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THE SCHOOLS AND THE DELINQUENCY PROBLEM

Edward H. Stullken

This paper was read before the Illinois Academy of Criminology on March 24, 1952. The author is Principal of the Montefiore Special School in Chicago—a school which he organized in 1929. He was a member of the White House Conferences on Child Welfare in 1930, 1940 and 1950. In each of them he was an active member of committees on special education, and was President of the International Council for Exceptional Children, 1937-1939. Mr. Stullken is a well known contributor to educational periodical literature.—EDITOR.

The title assigned for this paper may seem to imply that the problem of delinquency is peculiar to schools. Again some may assume that delinquency is a separate and distinct problem; that is, that delinquency must be viewed as a social disorder, or disease, which must be eradicated by the schools. Still others may assume that if schools do something about the problem that delinquent behavior can be corrected. There is no doubt some truth in each assumption. Moreover, the problem should be considered from a positive rather than a negative approach, from the prevention rather than treatment angle; and to do this certain basic considerations should be kept in mind.

BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

PURPOSE OF MODERN EDUCATION

The first of these principles is that schools are institutions established to help young people realize their best potentialities and to develop into wholesome personalities and useful citizens. Public schools are instruments of the state, organized so that all the children of all the people can receive a good common school education. This implies that schools deal in education, a process by which the behavior of people is improved so that they may think, feel, and act differently than they did before. In America, we expect schools to serve each child according to his capacity regardless of his race, religion, national background, social and economic conditions of life, or handicapping conditions of any kind. The school, today, is concerned with helping students to guide their conduct by reason, to use intelligence in reaching decisions rather than blind obedience, habit, or prejudice, and to acquire a knowledge of self and an understanding of the consequences of behavior. The schools today must aim to develop young people physically, spiritually,

and morally as well as intellectually so that they can take a competent and effective part in daily life, contribute to the welfare of others and make their own lives happy and good. The schools, therefore, must recognize and integrate all those aspects of life—moral, ethical, economic, civil, social,—in which people need to exercise intelligence and understanding. Schools therefore are concerned with all the problems of life, the delinquency problem included; but their concern is primarily one of dealing with all children in such a way that delinquent behavior will not likely result on the part of individual children.

DELINQUENCY IS A SYMPTOM

The second principle to be kept in mind is that delinquency is not a distinct or separate problem. Delinquency should not be considered as we consider a disease but rather as the symptom of a disease. Delinquency, like truancy or incorrigibility, is but a symptom picture of underlying conditions the roots of which may be found in the family life, the school adjustment, or the environmental background in the community, and sometimes in physiological or psychological aspects of the child's personality. In dealing with the delinquency problem, from the standpoint of the school or any other agency, one deals with the problem of a symptom which may have any one or more of many different causes. Moreover in dealing with delinquency or any other symptom one does not correct the problem until fundamental causes are found and corrected or alleviated, even though some measures may temporarily allay the symptom.

THE POINT-OF-VIEW IS IMPORTANT

A third fact to be considered when studying the relation of the schools to delinquency is the need to recognize all possible attitudes and points of view. Delinquent behavior is complex and has many different meanings in different social contexts. To the judge and policeman, stealing, for example, is contrary to criminal law and the child who steals is a delinquent; to the psychologist, interested in the theory of learning, the child has learned to steal, something that society as a whole wishes he had not learned; to the psychiatrist stealing may be viewed as a way of resolving some emotional conflict or tensions which have arisen from the child's inability to cope with life situations; to the citizen who owned the property stolen, the child is a threat to the safety of property and should be punished; to the parent the child's

stealing may be viewed as the work of the devil, as a mental disorder, as an act of rebellion, as an attempt to ruin the family reputation, as a bad habit, or even as an act of carelessness about getting caught which the child should avoid the next time he steals. To the child's playmates, stealing may be an act in an exciting and dangerous drama to be judged by whether he lives up to their code, shares with them or refuses to tell on those who have stolen with him. And of course it is most important to know what stealing means to the child himself. From the educator's point of view delinquency is learned, and the teacher in looking for conditions that give rise to delinquency finds many that are common to other kinds of poor learning development,—broken home, poverty, emotional conflicts in family life, retarded mental development, poor neighborhood background, etc. It is necessary for the school to study these conditions; to discover how some children learn delinquency in these conditions, and how other children in the same home, school, and neighborhood, often with the same intelligence and basis for emotional conflict learn socially acceptable behavior; to discover how children can unlearn delinquent behavior; and most of all the school must study to know how more desirable social behavior can be learned.

THE SCHOOL IS AN IMPORTANT AGENCY.

The school, as a part of society, and together with all other agencies in society, has the responsibility to help adjust school and society to the needs of the individual child so that he may build up self-respect, self confidence, and a hopeful orientation to his life. Healy and Bronner in their lifetime experience of working intimately with thousands of delinquent boys and girls have clarified causes in a way to help schools focus attention on conditions that can be remedied, and among these are changes in the school atmosphere, procedures of instruction, and modification of school attendance laws. In this conclusion it must be pointed out that the school is related to juvenile delinquency in three ways; it may produce delinquency, it may help to prevent delinquency, and it may deal with delinquent behavior that is encountered within its walls. The schools hold a central place among all the agencies that affect the ideas and activities of children. Delinquents are or ought in most cases to be in school and so schools can play a major role in preventing delinquency. They will accomplish this end by better understanding of and provision for the intellectual, educational, social and emotional needs of every child enrolled. In many

cases schools will need the help of special services provided by other disciplines such as psychology, psychiatry, social work, as well as improved educational service. In some cases they will need to make special school provisions for some children who need intensive care. An awareness and an understanding by all school administrators of the nature, extent, and seriousness of the delinquency problem is necessary before schools can help solve it.

THE SCHOOL'S PROGRAM

Schools and teachers to-day are professionally concerned with individual children and their problems. They are becoming increasingly democratic in their dealings with children, giving them practice in democratic citizenship and in learning ways of living together in an acceptable manner. In common with the home, the church, and the social-service agencies, the school is directing its efforts toward the building of character in youth more than it did a generation or two ago when it was primarily concerned with the intellectual development of a child. Surveys of current practices for children who are delinquent or in danger of becoming so in the better schools reveal several general levels of operation. These modes of attack on the problem from the simplest to the most complex type include the following personnel and services; (a) the work and responsibility of the regular classroom teacher in preventing and correcting social maladjustment, (b) the employment of school counselors, school psychologists, school social workers, and medical consultants, whose specialized services aid and assist teachers in helping prevent and treat cases of maladjustment, and (c) the organization of special classes and schools where different techniques are employed and where specialized services are concentrated upon the more serious cases of maladjustment.

SERVICES OF REGULAR CLASSROOM TEACHERS.

Almost every teacher faces the responsibilities from time to time of dealing with a maladjusted or delinquent child. Every teacher can have a part in helping to identify these children since many of them remain in regular classrooms before their problems are recognized and many will remain there even after recognition. The regular teacher can do much to give maladjusted children a chance to develop into good citizens, to learn the meaning of civic responsibility, to cultivate good social relationships and to acquire a measure of economic competence.

It is the business of every teacher not only to teach children what they otherwise would not know and to help them acquire skills which they otherwise would not acquire but also to help them behave in a way that society expects them to behave. Since the interpersonal relations between teachers and pupils are significant in helping maladjusted children the personality of the regular teacher is very important. If teachers themselves are not well adjusted they help produce maladjusted children instead of preventing maladjustment.

MUST PREPARE TO DEAL WITH PROBLEM CHILDREN.

They must realize that disorderly behavior is likely to occur in some degree in every teacher's career and that the teacher must avoid losing self-control and must avert actions or words which render later adjustments difficult. Wholesome human relationships are important for pupil growth. The total emotional climate of the classroom is very important in the prevention and control of maladjustment in children. Teachers must be objective; that is be able to view the behavior of children for what it is and not be confused or distracted by their own feelings. Teachers must avoid resentment or self-reference in regard to what a delinquent may do in the classroom or elsewhere. If the teacher can distinguish between the child and the behavior, he has the key to his own salvation in the situation. Teachers need to understand the significance of the symptoms and problems which children in school present.

The regular school can do much to prevent maladjustment and delinquency and to help build wholesome personalities if it meets the basic needs of all children. Every child has the need for affection and a feeling of belonging, so teachers must be able to accept every child, classroom procedures should help children who lack friends and school administrators should provide assistance to teachers and parents who need help in giving pupils a sense of emotional security.

Every child has a need for a sense of achievement and an opportunity for creative expression. Therefore the school must provide a learning situation where he can succeed and can express himself. Teachers must encourage pupils who feel defeated, classrooms should be operated so that all children do not need to learn the same things at the same rate or even the same things at the same age. School work should make it possible for each pupil to express his own individuality even though pupils vary widely in interests and abilities.

Every child likes to have some part in deciding what his activities

are to be, make his own decisions and solve his own problems. They want to make choices and make their opinions count and they want to find answers rather than to be told. Teachers must give pupils a chance to do these things and administrators must be able to handle conflicts between student opinion and teachers' wishes in a way that respects the pupils' as well as the teachers' individualities. Wise guidance in making choices is one of the best ways in which schools can help build good character.

Every child needs freedom from fear and from feelings of guilt. Fear at times has a protective function but excessive fears can produce maladjustment. Some children have been threatened and reproached so much and have been made to feel so guilty that they come to feel that they are "bad." Teachers must be able to reject a child's behavior while making it clear that they are not rejecting the child himself.

Every child has a need for discipline. Schools must develop the child's sense of responsibility and capacity for self-discipline. Teachers must use methods which will transform imposed discipline into self-discipline and students should be provided with opportunities to learn from experience in student government.

Every child has physical and economic needs and many children suffer when these needs are not met. Many more problem children and delinquents come from the ranks of the underprivileged, from those who lack medical and dental care, from those who wear poor clothes, from those who cannot buy the things that other children buy, and from those who suffer from the economic insecurity of their homes than from among those who come from better conditioned circumstances. Schools must discover such pupils, classroom procedures should avoid embarrassment of needy pupils and school administrators should make provision for their care.

The basic needs enumerated above are typical of many that affect the social adjustment of pupils but they are fundamental factors which, if properly met, help the school in doing its share to prevent delinquency.

The organization and work of the regular classroom and the challenge it presents to the interests, activities, and loyalties of children and youth are important factors in the way schools deal with the delinquency problem. For example, if dull or slow-learning children must meet fixed curriculum requirements before promotion, and if they are held back year after year until they are social misfits, truancy, incorrigibility, or delinquency is apt to follow. On the other hand, if more individual instruction and better teaching methods are employed; if schools employ skill in guiding better group experiences of all children;

if suitable, worthwhile, activities are used; and if constructive leadership in the classroom is present, then much delinquency is prevented. Excessive teacher loads and the availability of special services to help regular teachers are other factors which must be considered in the regular classroom program for dealing with problems of maladjustment such as delinquency.

USE OF SPECIALIZED SERVICES.

Even though every classroom had a well qualified and adequately prepared teacher, there would still be cases of delinquency and behavior problems among children with which the teachers would need help from specialists. Actually, many teachers now employed in schools need much more than assistance with a few complex behavior problems. Because they have not been adequately prepared for child-guidance work, they need in-service training in child study and counseling and in techniques of work with groups. Thus, special school services that supplement and facilitate the work of the regular teacher make an important contribution to the school's attempt to solve the delinquency problem.

By specialized services are meant the services of those departments, bureaus, divisions, or other organized services in a school or school system which provide direct assistance to pupils, or to their teachers and parents. Among such school organizations are child study departments, child guidance clinics, psychological bureaus, pupil personnel divisions and others. They employ pediatricians, psychiatrists, psychologists, school social workers, home and school visitors, and attendance supervisors. All these services supplement and support the instructional program and the activities of the regular classroom or school.

Child study departments and psychological bureaus usually assist with problems arising from learning difficulties, personality problems, and family maladjustments. The school psychologist is particularly concerned with the adjustment of the curriculum to the mental capacities of problem children and with teaching techniques that will facilitate learning.

Home-school visitors and school social workers try to bring homes and schools closer together in the effort to understand and to serve children who are becoming problems. This type of pupil-personnel service co-ordinates the social workers case-work techniques and the teacher's point of view and knowledge of the school program. Through specialized training in social service, the school social worker is prepared to help with the child's social and emotional problems. They

must know the techniques of interviewing, building case histories, and counseling.

The counselor in a school program for dealing with problem cases deals with the child as a whole, in the situation as a whole, and has a co-ordinating function in bringing into relationship all the specialized information which psychologists, psychiatrists, and physicians can contribute to the school, its teachers, and to the home and the parents. They can help identify the influences in the school, home, and community that contribute to delinquency. The counselor must help the child too by making him an active participant in the process of identifying his own problems and in working out his own solutions.

All special services should provide the facilities which teachers need to help children realize their maximum potentialities. Basic to any successful pupil personnel program is a continuous census of all the children of a district, providing information concerning age, handicaps, and any other special problems. Attendance officers, the first pupil-personnel workers to appear in schools, were concerned primarily with enforcement of attendance laws; and while some need for this service still exists, they are being replaced by professionally trained school social workers who are interested not only in attendance but also in determining the reasons for absence and in removing its causes. The school doctor, dentist, and nurse are concerned primarily with the physical aspects of the maladjusted child's development while the psychiatrist concentrates his efforts on emotional growth.

All the large school systems provide something in the way of child study bureaus, attendance departments, and psychological services to aid teachers and administrators in dealing with problem children, and to aid in the in-service training of all teachers.

SPECIAL CLASSES AND SCHOOLS.

In every large school system, and even in many small ones, there will be found a sizable number of delinquent and severe problem cases who fail to respond to the work of the best teachers, the most modern school programs, and the efforts of specialized services provided by school systems to help teachers prevent maladjustment. One reason is that the symptoms of their disturbances are too severe or too upsetting to other children. The regular school can do little for the habitual truant who rarely attends classes, neither can he be helped by specialists when he cannot be reached by their services. Another reason some children cannot be retained in regular grades is because schools must operate with 25 to 35 and even more pupils per teacher. No teacher

has the right to take from the great majority of his pupils an unreasonable amount of time which may be necessary to deal with an extremely difficult case in his room. As long as schools must educate children in groups as large as those found in many systems this factor will be in evidence in dealing with the problem of delinquency. Children who are well started on the road to delinquency cannot be reached effectively with the regular group work in ordinary classrooms. Many such children cannot profit by regular class activities until they have undergone a personal re-orientation through counseling, psychotherapy, or remedial work done in small groups.

For such children as those described above the special class or special school is often provided in the larger school systems. While at first thought it might seem that the behavior problems of such children would be intensified by transfer to a special school, it has been the experience of the better special schools that serious types of misbehavior are diminished. Moreover segregation as commonly defined is not a necessary concomitant of the special education of problem children because a problem child may be more harmfully segregated when kept in a regular class which cannot meet his needs than when assigned to a special class which does meet his needs better. This is no doubt due to the fact that the special school concentrates on remedial measures, gives more attention to physical and mental health, and maintains a competent staff of teachers of remedial reading, social workers, psychologists, and other adjustment workers. The special educational program is adapted to the particular needs of maladjusted individuals, with emphasis upon activities that prove an effective antidote for emotional disturbances. Special schools for social adjustment usually enroll only pupils who are so maladjusted as to need careful mental and physical examinations. These schools make it possible for the maladjusted to enjoy success in school work instead of experiencing the accumulation of feelings of failure which characterized their work in the regular schools where their unusual needs could not be met. Such schools should not be called "truant schools," or "disciplinary schools" or "industrial schools." The last title does not properly describe the function of the special day school. At least industrial courses should not be emphasized to the exclusion of regular academic work. Such schools should be located so that they can be reached conveniently from all parts of the city and should not be placed in unfavorable neighborhoods. School transfer rather than court commitment should govern admission. Placement should not be considered as punishment; rather, the decision to

place a child in a special school should be based upon the fact that the evidence indicates that such placement will be of material benefit to him.

Special schools should provide a variety of curriculum offerings. Academic work is needed in English, mathematics, science, and social studies. Courses in woodwork, general metal work, electric shop, automotive shop, print shop, crafts laboratory, cartooning, and general mechanics are usually offered for boys. Home-making, hairdressing, personal grooming, sewing, cooking and typing are usually offered in the special school for girls. Other courses found in both boys' and girls' schools are music, art, and physical training. Teachers in such schools should have special training, wholesome personalities, and ability as instructors. Excellent craftsmanship should be a requirement for those who teach shop courses. All such schools must make provision for vocational, educational, and personal guidance. In fact, the special school for the socially maladjusted should be a combination of a special school and a child guidance clinic.

The weakest point in most special-school programs is the lack of proper placement procedures and adequate follow-up of the pupils after they leave the school. Discipline in the better schools is no different than that found in the best elementary or secondary schools. Systems of penalties and merits or credits as bases for determining the length of stay in a special school are of no value because they imply placement in the school as a punishment for wrongdoing. In addition to the regular and remedial work in school subjects and the special services for emotionally disturbed children, all special schools need more systematic provision for the rehabilitation of the pupils, more study of the variety of causative factors that produce maladjustment, truancy, and delinquency, and better provision for the child's re-entry into the normal life of society, including his return to the regular school. No special school can do these things if it does not make curriculum modifications, provide special equipment, including proper clinical office space, and keep adequate cumulative records of the work and interests of those enrolled.

The special school is an important provision which must be made for the more severely emotionally disturbed children and for those children with the more fixed patterns of bad behavior. They should be created in all communities containing a sizable number of emotionally disturbed or delinquent children. An early diagnosis and identification of those children needing this special service is a factor in the success of the special school in solving the problem of juvenile delinquency.

PRINCIPLES OF GOOD PRACTICE

In developing the school's program to meet the problem of juvenile delinquency, experience has shown that certain principles should be followed. Some of these have been suggested in the preceding pages and they are restated here for the sake of emphasis. They should be considered whenever the relationship of the schools to the delinquency problem is under discussion.

1. All children must have the right to develop into self-respecting, useful citizens by the process of public education, and that right must not be abridged by a handicap of any kind which can be eliminated or mitigated through the facilities and resources of the schools.

2. No program for problem children is sound unless it recognizes the fact that the behavior of such children is symptomatic and purposive. An objective attitude on the part of school workers toward children's behavior may serve to prevent problem cases from developing.

3. Problem children differ from normal children more in degree than in kind. There is no hard and fast line between normal and abnormal adjustment.

4. School systems should provide for early identification and early diagnosis of children who are maladjusted.

5. The education of problem children requires a broader basis than that of mere intellectual development. These children often have warped personalities, and, consequently, their feelings and attitudes are the object of more concern than their academic attainments. Children who deviate because of social maladjustment need a chance to develop emotional stability; they need personal, educational, and vocational guidance; they need to experience the sense of security that goes with a socially acceptable personality.

6. Schools must recognize the fact that a problem child is one who may be normal within himself but yet be exceptional because of antisocial home and community influences.

7. The special-education program for problem children should be a part of and not apart from the general educational program. The same objectives for educating normal children hold for educating socially maladjusted children. The tendency to substitute specific trade-training for courses in general education is no more justifiable for problem children than it is for normal children.

8. In organizing and administering a program of education for the problem child, school administrators must maintain a balance between the interests of pupils needing placement in special groups

and the interests of the great majority of the school population. While these interests often conflict, the conflict must be resolved for the best interests of all concerned. In general, placement of any child in a special group should not be made if that child may receive as good or better training in a normal group, even though it may be necessary to give special help and additional services over and above those which are usually provided. The exception to this rule is found whenever the detriment to the normal pupils outweighs the benefits to the handicapped individual from his association with the regular group.

9. Any program of education for the socially maladjusted will be conditioned by the selection of properly qualified and trained personnel, both those who work in the program, and those who administer and direct it.

Discussion

Jessie F. Binford

Superintendent, Juvenile Protective Association, Chicago.

I can think of no one in Chicago as well qualified as Mr. Stullken to speak on this subject. I had the privilege of serving on Mr. Bogan's (Superintendent of Schools) Committee in 1929, which considered the special problems of children in our schools.

We selected Mr. Stullken to visit schools in many different states and cities. The Montefiore School was opened as a result of one of our recommendations and Mr. Stullken appointed as the Principal. For 20 years he has had the most realistic experience with these problems.

I believe he would agree with me that the subject of this meeting is misleading and the term "delinquency" limits our discussion for it excludes the large number of children who need, as do the comparatively few whom we could classify as "delinquent", all the services we are considering tonight.

Mr. Stullken emphasizes first, as a basic consideration, the purpose of Modern Education. Only as we keep this purpose in mind and as it is understood by the members of our Boards of Education, our City Officials who approve our School Budgets, our Legislators who pass our educational laws and appropriate state funds and the citizens who pay taxes, can we expect them to institute and support the services which are regarded by many as non-educational.

Mr. Stullken says that "the schools are concerned with all the problems of life, delinquency included, but their concern is primarily one of dealing with all children in such a way that delinquent behavior will not result on the part of individual children."

Here again, I think the term "delinquency" limits our consideration. The primary concern of the schools is rather one of understanding the problems of each child, physical, mental, emotional and conduct, whether these problems become apparent through delinquency or not. Who knows just what problems will lead to delinquency?

Not only delinquency, but all the problems which affect and limit a child's potentialities for education are of course "symptoms" of deep under-

lying conditions in a child's personality, his family life and the community.

The School is the first institution outside of the home which has the opportunity to perceive and analyze the problems of children. Parents accept the school to which they entrust their children while they are still very young and that fact increases its opportunities and importance.

It goes without saying that all teachers should be so trained that they can perceive and understand the physical, intellectual, educational, social and emotional needs of every child.

Last Friday I talked with one of the most able members of our Board of Education about this program. She said that we should first emphasize additional special training for every class-room teacher and secondly, a reduction in the number of children in each room or class. If that were done, she believes, the individual teacher would be able to understand and meet problems for which now they are asked to provide so many special departments and schools.

Many schools today have already included in their programs, Child Study departments with special psychologic and psychiatric services, counseling services, social workers and special schools. We have seen great progress on the part of individual teachers and school programs in the recognition of problems and the impossibility of meeting them under our present school system.

How far can the schools go in providing the services needed when the problems are obvious and beyond the ability or the time of the teacher to meet?

Should our schools become social service agencies and carry through all the case-work which a child's family and the consideration of community conditions which are contributing to the problems reflected in the child at school?

How much of a medical program shall be assumed by our schools? Shall it be only the examinations necessary to detect physical conditions which affect the child's education, or a program to carry out any recommendations which the parents are unable to or neglect to carry out?

Or shall all these services be reported to private and public agencies in the community?

If the schools are to refer these problems, as they do more and more at the present time, then the Welfare Council and the Community Fund must provide and finance greatly increased resources in social and medical agencies.

The reports from the Child Study Department in Chicago include not only recommendations for the teachers but for services in the child's home and community generally.

Whether the schools include all these services or refer some of them to agencies outside the school, those who are responsible for them must be specially trained.

I believe all the school personnel in departments of counseling, of visiting teachers—call them what you will, should have not only the education and training required of teachers and some experience in that profession, but also training in social service. This will add greatly to the time and expense of preparation, as well as higher salaries probably for such personnel.

Mr. Stullken raises the question of special schools, like the Montefiore and Moseley and Washington Schools here in Chicago. I am convinced that we need them for the reasons so well stated by Mr. Stullken, but there is a great difference of opinion in Chicago today among those who administer our Board of Education and the principals of our schools. Some of the

objections to them have developed because principals have regarded it as a failure on their part if they had to transfer a child to a special school.

For this reason they wait so long to make the transfer that the child's problems and conduct have so developed that it is too late for him to profit from all the special school has to offer, and when he fails there the special school is held responsible.

The mechanics of transfer are too cumbersome. It now takes 30 days to transfer a child and during that time he is out of school altogether.

To those of us who were on Mr. Bogan's Committee to which Mr. Stullken made such an important contribution, great emphasis was given to the recommendation for a continuous census of school children in Chicago. No one knows how many children are completely lost in our school system. Only by such a census can we be sure that all of Chicago's children have the opportunity to be educated.

We must always remember the many great fundamental problems, social and economic which so affect the lives of children before they enter school and all through their years of being educated. No school system, however perfect, can completely counteract them or prevent their effects.

I am certain that in our schools many children for the first time in their lives find security and understanding and an opportunity to grow up and develop normally.

Mark C. Roser

Child Welfare Department, Gary, Indiana Public Schools

I'm extremely reassured by the fact that the Academy of Criminology considers this important topic, because its ramifications are very little known. Dr. Stulkin, in a very scholarly and able fashion, has drawn a large perspective around the many factors of the problem of delinquency and schools.

His comments about the application and realization of the over-all philosophy of education are extremely important. Treatment of every child according to his own needs would go a long way to reduce, not only juvenile delinquency but adult crime as well. For example, research has indicated that schools without facilities to help individual children contribute the largest percentage of referrals to Juvenile Court. School truancy is the first symptom of the unadjusted school child. The majority of these school truants in our Juvenile Courts are found to be slow learners. With the rigid curriculum and without special help such children are unsuccessful in meeting the requirements of the normal curriculum, and become frustrated, hostile and quite naturally begin to express themselves in delinquent behavior.

The Glucks, in "Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency", have found that the outstanding characteristic of juvenile delinquents is a dislike for school. We could say that a child who is learning in school and is accepted by his group, by that degree, is protected from the pattern of juvenile delinquency. A child who is a rejectee in his school group, and who experiences school failure easily develops patterns of delinquency. A rejection of school learning means rejection of authority and community standards. It is not surprising then to find from research that most of our so-called non-readers are boys. And in this group of boys, they are not particularly limited by their intelligence. Learning and emotional health are linked very closely together.

Dr. Stulkin has stressed the main outlines for a successful school program to meet the needs of deviant children, with one exception. That exception is the problem of controlling the psycho-social tensions caused by children of

varying class structures. For example, any classroom that has representatives of upper-class, middle-class, and low-income group children, will exhibit classroom tension. Many teachers can do miracles with such a classroom, but this is not the average situation. Usually there is tension, rejection, hostility flowing between the children of the higher class structures and those of the lower end of the scale. Unfortunately the teacher has to struggle in the middle ground. Schools with mixed social class structures will be full of tension, and the need for special education, special services and special counseling is very apparent here.

I am sure that the point will be made about these proposals of Dr. Stulkin that his program is expensive. Where do the schools stop, in terms of these services? It is expensive to educate the crippled child, to give him the physical care that he needs. I maintain, however, that the costs are not excessive to change the curriculum to meet the needs of deviant children.

How much it costs a community is always a relative question. For example, the U. S. Attorney General in 1947 said it costs on the average \$247,000 to send one boy to the Boys' Training School. That is on the assumption that ultimately such a boy goes to the Reformatory and later to the State Prison. For these boys, special help and special schools will offset the delinquency pattern. With special help in schools, social case work and curriculum adjustments, etc., school truancy could be completely eliminated as a Court problem. Rigid schools, rigid curriculums increase rather than lower juvenile delinquency. Special schools, such as this paper describes, makes a real contribution to the prevention of juvenile delinquency.