PRE-DELINQUENCY: ITS RECOGNITION IN SCHOOL

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ABSTRACT

This study is primarily concerned with the early recognition of symptomatic behaviour in school, and subsequent treatment of the child who may become delinquent. It is based upon the premise that the only effective method of control of juvenile delinquency lies in prevention.

The findings are based upon investigation of a sample group of delinquents from the Vancouver Juvenile Court, and a smaller group of delinquents from the same sample, studied in the city schools. The progressive development of delinquency is traced, from its origin in emotional factors, through the school years, to the ultimate conflict with the law. The study indicates the behaviour characteristics of many pre-delinquent children in school, and the extent to which these attributes are recognizable as symptomatic patterns. The attitudes of teachers toward troublesome behaviour in school are discussed with reference to the feasibility of a collaborative approach, between the social worker and the teacher, to the problem of prevention.

In its theoretical aspects, the study draws from reports of current programs in delinquency control, with emphasis upon their preventive content. The analysis of the various control measures shows their limited recognition of the deeper-lying emotional basis of delinquent behaviour.

An outline for a preventive program is presented. It is based upon the conditions indicated by the study, and the resources available to such a program in the city of Vancouver. The outline suggests how a preventive program may be launched on an experimental basis, through a reorganization of existing agencies and services.
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I take particular pleasure in acknowledging the continuous helpfulness and trenchant criticism, and above all, the unfailing good humour of Dr. Leonard Marsh of the Department of Social Work.
PRE-DELIQUENCY: ITS RECOGNITION IN SCHOOL
Juvenile delinquency today has become a hackneyed phrase to the general public. Politicians speak with apparent authority on causation, and sweeping cures for this alleged threat to social order. Every service club and women's auxiliary, sooner or later arranges to hear an "expert," genuine or otherwise, propound imposing theories and solutions. The newspapers, large and small, produce a substantial volume of news and information intended to impress the reading public with the importance of this phenomenon. To those who speak and to those who listen, delinquency apparently means many things. The preacher calls it sin; to the harassed business man it is a nuisance; the placid suburbanite regards it as "something which cannot happen here." Whatever it may be termed or however it may be analyzed, it is, obviously, of universal interest. The great diversity of opinion regarding the causes of delinquency and remedial measures, suggests that most people are too baffled to offer any help at all, except punishment.

The term itself is used, in common parlance, almost exclusively in the legal sense. Delinquency begins with a court appearance and subsequent conviction for one or more infractions of the law. A child is not a delinquent
if, having committed one or more offences, he has not been apprehended and found guilty by a court. If delinquency were defined as any offence against the law, whether the offender is apprehended or not, it is probable that at least 95 per cent of the population would be termed delinquent.

As a type of behaviour, delinquency is thus an arbitrary division on a hypothetical scale, which includes the entire population. When behaviour becomes sufficiently extreme to be considered inimical to public safety, the individual concerned may be examined by a designated authority, whose finding of guilt automatically constitutes a definition of delinquency. Below this upper extreme of the scale, behaviour gradually shades off to generally acceptable patterns of living which are termed "normal."

Traffic violations may be used as an example. Few drivers are innocent of deliberate infractions of the laws governing traffic; the majority are not above ignoring stop signs or red lights, when a policeman is not present to enforce observance. Speeds in excess of legal limits are condoned unless extreme. However, when a motorist driving at an excessive speed, ignores a red light, and injures a pedestrian in a safety zone, he is arrested and charged with all offences contributing to the culminating incident. The difference between this motorist and countless others is a matter of degree. The same difference may be illustrated in terms of theft, and other infractions of the Criminal
Code. It would be possible to visualize a normal curve distribution of delinquent tendencies for the total population. If so, it is probable that the curve would be somewhat skewed to the left, as non-delinquents may be considered a minority relative to the delinquent group at the other end of the scale.

It follows, then, that delinquents are not unique as a group. The behaviour for which they are labelled differs from the normal only in degree. Therefore, in attempting to trace the problem of delinquency to its origin, the search must recognize that the cause, or causes, of delinquent behaviour are also generally present in the normal population. The question must eventually focus upon the apparent anomaly of one child running afoul of the law, when others of his family or group, subject to more or less similar circumstances, do not.

The Roots of Delinquent Behaviour

The popular concept of delinquency, as indicated by press and radio publicity from a variety of unrelated sources, suggests a generally uniform idea of "the delinquent" as a unique type. This misunderstanding, and the obvious need for control measures, has led to an endless quest for specific causes. The relatively few authorities in the field of juvenile delinquency do not speak so freely of causes, but have isolated a number of environmental factors which are closely associated with delinquency.
Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, in their study of one thousand delinquents, found seven major factors which were common to a large percentage of their sample. ¹ Briefly, these are defined as culture conflict, inadequate parental education, poor economic condition, unfavourable home relationships, broken homes, mental or personality defects in familial backgrounds and, finally, low moral standards in the home. These factors are not described as causes by the Gluecks, but they have been widely considered as such in other areas. It will be noted that these conditions are not peculiar to delinquents or their families; one or more may be present in the environments of most apparently normal people.

There are two significant features in these findings. The highest incidence of any one factor was found to be broken or poorly disciplined homes, that is, homes in which one parent was either dead, deserted or divorced, or where evidence of neglect was pronounced. Secondly, these factors were usually present in the immediate environments of the delinquents as a pattern, rather than as isolated characteristics. These points are significant because they suggest why some individuals break out into rebellious or illegal behaviour whereas the remainder of the population, who are exposed to similar con-

ditions, though admittedly in less intense form, do not. The Gluecks offered further enlightenment in their analysis of the same study.

The degree to which any or all of the handicaps and weaknesses of our boys may be regarded as causative of their delinquency cannot be stated with assurance. All we can say is that the experience of social workers and others having to do with problems of delinquency and criminality, indicates that the more numerous the handicaps of the kind above reviewed, the more difficult it is for the individual to adapt himself to socially acceptable ways.¹

It is clear that a valid approach to the cause of delinquent behaviour must concern itself primarily with the individual delinquent. The environmental factors isolated by the Gluecks, though important, are not basic issues: exposure to them generally results in delinquency only because of some weakness in the person concerned.

The same conclusion is evident in the results of a study conducted in England by A.E. Jones, a member of the legal profession. Interested in the problem, and unsatisfied by the profusion of conflicting theories arising from inadequate analyses, he decided to seek facts. His findings arise from a dispassionate and disciplined evaluation of data gleaned from study of case histories of delinquent boys and girls, over a period of twenty years:

The psychiatrist can, in his own outlandish jargon, refer the offences committed to some deep-seated disturbance of the emotions following on a peculiarity in the home circumstances or parental relation-

¹ Ibid., p. 230.
ships. But who can say why another child with an apparently similar domestic background remains honest? If the answer is, as it probably is, that no two cases are exactly the same, then the only conclusion to be drawn is that each young developing individuality is a law to himself. 1

Mr. Jones' conclusion undoubtedly adds force to the argument, but merely to state that the individual personality is the basis of delinquency, is not highly enlightening. A further clue is offered by a statement from a report on the subject made by the Welfare Council of Toronto and district.

It is conceded by people familiar with the question, that juvenile delinquents are made and not born. A child or young person becomes delinquent through losing that sense of security in his environment, and confidence in his own value as a person, on which socially approved behaviour is based. 2

The theme of the Toronto report goes beyond the individual personality to emotional values. If its premise is valid, delinquency must arise as a consequence of an emotional difference between the offender, and his more normal counterpart. This idea is in close harmony with the Glueck findings which noted the prevalence of broken homes in the backgrounds of the delinquents they studied.


The Emotional Basis of Delinquent Behaviour

Healy and Bronner, in one of their many research studies on delinquency, attempted to determine the basic differences between delinquents and non-delinquents. Their findings may be summed up in the following excerpt from their report:

From our present study there is clear evidence that in the lives of delinquents the ever flowing stream of urges and wishes, which in general follow the broader channels of socially acceptable behaviour, has met obstructions or frustrations that cause part of the stream to be deflected into currents that sooner or later show the characteristics which we term delinquency. ¹

The urges and wishes, to which Healy and Bronner refer, have been described in many ways, but all of them hinge upon the basic drive for affection. The infant child desires but one thing in addition to satisfaction for its organic needs, and that is love. As the child grows, this desire broadens to include many things within its social orbit. Siblings must be accepted, and also persons external to the family group. A multitude of progressively more difficult habits and skills must be mastered. In addition to all these new and trying experiences, the child must acquire the many inhibitions essential to social living: he must learn to control his organic functions, his desires for the possessions of others, his wishes to be the hub of his own little universe; and he

must learn to share the things he values with others. All these demands are contrary to his natural proclivities.

The normal child learns to accept inevitable restrictions without too much rebellion, because of the emotional value which accompanies their exercise. Love makes the process palatable to him. He accepts the ideals of conduct which develop into his personal philosophy of life, not because of any intrinsic value they may have, but because of the emotional bond which exists between him and the parent or person who symbolizes and teaches these ideals. The process is exemplified in the common phenomenon of hero-worship, which may result in the formation of good or bad values depending upon the "hero", but the significance of the relationship as a catalytic agent is obvious.

The rejected child, or the one who experiences casual or temperamental relationships with his parents and others near to him, lacks the incentive to follow an acceptable pattern of conduct. In many cases the pattern itself is imperfect or bad. Such a child may conform to rules of behaviour under threat of punishment, but the conflict between his balked desire for love and the demands made upon him, keep aggression and rebellion near the surface. In many cases this aggression finds an outlet in behaviour which breaks all the rules, set by those who are identified with the child's rejecting parents. The child is then a delinquent.

There are others who retreat within themselves,
lacking the strength to strike back, and become sullen, moody, and alone. Many of these fall into delinquency, which seems to constitute a substitute satisfaction for their unsatisfied emotional needs. Many find their various ways to mental institutions, and allow themselves to drift into a colourless apathy divorced from reality and hurt. They live in a dismal, utterly useless, gray isolation, which is all too seldom penetrated by the skills of psychiatry.

There are also a few delinquents who make a perfectly satisfactory adjustment to a family environment which may not only condone such behaviour, but may encourage it. Their emotional relationships are good. The only difficulty is that they have been conditioned to behave in a manner which is not acceptable elsewhere than in their own family or group circle. These children are re-training problems, and in many circumstances may prove as unresponsive to remedial treatment as the most emotionally disturbed child.

These types of delinquent behaviour have been explained in general terms. There are many variations in each type, and the types overlap to produce different emotional conditions; these may lead to delinquency of themselves, or in conjunction with aggravating environmental factors. All children of unsatisfactory emotional development obviously do not become delinquent; delinquency is only one of the many repercussions attendant upon stunted emotional growth. However, most delinquents have experienced frustration in seeking satisfaction for their emotional needs. The salient
point is that, in seeking ways and means to deal with delinquency as a social problem, it is essential to recognize the basic importance, not only of the individual personality, but of the emotional experiences which have moulded it.

The Solution

Attempts to deal with delinquency have not been lacking, at least in number and variety. However, there is little doubt, even in the casual observer, that success has been sadly limited thus far. There is no doubt that much of the failure attendant upon the majority of past and current control programs, has resulted from the tendency to attack the problem after it has fully developed. It is traditional to wait upon the declaration of the court that an individual is delinquent, before corrective measures are invoked. By that time, the emotional and environmental factors which produced the delinquent behaviour, have been reinforced by habit formation. Thus the problem is rendered infinitely more difficult, and often impossible. In addition, it is often too late at that stage to make any effective adjustments in those relationships between the child and his parents or guardians which may have led to the delinquent behaviour.

The Archambault Report, one of the most progressive documents in the field of delinquency and crime, pointed the way toward a more effective treatment approach:

If society will devote its best efforts to correcting the factors which influence toward crime, and to removing pernicious influences from young children and adolescents, it will destroy incipient criminality.
before it has gained resistant strength, and will thus succeed in limiting crime at its source, with a consequent saving of money and in humanity. The discovery and treatment of "problem children" should be effected before they have become seriously delinquent. 1

Further evidence of a new concept in treatment is contained in the report of the Washington State Legislative Committee on Juvenile Delinquency:

Adult correctional institutions are filled with men and women whose problems as children went unresolved. Many of them are there because at the early point of their delinquency, society failed to determine causes, and because it attempted to deal with symptoms instead of to correct causes. 2

Elaboration of these statements is unnecessary. They express with emphatic clarity, the need for treatment to go beyond the stage of developed delinquency, to its origin in the personality of the child and his environment.

However admirable a statement of purpose may be, it does not provide ways and means for its fulfillment. The task of seeking out the "problem children" or predelinquents, as they may be termed, imposes a substantial obstacle. Obviously, it would be sheer folly to attempt an examination of the entire child population, to find a relatively small number of predelinquents. The search must be restricted to an area of manageable dimensions, one which, it is hoped,

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will still include the majority of those children who display troublesome behaviour, of a type which may eventually develop into delinquency. The elementary schools seem to provide an answer to this problem. All children have to attend school, so the school may offer an opportunity for finding and treating those who may become delinquent. The potential value of the schools in a preventive program was suggested recently by Professor Whitney of Brown University:

There are few American communities that seriously attempt to reach predelinquent children. We foolishly wait until anti-social habits are well established. Then we attempt to correct them with tools which are inadequate and too few. Perhaps our greatest need is to reach children early. We are missing a real opportunity in our public schools...

It is the purpose of this study to show more fully how delinquency develops through the school years, and to demonstrate how predelinquent children may be recognized by school teachers, before their behaviour reaches the stage of outright breaking of the law. It is also intended to examine how these cases may be referred for treatment, to appropriate agencies organized specifically for the function of prevention.

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CHAPTER TWO

DELIQUENT BEHAVIOUR DURING THE SCHOOL YEARS

Delinquency is generally the result of a long process of development. It is logical to assume that the school, with all its new and varied experiences, will exert profound influences upon the child. The young boy or girl, on entering school, must learn new disciplines; adjustments must be made to the new and different authoritative personalities of teachers; a larger, more varied group than the family makes its own unique demands upon the bewildered child. All these things exert varying degrees of emotional stress.

For youngsters who approach these new experiences with an emotional handicap, resulting from poor relationships within the family circle, the load is rendered proportionately greater. These are the children who are dragged to school, suspicious, resentful, unhappy or fearful; or, if they present themselves willingly, they do so with a morbid desire to be troublesome; perversely, they invite the abuse they expect. Their reactions to the school teachers who may meet them with understanding or rigidity may determine, to a great extent, their behaviour through the following school years.
Juvenile Court Data

At this point it is essential to examine the nature of the development of delinquent behaviour, and the influences exerted upon it by school experience. The data for this phase of the study was drawn from the records of the Vancouver Juvenile Court, covering a period of one year. Only those cases were selected which resulted from offences sufficiently serious to warrant a term on probation, or more drastic treatment. Others, such as the boys who appeared in court for infractions of the Bicycle By-Law, were rejected, as unrepresentative of delinquent behaviour. The offences in these cases were minor infractions of city by-laws, and were considered indicative of simple mischief rather than delinquency.

There were 243 entries in the court calendar for probation or committal to the Industrial Schools. This number was subsequently reduced by the subtraction of twenty-two duplicate entries, representing repeaters within the sample year, fourteen truancy cases, nineteen referrals to other agencies and twenty-four for which no useful information could be found. The truancy cases were omitted to avoid obvious weighting in the attempt to establish a relationship between delinquency and school behaviour. The nineteen referrals to other agencies were excluded for much the same reason; the majority of those cases,

*Delinquents appearing in court two or more times because of failure on probation or new offences.
as wards of protection agencies, could be expected to have had emotional problems above those normally anticipated in an unselected group. The remainder, 164, comprised the sample for study.

It was originally intended to make a detailed study of each case, in addition to extracting data pertinent to the school, with the intention of relating findings of other studies to the Vancouver area. However, this was found to be impossible owing to the meagreness of data, common to even a small percentage of the cases. Only 15 percent of the 164 case records included social histories, and the remainder varied from running records, dealing with supervisory activities, to incomplete face sheets. Facts which were entered in a substantial majority of the records included age, school attended, grade, truancy if there had been any, school behaviour, and academic performance. All of the records included the type of offence, number of court appearances and the date of the first delinquency.*

The age range of ten to seventeen shown in Table 1 is not significant. Since seventeen is the terminal juvenile age, cases above that level are automatically dealt with in the adult courts. The age of ten, as the earliest reported for this group, is not considered significant either, as far as this study is concerned. It is probable that these delin-

* Discrepancies between total figures in the following tables and sample totals, are due to incomplete records.
Table 1. Age Distribution of Delinquents
Sample Group, Vancouver Juvenile Court, 1947-8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>First Offenders</th>
<th>Repeaters</th>
<th>Industrial School(a)</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Totals</td>
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(a) Cases committed to Boys' Industrial School.

Delinquents are similar, in this respect, to those studied by Healy and Bronner, among whom a court appearance represented a first offence in only 5 per cent of the cases. ¹

The concentration of cases in the fifteen to sixteen range, and the abrupt increase at fifteen, warrants some comment. This phenomenon has been noted in other

¹ Healy W., and Bronner A.F., New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 37.
studies, though it is not quite as pronounced as in this instance. The increase in the incidence of delinquency from the age of ten, to a concentration of 50 per cent of the cases in a two year range, may be explained as the result of a cumulative learning process. The delinquent activities available to a ten year old, are obviously more limited than those available to an adolescent, who is subject to fewer restrictions and has the advantage, if it may be termed such, of superior mental and physical abilities. In addition to broader scope for delinquent behaviour, the so-called teenager is subject to the additional aggravation of forces associated with adolescence; these two factors, combined with the earlier emotional predisposition to delinquent conduct, seem to produce a maximum incidence of delinquency between the ages of fourteen to sixteen.

The abrupt drop after sixteen may be explained on the same basis. The majority of the children who become delinquent, usually seek satisfaction for their peculiar needs before or during the peak adolescent period. This may be the culmination of a relatively long career of experimentation in juvenile crime or, as in some cases, may be a failure to adjust to the additional demands of adolescence. Adolescence represents the final frustrating experience, which appears to crystallize the gradually developing delinquent pattern.

The distribution found in Table 1 seems to verify the assumption that delinquency develops cumulatively in a
learning process. Therefore, the point at which treatment should be applied is certainly not at the peak, but at the lower end of the distribution—before troublesome behaviour becomes habitual.

Table 2. Types of Offences Classified by Age Groups.

Sample Group, Vancouver Juvenile Court, 1947-8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Theft</th>
<th>Breaking Entering</th>
<th>Car Theft</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further evidence of the progressive development of delinquent behaviour, appears in the data presented in Table 2. The first category, theft, includes offences involving amounts or values both under and over $25.00, although the court makes a division at this point on the premise that a theft of over $25.00 constitutes a more
serious offence. From a legal point of view, this practice may be tenable, but as far as treatment is concerned, the division is meaningless. These thefts, as reported, ranged from milk bottle looting to stealing from purses; those involving amounts over $25.00 were in a minority. Offences grouped under "others" include intoxication, bicycle theft, possession of burglar tools, infractions of the Highway Act, attempted arson, sex offences, and incorrigibility. None of these categories included a sufficient number to be classified separately.

The first two—theft, and breaking and entering—are the most significant. It will be noted that the point of highest frequency for theft is at age thirteen, followed by a tapering off to two at seventeen. It is common to say that adolescent boys steal because of economic need. However, most of the cases examined showed clearly that the boys were not subject to any outstanding need in a material sense. Moreover, if actual need was the basic motive in juvenile theft, the frequency with which these offences occur should increase with age; the older juvenile not only has wider needs but also has greater physical and mental resources to meet them, whether by means of theft or otherwise. However, the figures found in Table 2 do not indicate an increase with age; rather, the reverse is suggested. The argument may be raised that the older boys go to work more frequently. However, school attendance is compulsory until the age of fifteen, and the abrupt drop in the incidence of theft occurs
at fourteen, with the subsequent frequencies more or less constant up to the age of seventeen.

In preference to material need as the major motive, it appears that theft, as one of the more elementary delinquencies, tends to lose its capacity for satisfaction of needs which are largely emotional; these may be related to the desire for stimulating experience, for status in a certain group, or may be expressions of aggression. Those delinquents who are not given treatment at this point, or do not respond to such treatment as may be given, tend to graduate to a higher level of delinquent behaviour, in the same manner as they graduate from one academic level to another in school. With increased experience, and the added stimulus of emotional factors contingent upon the onset of puberty, experimentation with the more elementary aspects of delinquency ceases to offer sufficient satisfaction. The process is not peculiar to delinquent behaviour by any means. The desire for new and more stimulating experience is universal, and constitutes one of the basic motives for learning. The only difference with respect to delinquent behaviour is that this same motivation has been directed into anti-social channels; once begun, the process seems to develop in a manner closely similar to that which is manifested by socially acceptable behaviour.

Hence it follows that the delinquent whose needs remain unsatisfied, must seek a more challenging level of delinquent behaviour than that which offered initial satis-
faction. It is true that a number of the less enterprising delinquents remain at the elementary level, but these are in a minority and, as a group, are analogous to the sub-normals found in the distribution of the general population. An attempt was made to determine the relationship between level of intelligence and the "graduation" from theft to other forms of delinquency, but recorded I.Q's were not available in a number sufficient to provide any significant differences.

The fact that all delinquents do not progress from theft to breaking and entering and beyond, does not detract from the validity of the argument that delinquency develops progressively in a learning process. Individual differences alone would account for the fact that many emotionally frustrated children resort to introverted and less aberrant behaviour, in preference to the more aggressive trial and error manifestations of delinquency. Many delinquents respond to treatment of courts, schools and other institutions, if they have been sufficiently active to have become eligible for such treatment; and they cease to be delinquents in the more obvious sense.

The focus of the moment is upon those individuals who, having begun a delinquent career at an early age, develop as delinquents to the point where they must be isolated from society. Theoretically the isolation is for the welfare of the individual, and the protection of society, but in practice the latter point is almost exclusively dominant. Some reach the terminal stage unhindered by any at-
tempt to halt or redirect the process; others, and their numbers are not few, have been treated ineffectually by a variety of methods, based upon principles ranging from the extremely primitive, to the hyper-sentimental. The extent of the problem is evident by the current jail population. Those who were treated and failed to respond, did so because their behaviour patterns had become fixed to varying degrees through habitual use, and no acceptable alternative, offering similar satisfactions, could be provided for them. They are the delinquents who graduate from petty theft, to breaking and entering and beyond, reaching a climax at age fifteen or sixteen.

The concentration of car theft cases at age sixteen requires some qualification. A few of these cases were found to be first offenders, from environments which appeared to be somewhat superior, in most respects, to those involved in the preceding categories. However, this percentage is actually smaller than might be expected, since many of these casual offences are not reported by the police. Those which do reach the court records, are cases which are known for previous offences, or are doubtful to the point that a formal charge is made. Therefore, the relatively high frequency at age sixteen, cannot be modified to the extent which might be indicated by an assumption that the majority of car thefts are committed by over-exuberant adolescents, in search of excitement. The fact remains, that reasonably well adjusted or emotionally stable adolescents simply do not steal cars: those
of the normal group who do, are in a distinctly small minority. This type of offence may be considered as much a part of the developing delinquent pattern, as the two previously dealt with.

The remaining offences classified in Table 2 offer little of significance, other than the usual concentration at the fifteen and sixteen year level. They may be considered as variants in the developmental sequence, with the exception that there is a greater cleavage between the legal definition and the social implications with respect to sexual offences, incorrigibility and vagrancy. There appears to be some indication that the law should be modified, to some extent, particularly with respect to its definition of what constitutes immorality. Incorrigibility appears to represent for the court, that which the term "psychopath" offers to psychiatry; it is a last resort classification, placing final responsibility for failure of treatment upon the client. Both terms have their place; but their use implies an element of retreat from an apparently impossible situation which may be dangerous, if there is not an acute awareness of their total meaning. To the social worker these offences, vagrancy and others of this type, are not significant from a definitive point of view, but only as symptoms of underlying emotional disorder.

The Delinquents in School

The data found in Table 3 emphasizes the cumulative nature of delinquency, as it parallels the school progress of
the delinquents. However, the incidence of delinquency does not follow the same arithmetic progression as the school grades. The increase in numbers of delinquents is more or less even to grade 7; the concentration of cases in grades seven, eight and nine, amounts to 59.2 per cent of the total number for the twelve grades.

Table 3. Delinquents Classified by School Grade (At Time of Offence)
Sample Group, Vancouver Juvenile Court, 1947-8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade No.</th>
<th>Grade No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Vancouver, the school system provides for Junior High Schools comprising grades seven, eight and nine. The change from an elementary school to a junior high school, constitutes an emotional hazard of no small consequence, to an individual assumed to be predisposed toward delinquent behaviour, as a result of emotional needs. Such a transition
demands readjustment to new teachers, new school-mates and a new atmosphere, which may well prove difficult even to the stable child. This is not intended as a criticism of the school system, since it is quite obvious that the use of an intermediate stage between the elementary and high schools, should be an improvement over the old system. However, the boys and girls who run afoul of the law, apparently find the junior high school a rather difficult hurdle in the academic marathon.

The fact that the incidence of delinquency doubles from grade six to grade seven, and increases through grade eight to a high point in grade nine, suggests that the pattern evident in the previous tables is not only unchecked, but is accelerated to some degree. The extent to which school studies and disciplines actually aggravate delinquent behaviour, is not known nor can it be estimated on the strength of the data available at this time. In any case, the fact that comparatively few delinquents reach high school, in spite of having generally average intelligence and the opportunity to do so, certainly suggests that they find their school experiences far from satisfactory. The argument might be made that the decrease in numbers of delinquents reported as attending high schools, is due to the effect of higher education and maturation. However, the junior high school operates, in some respects, as a weeding-out process. The majority of the confirmed delinquents drop out of school during their junior high years, after having
attained the required leaving age of fifteen. It will be noted again that fifteen, in addition to being the legal school leaving age, is also a critical age in the development of delinquent behaviour. The drop in frequency after grade ten may, more correctly, be interpreted as an indication of withdrawal rather than reform, on the part of those either delinquent or disposed toward delinquent behaviour.

Some further indication of the effects of school attendance on the delinquent or predelinquent child, is given by the figures in Table 4. The figures for July and August are of immediate significance. Various arguments might be raised to suggest that the marked difference between the frequencies found for these two months and those for the remainder, is due to the influence of such factors as summer employment, holidays away from the city, summer camps, and so forth.

Table 4. First Offences Classified by Month During which Offence was Committed

Sample Group, Vancouver Juvenile Court, 1947-8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sept.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Employment, or the allegedly therapeutic effect of work, is an almost universally applied superficial antidote for delinquency, and for other behaviour problems. It is not known how many of these delinquents worked during the summer months, but it is doubtful if their hours were a great deal longer than those spent in school during the year. In any case, those inclined toward employment have ample opportunity to work for spending money during after-school hours and on Saturdays. It is probable that those who do work during the summer months, continue to do so on a part-time basis for the remainder of the year. Juvenile employment in periods such as the present, when suitable types of work are available, is not a preventive measure; unemployment, in an age group where part-time work is the rule, seems to be symptomatic as part of the total delinquent pattern. Work might conceivably prevent delinquency in a few cases where economic need is the prime factor, but such cases are rare.

Holidays away from the city might possibly account for a small fraction of those who would otherwise be exposed to idleness, and opportunity to break the law, but that fraction is very small. The majority of the cases examined in this sample were in no position to indulge in a family excursion to a summer resort. Organized summer camps probably take care of an equally small minority of the potentially delinquent group. In the first place, these camps handle only a small percentage of the total child population. In addition, many of the applicants for the organized camps
are handled through various welfare organizations who are concerned with their own clientele. Secondly, a child is in the camp for only two weeks, as a rule. An incurable optimist might suggest that the influence of two weeks in an outdoor group situation, would be sufficient to remove any inclination toward delinquent behaviour. It is extremely doubtful if the camping experiences available in Vancouver, have an effect of any consequence on the pre-delinquent or delinquent child. The large number of delinquents in this sample who had, at some time, attended one or more organized camps, lends credence to this assumption.

It appears that the only major difference between the delinquent of school age in July and August, compared with any other time of the year, is the fact that he is not in school. In addition to the relatively low incidence of delinquency during the summer months, there is the sharp increase in September, coincidental upon the reopening of school, to suggest further the emotional implications of the demands made upon the child by his teachers and studies.

The remaining figures in Table 4 do not appear to be particularly significant, with the possible exception of the number of delinquents for April. Seasonal changes may have some bearing upon the high rate for this month, or it may be that April constitutes a climactic period in the school year. It is probable that both factors contribute to this increase, which is followed by a gradual decline to the extreme low in August. This decline may be explained as
resulting from a gradual decrease in general tension, owing to anticipation of the approaching release from school and all its frustrations.

The interpretation of Table 4 is not intended to suggest that the school is a causal factor in delinquent behaviour, although it may be for youngsters of very low intellectual ability. Rather, the school is regarded as a precipitating factor in the formation of delinquent behaviour patterns, which have their roots elsewhere, usually in home relationships. Whether or not this is primarily a fault of the current educational system, is a problem of considerable magnitude and one which cannot be discussed here. The evidence suggests the contrary, since the majority of school children are still more or less non-delinquent.

It is probable that the school, representing the individuals' first major contact with an organized social institution, would produce the same effect regardless of its educational program, or the nature of the material offered. Frustrations are inevitable if the school is to continue as a training institution. There is an irreducible minimum to the demands which must be made, on the intellectual and emotional resources of the individual student. The same principle is applicable in the home, where training from infancy involves a gradual introduction to frustrating experiences. The child with reasonably satisfying home relationships, learns through encouragement, and derives strength from a secure emotional environment to cope with
progressively more difficult living problems. To the normal child, the school constitutes a further step in a learning process for which he has been prepared, through previously satisfying experience.

The delinquent or pre-delinquent child, on the other hand, is not so fortunate. Healy and Bronner reported that 92 per cent of the children in one sample, came to the school with major emotional disturbances, resulting from a variety of factors; all of these were associated with poor or indifferent relationships within the home environment. The delinquents, therefore, tend to begin school after an infancy and early childhood marked by experiences lacking the emotional support essential to the successful handling of frustration. The young child is left to his own resources in the face of increasingly difficult problems, and lacks the incentive arising from the desire for recognition of achievement. He responds by retreating from the problem or by fighting it. The former reaction often produces the child with the apparent low I.Q. and the latter often becomes the delinquent typified by the present study. These two patterns, or many combinations of the two, approach the school as a new difficulty from which they withdraw, or which they meet with aggression. In either case, the complexity of

1 Healy, W., and Bronner A.F., New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 49.
factors responsible for the behaviour pattern must be discovered and the child treated accordingly; otherwise, the process of development continues, with some capitulation to superior force, until the pattern becomes more or less fixed. At some point in their careers, a certain percentage of these emotionally handicapped children find satisfaction in delinquent behaviour; this becomes absorbed into the pattern and develops, as indicated in this study, until the point of overt conflict is reached and the child runs afoul of the law.

The delinquents concerned in this study, whether first offenders or repeaters, probably represent a relatively small percentage of those who enter school with varying degrees of emotional disturbance. Many, apparently, work out an acceptable adjustment for themselves, though it is often difficult to understand why many more do not become delinquents. School teachers and counsellors undoubtedly assist many to live with their troubles, through achievement in school work, assisted by sound relationships within the classroom and on the playground. Those who do manage to effect a healthier adjustment to school, and society in general, do so largely through chance. There is no plan as yet in effect whereby children who are handicapped by emotional disturbances may be identified and their problems treated, before the more serious cases find their way into the transiently satisfying field of delinquency.

The data presented in the preceding tables has indicated the development of the delinquent pattern through the
school years, to the point where the majority of the more troublesome youngsters withdraw. To these individuals, the school seems to be an aggravating factor in the development and final outbreak of delinquent behaviour. Very little has been said about those emotionally disturbed children, who have adopted introversion as a reaction to frustration. Both the introvert and the aggressive pre-delinquent, the former a convenience in the school and the latter a nuisance, spend their required number of years and then retreat to become incompetents or criminals. It is obvious at this point, that school teachers bear a responsibility toward these children beyond that of a minimum academic level. This idea was admirably expressed by W.C. Kvaraceus, Assistant Superintendent of Schools in Passaic, New Jersey: "Until schools begin to evaluate their influence upon children in terms of bringing about desirable changes in behaviour, they will continue to have little, if any, real effect in forestalling delinquent and pre-delinquent behaviour in individual pupils." ¹

Delinquent behaviour tends to develop progressively, from relatively minor infractions of the law to more extreme levels. This development, based upon initial emotional disturbance, appears to result from a learning process and the desire for more stimulating and challenging experiences. The significance of this phenomenon rests in treatment; attention

to isolated delinquencies without due regard for the total pattern, seems to be futile. Treatment should be applied at the earliest possible point in the developmental process.

The experiences of the delinquents in school suggests that contact with teachers, school disciplines, and the difficulties of studies, may be aggravations in the growth of troublesome behaviour. In many cases school life undoubtedly has this effect. The increase in the incidence of delinquency in the higher grades suggests a parallel with the cumulative development of delinquency itself. This relationship suggests that schools should not seek merely to adjust their demands to the capacities of students; they are also in a position to render positive service, in the treatment of the emotional conditions basic to the difficult behaviour of many children now delinquent or pre-delinquent.
CHAPTER THREE

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DELINQUENCY AND SCHOOL BEHAVIOUR

The idea that the best cure for delinquency lies in prevention, is not original to this study. The Archambault Report quoted Sheldon Glueck in words which are well worth repeating here:

The policy of controlling fires by merely putting out the flames and sitting back to await more fires is rapidly being abandoned as shortsighted and wasteful. Study of the causes of fires and the development of preventive programs are becoming essential activities of the modern fire department. In relation to the control of delinquency and crime, however, society has not progressed much beyond the stage of putting out the flames. It has waited for violations of the law and then bends its efforts to arrest, pursue and punish the offenders without giving much thought to the elimination of the forces that produce them and continue to produce thousands like them. 1

The argument for prevention is admirably expressed, but does not include any suggestion of ways and means. The school has been recommended as a logical place in which to begin treatment. Most children, among them the pre-delinquents, attend school for approximately ten months of every year; why not simply find the troublesome boys and girls, and treat them there?

The problem of identifying these children from among the thousands attending school, is the immediate concern of this study. It was necessary, in the beginning, to find some form of school behaviour sufficiently concrete to be easily recognized, which was also related to delinquency. A brief review of other studies concerned with delinquency and the school suggested the use of truancy as a school behaviour criterion, which might bear a close relationship with delinquency. However, examination of the 164 cases selected from the Juvenile Court records proved to be disappointing. It was found that only 32.9 per cent of the total number could accurately be considered as having been truant at some time in their past school careers. This percentage may actually be higher since a number of possible truants were rejected, owing to some variation in the definition of what constitutes truancy among the several schools.

The Attendance Officers accept as truant, a child who is reported as such by a school principal. However, many principals refer their absentees only after attempting to deal with the problem themselves, and then as a last resort. Other schools may refer as truants, children who are absent without excuse once, or possibly several times, within a relatively brief period. Therefore, a truant as reported by a school principal in a Juvenile Court record, may be an absentee to varying degrees. For that reason, only those cases were considered truant, which showed a
record of persistent absenteeism; the total number was not sufficient to be considered as a useful criterion of potential delinquency. A further difficulty, and one which has been mentioned before, was the inadequacy of a number of court records, which included either very brief school reports or none at all.

It was noted in examination of the records, that a substantial number carried brief but specific comments from teachers and principals, regarding problem behaviour within the school. School teachers tend to make a distinction between truancy as a form of conduct and other troublesome behaviour in the school, but the two were combined to form a possible criterion of pre-delinquency, instead of truancy alone. In effect, truancy as a physical withdrawal from a difficult situation may certainly be considered problem behaviour, and it obviously meets the test of cognizability in the school. In addition to clear evidence of truancy, problem behaviour was defined as including any kind of persistent atypical behaviour, by virtue of which the child attracted the attention and concern of his teacher. The deciding factor in all cases was persistence; the behaviour was not considered a problem if it was of a transient nature, or responded favorably to classroom treatment.

The Nature of Problem Behaviour in School

The probation officers of the Juvenile Court attempt to obtain reports on the school behaviour of delinquents who are charged with offences sufficiently serious to
warrant probation, or more drastic treatment. This information is usually given by the principals of the schools concerned; it may be based upon their own contact with the case, or upon a complaint from the classroom teacher. The various types of behaviour reported by principals and teachers in the court records, are listed in Table 5(a); some explanation is necessary to account for variations in definition.

Table 5(a). Types of Problem Behaviour Reported by Schools

Sample Group, Vancouver Juvenile Court, 1947-8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Behaviour</th>
<th>First Offenders</th>
<th>Repeaters</th>
<th>Industrial School(a)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Low mentality</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Poor application</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Aggression</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Withdrawal</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Backwardness</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Incorrigibility</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Theft in school</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Nervous disorders</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Low mentality with aggression</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Sex problems</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Cases committed to Industrial Schools.
"Low mentality" is self-explanatory and is included as a behaviour problem, owing to the current inadequacy of special class treatment. It may be more accurate to consider this type an educational problem, with high potential emotional implications. However, the limited resources available to meet the special needs of the child with a low I.Q., and the somewhat haphazard use of existing resources, suggests that this type may be safely included as a behaviour problem.

The second type, "poor application", or "not working to capacity", as it is often described, offered considerable difficulty owing to some confusion as to the true nature of individual capacity. Only those cases are entered which had at least average or high I.Q. ratings, and yet showed an academic performance well below the ability level, for reasons other than prolonged absence or illness. Since an I.Q. coefficient must be used with considerable reserve, as a measurement of doubtful accuracy, the margin between the I.Q. and performance must be substantial, before the subject can be truly described as working below capacity. Most of the seven reported for this type had attitudes concomitant with their performance, which rendered the classification more valid than would be the case on the basis of performance alone. There appears to be considerable similarity between this type and the first, but a distinction was made on the strength of a difference in motivation. The term "backwardness" implies a lack of achievement in spite of effort which,
for emotional reasons, is ineffective; poor application includes an apparent absence of motivation, and the individual appears to lack interest or incentive to work.

"Aggression", a general and somewhat unsatisfactory term, is used to cover behaviour of a destructive or rebellious nature in the classroom. Several cases concerning playground brawls, which were reported as aggressive, were considered unsatisfactory; fighting among children and adolescents cannot, necessarily, be considered symptomatic of anything other than good health. These cases were neither extreme nor persistent.

"Withdrawal" is treated with some caution as it was used with an obvious variety of meanings. In a psychological sense, the term seemed to have little significance to the average teacher. It appears that teachers tend to accept such behaviour with gratification, rather than with concern. Whether this is due to lack of appreciation of the possible significance of such behaviour, or to pressure of overcrowded classrooms, is not known at the moment; it is possible that both factors enter the situation. The five boys appearing in the table were mentioned specifically in the court records, as having been unduly sensitive to pressure or discipline, with resultant emotional retreat.

"Backwardness" includes the difficulties of children who, for some reason other than mental incapacity, are unable to cope with their academic work. There is a difference between this term and "retardation." The latter is commonly
used to mean inferior mental ability. "Backwardness" does not include those individuals who have failed to keep pace with their particular age group, owing to illness or similar reasons.

"Incorrigibility", constitutes an admission of failure by the school and should, perhaps, be combined with aggression. However, two cases were reported as beyond control for behaviour which was somewhat more difficult than that embraced by the term "aggression", as it is used here. In a sense, the term "incurrigibility" implies an advanced form of aggressive behaviour, applied generally and indiscriminately; it is therefore indicative of a greater degree of emotional disturbance.

The seventh type requires little elaboration here, except that the three boys reported, had been committing minor thefts for some time within the school, as a means of achieving attention and status.

"Nervous disorders", refers to those characteristics generally associated with emotional disturbance, such as nail biting, hyperactivity, tics and so forth.

"Low mentality with aggression" is classified separately from "aggression" and "low mentality", owing to the significant association between the two attributes. The two boys listed were of borderline mentality, and had a history of difficult behaviour both in the classroom and on the playground.

The tenth type, "sex problems" is relatively rare;
the one case entered in the table was described as such owing to a tendency to indulge in elementary sex play with the younger children on the playground.

The table is not considered significant for analytical purposes. It is presented merely to indicate the nature and extent of the type of school behaviour which was characteristic of certain delinquents. The numbers tabulated in each type indicate the more extreme examples, whose school behaviour was sufficiently troublesome to merit specific mention and description in court records. Less precise descriptions of behaviour characteristics relative to other cases, were rejected as doubtful. In addition, it is extremely likely that a good many cases for whom no school problems were reported, nevertheless had histories of difficult behaviour in school; these, being less violent and disturbing, escaped attention. Therefore, the number of problems listed constitutes a very conservative enumeration, and any possible relationship with delinquent behaviour arising therefrom can only err on the safe side.

The five types of behaviour listed in Table 5(b) comprise a consolidation of the ten described above, with truancy added as the fifth type.

It is unfortunate that a similar analysis for a sample of the non-delinquent population is not available to afford a comparison with the first offenders. As it is, the numbers listed in the first column are of little value, beyond the obvious fact that the behaviour problems described
as such, and the truants, are evenly distributed. The second and third categories show a similarity in the distribution of problem types, with 50 per cent included in aggression in both instances. However, those cases included in aggression among the repeaters, constitute only 17 per cent of the total, whereas among the Industrial School cases the number rises to 33 per cent. The reason for this difference results from the fact that 65 per cent of the repeaters who had been troublesome in school, were truants; this is true of only 33 per cent of the Industrial School cases.

Table 5(b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Behaviour</th>
<th>First Offenders</th>
<th>Repeaters</th>
<th>Industrial School Cases</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aggression</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Withdrawal</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nervous disorders</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low I.Q.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truancy</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These percentages indicate that the Industrial School cases, in addition to showing the highest percentage of school problems, also produce the highest percentage of aggressive reactions. It is probable that these are the cases which, lacking adequate treatment, continue the process of progressive development to more extreme levels of
delinquency. It is not known why any given individual resorts to one form of behaviour, in preference to another, as a means of satisfying emotional needs; but it is logical to assume that, aberrant behaviour being largely the result of emotional conflict, the more violent behaviour indicates the greater conflict. It then follows that the children showing the more aggressive reactions are generally more disturbed, than those who resort to withdrawing reactions, or to other patterns. There appears to be a gradation of emotional disturbance, which follows the same line of progressive development as delinquency and school behaviour. In other words, the seriously unhappy or emotionally disturbed child is likely to be excessively aggressive in school; in early adolescence he is likely to begin a pattern of delinquent behaviour, which in turn is likely to develop into a clearly defined criminal pattern.

The Relationship with Delinquency.

There were 133 records out of the total 164, which included school information of any consequence; of these cases, 51.2 per cent were found to have been behaviour problems at some time in their school careers. The majority of the school reports were given by principals, who are generally aware only of the more serious difficulties. This is particularly true of the larger schools and the majority of the delinquents studied, came from schools having an enrollment of over 300, several over 500 and one over 900. Therefore, the figure of 51.2 per cent, substantial as it may be, must
be considered as somewhat lower than might be expected, with more thorough school study. This assumption is borne out by the results of a study quoted by Garrison, in which he states that, "school failure appears to be more highly correlated with the incidence of delinquency than is any other condition, including poverty, broken homes, absence of religious association or truancy." ¹ In this instance school failure connotes failure in emotional adjustment, as well as academically. It conforms closely to the definition of problem behaviour given above, except that a distinction is made between failure and truancy.

The percentage of school problems among the delinquents in this study, increases directly with the degree of delinquency, as defined by numbers of court appearances and increasing severity of court disposition. Whereas 45.1 per cent of the first offenders had school records involving problem behaviour, this percentage increases to 59.6 per cent for the repeaters, and 71.4 per cent for those having been committed to Industrial Schools. Once again these figures may be considered to be too low. It is probable that the percentages would be considerably higher, if there were more detailed investigation. This is further indicated by the fact that in all the records of the repeaters and Industrial School cases which included social histories, there was speci-

fic mention of one or more types of problem behaviour. Un-
fortunately, only 17 per cent of the repeaters' records, and
24 per cent of the Industrial School cases, carried social
histories.

Consideration of the actual percentages derived
from this study, appears to indicate a sufficiently posi-
tive relationship between delinquency and school behaviour,
to warrant further study. More than two-thirds of the ex-
treme delinquent group could have been identified as pos-
sible pre-delinquents, at some time prior to the point of
overt conflict with the law. At least half of all the de-
linquents, repeaters or otherwise, could probably have been
recognized, studied, and treated where necessary. It must
be borne in mind that such recognition is dependent upon
the abilities of school personnel; it would be much more ef-
fective under the direction of people trained to recognize
and cope with emotional problems.

With first offenders, among whom the relationship
between delinquency and difficult behaviour in school drops
to 45 per cent, the need for earlier treatment, though ob-
viously important, is somewhat less urgent than for the more
extreme delinquent group; with the latter, corrective mea-
sures have thus far proven to be of little effect. A sub-
stantial number of the delinquents appearing in court for
the first time, are awarded a term on probation; this treat-
ment is considered successful if the offender carries out the
conditions of probation, and refrains from further offences
for that period. The permanence of this success is a matter for conjecture at this point, since no follow-up studies for this area are available. If probation, as a form of treatment, is less successful than it appears to be at the moment, then early recognition and treatment is equally as urgent for all delinquents, regardless of the extremity of their behaviour. In any case, it would be preferable, more effective, and more economical, to apply treatment before the child's behaviour has become so serious that the court must intervene. The economy of prevention, as expressed in terms of dollars and cents, may be the strongest argument for its adoption in present day society; the economy in salvaged human resources should nevertheless be its prime motivation.

The feasibility of prevention, as an effective method of dealing with juvenile delinquency, depends of course upon early recognition and treatment. The elementary school offers great possibilities in finding troublesome children before they become delinquent, if a program and its facilities can be brought down to the school level.

How to recognize the pre-delinquents in the mass of children attending school, constitutes the first major problem in prevention. The results of the present enquiry show that difficult or troublesome behaviour, including truancy, is related to delinquency. Many of the delinquents studied, were described by their school principals and teachers, as having been behaviour problems in school; this category in-
cludes a number of characteristics all of which were distinct and easily recognizable.

In examining the extent of problem behaviour in the school backgrounds of the delinquents, it was found that 51.2 per cent of the total sample had been reported in the court records for such behaviour. This percentage increases to 59.6 for repeaters, and reaches 71.4 per cent in those cases which were sent to the Industrial School. It appears evident that the incidence of past troublesome school behaviour increases directly with the degree of delinquency. Judging from these figures, and if appropriate measures are taken, it may be possible to find and treat more than two-thirds of the extreme cases before they actually become delinquent, and more than half of all the children who are brought before the Juvenile Court.
CHAPTER FOUR

EARLY RECOGNITION IN SCHOOL

Many of the delinquents with which this study is concerned, were described by their teachers as having been behaviour problems in school. This term includes a number of characteristics which set the child, thus labelled, apart from his class. The descriptions of these characteristics, or types of behaviour, in the court records, were adequate enough to suggest some connection between troublesome behaviour in school and subsequent delinquency. However, they are not sufficiently detailed to provide an understanding of causes and effects; the elements of behaviour, as they were mentioned, could easily be a set of unrelated attributes.

The validity of the preventive argument in this study depends upon evidence that the characteristics which comprise "problem behaviour" are not only recognizable as such, but are integrated into a pattern; the pattern must be established as part of the developmental sequence of delinquency, from its source in emotional disturbances, to the ultimate clash with the law. It must be shown that the kind of school behaviour typical of many delinquents, springs from the same base as delinquency itself. Pursuing this reasoning further, investigation was carried into the elementary schools.

To begin with, a sample of twenty cases was
selected from those court records which made some reference to difficult school behaviour. The selection was based upon age and present school attendance. It was decided to obtain the necessary information for the youngest delinquents, and those still in school, in order to avoid excessive reliance upon facts recalled by teachers from past experience; the selection was also designed to concentrate the study at the earliest stages of the boys' careers.

The twenty cases were traced to their respective schools, thanks to the co-operation of the Bureau of Measurements. Children who had been transferred recently were traced to their former schools. Several came from very mobile families and had attended as many as six different schools; in these cases, one year's acquaintance with the child by a teacher, was set as the minimum period necessary to an acceptable assessment of behaviour. The number of children from any one school did not exceed four. This small sampling of cases was actually widely scattered, geographically; no less than thirteen schools, representing most of the social areas in the city, were included in the sample.

A questionnaire, supplemented by interviews, was used to obtain details of the problem behaviour mentioned in the court records. This information was not accepted as valid unless it described characteristics which were clearly

*Appendix A.*
atypical to the group concerned, and persistent. Atypical behaviour which was not persistent, in this instance over a period of at least one year, was not accepted as a problem type.

Table 6.  **Delinquents Classified by Age and Grade**

Sample Group, Vancouver Elementary Schools, November, 1948.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes two cases aged sixteen. These were included owing to an insufficient number being available at the lower age levels.

(a) Information obtained from the elementary schools previously attended.

(b) The cases in the Junior High grades seven and eight were in schools combining these, and the elementary grades.

This is a small experimental sample, and its purpose is to illustrate the nature of the problem in indivi-
dual terms. It will be most helpful to separate the cases by reference to their levels of intelligence. The distribution is, broadly, what might be expected. There were five cases with low intelligence ratings, ten of average ability, and five varying from slightly above average to high. The first five were originally considered behaviour problems on the basis of low I.Q. alone, and the need for more detailed discussion was indicated for this reason. The five cases at the high level are also presented in some detail, as special problems of adjustment may be present here as well as with the low group. The remaining ten cases are discussed as a more typical group, but some emphasis is placed upon exceptional points.

Problems of Low Mentality

Two of the five boys with low intelligence ratings were not described, in the court records, as having been troublesome in their school behaviour. For the purposes of this study, they were considered potential behaviour problems when forced to compete academically in normal classes. More detailed investigation tends to support this assumption.

John A., a boy of thirteen, in grade six, had an I.Q. of 88. His physical appearance was slovenly and dirty, to the point of being offensive. It was said that he was not working to capacity, but with an I.Q. of 88 it is difficult to estimate what his capacity should be. He was lazy, dishonest, uninterested and careless. His teacher mentioned that he often tried to be helpful in classroom duties, but could not be trusted to accomplish anything unless closely supervised. In contrast to these characteristics, he was described as an enthusiastic participant in music classes, and appeared to enjoy the singing.
The problem in this case appears to be an ordinary example of academic frustration. Faced with excessive demands upon limited intellectual resources, the boy responded by withdrawing emotionally, and occasionally physically, from the area of conflict. He attempted to derive some satisfaction from achievement in less difficult pursuits, such as classroom duties and music periods. The former was not highly rewarding, but apparently the music provided an outlet for accumulated tension. It was easy for him to join with the group in the simple classroom melodies, and compete on the same level as those about him. It was the one point in the day's work in which he could claim the status of equality; his enthusiasm testified to the enjoyment he experienced. His unfavourable physical appearance may be indicative of parental neglect, but according to the teacher this was not the case. It may be that the boy was not able to appreciate the social significance of personal cleanliness and, in addition, lacked the incentive to emulate the standards of his classmates.

William B., a boy of sixteen, with an I.Q. of 79, was reported in the court record as a truant. School investigation revealed that his mental handicap was aggravated by a cultural factor. The school principal was familiar with his family background, and placed considerable emphasis upon the influence of a grandmother who was reputed to be of German extraction, and "anti-British" in her attitudes. In addition to the possibility of culture conflict, the situation was further complicated by the parents' divorce; the mother was said to be contemplating remarriage to a man who promised to "make the boy toe the mark." The boy's school behaviour was described as anti-social, in that he consistently ignored rules and refused to conform to the standards observed by the
class as a whole. He was rebellious, and inclined to be insolent, although the latter characteristic was said to be less evident than in 1945, when he first arrived in Vancouver. His academic record was poor. It is to the school's credit that visits were made to the home as a result of this conduct, but the situation at the time of the enquiry remained unchanged.

Frustration is evident again, but here with a different response. The conflict between intellectual incapacity and normal study requirements, enhanced by an apparently adverse social conditioning by the grandmother, resulted in sharply aggressive conduct. This was not improved by suppressive measures. It is not surprising that the visits made by the teacher to the home were ineffectual. The problem suggests ramifications which are not within the province of a school teacher, nor could they be expected to improve with one or two visits.

The third case shows a somewhat similar pattern of academic frustration and consequent aggressive response. It is that of George M., a twelve year old boy with an I.Q. of 86.

He was noted as being moody and according to the principal of this school, his moods were directly related to home difficulties. He was inclined to be domineering in games, extremely quick-tempered and violent in the face of competitive opposition. He was excessively interested in morbid stories of crime and violence; it was apparent that he used his acquired knowledge in this field as a means of achieving status, through posturing as a would-be gangster. In his studies he was described as a "defeatist," easily upset by difficulties and unable to concentrate. The term "capacity" was used, with the implication that more achievement was demanded of the boy than he was mentally capable of producing.

This problem requires little interpretation regarding the
displacement of the aggressive reaction, from its source in the classroom, to the physical outlets of the playground. The relationship between the reactions evident in both areas is obvious, the eruption occurring in the less inhibited environment.

Mike A., was sixteen years of age with an I.Q. of 83. The problem here was a trifle more extreme in its overt manifestations. Evidence of emotional disturbance was obvious in persistent tension, violent temper and sporadic facial tics. He was unable to cope with any kind of study, without a great deal of individual attention. He was characterized by a fairly consistent depression, which was occasionally broken by excessive elation over minor achievements on the playing field. Surprisingly enough, he was often truant from manual training classes. A home visit made by the teacher in this case contributed nothing in the way of improvement, but added the significant information that the boy had an alcoholic father, and a mother who was bemused with her own troubles.

The pattern here is less obvious and should not be interpreted too freely on the basis of the available information. The same condition of frustration is evident but the reactions are less uniform than in other cases; there are aggressive and withdrawing tendencies, with the suggestion of a form of anxiety neurosis. No explanation is available for his fear or distaste of manual training, which seemed to be the only source of truancy. On the whole, the case warrants some concern, and with further investigation may be found to require psychiatric help.

Jack R., a boy of twelve, had an I.Q. of 78. In appearance he was unkempt and poorly dressed, although there was no evidence of economic difficulty in the home. His academic record was poor. In the classroom he was excessively shy, liked to day-dream much of the time, was moody and rather stubborn when criti-
cized. He was often absent from school, but since he had excuse notes from his mother, he was not technically a truant. An unverified report described him as a "bully" and "show-off" on the playground but his teachers could not vouch for this. His behaviour was never sufficiently troublesome to warrant concern in the school and one teacher stated that, "considering his background and I.Q., we find he is more to be pitied than censured too harshly." His behaviour characteristics were not considered significant.

This is another example of a withdrawing reaction to the extreme frustration suffered by those whose mental capacity is not equal to normal demands in school. The pattern is clear enough to delineate the problem, but the most interesting aspect of this brief description is the attitude of the teachers; it is one which offers sympathy in the guise of understanding, but leaves the basic issue untouched.

The significance of the behaviour disorders outlined in these five cases is obvious with a diagnostic approach. It is interesting to note that the first two were not specifically mentioned in the court records as behaviour problems; none of the five were considered sufficiently serious to warrant referral elsewhere.

The High Mentality Group

The first of this group, Martin L., was a fourteen year old boy with an I.Q. of 114. This case was found to be a trifle more complicated than the majority, owing to a severe physical handicap.

Martin was described as a boy of slight physique. He was afflicted with an osteopathic condition which led to hospitalization some time after his court appearance. In addition, there were traces of epilepsy in the family.
At the time of the enquiry, the child was under treatment for this disorder which was diagnosed as a relatively minor petit mal. His school behaviour was not satisfactory and his academic work was considered well below his ability. He was a day-dreamer and consistently tended to consort with younger children.

The physical factor was probably basic to the emotional condition which blocked this child's school progress, toward achievement in line with his ability. This is certainly indicated by his behaviour symptoms in the classroom and his conduct on the playground. However, regardless of the predominance of his physical disabilities, the fact remains that there was an emotional conflict which produced definite symptoms within the school.

William D., a boy of fifteen with an I.Q. of 111, was a more difficult problem.

William's academic record verged upon failure from grade six. At that time he began to neglect his home-work, refused to apply himself in school and was frequently late. There was some truancy. He was impertinent to his teachers and appeared to make a conscious effort to be obnoxious. The school counsellor was of the opinion that "the boy was trying to attract attention." He described him as a "screwball" because he could find no reasons for the boy's behaviour. Physically he was pale, underweight and generally under-developed.

Little was known of this boy's family or background, which might have explained the behaviour so bewildering to the counsellor. The fact that the present pattern developed quite suddenly, immediately suggests the possibility of a disturbing factor which was extraneous to the school. The shock which precipitated the erratically aggressive behaviour probably occurred within the boy's family relation-
ships. Whatever the basic causes, nothing was done either to diagnose or to treat the total problem.

The third case is interesting. The boy's teacher, aware of negative home influences, minimized the evident problem because there was no disciplinary factor involved.

Allan S., had a reputation among his teachers of being "bright." Apparently he evinced an interest in his work, but was noted for a tendency to wander from any point under discussion, into wildly exaggerated and highly imaginative stories. His teacher recognized this, as well as a tendency to be excessively generous, as attention-getting mechanisms; he was of the opinion that attempts to suppress these proclivities were showing some success. There was no improvement in the boy's work.

The symptoms in this case are less well defined than in the majority of those studied, and might easily escape the attention of a teacher, particularly since the boy was not troublesome in class. The characteristics displayed are of little significance by themselves but when analyzed as a pattern, in conjunction with known adverse features in the home, they become significant.

The case of Lawrence T., eleven years old with an I.Q. of 101, was less clearly defined.

In physical appearance, Lawrence was rather pale and obese; there was no reference to the possibility of glandular disorder. His academic record was average. There was no discernible problem in the classroom, but his behaviour on the playground seemed significant. He was noticed to be consciously sociable, but was not liked by the children to whom his overtures were extended. His teachers did not know why this boy was not accepted by his classmates, but thought that he was over-eager to make friends. Apparently his own enthusiasm was his downfall. His studies were not affected to any extent; he was different in the classroom only as he was thought to be trying to attract attention to himself quite often.
Information in this case was limited and therefore interpretation would be premature. The details available here, point to a poor social adjustment which might hinge upon a number of factors, many of them rooted elsewhere than in the school. Such a problem may be difficult to identify in the school, but it is not less worthy of concern because it is non-academic in character. Greater analytical awareness on the part of teachers would render such problems both significant and recognizable.

The final case in this group was not reported in the court record as a behaviour problem of any kind.

Gordon R., eleven years of age with an I.Q. of 108, had an average academic standing. His work in school was careless and haphazard. He was described as egotistical and immune to ordinary discipline. His teacher was concerned about him as a boy who was alert to every opportunity to "get away with something;" when caught he was extremely glib in his excuses. He was aware of the "difference between right and wrong" but the concept had no meaning for him as it has with the average child. He was described as "a law unto himself" with few moral scruples, if such a term may be applied to a child of eleven.

This pattern is suggestive of a deeply-rooted emotional disturbance which cannot be elaborated without further information. It is sufficient to emphasize that the behaviour pattern outlined here has grave implications, school opinion notwithstanding.

The Average Group

The remaining ten cases follow a similar pattern with individual variations; they do not contribute sufficiently to the theme of the present study to warrant specific
recounting. Without exception, all twenty cases in the sample exhibited behaviour characteristics which were clearly atypical. Some of these were obvious, and several were recognized as symptomatic by the teachers concerned, but under the circumstances little could be done. Other cases of less apparent disorder were either misinterpreted, or rated as nuisances and endured as such.

An example of misinterpretation of behaviour is offered by the case of Tommy J., a fourteen year old boy who lost a leg in an accident, several years ago.

Tommy's parents were described as co-operative but accepting of the school only as a necessity; they were, apparently, co-operative within the limits prescribed by the School Attendance Act. The family attitude toward the school, and society in general, was said to be based on pride, and concomitant rejection of outside help. The boy himself, an average student, was described as "brave" and was sincerely admired by the teachers who knew him. The principal said that he "faced and conquered his handicap" without assistance, apparently in the family tradition.

But the evidence implied by his behaviour suggests otherwise.

He was usually quiet and reserved, but showed bright anger in response to sympathy. He cried when given or offered concessions because of his handicap. When his emotions were roused he stammered, and in certain instances became temporarily inarticulate. In the presence of others he was noticeably shy.

His apparent independence and refusal of sympathy or assistance were interpreted as evidence of courage; explaining this analysis, the principal remarked that the boy's attitude, unless understood, could easily be taken for stubbornness. There was no reference to the deep feeling of inadequacy, indicated by his shyness, and his habitual tendency
to withdraw from the group. The physical handicap actually appears secondary to its emotional accompaniment. There is no doubt that this boy was deeply disturbed by his feelings of physical inferiority, but he was conditioned by his family experiences to contain his emotions. Occasionally the tension burst his defences, when sympathetic overtures brought his feelings to the surface. The emotional conflict between his constantly reinforced conviction of inferiority, and the drive toward social status, eventually found an outlet in delinquent behaviour.

At the moment the prognosis is none too good. This case is one which, from any point of view, is charged with pathos; even this brief exposition includes rather poignant implications of what might have been done, to assist this boy toward a more effective understanding and acceptance of his physical handicap. Unfortunately, he was not a problem until the court so decreed. It is difficult to avoid the reflection that realization may have come too late.

The only case in the entire sample which appeared to be of doubtful significance as a behaviour problem was that of Danny, a thirteen year old boy, with an I.Q. of 99, in grade five.

Although Danny was not stated to be working below capacity, the age-grade relationship certainly points in that direction. Investigation showed that the boy's mother was an immature woman who frequently kept the child away from school, on the slightest provocation. When in school he was poorly dressed and habitually filthy. His behaviour was generally quite good, except that his teachers were concerned about his manners. He was considered very sociable, with a charming manner; this tended to offset his
unsavoury appearance to some extent. The case suggests neglect in the home, with a lack of incentive in the school and, perhaps, a trace of compensatory activity in his energetic social approach. In any case, the indications of neglect are sufficiently concrete to warrant some apprehension regarding parent-child relationships.

There appears to be little doubt that the problem behaviour exhibited in school by these delinquents was well defined. It is equally evident that these symptoms of underlying emotional conflict were, in all cases, allowed to develop unchecked by any coherent attempt at treatment; eventually they found an outlet in delinquency. However, the crucial issue is, whether this behaviour is co-existent with delinquency, or manifests itself before the child resorts to active law-breaking. There is little to be gained by recognition of delinquent symptoms, if there is not sufficient time for application of intensive treatment prior to active delinquency.

The Treatment Interval

The average period between the appearance of definite problem behaviour in the school, and the first known delinquency, is four years. Many of the delinquents in this sample had displayed the characteristics considered as problem behaviour, throughout their school careers. With the exception of one case, they were known to be different from their classmates, in behaviour and attitudes, for two or more years, the majority for three years or more. Two of the cases were referred to the Child Guidance Clinic at some time
prior to their appearance in court but, as far as could be
determined, the treatment was largely diagnostic. The re-
mainder were controlled during their school hours, and were
not considered serious disciplinary problems. No one can
predict exactly, what might have followed early treatment
in these cases, but it is quite probable that few of them
would have found their way into the Juvenile Court.

Table 7. **Interim Period Between Outbreak of Problem
Behaviour in School and First Delinquency**

Sample Group, Vancouver Elementary Schools,
November, 1948.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outbreak of Problem Behaviour</th>
<th>Date of First Offence 1946</th>
<th>1947</th>
<th>1948</th>
<th>Average Interim Period in Years</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>1946</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>1 *</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average Interim Period for Sample 4.05 years.

* Two boys were transferred to Vancouver schools from other areas in the province. Difficult behaviour was evident in school upon arrival.
With the possible exception of two, all the cases in the experimental sample were within the treatment area of case work. These two boys showed evidence of marked disturbance, and should have had psychiatric assistance with supportive case work treatment. It is often claimed that diagnostic and treatment resources are too limited to be used for problems such as these. It appears somewhat ridiculous that they are ignored during the period when they may be considered most amenable to treatment. When attention to these children is finally made mandatory by the court, treatment is not only rendered more difficult and costly; the drain upon the same limited resources is greater than if the problems had been dealt with at their inception.

It is fairly evident that troublesome behaviour characteristics in school, typical of many delinquents, can be recognized. Many of them are, in fact, noted by teachers. However, relatively few of these problems are considered from a diagnostic point of view; teachers tend to accept them at their face value, unless the children concerned are sufficiently rebellious or difficult, to be considered as disciplinary problems. The result is that school behaviour disorders, which are actually of a symptomatic nature, remain more or less untreated.

All of the cases studied, showed clearly defined patterns of problem behaviour in school a year, or more, before committing their first offence against the law. The
average period between the recognition of such behaviour and the first delinquency was four years; there appears to be little doubt that this is sufficient time for thorough diagnosis and intensive treatment.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE PROBLEM OF THE ACADEMIC APPROACH

"Teachers should be sensitive to pupils who experience frustration such as economic need, inadequate home surroundings, broken families, limited academic aptitude, low or failing marks, school retardation, conflicting cultures and family mobility. The ones who should be referred are those who react to these circumstances or aggravating conditions in a manner which does not have social approval; those who do not belong to any supervised social or recreational groups, bothersome gangs, those who truant, lie, cheat, destroy property, hit other children, fail in their school work or who turn their aggression inwardly upon themselves and become sullen, seclusive and unhappy." 1 This quotation from W.C. Kvaraceus' study well expresses the role a teacher might be able to play in the prevention of delinquency. However, the extent to which teachers fulfil this function, is a matter of training and opportunity. In the light of the facts so far reviewed, it is important to examine it further at this point.

The teacher in the elementary school clearly occupies a position of strategic importance in the recognition

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1 Kvaraceus, W.C., Juvenile Delinquency and the School, World Book Company, Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York, 1945, p. 278.
of symptomatic behaviour and in treatment. The facts so far assembled tend to suggest that treatment of behaviour problems in the school has been largely restricted to suppression in the interests of "discipline." Education still seems to be a predominantly academic function; problem behaviour is of incidental importance, unless it constitutes a threat to classroom control. Further, the problems are recognized by virtue of specific atypical characteristics; their emotional implications are largely ignored. Those which are regarded with appropriate concern, are given inadequate attention because of insufficient time, lack of facilities for treatment, and limited skills and techniques.

The individual teacher can hardly be criticized for failure to exploit her potentialities in the prevention, not only of delinquency, but of other expressions of emotional maladjustment which fall within the general province of mental hygiene. A teacher who is charged with the responsibility of guiding from twenty to forty children through an average school curriculum, cannot be expected to treat emotional problems as well. She has neither the time nor the requisite skill to cope with them. She can, however, recognize their symptoms from classroom behaviour, and she may learn to appreciate their implications. Therefore she constitutes an invaluable source of referral. The responsibility for treatment, on a collaborative basis, must be carried by specialists.

The major function of school teachers in a preventive program, then, is one of recognition and subsequent re-
ferral of behaviour problems, to a treatment agency competent to deal comprehensively with them. However, referral should not be interpreted to mean termination of the school's interest in the case; on the contrary, the entire process from recognition to successful treatment, should be on a collaborative basis. Thus it is possible to make the most effective use of the resources available in the school, the treatment agency and the community. Such an approach, in which the social worker carries the dominant role, implies certain difficulties which arise in the functional sequence of recognition, through referral, to ultimate treatment.

Recognition of Behaviour Problems

As part of the method of this study, a brief questionnaire, dealing with problem behaviour, was used. It was sent to ten schools in various sections of the city, according to a rough ecological distribution. The questionnaire asked for numbers of truants and behaviour problems found in grades one to six, inclusive. The number of pupils referred for advice or treatment out of the school, was requested as well. The differentiation between "truancy" and "behaviour problems" was made arbitrarily, to conform to the distinction observed in the schools. The purpose of the questionnaire was to make a preliminary estimate of the extent of problem behaviour as conceived by teaching personnel, the variation between schools in this respect, and the use of

*Appendix B.*
referral to existing agencies.

The results were disappointing, even within the limited scope of the questionnaire. Three were not returned and subsequent interviews elicited the implication that truancy and problem behaviour were non-existent in these schools. The remaining seven indicated such wide variation between schools, which were not greatly dissimilar in the nature of their populations, that their validity appeared doubtful.

For purposes of analysis, the schools are grouped in Table 8, according to the similarity of the districts from which their attendance is drawn. Area 1, the central business section and its adjacent residential districts, is noted for its high delinquency rates; schools A and B are attended by children living directly in this area. School C, in a more peripheral location, draws part of its attendance from more outlying districts. The remaining areas reach outwards concentrically from Area 1, to districts typified by more substantial, single unit dwellings and generally higher economic levels. On the basis of the environmental factor in delinquency, each school could be expected to report figures for behaviour disorders similar to the others in its group, at least with minor discrepancies. The reverse is true for Areas 1 and 3, where the schools with the lesser attendance rolls reported far greater numbers of problem cases.
Table 8. Numbers of Truants and Problem Children in School

Sample of Ten Elementary Schools,
Vancouver, October, 1948.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Attendance in Grades 1-6</th>
<th>Truants</th>
<th>Behaviour Problems</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Noted</td>
<td>Referred</td>
<td>Noted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A (583)</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>62</td>
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<tr>
<td>G (317)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Area 1 --- High delinquency area including central business section and adjacent districts.

Area 2 --- Working class district extending from Area 1, outwards.

Area 3 --- Largely middle class area, but School G draws from a district which includes a substantial working class element.

The referrals which are noted in the table, were made to the Children's Aid Societies, the provincial Child Guidance Clinic, or to the Metropolitan Health Committee. The latter, administratively related to the school system,
operates a guidance clinic under the direction of the school psychiatrist. Most of the referrals for psychiatric diagnosis are made to this clinic.

Of course a number of factors enter the situation here. The principals of schools A and G were found to be somewhat over-enthusiastic in their rating of behaviour problems, and the figures reported must be treated with some reservation. The report from school B was considered to be a fairly good estimate. The paucity of the results tabulated for the remainder of the schools, is attributed to the failure of the school staffs to recognize behaviour problems, unless they have disciplinary significance. For example, four of the cases included in the sample of twenty previously investigated in the schools, are attending school D. The writer discovered at least two more cases of difficult behaviour, in a discussion with the principal. Only one of these six cases was reported as a behaviour problem and only for disciplinary reasons; the remaining five were considered annoying, but not excessively troublesome. It is probable that more detailed investigation would reveal many more problem cases in this school, and in those for which very few were reported.

The principal of school G was found to be unusually aware of the symptomatic nature of the type of behaviour discussed, and was extremely co-operative in assembling the data required. The 21 cases reported for this school are therefore considered a more accurate estimate of the actual
number. This figure, used as a rough criterion to evaluate the reports of the other schools, certainly throws doubt on the reports from schools D, E and F and, to a certain extent, school C. Interviews, subsequent to the return of the questionnaires, indicated a very limited understanding of the emotional aspects of troublesome behaviour in these schools. This was also true, but to a lesser extent, in those which reported a relatively greater number of difficult pupils. The majority of the cases which were reported were rated as difficult, odd or annoying, with little to suggest real awareness of the probability of maladjustment.

In general, the schools tended to define problem behaviour in disciplinary terms. It is true that a substantial number of problem cases, which did not include a disciplinary element, were reported in the questionnaires. However, many of these were listed in response to the included definition of problem behaviour. Further investigation suggested a general lack of conviction on the part of school principals, regarding the actual seriousness of the cases thus rated. This was particularly true of the numerous children who showed withdrawal symptoms resulting from lack of ability, lack of incentive, or both. Few of these cases were described as troublesome, and were not considered as "real" problems despite their being enumerated on the questionnaires.

The majority of the principals consulted did not concede the possibility of there being emotional problems
present, to the extent of complying with the questionnaire
definition. They refused to enter any but the most blatantly
obvious examples of maladjustment. Therefore, the question­
naires are almost certainly unrepresentative of the number
of behaviour problems existent in the Vancouver Elementary
Schools; but they do indicate the failure of school staff to
recognize symptomatic behaviour, except in the most advanced
cases.

The treatment of pupils with low intelligence
ratings offers a striking example of the limited extent of
recognition in real, and potential, behaviour problems. The
example is particularly significant, since cases of this type
should be of vital concern to the teacher because of the
manifest educational problem, aside from the emotional im­
plications. There was an obvious relationship between be­
haviour and mental inadequacy evident in many cases, parti­
cularly the five who were studied in the schools; in spite
of this, there was no indication that the high degree of
frustration experienced by these pupils was appreciated to
any extent. None of these five was in a special class.

Three of the total sample of 164 court cases were
enrolled in special classes. Intelligence ratings were not
available for the total number, but it is highly probable
that there were more than five children in the sample, who
were eligible for special class treatment. Discussions with
the Attendance Officers and the school psychologist, sug­
gested that some pupils of low intelligence cannot be placed
in these classes because of overcrowding. It seems apparent that those who are left to struggle along in normal classes are the least troublesome of the total group, as far as their behaviour is concerned. If overcrowding is a valid reason for inadequate special class treatment, then selection of candidates on such a basis may be tenable. However, it should not mean that the children left behind by the selection should thereafter be more or less ignored.

Another reason for failure to place some of the mentally handicapped children in classes designed to meet their needs, is that parents often refuse to grant permission for such placement. This is a frequent reaction of parents who are often too proud to have their child in a special class. This may well be so, but it leaves unanswered the question of parent-child relationships in such a situation, and the need of a service which might be able to effect a readjustment in parental understanding and attitudes.

This problem of recognition was not unanticipated, by any means, and the reasons are readily available. Despite the growing emphasis in professional education circles upon individualization, the teacher is still concerned largely with a heavy syllabus of studies; and, for that matter, with a system of disciplines designed to insure mass progress toward a pre-determined academic goal. The child must absorb a certain quantity of learning in a given time; and in the process, he must conform to a number of rules and regulations intended to facilitate it. Non-conformity must frequently be
suppressed in the interest of the group progress toward a minimum standard of academic achievement. The teacher's reputation hinges upon her ability to advance the bulk of her class beyond this standard at the end of each year. Unfortunately, her success as a teacher is still measured largely in terms of academic success or failure. Whether those successes are also well-adjusted personalities is incidental. Failures are of no great consequence except in numerical terms, when they exceed the acceptable quota.

There are exceptions among both principals and teachers of course, but the majority appear to be carrying on with a streamlined version of the system which, years ago, was devoted to the three "R's." In classroom practice, the concept of personality dynamics is not followed to any appreciable extent. The situation is due, in great part, to insufficient training in psychology and also to the functional inertia which is common to all institutions. The inadequacy may be overcome by greater emphasis upon dynamic psychology in teacher training; but this must undoubtedly be supplemented in practice by demonstration of the constructive effects of treatment, in cases which are now either ignored or suppressed.

Referral of Behaviour Problems

It may seem anomalous that referral should be discussed, after discounting the effectiveness of school teachers in the recognition of these cases. However, several schools reported relatively large numbers of difficult children, with
the assistance of the definition of problem behaviour included in the questionnaire. The same method may be used to encourage initial referrals. It is true that referrals will leave much to be desired, if they are based only on certain specific characteristics, without any depth of understanding. However, pending the development of greater insight by the teachers, it seems to be the only effective substitute. Otherwise, a treatment program may be delayed, for the sake of preliminary education of school staffs, with little assurance that interpretive publicity would produce concrete results.

It would be of great advantage to make a thorough initial interpretation of the social worker's role. The teachers could then be conditioned to insight and understanding, through active participation in the treatment process. Referral made simply according to definition might well produce inflated responses, similar to that of school A, which would require considerable screening. This minor hazard must be accepted until referring teachers develop sufficient understanding, through successful practice, to do their own screening. At any rate, an excessively inclusive volume of referral would be a positive rather than a negative fault; it would at least ensure recognition of the serious cases.

The major operational problems to be encountered in referral are largely psychological although it must be admitted that time is an important factor; curriculum pressure
is generally quite heavy upon the teacher. Failure to appreciate the emotional implications of problem behaviour, often precludes recognition by the school authorities, of the need for referral to treatment agencies. If initial referrals may be encouraged on the basis of a broad definition of problem behaviour, successful expansion, and perhaps even the continued existence of a treatment program, must wait upon proof of effectiveness. Several principals who were consulted on this point did not appear to be greatly impressed with the results achieved through some referrals already made; these children had been sent to various social agencies and the psychiatric clinics of the Metropolitan Health Committee, and the provincial government. It must be pointed out that these cases were generally extreme problems with long developmental histories. Successful treatment depends, to a great extent, upon early contact.

Social workers may offer the traditional reason of insufficient time and resources to cope with such referrals, and the clinics may suggest a lack of workers to carry out recommended treatment; but some scepticism appears to exist in the schools regarding the use of referral for case work treatment. Some indication of this appears in the discrepancies between numbers of problems and referrals, reported in the questionnaire. An additional reason is that teachers, as well as other groups, tend to expect rapid and spectacular results from referrals, without due appreciation for the complexities of the problems involved.
A further problem to be considered, arises from a fairly general attitude among principals which may be described as a "vested interest" in their schools. This problem is a common administrative phenomenon wherever departmentalization exists. It is significant in this case, only as it hinders referral of problems and subsequent treatment. For example, principals are reluctant to refer cases of truancy to the attendance officers, because they wish to cope with their own problems within the school; there is the additional factor of the monthly statistical report which may be misconstrued as uncomplimentary to the school administration, if too many cases are referred for treatment.

The same attitude appears to obtain with respect to the few referrals of behaviour problems which are currently made to the clinics, and Children's Aid Societies, after the school has failed to effect an improvement. Referrals are generally made as a measure of last resort and not on the basis of diagnosis, and need for intensive treatment. The same phenomenon appears to be evident on a reduced scale, in the classroom. Referrals which should proceed from the source of trouble, to the principal and then for treatment, may be blocked by the teacher who prefers to dispose of her own problems; at least until they become unmanageable. Because there is little recognition of the emotional basis of problem behaviour, and the need for specialized attention, the problem is considered an educational one, and is retained by the teacher concerned. Many factors contribute to this
attitude, most of them arising from usage and the traditional interpretation of function within the school. None of them are insurmountable; nor need they occasion undue concern.

**Treatment**

The problems examined in this study, and others which may be anticipated, fall within the treatment area of case work; psychiatric assistance is recognized as essential for the relatively small percentage of cases which may be expected to require such treatment. This report is not intended to deal with the case work process, but rather with the major problems which might be encountered in its application. Once a case of difficult behaviour has been identified and referred for case work treatment, the major responsibility rests with the case worker. The degree of collaboration between the worker and the teacher which may be required in treatment, depends upon the nature of the case; but it must exist to some extent in all cases referred.

The problem here is the impact of personalities, both concerned with a common problem, but from different approaches. Once again the onus is upon the social worker, as a specialist invading the hitherto undisputed jurisdiction of another profession. The task calls for understanding and tact of the highest order, particularly in those cases of problem behaviour in which the teacher herself may constitute part of the problem. This difficulty, and others which may be encountered in treatment, are too intimately concerned with practice, in all its variations and modifications, to be dis-
cussed at length here. They must be met and dealt with as they arise, in a developing treatment program.

Perhaps all the obstacles, those stated and others implied, might be included in the broad problem of interpretation. School teachers, as well as other professional groups are not sufficiently aware of the functions, the objectives and the skills of case work, to offer any degree of acceptance without a good deal of preliminary education. A capable job of interpretation prior to, and in the course of a preventive treatment program, is essential to assure effective functioning; without thorough understanding of such a program, school co-operation cannot be expected, at least to the extent required in intensive treatment. Referrals and subsequent participation in treatment by school teachers, must be made voluntarily, on the basis of confidence in the program. A study of treatment for truancy conducted at Smith College in 1945, found that referrals made voluntarily rather than authoritatively, were successful much more frequently owing to the more spontaneous co-operation of the teacher concerned. ¹ The same study also proved the greater effectiveness of earlier referrals.

Initial interpretation, followed by demonstration, must be reinforced by a prolonged educational effort by case workers. School resources must be developed to the point

where teachers may identify and refer problems on a more analytical basis. A preventive program functioning in the school system of Passaic, New Jersey, includes "a service-training program to acquaint teachers with a mental hygiene point of view and to build a common philosophy of education centered around the individual pupil." 1 Such a task might well prove more difficult than the treatment of the predelinquents for whom the program is designed, but it cannot be ignored. It becomes more and more evident that the key to success lies in demonstration.

The alleged emphasis upon individualization of approach and the study of personality in educational theory, apparently has not produced marked results; nor has the basic philosophy of the average teacher changed to any appreciable extent. The criterion of success in education is still largely on academic standards, with other values incidental. Kvaraceus stated in the report of the Passaic study that, "very little progress has been made in the direction of evaluating learning in terms of desirable changes in behaviour." 2 Perhaps the attempts to make such progress have been too abortive, and too theoretical, to have had much effect on teachers already absorbed in a highly challenging task. When the teacher is given the opportunity

2 Ibid., p. 299.
to participate in the treatment of the problem child she has reluctantly referred, and has witnessed the results of success with the understanding imparted by thorough interpretation, wholehearted co-operation will be assured.

The feasibility of such an approach has been recognized elsewhere. A report concerning experiments in California, given before the 1947 National Conference of Social Work states:

We have encouraged school people everywhere to take this step, since we believe that the school must act as a "finding" agency for those children who show maladjustment in the early years, and that it must take the responsibility for providing a satisfactory plan of adjustment so that children do not have to break into jail in order to have their problems recognized. 1

It is not necessary to agree that the school should be alone responsible for providing plans of adjustment, but the principle of the report is clearly in order.

The elementary school offers tremendous possibilities as a source of referral of children with behaviour problems. It also constitutes a valuable potential resource in collaborative treatment. However, there are certain inadequacies in the school which must be considered, prior to the formulation of a treatment program. The major problem is

concerned with the present failure of school staff to recognize problem behaviour as symptomatic of emotional maladjustment, or worthy of concern, until it becomes extremely disturbing. Referrals of these cases to guidance clinics and social agencies are generally made as a last resort, after the school has failed to effect any improvement by haphazard treatment. The inadequacy of recognition is often supplemented by an administrative reluctance to refer an obvious problem outside of the school itself.

The difficulties associated with recognition, referral and subsequent treatment, are largely the result of limited understanding, not only of the behaviour problems, but of the functions and potentialities of social case work. All of these can be dealt with constructively by preliminary interpretation of an educational nature, with emphasis upon the need for a collaborative approach. Interpretation must be supplemented, in the long run, by demonstration of successful treatment in which the referring teacher has participated.
CHAPTER SIX

CURRENT EXPERIMENTS IN DELINQUENCY CONTROL

Recent years have produced a large variety of theories, plans and programs, designed to deal with juvenile delinquency. Periodic "waves" of youthful crime, whether real or imaginary, have never failed to stimulate wide discussion of ways and means to curb these trends. The solutions which have been advocated, from time to time, have not always been sound in theory; many which have been put into practice, have failed to produce results commensurate with their objectives. However, they all add to an extensive experimental background for this study.

A number of the most widely favoured programs have been selected for discussion at this point. It is not possible to deal with all the proposals which have attracted public interest. However, the programs which have endured on the basis of limited success, and those which are currently in favour, fall into one or more of the types outlined below. These are evaluated largely in terms of their preventive content, although other aspects are not entirely ignored.

The majority of control measures, those proposed and those now functioning, place heavy emphasis upon probation and group treatment, or combinations of these two methods. Some of the more elaborate programs attempt to
co-ordinate probation and community group activity, with a region-wide system of institutional treatment for the more serious cases. All the schemes examined purported to be either preventive in character, or had formulated preventive objectives. It seems evident that prevention is now a major issue in the field of delinquency control.

Probation

The Saskatchewan Penal Commission defined probation as a form of disposition of accused persons by the court. It suspends final judgment and instead of commitment to a penal or correctional institution, it provides treatment while the offender continues to live in the community under conditions imposed by the court and under the supervision of a probation officer. If the offender fails while on probation to meet the conditions laid down by the court, he is subject to return to the court for further disposition.¹

One of the major reasons for the continued existence of probation in its traditional form, is its status as an adjunct of the court. Society is still generally primitive in its approach to anti-social behaviour. The court constitutes an instrument through which that attitude is implemented: probation, as a creation of the court, is accepted by society as the logical agency to administer correction on an authoritative basis. Theoretically, its effectiveness as a means of

control is open to serious question; it is only invoked after conviction for one or more offences. In practice, success in 80 per cent of a selected clientele is generally claimed, but this figure is based upon success for the period of probation. The writer is not aware of any studies which have attempted to assess the long-run effectiveness of probation on this continent; but English experience with parole, shows a rate of recidivism which increases directly with the time interval after discharge from treatment.¹ Success under treatment is certainly not synonymous with success in a more permanent sense.

Probation is not entirely satisfactory as an effective method of delinquency control, because it arbitrarily waits for full development of delinquent behaviour. It has been evaluated by Healy and Bronner in positive terms: "...it has been so amply proven that attempts to curb delinquent careers by juvenile court procedure is, in general, extremely disappointing in results."² A similar opinion was expressed more recently by Kvaraceus in his report of the Passaic experiment in preventive work:

The juvenile court serves a real function in the community. It has not, however, demonstrated any superiority in the field of case study and treatment when working by itself, or in cooperation with clinical facilities, which has not been matched or improved upon by agencies working through channels.

² Healy W., and Bronner, A.F., New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1936, p.141.
other than those of the police and the juridic agency. ¹

This study, though not concerned specifically with an evaluation of probation, tends to show that it is largely futile in treatment of the more serious cases, which show a long history of emotional disturbance.

In favour of probation, it must be granted that much of the impetus gained by efforts concerned with prevention has, paradoxically enough, sprung from this method which, by definition, must wait for a child to become delinquent before treatment is applied. Unfortunately, the majority of the plans allegedly aimed at prevention, have not yet developed beyond the point of improving upon methods of control. They have left genuinely preventive effort to annual statements of future goals. However, the process of evolution toward prevention has resulted in various improvements in the treatment of delinquency and crime which warrant some comment.

Healy and Bronner recommended the establishment of a non-judicial tribunal, to prescribe treatment after adjudication of the fact of delinquency by a court. ² Such a measure was designed to remove disposition of cases from the authoritarian and punitive atmosphere of the court; though it


did not preclude the use of probation, it did provide for its use on a treatment basis. Since 1936, when Healy and Bronner endorsed this idea, it has been implemented to some extent, and is now in operation in several areas of the United States. The plan is best exemplified by the programs now functioning in the States of California and Minnesota.

The California Youth Authority

This plan was established by legislation in 1941, with the avowed objective to "prevent or decrease delinquency among youths." The authority is a commission of three members, appointed by the Governor of the State with the approval of the senate, who are solely responsible for the classification, segregation, and parole of persons committed to it. By law it "has jurisdiction over all persons under 21 who are guilty of public offences, and in the opinion of the court, need some kind of treatment and training beyond the facilities of the local community." It has a state-wide organization including diagnostic facilities, a variety of treatment institutions, and research sections devoted to prevention, probation, and parole. The latter include advisory functions available to local probation and parole agencies.

In operation the Youth Authority is concerned largely with institutional treatment of offenders committed

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to its care by the courts. In spite of the broad powers under which it was established, it has left much of the probation services to established court organizations. Thus far it has restricted its probation activities largely to advisory and standard-setting functions. In effect, it is an attempt to co-ordinate institutional correction on a treatment, rather than a punitive basis, and in that respect it has registered considerable success.

The work of the preventive section of the Authority has stressed community organization for the creation, or improvement, of group activities and recreational facilities through community councils. This section is intended to work toward one of the major purposes of the Authority which is, "to attack delinquency and crime as total social problems, through co-ordination of local communities in understanding and dealing with the conditions that produce crime at their source." The potential merits of this approach will be discussed below, in conjunction with the "group activity" idea in prevention.

The Minnesota Youth Conservation Commission

The Commission is similar in objectives to the California Youth Authority, but varies in several administrative respects. 1 The provisions of the Youth Conservation Act state:

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The Commission shall be charged with the duty of developing constructive programs for the prevention and decrease of delinquency and crime among youth, and to that end shall co-operate with existing agencies, and encourage the establishment of new agencies, both local and state-wide, having as their object the prevention and decrease of delinquency and crime among youth; the commission shall assist local authorities of any county or municipality, when so requested by the governing body thereof, in planning, developing, and co-ordinating their educational, welfare, recreational and health activities, or other constructive community programs, which have as their object the Conservation of Youth.

The Commission consists of five appointed members, two of whom must be the Director of Public Institutions, and the Chairman of the State Board of Parole; one of the remaining three must be a judge of a juvenile or probate court. Its program objectives are similar to the California Youth Authority regarding diagnosis, classification and treatment, but the membership of the commission required by law, implies a less progressive approach. In operation the plan is less coherent than its California counterpart; jurisdiction is subject to acceptance of cases by the Commission, and concurrence by the courts. A court may commit a case to the Commission if it so desires, providing the Commission has signified its willingness to accept committal. The law does not provide for mandatory jurisdiction as in California, where the Youth Authority must accept institutional commitments and has the organization to deal with them. The Minnesota plan, instead of establishing a super-imposed treatment authority over the existing legal structure, has merely drawn together, on a permissive basis, existing correctional func-
tions and agencies. As an advisory and co-ordinating body it undoubtedly has merit, but its structure certainly suggests a less progressive element than the California plan. In general it amounts to a re-shuffling of existing agencies with little added to inspire constructive deviation from the "status quo." For example, subdivision 24 of the Youth Conservation Act states:

This Act shall not be construed to give the Commission control over existing facilities, institutions or agencies; or to require them to serve the Commission inconsistently with their functions or with the authority of their officers or with the laws and regulations governing their activities.

The Minnesota plan proposes a preventive approach generally similar to the California Youth Authority; the greater emphasis is on group activities and community planning. Reference is made to education against crime, without defining or explaining this somewhat nebulous objective.

The Newport News Project

A more localized approach to prevention on an exclusive, rather than an adjunctive basis, is being conducted in Newport News, Virginia. ¹ Its purpose is to bring together all federal, state, and local agencies to plan toward prevention and control of delinquency; the federal and state functions are largely financial and advisory, with the conduct

of the project left to local responsibility. It is proceeding on a premise similar to those of the California and Minnesota plans, namely, that the solution to the problem rests with community social and recreational programs. The need for individual services is granted recognition, but the implication of the stated objectives is that improved and modified group programs constitute the answer to the problem. The plan has not been in operation long enough to permit evaluation.

The Group Approach

The preventive aspects of many programs of delinquency control are based upon group activity, largely in the form of recreation. The trend appears to be toward the formation of community councils for the purpose of providing more, and better, agencies designed to provide stimulating leisure time activities. The present study does not deny the obvious merit of such plans in a long term program of community effort, in the gradual improvement of many environmental factors which often contribute directly or indirectly, to certain forms of delinquent behaviour. However, the value of a program predominantly concerned with recreation, as a preventive influence in delinquency, is open to question.

An individual, predisposed toward delinquent behaviour for emotional reasons, is not likely to be a member of an organized social group. Kvaraceus found in his study that 40 per cent of the general child population participated
in the activities of youth organizations; only 8 per cent of the delinquents belonged to such groups.\(^1\) Non-membership in these organizations may be considered a symptom of the same condition which is indicated by certain forms of troublesome behaviour in school; it is not an indication that membership is a preventive. To many delinquents, and to most of the more extreme group, the social pressures of the group probably constitute more of a threat than an aid. These children have never known the security of genuine relationships at the family level. The child must learn to walk before he can run, emotionally as well as physically. It is doubtful if the youth organizations can reach pre-delinquent children on a sufficiently inclusive basis to be considered as preventive agencies; in addition, they are not equipped to deal with the emotional factors from which the delinquent motivation arises.

There is a further aspect to the group approach which warrants discussion at this point; it is the idea of group treatment. Kenneth Wollan, director of the Citizenship Training Program of the Boston Juvenile Court, a highly organized group activity project,\(^2\) has done a great deal in this field. In discussing the theory of group activity in


relation to delinquency, he stated that, "we can more-over look to group activity, if widely applied, as a promising preventive in supplying that enrichment of life, the absence of which is causing delinquent behaviour." Wollan's belief in group activity as a preventive, is based upon a concept of delinquency as social immaturity: the delinquent "has not developed the typical social inhibitions and is self-centred, primitive, and aggressive." Through trained leadership and the influence of the group, such an individual presumably learns to develop a more acceptable pattern of social behaviour.

The subject of group treatment is being studied currently by G.F. Hamilton in his work with a delinquent gang in Vancouver. The gang is accepted as a group and treatment is based upon the positive factors implicit in the relationships between its members. Treatment seeks to effect a constructive re-direction of the gang mores and loyalties. Wollan's concept of the delinquent as a socially immature individual appears to be applicable in Hamilton's study as well.

1 Ibid, 1938 Yearbook, p. 245.
2 Ibid, p. 244.
There is no doubt that many delinquents may be considered socially immature; they might be termed untrained with equal accuracy, or may be considered as inadequately socialized. For such individuals the group treatment idea undoubtedly has great possibilities. However, the present study is primarily concerned with the hard core of delinquency which has thus far failed to respond to the many forms of treatment indiscriminately applied, including the group idea; the delinquents with backgrounds marked by emotional disturbance of varying degrees, who resort to delinquent behaviour as aggressive retaliation or as an unconscious means of satisfying emotional needs. These children cannot and will not accept the group. They must be treated on an individual basis.

It must be granted that group treatment recognizes individual needs and seeks to treat them. The skilled group leader, aware of a child's inability to meet the social demands of the group, may develop a closer relationship with him; through that medium he may work toward a more satisfactory social adjustment for the child directly within the group. The treatment process then depends upon a case work approach within the group setting. It seems more logical to apply individualized treatment first, with the object of encouraging voluntary group participation after the child is ready to accept it. The group process may then be used as a supplement, to assist the child toward a more effective social adjustment. Such a plan is based upon the same prin-
ciple of socialization which obtains in the normal development of a child, from his primary relationships in the family, through immediate neighborhood expansion, to broader community contacts. The group treatment idea seems to be, to some extent at least, a reversal of this principle.

A comprehensive preventive program should recognize that delinquents vary individually in the same manner as more normal children. A systematic method of finding the child who, by virtue of his behaviour or circumstances, may be considered a pre-delinquent, should be followed by selective treatment based upon careful diagnosis. In many cases group treatment may be indicated as the most logical solution to the problem; in other cases a collaborative technique involving combined individual and group treatment may be the best course to follow; many cases would require intensive individualized treatment followed, when necessary, by group participation as a socializing influence. Treatment of the pre-delinquent implies the utmost use of all community resources, but on a discriminating basis. The child who might become a delinquent must be found, examined, and treatment prescribed on the basis of individual needs. The group approach does not take sufficient account of systematic finding, and of variations in individual needs, to be accepted as an effective method of prevention, except on a supplementary basis. Simply to state that a child is socially immature does not indicate the need for group treatment. The reasons for such immaturity must determine the nature of
subsequent treatment and these reasons can only be discovered through individual study.

There is some reason, then, to doubt the efficacy of the group treatment idea as a preventive influence in delinquency. The community organization concept, which often erupts in the form of group activity programs, has been considered in similar terms, but this may not be entirely fair. This study is concerned with the immediate problem of prevention: the problem which demands effective action in the next five, ten or twenty years. On the other hand, the community planners may be thinking in long range terms; if so, their arguments may be accepted, insofar as their plans are concerned with the gradual amelioration of the environmental factors in delinquency. If community organization, through the creation of community councils, intends to work for better housing, higher levels of social security, better leisure-time activities and a gradual adjustment in social inequalities relative to race, religion, economic levels and so forth, then it may be considered a preventive measure. Such was the theme of the recommendations made by the Saskatchewan Penal Commission in its report of 1946. 1

However, it is one which can only take effect over a long period of time and is actually in the process of development now. It has been considered by this study as inex-

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fective for the immediate future; but as a complementary measure, and one to add permanency to short-run plans, it is indispensable.

In accordance with the principles outlined by the Archambault Report, those programs concerned with treatment of delinquency after it has developed, must be rejected as inadequate. The juvenile court, and co-ordinated institutional programs, have a definite function to perform in those cases which require more drastic treatment; this should be a residual, not a major function of a comprehensive program. There are several objections to the methods largely concerned with group activity. Experience has shown that those children whose emotional development has been inadequate, are not attracted to organized social groups. Also, the group concept is a deterministic approach to a problem of many facets, of which the individual personality appears to be the only common denominator.

The only genuinely preventive programs currently in effect, are those which are connected with the school, and attempt to find and treat the child who gives evidence of some form of maladjustment, before he begins breaking the law.

The Visiting Teacher

A number of communities in California have made extensive use of the visiting teacher in an attempt to establish preventive measures in the control of delinquency.
The visiting teacher, trained in social case work and education, brings together the two professions in an attempt to recognize and treat emotional problems in school. ¹ This is undoubtedly a progressive step in the field of mental hygiene, as well as in education, but there appears to be some reason to doubt its effectiveness in the prevention of juvenile delinquency. This is not to say that the idea is not sound; it has produced promising results and holds great promise for the future. The question at this point is whether it may be considered adequate to the problem of prevention, of which the school is only one aspect.

The idea is excellent, from an educational point of view. Children who are unable to adjust to the school, the teachers, or their studies, for emotional reasons, should have the benefit of trained services to help them meet these problems. However, the prime function of the visiting teacher lies within the school, and is largely concerned with assisting the child toward a better academic adjustment. ² The present study views the school as an important part of the child's life, but at the same time it recognizes the fact


that the school is only one of many areas of potential conflict. The emotional pattern of the pre-delinquent child, which often manifests itself in many forms of atypical school behaviour, almost invariably has its roots in the child's primary relationships. The difficulties manifested in the classroom and on the playing field are symptoms of conflict which arises outside of the school.

It is probable that treatment of emotional problems, for the purpose of improving school performance, will have a salutary effect in other areas as well as the school, in many cases. Where diagnosis indicates a family problem, in addition to the school symptoms, the visiting teacher depends upon referrals to outside agencies for treatment not directly associated with the school problem. A substantial number of the pre-delinquents have unsatisfactory family relationships. Therefore, in relation to the problem of pre-delinquency, the visiting teacher appears to be another link in the chain of partially correlated agencies which have, thus far, failed to achieve results of any great magnitude.

As an improvement upon educational techniques, the visiting teacher program is excellent. As a method of prevention in juvenile delinquency, it seems to lack comprehensiveness and is dominated by the philosophy, and the academic demands of the school. It is, in effect, a piecemeal approach to the problem of the pre-delinquent child; a problem which is concerned with helping a child to make the best use of his mental, physical, and emotional resources in all spheres
of activity, not only in the school. The visiting teacher can be an invaluable aid in finding and treating the pre-delinquent child; but her major function limits her effectiveness in a program which must view the school as one part of the child's social pattern.

The Passaic Plan

Perhaps the most effective plan of prevention available for study, is the one currently in operation in Passaic, New Jersey. The present study owes much to the Kvaraceus report of the Passaic project. Originally organized to deal with delinquency, the program has branched into prevention, with results which appear to be encouraging. A treatment bureau was established in 1940 under the administration of the Assistant Superintendent of Schools. The staff included a police captain, a police woman, two attendance officers with case work experience, a full time psychologist, a psychiatric social worker, and a psychiatrist available for consultation.

The Bureau receives referrals from the Passaic Schools, and also from social and recreational agencies. From that point, the process follows the orthodox routine of medical and psychological examination of the referee, social history investigation and case conference. The con-

ference is attended by all concerned in treatment, including the principal and teacher, if the school has made the referral. Conference recommendations give due recognition to the necessity for an individualized approach, and base treatment upon the specific needs of the child referred. Full use of a variety of community resources lends variability and flexibility to the treatment program. The school is an active agent throughout.

During the past several years, greater emphasis has been placed on prevention. Teachers have been encouraged not only to recognize symptomatic behaviour, but to keep cumulative records of problem cases. Consistent effort has been maintained to stimulate earlier referrals to further ensure success in treatment. A committee of teachers has been set up to study specific problems of academic difficulties, and to arrange curriculum revisions where necessary.

The effectiveness of the Passaic program is indicated by a marked decrease in the delinquency and crime rate, as reported in police statistics during the five years following its establishment. The most encouraging indication is that repeaters are comparatively rare, and the majority of cases were handled not more than twice. Unfortunately, no Bureau statistics are available to provide for an objective assessment of the program's value, but the conclusions based upon police reports certainly suggest that the plan has justified its existence.

There are several objections to the Passaic plan.
The fact that it is administered by the Assistant Superintendent of Schools implies the same criticisms made in connection with the visiting teacher. A preventive program involves specialized treatment skills and techniques. It should be administered by a person competent in that field. It is difficult to see how such a program can develop to its maximum potential under an administration largely concerned with academic objectives.

The inclusion of police personnel on the staff of the Passaic Bureau, while offering some advantage, also raises the philosophical issue. It is true that such an arrangement permits a treatment conditioning for the police staff, otherwise concerned with detection and apprehension, but the conditioning is a reciprocal process; it might tend to decrease the emphasis upon a purely treatment approach, in the interests of protection. The significance of this possibility is evident in the fact that the police personnel are responsible to the mayor, rather than to the Director of the Bureau.

The Passaic plan combines work with delinquents and pre-delinquents as well, although the emphasis is being placed increasingly on the latter category. While this objection may be valid in itself, on the grounds that a dual function tends to impair efficiency in both parts, it is considered in conjunction with the point made above, regarding the inclusion of police officers. It is possible that a trained policeman may be sufficiently flexible to function
as a law officer and a case worker simultaneously, granted training in both areas; but the situation offers grave doubts regarding the latter function. The potential influence of the "police attitude" on the total program warrants some concern as well. The police are concerned essentially with protection, and bear a distinct obligation in that respect to the community. The case worker's prime responsibility is centered upon the individual. The effectiveness of a role requiring a compromise between the two functions may be questioned.

A review of current methods of delinquency control shows that the majority concentrate upon the delinquent child; few seek to reach children before they become delinquent. The only programs which have applied genuinely preventive measures, are associated with the school.

A number of plans which purport to be preventive, base their approach upon community organization of recreational and leisure-time resources. These have been described as group activities; they include programs currently offered by group work agencies, and those planned to provide constructive outlets for the energies of the less privileged children. The trend of organization is toward the formation of community councils to expand and co-ordinate these efforts.

The group activity concept is rejected by this
study as a preventive measure, except in long run terms. The community must organize its resources to attack the basic environmental factors in delinquency but this is a slow process; it can only be preventive in terms of many years. This study is concerned with the formulation of a preventive plan to meet the immediate problem; the problem of the hundreds of young people who enter jails and penitentiaries every year to complete their training in crime; the tragedy of the boys and girls who were neglected during the period in their lives when treatment might have had some effect. This problem requires constructive action now, not in fifty or a hundred years.
CHAPTER SEVEN

A PROGRAM OUTLINE FOR VANCOUVER

The establishment of a program designed to offer preventive services to the pre-delinquent child, poses a vast array of problems with which this study cannot presume to deal. Many questions of vital importance must be worked out in actual operations, during the experimental phase of the program. Others, which are largely administrative, must be considered at this point. The present study has indicated the urgent need for earlier treatment of the child who becomes delinquent; it has also suggested how the pre-delinquent child may be found before he breaks the law. The next step must offer concrete proposals regarding the organization of services to implement a comprehensive preventive program.

Several assumptions which arise from the study appear to be basic to program organization. The preventive treatment service should be divorced administratively from the Juvenile Court, and also from the school. The treatment agency should be in a position to make the greatest possible use of community resources, to meet the variable needs of the pre-delinquent child more effectively. Since the school, and its staff, should be active agents in the treatment process, the school should be in a strong advisory position in the formulation of operating policy. The nature of the work to be done, and the quality of services essential
to effective operation, place initial operation on an experimental basis.

It follows that delinquency prevention should be a private agency function. The immediate problem is whether a specialized agency should be created to work in close conjunction with the schools, or whether existing services may be rendered adequate to the problem, through reorganization or re-direction. The creation of an entirely new agency raises a number of issues, of which financing is not the least disturbing. Established agencies, engaged in work of great importance to the community, have never been vexed with the problem of surplus funds; a new agency might possibly aggravate an already grave financial situation. A further problem lies in functional overlap; it is possible that a new agency, created to accept referrals from the schools for case work treatment, might be duplicating services already in existence. This possibility becomes a virtual certainty in Vancouver, where the Children's Aid Society and the Family Welfare Bureau offer the services required in a preventive program.

Both of these agencies have been performing a limited preventive function for some time; the Children's Aid Society has rendered effective service to children referred from the schools, and the Family Welfare Bureau has done similarly in the field of family services. Unfortunately, these referrals have not been made on a systematic basis. The schools have generally sought aid in cases which show a
long history of development. When they finally reach the agencies, success in treatment is often rendered somewhat problematical. Referrals have not been made as part of a comprehensive treatment program, but rather as a measure of last resort. Certain referrals involving treatment for the child, and family services as well, have resulted in administrative confusion between the two agencies regarding functional jurisdiction. There is no doubt that the necessary resources and services are in existence; the problem becomes one of co-ordination. The school with its functions of recognition and referral must be linked with the two agencies; the case work services must then be made available on a coherent basis, within one broad functional jurisdiction.

Organization

As a first step in the provision of a broad treatment program, it appears that the Children's Aid Society and the Family Welfare Bureau should be amalgamated under a single administration, with functional division maintained on a departmental basis. Services could then be made available to the pre-delinquent child on a much more flexible basis. Unification of services would permit greater ease of referral from the schools, a more comprehensive intake process, and the provision of specialized services without the former frustrations involved in crossing functional lines.

The present study does not propose to outline the details of amalgamation, or to suggest a specific type of
administrative structure. However, there are two changes which might be suggested at this point. The Children's Aid Society is operating a foster home and adoption program, through its Child Placing Department, which has long been established as an essential child welfare service. Foster home placement and adoption, can no longer be regarded as essentially private agency functions. Therefore, it is suggested that these functions be transferred, to some extent at least, to the provincial Child Welfare Division.

It is doubtful if total transfer of services should be contemplated at this time. It is true that the standards of service of the provincial department, as measured by quality of personnel, have improved to the point where transfer would probably involve little, if any, loss. However, there is still ample room for experimentation in these fields, and for that reason the Society should retain a substantial responsibility in both areas. Limited curtailment of services, rather than complete transfer, would also permit the Society to retain its charter under the Protection of Children Act, with the authority and scope of operations essential to effective functioning of a preventive program.

The restriction in the Society's foster home and adoption activities, would permit a re-direction of administrative and personnel energy toward experimentation in intensive case study and treatment of the pre-delinquent child, within the total program. This might be extended in the direction of psycho-therapeutic treatment under psychiatric
direction, not only for the more disturbed cases, but as a definite treatment technique for the majority of the children requiring individual attention. This idea is not original to this study, by any means. The Society has already launched an experiment in the use of play therapy for disturbed children, and has produced some gratifying results. It is also aware of the need for more intensive case work treatment for children suffering from varying degrees of emotional disturbance.

The second change which seems to be indicated at this point is concerned with staff. There should be a larger number of male workers available for work with pre-delinquent children; the present study and many others have shown that the majority of delinquents are boys. The family work department should have a greater number of male workers as well, to meet the needs of those cases where a more effective working relationship with the client may be established by a male case worker.

Agency-School Liaison

The functions of early recognition and referral of pre-delinquent children by the school, are basic to the success of the whole enterprise. Therefore, the development of a keen awareness of the emotional implications of certain forms of school behaviour by school staffs is essential. In addition, the school principals, teachers, and counsellors, should be active participants in the treatment process.
These aspects of the program may be developed through cooperation between workers and teachers in the operation of the program, but the cultivation of systematic recognition and referral from the school requires some guidance from a higher level.

It is suggested that a committee of the Board could be formed, to study the many problems associated with the training of teaching personnel in the emotional implications of behaviour, and with the facilitation of referrals from the school to the agency. Recommendations could then be made to the Board, to be implemented through the formulation of working policies. Since the program should be closely geared to the school system, the committee should include substantial representation from the school administration, and from teaching staffs as well. This does not constitute a departure from accepted practice and therefore should not be difficult to achieve; several members of the city's teaching staff are already active on the Board of Directors of the Children's Aid Society. Further representation from the Board of School Trustees and the schools should be encouraged, and concentrated in the membership of a Delinquency Prevention Committee.

The Committee might include a representative from the supervisory staffs of both agencies, or departments, as they would be termed in an amalgamated structure. This appears to be a somewhat unorthodox suggestion, but deviations from accepted administrative practice are not necessarily
unsound. The purpose of such a step would be to create a tangible link between policy and service, as it affects the client. It is granted that the Director of the agency, as an *ex officio* member of all committees formed by the Board, may fulfill this function. However, the Director is still too far removed from client service in the administrative hierarchy, to exert the desired effect. A supervisor, more directly responsible for the quality of services rendered, is in a position to exert constructive influence upon policy to this end.

It seems advisable at this point to suggest a membership in the Committee, in which the school representatives have the balance of power. This idea may have some merit in directing a good deal of responsibility for a preventative program toward the schools; it may result in greater interest and activity by the teachers. With representation from the School Board, from school principals and teachers, the Committee would bring together representatives of all administrative levels in the school system and the agency. Thus it would be enabled to work out sound compromise recommendations for policies which would not only recognize the broad issues, but would be linked directly with the needs of the child for whom the program is being created.

The proposed amalgamated agency has been discussed with heavy emphasis upon the Children's Aid Society. From the point of view of services to the pre-delinquent child, this agency would bear the greater load of responsibility,
and includes a wider range of real and potential services. The maximum use of family services has been implied throughout, as part of the integrated service program.

**Psychiatric Services**

Extensive use has been made by the agencies concerned in this plan, of the psychiatric services offered by the Provincial Child Guidance Clinic, and the Vancouver General Hospital. The schools have had access to a psychiatrist on the staff of the Metropolitan Health Committee's School Health Service. Since psychiatric aid is indispensable to a comprehensive treatment program, and is obviously limited, maximum use should be made of all available resources. If possible, psychiatric assistance should extend to treatment, as well as diagnosis.

Unfortunately, the psychiatrist of the Metropolitan Health Committee is also Director of the School Health Services. The Director is the chief administrative person of this branch, and as such is burdened with a number of routine duties, which preclude effective functioning as a psychiatrist. It is not known why a specialist should have been appointed as administrator of the health program when his services are subject to heavy demand; in view of the extreme scarcity of trained psychiatrists, this arrangement does not appear to be too sound.

Ready access to a psychiatrist for diagnosis, and treatment when necessary, for the more disturbed children,
is absolutely essential in a preventive program. The type of service generally offered by psychiatric clinics thus far, is not good enough. An intensive case work job demands something more than a casual diagnosis based upon a fifteen minute interview, for cases which are considered beyond the skills of the case worker. A psychiatrist, whose major function appears to be administration, cannot offer the necessary time and attention to the children who require services of the highest order.

It is suggested that the psychiatrist might be relieved of his administrative duties completely. He could then function exclusively in the capacity of a staff psychiatrist. Thus enabled to devote his entire time to this specialized function, he could be enabled to render services which are indispensable in a comprehensive program.

In order to utilize the obviously limited services of one psychiatrist to the fullest extent, referrals should be made by the agency on a discriminating basis. Routine referrals to corroborate an already careful diagnosis by a case worker, are inexcusable and wasteful. Children should be sent to the psychiatrist only when the case worker is unable to deal with the problem herself; and once the child has been referred, the psychiatrist should be prepared to offer treatment when it is indicated by his own diagnosis.

The Schools

The degree of co-operation which may be developed between the case workers and the teachers depends, in great
part, upon the active participation of school principals. Under the present system of school administration, it is often quite difficult for a principal to devote much time to anything other than routine duties. Schools having attendance rolls in excess of 450 pupils, have a vice-principal who assists with administrative duties. However, this appointment has its limitations. The vice-principal is required to carry a substantial teaching load which reduces his capacity as an assistant administrator to a more or less residual basis; he tends to do those things which the principal has neither the time nor the inclination to perform.

Some of the principals visited in the course of this study, appeared to be overloaded with minor duties, such as checking excuse notes for tardy pupils, ringing bells for recreation periods, and supervising arrangements for milk issues or hot lunches. It is not within the province of this study to recommend changes in school administration. However, the School Board might be well advised to study the whole situation for the purpose of suggesting improvements; principals should be enabled to find more time for supervision and consultation with their staffs. No principal should be expected to administer the affairs of his school and teach as well.

Effective use should be made of school counsellors, not only in diagnosis and treatment, but in interpretation of program as well. It is probable that the counsellor, by
virtue of his training and experience, is more aware of problems of adjustment than the teachers. He may constitute a helpful link in the initial job of encouraging acceptance of the program.

Referral

This brief discussion of referral follows the assumption that considerable interpretation of the agency's function has been made in the schools. Much of it may be done through the work of the Delinquency Prevention Committee, but the major effort must be expended among teaching personnel. The usual media may be used; brief talks in the schools, at meetings of teachers' organizations, and with principals. These may be supplemented by appropriate printed material.

The referral process itself should be simple in the early stages of the program. When teachers have become more familiar with the work of the agency, and have developed some understanding of types of behaviour problems, a fairly comprehensive referral blank may be used to advantage. Early referrals need be no more complicated than a telephone call.

Consultation between the case worker and the referring teacher should follow directly after the referral, to determine whether the problem warrants intensive treatment. Certain minor problems may not require intensive investigation; the time and effort of the case worker should not be expended indiscriminately. Many of these may well centre
about the teacher rather than the child; in any case, selectivity must be exercised at this point.

The quality of service which reaches the individual child should be held in immediate focus in the selection of cases to be accepted. If the attentions of a limited number of case workers were to be spread over a very large case-load, the net result would be a relatively minor gain. The child in need of these services must receive all the attention his problems warrant. It seems preferable, in a program such as this, to treat a small number of cases intensively with greater promise of success, than to follow the widely accepted pattern of attenuated services, which cannot produce the desired results.

Treatment

This study does not propose to define or elaborate upon the treatment process in case work. This discussion of treatment is intended merely to emphasize the need for collaboration between the case worker, the teacher, and others who may be involved in the treatment plan.

Constructive use of the case conference is suggested. It should be held soon after the case worker has completed her social history investigation, and has prepared a detailed report of her findings. Discussion of the case, the diagnosis, the recommendations for treatment, and the resources available in the school and the community, should include the case worker, the principal of the school, the child's teacher, the school nurse and the school coun-
seller when available. From that point, responsibility rests largely with the case worker, but all concerned should be brought into the process whenever possible. Periodic progress conferences should follow, if circumstances permit.

The psychiatrist should be brought into the conference when the case under discussion suggests a need for a higher level of treatment. In the ideal situation, psychiatric advice should be available for all discussions; under the present circumstances, the psychiatrist's time should be used with the utmost discretion.

The preventive program has been presented in broad outline form. Much of the detail must wait upon application and experiment. Ultimate success of the program depends, to a great extent, upon the quality of the social work personnel who put the plan into operation. Efficient workers, functioning in close collaboration with all the resources available in the schools and the community, and under a clearly defined policy focussed upon the welfare of the individual child, should produce gratifying results.
APPENDIX A

General Questionnaire

Name of School:

Note: All questions refer to month of October.

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Notes: The distinction between truant and behaviour problem is purely arbitrary.

Truant: Any child absent two or more times without acceptable reason or valid excuse.

Behaviour Problem: Include those felt to be mentally retarded, those definitely not working to normal capacity, excessively aggressive or excessively withdrawn, persistent sleepers or day-dreamers and the more obvious tics, motor disorders, etc. Criteria for behaviour problem may be those who by virtue of certain behaviour characteristics stand out in the class and who do not respond favourably and reasonably promptly to remedial action. When in doubt, specify on reverse side of questionnaire. Include apparently minor disciplinary problems if these are persistent.
APPENDIX B

Case Questionnaire *

1. Name
2. School
3. Age
4. Grade
5. I.Q.
6. Scholastic Record (Good, average or poor—do not consider I.Q. here; if child kept pace with his or her age group, consider average. If a late starter in first grade, please specify).
7. Parents if known (Both living? Step-father or mother? Other? Attitude of parents to school? Other factors?)
8. Physical appearance of child.
9. Personality (Shy, seclusive, day-dreamer, sociable, stubborn, jealous, moody, etc.)
10. Current problems if any. (Truancy or any other behaviour problem by virtue of which the child has attracted extra attention and concern. Include such things as retardation, not working to capacity, aggressiveness, etc., as well as disciplinary problems if these are persistent. This section and No. 9 may overlap.)
11. If child is no longer in this school, please describe his behaviour, according to question 10, as it was during his attendance.
12. Development of problem (Refers to 10, 11 or both—when did this child's difficulties begin—what grade? Was any remedial action taken and if so, what was the result?)
13. Remarks (Anything further which may assist in understanding the child and his problem.)

* Questions originally distributed over three pages.
APPENDIX C

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