that the pupil group influenced the teachers' reactions to the subjects. The conflicts were notable that existed between the delinquent and so-called "favorite pupils" who took names, ran errands, or recited or dominated more than others in the class. Whether attitudes of the pupil leaders in the class toward the delinquent were factors in the teachers' methods of treating delinquents' conduct problems was not determined, but the delinquent often felt that the teacher was reacting to him in a certain way because he wanted to court favor of the class leaders and stars.

The methods of discipline used by parents in certain cultural areas seemed to influence, to a great degree, the methods used by school personnel in those areas. While this factor was not a focus of this study, some teachers voluntarily offered explanations for their own use of parental methods; e.g., "Punishment has no other meaning for this child than paddling and severity." Another pertinent statement was, "These pupils in this area would chase you from the school if you did not use the brutal force to control them that they have been used to."

Certain pressures upon teachers affected their treatment of the subjects. Such pressures included large classes, lack of free periods during the day, extra-curricular duties, classes heavily populated with

problem or unadjusted pupils, and the requirements of achievement tests or other criteria of class achievement.

Some teachers stated pointedly that they had to prepare their class groups for certain pending tests, and they could not have the whole group retarded by the one offender who was not learning anyway.

In the writer's judgment, one factor that seemed to exert a strong influence upon the teacher's methods of treating the problems of these children was the teacher's own personality. Such aspects of personality as maturity, emotional and social adjustment, enthusiasm for the interest in his work, and his own general outlook influenced his methods of handling the children. Those teachers who had had specialized experience in handling delinquents, as in case of group work, or in institutions, were less disturbed by the delinquents' conduct.

Especially outstanding in their methods of handling the problems of these children were six teachers who were participating in the child-study program of the city school system. Regardless of pressure, they made certain characteristic approaches to child behavior. Every one of them had no free periods and their classes were as large as the classes of any teacher in their schools. They appeared to have as many individual problem children in their classes and as many pending achievement tests for which to prepare. Four were teaching in cultural areas where parental methods of discipline were severe, yet they were calmer and less disturbed about children's problems than many other teachers. Their total approach was different. All six of these teachers

talked in terms of diagnosing and meeting the basic needs of the children and tended not to stress the symptomatic conduct behavior of the child except in terms of how it related to deeper causes of his conflicts and problems. Every one of these six teachers was well liked by those subjects of the study who were taught by them. An attempt to analyze the particular procedures of these six teachers in dealing with the subjects did not reveal that they used any one or two of the approaches noted in Table 27 or 28. Rather, each teacher used a variety of techniques, but based them upon an understanding of the etiology of the delinquent behavior and a good personal relationship with the subjects.

Dynamic factors in teachers' methods of treating adjustment needs.--- Three case reports are given to show how the foregoing findings function in a dynamic situation. The way the subject's problem appeared to the teacher, his feelings about the problem in relation to the subject and to other problems and responsibilities with which he was faced are brought out in the case reports. The children's feelings about teachers' reactions to their problems and about the methods used by the teachers are also reported.

Mark (Case 14) was presented in Chapter V as the most rejected child in his class because of his stealing and trading with children. Following are accounts of the handling by teachers of this child's problems. This presentation shows the many reactions that teachers made to one child in a school situation. Other dynamic factors influencing teachers' reactions appear in the case discussion.

Mark (Case 14: C.A. 11-4, M.A. 11-2, I.Q. 99, Grade 5).-- The following is a verbatim excerpt from an interview with Mark's homeroom teacher:

Q. Of the problems he has presented at school which do you consider the most serious?

A. Stealing. He took everything that was not nailed down; persisted from kindergarten throughout. Truancy was also serious.

Q. What methods did you use in treating these more serious problems?

A. Talked to him on each occasion. He had no business in a normal group. He took things from people every day. He took too much of my time too.

Q. What other problems has he presented in the classroom or in school?

A. It took so much time to settle things. He just wasted teachers' time when they should have been teaching the whole class.

Q. How did you treat these problems?

A. Talked, talked, talked; took all my time.

Q. What assistance has the school or have you tried to give this child in his personal-social adjustment?

A. Talked. Settled all of his stealing. He took too much time. You couldn't organize him into benefiting from your help.

Q. What other provisions have been made through the school for this child's welfare (referrals to social agencies, personnel workers in schools)?

A. Referred him to Psychological Services and later to Juvenile Court.

Miss _____ [his mathematics teacher] likes us all the same, the bad and good alike...She ain't as rough on you as Miss _____ is."

The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the baffling nature of the conduct of many delinquents, as most teachers view it. The only teacher who seemed not to have felt frustrated in dealing with Mark was his first and second grade teacher, who "reached out to him," as she said. It seems likely that she was the only teacher who reacted to his basic needs rather than to his symptomatic behavior.

Mark's comments on his various teachers show his own sensitivity to the differences in teacher attitudes and approaches. His mathematics teacher, who said she had tried to humiliate him, nevertheless made him understand that she liked him. His social studies teacher, who thought she had been motherly and sympathetic, actually was regarded by Mark as rejecting him.

The quotations from the interview with the homeroom teacher clearly suggest rejection. She especially resented the time she had to give to Mark. Her implication that he did not deserve her time may be contrasted with the attitude of the mathematics teacher, as described by Mark: "Miss _____ likes us all the same, the bad and good alike."

Erma, who was a special-class pupil, felt that her homeroom teacher had been totally unfair to her. The feelings of the teacher are contrasted with those of Erma in the following discussion. While the teacher's reaction to Erma may not have been wise, they are not difficult to understand.

Mark's teacher of language arts and social studies said that the boy was so utterly indifferent that he wanted no education; he just wanted to get everything the easy way. He was impulsive and wanted money for the feel and power of it. She said she had talked to Mark in a motherly, sympathetic way to get him to confess his stealing, but he was so utterly indifferent that most of the time she "just let sleeping dogs lie."

The mathematics teacher said that indifference, lack of pride, no sense of guilt over errors, and no need for achievement were some of his problems. She said, "Several times I tried to humiliate him. That was no good either, it did not reach him." She also tried to motivate him, she stated, through personal talks, "but that did no good either."

The crafts teacher had found Mark "antagonistic and defiant. He never wanted to follow rules. He would not stay after school, only when the boys were after him. He never stole from me, but was indifferent and didn't care. He had the idea he was afraid of no teacher... With me the problem was his taking things home before they were finished. I would send him home after them. I never could appeal to him. I tried every way, talking or paddling two or three times."

The art teacher said, "Sometimes things disappeared. I just waited until they showed up again. I never caught him taking anything. I punished him for coming in late a time or two." His lack of interest in his work, smirking, and lack of motivation were the most serious problems he presented. This teacher talked to Mark and had him make up his work. She felt that personal counseling was the greatest help she gave Mark in his personal and social adjustment.

The music teacher had faced truancy and indifference with Mark during the two years she taught him. She explained, "I usually do personal counseling with these problem cases - I rarely ever paddle... but don't have time to reach these children. There are too many of them...One needed plenty of time to work with that boy."

Mark's first-grade teacher also taught him in the second grade. In discussing her treatment of his stealing and attention seeking, she said, "He would never come to me, so I reached out to him. He was delighted at the recognition. He liked me because he never stayed out of school...He never could let himself go long enough to come up to me. He was not timid, was more withdrawn. He stopped stealing before the end of that year, in first grade."

Mark was not resentful about the methods his teachers had used in disciplining him. However, he did feel that "kids should not be beat for listening to another kid talk... Miss _____ [his social studies teacher] beats you for listening whether you are talking or not...and she won't finish reading us stories cause she says we're mean...Now

Erma (Case 29: C.A. 13-2, M.A. 10-0, I.Q. 76, Grade Special).--
 Erma's teachers said she was presenting problems of stealing, sullenness, defiance and sex delinquency. She said Erma discussed her sex experiences with the girls. Erma also told her homeroom teacher about her sex experiences but reported to the court worker that the teacher had "picked" her about her sex experiences. "When Erma refused to take her hat off in the lunchroom one day," the teacher reported, "I had to take it off her head and then I put it in the garbage can as punishment. Erma tried to attract every man in school." The teacher talked to Erma, sent her to the principal's office and tried to give her as much attention as possible. She also worked with the juvenile court. She reported that she had to isolate Erma from the other children because of her bad influence on them.

The physical education teacher said Erma was "loud mouthed, domineering, and used vile language...She is a serious sex problem because she talks sex to other girls... She truanted a great deal. I simply called her down."

Erma said, "Our teacher says we are 'nuts' and I just said to myself - she ain't fer from it, she acts silly like she ain't got a bit of sense. If my teacher wasn't so mean to me I would pass. When teachers make me mad I won't do nothing...when the teacher is mean I'm mean too, 'cause she don't appreciate it if you are good." Erma said she would not eat at school, " 'cause teachers grudge every bite you eat. They look right in your mouth every bite you eat, I can't eat when anybody is grudging you. I told another teacher that my teacher ought not to be asking me what I done with boys and she told my homeroom teacher and when I came in she made me sit in the corner with my face to the wall and said she would tell what she wanted to." Erma claimed that her teacher had compelled her to tell the other teachers about her sex experiences. The court worker confirmed Erma's complaint in the court investigation. Erma related, "Too much is too much, it hurts my feelings every time I have to talk about it (sex experiences). It gets on my nerves every time I have to talk about it...Lord, I hate that teacher. She goes like this, shaking her head with her nose up in the air. If they would do us right, I would do them right. If anybody is mean to me, I am mean too. They think we kids ain't got good sense. They will hit you anywhere with that paddle, even in the face."

Erma's case shows an extreme conflict existing between a teacher and child. The nature of Erma's problems was partly the basis for this conflict, since the teacher was obviously unprepared to handle this kind of problem. The court worker verified that the homeroom teacher had asked Erma to discuss her sex experiences with other teachers. The

teacher's strong resentment of Erma was shown when she put Erma's hat in the garbage can. Erma talked quite frequently, releasing considerable hostility toward the school, especially toward her homeroom teacher, by whom she felt greatly mishandled. Erma's attitude, clearly of cultural origin, that teachers "grudge" one when they look in one's mouth while eating intensified the conflict.

The discussion between the teachers of Erma's sex experiences caused some conflict between the court and the school. A case worker from the court openly criticized the homeroom teacher for making gossip out of information that should have been treated in confidence. Social agencies sometimes withhold certain intimate information about children from schools because of misuse of the information. In this instance, the homeroom teacher probably directed towards Erma some of the resentment that she herself felt at the criticism of the case worker.

Lana (Case 30) was one of the truancy cases that the school and court together could not force to attend school. No one knew the source of this rebellion against school. Lana faced two extreme types of reactions by teachers when she presented problems, because she displayed two opposite personalities in the school situation, one to men teachers, the other to women teachers.

Lana (Case 30: C.A. 14-9, M.A. 13-9, I.Q. 97, Grade 8).--- It was agreed by psychologists and the psychiatrist who studied Lana that her father was responsible for her hostile attitude toward men teachers. The father lived with his second wife and young stepson in comparative luxury on the street where Lana and her mother were living in great deprivation. He never kept promises to Lana but was quite attentive to the stepson.

The homeroom teacher (woman) said, "She was never impudent to me. She was indifferent toward achievement. I never understood her. She

was nice to me, but ugly to men teachers. She was a serious attendance problem. For this, I referred her to the principal and the attendance department. I had many little talks with her, too, about her absences ... I liked the girl and wanted to help her."

The music teacher (another woman teacher) said, "She was not troublesome....I had no other problem but truancy with her."

The homeroom teacher (also a woman) in the new school situation said of Lana, "She is very pleasant, has a nice manner, is clean. Attendance is her only problem. The latter teacher had talked to Lana about her truancy and finally referred her to the home visitor. She stated, "I would like to have spent more time with her. I could have gotten closer to her."

The arithmetic teacher in her former school, (a man), said that Lana was "defiant, very impudent and talked back. I can't see any good in that girl. She could find more ornery ways to react than anyone I ever saw. She was disobedient, insolent, and would come in the room set for trouble. She was the most obnoxious person I ever saw. She was so nasty and downright cussed. I never saw anything that girl wanted to do but create trouble. I can't help anybody like that. As treatment? I put her out of the room and was glad to get rid of her. I was too busy to fool with her."

The physical education and health teacher, a man, said, "Lana was definitely antagonistic. She tried to organize sub-groups against the teachers and was openly defiant. She had a chip on the shoulder about race. She felt picked upon racially. Her group behavior was very poor." The physical education teacher reprimanded Lana and kept her after school. He reported "She was so resentful, making faces, and so on, that I finally had to exclude her from gym."

The male art teacher, who was generally popular with children, had the following to say about Lana: "She would never finish a drawing. She was not so teachable, and was absent a great deal. She was rather anti-social. She withdrew to the back of the room and had a tendency to flare up and sulk when crossed. She had a sullen chip-on-shoulder feeling. She was cocky when called down, resented authority in every way, but she could be squelched. She wanted to do everything her way. I help up her drawing in class to try to stimulate her. I tried to interest her in art, tried to commend her, but she was sullen in response. I would like to have made friends with her and to have gotten her to produce better since she had real art ability. I wanted to give her more recognition. She seemed unhappy as a whole."

Lana said the worst trouble she had given at school was truancy. She did not know why she did not like school. She liked to go while attending her first school. Her kindergarten and fourth grade teachers had been her favorite ones, "because they were nice to me."

Lana's case shows how children's attitudes toward their parents may be transferred to the school situation. Lana irritated her men teachers in various ways. A possible interpretation is that she was attempting to discover whether all men were as rejecting and cold as her father. The teachers were the other men in her world and therefore were providing Lana with the picture she was to establish of the typical male. She was, no doubt, able to verify the impression given by her father, because the men teachers also tended to reject her when she offended. The art teacher, to be sure, was aware that Lana was unhappy, but he lacked the relationship skills to make friends with her. If Lana could have formed a friendly relationship with her art teacher, a difference might have been made in her school adjustment, and also in her general outlook on life.

Statements by principals and adjustment personnel.--- Principals were asked the following questions pertaining to the personal and social adjustment of the subjects:

1. What problem have you as an administrator faced with this child?
2. What method have you used to deal with him?
3. What assistance has the school tried to give this child in his personal and social adjustment?

In those schools which had personnel like counselors who primarily were responsible for the personal and social adjustment of pupils, the writer was referred to them to discuss the problems which subjects had presented to the administrative offices.

The problems that principals or the office faced with the

subjects are reported in Chapter VI. As reported in Chapter I, the fifty-five subjects had attended thirty-two different schools. Eight subjects had attended two different schools each, all of which were visited. Principals and assistant principals themselves made fifty of the administrative reports regarding the subjects. Thirteen of the children were not known by their principals, and the writer was referred to other school personnel, such as counselors and a psychologist, for information regarding the problems the subjects presented. Three children were not known by any office personnel at all. Fourteen interviews were held with counselors, eight of which provided sole information regarding administrative methods and efforts used with the subjects of the study. On six children both counselors and principals provided information. On two cases a school psychologist (attached to the school) provided the sole information regarding problems of subjects faced by the office and the methods of dealing with these problems. The method that principals and their administrative assistants reported that they had used to deal with the problems of the subjects are given in Table 29 under the heading, "Special Problems." The assistance that principals and their assistants reported giving to subjects in their personal and social adjustment is presented in Table 29 under the heading, "General Adjustment." On the whole, the principals and assistant personnel seemed to be more active in meeting general adjustment needs than they were in handling specific problems that arose among the children. In both instances talking and counseling were the most commonly employed techniques. Punishment was the next most frequently used method of dealing with the

TABLE 29

METHODS REPORTED BY PRINCIPALS AND ADJUSTMENT PERSONNEL FOR DEALING WITH PROBLEMS AND AIDING ADJUSTMENT OF FIFTY-FIVE DELINQUENT SUBJECTS

Method	Special Problems	General Adjustment
Talking with children		
Counseling and lecturing	28	33
Administration of punishment		
Paddling	9	3
Suspension	6	5
Other punitive methods	6	4
Constant supervision	2	
Provision of physical welfare services	3	3
Gave Christmas toys		1
Work directly with child on special problems	2	2
Work with family	9	11
Conferences with parents, teachers, special service personnel, and children	3	
Referral to special school services		
Home visitor	8	13
Psychological services	2	2
Visiting teacher	1	1
Referral outside of school		
Transferred to other school	2	2
Referred to Juvenile Court	4	14
Referred to Youth Aid Bureau	1	
Referred to other outside agencies		3
Total Number of Reports	86	97

problems of subjects, but was used less frequently than referrals to Juvenile Court or parental conferences in treating the general adjustment needs of the subjects. Family contact was employed less often than were referrals to special school services or to Juvenile Court and other outside agencies. The principals reported paddling as the most common type of punishment for conduct problems, but this treatment was used less often to meet general adjustment needs. The home visitor was used more frequently than any other personnel representing special school services. One of the reasons for this practice is no doubt due to the high rate of truancy among the children studied. Only four principals had actually referred these subjects to the Juvenile Court when specific problems had been created by them. However, fourteen principals had been working with the Juvenile Court on the general adjustment needs of the subjects. The Juvenile Court and the schools have more recently worked out a plan of mutual reporting of cases that should increase their cooperation.

When methods used by principals of coping with adjustment problems of subjects were compared with those used by counselors and deans only one notable difference was revealed. The counselors did not tend generally to use punitive methods. In only one case did a counselor report punishing a child. The principals and assistant principals reported using counseling as often as did the counselors. No investigation was made of the skills and specific techniques that went into the various counseling procedures that were so frequently employed. In other words, the quality of counseling by each group was not analyzed.

Dynamic factors in the treatment of adjustment needs by principals.--- The following brief case reports are presented to illustrate the problems faced by the principals and other adjustment personnel, and the methods employed by them or their reactions to subjects in meeting their adjustment needs.

Judy (Case 6: C.A. 15-10, M.A. 10-11, I.Q. 79, Grade 8).--- Judy was considered one of the most serious problems in her school because she consumed more time of the administration than any other child. The principal had had to deal with such problems with her as gossiping, fighting, agitating, creating street fights, defiance, refusal to comply with simple rules, refusal to bring materials, truancy, vulgarity and coarseness, and association with married men. He used the following methods in dealing with Judy: corporal punishment, letters to her mother, detention at school, and suspension. Judy continued to be a very serious behavior problem.

Not all the principals reacted so negatively to the subjects. Certain cases in which the principal took positive steps to meet the deeper needs of the subjects are mentioned in Chapters IV and VII.

Barbara (Case 12: C.A. 11-7, M.A. 8-6, I.Q. 73, Grade 4).--- Barbara had been counseled by her principal because she played truant and was a sex delinquent. The principal had said that many times she could not bear to talk to Barbara when she came up voluntarily to talk, because "She always smelled like onions." Barbara said she went often to tell the principal how children were teasing and making fun of her, and the principal "Would throw up her hand in front of her face and say 'go away, please.' "

Jack (Case 19: C.A. 13, M.A. 12-2, I.Q. 94, Grade 6).--- Jack's principal paddled him once or twice and sent him home once for refusing to take "swats." He reported, "Jack was not much of a problem in the school but got into so much stealing and things outside of school... One time he was disorderly in gym class." The principal also reported that he went home once with Jack to settle his stealing of cigarettes in an A. and P. store near the school. "The mother was not so cooperative, however," he reported.

Statements by subjects.--- The children were asked the following questions pertaining to the methods used by principals and teachers for meeting their adjustment needs:

1. In what other ways has school helped you to get along better with people or to be happier?
2. What are some of the things that your school could do to make you get along better with the other children at school?
3. Have you sometimes talked your troubles over with teachers, principals, or others at school? With whom? When? About what?
4. What things (or other things) have you wanted to talk over with your teacher, principal, or others?
5. Why did you not tell them?
6. What was the last trouble you had at school?
7. Why did you do this?
8. What did the teacher do?
9. What did the principal do?
10. Did you feel that this was fair? Why?
11. What other trouble have you had at school?
12. What do you think is the most serious trouble you gave at school? Why?

Twenty-four of the subjects related ways that the school had helped them to get along with people or to be happier. Twenty-three subjects said they had received no such help from the school. Eight of the children said they did not know how the school had helped them in this way. Some children related more than one way that they had received this help. Eighteen of the statements made by the twenty-four subjects pertained specifically to training in social skills. Eleven referred to getting along with people and learning ways of being friendly. Four stressed moral concepts they had learned and three felt that their general personality development had been helped by school.

experiences. Six statements pertained to subject matter or general education. One child reported the welfare service given to his mother and himself, and another felt that having the opportunity to consult one of his teachers confidentially when he had such questions was the greatest help the school had given him along this line. The most common statements pertained to specific ways of getting along with others: "Principal tells us not to steal and talks about friendship;" "Tells us about not fighting and being friends;" "Help you understand each other;" "Teachers tell us how to talk to others;" "Learn to mind own business;" "Teaches you how to play together." The statements involving moral training were: "Teacher tells us how to be good;" "Principal tells us not to steal;" "Learn me right from wrong and how to help people who need help;" "Built up my character." Typical of statements made about general personality development was, "Teaches us manners."

Those statements which implied that the general training and education they had received had been most valuable in helping them to get along with people were: "Teach me things I don't know;" "I need education to get a good job;" and "Science cleared up much for me."

The children's statements regarding ways the school could help them get along better with other children further revealed their strongly felt need for better social skills. Ten children felt that the school could do nothing to help them get along better with children. Seven thought they were getting along suitably. Two said teachers could do no more, and one did not know what they could do. Thirty-five gave

a variety of ways the school could help them understand each other and get along well together. Of these children, four felt that teachers' own attitudes should first be improved. Learning to avoid and settle fights, learning to like each other and play together and to understand and get along with other races, getting acquainted and adjusting in a new school, reporting to parents, and classroom seating for better adjustment were problems with which they felt that school could help. Half of the children felt that school help could best be administered through control and punishment, and the other half described a more positive approach through guidance.

Some of the statements which pertained to control and punishment were: "Send us to principal's office;" "Make us make up when we fight;" "Keep kids from laughing at me;" "Make 'em quit fighting;" "Spank kids for fighting;" "Don't let crabby people sit together." Some of those statements which suggested more positive techniques were: "Tell us to play well together;" "Help races get along;" "Talk to us when we get in fusses;" "Tell us to make friends with new boys;" "Introduce us to new kids;" "Have clubs at school;" "Talk to our mothers about us."

Thirty-one children reported that they had never talked over their troubles with teachers. Only three children reported talking about school work alone in their most confidential talks with teachers. Twenty-one subjects had discussed topics pertaining to family relationships and conflicts, physical needs, and sex problems. These findings are discussed more fully in Chapter VIII under "pupil-teacher relationships."

All but fourteen of the children said they had wanted to talk over their troubles with teachers, especially regarding parental relationship, personal conflicts, and subject matter. Those who found it impossible to talk over troubles with teachers gave such reasons as: "They won't listen, are not interested;" "Told principal and she said, 'go way!';" "They are too busy, would be imposing;" "Afraid to ask them." See Chapter VIII for fuller discussion.

The children reported the latest trouble they gave at school and how the teachers and principals reacted to these individual episodes. Table 30 is a verbatim account of each child's report. This type of report shows to some extent the child's view toward his problems and his impressions of the reactions of teachers and principals. It also shows to some extent how certain dynamic factors tend to operate in the problem situation of these delinquents in the school situation.

All but two discussed some problem that he had had at school. All but ten of the problems involved some type of aggression. Aggressive behavior included fighting in eighteen of the cases; truancy and attendance, in fifteen cases; and in one case each, stealing, defiance, breaking into the school, talking in class, cheating, smoking in school, destruction of property, and running into the street when playing. There were four other problems that involved attendance, although the children had not openly refused to attend school. One child reported watching a fight which he enjoyed, one complained of "kids making fun of me," one said that his teacher fussed and created trouble, and only one had faced an achievement problem, according to reports.

TABLE 30

LATEST TROUBLE EACH DELINQUENT HAD AT SCHOOL AND TREATMENT GIVEN BY TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS:
REPORTED IN WORDS OF SUBJECTS *

Case Number	Latest Trouble Delinquent Gave	What Teacher Did	What Principal Did
1	Hit Jean for throwing water in my shoes.	Swatted us.	Did not know it.
2	Ran out in street while playing catehers.	Swatted us.	Did not know it.
3	Left school without permission, bored, upset; Mama fussing.	Nothing	Dean gave me 6 D.T.'s.
4	Almost got in a fight over a rope.	Didn't know it.	Didn't know it.
5	Skipped school: late, sick, came home.	Made me stay one hour and fifteen minutes after school.	Stay after school.
6	I wouldn't let T. whip me cause I was not talking.	Made me write 50 times.	Talked and sent me back to room. Suspended me.
7	Accused of stealing from locker; I didn't.	Reported me.	Suspended me.
8	Watching a fight, I like to see fights.	Made us write one hour.	Told us to keep our hands off boys.
9	Making up work I missed while in Detention Home.	Offered to help.	Offered help, did not mention my trouble.
* T., teacher; H.R.T., Homeroom teacher; D.T., Detention; J.C., Juvenile Court; Y.A.B., Youth Aid Bureau.			

TABLE 30
(Continued)

Case Number	Latest Trouble Delinquent Gave	What Teacher Did	What Principal Did
10	Had a fight with Coston. He hit me and I hit him back.	Paddled us.	Did not know it.
11	No trouble at school	- - - - -	- - - - -
12	With kids everyday making fun of me.	Just tells 'em to stop when they don't.	Pushed me back and said, "Go way."
13	Skiping class; don't like T., He's so ugly.	H.R.T. said I should be punished.	Nothing.
14	Thought I stole \$1.00 yesterday.	Sent me to principal.	Said I ought to go back to Ky. where I belong.
15	Jesse hit me, I couldn't fight because his gang was there.	Nothing.	Did not know it.
16	Hockey, cause my brother and his friends threatened me.	Told principal.	Told mom.
17	Breaking in school.	Nothing.	Made us bring tools back, we had stole.
18	Hockey.	Nothing.	Sent for parents.
19	Fighting.	Swatted me, not other boy.	Did not know it.
20	Truancy; playing sick, I wanted to get out.	Did nothing.	Sent me to Juvenile Court.

TABLE 30
(Continued)

Case Number	Latest Trouble Delinquent Gave	What Teacher Did	What Principal Did
21	Hockey; did not want to go to school.	Made me stay after school.	Made me make up work.
22	Talking in art, everybody talking.	Made me stay after school.	Told teacher to send me to office next time.
23	Was quitting school. Tired of school.	Sent truant officer after me.	Truant officer.
24	Cheating in spelling. Wanted good grade.	Talked loud about me in front of other boys; one half of 'em cheat anyway.	Did nothing.
25	No trouble.	- - - - -	- - - - -
26	Ran away from home. Dad beats me.	H.R.T. transferred me to school.	Did not know it.
27	Fighting; I dropped a dime and boy claimed it.	Took us to principal.	Paddled us.
28	Me and some boy fighting. I slapped him.	Did not know it.	Did not know it.
29	Fighting with a girl. She laughed at me.	Did not know it.	Did not know it.
30	Truancy: just don't like school.	Reported to home visitor, to J.C. and Y.A.B.	Nothing.

TABLE 30
(Continued)

Case Number	Latest Trouble Delinquent Gave	What Teacher Did	What Principal Did
31	T. punished me, thought I was playing sick. Mother got Dr.'s statement.	Left to principal.	Made me sit in hall every day for two weeks at recess.
32	Boy called me a "S.B." and hit me, I hit him back.	Nothing.	Said he'd use swats next time.
33	Fighting.	Swatted me.	Told T. to swat me.
34	Fighting; we say "upsies" for candy, she pushed me, we fought.	Stopped us.	Did not know it.
35	Expelled last year sister and I were running and screaming in hall.	Told her to go climb a tree. She told principal.	Expelled us both.
36	Fighting and running away.	Paddled me.	Did not know it.
37	(Conflict with principal) about my work certificate.	Did nothing.	Would not give me right papers.
38	Suspended, fussing because girls said I had a disease.	Sent us to Principal's office.	Suspended us until parents returned with us.
39	Fighting with a sissy.	Stopped it.	Did not know it.
40	Marked on Botany blocks. "Kilroy was here."	Sent us to Office.	Paddled us.

TABLE 30
(Continued)

Case Number	Latest Trouble Delinquent Gave	What Teacher Did	What Principal Did
41	Fighting some boy	Did nothing.	Made me stay out of gym my free periods; didn't make him stay out.
42	I was sick, teacher sent for Father, thought I was playing hooky.	Said she was sorry.	Nothing.
43	Three of us fighting some boy.	T. gave us beatings.	'Nuffin.
44	Fighting a girl.	Nothing.	Gave us swats.
45	Got mixed up on bells and was tardy.	Gave me D.T.	Nothing.
46	Smoking in basement, some boy snitched.	Did nothing.	Sent me home for not taking swats.
47	Tardy, came without any work, left a book home.	Sent me to office.	Gave me 2 swats.
48	Skipped a bell to cash in defense stamps.	Nothing.	Made me make up time after school.
49	I went in cloak room and started sawing.	Cracked me.	Did not know it.
50	Stayed out so much. Did not feel like going.	Sent to Dean of Girls.	Dean talked I didn't like her.
51	Fighting, girl called me and mommy a whore.	Whipped us.	Wasn't there. Would have beat my b--- off.

TABLE 30
(Concluded)

Case Number	Latest Trouble Delinquent Gave	What Teacher Did	What Principal Did
52	Hookey. Just didn't want to go.	Sent me to Dean to get back to school.	Dean gave me 6 D.T.'s.
53	Teacher fussing, just about anything.	Never punished me though.	Never punished me.
54	Playing hookey to get a job.	Reported me to truant officer.	Talked and encouraged me to stay in and graduate.
55	Truancy. Friends were older and out of school.	Reported to home visitor.	Conference with home visitor and teacher.

According to the children's reports, the methods used by teachers and principals were considerably different from those reported by the teachers and principals themselves. These differences cannot readily be accounted for, since both groups reported essentially the same type of problems that were being presented by subjects. According to the children's reports a greater variety of methods were used by the principals than by teachers. There was a tendency for many teachers to leave the treatment to principals or deans, according to children. In twelve cases children reported that teachers did nothing about the problem they presented, apparently because the principal was handling it. In all twenty cases where a principal did nothing about an offense, it was apparently because the teacher had handled the problem and not reported it to him (in thirteen cases), or that he had felt that the problem had been adequately treated by the teacher (seven cases). The problems were handled primarily by the teacher or the principal. In only four cases did both make some definite reaction to the subject for a single problem.

Nine subjects reported that teachers had swatted them for their behavior while only four reported paddling by principals. Four reported that teachers had kept them after school, and four had been kept in by principals. Four subjects said principals had talked to them, one had been threatened with swats, one reprimanded, and two humiliated and openly rejected by principals. Two children told of being reprimanded and humiliated by teachers, one complained of a teacher fussing, and another said a teacher apologized to him. One said his teacher had offered help

to him in making up work. Principals had suspended five subjects from school or class according to them. Four teachers had referred children, they reported, to home visitors for truancy while only one reported this procedure being used by a principal. Two teachers were said to make the children write fifty or more times as punishment, and another teacher transferred a child to another school. Children reported that two principals and no teachers had discussed problems with parents, and one principal had compelled children to return tools to school which they had stolen. One principal had reputedly told a teacher to swat a child, and one had compelled a child to sit in the hall for two weeks. One child knew that his principal had conferred with his teacher and the home visitor about him.

Special resources for school treatment of personal and social adjustment of subjects.-- From the reports made by principals and teachers regarding their methods of meeting the personal and social adjustment needs of subjects was determined the resources used by them in meeting these needs. School personnel seemed to use two general types of services in aiding the personal and social adjustment of these subjects, namely, those established by the school system and others provided by the community outside of the schools. Special resources within the school system included services by counselors and deans in the junior and senior high schools, special classes and schools, attendance centers staffed with home visitors (truant officers) and visiting teachers (trained social workers), and psychological services which consisted of testing and diagnosing educational needs of school children.

Attached to the staff of one school was a psychologist who participated in the treatment of the problem pupils. Resources in the community used by the schools in aiding personal and social adjustment of subjects were the Juvenile Court, the Youth Aid Bureau, the Division of Public Assistance, and health clinics.

As reported in the preceding sections of this chapter, principals tended to use both school and community resources more often than teachers in meeting adjustment needs of subjects. However, the schools reported drawing heavily and intensively upon their own inner resources before requesting help from any source outside of the school building. This applied to special services within the school system as well as to community agencies. The various school services used by the classroom teachers, homeroom teachers, and principals in meeting the adjustment needs of the subjects are reported in Table 31. Most of the children had received a combination of adjustment services. Thirty-four of the children had been worked with by personnel in their respective schools without assistance of special school services. In some of these thirty-four cases, however, help had been sought from outside agencies. The combination of services given the subjects varied from school to school. In some instances principals and teachers worked together on cases; in others, the services were given by deans and teachers, and deans (or counselors) and principals. In only five cases had teachers performed the sole adjustment service to the child. In all, these services were greatly overlapping, with little clearing among personnel as to procedures, techniques, goals, or areas of responsibility. These practices revealed poor economy

TABLE 31

ADJUSTMENT SERVICES USED BY SCHOOL PERSONNEL IN AIDING PERSONAL AND
SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF FIFTY-FIVE SUBJECTS

Services	Number of Subjects
Adjustment services within school only (Exclusive of special school services)	34
Principal and teachers only worked with child	15
Dean (or counselors) and teachers only	7
Dean and principal	5
Teachers only	5
Psychologist (within school)	2
Special school services outside of own school:	14
Home visitors	13
Visiting teacher	1
Services within school plus outside agencies	17

of the time and efforts of personnel and were confusing to subjects and others involved in the case situations.

More contacts with community agencies were made by school personnel concerning these children than with special services provided by the school system. This condition may be accounted for by the fact that all fifty-five subjects were already known to the Juvenile Court at the time of study. The picture might be different if the services were evaluated for an unselected group of children in the schools.

The schools were tending to use various other schools as resources in their personal and social treatment of subjects. In Table 32 are presented special school placements which had been arranged as efforts toward meeting the needs of these subjects. Twenty-two of the fifty-five subjects had had such placements arranged for them. Twelve children had been sent to other schools primarily for better personal or social adjustment. Those schools receiving the children consisted of all-Negro schools, vocational schools, two neighboring schools, and one unit or special class designed for problem boys. Nine of the placements were made on the basis of learning ability, although the children had presented problems of adjustment in the schools. Four of this group were in a special school for slow learners, while the other five were attending special classes of one kind or another for slow learners. One child was attending a sight-saving class. Although the problems motivating special school placement were primarily of a personal and social nature and stemmed from deep-seated emotional needs of the subjects, only four of the twenty-two subjects were placed in classes especially designed to meet

TABLE 32

SCHOOL PLACEMENTS MADE AS EFFORTS TOWARD SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT OF
SUBJECTS BY SCHOOL PERSONNEL, PRIOR TO AND DURING THIS INVESTIGATION

Placement	Number of cases
On basis of adjustment	12
Transferred to an all-Negro school	3
Transferred to Fulton school Unit	3
Transferred to Vocational schools	4
Transferred to neighboring schools	2
On basis of ability	9
Special school for slow learners	4
Special classes (graded) in regular schools	3
Ungraded special classes in regular schools	2
On basis of physical handicap	1
Sight saving class	1
Total	22

such behavior needs. One class in the all-Negro school and the Fulton Unit class were designed for this purpose, and were attended by four subjects.

Analysis of provisions for personal and social adjustment.--

The following generalizations are suggested from the analysis of the methods used in the schools for aiding subjects in their personal and social adjustment:

1. Counseling and talking were the most commonly used techniques in the schools for aiding the delinquent child in his personal and social adjustment. These methods were used by principals, teachers, homeroom teachers, and deans and counselors, usually in combination with other methods. When a face-to-face discussion between the subject and the professional school worker is used in solving adjustment problems, it is vital that the professional person be thoroughly skilled in using this technique effectively if maximum results are to be expected.

2. Since the principal and teachers handled directly many more adjustment problems than were referred to specialized personnel, adjustment skills of all kinds were needed by teachers and principals. Also needed by teachers and principals is a knowledge of the resources providing adjustment services to children in the community. School personnel also need skills for working cooperatively with the agencies in the joint handling of these problems.

3. There seemed to be no differential responsibility between classroom teacher, homeroom teacher, and principal in the handling of adjustment problems, except that the principal made more outside contacts

with special services, agencies, and parents. This may mean that the case had reached more serious proportions when the principal became involved. Homeroom teachers made only a few outside contacts. It was evident, however, that some teachers were more skilled in handling adjustment problems than others who referred relatively minor problems to the principal's office, homeroom teacher, or dean for adjustment.

4. A variety of techniques involving both individual and group processes of treatment were used by both the homeroom and regular classroom teachers. However, more resourcefulness was often revealed in the classroom teachers' methods. The latter also tended to develop a more intimate relationship with some subjects.

5. School placement or transfer was used as an adjustment technique, but intelligence and other learning factors tended to influence this type of placement more than the basic adjustment problems and needs of the children.

6. Paddling, swatting, and suspension were resorted to by teachers and principals in handling adjustment problems, but were used secondarily to talking and counseling.

7. A limited amount of reassignment therapy was tried with delinquent subjects but such methods as psychodrama, play therapy, creative dramatics, sociodrama, bibliotherapy, and relationship therapy were not used.

8. Teachers served as the primary source of adjustment services to problem pupils. Yet evidence revealed that they had to be assisted by principals and other school personnel and in some instances by

community agencies in meeting the needs of the subjects. The teacher, who is initially exposed to the child's problems, should be especially skilled and informed in methods of detecting and meeting adjustment needs of pupils and should, moreover, be well informed on resources beyond the classroom both in and outside of the school system. Such early detection and treatment might offset development of serious problems in children.

9. When there is no goal directed plan or procedure in a school situation for meeting adjustment needs of problem children, limited progress, if any, can be expected in meeting these needs. The program becomes a "hit-or-miss" approach with no clear-cut objective or criteria of evaluation. There is considerable waste in energy, effort, and time by school personnel. Moreover, the child's conflicts are intensified by the inconsistency and varying attitudes of the methods used by the many personalities dealing with him. Since most schools cannot function so ideally that problems are prevented by, absorbed in, or channelized through good programming, some definite plan should be made to attack these problems most effectively when they arise. When five people are counselling a child on his problems, with some of these paddling him, others trying to show kindness or win his loyalty, and maybe no one really understanding his basic needs, more damage than help is likely to result for the problem child.

10. Because the Juvenile Court was using its own psychological clinic services on these cases, the clinical services of the schools were not used. This arrangement prevents an overlapping of clinical services

in the community. However, the school should make use of clinical information and services when available both in the school system and the community, for the purpose of gaining knowledge and skills in meeting the needs of the children. Clinic personnel in the school system and the community could serve as an excellent source of training school personnel in meeting these needs.

11. Placement in other schools sometimes facilitates the adjustment of a child who has become maladjusted in school. However, this procedure might contain considerable risk for the child as few schools are specially designed to cope with the special problems of the socially and emotionally maladjusted child. If the programs of all schools focussed upon meeting the basic needs of children, there might not be need for specially designed programs for this group.

Summary

Provisions made in the schools for the personal and social welfare, adjustment, and development of the subjects are evaluated in this chapter. Welfare services provided by the schools were primarily of a health and economic nature. The effectiveness of available welfare services in the schools was often lessened by the children's need to conceal his welfare needs, and a need for greater insight by teachers into these needs.

Principals, homeroom teachers, classroom teachers, deans, and counselors used a variety of methods in their efforts to aid the personal and social adjustment of the subjects. The most common method was counseling and talking, but evidence did not reveal that approaches were generally coordinated and planned in accordance with the child's needs or in conjunction with any long range goals of treatment. Such factors as the personalities and problems of the children, administrative organization and practices, parental attitudes, teachers' own personalities, attitudes, and skills affected the kinds of methods used in meeting needs in personal and social adjustment.

Good relationship skills and certain skills in guidance seemed to influence greatly a teacher's success in meeting personal and social needs of the delinquent children. A great amount of overlapping of efforts by teachers and other school personnel was found in most cases and in some cases no personal and social adjustment service at all was given because of school organization and undefined policies.

The subjects did not participate freely in activities provided

for their personal and social development because of their limited interests and abilities and their unadaptive personalities. However, the few who managed to participate in these activities found them meaningful and satisfying. Some teachers were eager to give personal help in school work to facilitate the child's adjustment and development. However, the personality problems of the children and the teachers' apparent lack of specialized skills tended to block these efforts by teachers.

Both special services in the city schools and community resources were used by school personnel in meeting personal and social adjustment needs. Casework agencies and other clinical services than the Juvenile Court were lacking among the reports of resources used.

CHAPTER VIII

RELATIONSHIPS OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL WITH SUBJECTS AND PARENTS

School adjustment of children is greatly affected by the kind of relationships which they and their parents form with school personnel. Prescott declares:

Clearly, personnel relationships are crucial in determining the influence which schools have upon developing personalities. Not only are persons the agents by which all sorts of educative experiences are guided and administered but the affective relationship between those persons and the pupils are powerful factors of satisfaction or frustration of personality needs. Teachers are not merely the machines by which educative experiences are made available to children. They are part of the active environment of the child. Children desire affection from them and acceptance by them. Many times, the intellectual aspects of school are secondary in importance to the personal relationship established or lost. Sensitiveness to this fact and appropriate consideration for children by school people are therefore imperative. (187: 273)

Although parents are the primary source of security for children, many parents are unable, because of some involvement in their own emotional lives or for other reasons, to provide their children with the emotional security they need. Therefore, the children look to other adults with whom they are thrown, and probably, most often to teachers, to provide this affection and warmth. This is especially true of the delinquent child. Teachers often find transferred to themselves the attitudes which were directed toward parents in earlier years. As stated by Percival Symonds, it sometimes seems quite incomprehensible to teachers that a child should wish to annoy, even harm them, when they feel nothing but good will toward him and have no wish but to help him learn and succeed. Rejected and hurt children often carry their concealed grudges

and aggressive impulses, "as though they were carrying about with them sticks of dynamite, which only wait to be touched off by some person who threatens their security still further." (228:174)

Parents of delinquent children are an important factor in the school adjustment made by these children. The parents' feelings and attitudes largely define the social climate of the homes in which their children live. In addition, the characteristics of the parents, like those of teachers and principals, exert a marked influence upon the quality and level of the home-school relationship. These factors often determine the freedom or reluctance with which a teacher or principal approaches a parent about their mutual interest in a child, as well as the eagerness, dread, or resistance with which the parent meets this approach. The way school people and parents feel about each other, the comfort or discomfort of each with the other, the warmth or rejection, the hostility or friendliness that pervade the relationships have as much bearing upon the quality and success of the home-school relationships as the paper-and-pencil plans mapped out by the school for a parent-education program. (255:415) Home-school relationships are evaluated in the present chapter because of their significance in the school adjustment of delinquent children.

An evaluation is made of the reports of teachers, principals, and the subjects regarding the relationships of the subjects with their teachers. Among the topics explored are the judgments of teachers and principals on the relationships of teachers with the subjects, the feelings of the subjects toward their teachers, and the reasons why they

like and dislike teachers. The parents' attitudes and cooperation with the school are also evaluated in terms of the reports of teachers, principals, and subjects.

Relationships between the Subjects and Their Teachers

Teachers' impressions of their relationships with subjects.--

The teachers of these subjects were asked to evaluate and describe their relationships with the subjects. One hundred seventy of the teachers felt that they had a good relationship with subjects, although they were facing serious problems in the classroom with them. Forty teachers thought their relationship was poor and twenty-eight reported a "fair" relationship with the children.

Statements given by teachers which implied a positive relationship with the subjects referred to the relationships as "pleasant," "amiable," "friendly," "agreeable," "confidential," and "cooperative," and included remarks such as, "I like her better than most of her type." Some teachers felt that they had a positive relationship with the children but despite this the children were unreliable. Some indicated that the children felt secure with them while others thought the relationship was good because the children were not too unpleasant.

Those statements implying a poor pupil-teacher relationship included such statements as, "I have to nag him too much;" "She is not friendly;" "Takes advantage of kindness;" "I'm accepting a hopeless situation;" "He gets on my nerves;" "Riles you up all time;" and, "He doesn't like me." There were many statements indicating the defiance revealed in earlier discussions of the study. Some statements indicated

laziness, withdrawing, and sullen behavior.

In schools where several teachers worked with one child, their relationships with the children tended to differ from teacher to teacher. However, eighteen subjects were reported to have a good relationship with all their teachers. The remaining thirty-seven subjects had good relationships with some and poor relationships with others of their teachers. None of the subjects was reported to have a poor relationship with all of his teachers. The above reports were somewhat confusing, since a large number of teachers had revealed considerable conflict with subjects and accompanying negative feelings upon the part of the teachers and subjects. The reports would, no doubt, have been more consistent with earlier reports if the questions asked of teachers had been more definitive.

Typical of reports made by teachers regarding their relationships with the subjects are the following: (Case 4) "Relationship good;" "She doesn't like me;" "Good," "I have to call her back from her funny books." Concerning another child (Case 45) teachers made the following reports: "Relationship is O.K.;" "Got on my nerves;" "Not belligerent;" "Not strained;" "Poor; sent him to office;" "Good." A teacher of Ronald (Case 41) said the relationship was poor "because he would not let me swat him."

In some cases it proved difficult for teachers to develop a good relationship with children who had very negative and colorless personalities. Even though such a child might be enjoying the relationship with his teacher, the teacher often felt frustrated and unsure that he was

reaching the child because he never showed any emotion. Ned (Case 49) was such a child. In this case the teacher was unconsciously fostering an expressionless attitude in Ned because he (the teacher) had told the pupils that he liked those children who did not "talk back" to him. Since Ned wanted urgently to be liked by the teacher, he was not going to run the risk of losing his affection by "talking back," or revealing too much of himself. Otherwise, this teacher had an excellent relationship with Ned, and was meeting his basic needs very well in the school situation.

Principals' impressions of teachers' relationships with subjects.--

The principals were asked how they thought the children rated in the affection of the teachers in comparison to their classmates. They varied in their reports, but were often unaware of the true relationship between the child and his teacher. There were twelve children for whom the principals felt that they did not know how the children rated. Nineteen of the children were rated lowest of any children in their class group in the affection of their teachers. Ten were rated as "average" by the principals, seven as "high," and seven as "fairly high." The principals felt that two could be rated as "good." Two were not in school enough to develop any kind of relationship. One girl (Case 30) rated "low" with men teachers and "high" with women teachers, according to her principal. One ten-year-old boy (Case 23) had attended two different schools. In the first school he and his teacher were regarded by the principal as having worked out a good relationship. In the second school, relationships were regarded as improved, "although

the boy does not accept the teacher whole-heartedly yet."

The following case is presented to illustrate a principal's report of a subject's relationship with her teacher. Although some principals were objective in judging such relationships, there seemed to be a tendency for principals to defend teachers when there were conflicts between the subjects and their teachers.

Erma (Case 29; C.A. 13-2, M.A. 10-0, I.Q. 76, Grade-Special).-- In describing Erma's relationship to her teacher, the principal said, "It is poor because she does not respond. She is always lying about teachers and trying to have something on them. For example, she asked me if teachers are allowed to slap you. The homeroom teacher did everything she could with Erma but had considerable conflict with the girl. She was a terrible trouble maker. She was impossible. She was always talking too freely about her experiences and blaming teachers for 'picking her.' She rated lowest in the affection of the teacher because it was her own fault." Likewise, the girl reported little affection for the teacher. The principal thought that the court worker was partly to blame for Erma's relationship with teachers, because the worker had questioned the teacher's right to interview the girl about her sex experiences, and discuss them with other teachers. The principal stated, "Workers criticize teachers for securing information from children but the school should know about children and it is just as important to the school to have this information as it is to social workers."

Severe hostility characterized the relationship that existed between Erma on the one hand and her teacher and principal on the other. The poor relationship was apparently caused to some extent by the limited skill of the teacher in diagnosis and therapy. Neither the principal nor she understood how to interview such a child or how to handle information that had so much emotional meaning for her. Although Erma was dull and had behaved in ways that were not approved, she nevertheless tried to maintain her feeling of self-respect and of being a worth-while individual. A damaging and destructive action that was approved by the principal was the putting in the garbage can of Erma's

hat by the teacher when she refused to remove it in the lunch room. Erma reported that she was always upset when she went to the lunch room because "The teachers looked right into your mouth when you ate there." This teacher and pupil were not meeting on common ground. There was no sign of a single positive element in their relationship. In this case the principal strengthened the barrier by identifying herself with the teacher against the child.

Also illustrated in this case is the conflict that arose with workers outside of the school who tended to identify themselves with the child. This outside-worker identification may have been damaging to the pupil-teacher relationship within the school, if the worker revealed to the child his feelings against the teacher or school. Principals felt that the court often caused some deterioration in their relationships with children who were sent to court for authoritative handling but "never received it." Such principals referred to the court as "insipid" and as "a laughing stock to police and principals." It is possible that these attitudes of school personnel toward the court may have been reflected in their relationship with those children considered "court cases," and especially with those who, they felt, had not received the treatment by the court that they deemed proper and adequate.

The following case is presented to show a positive relationship between a teacher and a very difficult subject. The principal knew that the relationship was good between this boy and his homeroom teacher, but was not sure of all the methods she had used to build this relationship. Actually she had put forth extensive effort with the boy and his family.

It was felt that her relationship with the boy was a reflection of the relationship she had been able to establish with his mother. The discussion of this case is continued in the following section of this chapter under the heading, Home-School Relationships.

Kelley (Case 39; C.A. 15-10, M.A. 10-10, I.Q. 73, Grade-Special).--
Kelley was in a slow learning class of an elementary school. The principal reported that practically all of the boys in his class presented problems. The principal felt that both of Kelley's teachers had a good relationship with him. He knew that Kelley had been apprehended for stealing but his teachers had not brought him to the office for problems in the school. He assumed that Kelley rated "good" in the affection of his teachers. The principal had talked now and then, to Kelley but did not consider him too serious a problem. Kelley's present homeroom teacher was his favorite of all the teachers he had ever had, because "She is fair to the class." He cleaned up and washed blackboards for Mrs. _____ so she would like him real well. He said, "She likes me pretty good, too." He said his teacher thought his mother "was a nice lady." He wanted his teacher to visit his home because "she is all right." He did not like another teacher he had had because "she was snotty sometimes." Kelley's present homeroom teacher had at one time discovered in his possession a number of combs, and at another time flashlights and other items which he had stolen. He never resented it when she called the hardware or other stores to arrange for him to return the stolen articles. She had swatted him in class a time or two "Because the boys in the class would rise up if she did not do it." She also worked with the mother and with Kelley's worker from Juvenile Court, called stores to return articles, and talked intensively to the boy. She had tried to help him improve his peer relationships. She would like to stop his stealing more than anything else. She had tried to get the Y.M.C.A. to take him but they refused to accept him because of the problems he had presented there on earlier occasions. The manual arts teacher said Kelley carried a grudge about a paddle, but it was necessary to paddle him at times for bullying and exploiting other children, especially smaller ones.

In the above case discussion are seen the intensive efforts that a teacher was employing in an attempt to meet a boy's needs. She felt that she had not been totally successful with him. However, she had convinced him that she liked him and his mother, and she had therefore established a good relationship with the boy. It is quite possible that this very relationship, the deep interest that the boy knew she had in

him, and the intensive character training that she gave him both in and outside of the classroom may have prevented a more serious pattern of delinquency.

Children's reports of pupil-teacher relationships.--- The children were asked in their interviews the following questions, designed to throw light on the subjects' own ideas of their relationships with their teachers:

1. Of all the teachers you have ever had, which one did you like best of all? Why?
2. Which teacher did, or do, you like least of all? Why?
3. What are some of the things that you do to make your teachers like you real well? (Each one)
4. Have you sometimes talked your troubles over with teachers, principals, or others at school? With whom? When? About what?
5. What other things have you wanted to talk over with your teacher, principal, or others?
6. Why did you not tell them?

Reasons which delinquents gave for liking their favorite teachers were related to the teachers' personalities and teaching methods. Traits in teachers that were liked by children included attitudes of kindness and tolerance, helpfulness, understanding of boys and girls, friendliness, good humor, fairness, patience, and calmness. Those traits mentioned that related directly to teaching techniques were clearness, honesty, and open-mindedness, and ability to "put subject matter across." A striking fact implied by many of the statements was the need of the

children to feel unrejected by the teacher. The emotional sensitivity of the group was quite notable. The list of reasons for liking favorite teachers appearing out of context of the total case picture would not be expected to be those of such an aggressive "fighting" group of children. Some of the children made such statements as the following: "He is like a father to me;" "She is like a mother to me;" "She is friendlier than the others." "She never whips nobody;" "She wanted me to come to her house;" "She lets us wash boards after school;" "She never hollered or got mad;" "She treated everybody fair." Some statements relating to teacher techniques were, "Takes time to help slow ones;" "Explained things to us;" "Is clear, lets you know what to expect, makes you understand."

When the statements of the subjects are reviewed to indicate the features that would make subjects like their teachers better, the need of the subjects for affection and security is again shown, together with the apparent search for it through teacher relationships. Most of the statements referred to attitudes of kindness, friendliness, helpfulness, fairness and calmness. A few statements related to the methods of teaching, e.g., "If she would teach us and not have us copying so much." (Case 25)

Objections to aggression in teachers were notable. This finding is in line with the reasons given by the children for not liking some of their teachers. Some of the reasons given for not liking teachers were, "She would holler at us;" "He fusses too much;" "He is mean;" "Is hateful;" "Hollers and screams;" "He whips me;" "Is bossy;"

"Argues and hollers;" "She beats kids;" "She slapped us around;" "She loses temper;" and "She swats you."

The children seemed to be sensitive about remarks made by teachers in the presence of the group. This sensitiveness was expressed as follows: "She makes smart cracks I don't like" and "She embarrasses you in front of the class." The subjects did not like nervousness in teachers. One child said, "She jumps every time she hears a noise, she is so nervous."

When children were asked what they did to make teachers like them, the most common answers were: "I obey;" "I do good work;" "I don't talk;" "I wash blackboards." Other statements involved doing favors for teachers like giving candy, picking up paper, running errands, putting coal on the fire, and washing the flag. Others felt that to be attentive and to "agree with her" were ways of earning teacher affection and approval. Others put forth special efforts not to be aggressive and disagreeable. One boy (Case 32) reported, "I don't cuss or nuttin' in school." One girl (Case 53) said, "I've tried every way but Miss _____ just don't like me."

When children reported troubles they had talked over with their teachers, thirty-one, or more than half, said "None." Most of the other subjects had talked over problems of a personal nature with teachers. Only three had talked over school work alone with their teachers. Most of the problems had to do with family relationships and conflicts, physical needs, family circumstances, and such parental conflicts as those reported by Case 20, "Mom and Dad's divorce and fighting over me."

Sex problems, such as "the nature of girls" and "my problems with girls," were also topics of confidential talks with teachers. One child (Case 31) chose to discuss problems that she said she "could not tell other people."

Problems the subjects wanted to talk over with teachers were also reported in the interviews. The feelings of the children were revealed in the following comments: "I wanted to talk to them about mother beating me;" "About stealing, I was afraid to tell mom, I wanted to get things off my chest;" "When I got into trouble I wanted to tell a good friend;" "About Mom and Dad fighting over me;" "About my troubles with my mother;" "About Dad beating me."

Some children wanted to talk over problems relating to classroom and subject matter but said they were afraid. Some of the children felt that their teachers were not genuinely interested but were just "nosey" and curious.

Fourteen, or one-fourth, of the children said that they did not want to talk over any problems with teachers. Two did not know what they wanted to talk over. Some children said they just did not care to talk to teachers about "personal things." It was notable that many children felt that teachers did not want to listen to them or were not interested in them. This was revealed in such remarks as: "They won't listen to me;" "I don't tell 'em unless they act interested;" "I don't waste their time;" "Most of them act like they don't want to listen;" "Teachers at school would not have been interested." It is evident that teachers were in a position to listen to these problems sometimes, being

next to the family in intimacy with the child.

When subjects were asked why they had not told their teachers their troubles, thirteen subjects said they did not know. Eight said they did not feel close enough to talk to the teachers. Again sixteen felt that teachers were not interested. Some felt that they would be imposing upon teachers. Some said they were afraid to ask the teachers to listen to them.

It may be inferred from the children's reports that the teachers' personalities had a great deal to do with the way the children felt toward them. They liked these teachers who were calm, kind, patient, friendly, and possessed of a sense of humor. Honesty, open-mindedness, and the ability to put subject matter across were also considered likeable features in a teacher's personality. The subjects disliked most of all various forms of aggression in teachers, such as, "slapping," "bossing," "fussing," "losing temper," and "swatting." The aggression in the teacher's methods was often a reaction to the aggression the children themselves were exhibiting.

These children seemed to understand what teachers liked to have them do and they did such things to earn favor or refused to do them "to get back at teachers." Most of the children revealed some interest in being liked by teachers, although some tried to appear indifferent toward teacher approval and affection. The children had wanted to talk over problems with teachers but some did not feel free to do so for one reason or another. This fact again emphasizes the necessity for teachers to be versed in simple techniques of interviewing and of relating

themselves to all types of children. There are many children in the school situation whose neurotic need for love is so insatiable that enough attention could never be given. In such cases, clinical help should be requested. However, in some of these cases and many others emotional acceptance can prove helpful in reducing the seriousness of the children's problems. Various characteristics of teachers, such as nervousness, vagueness, and possession of poorly constructed false teeth, affected children's attitudes toward them. Some teachers sensed children's affectional needs as shown in their comments, but because of pressures of routine and schedules were too tense and unrelaxed to give the warmth that they might have given under freer circumstances. These tensions were reflected in their ways of relating themselves to the children.

Dynamic factors in pupil-teacher relationships.-- The following cases are discussed to show how the above factors operate in the pupil-teacher relationships of the subjects. Margie (Case 53) was trying in every way she knew how to get attention and approval in the school situation. She failed because teachers and other pupils considered her a "show-off." She was greatly rejected by her step-mother and the father often beat her severely.

Margie (Case 53; C.A. 14-3, M.A. 14-10, I.Q. 107, Grade 8).-- Margie said she liked some of her teachers and there were some she did not like. She described her favorite teacher as follows: "She was the nicest. She taught you right; was nice toward everyone." Margie said she liked least of all her present homeroom teacher, because "She is hard, mean, embarrasses you in front of the whole class." The homeroom teacher had found Margie to be a very disturbing pupil because she was always seeking attention. She realized that her attention-seeking represented a deeper need for affection and security, but said, "I did not

have the time to give her. I had to look after the whole group." This teacher knew she had a poor relationship with Margie, of whom she said, "She did not want to get down to work, and anybody who made her work was not her friend." She stated further, "I did not dislike her. She needed someone to be interested in her...she had the appearance of a potentially loose person...rules never applied to her." Margie, on the other hand, said, "I have tried every way I know to make Mrs. _____ like me but she just don't like me."

There were other teachers, too, whom Margie did not like. Mr. _____ had false teeth and they would "slip down and get in the way so you could not understand what he was saying." He reported, "Margie needed much more time than I had to give her. She was flighty and bold and could not concentrate. When she got 'offside' I put her out of the room, because I did not have to put up with her." He felt that Margie's most serious problems were instability and showing off to get attention.

Margie did not like her physical education teacher, because he was "too vague" in his teaching. The teacher said that Margie had no skills in physical education, was belligerent, resentful if corrected, defensive and attention getting. She was always getting excused from physical education. He considered her to be without assets. "For some reason she could not concentrate," he reported. He noted also that she was hostile and uncooperative and "dressed conspicuously." He said, "We would like to help her if we had time. We are too pressed for time. Her home conditions are evidently poor and carry over into her school adjustment."

She liked her teachers of art and home economics, Margie said. These teachers, however, felt as strongly about Margie's attention-getting as the other teachers. In art class she would often try to change seats without permission. The teacher said, "She was touchy, argumentative, hateful, and at times felt 'picked on! She had a regular 'chip-on-shoulder' attitude." He also made the following statement about Margie, "It is difficult to work with Margie in an informal group situation. She is irritable and wants her own way entirely. She did little to make friends with the rest of the group." He felt that "poor home training and instability" were responsible for her poor relationship with others.

The music teacher said Margie sang nicely but was just average. She said further, "She wanted to attract attention constantly, and was greatly attracted by boys. She lacked self control and giggled all the time." She tried to help Margie, but delinquent children needed so much more time than other children. She stated, "I don't have time for them." She felt that insecurity was Margie's basic problem. The home economics teacher was absent from school but the principal reported that she faced the same "attention getting" problems that others faced with Margie. The principal further said that Margie had a "teasing, nagging way about

her and was always trying the teachers out to see how far she could go. She had her own peculiar way of getting in people's hair." She had been counseled by the assistant principal, who reported, "I could never get her parents to visit the school."

When Margie was asked if she had sometimes talked over her troubles with teachers, principals, or others at school, she said, "No, they won't listen to you, they are not interested in you." She had wanted to tell them she said, "about Dad beating me," but she did not tell them, because "They didn't act interested." She would like teachers better "if they helped you; if they were interested in kids." When Margie was asked how she tried to get "her teacher's goat sometimes," she stated, "I don't pay any attention to her, 'cause she don't like me and that makes me mad." She said the homeroom teacher had another girl as a pet, "cause she lets her work down in the office all time."

Margie exhibited essentially the same kind of behavior in each of her classrooms. She was very eager to have her teachers like her, and when she felt rejected reacted with all kinds of negativistic behavior. She seemed to consider any kind of limits set by teachers as rejection and "meanness." As the principal stated, she was always testing the teachers' feelings toward her by nagging and teasing and seeing how far they would permit her to go. The teachers understood that she needed extra affection and attention but all seemed so pressed for time that they could never provide a climate of security for Margie in the school situation. Margie said she was "bursting" to talk over problems with teachers whom she saw every day, especially immediately following the episodes of "Dad beating me." She felt that they were not interested in listening. It is a question whether the teacher attitudes in this case reflect time limitations or other factors in the school situation. It may be that the pressure of doing required work in limited time caused the teachers to develop tensions expressed through impatience, apparent harshness, and irritability. In this school, the

teachers gave the impression that they felt pressures and that their time was absorbed by routine, especially of subject-matter procedures.

Joan (Case 31) has been discussed in Chapters IV and VI. She had a very positive relationship with her homeroom teacher, who had as many classes as other teachers and in addition taught in two different schools. The following paragraph describes Joan's relationship with this teacher, and certain attitudes that she described toward other teachers.

Joan (Case 31; C.A. 13-10, M.A. 14-8, I.Q. 108, Grade 6).-- Joan said that her present homeroom teacher was her favorite, "Because she was understanding and helped me and showed me how to do things. All teachers won't show you, they just tell you to go on and do it." She liked least of all "That teacher at _____ School who used to jerk children around." "Mrs. _____ was very interested in me, she was good to me...I could have done much better in the fourth grade if my teacher had liked me." Joan had often wished she could talk to teachers but had found only two had ever been interested in her. She said, "I could talk to Mrs. _____ about things that I could not say to other people...I wanted to talk to several of my teachers but they didn't care. They could have shown affection like Mrs. _____. So many girls don't have mothers and ought to have affection from teachers." She said, "I remember a teacher at _____ School who grabbed a girl by the back of her hair and jerked her up out of her seat and pushed her in the hall. They used to make me sit in the hall for chewing on my pencils." Mrs. _____ was aware that Joan had feelings of insecurity, and reported that she met Joan's needs by "being willing to listen to her experiences and to hear her discuss her own reactions to them and why she felt as she did about them." Joan was described by all her teachers as quiet and unobtrusive. One teacher said she had no initiative, but was willing to be led.

In the case discussion it was revealed that Joan associated her poor achievement in one grade with the teacher's dislike for her. She had reported, "If she had liked me better, I would have done better work." Children do look to teachers for the affection they miss in their parents which might often affect a child's motivation. As Joan said, "So many girls don't have mothers." She also revealed how a teacher's treatment

of another child affected her feelings and relationship toward that teacher, because Joan identified herself with the other child. Children's feelings toward their teachers can be so impressed upon them that they may carry these impressions through the years. Many of the children in addition to Joan, even some at the high school level, discussed the teachers in the early grades whom they had liked or not liked because of their attitudes or methods. It is possible, also, as is shown in Joan's case, for a teacher to relate herself well to her pupils even under pressure, if she has the basic assets in personality and training for doing so.

Warren (Case 23) formed a good relationship with his teacher in his first school and a poor relationship, especially with the principal, in the second school. The second school had formed a good relationship with the mother, but had not appraised the mother's hostility toward the child. This factor contributed to the boy's rejection in the school situation.

Warren (Case 23; C.A. 10-2, M.A. 9-4, I.Q. 92, Grade 3).---Warren's teacher in his first school, a small, understaffed school, located in an outlying district, was a very motherly and accepting person. She was greatly sympathetic with Warren, she said, "Because he was lovable and so starved for love and attention." She said, "He needed love, care, understanding, and kindness. Many mornings he was late to school because nobody got him up; his mother was often drinking. He wasn't fed properly, and I often arranged for his breakfast at school. He always looked whipped, was never mean. He was eager to please, would do anything to get security. He always had a running ear and tonsillitis. He always stole toys and gave them to his playmates to buy their friendship." When she was asked to describe her personal relationship with Warren, she said, "It was very good; He clings to you, he is so starved for affection. He was easily handled but would not have been without kindness." She described her methods as counseling and providing love and security for Warren at school. This homeroom teacher said that the child was greatly rejected by his mother, who was sexually promiscuous and who drank

heavily. The teacher stated that she would like to see Warren placed in a foster home situation where he could get love and security.

The principal of Warren's school was not aware of all the efforts the teacher was putting forth. He knew she was working "very hard" with Warren and that the boy gave little trouble in the larger school situation. The principal reported, "This teacher is especially good with this type of child. She saw his stealing and truancy as symptoms of deeper needs. She was always studying him and was deeply sympathetic with him." In her talks with school people the mother was always associating Warren's difficulty with his heredity. Since the father was in the penitentiary, she was certain that Warren would end up there, too. The school personnel saw this belief as a symptom of the mother's rejection of Warren. Warren did not return to this school after the Christmas holidays because the mother had resumed an old common-law marriage relationship.

Warren had attended his new school for two months when the writer visited him there. He was in the third grade. He was already playing truant and causing considerable difficulty in the new school. His mother had given the usual explanation that his "bad heredity" was causing his difficulty. The new homeroom teacher was working intensively with Warren. She said, "He shows off all the time, plays for attention and tells fanciful tales." She also said, "He takes a large amount of time, he can't be forced into things, rebels against authority. He roams in the room like a lion in a cage, just can't organize himself after he has had a certain amount of freedom. The whole class has suffered since he has been here. He is quite upsetting to class progress. He ought to be in a special class for delinquent children because he has so much negative influence on the other children. He twisted a rope around a girl's neck and burned her neck, twisted a boy's arm that ached for days, and kicked another boy in the stomach. He is very cruel to other children. He has said openly that he does not like the school and wishes he could be expelled. He just got in trouble with another teacher on the playground today."

The mother had told the teacher that Warren did not like her (the teacher) or the school. The teacher had tried to give him recognition in the room, had approached the mother, had sent him to the office, had had "heart to heart" talks with him, was trying socialization and group adjustment techniques, and had shown him a great amount of personal attention. She had tried to get close to him through free activity in art. The only picture that he had drawn was of a cold drab penitentiary with a fence around it. There were no trees or other sign of life in the picture.

The homeroom teacher and principal in the second school had worked together with the boy and finally referred him to the visiting teacher for the specialized help they thought he needed. Regarding

her relationship with Warren, the homeroom teacher stated, "He is upsetting, to the class progress. He takes my time when I should be with others, although he and I are better adjusted now to each other. He said that he did not like the principal because she was too big for her pants."

The principal reported that she had faced problems of truancy, lying, and cruelty to children with Warren. She had "worked with the teacher to find something satisfying to the boy, conferred with the mother and obtained visiting teacher help." She thought that delinquent children should be segregated when they cause other children to suffer as was the case with Warren. She said that the teacher could accept his immaturities, but "The teacher has a definite responsibility toward the rest of the class." She also declared that the relationship between the boy and his teacher was better, although Warren did not accept the teacher wholeheartedly yet. She said, "If he felt security at the other school, he should have stayed there." The principal forgot that the child had no control over his residence or schools he attended. Warren was the victim of a very unstable home situation. The mother moved sometimes as much as five or six times a year to various cities and states, and took the child with her. The principal said of Warren: "He furnishes the impetus that stimulates weaker children to try misbehavior and to share them with him. These children probably would not have difficulties if he were not here." This principal would not permit the teacher to give the sociometric tests in Warren's room. She stated that she was afraid that parents of other children might object to friendship questions being asked of them.

Warren said he liked Mrs. _____ of the former school better than any teacher he had ever known, because "She was just like a mother to us kids." Warren said that the only time he "got in trouble" in the classroom was when a substitute came for Mrs. _____. He thought his new teacher was "pretty nice," but disliked the principal.

Some teachers play the maternal role well in their relationship with pupils while others resent and resist the maternal role in which the children cast them. Both of these attitudes were exhibited by Warren's teachers. He definitely needed a mother figure, and found one in his first school. However, the more he demanded attention and love in his second school situation the more impersonally he was handled by teacher and principal.

The principal of the second school seemed to be a dominant figure

in the adjustment of Warren to that school situation. She was openly rejecting to the boy, and her cold, stern, impersonal manner influenced the teacher's handling of and relationship with the boy. Although both had put forth extensive effort in treating Warren's needs, the quality rather than the quantity of effort was important in this case.

The contrast in Warren's behavior in the two schools was striking. In the first school, where the teacher was warm and giving, he was quiet and unobtrusive. The personnel in this school understood why the mother rejected the child. In the second school situation, Warren was the terror of the school. The principal said she appreciated the mother's "giving us the case history of the child. He comes from three generations of criminals." She did not realize the mother's need to paint this kind of picture of the child.

This case illustrates how teachers sometimes tend to hold children personally responsible for their problems and for their living conditions, as if the children had created their whole situations. Warren summed up his basic need when he said, "I like Mrs. _____ because she is just like a mother to us kids." She had found that he expressed creative and other special ability after he was fed and made to feel secure in the classroom. He liked to write poems in Mrs. _____'s room. The teacher in his latter school had been able to solicit only "a cold drab looking penitentiary" in Warren's paintings, and no poetry whatever.

Analysis of the relationships of subjects with their teachers.--

The following generalizations are suggested from the above presentation:

1. Teachers are not always objective in their evaluation of their relationships with delinquent children. Offensive personality traits of delinquents have an effect upon the relationships they have with teachers.

2. Other persons such as principals, social workers, peers, and parents may have an effect upon the relationship of a subject and his teacher.

3. Principals tend to have somewhat limited insight into the relationships that exist between delinquents and their teachers.

4. Delinquent children are eager to earn acceptance from their teachers, although their interpersonal techniques are generally awkward and often offensive. They need a confidential relationship with teachers because the teacher is next to the family in intimacy with the child. The delinquent child needs an accessible, intimate, trusted confidante with whom to discuss the conflicts with which he is usually burdened. These conflicts are often so severe that immediate release of some kind is needed before learning and development can take place.

5. Teachers' personality traits and methods of teaching may affect their relationships with delinquent children. Teachers need extensive and intensive training in meeting the needs of children.

6. This analysis of findings points up the strong need for a thorough-going study of the components that do and should comprise appropriate pupil-teacher relationships, e.g., of the question whether a teacher should play a maternal role to children in school.

7. A child's creative expression and other forms of emotional release may be affected by the kind of relationship he has with teachers.

8. Some provisions should be made in the school program for individual differences of children. It is not hard for teachers to feel compelled to push the total group toward maximum achievement, while wanting urgently to fill certain personal needs of individual children in the group.

Home-School Relationships

Subsequent contact with parents is needed as an aid in understanding the child's needs. Parents and teachers should be working jointly in an effort to stimulate the best possible growth and development in children. The more the school understands the child in his family frame of reference, the more understandable will be the role the child assumes in the school situation.

Teachers' reports.-- Teachers are said to vary greatly in their knowledge of their pupils. Baker reported that high school teachers know less than one-fourth of the facts about their pupils which educators, guidance specialists, and psychologists consider of importance in the educational treatment of individual children. (16:175, 187) Home visitation is one of the means of securing knowledge of the pupils. Teachers should be provided the opportunity through extra time and freedom to know their pupils. Since the major responsibility for the adjustment of pupils falls upon the classroom teacher, it is necessary for the teacher to find out as much as possible about intra-family relationships. Given training, teachers can do a great deal toward

helping even the most seriously maladjusted children. (171:86) The extra work and expense involved would more than pay for itself because of the quality of help and growth children would gain.

The teachers of the subjects were asked by the writer:

1. Have you ever visited this child's home?
2. Are there definite circumstances that have kept you from visiting this child's home?
3. If you have visited his home, describe the conditions you found there, number of rooms, food, neighborhood, play facilities, spending money, security, stability, morale, and so on.
4. Describe the attitudes expressed by this child's parents toward school personnel (cooperative, antagonistic, indifferent, other).

Responses to the above questions indicated that teachers had limited knowledge of the details of the subjects' home conditions. It is possible, however, that the teachers knew more about the home situations of children than their responses indicated, since more information about the children was usually revealed by teachers as the interviews with them proceeded. It is possible that the open-and type of question used in the major part of the interviews would have brought forth fuller information regarding details of home situations. Only five out of 275 teachers said they had visited homes of the children. One additional teacher had gained all of the information asked about the home through frequent contacts at school with the mother and through her close contact with the child. Twenty teachers of the remaining 269 said they knew from one to four items each about the home situations of the

children. Seven teachers knew the amount of spending money the children received, six knew the kind of immediate neighborhoods in which the children lived, and four said they knew that the children's homes were unstable. Three teachers knew that the subjects were from broken homes and three knew that the children were insecure at home. One teacher said she knew the morale was poor in the home of a pupil, and one said that a child was keeping late hours. One knew the quality and amount of food the family had, the play facilities and toys they had, and one said she knew what the parental treatment of the child was. One knew that the mother was neurotic, one knew the size of the home of the subject, and one that there was an afflicted sister in the home.

The teachers discussed the circumstances that kept them from visiting the subjects' homes. Ninety-four of the teachers who did not visit said that they left home visitation up to home visitors, and fifty said they left visiting to homeroom teachers. However, it was found that homeroom teachers were not visiting these children, either. Twenty-seven of the teachers reported that they had no reason for not visiting, twenty-three reported that it was a school policy not to visit, five said that the counselors did the visiting, and five had no opportunity to visit. Six said that visiting was left to personnel people, and one teacher said, "The office took care of that."

Four teachers reported that they did not visit a child (Case 31) because she was living in an institution. This should have been an excellent opportunity for two agencies to work together in helping the child attain a good adjustment. School adjustment of children in

institutions could be facilitated if teachers were invited to visit the children's institutions regularly. A plan of confidential exchange of information about the children would help teachers understand the needs of institutional and other dependent children. In the above case, the homeroom teacher was well qualified to handle confidential information, since she had participated freely in the child-study program in the city.

Some of the teachers of special subjects, including art, physical education, and music, felt that they should not visit children's homes because of the nature of the subjects they taught. Some teachers wanted to visit children's homes but were too busy or their programs were too heavy. In one school a teacher reported that only men teachers did the visiting; "We women teachers don't visit because of this community down here."

Some teachers were afraid that parents would feel that they were prying or that they would not be welcome in the children's homes. One teacher stated, "Too many social workers are going in the homes now." One teacher taught Sunday School in the neighborhood where his school was located, but the subject would not attend Sunday School even though she was officially a member of this church.

When teachers were asked what attitudes were exhibited by the parents toward the school, teachers did not generally know the parents. Of the 275 teachers interviewed, 233 did not know the parents of these subjects. "Certainly they had been invited to the school for programs and meetings, but few bothered to come," the teachers usually reported.

Twenty of the teachers reported that parents had shown some semblance of cooperation, ranging from slightly cooperative to very

cooperative. One homeroom teacher found the mother cooperative with him but not with "the office." Two parents had been in contact by telephone with teachers. Four teachers found the parents they dealt with to be indifferent in their attitudes. One parent was interested and another only slightly interested, according to teachers. Three teachers felt that parents were covering up for the children. Two teachers felt that parents were weak, and two that parents were rejecting the children. Individual teachers reported the following about parents: "Their attitude toward school is questionable;" "The mother is neurotic and inconsistent;" "The father was interested, but is now dead--mother is not interested;" "The mother comes to open house;" "The mother was very defiant toward school when the child's case was heard in Juvenile Court."

Principals' reports.--The principals were asked the following questions:

1. Describe the attitude of the parents of this child toward school. Toward the child's adjustment and progress in school.
2. Have the parents been invited to the school or to participate in the school program?
3. Describe the parents' contacts with the school and school program.
4. What were their reactions?
5. Have the parents' attitudes helped or hindered your interest in and efforts toward helping the child? In what ways?
6. In what ways do you feel the parents have influenced the child in his attitude toward school (for better or worse)?

The parents were found to be visiting the schools only when they were sent for. There was no consistent interest shown in the school program by them, according to principals.

Contacts were made by the school with the parents of thirty-six subjects. Five of these contacts were by telephone only. Nearly all these parental contacts occurred in connection with the behavior of the child. Exceptions were two cases in which parents came occasionally to parent-teacher association meetings, and three cases in which parents came to enroll their children.

Many of the contacts were unsatisfactory in one way or another, according to principals. The principals reported that thirty of the parents had cooperated with the school, or had given the appearance of doing so. Of those who were apparently cooperating, five were considered by the principal to be weak in handling the children. Three others of this group tried to cooperate but were employed outside of the home. One father was attempting to cooperate with the school while the mother was antagonistic.

The principals regarded a number of parents as definitely uncooperative. They used the terms mentally confused, illiterate, inadequate, deceptive, and erratic, to describe various parents. In two cases, they said, the parents were covering up for their children.

It was not known by the principals what the attitudes of eighteen of the parents were. When the principals were asked if the parents' attitudes had helped or hindered the children's school adjustment, twenty-two reported that the parents had definitely hindered the children's

school adjustment in one way or another. Twenty principals felt that parents had helped, and eighteen felt that the parents had neither helped nor hindered the children's school adjustment. Seven had no opinions about the parents' influence upon the subjects' school adjustment.

The principal of a school housing a special class for problem boys, said that none of the parents of these boys visited the school, that "We ought to go into their homes and meet the parents." Regarding Dan (Case 18), he said that the parents had never responded to invitations. He said, "We could have done more for the boy if the parents had cooperated. They showed no outward evidence of interest and may have encouraged the boy's indifference."

The following brief case report shows the difficulties faced by the school in establishing a good relationship with a home of a delinquent. Even when the best possible relationship was established, fullest participation in a home-school program could not be expected of the parents in this situation.

Andy (Case 16: C.A. 13-1, M.A. 11-6, I.Q. 88, Grade 5).-- Andy's mother was quite hostile and belligerent at first when she visited the school. The principal reported, "She tends to overprotect the children. This attitude may stem from the home situation, since she has had to protect the children from their drunkard father." The principal said that there was considerable conflict between the parents. The mother seemed generally interested in the achievement and adjustment of Andy. The principal further reported, "The mother is cooperative now but does not come to parent-teacher meetings...she has helped a great deal since her attitude changed." The best she could do, however, was to furnish information that the school needed. It was through the mother that Andy's participation in a school burglary was exposed. Although she helped the school in this way, she was never able to make a constructive contribution to the school program.

The principals found less than one-third of the parents were generally cooperative and helpful to the school in meeting the needs of the children. The parents did not visit on Parent's Night or at Open House, nor did they attend parent-teacher meetings. Most of the parents came to school when the children were in difficulty and they had been sent for by school personnel. Many of the contacts were unsatisfactory in one way or another. The principals had found almost one-half of the parents to be a definite hinderance in the school's effort to help children. None of the parents of problem boys attending a special class had visited the school. The principal felt that home visitation should be a definite part of this special program with these boys. He felt that the parents' indifference had often encouraged attitudes of indifference in the children. He cited Case 18 as an example of how this overprotectiveness of children and other patterns of parental handling in the home might be transferred to the home-school relationships. A knowledge of this condition would aid the school in understanding and meeting such problems.

Children's reports of home-school relationships.-- Children should be sensitive to a good home-school relationship when it exists, since such a relationship may stimulate success in the child's school adjustment. The children's evaluations of the relationships of their parents with the school were gained through their discussion of the following questions in interviews:

1. Do your mother and father like your teachers? Why?
2. Do your teachers sometimes visit your home? Why?

3. Would you like teachers to visit your home? Why?
4. Does your mother or father ever go to your school? Why?
5. Do you wish she (he) would go to school sometimes (Or more often?
6. Do your teachers and principal like your parents? Why?
7. Do you wish your mother and father liked your teachers better? Why?
8. Do you wish your teachers liked your mother and father better? Why?
9. Would you like your teachers better if your parents liked them better?

The children reported that the parents liked their teachers, for the most part, when they knew them. Twenty-five children thought their parents liked their teachers, while seven children reported that teachers were in definite disfavor with parents. Parents of twenty-three children exhibited neither positive nor negative attitudes because they did not know the teachers. Reasons given for their parents liking a teacher had to do first, with the teacher's attitude, and second, with the help he was giving the child. One child (Case 27) reported, "Mom says the teacher tries to learn me some'n." Typical of most statements was the one made by Case 44, "She talked nice to Mom."

Those parents who did not like teachers had felt rejected by teachers, according to the children. One child (Case 43) stated, "She ain't good to them and they don't like her." Another (Case 49) stated, "They don't like the principal cause he would not let us transfer to

Catholic school." Jim (Case 37) said, "Dad don't have much use for any of them." A child (Case 38) reported that his parents did not like teachers because "One sprained my brother's arm whipping him." Some of these statements indicated that parents' attitudes toward teachers had been colored by experiences with individual teachers or that parents had a set attitude toward teachers in general.

Thirty of the fifty-five subjects wished that teachers would visit their homes. Four were indifferent, while twenty-one said they did not want teachers to visit their homes. Actual visits by teachers to the homes had been infrequent, as has been noted. Nine of the subjects reported that at some time a teacher had visited their homes. Some of these visits were made by former teachers who were not interviewed in this study.

Those children who wanted their teachers to visit their homes gave such reasons as, "To meet my parents;" "Because she is nice;" and "Only those I like." They did not want the teachers whom they did not like to visit their homes. Some of the children were anxious to have teachers interpret their progress to their parents. Evidently they felt that the report card did not do this adequately. Some children felt that teachers ought to know what their home conditions were. One girl (Case 13) said, "Teachers ought to know the homes kids come from; we just put up a front." One boy (Case 28) was pleased for his homeroom teacher to visit, because, "When he came he played me a game of checkers."

The children who did not want teachers to visit were afraid that teachers might make unpleasant reports about them to parents. Some

subjects said they "Just did not want teachers there, I get enough of them at school." Some children had the feeling that "Teachers only visit when you are bad." Several children were sensitive about the appearance of their homes and other socio-economic standards. This attitude was revealed through such remarks as, "Our house ain't a pretty one;" "Because she's got a car and everything and we ain't got no better place;" and "We don't have such hot furniture and stuff." Erma (Case 29) said, "My Mom would fight her if she knew that teacher picked on me." Erma said she would not tell the mother about the teacher putting her hat in the garbage can or asking her about her sex experiences, because it would cause trouble.

When the children were asked why their parents visited or did not visit the school, they said, as the principals and teachers had reported, that parents usually visited school only when the children were in trouble. Eight children reported that their parents had attended Parent-Teacher Association meetings. This report was contrary to the principals' reports that only two parents were attending parent-teacher meetings. This discrepancy may have been due to the children's wishful thinking, or the parents may have attended a Parent-Teacher Association meeting at some former school which was not visited by the writer. One child (Case 43) said his father had gone to see about his glasses. In this case, the principal had interceded with the city health department for glasses and had sent for the father to come to the school. The mother was badly crippled. There were various reasons given by subjects for their parents not visiting, such as, "I don't get in no trouble;" "Mother is not

interested;" "She goes to see about my sister but not me." Five children said they did not know why their parents did not visit schools.

When the children were asked why they wanted or did not want their parents to visit their schools, twenty subjects wished for their parents to manifest some interest in their schools. Some indicated that they would like their parents to get a direct understanding from the teachers about the subjects' progress and adjustment in school. Some children wanted their parents to attend Parent-Teacher-Association meetings and to be a part of the school program. One child stated, "The teacher may like you better if your parents visit the school." Thirty-two of the children gave reasons for not wanting their parents to visit the schools. Some were afraid that the parents would "find out the bad things." Three claimed to be indifferent about the visiting. Some felt that parents were going enough to the school. One child said, "She checks up enough on me." Some said, "Children look at you and ask questions" and "Kids don't want 'em to come."

Dynamic factors in home-school relationships.-- In order to present a picture of the pattern that the above aspects of home-school relationships might follow in individual situations, a discussion of several cases follows. Mark (Case 14) is reported again, to show how a misunderstanding between parents and the school might occur. This case was discussed in Chapters V and VII.

Mark (Case 14: C.A. 11-4, M.A. 11-2, I.Q. 99, Grade 5).-- Mark was described by his principal as "the greatest thief" he had ever seen. He had found that the father was interested but had to work, and that the mother was illiterate. He said, "The mother had been to the school once when he came late and was mad, incoherent, and antagonistic. The

father seemed interested but was not overly cooperative. If the parents had tried we could have done more for the boy together. They had been negative and critical at first, but having to go to court helped the situation some."

Mark's homeroom teacher said, "Home visiting was left up to the home visitors, because we are kept busy with after-school activities; the nurse visits too." The homeroom teacher knew nothing about his home situation. She had never met his parents because they never came to school.

All the other five teachers explained, "Home-visiting is left to home visitors, we are not allowed to visit children's homes. Since the parents did not come to Open House or parent-teacher meetings, the teachers had not known them. The one time the mother came, she was sent for by the principal.

If Mark's homeroom teacher or any other teacher had observed him with his family for only a few moments they could readily have seen his jealousy of two younger sisters who had displaced him at home and might have understood his need to act out this conflict in the school situation. Teachers and the principal had attributed his problem to "Crowded home conditions;" "Transplanting boy from rural to urban situation with no chores;" and "Movies as his only recreation." One teacher felt that he had not had a chance to develop pride. Some of the teachers wished that they knew the home situation, for they were aware that there was something causing him to "crave attention."

Mark said that his mother "Only knew the teachers from the names I tell her." He said he was not particular about teachers visiting his home, "Because I get enough of them at school." He said, "Mom went twice to see about me when I came down here to court and went back. The principal wouldn't say much to her, cause he said she was late and he was mad." To the question "Do you wish she (mother) would go to school more often?" Mark replied, "Oh, I don't care much." When asked, "Do your teacher and principal like your parents?" he said, "Teachers ain't seen her but the principal don't like her 'cause he said she was due to come up at eleven o'clock and the court worker told us to go between eleven and twelve o'clock. We got there at twenty minutes to twelve." He wished his mother knew his teachers and they knew her.

The following case illustrates a child's eagerness for a good home-school relationship, and what it might have meant toward a better school adjustment.

Theta (Case 5: C.A. 14-5, M.A. 12-9, I.Q. 89, Grade 8).--- Theta was eager for her mother to visit her school. She reported, "She never goes to school, or parent-teacher meetings, or nothing. She works in the day but could go to Open House. She don't know nothing about me at school. She takes no interest in my school work. She just nags all time." Theta had one teacher visit her one time when she was ill and said, "That made me feel so good." She said she would like one of her teachers to visit now, but not the others, "Because I don't like them. The principals and teachers don't know mother." She said, "It would make me feel better if they knew and liked her."

The assistant principal said, "The mother seemed cooperative by telephone. She seems eager for Theta to do right but has little or no control. Both the mother and father work. The mother has been sent many notes to come to the school and talk but she has never responded." He further reported, "The mother's weakness and ineffectiveness caused the child's looseness."

The homeroom teacher explained, "We don't do much visiting here; however, the 'Child Study' advocates home visiting and I want to do some of it." She was just beginning to attend the child study meetings. She had never met Theta's mother, for she never came to school. None of the other five teachers had visited Theta's home, nor did they have any ideas at all about what her home situation was like.

The following case illustrates how a teacher helped to improve the attendance of a serious delinquent through the establishment of a good relationship with the mother.

Kelley (Case 39: C.A. 15-10, M.A. 10-10, I.Q. 73, Grade Special).--- Kelley liked to have his teacher visit his home, he said, "Because she is all right, she came once or twice to see me." His mother went to school sometimes, he said, "to talk about me, but she don't go to parent-teacher meetings, she don't have time." The principal and teachers liked Kelley's mother, he said, "Because they say she is a nice lady, a good worker, is clean, and is a good cook." He was pleased with the way she had been treated at school. The principal said he had faced no direct problems with Kelley because his teachers took care of them. He knew, however, that the boy had stolen at school.

Kelley's special class teacher knew his home situation very well. She knew the physical set-up of the home as well as intra-family relationships. She had heard the mother say in the boy's presence that she did not want him when he was born. The siblings all had court records. The mother had a tendency to shield Kelley but she came often to the school. The mother had tried to cooperate and with the teacher's constant help had managed to supervise Kelley better than heretofore. The manual

training teacher had not been in the home but said, "Kelley is no good, just like his family. I was playground director in that neighborhood and all the family, all the way to cousins, were a nasty bunch."

Earl (Case 28) is presented to illustrate the results of a teacher's visit in the home. The mother had begun attending parent-teacher meetings. The teacher did not understand that he had this kind of rapport with the family. If so, he might have helped to remedy the serious truancy problem Earl was presenting. The teacher had given Earl up as a hopeless case.

Earl (Case 28: C.A. 15-5, M.A. 12-6, I.Q. 88, Grade 7).-- The fact that his teacher had played a game of checkers with Earl when he visited the boy's home made everyone in Earl's family very happy. The mother liked Earl's teacher. Every time she visited she said to Earl, "You got a nice teacher." This was the only teacher who had ever visited his home in his life. "Mother has even been to a parent-teacher meeting at that school since he came to see us," Earl reported. The teacher, however, was very frustrated because he could not interest Earl in attending school regularly. He felt that the mother was too inadequate and lax, and said she tended "to cover up for the boy." The homeroom teacher at the former school also said that the mother "covered up and shielded the boy." Other teachers had had no contact with the mother. The principal of the former school remembered the truancy problems he had faced with Earl. The present principal did not know Earl or his mother, as the homeroom teacher had made all the contact with the family.

A knowledge of the cultural milieu in which the child and his parents live might aid the teacher in understanding and accepting the child as well as his parents. As revealed in the foregoing discussion, parents too have to feel that they are wanted and accepted in the school situation. Many parents of delinquent children are just as insecure and inadequate in their worlds as the children are in theirs, and therefore, need considerable assurance, encouragement, and training in performing parental jobs.

The above case discussions show that school relationships may be affected by poor educational and cultural training of parents. Such parents may be unduly sensitive to blame, indictments, and accusations from school people. Mark's mother (Case 14), discussed above, was quite upset and felt rejected when the principal criticized her for being late for an appointment. The principal said, "The mother was mad, incoherent and antagonistic." They were never able to work out a good relationship. Contributing to the misunderstanding was the principal's retort to the boy when he was suspected of stealing. "Go back to Kentucky where you belong."

Weak and ineffectual parents are disturbing to school people, especially when they have "lost control of their children." Even very serious problems may be handled more easily in the school situation when the teacher has some insight into the child's family situation, as was true in Kelley's case. When they knew from first-hand contact that a child was rejected by parents or how the family situation was affecting a child's adjustment and development, the teachers seemed more understanding and patient with the child. In instances where a good relationship had been worked out between the home and the school and was recognized by the teachers, the effects showed up in the child's adjustment at school, no matter how delinquent the child was, or how upset the home situation was.

Analysis of home-school relationships.-- The following generalizations are derived from the above discussions:

1. Home-school relationships are generally based upon mutual

feelings that exist between the children's parents and the school. These feelings are created by emotional make-up and cultural and educational backgrounds of parents and teachers, and the inter-personal experiences they have with each other.

2. Parents of delinquent children seem to cooperate with the school only at a superficial level, if at all. They do not participate in the school program in an on-going constructive way. Most of them exhibit no initiative in establishing a relationship with the school, a failure which may be due to sensitiveness, inadequacy, inferiority feelings, or lack of interest in the children. It is not known how much of this inactivity is due to lack of motivation by the school, since somewhat limited efforts were apparently put forth by the school to initiate a good home-school relationship with these apparently disinterested parents.

3. A great deal of the teacher's inability to meet the needs of delinquent subjects seems to be due to the lack of insight into the basic needs of the individual child. This limited knowledge may be due, (a) to the teacher's own belief that he is not supposed to possess personal information about children, (b) to the teacher's limited skill in obtaining this information through professional techniques, (c) to conflicts in organization and function of various school departments and services, regarding visitation and other home-school functions.

4. Children tend to understand the advantages and disadvantages to their school adjustment that might be created through the home-school relationships. Many of them want their parents and teachers to like each

other and to work together in the interest of their achievement and adjustment in school. Some delinquent children fear that teachers might like them less if they see the limitations in their home situations.

5. Teachers do not understand the potential influence that they have with the parents of these subjects. Teachers do not understand that many parents yearn for and appreciate recognition from them as much as the children do. This influence is possibly a rich untapped source for the adjustment of delinquent subjects in school.

Summary

An analysis of the relationships existing between the subjects and their parents on the one hand and the school on the other was presented in this chapter. Some of the factors discussed relate primarily to the feelings and attitudes that existed between the children and the teachers. Principals evaluated the relationships that existed between the teachers and the subjects by comparing affectional status and acceptance of subjects by teachers with subjects' classmates. Although some of the children were rated by principals as being poor in the affection of their teachers in comparison to their classmates, most of the subjects were rated average or above in the affection of their teachers. A few of the group could not be evaluated by the principals for one reason or another. There was notable evidence in the attitudes of some principals that they found it difficult to be wholly objective in these discussions because of certain tendencies to overidentify themselves with the teachers who were facing frustrations with the problem children. Some teachers and principals had certain frustrations of their own growing out of conflicting relationships with the Juvenile Court, which probably affected their attitudes toward children who were under the care of the Court.

More than half of the teachers reported a favorable relationship with the fifty-five subjects. Only one-sixth of the teachers reported a poor relationship with the subjects. In no case did all of the teachers of a given child report that they had a poor relationship with him, despite the fact that some children had given all their teachers considerable difficulty, and caused great disturbances in their school.

The children's own analysis of their attitudes and feelings toward teachers was elicited through questions in the interviews. The favorite teachers of the subjects were described as having such attitudes and skills as kindness, tolerance, helpfulness, friendliness, fairness, calmness, clearness in teaching, honesty, open-mindedness, and ability to "put subject matter across." The subjects objected strongly to traits and attitudes of aggression and nervousness in teachers.

Well over half of the children had never talked over problems with teachers. A majority of these children said, however, that they had wanted to talk with teachers about their problems but had not felt free to do so largely because they thought teachers were too busy or were not interested in them. Most of the problems they talked about or wanted to talk over were of a personal nature and related largely to family and personal conflicts.

Analysis of individual cases revealed the interplay of certain dynamic factors in the pupil-teacher relationships: teacher-reaction to children's own negative attitudes causing further acting out by the children; the mutual influence of principal and teachers upon attitudes toward and techniques of handling children; the effect of an outside social agency's philosophy and attitude upon the school's handling of a child identified with that agency; and the need for teachers and principals to have certain skills in relationship therapy, even at the simplest levels.

Some teachers sensed and were eager to fill affectional needs of children but were too tense and under too much pressure of work to

meet these needs. However, in spite of pressures, some teachers, especially those of the child study group, were able quickly to understand and meet these basic needs of the children. It was also revealed that some children tended to identify themselves with other children who were experiencing poor relationships with their teachers. Under these circumstances they tended to react against the teacher of the child who was in conflict even though they themselves were not directly involved. The impressions of these children toward teachers tended to last over a period of years. This occurred whether the impressions had been of a positive or negative nature.

The home-school relationships were evaluated by principals, teachers, and children. This analysis revealed the limited contact that existed between the parents and the school. Parents tended to visit the school when the children were in difficulty. They were not commonly in attendance at parent-teacher meetings, Open House, or other school programs. Their contacts were largely unsatisfactory because of uncooperative, indifferent, or openly antagonistic attitudes. In many instances teachers wanted to visit homes of the children but had not done so because of school policy, busy schedules, or fear of imposing upon parents. Most teachers were not closely familiar with the family or cultural background of the subjects. Extreme confusion in thinking about home visitation was notable among the teachers. At the time of the study, the school system seemed to have no definite policy regarding home visitation. A majority of the children wanted their teachers to visit their homes. Those objecting to teacher visitation voiced fear of bad reports to

parents, their antagonism toward teachers, and shame at having teachers see their poor home conditions.

Children also realized that their parents visited only when they were in difficulty, and some felt keenly the parental indifference. The parents' own educational, emotional, and cultural level and adjustment affected their attitudes toward the schools. Case analyses revealed the sensitiveness of parents to criticism or rejection by school personnel.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

Problem.-- The purpose of this study was to examine the following aspects of the school adjustment of fifty-five delinquent children: (1) achievement patterns in terms of attendance, number of schools attended, progress through the grades, measured achievement levels, and school marks received; (2) peer relationships; (3) school conduct; (4) provisions of the schools for treating the needs of subjects pertaining to personal and social welfare, development, and adjustment; (5) relationships of subjects and their parents with school personnel.

Justification of study.-- The study was justified on the basis of its significance for social welfare, education, and for the local community. Every effort should be made to gain insight into the dynamic factors in juvenile delinquency, for without such insight it is unlikely that the problem can be controlled. Delinquency and crime are very costly to society. It is estimated that fifteen billion dollars are spent every year in the United States upon crime. Less than one fourth of this amount is spent on education.

It is assumed that the school, next to the home, can become the most potent force for the conservation of the integrity of childhood and the protection of society. The school is often thought of as the logical focus of efforts for the prevention and treatment of delinquency and other major social problems, because of its objectivity, its

potential understanding of these problems, and its opportunity to detect and deal with them early in the child's development. Relationships that children have with their parents and other adults often have great bearing upon the formation of or prevention of delinquent behavior. Since teachers are often next to the parents in intimacy with the child, it stands to reason that their very relationships with children might be a possible preventative of potential delinquency in many children. This assumption places responsibility squarely upon the school for using all its facilities and resources in understanding, preventing, and treating the problem.

Nature of study.--- The investigation was exploratory in nature, that is, a major unexplored problem was examined leaving more detailed aspects of the problem for later studies. The case method of research was used, as the best approach for analyzing the dynamic operation of factors in the school adjustment of delinquent children. Extensive case material provided background for generalizations that were made throughout the report. The study differed from other studies of delinquency in the following ways: (1) The data were gathered specifically for research purposes. (2) The focus was made upon the current school adjustment of delinquent children who were living, for the most part, in the community and not in institutions. (3) A dual approach was made to the problem in terms of the interviews held both with the children and with school personnel. (4) Peer relations of delinquents in the school situation was a new approach. (5) Detailed study of the school treatment of the problems of delinquents had not been reported

in previous investigations. (6) The interpretation by children and teachers of emotional and social factors involved in the adjustment of delinquent children in school by the case study method is a new approach. (7) The selection of cases was made outside of the school and the children were followed into their respective schools, where their adjustment was evaluated.

Procedure and sources of data.-- The fifty-five subjects represented consecutive cases seen in the psychological clinic of the Juvenile Court from November 1, 1947 to May 1, 1948 who had attended public schools for one month or more of this period. Every subject was given Form L of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test, Form D of the Stanford Achievement Tests, and a structured interview. Probation officers checked questionnaires which provided pertinent social history material about each child. All thirty-two schools attended by subjects were visited and the principals or assistant principals, counselors, homeroom teachers, and classroom teachers of each child were interviewed by a structured procedure. Cumulative and other available records in the schools and the work of the court and clinic were used as research data.

Limitations of study.-- The limitations of the study include: the small number of cases studied; the subjective qualities of the case method of research; and the local character of the data.

Related literature.-- An extensive review of related literature furnished pertinent background material for the study. These data pertained to personal and social characteristics of delinquents, their school adjustment, and techniques used in meeting their needs in the

school situation. Previous investigators found delinquents to be slightly less intelligent than average children, but equally healthy. Their leisure time activities and practices were reported as less constructive than those of most children. Their personalities were generally found to be characterized by immaturity, egocentricity, aggression, and destructiveness. The relationships of delinquents with parents and parent-figures were generally regarded as poor, and the general emotional climate and social standards of the homes were found to be inferior. The general adjustment of delinquents in school was reported as poor, because of their poor achievement, poor adaptive qualities, and offensiveness to and incompatibility with peers and teachers. Data pertaining to many aspects of the delinquents' school adjustment were lacking in the studies reviewed.

Characteristics of subjects of study.--- The mean age of the subjects of the study was 14.2 years. Their mean I.Q. was 92.4. In age and I.Q. the subjects did not differ greatly from a larger number of subjects seen in the clinic over a two-year period. The percentages of girls and Negro children seen in the clinic and therefore included in the study were higher than for the total juvenile court population. The personal and social characteristics of the subjects were not unlike those of delinquents reported in other studies. Subjects were reported by probation officers to be in good or fair health and to use their leisure time poorly. They came from families that tended to be unstable economically and socially. Intra-family relationships were poor and disciplinary and supervisory practices in the homes were not conducive to wholesome development.

School achievement of subjects.-- The school achievement of the subjects was very poor in all respects. Data supporting this statement were secured from school records and from interviews with teachers and subjects. Subjects had changed schools five times on the average. These moves from school to school were found related to loss of interest, truancy, poor adjustment in new schools, retardation, over-aggressiveness, and withdrawal symptoms. Forced or punitive transferring of subjects by some schools where they had created serious problems intensified their hostility and maladjustment. On the other hand, transferring was used as a therapeutic measure by some schools, with the interest to make the transfer a positive experience for the child.

The poor attendance records of subjects contributed to their poor achievement. Factors influencing attendance records were parental attitudes toward school; the relationships of the subjects with their peers; the relationships of subjects with their teachers; and their poor achievement.

More than a fourth of the subjects were in special classes of one kind or another and the remaining group averaged one and one-half grades below their normal grade placement. Subjects did not work up to their mental capacities or up to their grade levels in school. Effects of retardation were found to be broken morale, defensive and destructive behavior, and leaving school.

Subject and grade failures were prominent among the delinquents. The grades most frequently failed were the first, second, third, and fifth.

Reading was the subject most frequently failed, year after year; but a greater number of the children had failed at least once in arithmetic. The children felt these inadequacies keenly. Effects of repeated failure were aggression, denial of failure and inadequacy, withdrawal symptoms, hopelessness, and self-contempt.

Teachers reported that the children were poorly prepared in subject matter but that their greatest needs were in personality adjustment. The offensive and aggressive behavior of subjects hampered the achievement of their classmates as well as the subjects' own achievement.

Peer relations.-- Because the urge for social acceptance among boys and girls plays an important role in their lives, a fact that makes peer relationships an important aspect of the child's school adjustment, the relationships of subjects and their peers were evaluated. Data for this evaluation were furnished by teachers and subjects in interviews, by ratings by homeroom teachers on the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale, and by sociometric tests given in classrooms of the subjects. The school was reported by the subjects as the largest single source of friendships, although more than half of them had met their friends in a variety of other situations. Few subjects had met their friends in directed or organized group situations. The subjects made it known that they were looking to their friends for emotional security, dependency gratification, affection, and protection. Many of them were searching for assets in friends which were lacking in their own personalities. For example, those who were most offensive

liked friends who were congenial and adaptable. The subjects did not seem to know how to form satisfying and meaningful relationships. They earned favor and attention from classmates through clowning, performing services, and granting favors or offering gifts. Their relationships with peers were often damaged by their offensiveness and their violations of peer codes and general moral codes. Those subjects who were no longer struggling for approval from classmates were playing truant. It is possible that insecurity with peers is especially significant in those children who are insecure in family relationships, as is the case with delinquent children.

On sociometric tests, the subjects received many more rejections than acceptances from their classmates. Limited assets and many weaknesses of the subjects were revealed in the sociometric reports of their classmates. Although a few subjects were able to form mutual friendships with some classmates, their feelings of insecurity with peers persisted. Factors influencing the rejection of subjects by classmates were offensive personality traits, social class status, appearance, poor achievement, limited social and physical skills, violation of middle-class ethical standards, violation of peer codes and standards, group destructiveness, and possible teacher influence.

Although most of the delinquents exhibited considerable aggression, a few tended to show signs of withdrawal behavior despite the fact that some form of aggression brought them into conflict with the law. These children who were less socially offensive and destructive in the group were no better accepted by classmates than their overbearing companions.

Homeroom, physical education, special class, and industrial and domestic arts teachers seemed to have more insight into peer relationships and other adjustment problems of the children than most other teachers.

School conduct.-- The school conduct of the subjects was evaluated through information secured in interviews with principals and their assistants, with teachers, and with the subjects themselves. Homeroom teachers checked the subjects' conduct on behavior rating scales. Case studies also provided information for the evaluation. Principals, teachers, and subjects all reported that the subjects presented in school a wide range of conduct problems, most of which involved aggressive behavior. The teachers reported that subjects were most frequently presenting problems of truancy, defiance, stealing, resistance, laziness and disinterest in school work, and sex. Less than one-fifth of the children presented non-aggressive behavior in their classrooms. When teachers checked behavior rating scales regarding subjects, the most common problems were, (1) disinterest in school work and (2) truancy. The teachers said they were most annoyed by problems of truancy, defiance, laziness, and disinterest in school work. These problems, like the aggressive behavior exhibited by the children, seemed to be regarded by teachers as threatening and as reflecting upon their adequacy as teachers.

Problems discussed by principals and adjustment personnel included not only school behavior but also certain community behavior like stealing and burglary. However, the administrator's insight into

problems of subjects seemed to be related to the problems for which the child had been referred to the office. Elementary school principals seemed to have more information about the classroom adjustment of individual subjects than did junior and senior high school principals. This condition was due to the presence of counselors and other adjustment specialists in the high schools. The subjects regarded defiance and fighting as their most serious problems, apparently because this kind of behavior yielded heavier punishments which then served as their criteria for the seriousness of their behavior. Truancy was reported less often as a serious problem by subjects than defiance and stealing. Problems usually existed in combinations. Truancy appeared most frequently in combination with other problems. Truants were found to possess deeper emotional conflicts that were often obscured by pleasure-seeking and other surface behavior.

The exaggerated reaction of the delinquent to elements in the school situation may be motivated to some extent by his own inner conflicts and other problems of which the delinquent is unaware. His feelings aroused by these factors are then released upon the problem at hand. When school personnel in turn challenge the delinquent's exaggerated behavior an endless cycle of conflict is established. The delinquent's behavior and make-up seem to possess unique features that provoke strongly charged emotional reactions in other people. There is need for more understanding of the besetting qualities in this behavior and of their power to ignite such strong emotion. Teachers need to understand the meaning of their own roles and emotional involvement in

this interaction with delinquents. The need to understand aggression, including both its control and its use or redirection in the school situation, is of paramount importance if techniques are to be developed for meeting the needs of the delinquent in the schools.

School treatment of subjects.-- Since delinquent children possess a complexity and multiplicity of personal and social needs, some evaluation was made of the provisions in the schools for meeting these needs, especially pertaining to personal and social welfare, development, and adjustment. The principals, teachers, and subjects served as sources for securing these data. Case studies supplemented other information.

Welfare services provided by the schools were primarily of a health and economic nature. There was revealed the need for understanding and investigating the welfare needs of children and the need for techniques of administering to these needs as effectively as possible and with minimal injury to the children's pride.

Programs in schools provided a variety of opportunities for the development of personal and social skills, but these activities were participated in by the subjects to a very limited degree. Activities involving intense energy output and those providing for the expression and acting out of feelings and for showing off held especial appeal for the subjects.

According to school personnel, the personal and social adjustment of subjects was aided most often through counseling, talking, and punishment. Teachers worked primarily on the adjustment problems

of subjects, but were aided most of the time by principals, counselors, and outside agencies. There was little differentiation made among school personnel in the responsibility for handling these problems. Sometimes the teacher handled them and sometimes the problems were passed on to other authorities. Sometimes efforts and energy of school personnel were overlapping, as there was no coordinated plan or defined and clarified policy for handling adjustment problems of these subjects. Teachers seemed to employ whatever methods they wished or deemed best at the moment they faced the problems. Teachers reported conflicting feelings concerning their responsibility to the individual child and their obligation to the total group. A limited amount of reassignment therapy was used with these subjects, but such techniques as creative dramatics, sociodrama, group therapy, relationship therapy and other methods were not reported. There was also confused thinking among teachers about home visitation of subjects.

Placement in other schools when problems arose was a commonly used technique of adjustment, but followed no consistent pattern. Mental ability was used as a basis for the placements more often than were adjustment needs. There were few facilities like adjustment classes within the school system, for placement of children with serious adjustment needs. Two such classes were being attended by subjects of the study.

Other resources within the school system that were used by schools for aiding personal and social adjustment of subjects consisted of psychological services, services rendered by home visitors (truant

officers) and visiting teachers (trained social workers). The resources most frequently used were those of personnel within the subjects' own schools. This practice calls for the development of special adjustment techniques within the classroom and the school proper. It also means that school personnel should be versed in techniques for dealing with and relating themselves to children with adjustment problems. Community resources were used somewhat frequently by school personnel in aiding the personal adjustment of subjects.

Relationship of subjects and their parents with school personnel.-- To explore further the dynamic factors that were at work in the school adjustment of the delinquent subjects, an evaluation was made of relationships of the subjects and their parents to teachers and other school personnel. Principals, teachers, and subjects provided data for this evaluation, in interviews. Interpretations were made from case studies. Principals tended to have somewhat limited insight into the relationships between teachers and the subjects. Sometimes this limitation was caused by a bias growing out of the principal's tendency to overidentify himself with the teacher who had faced frustrations with a subject. Attitudes of teachers and principals toward the Juvenile Court or certain workers of the Court affected their relationships with children who were considered court cases.

A majority of the teachers reported that they had good relationships with the subjects. This report seemed questionable in the light of many discussions which had revealed intense conflicts with and negative feelings toward the subjects.

The children described their favorite teachers as being kind, tolerant, helpful, friendly, fair, calm, clear in teaching, honest, openminded, and as having the ability to put subject matter across. They objected to attitudes of aggression and nervousness in teachers. A majority of the children had never talked over their problems with teachers. However, most of them had wanted to do so, but thought the teachers were too busy or were not interested in them. Generally, they wanted to talk with teachers about problems of a personal nature, or those pertaining to family conflicts.

From interpretation of case studies and other data, certain factors stood out in the relationships of subjects with their teachers. Teachers' reactions to original negative behavior of subjects sometimes stimulated further negative behavior and problems in children. The mutual effects of methods used by principals and teachers in handling problems of children were notable. The identification of a child with a community agency having a philosophy similar or different from that of the child's school sometimes affected methods of treatment. Relationship skills of teachers and principals and pressures of the school program were factors. Orientation of teachers through child-study or other training in understanding and meeting basic needs of children seemed to affect the relationship between teachers and pupils. Children tended to remember over long periods both pleasant and unpleasant experiences they had had with teachers.

Reports made by principals, teachers, and subjects indicated limited contact between the schools and the homes of subjects. Parents

visited the schools when they were sent for by school personnel to help settle problems. Parents did not participate in parent-teacher or other school activities. The contacts were generally unsatisfactory because of the uncooperative, indifferent, or openly antagonistic attitudes of parents. Teachers did not tend to visit homes of pupils, largely because of school policy, busy schedules, or fear of imposing upon parents. Some said they wished they could visit their pupils. Most teachers had limited information concerning the cultural and social background of subjects. Most of the subjects wished for their teachers to visit their homes, while some objected on the ground that teachers would make bad reports to parents, or because they disliked teachers or were ashamed for teachers to see their poor living conditions. The children regretted that parents and the schools were not working closely together. Case studies revealed that the attitudes of parents toward the schools were affected by their own educational experiences and level, their cultural development, emotional adjustment, and the treatment that they received from school personnel. Parents were inclined to be sensitive to criticism and rejection by school personnel. The influence that teachers and other school personnel have upon the parents of delinquents is possibly a rich untapped source in the adjustment of the delinquent child in school.

Composite Case Report

The following case study is presented to illustrate the operation of factors most commonly found in the patterns of school

adjustment of the delinquent subjects of this study. The name of the subject of this case study is fictitious, and the details of the report do not fit any one actual subject. However, all the details have been selected from case studies of real individuals found among the fifty-five subjects of this investigation. In some instances theories relating to delinquency, as reported in the related literature or at various points in the study, are used to interpret deeper feelings expressed by the fictitious child concerning certain experiences and conditions that were found in the life situations of the delinquents. However, some of the feelings of the child described in the case report had actually been reported by certain children and do appear at various points in the study. The intent is to produce a composite picture, such as to reveal characteristics and behavior typical of many of the delinquents studied. In particular, dynamic factors in individual development and behavior are emphasized.

The structure and organization of the case report largely reflect the plan of the investigation as a whole.

Johnny (C.A. 14.2, M.A. 12.3, I.Q. 92.4, Grade 7). Family background.-- Johnny is a white boy who resides in the basin of the city with his mother and stepfather and four younger brothers and sisters. His parents were born in Kentucky and migrated to Cincinnati just prior to Johnny's birth. The family is of a Protestant faith but not affiliated with any church. Johnny attended Sunday School a few times when he was visiting relatives in Kentucky. His parents have a meager education, having completed elementary school in Kentucky. Their economic

status is marginal, since Johnny's stepfather is an unskilled laborer of limited income. The family has moved frequently both within the city and prior to coming to the city to live. When Johnny was thirteen, he got a job selling papers to earn his own spending money and to help the family out. The stepfather refused to give Johnny money for his own use. Being on the congested down-town streets at all hours selling newspapers, Johnny was readily exposed to many destructive and negative influences. He was often robbed and beaten by older bullies until he learned to stand up for himself by fighting with iron knuckles and black-jacks.

Personal and social characteristics.

Johnny is presently in fairly good physical health, but has had measles, whooping cough, mumps, and chicken pox. Although he knows about Boy Scouts, the Boys' Club, and the Y.M.C.A., Johnny has never held a membership in any of these or any other organized group activities. Sometimes he goes to the Boys' Club to play with "the guys." His companions and his habits are considered "bad" by his probation officer and he makes very poor use of his leisure time.

Intra-family adjustment.

Johnny has always preferred being with his gang to being at home, since he has always realized that he was never wanted by his parents. His mother has let him know this in many different ways, although she has never been as mean to him as his father and stepfather. He thinks sometimes that he hates both his "old men" as much for the way they have treated his mother as the beatings they have given him.

At least she has cooked for him most of the time and told him right from wrong. There have been times, however, when he did not know what she considered right and what she considered wrong because she was so changeable in her attitudes. He did not even try to understand either of his "old men," because, he said, "they hate me and I hate their guts."

Johnny's family has been known to the family division of the court since Johnny was four. At that time the mother asked the court to force the father to support the family. He had been squandering his wages on drink and gambling. This referral to the court caused considerable tension in the home, and finally led the father to desert the family. During this period of separation and divorce of the parents, Johnny and his little brother had been placed in an institution. The mother remarried and took the boys home. Three more children were born later to this second union. The marital situation soon began to resemble the original one. At present, there is no peace for any one in the home.

Social and moral standards of home and community.

The congested living conditions in a vice-ridden neighborhood intensify the situation, as the children must play in the alley and are exposed to all kinds of antisocial and lewd behavior of adults and older youths. Johnny was first referred to the juvenile court when he was thirteen, for the offense of stealing.

School achievement.

Johnny's school adjustment is almost as unhappy as his home life because he has always been forced to attend against his will.

Consequently, he was always feeling angry and hostile in school and got into one tilt after another. He used to have fun once in a while at school, he reported, but just as soon as he got set in one school his folks would "up and move" and he had to change to another school. He has attended five different schools in the eight years he has been in school. He felt lucky, however, because some of his gang had changed twelve and thirteen times in eight years. The time he minded most changing schools, he said, was when he was put out of a school he liked "pretty well" because he was considered a bad influence on other kids. He wished they had given him "a break" and let him stay, " 'cause I could have straightened up in that school... Well, it didn't matter too much either, 'cause I ain't never been wanted nowhere I been nohow." In his new school Johnny often felt angry and frustrated and did not care if he showed his feelings to the new teachers and "kids." The lessons were so different and teachers taught so differently in the new school and kids often "picked on you to see if you had guts." It was then that Johnny began playing truant. He stayed out of school about twenty-four days each year, sometimes more, sometimes less. One year he missed seventy-four days of school. His "mom" didn't seem to care a lot of times whether he went or not. "In fact, it seemed as if she was getting back at Old Lady Smith, a teacher she had never liked, by letting me stay at home for no good reason at all," Johnny thought. He knew how his mother felt about most teachers and he said he knew just what to tell her to "make her real mad with 'em" so she would take his side. On such occasions Johnny got his mother to express her affection

for him by "taking up" for him against teachers. He had to admit, though, that it was pleasant the time the teacher talked nice to him about his "mom" and said she was glad when his "mom" came to school. He went to school more that year and "mom" cleaned him up better and got him up on time to get to school.

Johnny is larger than most of his seventh-grade classmates. He is fourteen and most of them are twelve years old. However, one of his gang members in this room is almost sixteen years of age. "You have to put up with them babies and that sissy-stuff all day in school," reported Johnny. These remarks were obviously of a defensive nature because Johnny sensed that he could not read as well or work arithmetic as well as most of his classmates. Actually, his reading and arithmetic ratings on tests were only at the fourth-grade level, with arithmetic somewhat lower than reading. Teachers had tried to help Johnny improve his skills in reading and arithmetic but could never settle down to helping him because of his offensiveness and clowning. He got along in his shop courses and even in physical education better than he did in his academic subjects.

Peer relations.

Johnny feels that most of his friends are made at school, yet somehow he is never quite satisfied and comfortable about the way his classmates feel about him and treat him. He has to buy them candy or do menial favors or even clown for them to try to make them like him. The children say Johnny is a poor sport in games, tending to cheat and take advantage of them, to boast, and argue and fight. When Johnny has

a mutual friend he is still very insecure in his class groups. The children resent the disturbances he causes in class because it retards class progress. Johnny has no insight into the real difficulties in his peer relationships. His teachers of shop and physical education subjects and his elementary school teachers seemed to understand him better and to know more about the way his peers felt about him.

School conduct.

Johnny cannot concentrate on his school work any more. His mind seems full of the things the gang will be doing each night, yet school work gets on his nerves most when he is worried about the trouble his "mom" and "the old man" are having and the way "the old man" hates Johnny more and more. When things get "especially tough" Johnny says he "skips school 'cause you just don't feel like being bottled all up when you're mad and can't think about school no-how." The best way to get worries off your mind, he feels, is to find some fun to have like going to the movies or hanging around the shipping docks. When the home visitor forces Johnny into school the only way he says he can get back at them is to "bawl out a crazy old teacher or sock some kid who meddles you or gits in your hair." Mr. Keen, the principal, "has got so he sends me home but sometimes he paddles me too," Johnny asserts. When the teachers and principals talk with Johnny about his attitude, he covers up his guilt and discomfort by blaming the teacher and his classmates for his defiance and outbursts. He was most ashamed and guilty and therefore, outwardly "tougher" when he and some of his gang broke into the school and "messed up the building by strewing ice cream

and food and stuff all around," he said.

School treatment.

Johnny felt so guilty for breaking into the school because after all it was the school that had given him shoes and his family a basket of food that time "when the old man got kicked off his job for drinking so much." He said he wouldn't have done it, "but them guys threatened to beat me up if I didn't go with 'em and show 'em things in the school." Yet he had to admit that it was good to get in those cabinets and eat all you wanted out of them for once. There had been many times when he had wished that he could buy a great big lunch but didn't tell anyone how hungry he was. He hated for the guys with lunch money to know how "bad I wanted to eat," he said. He stated that he "hated for them snooty teachers to know too."

Johnny admired the "big shot guys around school, especially the ones with so much authority. He got to be a guard one time and felt very good about it. He had also wanted to belong to some of the clubs they had at school, but didn't always feel like being bothered and bossed by some of the "nice guys." When he did go to a club at school he wished they had played more games or done some things other than sitting around talking so much, "cause I never was much on gabbing," Johnny said. In fact, Johnny wished that teachers didn't "gab" so much either. They preach at you and shame you and "some just plain lie," he said, when they are talking so much about themselves and their kids. They act like "they know it all and try to act so big when they are riding in their big cars." Some are so mean that they "knock your

block off every time you open your trap." He said somehow, he liked talking with the assistant principal at one school because he never pried too much nor tried to make you feel "like a dog. ...he had a way of making you feel as good as other guys and you didn't mind taking a lot of school stuff after you had seen him...he sort of had a way of knowing how you felt down inside and of making you like other people and sort of caring how you treated folks." Usually Johnny felt that he didn't care how he hurt other folk because he had been hurt so much by so many people; but it is clear that he was hurt most by those he cared most about. He said he used to want so much to talk with his teachers early in the morning about "things that were hurting inside"... once, he had a teacher who seemed to know when he was feeling bad inside and would say nice things to him or help him with his work even when he was acting mad with everybody... She knew he wasn't mad with her or the other kids, but with his "old man." He said she even washed his face in some cold water when his head was hurting. He expressed that he could remember no one, not even his mother, showing such tenderness with him.

Home-school relationships.

This was the teacher with whom Johnny always wanted his "mom" to talk, but his "mom" usually comes when everyone at school is "mad" at him and say such mean things about him. She has never come to the meetings that schools hold for parents because she has no "dress-up" clothes and "anyhow she just stays around the house and mopes since things ain't been going good," Johnny thought. "If she had talked to

my teacher who understood people and liked me she would have felt better like I always did when she talked to me," Johnny wished.

Interpretation.-- The foregoing case analysis reveals many of the factors underlying the school adjustment of the delinquent children of this investigation. As is shown in this and other studies pertaining to delinquents, social and economic conditions within the family and neighborhood lend themselves to unwholesome influences upon personality development and sometimes make school adjustment difficult for the child. Intra-family relationships usually create severe emotional insecurity and associated problems which are reflected in school and other relationships which are formed by the child. Changing schools often intensifies the school problems of delinquents. Their attendance and achievement at school are poor. Their poor social skills make them unpopular with and often cause them to be rejected by children and teachers. Generally they have no insight into their needs and adopt a defensive and hostile manner in school.

School personnel try in many ways to meet the ~~needs~~ of the delinquent child but on the whole have not designed methods for coping with the specific problems of delinquents in the school situation. Since this type of child does not respond to the program designed for the more normally adjusted child, further problems are created for him and for the school. The parents tend to give limited assistance in handling the problems of the delinquents for many reasons. For example, parents themselves may be overwhelmed by their own problems or many have a deep prejudice against the school.

Conclusions

From the evidence gathered in this study it is obvious that administrators, teachers, children, and parents are seriously concerned with the school adjustment of delinquent children. All seem greatly aware and concerned that the problem is not being adequately met in the school situation. School personnel are generally eager to meet the needs of delinquent children as effectively as they can. The schools seem to be using to a considerable degree those resources provided by the school system and the community in meeting the needs of delinquent children. However, it is further obvious that these resources are far from adequate. Some of the needs in resources and facilities are pointed up in the following statements.

The following points deal with the handling of specific children, at the levels of both prevention and treatment in the work of the school:

1. A school program so planned as to meet the real needs of all children, with regard for their individual differences, would avoid the frustrations which come with school failure and which are the first mark of the school child who becomes a delinquent.

2. Teachers need to learn to establish good relationships with all pupils, and especially to avoid even the appearance of rejecting the delinquent child. Rejection by teachers is a second mark of the school child who becomes a delinquent.

3. Children should be helped to gain social and other skills that will help them gain acceptance from their peers and to develop satisfying relationships with peers. Peer rejection is a third mark of

the school child who becomes a delinquent.

4. All children in the school should engage in activities provided for the personal and social development and adjustment of its children. This applies especially to the pre-delinquent or already delinquent child, who needs social acceptance and help in developing his social skills.

5. The roles played by school personnel, from administrators through classroom teachers, in working with delinquents and pre-delinquents, should be carefully defined. At present many persons concern themselves with delinquency, but there exist serious overlapping of effort, contradictory approaches, and unnecessary gaps in services.

6. Any attack upon the problems of school delinquents must be a partial one until and unless their parents are involved in the work done with the child. The school should make every effort to analyze possibilities for parents to share in the attack upon the problem of delinquency on the part of school children.

The remaining points are concerned with the general program of the school for the prevention and treatment of delinquency:

7. Since teachers are the principal people who must work with delinquents who are in school, they should be given appropriate pre-service and in-service training. They need to understand the psychological problems of their pupils and in particular of those who show delinquent tendencies or behavior.

8. It is especially important for teachers and other school personnel to learn counseling techniques. Counseling is probably the

major technique available for teachers to use in dealing with delinquents.

9. Other techniques for understanding and treating special problems of children in the classroom and school should be learned and used appropriately. Some of these techniques might include role playing, creative dramatics, bibliotherapy, and group process.

10. In serious cases the school should use techniques of the clinical conference. Here in a round-table discussion all affected members of the school personnel, together with such outside people as are concerned with the individual's problems, should discuss the background of the individual, his personal traits, the diagnosis of his present problems, future possibilities, and a projected course of treatment.

11. Through community planning, roles played by the schools and other agencies in the community should be integrated in a thorough-going attack upon the problem of delinquency, its prevention, its diagnosis, and its treatment.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW WITH CHILDREN

INTERVIEW WITH CHILDREN

I. PERSONAL-SOCIAL DATA

1. Where do you play most of the time?
 2. What time do you usually go to bed? Get up?
 3. Do you eat lunch every day? Y N Where?
 4. How much spending money do you get every day?
 5. Who gives you most of your spending money? Mother ()
Father () Other ()
 6. What do you usually buy with it?
 7. Do you always buy the school supplies you need? Y N
 8. How do you get most of your school supplies?
 9. Do you wish for more money than you get? Y N
 10. Do you work? Y N Where? Hours?
 11. Kind of work? Wages?
 12. How did you get this job?
 13. How do you spend your money?
 14. Where do you get the books that you read?
 15. Name the last three books that you read?
 16. What magazine or funny books do you read?
 17. Do you have a library card? Y N Where did you get it?
 18. What books have you gotten from school to read for fun?
 19. Do you have a membership in any of the following organizations?
- | | | |
|-------------|--------------------|---------|
| YWCA | Neighborhood House | Others: |
| YMCA | Church | |
| Boy Scouts | Sunday School | |
| Girl Scouts | Playgrounds | |
| Boys' Club | Canteens | |

20. What do you do or play there?
21. How often per week do you go to the movies?
22. What else do you do for fun?
23. What would you rather do than anything else in the world for fun?
24. Do you belong to a gang? Y N Where does the gang meet?
25. Where does your gang play?
Who is the "boss" in your gang?
What do you do in the gang?
26. Do you belong to any clubs outside of school? Y N
Tell me something about the club.
27. Does a "grown-up" meet with your club? Y N
28. What are some of the things that you do to make your parents like you better?
29. Do you wish your parents liked you better? Y N
30. What makes you think they don't always like you real well?
31. What are some of the things that you do to make your sisters and brothers like you better?
32. Do you wish your brothers and sisters would like you better? Y N
33. Does anybody at home mistreat you sometimes? Y N Who?
How?
34. Some people get mad and pout when their feelings are hurt; some "get even;" some do other things. What do you do when your feelings are hurt at home, or when you feel mistreated?
35. Some children are happy at home; some are not. Which describes best how you feel at home most of the time?

(a) Happy all the time	(d) Hardly ever happy
(b) Happy most of the time	(e) Never happy
(c) Happy pretty often	

36. When are you most happy at home?
37. When are you most unhappy at home?
38. Do you worry sometimes about your parents separating or divorcing? Y N Why?
39. Who is your mother's favorite child?
Your father's?
40. Whose favorite child would you like to be?
41. How often do you go to church?
To Sunday School?
42. Whom do you want most to be like?
43. Whom do you like better than anyone else in the world?
Next best? Next best?
44. Whom do you like less than anyone else in the world?
Next? Next?
45. Do you like to be sick? Y N Why?
46. Do your parents baby you when you are sick? Y N
Do you like this? Y N Why?
47. Are all the members of your family well? Y N Explain:
48. Do you wish that you would grow faster, or slower? (Underline)
Why?
49. Do your parents ever praise you when you have done something really well at home, or elsewhere? Y N For example:

50. Do you always do your work at home to suit your parents?
Y N Why not?
51. What can you do better than anything else? (Draw, sing, dance, etc.)
52. Do your parents know how good you are in _____
drawing, singing, etc.
Do they encourage you to _____? In what way?
53. Do you have many toys? Y N Any pets? Y N What?
54. Do you like to study? Y N Why?
55. Do you study only when you have to? Y N
56. What are your hobbies?
57. What tools or instruments do you have at home to practice on your hobbies?
58. Do you ever play or work alone? Y N Why?
59. Do you have a place of your own to keep your things? (Clothes and other belongings) Y N
60. Do you tell your parents everything you do? Y N Why?
61. Do you wish your parents would not boss you so much? Y N
Why?
62. Are you usually "mad" when you have to work at home? Y N
Why?
63. Would you rather live in some other neighborhood? Y N Why?

II. SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

1. What school do you attend?
2. Grade?
3. What age did you enter school?
4. What schools have you attended?

School

Grade

5. In what subject do you make your best marks?
Why do you do so well in this subject?
6. In what subject do you make your poorest marks?
7. Why don't you do good work in this subject?
8. What special help has been given you at school in your school work?
9. In what subjects and skills do you feel that you need special help?

Why?

10. What is your favorite subject?
11. Why do you like it best?
12. What subject do you like least of all?

Why?

13. What grades have you skipped?
What grades have you repeated?
14. Why did you fail?

15. How did you feel when you failed the first time?
The second time?
16. Did you hate your teacher for not passing you either time?
Y N Explain:
- Did you hate yourself for not passing? Y N
17. How much time have you missed in school this year?
None A little A fair amount A lot
Last year?
None A little A fair amount A lot
18. Did you play hookey all the time you missed? Y N
Most of the time A few times None
19. Why did you stay out?
20. When you played hookey the last time where did you go?
21. Do you like to play hookey? Y N Why?
22. Were you ever put out of any school or transferred to another school because of your conduct? Y N Why?
When? School?
How did you feel?
23. Would you like to make better marks in school? Y N Why?
24. Do you work as hard as you can in school? Y N Why?

III. PEER RELATIONSHIPS

1. Who is your best boy or girl friend?
2. Where did you meet him (her)?
3. How old is he (she)? Grade in school?
Your room? Y N
4. Why do you like him (her)?
5. Did you choose him(her) or did he (she) choose you first for a friend?
Why?
6. Do you feel that most of your classmates like you? Y N
Why?
7. Would you like to be like your best friends? Y N Why?
8. Are the children at school the best friends you have? Y N
9. What are some of the things that you do to make your friends like you?
10. Do you wish your friends liked you better? Y N Why?
11. What are some of the things you do to make your classmates like you better?
12. Do you wish most of the "kids" in your room liked you better?
Y N Why?
13. Who is your best friend in your class? Why?
14. Whom do you like least of all in your class? Why?

IV. PERSONAL-SOCIAL WELFARE AND DEVELOPMENT (SCHOOL SERVICES - ATTITUDES)

1. Do you like to draw or paint? (Underline) Y N
2. Can you paint or draw well? (Underline) Y N
3. Has any of your art work been exhibited at school? Y N
4. Would you like for your art work to be exhibited at school?
Y N Why?
5. Do you sing or play an instrument well? Y N Which one?
6. What musical activities have you participated in at school?
7. What musical activities would you like to take part in at school?
8. Have you ever been in plays at school? Y N
9. What part did you play?
10. Would you like to be in plays? Y N Why?
11. What other programs or activities (athletic, etc.) have you taken part in?
12. Would you like to take part in any of these and other activities? Y N What?
13. What other "very special things" have you done at school in music, athletics, drawing, and others?
14. Name the duties and responsibilities (and in what school) you have had at school (like school patrols, monitors, etc.) and also in your class this year and last year.

15. Which did you like best? Why?
16. Which duties would you like to have at school?
17. Does the school provide baths for any "kids"? Y N
Explain.
- Have you taken baths, besides gym baths, at school? Y N
Few times Fairly often Real often
18. Do you wish you could take baths other than gym baths at school? Y N Why?
19. Does the school provide free lunches for any "kids"? Y N
Have you eaten free lunches at school? Y N When?
About how many times?
20. Do you sometimes wish you could have free (or more) lunches at school? Y N Why?
21. Does the school give clothing to any "kids" at school? Y N
Have you ever received any clothing from school? Y N
When? What clothing?
22. Do you wish the school would give you clothing now? Y N
Why?
23. In what other ways has school helped you to get along better with people or to be happier?
24. Has school ever helped you or your family to get relief or other help from social agencies? Y N What agency?

25. Have you sometimes talked your troubles over with teachers, principals, or others at school? Y N With whom?

When?

About what?

26. What things (or other things) have you wanted to talk over with your teacher, principal, or others?

27. Why did you not tell them?

28. What are some of the things that your school could do to help you get along better in your subjects in school?

29. What are some of the things that your school could do to make you get along better with the other children at school?

30. What would make you like your teachers better?

V. ATTITUDES TOWARD TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS

1. Of all the teachers you have ever had, which one did you like best of all?

Why?

2. Which teacher did, or do, you like least of all?

Why?

3. Do you like your present teachers? Y N Why?

4. Do they like you? Y N Are they friends with you?
Y N Why?

5. Why don't they like you? Or why?

6. Is there a teacher's pet in the class? Y N Who?

Why do you think he (she) is the pet?

7. What are some of the things that you do to make your teachers like you real well? (Each one)
8. Do you wish they liked you better? Y N Why?
9. Who do you think is the all-around smartest child in your room at school?

Why do you think he (she) is the smartest?
10. Who is the "hardest to learn" in your class?
11. Where do you think you stand in the class? Smartest group
 Fairest group Poorest group

Why?
12. Do you try to "get your teacher's goat" some times? Y N
How?

Why?

VI. HOME-SCHOOL RELATIONSHIPS

1. Do your mother and father like your teachers? Y N Why?
2. How much longer do your parents want you to go to school?
3. Does your teacher sometimes visit your home? Y N Why?
4. Would you like for her to visit your home (more often)?
Y N Why?
5. Does your mother or father ever go to your school? Y N
Why?

6. Do you wish she (he) would go to school sometimes (or more often)? Y N Why?
7. Do your teacher and principal like your parents? Y N Why?
8. Do you wish your teacher liked your mother (father) better? Y N Why?
9. Do you wish your mother and father liked your teacher better? Y N Why?
10. Would you like your teachers better if your parents would like them better? Y N

VII. ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOL AND THE SCHOOL PROGRAM

1. Of all the schools that you have gone to, which one did you like best?
Why?
2. Which one did you like least of all?
Why?
3. What kind of work do you plan doing when you stop school?
4. Do you feel that you can really get this type of work?
Y N Why?
5. In what ways is school helping you to get ready for this kind of work?
6. Even if you did not need the money, would you rather be working than going to school? Y N Why?

- 7. How much longer do you plan going to school?
- 8. What subjects would you like to take at school that you are not taking now?

Why?
- 9. What other subjects would you like to see given at your school that are not given now?

Why?
- 10. What would make you like school better?
- 11. Do you think you learn anything worthwhile at school?
Y N Why?
- 12. Do you ever think most of what you learn is a "lot of junk?"
Y N Why?
- 13. What was the last trouble you had at school?
- 14. Why did you do this?
- 15. What did the teacher do?
- 16. What did the principal do?
- 17. Did you feel that this was fair? Y N Why?
- 18. What other trouble have you had in school?
- 19. What do you think is the most serious trouble you ever gave at school?

Why?

20. What was the biggest thrill you ever had at school?
21. What was the worst time and feeling you ever had at school?
22. How do you act when the teachers or principal have hurt your feelings, or mistreated you at school?
23. Some children are happy in school; some are not. Which of these statements explains how you feel in school most of the time?
- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| (a) Happy all the time | (d) Hardly ever happy |
| (b) Happy most of the time | (e) Never happy |
| (c) Happy pretty often | |
24. Suppose you could have the things you want most by wishing. Write the three big wishes you would make about school.
- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

APPENDIX B

GUIDE AND DEFINITIONS FOR SOCIAL HISTORY MATERIAL (L)

GUIDE AND DEFINITIONS FOR SOCIAL HISTORY MATERIAL (I)

(This outline will be used to secure social history material not already in the case records. It is designed for quick checking.)

1. Race of Offender
 - White
 - Negro
 - Other, specify
2. Birthplace of Father

3. Birthplace of Mother

4. Time parents have been in Cincinnati

Came from

5. Citizenship of Father
 - 1. Unknown
 - 2. Citizen by birth
 - 3. First papers
 - 4. Alien
 - 5. Naturalized citizen
6. Religion of Parents
 - 1. One or both unknown
 - 2. Both Catholic
 - 3. " Protestant
 - 4. " Hebrew
 - 5. One Catholic, other Protestant
 - 6. " Christian, other Hebrew
7. Education of Parents (Refers to the highest educational achievement of either parent or to the known educational achievement of 1 parent)
 - 1. Unknown
 - 2. Both illiterate or known parent illiterate
 - 3. Both read and write
 - 4. One read or/and write
 - 5. Both attended common-school
 - 6. One attended common-school
 - 7. Both attended high-school
 - 8. One attended high-school
 - 9. Both attended college
 - 10. One attended college

8. Legal Status of parents
 1. Unknown
 2. Married (even though one parent away from home by reason of imprisonment, illness, occupation)
 3. Married, but one parent deserts intermittently
 4. Divorced
 5. Living apart or legally separated
9. Age of offender at Time of First Break in the Home
 1. Unknown
 2. No break
 3. Under 5
 4. 5-9
 5. 10-14
 6. 15-over
10. Broken or Poorly Supervised Homes, Reason For (A broken home is one from which one or both parents have been removed by death, separation, desertion, divorced; imprisonment, or illness in hospital, or commitment to a hospital for mental diseases, with absence from the home for a year or more, or for frequent brief intervals.)
 If the home of the offender was not broken up previous to the time of the J.C. referral, any evidence of poor supervision by the parents should be noted.
 (Please check)
 1. Unknown
 2. None
 3. Death of one or both parents
 4. Sporadic or permanent desertion or separation
 5. Divorce of parents
 6. Prolonged absence of one or both parents by reason of illness or imprisonment
 7. Delinquency of one or both parents
 8. Incompatibility of parents
 9. Discipline poor by both parents
 10. Mother works out and no substitute in home
 11. Child Welfare agencies had to intervene
 12. Other
11. Relationship of Parents (Refers to relationship of own parents to each other, or of a parent and step-parent, at time of study or if one or both parents or step-parents dead or absent from the home by reason of chronic illness or imprisonment, it refers to their relationship when they last lived together).

Good.	Compatible: no undue quarreling,
Fair.	Gross incompatibility, yet no open breach.
Poor.	Separated, deserted, divorced.

12. Parent-Child Relations: Affection of Father (Refers to affection of own parent or step-parent or foster-parent for offender at time of Psy. Exam.)
 Good. Sympathetic, kind
 Fair. Indifferent
 Poor. Hostile to offender, rejecting, indulgent (underline)
13. Parent-Child Relations: Affection of Mother (See 12)
 Good.
 Fair.
 Poor.
 Unknown.
14. Parent-Child Relations: Discipline by Father (Refers to discipline of boy or girl by own parent, step-parents, or foster-parent within year prior to Psy. Exam.)
 Good. Firm control, but not so strict as to arouse fear in the child.
 Fair. Erratic
 Poor. Very lax or extremely rigid control
15. Parent-Child Relations: Discipline by Mother (See 14)
 Good.
 Fair.
 Poor.
16. Sibling Relations: Affection of Siblings. (No. of Siblings expressing each attitude) No. _____
 Good. Sympathetic, kind
 Fair. Indifferent, occasional misunderstandings
 Poor. Hostile to offender, rejecting; frequent fighting
17. Economic Status (This refers to the condition of the parental home or of the foster home, providing the offender has lived in the latter for more than six months prior to the Exam.)
Comfortable Family has resources to maintain itself for at least 4 months if income ceases.

Marginal Family lives on daily earnings but accumulates little or nothing, being usually on the verge of dependency. Here are included instances in which temporary aid was resorted to once or twice in order to tide over a critical situation. Aid may have been given for a few days or even a month, and with this little assistance the family were able to manage their own problem.

Dependent Family requires support quite continuously from public or private sources.

18. Occupation of Father

Hours _____

19. Occupation of Mother

Hours _____

20. Home: Physical (This refers to the physical aspect of the home of the offender at time of Psy. Exam.)

Good. Adequate space (i.e. not more than two people, including infant, to a bedroom), light, ventilation, cleanliness, sufficient furniture.

Fair. More than one of the above advantages plus one unfavorable factor.

Poor. Overcrowding, dirty, shabby furnishings, lack of ventilation, etc. Homes having one or more of these factors and no advantages to offset them are included. Cases of extreme overcrowding belong in this class even if the home is "good" or "fair" in other respects.

21. Neighborhood Influences (Refers to the neighborhood in which offender is resident at the time of the Psy. Exam.)

Good. No street gangs, no centers of vice or crime within a radius of 2 squares, opportunity for wholesome recreation within easy walking distance, as public playgrounds, school or community centers, parks, etc.

Fair. No street gangs, no centers of vice or crime within a radius of 2 square blocks, but no opportunities for wholesome recreation within walking distance.

Poor. Corner gangs, centers of vice or crime within radius of 2 square blocks, regardless of whether or not facilities for wholesome recreation exist within walking distance.

22. Social and Moral Standards of Home (This refers to the parental home unless offender has lived with a foster-family prior to 5 years of age in which case it refers to the latter home.)

Good. Wholesome ideals, and no delinquency among members of the family other than the offender, except for slight automobile violations or violation of license laws.

Fair. Homes in which, though there is no delinquency, there is an absence of wholesome ideals.

Poor. Homes in which there is immorality, alcoholism, or other delinquency.

23. Family History of Mental Disease or Defect (Family means blood relatives, Immediate family means own parents and own siblings.)

1. Unknown

2. None noted

3. History of mental disease in immediate family
4. Mental disease and mental defect in immediate family
5. Mental defect in immediate family
6. No mental disease or defect but peculiarities in immediate family
7. Probable mental defect in immediate family
8. Probable mental disease and mental defect in immediate family
9. No mental disease in immediate family but in other blood relatives
10. No mental defect in immediate family but in other blood relatives
11. No mental disease and defect in immediate family but in other blood-relatives

24. Family Delinquency (Includes family delinquency of step-parents and foster parents. Relatives by marriage as well as blood-relatives are included.

Unofficial delinquency - Misconduct for which the person has not been, but could be, arrested.

1. Unknown
2. None
3. Court record of one or both parents only
4. Court record of parents and siblings (i.e. one or more parents and one or more siblings)
5. Court record of parents or siblings and unofficial record of parents or siblings
6. Court record of siblings
7. Unofficial record of parents
8. Unofficial record of parents and siblings
9. Unofficial record of siblings
10. No court or unofficial records of immediate family but court record of relatives
11. Unofficial record of relatives

25. Members of Household at present time

1. Unknown
2. Both parents and siblings
3. One parent and siblings, if any
4. One parent and a step-parent
5. Two step-parents (or one step-parent and no own parent in home)
6. Relatives (no parents)
7. Foster-parents (not relatives)
8. Living alone or in institution
9. Roomers _____ No. _____

26. Rank of Offender among Siblings
1. First
 2. Second
 3. Third
 4. Fourth
 5. Fifth
 6. Sixth
 7. Seventh
 8. Eighth
 9. Ninth
 10. Tenth or over
 11. Unknown
27. No. of Children in Family
1. Only child
 2. Two
 3. Three
 4. Four
 5. Five
 6. Six
 7. Seven
 8. Eight
 9. Unknown
28. Legitimacy of Offender
1. Unknown
 2. Legitimate
 3. Conceived or born out of wedlock, parents never married
 4. Conceived or born out of wedlock, parents later married
 5. Question of legitimacy
29. Health of Offender at Time of Referral to clinic
- Good. General development good or fair, even if goiter, carious teeth, tremor, premature or delayed puberty, over-development of sex characteristics, or slight nose and throat ailments.
- Fair. Serious disease or handicaps
30. Diseases & Age Known effects from
- Measles _____
- Mumps _____
- Whooping Cough _____
- Scarlet Fever _____
- Pneumonia _____

Chicken Pox _____

Fractures _____

Operations _____

(Nature) _____

Other _____

31. Nature of Earliest Abnormal Environmental Experience (Refers to the nature of the 1st departure of the offender from the home in which he was reared --- a departure caused by a situation which is sufficiently serious, unusual, or marked in character to denote a breach in the family or/and community ties. It therefore excludes very temporary placements and vacations.
1. Unknown
 2. None
 3. Excessive running away from home
 4. Lived with relatives
 5. Lived in foster-home
 6. Lived in non-penal institution
 7. Commitment to correctional institution
 8. Excessive moving
 9. Vagrancy or excessive bunking
 10. Immigration or long period in foreign country with parents
 11. Army, navy or merchant marine
32. Age of Offender at Time of Earliest Abnormal Environment Experience
1. Unknown
 2. None
 3. Under 5
 4. 5-9
 5. 10-14
 6. 15 and over
33. Reasons for Earliest Abnormal Environment Experience
1. Reason unknown or other reason
 2. No abnormal environmental experience
 3. Death of parent or parents
 4. Separation or divorce of parents
 5. Desertion of one parent
 6. Both parents desert offender
 7. Illness of parent (mental or physical)
- Reasons for Earliest Abnormal Environmental Experience (continued)
8. Parents migrate to U.S. or offender spends considerable time in foreign country
 9. Delinquency of offender
 10. Home unsuitable as child neglected
 11. Home considered for other reasons unsuitable
 12. Runaway from home

34. Institutional or Foster-Home Experience, Hy Type
1. Unknown
 2. No experience of this type
 3. Industrial schools
 4. Truant schools
 5. Parental schools
 6. Other correctional institutions
 7. Schools for feebleminded
 8. Foster homes
 9. Children's institutions (non-penal)
35. Special Abilities and Talents
1. None
 2. Musical
 3. Mechanical
 4. Drawing or painting
 5. Other
36. Habits
1. No bad habits
 2. Coffee or tea (excessive), or before 12 years
 3. Drink (at 12 years or before), or excessive drinking
 4. Drugs
 5. Enuresis beyond three years of age
 6. Gambling
 7. Heterosexual habits
 8. Homosexual habits
 9. Lisp
 10. Lying, habitual
 11. Masturbation, excessive
 12. Nail-biting
 13. Smoking at 12 or before, or smoking after 12 but excessive
 14. Somnambulism
 15. Stammering
 16. Other (thumb sucking)
 17. Sex (nature unknown)
37. Signs of maladjustment
1. None noted
 2. Criminal ideation
 3. Sex ideation
 4. Conflict about parents
 5. Sex conflict
 6. Other crime-causative conflict
 7. Vocational dissatisfaction
 8. School dissatisfaction
 9. Other crime-causative dissatisfaction
 10. Question of mental conflict
 11. Question of ideation
 12. Question of dissatisfaction
 13. Other

38. Use of Leisure

Constructive.

Member of a well supervised social group, as Y.M.C.A. or settlement. Is using leisure time to further self educationally (as night school) or vocationally (as correspondence course or technical school); no bad habits.

Negative.

At least does not engage in harmful activities though not using leisure time constructively; no bad habits.

Harmful.

Pronounced bad habits, associations, or recreations which may lead to criminal conduct, such as bad companions, gangs, drug addiction, excessive drinking or gambling, etc. The presence of any one or combinations of these factors places the offender in this category.

39. Components of Use of Leisure (Bad habits include drinking, drug-using, gambling, sex, lying, stealing, i.e. any habits the practice of which might lead to conflict with the law.)

1. Bad companions
2. Bad companions and bad habits
3. Bad habits only
4. No bad companions or bad habits
5. Unknown

40. Member of Well Supervised Group (Refers to clubs and settlements, school and community centers, Y.M.C.A.'s and other recreational groups of this type having wholesome purposes and leadership. Includes vocational classes.)

1. Unknown
2. Never
3. Previously but not at time of J.C. Examination
4. Previously and at time of J.C. Examination
5. At time of J.C. Examination

41. Gangs and Crowds Member of (A gang is distinguished from a crowd by being organized for a definite anti-social purpose and having specific leadership, while a crowd is merely an aggregation of individuals with no purpose and no leadership.)

42. School Misconduct ("Other maladjustment" means hatred of study, stealing, lying, etc.)

1. Unknown
2. Truancy
3. Other maladjustment
4. No misconduct

43. Prior mental Examination

1. No
2. Yes

3. Unknown

4. Where _____ When _____

44. Employment, Regularity of

1. Regular. Work continuous with periods of unemployment not longer than a month, except for such reasons as are beyond control of the worker.

2. Irregular. Frequent changes of jobs, i.e. several times a year without manifesting any consistent effort to advance self vocationally.

3. Never worked.

4. Employed too recently to judge

45. Age at which Began Work. (Refers either to full or part-time gainful employment.)

1. Unknown

2. Not employed up to J.C. Exam.

3. 8 and under

4. 9-10

5. 11-12

6. 13-14

7. 15-16

8. Over 16

46. Employment, Nature of First or Early (Illegitimate employment refers to any occupation for gain which is against the law, as selling stolen goods, drug-selling, etc.)

1. Unknown

2. Never worked

3. Street trades: Newsboy, errand-boy, bootblack, messenger, peddler

4. Night work of any nature

5. Factory hand

6. Office boy, stock boy, clerk, bellhop

7. Helper to unskilled worker

8. Teamster, longshoreman

9. Helper to semi-skilled or skilled workman

10. Busboy, waiter or other restaurant hand

11. Illegitimate employment

12. Other

13. Waitress

14. Store clerk

15. Maid

47. Weekly allowance _____ (1) Definite or indefinite
(2) Provided by _____
(3) How spent (lunch, movies, etc.)

48. Nature of Earliest Known Misbehavior Manifestations
1. Unknown
 2. None noted
 3. Bunking out, running away
 4. Truancy
 5. Unmanageableness, disobedience, defiance
 6. Lying
 7. Cruelty, destructiveness, pugnacity, bullying
 8. Sex delinquency (incl. perversions and excessive masturbation)
 9. Stealing
 10. Other (excessive smoking, drinking, late hours -- specify)

49. Age of First Known Misbehavior Manifestations
1. Under 3
 2. 3-4
 3. 5-6
 4. 7-8
 5. 9-10
 6. 11-12
 7. 13-14
 8. 15-16
 9. Before 1st arrest, but exact time unknown

50. Length of Time Between Onset of Misbehavior Manifestations and First Arrest or Complaint to J.C.
1. Unknown
 2. Less than 1 year
 3. 1 year
 4. 2 years
 5. 3 years
 6. 4 years
 7. 5 years
 8. 6 or more years
 9. No time elapsed

51. Birth & Developmental History
1. Child wanted or unwanted at birth (underline)
 2. Health of mother during pregnancy
 - Good
 - Poor (Specify)
 - Fair (Vomiting, occasional illness)

3. Delivery

No difficulty

Moderately difficult (long labor, etc.)

Difficult (caesarian, instrumental, etc.) Specify

4. Weight at birth _____

5. Age of walking _____

6. Age of talking _____

7. Age of dentition _____

8. Age of enuresis stopped _____

9. Eating habits

Finicky

Ravenous

Good (balanced)

52. List known sex experiences

53. Have you visited this child's school? Yes _____ No _____ (check)

54. Is the child well adjusted in school? Yes _____ No _____ (check)

55. In your opinion is the child accepted or rejected by the teacher?

(check) Rejected _____ Accepted _____

Explain briefly _____

56. What in your opinion would improve this child's school adjustment?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW WITH PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOL ATTENDED BY SUBJECTS

Child's Name _____ School _____

INTERVIEW WITH PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOL ATTENDED BY SUBJECTS

1. What problem have you as an administrator faced with this child?
2. Do you regard him as one of the more serious behavior problems in your school? Y N
In what ways?
3. What methods have you used to deal with him?
4. What do you consider the underlying causes of his problems?
5. Describe the attitude of the parents of this child
Toward school

Toward the child's adjustment and progress in school
6. Have the parents been invited to the school or to participate in the school program? Y N
7. What were their reactions?
8. Describe the parents' contacts with the school and school program.
9. Have the parents' attitudes helped or hindered your interest in and efforts toward helping the child? Y N
In what ways?
10. In what ways do you feel that the parents have influenced the child in his attitudes toward school (for better or worse)?

11. Do you find that delinquent children's problems can be solved better by transferring them into a new school situation? Y N

Why?

12. Do you find in your experience with delinquent children that they usually require different or particular methods of handling? Y N

Why?

13. Do you believe that delinquent children should be segregated in school from other children? Y N

Why?

How?

14. What elements in your school organization are especially designed to meet the social and emotional needs of children? Especially maladjusted children?

15. In which of these activities does this child participate?

16. How would you describe the relationship between this pupil and his teachers? Each one separately.

17. What else would you like to do toward meeting the needs of delinquent children that present circumstances prohibit?

18. To what extent does this child respond to the teachers? Each one separately.

19. Do you feel that the homeroom teacher stimulates the best possible behavior and school achievement from him? Y N

Why?

20. Does each of his other teachers stimulate the best possible behavior and school achievement from him? Y N

Why?

21. What aspects of the child's behavior does each teacher find especially annoying and upsetting?

Can his teachers accept his immaturities and limitations as such and not as faults to be blamed? Each one separately.

22. What have teachers found to be this child's most serious problems?

23. What aspects of his behavior do you find most annoying and upsetting?

24. What reactions do his teachers make to him when he is most annoying? Each one separately.

25. In relation to the other children in his room, how would you say he rates in the teachers' affection?

Highest	Fairly high	Average	Rather low	Lowest
---------	-------------	---------	------------	--------

Homeroom:

Others individually:

26. How would you describe his affection for each?
27. What services have been given this child by the school for his physical welfare (e.g., baths, lunches, clothing, etc.)?
28. What assistance has the school tried to give this child in his personal-social adjustment?
29. What other provisions have been made for his welfare by or through the school (referrals to social agencies, etc.)?
30. What club and other extra-instructional activities have been participated in by this child?
31. What duties and responsibilities have been given him at school, e.g., patrols, etc.?
- How did he respond to these responsibilities?
32. What special recognition has he received in school?
33. In what special activities of a creative, personal expression, and communicative nature has he participated?
34. What special aid has been given this child along instructional lines?

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW WITH TEACHERS OF SUBJECTS (I)

INTERVIEW WITH TEACHERS OF SUBJECTS (I)

Homeroom

1. How many pupils are in this child's class?
 2. Is he in a self-contained, departmentalized, semi-departmentalized group? (Underline)
 3. Describe your teaching load.
 4. In what subjects does this child succeed best?
Academic Other
 5. In what subjects does he do his poorest work?
- What special skills does he have?
6. Which of his personality traits do you find most pleasing?
 7. What are this child's greatest needs?
 (Subjects:
Instructional
 (Skills:

Social:
 8. What special aid have you been able to give this child along instructional lines?
 9. How much initiative and responsibility does he assume as a member of the class group?
 10. What negative reactions have you found him making to you and to the classroom group?
 11. What are his assets in classroom adjustment?

12. Have you ever visited this child's home? Y N
13. Are there definite circumstances that have kept you from visiting this child's home? Please explain.

14. If you have visited his home, describe the conditions you found there.

Number of rooms:

Kind of food in home:

Neighborhood:

Play facilities (toys, where does he play?):

Does he feel secure in his home? Y N Explain.

How much spending money does he get?

Is he wanted by both parents? Y N

Do his parents seem consistent in their treatment and attitudes?
Y N

Describe the parents' affection for the child as you see it.

Is there good morale in the home? Y N

Are there joint family activities? Y N

Is the home unstable? Y N Broken? Y N

Is there illness or feeble-mindedness in the home? Y N

15. Describe the attitudes expressed by this child's parents toward school personnel (cooperative, antagonistic, indifferent, other).

16. Have these parents been invited to school or to participate in the school program? Y N If so, what were their reactions?

17. Where does this child usually make his friends?
18. Is he well liked in the classroom by his classmates? Y N Why?
- About what number of his classmates does he like?
 Most of them About half A few None
19. Describe the attitude expressed by this child's parents toward the child's school adjustment and achievement (interested, indifferent, emotionally anxious, etc.).
20. Describe the parents' contacts with the school and school program.
21. Have the parents' attitudes affected your interest in the child or your efforts toward helping him? Y N In what ways?
22. In what ways do you feel that the parents have influenced the child in his attitudes toward school? For better or for worse? Explain.
23. Should this child be in a class of delinquent children? Y N
 Why?
24. Do you believe that delinquent or problem children should be segregated in school from other children? Y N Why?
25. Do you usually find any particular methods more suitable for handling delinquent children than for handling other children?
 Why?
26. What club and other extra-instructional activities (clubs, music, etc.) have been participated in by this child?

27. What special activities of a creative, personal expression, and communicative nature has he participated in (dramatics, dancing, writing)?
28. Has the school provided recreation or other club experiences in order to meet this child's needs? Y N In what way?

What other activities do you plan providing for him?

Why?

29. How would you describe your personal relationship with this child at the present time? (Can he be extremely upsetting to you at times; would you rather have him out of the room (why?); does he seem to cling to you, always defy you; etc.?)
30. Does this child possess any special talent or ability? Y N
If so, has he been able to win any recognition at school through it? Y N Explain.
31. What special interests does he have? Has he won any special recognition through them at school? Y N In what ways?
32. Has he received any other recognition of any kind in school?
Y N In what way?
33. What chances have you had to provide recognition for him in the school situation?
34. Would you consider this child the most difficult problem in your classroom at the present time? Y N Please explain.
35. Of the problems he has presented at school which do you consider the most serious?

36. What methods did you use in treating these more serious problems?
37. What other problems has he (she) presented in the classroom or in the school?
38. How did you treat these problems?
39. What do you think are the underlying causes of his behavior and problems?
40. What services have been given this child by your school or by you, e.g., baths, lunches, clothing, etc., for his physical welfare?
41. What assistance has the school or have you tried to give this child in his personal-social adjustment?
42. What other provisions have been made through the school for this child's welfare (referrals to social agencies, personnel workers in schools, etc.)?
43. What duties and responsibilities have been given him (patrols, etc.) in school and in the classroom?

How did he respond to these responsibilities?

44. Does he enjoy study? Y N Does he study only under pressure?
Y N
45. Does he act as though he feels a part of the class group? Y N
46. Would you consider him mature enough to hold ideals of social betterment? Y N

47. Does he need to seek recognition through show-off behavior or other unwholesome attention-getting devices? Y N
48. Does he have a reasonably unselfish and generous attitude toward others? Y N
49. Does he give evidence of prejudice or antagonisms (racial, religious, social, sex) which influence his choice of associates, or lead to the avoidance of certain classmates? Y N In what ways?
50. Does he behave well and observe the ordinary social decorum in the classroom? Y N
51. Is he inclined to be "cocky" for any reason? Y N Why?
52. Does he daydream excessively, steal, bully, take revenge, or have notable self-pity? Please elaborate.
53. Is he persistent in his work? Y N Willing to carry out routine? Y N
54. Is this child disagreeable in school? Y N With his classmates? Y N
55. Is he reasonably cooperative in his relationships with adults? Y N
56. Does he generally accept or defy authority? (Underline) In what way?
57. How would you rate his study habits? G F P
58. Can he work alone effectively? Y N
59. Can he formulate plans and carry them out with self-direction appropriate to his age? Y N
60. Do his parents give evidence of knowing in general what to expect of a student of his age? Y N

61. Is he reasonably willing about tasks? Y N
62. Is he overly obedient or submissive? Y N
63. So far as is known, is his adjustment toward sex and sex difference wholesome for his age? Y N Does he show any unusual behavior in his relationships with girls, or with boys? Y N
64. Does he sustain any interests or hobbies? Y N
65. What would you as his teacher like to be able to do for this child which present circumstances in the school prevent you from doing?

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW WITH TEACHERS OF SUBJECTS (II)

INTERVIEW WITH TEACHERS OF SUBJECTS (II)

(SPECIAL)

1. How many pupils are in this child's class?
2. Describe your teaching load.
3. What are this child's greatest needs?

(Subjects:
Instructional
(Skills:
Social:
4. What special aid have you been able to give this child along instructional lines?
5. How much initiative and responsibility does he assume as a member of the class group?
6. What negative reactions have you found him making to you and to the classroom group?
7. What are his assets in classroom adjustment?
8. Have you ever visited this child's home? Y N
9. Are there definite circumstances that have kept you from visiting this child's home? Please explain.
10. If you have visited his home, describe the conditions you found there.

Number of rooms:

Kind of food in home:

Neighborhood:

Play facilities (toys, where does he play?):

Does he feel secure in his home? Y N Explain.

How much spending money does he get?

Is he wanted by both parents? Y N

Do his parents seem consistent in their treatment and attitudes?
Y N

Describe the parents' affection for child as you see it.

Is there good morale in the home? Y N

Are there joint family activities? Y N

Is the home unstable? Y N Broken? Y N

Is there illness or feeble-mindedness in the home? Y N

11. Describe the attitudes expressed by this child's parents toward school personnel (cooperative, antagonistic, indifferent, other).
12. Have these parents been invited to school or to participate in the school program? Y N If so, what were their reactions?
13. Where does this child usually make his friends?
14. Is he well liked in the classroom by his classmates? Y N
Why?
About what number of his classmates does he like?
Most of them About half A few None

15. Describe the attitude expressed by this child's parents toward the child's school adjustment and achievement (interested, indifferent, emotionally anxious, etc.).
16. Have the parents' attitudes affected your interest in the child or your efforts toward helping him? Y N In what ways?
17. In what ways do you feel that the parents have influenced the child in his attitudes toward school? For better or for worse? Explain.
18. Should this child be in a class of delinquent children? Y N
Why?
19. Do you believe that delinquent or problem children should be segregated in school from other children? Y N Why?
20. Do you usually find any particular methods more suitable for handling delinquent children than for handling other children?
Why?
21. What club and other extra-instructional activities (clubs, music, etc.) have been participated in by this child?
22. What special activities of a creative, personal expression and communicative nature has he participated in (dramatics, dancing, writing)?

Has the school provided recreation or other club experiences in order to meet this child's needs? Y N In what way?

23. What other activities do you plan providing for him? Why?

24. How would you describe your personal relationship with this child at the present time? (Can he be extremely upsetting to you at times; would you rather have him out of the room (why?); does he seem to cling to you, always defy you; etc.?)
25. Does this child possess any special talent or ability? Y N
If so, has he been able to win any recognition at school through it? Y N Explain.
26. What special interests does he have? Has he won any special recognition through them at school? Y N In what ways?
27. Has he received any other recognition of any kind in school?
Y N In what way?
28. What chances have you had to provide recognition for him in the school situation?
29. Would you consider this child the most difficult problem in your classroom at the present time? Y N Please explain.
30. Of the problems he has presented at school, which do you consider the most serious?
31. What methods did you use in treating these more serious problems?
32. What other problems has he (she) presented in the classroom or in the school?
33. How did you treat these problems?

34. What do you think are the underlying causes of his behavior and problems?
35. What services have been given this child by your school or by you, e.g., baths, lunches, clothing, etc., for his physical welfare?
36. What assistance has the school or have you tried to give this child in his personal-social adjustment?
37. What duties and responsibilities have been given him (patrols, etc.) in school and in the classroom?

How did he respond to these responsibilities?

38. Does he enjoy study? Y N Does he study only under pressure?
Y N
39. Does he act as though he feels a part of the class group? Y N
40. Would you consider him mature enough to hold ideals of social betterment? Y N
41. Does he need to seek recognition through show-off behavior or other unwholesome attention-getting devices? Y N
42. Does he have a reasonably unselfish and generous attitude toward others? Y N
43. Does he give evidence of prejudice or antagonisms (racial, religious, social, sex) which influence his choice of associates, or lead to the avoidance of certain classmates? Y N In what ways?
44. Does he behave well and observe the ordinary social decorum in the classroom? Y N
45. Is he inclined to be "cocky" for any reason? Y N Why?

46. Does he daydream excessively, steal, bully, take revenge, or have notable self-pity? Please elaborate.
47. Is he persistent in his work? Y N Willing to carry out routine? Y N
48. Is this child disagreeable in school? Y N With his classmates? Y N
49. Is he reasonably cooperative in his relationships with adults? Y N
50. Does he generally accept or defy authority? (Underline)
In what way?
51. How would you rate his study habits? G F P
52. Can he work alone effectively? Y N
53. Can he formulate plans and carry them out with self-direction appropriate to his age? Y N
54. Do his parents give evidence of knowing in general what to expect of a student of his age? Y N
55. Is he reasonably willing about tasks? Y N
56. Is he overly obedient or submissive? Y N
57. So far as is known, is his adjustment toward sex and sex difference wholesome for his age? Y N Does he show any unusual behavior in his relationships with girls, or with boys? Y N
58. Does he sustain any interests or hobbies? Y N
59. What would you as his teacher like to be able to do for this child which present circumstances in the school prevent you from doing?

APPENDIX F

SOCIOMETRIC TEST

(Teacher's instructions for giving)

SOCIOMETRIC TEST
(Teacher's instructions for giving)

Pass tests out face downward. After all children have received a copy, say, "Turn your papers over. Look at the directions while I read them." Then say, "Today we want you to answer some questions. These questions are not an examination or a written test, and there are no right or wrong answers. Your answers will help your teacher to make up groups of boys and girls to do things together. The questions ask you to name your best friends in the class. By best friends we mean the boy and girl you like most to play with, with whom you have the most fun, and upon whom you can depend. Your answers will be kept secret. You know the children in the room. However, the names of those who are absent today are written on the board, and if any of them are your best friends, be sure to put their names down. Now write down the name of the person in the class who is your best friend. Be sure to write both his first and last names."

After all have finished, say, "There are always reasons why we like and choose our best friends. To know these reasons is very important to your teacher in making up certain groups to do various things together. Write the reason or reasons, if there is more than one, why you have chosen your best friend. Do not turn the page until told to do so."

After all have finished this instruction, say, "Please turn to the next page and look at the directions while I read them."

Then say, "There are also girls and boys in the room that you

would choose last as a friend; that is, you do not like to play with them often, or to do other things for fun with them, nor could you depend upon them as you can your friends. Write down the name of the person in the class whom you would choose last as your friend. Be sure to think of all the girls and boys in the room and of those who are absent today before writing the name."

After all have finished these instructions, say, "Write the reason why you would choose him last as a friend. Please turn your papers over, and write your name on the back of your paper."

Finally, collect the papers.

Be sure to:

1. Write names of absent pupils on board.
2. Emphasize that pupils write both the first and last names of the children whom they choose and reject as friends.
3. HAVE CHILDREN WRITE OWN NAMES ON BACK OF TEST AFTER LAST QUESTION HAS BEEN ANSWERED.

APPENDIX F
CHILDREN'S INSTRUCTIONS
(Sociometry)

CHILDREN'S INSTRUCTIONS

(Sociometry)

Today I want you to answer some questions. These questions are not an examination or a written test and there are no right or wrong answers. Your answers will help me to make up groups of boys and girls to do things together. The questions ask you to name your best friend in the class. By best friend we mean the boy or girl you like most to play with, with whom you have the most fun, and upon whom you can depend. Your answers will be kept secret. You know the children in the room. However, the names of those who are absent today are written on the board, and if any one of them is your best friend, be sure to put his or her name down. Now write down the name of the person in the class who is your best friend. Be sure to write both their first and last names.

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO:

(PAGE 2 - CHILDREN'S INSTRUCTIONS)

There are also boys and girls in the room that you would choose last as a friend; that is, you do not like to play with them often, or do other things for fun with them, nor could you depend upon them as you can your friends. Write down the name of the person in the class whom you would choose last as your friend. Be sure to think of all the boys and girls in the room and of those who are absent today before writing the name. Be sure to write both their first and last names.