

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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This study is an attempt to discover (1) the types of behavior problems school people report, (2) whether these reports contain information which reliably indicates serious psychological disorders, and what might be expected as a result of proper definition and recognition of these problems. In addition, the findings of experts in the field of mental hygiene and child behavior are sampled to discover symptoms of maladjustment which they feel should be observed and reported from the school situation.

Included in this study is a survey of some court referrals which were initiated by school attendance department counselors and contained information to be used by juvenile court authorities in handling the cases. In an effort to discover the types of things which seem to mostly concern school people and which are most often reported in court cases, a tally is shown of the actual descriptive terms which teachers used and which were found in the court referrals. The analyses of these court referrals were used as a means of discovering whether or not symptomatic behavior reported in the referrals included that which might have been indicative of serious emotional disturbances and whether or not causes of disorder were suggested in the behavior descriptions and other information given.

Significant behavior symptoms which should be observed in the school situation were sought from two sources: a survey of the literature, and a review of some typical case histories selected from visiting teacher files. The case histories examined were ones in which disturbances of long enough duration were reported so that some understanding could be reached of the development of early behavior traits which were symptomatic of serious emotional disturbances. After the descriptive material in the court referrals was sifted in an effort to discover what the teachers considered to be significant behavior, these findings were compared against those of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck who are recognized authorities in the study of the complex, causal forces in the origin and development of anti-social behavior.

The conclusions drawn were favorable to classroom teachers and other school personnel from whose reports the behavior descriptions were extracted.

The Wickman study, to which reference was made in this thesis, found that teachers tended to disregard subtle indications of disorder and were pre-occupied almost entirely with aggressive, bothersome behavior which caused inconvenience to the teachers or violated some of their moral or ethical codes. The following study concludes that in the school referrals examined there was reflected a general concern of today's teachers and other school personnel for students' personal problems. While it is true that many things which were found in the teachers' reports seemed to involve teachers' reactions to inconveniences and difficulties caused by students' behavior, the author concludes that qualified persons examining these reports would receive information valuable in the discovery of the basic causes of behavior disorders.

The central responsibility of the school in the discovery and referral, if necessary, of serious behavior problems is repeatedly indicated by this study of 90 juvenile court referrals, three case histories, and the opinions of experts in the field of human behavior as they relate particularly to school children.

BEHAVIORAL CHARACTERISTICS REPORTED
BY TEACHERS IN REFERRING PROBLEM CHILDREN TO THE
MULTNOMAH COUNTY JUVENILE COURT

by

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AN ANALYSIS OF BEHAVIORAL CHARACTERISTICS REPORTED
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study is an attempt to discover (1) the types of behavior problems school people report, (2) whether these reports contain information which reliably indicates serious psychological disorders, and what might be expected as a result of proper definition and recognition of these problems. In addition, the findings of experts in the field of mental hygiene and child behavior are sampled to discover symptoms of maladjustment which they feel should be observed and reported from the school situation.

There is agreement among the writers on behavior problems that early recognition and handling of behavior disorders offers the best assurance of successful adjustment. The human personality is so complex and is subject to such a wide range of influences and interpretations as persons grow older, that treatment of anti-social behavior in later stages of life has proven to be most difficult. In most cases school people and especially classroom teachers are the first professional persons to observe, analyze, and deal with conduct problems of children in group relationships. They are in a strategic position to spot incipient difficulties and make a preliminary analysis which can be interpreted to the parents and others concerned with the child.

Often in persistent cases of misbehavior, schools find it necessary to expel or exclude children because of infractions of school regulations or because of other conduct which makes it undesirable for the child to remain in the school situation. In these cases it is of utmost importance that the information gathered should be helpful in deciding the extent to which an individual's behavior is seriously pre-delinquent or delinquent. Mental hygienists insist that causes of concern should go beyond the immediate precipitating act and center on things which might indicate serious personality disturbances. Therefore, it seems that caution should be exercised by persons working with children so that they will not become preoccupied with reporting only more obvious forms of surface behavior such as vagrancy, truancy, stealing, and the like, which though important from the behavioral point of view, may not necessarily assist in the discovery of fundamental causes of disorder. It would also seem that some agreement must be reached on the significance of behavior as it is observed and reported by school personnel. As a review of the literature will show, there is some evidence to indicate that teachers often fail to show concern for certain less annoying types of behavior which should occasion as much study as the more obvious difficulties. However, there is also reason to believe from reading the literature that obvious surface behavior can be quite important in a study of problem cases and therefore should be observed and reported in detail by teachers.

This study includes a survey of some court referrals which were initiated by school attendance department counselors and contained

information to be used by juvenile court authorities in handling the cases. In an effort to discover the types of things which seem to mostly concern school people and which are most often reported in court cases a tally is shown of the actual descriptive terms used by teachers which are found in the court referrals. Court referrals are used because the basis of referral is substantiated by a case history report including behavior descriptions and background material on the individual as gathered from school sources. The analyses of these court referrals are used as a means of discovering whether or not symptomatic behavior generally reported by school people includes that which may be indicative of serious emotional disturbances, and whether or not causes of disorder are suggested in the behavior descriptions and other information given.

Significant behavior symptoms which should be observed in the school situation are sought from two sources: a survey of the literature, and a review of some typical case histories selected from visiting teacher files. The latter source is used because visiting teacher reports contain an evaluation of behavior from the socio-psychiatric point of view, and should be helpful in discovering which behavior trends have been observed and reported and the apparent progress of the case after some remedial steps were taken. The case histories examined are ones in which disturbances of long enough duration were reported so that some understanding may emerge of the development of early behavior traits which were symptomatic of serious emotional disturbances. After the descriptive material in the court referrals

is sifted in an effort to discover what the teachers considered to be significant behavior, these findings are compared against those of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (6,8) who are recognized authorities in the study of the complex, causal forces in the origins and development of anti-social behavior.

The author is not an expert in mental health or human behavior, and consequently, is not attempting to judge the opinions of others who have written the case histories from which information has been taken for this study. This is an inquiry into the kinds of information which school people report on child behavior and whether in the opinion of writers in the field these data may reflect teacher concern for early indications of serious personality disturbances which may be observed in the classroom.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Authorities in the field of juvenile behavior maintain that there are two important things which should be sought in the treatment of delinquency: One is the cause of the latent delinquency and the other is that which caused the latent delinquency to become expressed. It is asserted that too often we become preoccupied with the expression or symptom of disorder and fail to recognize or treat the disease. With this realization we may come to understand why there are so many conflicting conceptions of what should be done with the delinquent child and why treatment often fails. In the educational programs of today the emotional and social development of children are being considered along with intellectual and physical training. This is in accordance with the emphasis on preparation of the child for living in the modern world. There has also been a decided emphasis on redefining the issues of child behavior.

Dr. Wallin discusses in his book, Personality Maladjustments and Mental Hygiene, the nature of the interest of mental hygiene in the forms of misbehavior and emphasizes the necessity of the early discovery of the causes and motives of social nonconformity in order for any program for the prevention or correction of anti-social tendencies to be effective (25, p. 200-203). He further states that behavior disorders to the mental hygienist are problems to be understood and not merely tendencies to be suppressed (25, p. 201). To

search for causes of behavior abnormalities is in a true sense to be concerned with the prevention of behavior disorders. Then to escape the treating of symptoms, the objective is to obtain insight into the "whys and wherefores" of the troublesome behavior, to be less concerned with what the child did, and to have more understanding of the nature of his acts. Wallin suggests that the child may have committed many misdeeds resulting from circumstantial pressures, but that in every case the motivating drive may have been the same (25, p. 201). It is essential to develop intelligent plans for removing causes whether they be in the home, school, or neighborhood, or whether they be centered in the child's social or physical condition, mental processes, or other associations.

Perhaps more pertinent to this paper is the observation made by Wallin that to be genuinely preventive, the treatment of behavior disorders must begin in the early stages rather than after tendencies have become confirmed (25, p. 202). Therefore, this places the burden of early treatment squarely upon the school and the home. It is most desirable that parents and teachers should develop the habit of watching for early indications of social maladjustments and conduct disorders and should take early steps to prevent their continued development.

Neumeyer (20, p. 386) placed the central responsibility in the prevention of juvenile delinquency upon the school, because of its constant and intimate contact with children throughout their formative years and feels that as teachers become better trained they should be of more help in finding children who are in need. Potential

delinquents and problem cases may thus be effectively handled at the earliest possible date.

Carr states that 90 per cent of the children of the United States are handled by the public school and that this places a heavy responsibility on the schools in the area of delinquency control (3, p. 489). Pointing out the great urgency, particularly in rural areas, for school programs based on the needs of children, Carr maintains that one of the greatest needs is for the emotional education of teachers and asserts that the public schools have hardly recognized the problem beyond the point of talking and writing about it. The lack of teacher preparation and the resulting lack of emotional training needs for some 30,000,000 school children is referred to by Carr as "emotional illiteracy" and is regarded as the most serious kind of deficiency that our society has (3, p. 489-490). Carr then suggests that the majority of teachers are untrained in the first principles of mental hygiene and do not recognize deviant behavior when it appears. In listing what schools can do in delinquency control Carr mentions discovery of problem cases as the school's first responsibility (3, p. 492).

That there may be need for an evaluation of behavior which is reported by school people is indicated in a study by E.K. Wickman (29) of children's behavior and teachers' responses to this behavior. The study was originally intended to be an investigation into the incidence of behavior problems in elementary school children, but as the study progressed it appeared as though teachers were preoccupied with behavior symptoms characterizing a particular type of problem child

and were disregarding significant characteristics of other types of maladjustment. This prompted an inquiry into teacher attitudes and responses to children's problems, resulting in the finding that individual teachers tended to be concerned mostly with the stubborn, the disorderly, the irresponsible, the untruthful, and the disobedient child (30, p. 3). There tended to be less concern shown for the problems of shyness, dependency, and retirement in children. Many of the lists indicated definite antagonism toward teacher authority and others reflected immediate problems which offended the teacher's standards of morality (30, p. 4). The study also indicated that teachers seemed to be more concerned with problems of dishonesty than they were with specific neurotic and emotional difficulties (30, p. 16). Out of the 871 students reported on only 8 per cent were described as unhappy, depressed, or dissatisfied with themselves (30, p. 8). In rating the seriousness of the various behavior symptoms listed only one teacher in the entire study showed real concern about the emotional problems of a student (30, p. 9). The same teachers, however, found only about 8 per cent of the students willfully disobedient, but regarded this as one of their most serious problems. While there was considerable divergence of opinion expressed in their analysis of children's difficulties, there was as a whole unanimity in reporting problems related to the school situation, such as infractions of classroom rules and routine, and failure to meet school work requirements. The problems encountered in teaching and in classroom management in almost every case tended to subordinate the personal problems of the child and those problems

which were expressed in the most annoying and overt behavior were those with which teachers were mostly concerned (30, p. 11-12).

Of further interest was another grouping of behavior traits listed by Cleveland, Ohio, teachers (30, p. 9-11). They were asked to indicate how much difficulty the different students' problems caused teachers in the classroom, and the resulting tally showed that 53 per cent of the students were considered to exhibit behavior of important or very serious difficulty. However, disregarding the specific behavior problems, the teachers rated the same pupils several days later for total behavior adjustment and reported that only 7 per cent were important or serious behavior problem cases (30, p. 10). The study points out that the significance of the difference in the above evaluations of behavior is that teachers were quick to recognize and report things that were of annoyance to them, but they failed to interpret many forms of behavior as symptomatic of educational, social, or emotional maladjustment. The following is a list of the kinds of behavior which teachers felt characterized the seriously maladjusted or problem child:

Disorderly in class	Destroying school property
Inattentive	Quarrelsome
Whispering	Lying, untruthful
Neglectful	Stubborn in group
Acting "smart"	Physically lazy
Overactive	Slovenly in appearance
Failure to study	Tattling
Impertinent, defiant	Stealing articles
Willfully disobedient	Cheating
Rude, impertinent	Sullen, sulky
Lack of interest in work	Overcritical
Meddlesome	Suggestible
Interrupting	Cruel, bullying

Domineering
 Careless in work
 Temper outbursts
 Profanity

Truancy
 Unnecessary tardiness
 Carrying grudges

(30, p. 10)

Wickman further reports as follows:

The kinds of behavior problems which the teachers did not associate with those whom they considered maladjusted were the personal problems of

Shyness
 Oversensitiveness
 Fearfulness
 Suspiciousness

Thus the problem child in school was identified by teachers as one who often is antagonistic to authority, does not conform to classroom order and routine, does not make expected application to prescribed school work, and violates standards of integrity. On the other hand, the purely personal problems of children which do not frustrate the immediate purposes of teachers or their standards of good conduct are not regarded by them as symptomatic of significant maladjustment. (30, p. 11)

The above findings have additional meaning for us when we observe the next step taken by Wickman to discover how teachers' reactions to behavior problems compared with the clinical judgments of mental hygienists. The study further reports that ratings were obtained from thirty psychiatrists, psychologists, and psychiatric social workers comprising the professional staffs of two child guidance clinics in Philadelphia and Cleveland, and the Department of Child Guidance in the Newark Public Schools. In examining the opinions of mental hygienists the main interest was to obtain their professional judgment about the relative seriousness of the problems listed insofar as they might indicate maladjustment. While the study makes a comparison of the two rating scales which is too detailed to record here in full, it is

conclusively shown that the outstanding difference between the two scales was found in the comparative evaluation of problems describing recessive personality and behavior traits. To quote a portion of the report:

Whereas teachers considered shyness, sensitiveness, unsocialness, fearfulness, dreaminess among the least serious of all problems, the mental hygienist ranked them together with unhappiness, depressions, easy discouragement, resentfulness, cowardliness, suggestibility, and overcriticalness, at the very top of the list as the most serious problems. These items in the mental hygienists' rating completely replace the problems relating to sex, dishonesty, and disobedience which the teachers ranked as most serious. (30, p. 13)

Also of value to us in this study is the interpretive classification of the group of problems as condensed in the following lists which classify symptoms according to their seriousness:

Teachers Regard

<u>Most Serious</u>		<u>Least Serious</u>	
Immoralities	Violations of	Extravagant,	Withdrawing,
Dishonesties	orderliness in	aggressive	recessive
Transgressions	classroom	personality	personality
against	application to	and behavior	and behavior
authority	school work	traits	traits

Mental Hygienists Regard

<u>Most Serious</u>		<u>Least Serious</u>	
Withdrawing,	Dishonesties	Immoralities	Transgression
recessive	Cruelty	Violations of	against au-
personality	Temper tantrums	school work	thority
and behavior	Truancy	requirements	Violations of
traits		Extravagant	orderliness
		behavior	in class
		traits	(30, p. 16)

In a follow-up study on the Wickman report in 1951 Gaier and

Jones (5, p. 104), two members of the University of Pennsylvania staff, conducted a poll of teacher attitudes on behavior problems. They asked teachers enrolled in a summer session to list in order of importance, ten classroom behavior problems which in their opinion were most important for study in a mental hygiene course. Six hundred and ninety problems were named and then grouped into broad behavior areas. In order of the importance assessed these areas were given as: lack of academic adjustment, poor personal-social adjustment, and violation of school rules. The two areas considered to be the most serious were lack of academic adjustment and violation of class order (f, p. 105). While Gaier and Jones found some encouraging signs in their teachers' lists of behavior symptoms, they found there was still a great lack of understanding of these problems and that the reasons for listing these symptoms did not generally conform to the mental hygienists' point of view. In speaking of those teachers who did list an important problem such as daydreaming the authors maintain:

Only two out of the twenty-one who listed this problem gave reasons such as "this represents an escape from reality which is a dangerous tendency." One teacher listed the problem "student who lacks self-confidence", which most mental hygienists would agree may be an indication of a serious personality difficulty. But the reason given by the teacher listing the problem was, "Too much individual attention is given the student in answering unimportant questions".

It becomes apparent that from the standpoint of mental hygiene a large number of these subjects (teachers) manifested a very inadequate understanding of the "why" of children's behavior. (5, p. 108)

Healy and Bronner in reporting their study of delinquency and

its treatment looked for the explanation of behavior trends in terms of causation. (13) Their study was mainly concerned with the part which the family unit may have played in the origin of delinquent tendencies. The project was unique in that it compared the delinquent with a sibling in the same family in an effort to determine why one person experienced serious personality troubles and another from the same family apparently did not. The authors concluded that the more objective data concerning the delinquent's life and the various social pressures that bore upon him were relatively easy to ascertain and that they are important considerations in a study of his behavior (13, p. 6, 121). They maintain, however, that there are more fundamental considerations and that we must, to quote Healy and Bronner, "shift the emphasis of our studies and pay more attention to the emotional implications of human relationships. Herein will lie the guiding principle of a new orientation." (4, p. 120).

The authors provided compelling evidence to prove that when weighing all causes for delinquency, profoundly felt emotional disturbances invariably played a large part in the origin and growth of personality troubles (13, p. 121-130). Further convincing evidence was also presented in a study of the control group (non-delinquents) who failed to show in a great majority of instances any signs of emotional stress. Ninety-one per cent of the delinquents gave clear evidence of being unhappy and discontented in their life circumstances or were very much disturbed because of emotion-provoking situations or

experiences. In contrast there were found evidences of inner stresses in only thirteen per cent of the controls (13, p. 122). Throughout the entire comparison of the two groups the greatest difference appeared to be in the emotional experiences and reactions which could be found in their case histories. Presented below is a list of the types and the number of such emotional disturbances as were found and classified in the 105 delinquents studied by Healy and Bronner.

- (a) Feeling keenly either rejected, deprived, insecure, not understood in affectional relationships, unloved, or that love has been withdrawn--46 cases.
- (b) Deep feeling of being thwarted other than affectionally; either (a) in normal impulses or desires for self-expression or other self satisfactions, (b) in unusual desires because earlier spoiled, or (c) in adolescent urges and desires--even when (as in 5 cases) desire for emancipation had been blocked only by the individuals' counteractive pleasure in remaining childishly attached--23 cases.
- (c) Feeling strongly either real or fancied inadequacies or inferiorities in the home life, in school, or in relation to companionship or to sports--46 cases.
- (d) Intense feelings of discomfort about family disharmonies, parental misconduct, the condition of family life, or parental errors in management and discipline--34 cases.
- (e) Bitter feelings of jealousy toward one or more siblings, or feelings of being markedly discriminated against because another in family circle more favored--31 cases.
- (f) Feelings of confused unhappiness due to some deep-seated, often repressed, internal mental conflict--expressed in various kinds of delinquent acts which often are seemingly unreasonable--17 cases.
- (g) Conscious or unconscious sense of guilt about earlier delinquencies or about behavior which technically was not delinquency; the guilt sense directly or indirectly

activating delinquency through the individual's feeling of the need of punishment (in nearly every instance this overlaps with the last category)-- 9 cases. (13, p. 128-129).

Healy and Bronner then progressed to a further stage in their investigations. Having discovered highly significant differences in the emotional experiences of delinquents as compared with those of controls, the authors sought terms to express the meaningfulness of the delinquent acts to the individuals themselves. In this effort they asserted that the immediate significance of deviate behavior for the individual is susceptible of interpretation, because in nearly all the case histories studied delinquent reactions were the center of attention. Even the delinquent himself occasionally showed insight into the special meaning which his delinquencies had for him. The authors then list the types of reactions which they found were representative of delinquency.

- (a) Attempt to avoid, even as a temporary measure, the unpleasant situation by escape or flight from it.
- (b) Attempt to achieve substitutive compensatory satisfactions through delinquent activities. Those satisfactions include the thrill of delinquent adventure and the gratification of obtaining special recognition or attention, perhaps even notoriety, as a delinquent. In some instances, material gains figure as compensation for deprivations.
- (c) Attempt to strengthen or bolster up the ego wounded by feelings of inadequacy or inferiority. The aim then is to gain recognition and status with the delinquent crowd; or if the offender is more solitary in tendencies, by the individual proving to himself that he really is courageous and can in some way play a spirited role.....

- (d) Attempt to get certain ego satisfactions through direct and conscious or even unconscious expression of revenge attitudes--perhaps through hidden desire to punish parents or others by conduct that will make life difficult for them.
- (e) Attempt to gain maximum of self-satisfaction to inflate the ego, by generally aggressive, anti-social attitudes, that is, by the exhibition of definite hostilities and antagonisms to authority.
- (f) Response to instinctual urges felt to be thwarted. While this response may be exhibited in sexual misbehavior, more notable in our delinquents we have discovered the attempt to satisfy the urge for independence and emancipation which normally flares up as an adolescent phenomenon.
- (g) The wish for punishment was clearly discernable in a few instances and suspected in others. This seeking punishment--delinquent behavior offering an opportunity for being punished--was always a response to a conscious or unconscious sense of guilt.
(13, p. 133-134)

At this point it might be well to examine considerable evidence that has been gathered by the Gluecks (6, p. 76) which establishes the importance of noting early school misbehavior as displayed in overt, maladapted, and antisocial acts with which teachers are said to be occupied. In their study of 500 delinquents and 500 non-delinquents it was found that no less than nine out of ten of the delinquents persistently misbehaved themselves in school as compared to less than two in ten of the non-delinquents. The behavior recorded included truancy, stealing, persistent attempts to attract attention, inattention, mischievousness, disobedience, defiance, lying, sexual misconduct, smoking, and similar offenses. This data is presented as being a reliable indication of trouble ahead, in that difficulties in social

adaptation as displayed in school misconduct were evident much earlier in the school lives of delinquents than in non-delinquents. While the more aggressive types of behavior are thus shown to be highly significant in spotting delinquents, the Gluecks did show that truancy, which may be more in the nature of a withdrawal trait, was the most prevalent school difficulty. Ninety-five per cent of the delinquents had truanted at one time or another, while only ten per cent of the non-delinquents had been involved. To quote the report:

It is clear, therefore, that social maladjustment expressed itself throughout the school careers of the delinquent boys, not only by disobedience, unruliness, defiance, stubbornness, or temper tantrums and the like, but by running away from difficult or unpleasant social situations and obligations, and often.....toward more absorbing activities. (6, p.77)

The Gluecks' first work in the field of delinquency prediction was one in retrospect of 500 delinquents and a control group of 500 to note the characteristics of two groups while they were "in the making".

(6) It is conceded that delinquents came more sharply to the attention of their teachers because of troublesome behavior, and is contended that this was highly significant from the standpoint of reporting the disturbed child. It seems, then, that there may be some disagreement with the mental hygienists' view as reported by Wickman that many forms of aggressive behavior are not necessarily serious. Especially does this seem true when we see that nine-tenths of the delinquents seriously or persistently misbehaved in school as compared with less than one-fifth of the non-delinquents (7, p. 80). We do find conformity with the mental hygienists's position when we observe the Gluecks' conclusion

that the early indications of maladaptation and misconduct apparent in the delinquent group are clearly indicative of the relative deep-rootedness of the emotional difficulties and anti-social habits of the delinquents, and that the personality and character disturbances are far more serious than the acts themselves indicate.

In their study of 1000 delinquent boys (7) the Gluecks found that the average age of the boys at the time of their referral to the Boston Child Guidance Clinic was thirteen years, but that nine-tenths of these boys had exhibited serious misbehavior or some abnormal personality manifestations long before they had been referred to the clinic. Over two-thirds of the boys were not examined until they were thirteen and an average time of three and a quarter years had intervened between the first observed danger signals of misbehavior and the clinical examination (7, p. 107). The Gluecks state that one of their most important findings is that fact that in a large portion of criminal careers there were positive indications of anti-sociality early in life (7, p. 276). The statement is also made, however, that these clues cannot be left to ordinary laymen (7, p. 236) but must be handled by specialists in human motivation and behavior, specifically the clinical psychologists and the psychiatrist. At the time of writing (1933) teacher training courses contained very little in the mental hygiene field and it was apparently felt by the writers that classroom teachers were not likely to ever be sufficiently trained clinically to make a thorough analysis of behavior problems. We note that while the Gluecks decried the "traditional" attitude which tended to deal only with

surface manifestations as the criminal act, they still considered extremely important such behavior as truancy, "bunking out", running away from home, abnormal sex practices, stealing, and the like (7, p. 237).

Hurlock (15) maintains that when maladjustment exists there are always "danger signals" just as in the case of physical illness. He lists the most common danger signals appearing during adolescent years as irresponsibility, aggressiveness, feelings of insecurity, martyr complex, homesickness, excessive daydreaming, regression, rationalization, and "clowning". According to Hurlock most of these danger signals have appeared in childhood in milder forms and may not have been recognizable, but by adolescence they are generally well developed and could hardly be overlooked. Common effects of personality maladjustment which Hurlock describes are: immaturity and childishness, overcomplacency, social inadequacy, nonconformity and recklessness, lack of interest, worry and anxiety, and temporary perturbation. (15, p. 498) Thus, he indicates that personality maladjustments are exhibited in ways which should be observable in the classroom.

TABLE I - FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF 110 TERMS USED IN
DESCRIBING BEHAVIOR OF 90 COURT REFERRALS

After hours	7	Fears parents	1
Aggravating behavior *	3	Fears people	1
Animosity toward parent	5	Feigns illness	2
Anxiety neurosis	1	Fine personality	2
Attention poor	2	Gang activity *	1
Beyond parents control	2	Good behavior at home	1
Boy crazy *	3	Good personality	1
Break and enter school *	3	Good study attitudes	2
Breaks rules and regulations *	7	Has hobby or interest	4
Capable of achieving	8	Hates school	4
Class cutting *	3	Honest, repentant	2
Cooperative	4	Immature	1
Confused	1	Immoral *	1
Cries	4	Incorrigible *	1
Cruelty *	3	Ineffectual	1
Curfew violation	4	Inferiority complex	1
Defiant *	3	Instability	1
Delinquent behavior *	5	Irresistible	2
Dependable	4	Lacks initiative	2
Dirty	1	Lack of school success	1
Disorderly conduct *	2	Law breaking *	1
Disorderly conduct-morals *	3	Lazy	4
Dislikes school	2	Learning problem	10
Disregard for others *	1	Likeable	4
Disturbed	1	Lonely	1
Doesn't get along with others *	2	Lone wolf	2
Drinks *	3	Masturbates *	1
Emotional disturbances	8	Mentally alert	2

such as the number and names of other agencies which worked on the case, and reports from other sources most of which did not contain descriptive terms supplied by teachers or school personnel. In every instance the terms recorded in the four general categories were the actual ones used by the writers of the reports in describing behavior and conditions which they felt led to the necessity of a court referral.

As seen in Table I, 110 different descriptive terms reporting behavior were found in the referrals. It is apparent from an examination of this table that the persons making the reports in which these terms appeared were concerned with more than surface indications. Most of the behavior described was not the kind which is seen in obvious or aggravating acts in the classroom. The descriptions which would appear to denote obvious or aggravating behavior numbered 106 out of the total of 367, or less than one-third of the entire number of terms used in the 90 referral reports.

A sorting was made in an effort to determine if the people reporting were sensitive to factors which might be operating in the community outside the school as well as in the school situation. As Tables II and III indicate, 66 different terms were used a total of 178 times in reference mainly to the student outside of the school situation and 46 different terms were used a total of 208 times mainly describing behavior at school. This would seem to indicate that there was an awareness of problems beyond the immediate school setting and a search elsewhere for basic causes of trouble. As a key to interpreting

TABLE III - FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF 46 TERMS RELATING MAINLY TO BEHAVIOR
OF 90 COURT REFERRALS IN SCHOOL SITUATIONS

Aggravating behavior	3	Mentally alert	2
Attention poor	2	No behavior problem	4
Belligerent	2	No close friends	5
Breaking and entering school buildings	3	Non-aggressive	3
Breaks rules and regulations	7	Non-participating	1
Capable of achieving	8	No pride in achieving	4
Class cutting	2	No social adjustment	4
Cooperative	4	Poor associations, companions	5
Defiance	3	Poor adjustment	8
Dirty	1	Poor attendance and refusal to attend	41
Dislikes school	2	Resents correction	2
Disorderly conduct (morals)	2	Short attention span	1
Disregard for others	1	Show-off behavior	5
Dissident	1	Stubborn	1
Doesn't get along with others	2	Tardy	8
Good study attitudes	2	Theft	6
Hates school	4	Threatens others	5
Immature	1	Tries to please	2
Instability	1	Truancy	15
Irresponsible	2	Unsatisfactory school work	7
Lack of school success	1	Unsocial habits	4
Lacks initiative	2	Window breaking	1
Lazy	4		
Learning problem	10		
		Total	208

Tables II and III it may be pointed out that the designation (4) after "thefts", Table II, indicates that in all the cases reviewed theft was mentioned four times in describing problem behavior relating mainly to situations outside the school. In Table III the designation (6) indicates that theft was mentioned six times in describing problem behavior relating mainly to the students' situation in school.

Using the types of emotional disturbances classified by Healy and Bronner, a further sorting of descriptive terms is made in Table IV, which though somewhat arbitrarily derived, gives an indication of the emotional problems which were suggested by the reports. Observing "thefts" (10), on Table IV we find that it may be classified as possibly indicating internal, mental conflict expressed in a delinquent act. As a further illustration, the behavior description "breaks rules and regulations" appears on Table IV as being an expression of internal mental conflict resulting in delinquency, as was indicated in the type "d" emotional disturbances classified by Healy and Bronner.

A further sorting of descriptive terms and their reference as found in the referrals is shown on Tables V, VI, and VII. We find that family and home conditions occupied considerable attention of those persons reporting cases. In the 90 cases examined a total of 208 references were made to the family and home surroundings (Table V) in an effort to point attention to possible causal factors. Coincidentally, this is the same total number of terms which were used in describing behavior in the school situation, Table III. An examination of the home elements shown on Table V reveals that some of the most frequently

TABLE IV - FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF 104 BEHAVIOR DESCRIPTIONS

OF 90 COURT REFERRALS ACCORDING TO EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS LISTED BY HEALY AND BRONNER

(a) Insecure, Rejected, Deprived	(b) Thwarted, other than Affectionally	(c) Inadequate feelings, Home, School, Social			
Anxiety	1	Doesn't get along with others	2	Animosity toward parent	2
Beyond parents' control	2	Feigns illness	3	Fears people	1
Boy crazy	3	Immature	1	Hates school	4
Cries	4	Immaturity	1	Inferiority complex	2
Dirty	1	Nailbiting	1	Needs pleasurable experience	1
Lonely, lone wolf	3	Nervous	1	No close friends	5
Masturbates	1	Temper	3	No social adjustment	4
Needs attention	5			Non-aggressive	3
Needs security	1			Non-participating	1
Non-aggressive	3			Poor adjustment	8
Non-communicative	1			Selfish	1
Quiet	2			Sensitive toward economic status	1
Rejection	3			Threatens others	5
Shy, timid, self-effacing retiring, backward, withdrawn	17			Truancy	15
Unwanted feeling	1				
Vacillation	1				

TABLE IV - (continued) - FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF 104 BEHAVIOR DESCRIPTIONS
OF 90 COURT REFERRALS ACCORDING TO EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS LISTED BY HEALY AND BRONNER

(d) <u>Internal Mental Conflict Resulting in Delinquency</u>		(e) <u>Feelings of Discomfort About Family Disharmony</u>	
After hours	7	Law breaking	1
Aggravating behavior	3	Poor attendance and refusal to attend school	41
Belligerent	1	Rebels against authority	4
Break and enter school	3	Sexual delinquency	3
Breaks rules and regulations	7	Show-off behavior	5
Cruelty	3	Theft	10
Defiant	3	Unsocial habits	4
Delinquent behavior	6	Untruthful	6
Disorderly conduct (morals)	2	Window breaking	1
Disorderly conduct (not morals)	3		
Disregard for others	1		
Disturbed	1		
Drinks	3		
Emotional disturbance	7		
Immoral	1		
Instability	1		
		Fears parent	1
		Gang activity	1
		Needs supervision	1
		Poor associations, companions	5
		Rebels against authority	4
		Resents correction	2
		Stubborn	1
		Weak character	1

TABLE IV - (continued) - FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF 104 BEHAVIOR DESCRIPTIONS
 OF 90 COURT REFERRALS ACCORDING TO EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS LISTED BY HEALY AND BRONNER

(f) Feelings of Jealousy or Family Discrimination		Unclassified		Unclassified	
Quarrelsome	1	Capable of achieving	8	Learning problem	10
Persecution complex	1	Chronic physical ailments	6	Likeable	1
		Class-cutting	2	Mentally alert	2
		Cooperative	4	Nervous	1
		Dependable	4	No behavior problem	4
		Dislikes school	2	Non-cooperative	1
		Dissident	1	No pride in achieving	4
		Fine personality	3	No sense of values	2
		Good behavior at home	1	Poor attention	2
		Good study attitudes	2	Short attention span	1
		Has hobby or interest	4	Sly	1
		Honest, repentant	2	Tardy	8
		Irresponsible	2	Tries to please	2
		Lack of school success	1	Uncoordinated	1
		Lacks initiative	2	Unsatisfactory school work	7
		Lazy	4	Well-mannered, courteous, gentle	3

appearing terms were "deceased parent" (7), "deceitful parent" (7), "depressing home situation" (6), "lack of home control" (8), "parental neglect" (12), "rejection" (6), "separated parents" (6), "uncooperative parents" (19), and "unstable parents" (9). This would seem to indicate a search for possible basic causes of trouble.

Another category in which descriptive terms were found in the reports was that of the physical descriptions (Table VI) in which the writers described the outward appearance of the individual. The total number of terms used in this connection were few (65) which may represent a lack of concentration on outward physical characteristics. Chronic physical complaints were noted with the greatest frequency. Perhaps the comparative lack of attention to physical descriptions would suggest that there was a greater concern for the more subtle signs of disorder, rather than obvious surface indications.

Turning to Table VII we note the distribution of 34 different terms which the writers used in giving their reasons for referral of the 90 court cases studied. As might be expected, "poor attendance, truancy" (28) was the reason given most frequently for citing cases to court, inasmuch as the persons writing the reports were essentially attendance counselors. It was apparent, however, from the reading of the reports that attendance problems were used as a means or reason for sending some cases to court when perhaps other problems existed, but were harder to analyze or bring to the attention of court people. "Dependency" (15) and "the need for court supervision" (15) logically appear 15 times each as referral reasons. This similarity in frequency

TABLE V - FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF 53 TERMS USED TO DESCRIBE
FAMILY AND HOME CONDITIONS OF 90 COURT REFERRALS

Adequate physical surroundings	3	Likes mother	1
Aged parents	1	Loosely knit family	4
Animosity toward parents	1	Married	1
Broken home	3	Mentally unstable parent	5
Cannot get along at home	1	Mother lenient and affectionate	1
Clean	1	Mother seldom home	4
Cooperative parents	7	No security	1
Cruelty	8	Not living at home	4
Deceased parent	7	Over-age father	1
Deceitful parent	7	Over protection	4
Defensive	1	Parents both work	1
Depressing home situation	6	Parent ill	5
Divorced parents	4	Parents unknown	1
Drunkenness	6	Parental neglect	12
Father is employed	8	Religious fanatics	1
Father not home much	2	Rejection	6
Father not living at home	1	Separated parents	6
Father unemployed	8	Stepfather	5
Formerly institutionalized parent	1	Stepmother	2
Foster home	2	Strong family ties	1
Hostile parents	3	Suspicious	1
Immoral father	3	Uncooperative parents	19
Immoral mother	3	Unhappy home life	2
Inadequate care	3	Unstable parents	9
Ineffective parents	6	Vacillation	1
Lack of home control	8	Welfare	3
Lack of understanding	3		
		Total	208

appears reasonable, because dependency petitions are based on the allegation that parents are deficient in their supervision or care of the child.

Of the total of 123 reasons given in Table VII for referral to court 51 specifically referred to home conditions. It should be noted that "lack of home control" (11), "needs court supervision" (15), and "dependency" (15), refer to conditions mentioned elsewhere in the referral reports and represent a summation of previously listed factors. It would seem that the most important observation concerning Table VII would be that the writers were looking beyond the school situation in their search for causes of trouble, and that two-fifths of the reasons given for referral specifically mentioned home conditions.

In view of the unanimity among writers that the most serious "danger signal" to be observed among children is unfavorable home and neighborhood conditions (16; 15, p. 356) the referrals seem to reflect a reliable search for causal implications of behavior.

It may be argued that it is questionable procedure to sort behavior descriptions according to emotional disturbances as displayed in Table IV. However, these tables are not presented as a positive means of identifying the particular emotional problems indicated, but as an indication that most of the behavior traits as reported by school people in the referrals examined are susceptible of interpretation and may be indicative of serious inner disturbances. The classification of traits, or behavior descriptions under particular emotional problems might be expected to vary depending on the findings of the qualified

TABLE VI -- FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF 28 TERMS USED IN THE PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS
OF 90 COURT REFERRALS

Apparent physical defect	4	Pleasant appearing	9
Abnormal development	4	Poor coordination	2
Bad teeth	1	Reading problem	2
Chronic physical complaint	11	Small for age	1
Fatigue	2	Speech defect	3
Good health	1	Too short	1
Good personality	2	Too fat	3
Good ability	1	Too thin	1
Hearing defect	1	Visual defect	2
Hypochondriacal	1	Weak appearing	1
Irregular menstruation	1	Low mentality	2
Nervousness	3	Large for age	2
Mental attitude bad	1	Pale	1
Over-age	1	Well dressed and fed	1
			<hr/>
		Total	65

TABLE VII - FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF 34 TERMS USED IN REPORTING THE REASONS
FOR REFERRAL OF 90 COURT CASES

Chronic misdemeanors	1	Lack of home support *	2
Class cuts	2	Mentally retarded parent	1
Conduct problem	1	Mentally retarded	1
Delinquency	1	Needs court supervision *	15
Dependency	15	Needs recognition	1
Excuse from school	8	No academic interest	1
Exhausted school resources	1	No definite home *	1
Failure to keep promises	1	Poor adjustment	5
Fictitious absence excuses	1	Poor attendance, truancy	28
Foster home *	1	Protection	2
Inability to learn	1	Psychological help	2
Inadequate clothing *	1	Refusal to attend school	4
Inadequate home *	1	Removal from home *	1
Incorrigibility	2	Sexual delinquency	1
Infraction of school rules	1	Testing	3
Irregular hours	1	Unstable home *	3
Lack of home control *	11	Violating the law	2
			<hr/>
		Total	123

* specifically refer to home conditions
total, 51.

investigator who receives the case and uses the material referred in the school report. It is generally agreed that personality troubles may have a multiple causation and be displayed in a variety of ways. (30, p. 211)

Though the work is 25 years old, Ackerson's listing of children's behavior data is still referred to in the literature as a reliable study of conduct and personality problems. A notable result of the work was the finding that the percentage frequency distribution of personality problems was very similar in incidence to the percentage frequency of conduct problems (1, p. 24-25). In this volume the author attempts to establish a system of categories among children's behavior problems and their incidence as obtained from a large group referred for examination to a childrens' behavior clinic. Ackerson also seeks to ascertain the relation of personality and conduct problems to chronological age and to intellectual level as measured in terms of mental age and intelligence quotient. Since this work is not primarily concerned with a study of the individual problem child, a more detailed report of the Ackerson study is not relative, except to point to the similarity of method in which the author used varied groupings of behavior traits as extracted from case records and referrals to a psychological clinic (1, p. 39).

As reviewed by Louttit (19, p. 22) Ackerson uses "behavior problems" as a genus, with "personality problems" and "conduct problems" as two species. The distinction between these two is noted as: (1) Personality problems are those which more directly affect the individual

in his personal adjustment; (2) Conduct problems are those which interfere with other people. This is essentially the classification used by Paynter and Blanchard in their study of the educational achievement of problem children. (21, p. 13-41). Louttit describes the use of classification systems in the study of problem behavior as being largely unsatisfactory from a clinical point of view, but at the same time admits that personality difficulties can be recognized only through overt behavior. It is suggested children with problems can be safely classified, but that classification of problems is uncertain, though necessary, for some systematic study of behavior (19, p. 23).

On the basis of this investigation it would appear that considerable progress is being made in the Portland Schools on the reporting of significant material in school behavior cases. It is not contended that the average classroom teacher must accept the responsibility of completely diagnosing emotional and mental problems, but that they should be sufficiently aware of the implications of behavior, so that qualified persons receiving their reports may be assisted in further study, classification, and treatment of the cases referred.

If the terms appearing most frequently in school people's reports do in fact describe behavior or conditions signifying disturbed or delinquent individuals, we should be able to study the lists and discover what symptoms are most likely to be present in cases of serious difficulty. To facilitate such an appraisal the writer has used Tables II, III, and IV from which to select central tendencies or the descriptions which seem to have the greatest incidence in the tables. As a

validating procedure some comparison of these central tendencies is then made against the research of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, who as part of their analysis of juvenile delinquency and its causes studied and compared the characteristics of 500 delinquents and 500 non-delinquents. Their detailed report was made in their book, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency (8), and was later summarized in another work of theirs, Delinquency In The Making (6).

By arranging the frequencies in Table II in rank order and determining the middle one, the median number is established as five. Listed below are the behavior descriptions which most frequently appeared describing behavior outside of school.

Shy, timid, retiring, self effacing	17
Emotional disturbance	8
After hours	7
Run-away	7
Untruthful	6
Chronic physical ailments	5
Delinquent behavior	5
Needs attention	5

In their summary on the behavior characteristics of the delinquent boy in the community the Gluecks call attention to the tendency of delinquents to seek excitement and adventure through the following activities: (8, p. 167)

Movie attending, truck hopping, ride stealing, keeping late hours, smoking and drinking at an early age, sneaking into theaters, committing destructive mischief, running away from home, gambling,

begging, setting fires, and the like.

The Glueck report lists further characteristic neighborhood behavior as: (8, p. 167)

Hanging around street corners; seeking recreation in neighborhoods distant from their homes; playing in vacant lots, on waterfronts, and in railroad yards; frequenting cheap poolrooms, dance halls -----; having an inclination to gang membership, and a dislike for supervised recreation.

In some respects Table II does not seem to reflect the same observations as those of the Gluecks. The high incidence of withdrawal characteristics evidenced in the Table constitutes the greatest difference between the two descriptive lists. The Gluecks found that delinquents were more apt to be characterized by attacking behavior than by withdrawing behavior (8, p. 151), but that both withdrawing and attacking behavior characterized the delinquent to a greater extent than the non-delinquent. The Gluecks refer to the Wickman studies as pointing out that "to attempt to classify rigidly all behavior disorders and social pathological problems into attacking and withdrawing types of response.....would be psychologically unsound". (8, p. 152). While the Gluecks found that dreaminess, shyness, and sensitivity did not seem to especially characterize the delinquent, they do not rule out those symptoms as being significant in the study of other poorly adjusted individuals. It would appear that characteristics of both attack and withdrawal are represented in Table II, while there is an emphasis on attacking behavior in the Gluecks' descriptions of the delinquents actions in the community.

Applying the same sorting and validating process to Table II we proceed by establishing six as the median and finding the following terms in the Table six times or more describing school behavior of the referrals.

Poor attendance and refusal to attend	41
Truancy	15
Learning problem	10
Capable of achieving (not achieving as expected)	8
Poor adjustment	8
Breaks rules and regulations	7
Unsatisfactory school work	7
Theft	6

Checking against the Gluecks' findings of characteristics of proven delinquents' behavior in school (6, p. 76-80) as established by a check list submitted by the delinquents' teachers, we find that there is considerable similarity to our list of central tendencies. The Gluecks' teacher rating list produced the following outstanding characteristics of school behavior: (6, p. 78)

Lack of interest in school work
 Unreliable, inattentive, careless, lazy, untruthful
 Disobedient, tardy, attention-seeking, disorderly
 Easily discouraged, stubborn, unhappy
 Defiant, resentful, sullen, unsocial, impudent
 Domineering, cruel, bullying
 Physical cowards, selfish, suspicious
 Tendency toward lying and profanity
 Destructive of school materials

Both lists emphasize the difficulty experienced by delinquents and emotionally disturbed children in adapting to the code of behavior

governing the smaller society, the school. The Gluecks found that truancy was the first and foremost manifestation of maladjustment among the delinquents who misbehaved in school (8, p. 154), and Table III certainly bears this out. We note that neither list indicates that the subjects studied had inferior intelligence or were deficient in native ability. The Gluecks established good evidence that the delinquents and non-delinquents were well-matched as to total intelligence, but that there were differences in the components of their intelligence as shown in the verbal and performance aspects of the Wechsler-Bellevue Scale (8, p. 207). Thus we see that Table III reflects teacher concern for lack of school achievement, but at the same time indicates that the problem child had capabilities which were not reflected in his school achievement.

An analysis of Table IV shows six as the central tendency in frequency distribution of the behavior descriptions as they are listed according to emotional problems. Therefore, as we scan the table we find certain emotional problems appearing most prominently and being expressed in the following behavior as described in the school referrals:

Insecure, rejected, deprived as expressed in:

Shy, timid, self-effacing, withdrawn, retiring, backward behavior	17
--	----

Inadequate feelings as expressed in:

Truancy	15
Poor adjustment in the home, school, and society	8

Internal mental conflict resulting in delinquency

as displayed in:

Poor attendance and refusal to attend school	41
Theft	10
After hours	7
Breaking rules and regulations	7
Other emotional disturbances	7
Untruthfulness	6

The Gluecks' comparative study of 500 non-delinquents and 500 delinquents produced evidence that some withdrawal characteristics were at least equally evident in the non-delinquents (6, p. 78). We must bear in mind that the study defines delinquent behavior as "the kind of conduct that brings boys to the attention of the police and the juvenile court" (6, p. 18) and does not purport to deal with disturbed individuals unless their conduct has been adjudged to be delinquents. The referrals on which this paper is based were not made solely because of overt delinquent behavior, but also because of other problems which the teachers felt necessitated court referral. Referring to their study of "delinquents in the making" we find that the Gluecks summarize their comparison of basic character traits of delinquents and non-delinquents with a statement to the effect that a much higher proportion of delinquents than non-delinquents were characterized by feelings of not being recognized or appreciated and by feelings of resentment (6, p. 149). To quote a portion of the Glueck study: (6, p. 160)

"The delinquents have certain traits and emotional

dynamic tendencies which make it difficult for them to adapt to society's legal code. They are considerably more impulsive and vivacious than the law abiding boys; less self-controlled; and they tend to act out their emotional tensions".

To this extent Table IV seems to illustrate substantially the same information as that reported by the Gluecks.

It would seem from comparison of the central tendencies observed in Tables II, III, and IV and the results of the Glueck research that the Portland teachers' referrals contained information which reliably indicated disturbed and maladjusted children. At least, the characteristics which the Gluecks attribute to known delinquent individuals are, in the writer's opinion, quite similar to those which occupied most of the attention of the teachers. However, because the lists of central tendencies present only a partial picture, having been condensed to promote ease of comparison, it is entirely possible that seriously maladjusted persons might exhibit behavior not included in those lists. The fact that the terms which were most frequently used by the teachers to describe significant behavior bear close similarity to delinquent behavior descriptions named by the Gluecks lends validity to the teacher's observation and reporting of problem behavior as it was observed in the 90 referrals examined for this evaluation.

Feeling that the experience of the Multnomah County Juvenile Court in handling the cases referred by school people should provide some measurement of the teacher's awareness of significant behavior, the writer investigated the history of each case after it reached court. Of the 90 cases referred 54 of them were reopened at a later

date after some plan had been tried and there was need for new court action due to some delinquency on the part of the individual or because of other circumstances. While some of the case folders showed that the cases had been opened as many as 10 times the average number of reopenings was 2.6 and the median number was 3.

The length of time the cases were in the attention of the court would seem to be of significance inasmuch as the more difficult cases would require longer study. The average number of months covered by the case records of those persons referred was 30.7. To the writer it was an important finding to discover that these cases had been carried an average of two and one-half years each and that the median number of months involved was 26. Perhaps a word of explanation should be made relevant to the duration of the court histories. When it is reported that the average experience was 30.7 months, it does not mean that the case was active all that time, for it may have been active six months, closed six months, and then reopened due to some new development. For the purpose of this compilation the length of court experience was computed from the date the case was first opened to the date the case was last closed.

As for court disposition of the cases it is harder to make a clear analysis, inasmuch as these were individual case studies; and the primary object of the court was not to dispense justice by way of verdict, but to attempt rehabilitation by making a new adjustment for the individual. In the process of studying and reestablishing the 90 individuals referred the court did adjudge 36 to be delinquent juveniles

and nine to be dependent juveniles. The remaining 45 were informally handled with no specific court ruling regarding their delinquent or dependent status. Of the 36 judged delinquent, 27 were eventually detained in corrective institutions, such as the MacLaren School for Boys. Despite the fact that none of the referrals in the "B" file studied for this analysis were written after January, 1955, four of the cases were still active in February, 1957, with the juvenile court and four more had already found their way to the adult municipal court. That more had not come to the attention of the adult court may perhaps be explained by the fact that the average age of the referrals was 13.6 years and repeat violations usually placed them back in the jurisdiction of the juvenile court for a reopening of their cases.

When we consider that the cases referred by school district personnel have been reopened an average of 2.6 times and have been known to the court an average of 30.7 months we must conclude that the reasons for the teachers' referrals must have had much validity. We have seen also that formal court adjudication was made in the instance of 45 of the 90 referrals (36 delinquent and nine dependent). This would seem to be positive indication that behavioral characteristics which teachers observed and reported as significant to the court were indicative of serious psychological or emotional disorders or other forms of social maladjustment.

many of his classes R.B. attended less than twenty days all year. The excuse usually given was that the boy suffered from headaches, and when approached on the matter the mother usually made allowances or explanations for the boy. R.B.'s headaches were never fully substantiated on a physical basis by the family doctor, although the mother felt that R.B. must have had some brain pressure causing his pains.

There was considerable counseling with R.B. in high school; in one year there were five different program changes. Any changes were complicated by Mrs. B. through her insistence that the boy take a college preparatory course including such subjects as Latin and Math, both of which later had to be dropped. R.B. earned four credits as a freshman, but failed in algebra. There was class skipping the first year, but not as pronounced as the second and last year. He finally failed in all of his subjects, though he had the ability to do average work. He was absent thirty-two days the year of this referral, despite the concerted efforts of the high school teachers, counselors, vice principals, school nurse, visiting teacher and attendance department.

Physically, R.B. had many peculiarities. At almost fifteen years of age he was less than five feet tall with noticeably tiny hands and feet, but with a very mature looking face. An abnormal pituitary condition brought about an unusual growth and development. He could say the alphabet at eighteen months, began shaving at the age of nine years, and reached his maximum bone growth at the age of nine years. For these abnormalities R.B. was under the care of a doctor for several years.

He is further described as having been a very quiet, polite boy with no malicious tendencies. At home his attitude, according to his parents, was very good, except that they just could not keep him in school. The boy was an habitual smoker since his early grade school days and smoked at home with his parents' consent.

The high school counselor reported R.B. as being "a little fellow on whom nature played a cruel trick". He described the mother as one who looked upon R.B. as a very talented youngster and gave ready excuses for his failures. Reported discussions with the father contain his complaint that the mother made a career of the boy; however, both parents hold that the child is talented scientifically and have tried to encourage him in this respect at home. The parents on the one hand wanted to be cooperative but on the other hand refused to see the boy's limitations. There was confusion about disciplinary techniques, because the boy appeared to be cooperative and submissive at home and until recently was fairly honest. R.B.'s behavior more recently gave evidence of leading into other troubles. Because he had few close friends, he could often be found following a gang of chronic truants. He often skipped out of school to a "dog house" for a smoke and then failed to return. He was found "shooting dice" in the school lavatories when he should have been in class and was located in various questionable amusement places downtown. During his eighth grade year, R.B. became associated with a sixty-year old woman who operated a "dog house" near the school. This woman several times called the school and, pretending to be R.B.'s mother, obtained his excuse from school and then went into the

back of the " dog house" with the boy where they drank beer, smoked cigarettes, and sat around exchanging smutty stories. This woman was arrested and her business license removed, but at the insistence of R.B.'s mother no particular action was taken with R.B.

In April of his sophomore year at high school R.B. was referred to juvenile court as a truant where it was recommended after a psychiatric evaluation that he be excused from further school attendance for the balance of the year, so that he might seek work. Since that time R.B. has been dropped from school.

The cumulative record containing teacher comments and results of special testing and academic progress indicates that there was no complete mental examination given this boy until he reached the eighth grade at which time the testing showed the boy to have an I.Q. of 100, with Metropolitan grade equivalents as follows:

Reading vocabulary	8.3
Reading comprehension	5.8
Average reading	7.0
Arithmetic reasoning	5.8
Arithmetic fundamentals	6.0
Average arithmetic	5.9
Spelling	5.5
Language	6.6

The grading reports of R.B.'s academic progress average "S", or satisfactory progress consistent with ability, with the exception of two categories where the marking "N" consistently appears, indicating less than satisfactory progress. The two categories were: Accepts Responsibility, and Organizes and Completes Work. The folder contains numerous teacher references to the boy's truancy and class-skipping

and some references to his apparent emotional upset. This "upset" is referred to as a six complication when he was young owing to his development equivalent to that of a ten-year-old when the boy was five. Other references are made to his apparent abnormalities due to his advanced bone development. The seventh grade teacher stressed the boy's need for individual, undivided attention.

The visiting teacher's psychiatric evaluation, made when R.B. was fifteen years old and a freshman, lays special stress on the mental and emotional factors of his personality. Reference is made to the physical abnormalities as reported above which bore on the child's behavioral situation, and special emphasis is placed on R.B.'s nineteen-year-old development at the age of fifteen. Owing to parental interference there was little success in adjusting the school situation according to the child's special abilities or disabilities, the mother insisting on a college preparatory course regardless of the apparent lack of school success. R.B. seemed to display some insight into his own problem as evidenced by his anxiety about his physical differences and his identification with peer groups (i.e. truants, unscrupulous adults) who would accept him. The boy's truancy and misconduct (gambling, smoking) was interpreted as likely to be an expression of some inner anxiety or fear about which he had difficulty speaking. When encouraged to speak, he would trail off into silence. R.B.'s behavior was described further as being in the nature of a compensation or an escape from his physical and emotional handicaps, an attempt to avoid or evade the circumstances in which he found himself. The boy was

depicted as being in search of real security and was shown to be in need of sincere understanding, rather than attention.

In a sense R.B. seemed revengeful for what life dealt him, and while he never suffered poverty and denial of privileges or opportunities, he experienced very real emotional instabilities which troubled him no end. A study of the home conditions by the attendance counselor revealed neither poor home training, excessive disciplinary measures, nor false social patterns. There was some evidence of excessive laxity in that very little disciplinary action was ever taken when R.B. was a conduct problem (smoking, truancy, lying), but this probably stemmed from the fact that the boy's dominating characteristic at home was one of quiet acquiescence and obedience, at least until he reached high school. In general, there was basic understanding by school people for the boy's difficulties in the eighth grade and in high school, but the visiting teacher report stresses that an earlier recognition and referral of the child's problems probably would have aided treatment.

SUMMARY

The material presented above pointed up several indications of serious emotional disturbances in the opinion of the visiting teacher. At the conclusion of her report she listed those things which were indicative of trouble as: recurrent headaches, numerous absences, beer drinking, habitual smoking, and a threatening attitude towards children and adults alike. In the court referral no reference was made to any threatening attitude, but most of the factors treated in the visiting

teacher's report were also observed by the attendance counselor and classroom teachers. According to the Wickman list on page 11 above, mental hygienists would have regarded as highly significant R.B.'s rather quiet and submissive attitude around home, his propensity to have a sullen, threatening manner towards others, and his serious truancy escapades.

Referring to the Glueck research and the observation that both withdrawing and attacking behavior characterize the delinquent more than the non-delinquent (page 37 above), we see this pattern to be quite evident in the case of R.B. His vacillating attitudes of submissiveness at home and defiance at school are indicative of withdrawal and attack mechanisms both of which the Gluecks find to be more prominent in delinquents than non-delinquents. In fact, early smoking and drinking, truancy, and the seeking of questionable companions are specifically pointed out by the Gluecks as being characteristic of the neighborhood behavior of delinquents. There appears to be essential agreement in the teachers' observations and assessments of R.B.'s behavior and that which the Gluecks attribute to delinquent individuals.

Investigation into the current status of R.B. shows that he has been working in a restaurant as a part-time kitchen helper and has apparently been doing a satisfactory job. However, his father has insisted that the boy continue his education by going to night school to prepare for college. This year's grades have all been failing, but R.B. continues to go to school at the insistence of his parents.

At the age of fifteen R.B. has not been known to the police for

anything other than truancy. If his work provides R.B. with success experiences which take the place of school and his parents do not continue to set impossible academic standards for the boy, it would seem that R.B. would have a fairly useful and happy life, despite his handicaps. On the other hand, if there is insistence on his competing with others in learning situations R.B. might well take up less acceptable kinds of activity which will draw him away from the protection of his home and make him a problem for society. It seems clear from a review of this case that contained in the school record is a wealth of reliable information indicating that R.B. has had special needs that have never been understood by him nor his family and which surely predict failure in any further formal school program. The action of the juvenile court in this matter was to recommend excuse from further schooling so that the boy might go to work, and there was surely sufficient evidence in the court referral to indicate this need. The program appears to have broken down in the interpretation to the parents, who steadfastly refused to accept their boy's limitations, regardless of the warnings of school and court people.

and regulations, and all the school's efforts to get the mother to cooperate in insuring a better behavior pattern were met with complete disregard. The boy was a visiting teacher case the entire year, but his attendance problems did not begin until about two months prior to the referral when he began frequent absences finally totaling sixteen. The absences were not legitimate, inasmuch as the boy was seen by the neighbors and reported by them. At times the mother attempted to "cover" for him but at other times she didn't even bother to do that.

Three weeks before referral to court J.B. was suspended from Brand school for fighting with his classmates, and in conformity with a city-wide regulation the mother was asked to accompany the boy to school for re-instatement and a conference. However, three weeks elapsed since the suspension and the mother did not come in as requested. When the school principal called the mother and asked her to come in she mumbled a series of excuses, finally promising to come in the next day but failed to do so, whereupon the attendance counselor was sent to contact J.B.'s mother to renew the request for a visit. The mother was quite hostile and belligerent, saying she saw no reason at all for the principal's request, but would come under protest. She never did appear at the school.

Further calls made to the house were answered by a man who had been there other times, but who was not a member of the family. The last home visit made by the attendance counselor was interrupted by this same person who was drinking beer and obviously was partly drunk. This man's presence in the home substantiated many reports that had

come to the school that Mrs. B. had men living in her home. Her husband had apparently been out of the home for several years, but there never was a divorce. The social welfare worker volunteered the same concern over this home situation. In the mind of the attendance counselor there was no doubt that the mother was neglecting these children and contributing to their delinquency.

The visiting teacher's file on J.B. gives a more technical study of the boy's personality and adjustment problems and provides a good insight into the behavior which he expressed at school. In essence, the visiting teacher's evaluation paints the following word picture:

This Negro boy is a slim but well proportioned boy with smooth, chocolate-brown skin and slender, well-shaped hands. Attractive in appearance, well-dressed and immaculate in his grooming. J.B. is the oldest of six children and two of the younger brothers attend B. school: other siblings are of pre-school age. Father deserted the family, J.B. said, and they do not know where he is.

J.B. resents his siblings, resists all authority both at home and at school. He is a deliberate non-conformist, has no friends, is over-excitabile, and moody. He enjoys art, and when asked to draw a person during some testing, he complied willingly and drew a girl, then a house. He said apologetically, "She's not very pretty." Said, "I can't make a man so good" (nor did he). He then completed a family scene on his own initiative, drawing two babies in cars with flowers, sun, etc., and then remarked as he left, "I wish I could have made a better picture."

When brought to these offices for a test one could see his hostility to adults and it took some time to overcome this. He was suspicious and sullen, moved his chair as far from the tester as possible, muttered answers in such low, indistinct tones that repetitions had to be requested. Gradually, he thawed, even smiled occasionally, and later there were frequent sheepish, self-conscious smiles and self-derogatory remarks.

J.B. is left-handed with right eye dominance. This

mixed dominance probably made reading and writing difficult when J.B. started school and he repeated both first and second grades. These defects and father's desertion, also his own position as oldest child, with perhaps too much feeling of pressure to assume responsibility at home, may have crystallized into a pattern of active resistance and hostility. Note that he drew the mother figure first and then an insignificant father (or self) figure. Also, the children and an attractive, normal home scene; wistfully, he wished to make the mother pretty. Psychologically, one believes J.B. is still in an infantile state of emotional development--that he is resistant to pressure to learn--shown by his lowest scores on verbal scale in arithmetic and information tests which represent acquired learning. His highest verbal test score was for comprehension and here he showed better native intellectual capacity or "common sense". There were no perverse or bizarre responses given such as could be expected in psychopathic cases.

On the performance scale, J.B. score five points lower than on the verbal scale. His lack of ability to appraise and react to a total situation showed up in his particularly low score on the picture arrangement test. He seemed at a loss to get the idea of the stories, showing a marked lack of any social intelligence. This would not be expected of a very immature individual, but his low scaled score of only two is particularly significant. His best score was a seven made on the picture completion test. Here he showed fair perceptual and conceptual abilities in identifying objects and forms. This discouraged him, but not to the point of being uncooperative. He simply became more cautious, worked too slowly, was fearful of wrong movements, and too anxious to deal with objects as a whole, so that when partial success was achieved he would simply look at the last two or three pieces, make tentative moves, then withdrawals. At this stage quick trial and error methods would have met with success. There was a certain stubborn inflexibility in his thinking processes.

There is so much emotional instability and so little ego strength in this boy's personality make-up that one hesitates to describe him as a mental defective. Much of his failure to achieve appears to be due to emotional factors. There is need for therapy through individual instruction with a personal achievement group.

The school record shows that J.B. repeated the first, second, and seventh grades and that throughout his entire school experience

J.B. had difficulty in achieving academic progress. However, intermittent periods of improvement appeared on his record. For instance, in the sixth grade for three quarters J.B. passed practically nothing, but in the fourth quarter he did satisfactorily in every subject. The same trend was observed in the second grade with the teacher reporting that there were periods of satisfactory work. Though he repeated grade two, the teacher reported that J.B. showed improvement in his work and developed an interest in reading. Throughout the folder there were numerous complaints about his disturbing behavior in the classroom, but there is little actual description of the behavior. Specific mention is made of disregard for school regulations, such as use of lavatories in the wrong sections of the school and entry into the school buildings during off-hours. On one occasion J.B. was involved in a fight with another student at school over some derogatory remarks which were made about J.B.'s mother whose questionable reputation was generally known.

The cumulative folder shows the boy to have been a periodic attendance problems, but here again, the unusual sporadic tendencies appear as evidenced by seven unexcused absences and six tardies during his first seventh grade year and no absences or tardies during the repeated seventh grade year. This repeated year, incidentally, was another in which entirely satisfactory work was performed. At the seventh grade level J.B. was tested for achievement and found in grade placement as follows:

Reading vocabulary	4.1
Reading comprehension	5.9
Average reading	4.1

Arithmetic reading	5.9
Arithmetic fundamentals	5.2
Average arithmetic	5.4

In an interview the seventh grade male teacher had some interesting comments about J.B.'s experiences during the preceding year (repeated seventh grade):

"I tried to recognize that here was a boy with tremendous home problems. Repeated attempts had been made to hold conferences with the mother, but she disregarded them completely by either not coming or by not cooperating with the suggestions made. There was on the one hand a hunger for affection and security which he never had experienced at home, and on the other hand a deep resentment toward his home situation--his deserting father and his mother with a poor reputation. His inability to get along with others was quite likely rooted in the lack of a happy family experience and a resentment toward his own brother and sister. Last year was my first year with J.B., but I was advised of his peculiar problems and did review his record before he was with me long. I determined to befriend the boy and put him in a personal achievement group. I took particular pains to grade him according to his ability. I was pleased to find that J.B. could do acceptable work, even in competition with the rest of his class, and that the key to his problem seemed to be that of relating successfully to others. By persistent efforts to demonstrate my liking for him and faith in him I believe considerable progress was made in overcoming the hostility which J.B. had built up over the years toward school people. Interestingly enough, J.B. had no absences or tardies this last year, whereas in previous years he has had from twenty to thirty."

SUMMARY

The record of J.B. indicates that the boy had a definite emotional problem probably centered in his difficult home situation and complicated by some mental limitations. The reports do include considerable detail about annoying misconduct in school and violation of school requirements which mental hygienists would rate as less

significant in a study of behavior traits, but it appears that it was necessary to have included this information for a complete study of the boy. Some of the important observations noted by school people were his hostility toward adults, his spells of moodiness, his lack of friends and his resentment toward his siblings and home life. His sporadic tendencies in academic achievement and in school attendance could well have been indications of emotional stress and were repeatedly referred to in the reports. An appreciation by school people of the home conditions was shown in the description of the hostile mother and the indicated need of a father in the home. We see that many of the school behavior tendencies which teachers reported most frequently (page 38, above) are made apparent in the referral of this case and that they bear considerable similarity to the Glueck teacher rating list. Truancy was a major problem with J.B., but obviously was one expression of his need for being appreciated or recognized, inasmuch as the father substitute (male teacher) was successful in keeping the boy in school.

Returning to the Glueck evaluation of delinquent school behavior (page 39, above) we note again that truancy was the most prominent manifestation of maladjustment; however, we note in this case that other more aggravating and aggressive behavior preceded serious truancy. Persistent breaking of conduct codes and constant maladjustment to others about him, along with ability for acceptable academic performance makes J.B. compare favorably with the Glueck's summary of delinquent behavior characteristics. J.B.'s behavior was typified in persistent breaking of conduct codes and constant maladjustment to others about him. We

observe that these aggressive behavior symptoms when considered along with the boy's intermittent periods of acceptable performance are quite similar to the kinds of behavior which the Gluecks found in their study of delinquents. We see also that the central behavior tendencies reported by teachers in the 90 court referrals (page 38, above) give an almost complete description of J.B. with every category listed being applicable to his case with the possible exception of "theft".

It seems rather evident from the facts reported that mental deficiencies apparently were not the prime cause for his school conduct and that given the right set of circumstances and understanding by those around him, J.B. was neither a behavior problem, nor one with learning problems too difficult to surpass. Also, the possibility is quite evident that with improper handling J.B. could have fallen into the category of a defective delinquent (2, p. 473-487) with his amoral and asocial tendencies. Quite possibly, his emotional instabilities could have resulted in delinquent acts in the community and eventually given him a lengthy criminal record. In any event, it would appear that school records in this case, also, provided ample material for a study of J.B.'s difficulties and indicated that the basic causes of difficulty were recognized and reported by school personnel.

the other older, yet considerably below normal in intelligence. Very soon after this J.F. was again engaged in criminal activity which has been continuous until the time of this writing.

Below is the record of violations:

- 4-13-50 Disorderly conduct (firecrackers).
Break-and-enter house and warehouse.
- 8-8-50 Larceny of auto from Portland. Recovered damaged in Hood River. Juvenile court hearing and probation.
- 11-2-50 Break-and-enter house. Suspended commitment to MacLaren School for Boys.
- 12-2-50 Seven counts of larceny of auto in San Francisco.
Break-and-enter house in San Francisco.
- 12-8-50 Missing. Picked up in San Francisco. Committed to MacLaren School for Boys.
- 1-11-52 Break-and-enter Store.
Car theft while on parole.
Made ward of juvenile court.
- 2-6-52 Escape from MacLaren
Larceny of auto and traffic accident.
- 2-21-52 Ward of court vacated because of MacLaren escape.
- 10-18-52 Purse snatch suspect.
- 11-13-52 Auto theft. Remanded to adult court at sixteen years of age. One year in county jail.
- 3-24-53 Paroled to Catholic authorities.
- 5-8-53 Admits stealing and cashing about 200 checks.
Burglary, not in a dwelling. Parole violation. Remanded and sent one year to county jail.

5-3-54 Assault with a dangerous weapon. Now serving time.

Here was a young man whose anti-social behavior came to the attention of school authorities and police when he was in the eighth grade. Prior to that time there seems to be no record of difficulty in the neighborhood or in the school. As a matter of fact, his criminal activities became apparent so abruptly that school services had little time to work with the boy between commitments to juvenile detention agencies. Following his first commitment to MacLaren School for Boys J.F. 's chief probation officer in recommending parole wrote as follows:*

8-10-51

When J.F. first arrived at this school he made a very satisfactory adjustment. His cottage manager notes that, "J.F. is exactly what a normal, but primitive boy becomes if neglected. He is lazy, but can do things well. He is a good sport, but is easily provoked. He tells the truth promptly if he likes you, and is afraid of you if he does not like you."

J.F. never has been a problem since he was at the school. He has an excellent record for behavior, work, and school. He has been working as hospital boy and, according to the statement of his supervisors, J.F. will do the work of two boys without supervision and it is never necessary to repeat something that has been told to him once. It is felt that with any guidance at all this boy will make a satisfactory adjustment and a success of his placement.

Our testing program places J.F. in the normal group of general intelligence. In his school work, his academic achievement is normal for a boy of his age and there is little indication of any conflict in the school situation. In two subjects, arithmetic reasoning and arithmetic computation, he is at the level of a high school senior. In a personality inventory, all scores fall well within a

*All quotations taken from Multnomah County Juvenile Court. Confidential Case Transcript, 1950-54. Portland, Oregon, 1954. 10p.

normal range, but there are some slight indications that J.F. was emotionally disturbed at the time of his commitment.

It is proposed to return J.F. to his own home, and to have him continue his regular school work. Part-time employment is available for him with his father in the hotel business. In line with J.F.'s indicated interests, he should make a success of this work.

The same person who made the above recommendation found cause six months later after J.F.'s escape with a friend to write in a different tone:

2-14-52

It is recommended that J.F. be remanded to the Justice Court at Woodburn, because the history of J.F. and his friend is such that it is advisable that they be formally charged on the basis of the extremely serious offenses which they have committed following their escape.

Later the same year we find that the court counselor in his efforts to obtain parole and a placement for J.F. has quite a different summary than that of the chief probation officer quoted above. In his request for J.F.'s excuse from further school attendance the counselor states:

12-9-52

One of the biggest problems has been his resistance to the school situation. He has been known to the school attendance department as a truancy problem for quite some time. Forced night school attendance would be detrimental to the over-all planning for this boy.

As has been stated above, it is difficult to see from the available material where J.F.'s problems first became apparent at school. Some hint is given in the court write-up of September 19, 1950 which reports J.F. as entering B. school in the seventh grade where he was considered to be a boy of good academic ability but with a tendency to pick the wrong type of companions and to get into frequent difficulty

on the school grounds. He was described as creating no problem in the classroom but as being a leader of the wrong type of companions in extra-curricular activities with the result that he was frequently called into the office for disciplinary action. It was at this point that some of the basic difficulties began to appear as reported further in the court referral.

The father is desirous of no family responsibilities due to concern over his physical condition. In 1949 he left his family for six months to go to Arizona to take a hotel job because of his health. He now earns twenty-eight dollars a week as a hotel clerk just outside the city far enough so that he is unable to go home in the evenings. He has an emotional problem with regard to his health and the writer suggests that extensive psychiatric treatment is probably needed.

The mother is a very emotional person, apparently very interested in her children, but recognizing that the father is a disturbing factor in the situation and is shifting responsibility completely. She classifies the father as an escapist; however, she herself is quite anxious to shift all responsibility from her shoulders wherever possible and desires the court to assume the fullest possible jurisdiction it can arrange. Father is more interested in the young son than J.F., because at present the former is less trouble.

As a result of this referral, the court worker writes in his conclusions:

10-1-50

At the time of this referral it would appear that the focal point in this entire situation is the behavior of the father and his escapist tendencies which have resulted in his rejection of the boy. Whereas he had apparently looked forward to his father's return from Arizona, he received rejection instead, and he compensated for this in delinquent behavior, such as stealing an automobile and leaving home. It is quite evident that an extensive amount of work must be done with the boy and the father as well if satisfactory progress can be obtained.

The cumulative record folder contains considerable information about J.F.'s one year in high school. Apparently, he was immediately recognized as a problem and in January the vice-principal wrote:

11-26-52

J.F. has been a non-conformer among his fellow students, even more serious to me than his class non-conformity. Early in the fall he was wearing his jeans at "half-mast". Some of the boys ganged up and attempted to complete their removal. This led to a general fight and vile and profane language on his part. We attempted to smooth this over and talked to J.F. about his actions, particularly his haircut and manner of wearing jeans. We thought we were gaining ground when he appeared with a normal haircut and took to wearing his jeans normally or else hidden by a jacket -----.

There were repeated conferences with J.F. when the principal, the vice-principal, and the boy's counselor attempted to assure him that they were anxious to be of help. They reported that he either had or had assumed a persecution complex which was most difficult to break through, although at times they were hopeful. In November, the vice-principal in a memo to the visiting teacher described J.F. as "a most disturbed youngster seriously in need of psychiatric help". Soon after his enrollment the following typical reports were recorded describing his classroom behavior.

J.F. did one assignment in a possible eight. He sits daily with folded arms and does nothing. He also came in today late from the cafeteria, said he had been to his locker and that was the reason for being late. I explained that he could have done one or the other and been on time, but not both. I cannot understand why he is in my class. He has no interest, whatever.....

After his escape from MacLaren and subsequent term of imprisonment J.F. was readmitted to W. High School by special arrangement with

parole authorities September 17, 1952, but as his record shows he was taken into custody November 13, 1952. During this period of school attendance he was present a total of thirty-three days during which there were nine class cuts, eleven class tardies, and two morning tardies. However, even this record was considered to be an improvement over J.F.'s behavior during his first period at the school. At the time he was taken into custody school people were seeking a job for the boy in a laundry, inasmuch as he had experience in this work at MacLaren School for boys and expressed a desire to find such work. It was thought that employment would keep the boy out of trouble, but after the job was located he was arrested before placement could be made. In one semester there were six conferences in the vice-principal's office lasting from fifteen to forty minutes each. All the conferences were attempts to reason with the boy concerning his anti-social behavior, such as making disturbances in the auditorium, cutting classes to hang out in the cafeteria and near-by "dog houses", doing nothing in class, and failure to meet minimum requirements of punctuality, attendance, and courtesy. He was also involved in a drinking incident at a school football game. Eventually, his dissident attitude brought about a recommendation that J.F. be excused from further school attendance, and his formal school experience was thereby brought to an end.

Though he no longer was required to attend school, J.F. found further occasion to vent his hostility toward authority, and school people in particular. Just a few days after his release from the

county jail J.F. visited a high school and while parked outside in a car with a girl, was approached by one of the school lettermen whose duty it was to check for students parking in cars during school hours. When J.F. was questioned as to his identity, he sprang from the car and, wielding a broken bottle, slashed viciously at the inquiring student, who suffered multiple cuts as a result of the assault. The resulting charge of assault with a dangerous weapon is the latest to appear on the record of our subject who just four years prior to that time appeared to be a normal boy with at least average possibilities.

SUMMARY

The case of J.F. was complicated by many factors. The apparent lack of significant behavior symptoms prior to the eighth and ninth grades was quite possibly due to a failure in the reporting process. The boy transferred to the Portland system from another state and records were not passed on. There was a complete lack of home visitation, although some parent conferences were held at the school. However, it remains that when J.F. began to show signs of emotional strain they very soon were manifested at school. Violent temper outbursts, truancy, and unsociability were reported by school people and thought to represent underlying problems. At fourteen years J.F. had reached the age where his emotional conflicts found expression in serious delinquencies. In his case an earlier recognition of behavior tendencies and a change in the home situation might well have saved J.F. from a life of conflict with the authorities and the community at large.

Though this is a case of "too little too late", here again it appears that it was the school who first made some analysis and pointed out danger signs in this boy's history.

It should be noted that school people and court personnel alike apparently failed to recognize the significance of the boy's behavior as first reported in the records. If we were to use Wickman's list of symptoms as a comparison it would appear that more stress should have been placed upon the boy's tendency to be suspicious and distrustful of people. It also appears that the apparent conformity to the routine of the institution may have been in effect a withdrawal characteristic that was possibly a danger sign. Inasmuch as the boy had given evidence that he was inclined to criminal activity, any recessive personality traits should have been especially noted. That these indications were important may be observed in the boy's complete reversal of behavior which culminated in his escape and subsequent serious offenses.

We have recognized that incipient tendencies in the case of J.F. were observed belatedly, but it is possible that his case is one instance where an emotional problem brought on by his rejection at home caused a rather sudden outbreak of aggressive behavior. At thirteen years of age J.F.'s pattern of behavior was apparently difficult for court people and social workers to alter despite serious efforts at diagnosis and treatment. Turning to our listing of emotional problems and their symptomatic behavior as observed mostly by teachers (pages 39-40, above) we find that feelings of being insecure, rejected, and

deprived may be vented in displays of withdrawing behavior. As we have noted above, J.F. periodically displayed these tendencies while he was institutionalized by apparently complete conformity to restrictions, but this would be terminated by some sudden, explosive act of aggression against authority and society at large. The boy's internal mental conflicts complicated by his inadequate feelings and his poor home adjustment are all apparent in his recorded history of school difficulty and defiance of society's laws and regulations. The high incidence of feelings of being deprived and inadequate in the list of central tendencies (page 40, above) and the Glueck observation that a higher proportion of delinquents are characterized by feelings of not being recognized or appreciated and by feelings of resentment point up the significance of these emotional problems in the case of J.F. The fact that the boy's behavior has been persistently delinquent also indicates that the teacher's appraisal of serious behavior and the Gluecks' summary of delinquent behavior not only agree, but are fundamentally accurate, at least as applied to a study of J.F.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As reported in Chapter II a review of the literature reflects considerable agreement among writers that the treatment of behavior disorders should begin in their incipient stages and that teachers are in a most advantageous position to recognize and report early symptoms. One of the problems suggested was that teachers often fail to properly understand deviant behavior and therefore are not concerned with the more subtle problem cases. It was noted that Wickman discovered a lack of teacher concern for withdrawal type tendencies and seemed to be preoccupied with aggressive, aggravating, behavior. There was apparent, then, a wide discrepancy between teacher evaluation of behavioral symptoms and the evaluation which mental hygienists placed on these same characteristics. Later it was observed that teachers did show some improvement in the listing of significant behavior problems of children, but displayed little understanding of the implications, or the "whys" of this behavior.

It was then found that experts in the study of conduct problems look for the explanation of behavior trends in terms of causation. While agreeing that objective data and various social pressures are important in the study of maladjusted personalities writers maintained that there are more fundamental considerations, such as the search for profoundly felt emotional disturbances which in most cases usually can be found, particularly in the case histories of delinquents. Returning

to the importance of objective data and social pressures in the study of problem behavior it was found that overt reactions or deviant behavior itself was important in the consideration of maladjusted personalities and was susceptible of interpretation even at times to the delinquent himself.

Writings of other investigators, notably the Gluecks, positively indicated the importance of studying early school misbehavior, such as overt, maladapted, and anti-social acts, inasmuch as they found that a high percentage of the delinquents studied had exhibited persistent misbehavior in school. There was agreement, however, that emotional difficulties and the character and personality problems behind disturbing behavior are usually more serious than the acts themselves. It was further indicated that deviant behavior should be regarded as a probable sign of inner emotional problems or some other form of maladjustment which may have originated very early in the experience of the individual and in most cases should have been observed in one form or another at school.

The study then progressed to an analysis of 90 court referrals which were initiated by Portland Public School personnel to bring problem cases before the Multnomah County Juvenile Court. Actual behavior descriptions used by the teachers were extracted from the referrals to discover what kind of behavior they considered to be of importance in a study of the cases referred. Sorting of the terms used by teachers to describe problem behavior was made as they were found in reference to the following categories: out of school situations;

in school situations; emotional problems listed by Healy and Brommer; family and home conditions; physical descriptions; and reasons for referral.

It was observed that in each category studied a good part of the terms used by the teachers seemed to indicate an awareness of students' personal problems and the need to look beyond surface behavior. Out of the total of 367 terms used in describing behavior 106 denoted obvious or aggravating symptoms. In the writer's opinion these figures would not seem to indicate preoccupation with surface behavior. Also, it was found from the listing of behavior descriptions that teacher concern for the child in the community was nearly equal to that concern which was shown for the child in school. One hundred and seventy-eight references were made to student behavior in the community and 208 references were made to student behavior in school.

Because it was indicated in the literature that emotional problems are at the root of much anti-social and maladapted behavior, an attempt was made to classify the teacher's behavior descriptions according to the types of emotional problems which they might represent. Sorting of the behavior which was described by teachers according to emotional problems at least suggests that the information provided in the referrals would be susceptible of interpretation by trained persons who would be making plans for the individuals referred. The obvious behavior and other objective data supplied in the referrals were that which the teachers were in a peculiar position to observe and report

as outward symptoms of personality maladjustment and emotional stress. Tabulation of the terms used in describing family and home conditions indicated that in the 90 referrals 208 references were made to family and home surroundings with particular concern shown for the child in the family setting. The conclusion drawn was that the interest shown in home environment seemed to reflect teacher interest in the search for basic causes of the individual's maladjustment.

Terms used by teachers in describing the physical condition of the referrals were then listed and it was noted that chronic physical complaints were reported with the greatest frequency and that the 65 terms used in this respect seemed to represent a lack of attention to outward physical characteristics. In the tabulation of reasons for referral to court we found that 51 of the 125 reasons specifically given in the 90 referrals mentioned home conditions. This, taken in the light of our finding that an unfavorable home condition is one of the most serious "danger signals" to be observed among children, would indicate that there was considerable sensitivity on the part of teachers for important causes of behavior disorder outside of the school situation.

In order to evaluate the significance of the material reported by teachers on behavior cases a comparison was made between the behavior which teachers most often described against the research of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. In most cases we found close similarity between the behavior tendencies which the Gluecks found to be present in the histories of 500 known delinquents and those kinds of behavior

which teachers felt were important. It was pointed out, however, that the Glueck research was done with delinquents only, whereas the 90 referrals used for this study did not necessarily all entail delinquency.

As a further measure of the awareness which teachers may have shown for serious problems a check was made into the case history files at the Multnomah County Juvenile Court to obtain information on the court's experience with the cases which teachers had referred. The research showed that 54 of the 90 cases had been known to the court an average of two and one-half years. Thirty-six of the 90 persons referred were found to be delinquent and nine were found to be dependent. Twenty-seven placements were eventually made to corrective institutions of those whom the teachers referred; however, these placements were not necessarily made directly as a result of the school referral.

Three illustrative case histories were reviewed revealing the kinds of problems which might be submitted to the court from the school situation. In each instance some indications of the individual's personal and emotional problems and social maladjustment were made readily apparent by school behavior. The case histories also bore out the central responsibility of the school in observing and reporting significant behavior and provided evidence that when good school records are lacking there is much difficulty in obtaining reliable information for any study of the basic causes of personal maladjustment in children. Summaries of the cases pointed out information which was provided by school personnel, and information which was not, but should

have been available in the school records. It appeared evident from the three case histories that a complete anecdotal record with teacher's observations of school behavior, community activity, and home conditions would quite likely contain material which would warn of any impending serious psychological and emotional difficulties and would be of assistance in the treatment of individual cases.

In the school referrals examined there was reflected a general concern of teachers and other school personnel for students' personal problems. While it is true that the things which were recorded in court referrals and cumulative records often seemed to involve teacher's reactions to inconveniences and difficulties caused by students' behavior, it does appear that qualified persons examining these reports would be helped to discover basic causes of disorder. As has been suggested earlier, it could hardly be expected that the average school person should have the knowledge or the opportunity to make a complete appraisal of a problem case. The visiting teacher cases briefly outlined in this study represent more of a detailed study than the classroom teacher would normally make. It must be remembered, however, that visiting teacher or other special services are usually employed at the suggestion of the school principal who has received his first information from the classroom teacher.

Returning to the Wickman study (29) and the finding that teachers generally have tended to disregard recessive personality and behavior traits, it does not appear that this tendency was so evident in the ninety cases studied. The withdrawal symptoms seem to have received

considerable attention as evidenced in Table IV, Emotional Problems (page 28, above). Therefore, we might conclude that teacher training in recent years apparently has made teachers more cognizant of the subtle indications of emotional disorder, as well as other forms of personality maladjustment which are more readily observed.

Considerable progress has been made in the development of scales and check lists to aid in the spotting of children who are prone, exposed, or vulnerable to the development of delinquent behavior patterns. Some of the most highly developed instruments are:

Personal Index of Problem Behavior (13)

Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (14)

Washburne Social-Adjustment Inventory (16)

Glueck Prediction Tables (22, p. 187)

Behavior Cards: A Test Interview for Children (18)

K.D. Proness Scale and Check List (19)

These techniques now being further perfected and studied are, in the opinion of Kvaraceus (17, p. 6), likely to eventually be able to identify the potentially delinquent child as accurately as other tests which are in common use today. It appears though, that the reliability of prognostic tables would depend entirely upon the ability of the individuals who must identify the traits and characteristics used in the instrument. In addition, Kvaraceus makes an important point when he discusses the difficulty of properly assessing early displays of maladaptation as to whether they are "true danger signs" of persistent delinquency or are merely "transient phenomena" essential to the

growing-up process.

However, it seems that the place has been reached where one might expect of teachers proper sensitivity for behavior symptoms, so that there will be more success in the early discovery of persons who are vulnerable to social delinquency and personal difficulties in later stages of their lives. It has been suggested that the signs of vulnerability must be applied with caution. The term "vulnerability" implies that observable symptoms of behavior disorders are relative and certainly cannot be precisely used to determine who will become delinquent. Nevertheless, school people should always be alert for clues to difficulty and should be continually encouraged to observe and record apparently significant behavior in cumulative folders and other student records. These records should contain an accumulation of valuable information available early enough to start corrective measures before incipient difficulties become fully developed.

To insure better reporting of behavior problems an effort should be made to standardize reporting procedures, both in the routine recording of cumulative folder material and in the formal referrals which are sent to court. Particularly in the case of cumulative folders there is considerable variation in the reporting methods used and the types of information gathered, aside from the statistical test data which is usually specified on the folder. Anecdotal records would necessarily be individualized, but could be made more useful by regular periodic entries which would portray some progressive development of the individual's problems. Where adjustment problems have been known to exist

for a significant period of time, there might be included in the folder an automatic review or summary of each year's experience with the child. This, of course, is time consuming, but should be part of the counseling records.

It appears that there might be expanded use of facilities for professional advice to teachers on the implications of behavior in specific problem cases. Every aid should be given the classroom teacher, so that he might be able to evaluate the seriousness of maladjustments and come to recognize those with which he should be able to cope in the classroom and those which may need referral elsewhere. The school case conference method should be encouraged, whereby the principal, teachers, counselor, and other specialists confer on special cases. Also, compulsory in-service training in the field of human behavior should be required for school personnel, so that there will be mutual understandings between teachers, psychological counselors, and child guidance people.

It is the position of many writers that it is the teacher's obligation to report all instances of suspected importance, and the opinion of Hanson (9, p. 177-192) and Fajen, (4, p. 261-262) that only the teacher can supply certain reliable anecdotal material for the study of individuals. In the referrals studied as a basis for Chapter III there seems to be good evidence that Portland Public School personnel are providing information in their reports on behavior cases which should be of material aid to mental hygienists as well as others who have the responsibility of working out a program for the persons

involved, whether the personal problem be psychological, emotional, or one of less serious implication for the individual.

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