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A study of twenty-three girls charged with being stubborn who were committed for their minority to the Division of Youth Service between Jan 1, 1954 and June 30, 1954

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A STUDY OF TWENTY-THREE GIRLS  
CHARGED WITH BEING STUBBORN  
WHO WERE COMMITTED FOR THEIR MINORITY  
TO THE DIVISION OF YOUTH SERVICE  
BETWEEN 1-1-54 and 6-30-54

A THESIS

Submitted by  
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(A.B. Regis College) 1948  
In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for  
the Degree of Master of Science in Social Service

1955

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CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

This is a study of twenty-three girls who were permanently committed to the Massachusetts Division of Youth Service on the charge of "stubbornness". The author hopes to learn from an examination of the background of these girls whether or not there are any characteristics common to this group as a whole which may underlie this difficulty, and what special meaning the "stubborn" complaint may have from the point of view of the girls' behavior, the complainant and the number of commitments. The following specific areas will be investigated:

1. What factor or factors precipitated the signing of the complaint?
2. Why was the girl committed to the Division of Youth Service?
3. What kind of commitment was made, and what was the disposition, or vote of the Board after study in these cases?

Scope and Method of Selection

The author became interested in this group of cases as a result of observing in the annual reports of the Division that the charge appearing most frequently as the reason for the permanent commitment of girls to the Division was that of the "stubborn child", or "stubborn and disobedient" as some are worded. This complaint is less frequently used for boys. In the case of boys, the chief charge for which they are committed is that of breaking and entering and larceny. Interest in this group increased when the writer observed that a chart giving reasons

for referral of juvenile delinquents to court as reported to the U.S. Children's Bureau 1945 gave the most frequent reason for girls as being "ungovernable", and for boys as "stealing".<sup>1</sup> The writer felt that this was an indication that at least statistically this group was an important segment of those girls legally adjudicated to be delinquent, whether they are eventually committed to a Division or whether other plans are made for them.

During the fiscal year 7-1-53 to 6-30-54 a total of one hundred and seventeen girls were committed to the Division of Youth Service, and of these, forty-five in the group were charged with stubbornness. A total of forty-six were committed during the first six months of this period, of which twenty-two were in this group; during the second six months, the period covered by this study, there was a total of seventy-one commitments, and of these, twenty-three were charged with stubbornness. The cases charged with stubbornness are those whose first appearance before the court and eventual commitment to the Division are initiated by the signing of a stubborn complaint either by a parent or guardian.

#### Sources of Data

The material presented in this study was obtained from the social histories of the twenty-three cases studied, made available to the writer by the Division of Youth Service. The history is written on all permanent commitments to the Division at the time of commitment, in order that it may be available at the classification meeting, at which the Board determines what appears to be the best plan for the girls appearing

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Tappan, Juvenile Delinquency, p. 29

at the meeting. Also available to the writer were various administrative reports and material pertaining to classification and the girls' progress since commitment. The material in the discussion of stubbornness presented in this study was obtained from literature on the subject of juvenile delinquency and behavior disorders.

#### Method of Procedure

A schedule of questions concerning statistical data, family background, the girl, and commitment was used to extract and analyze the pertinent data for the group as a whole. The plan of presentation includes a description of the Youth Service Board in Chapter II, a theoretical discussion of stubbornness in Chapter III, analysis of data and some case presentations in Chapter IV, and Chapter V will present the summaries and conclusions from the study.

#### Limitations of the Study

Not all records used had every detail which one might wish to analyze in a study of this nature. In addition to this limitation in the availability of information, the source of the information was subject to the bias of the informants who were frequently the persons who signed the complaint.

CHAPTER II

THE MASSACHUSETTS DIVISION OF YOUTH SERVICE

The Youth Service Board was created by Chapter 310 of the Acts of 1948 of the General Laws of Massachusetts. This law was enacted May 13, 1948 and is a Massachusetts adaptation of the Model Youth Correction Authority Act, originally proposed by the American Law Institute in 1940. The actual operation of the Board began January 1, 1949 when the former Division of Juvenile Training of the Department of Public Welfare became known as the Youth Service Board. When first established the Youth Service Board was a separate agency of the Commonwealth, but under Chapter 605 of the Acts of 1952, a Division of Youth Service was established under the Department of Education, "but not subject to its control" and the chairman of the Board, became Director of the Division. The Division of Youth Service therefore as it currently operates, began September 1, 1952. The Division of Youth Service is the agency of the Commonwealth charged with the prevention, control, and handling of juvenile delinquency.

The Youth Service Board consists of three members appointed by the Governor for a period of six years, (originally five). The terms of the members expire in different years, to provide a continuity of experience and policy. The law specifies that one of the three members must be a woman.

The Division of Youth Service consists of:

1. The Administrative Department
2. The Boys' and Girls' Parole Division
3. The Bureau of Research and Delinquency Prevention
4. Three Training Schools
  - (a) The Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster (established 1854)
  - (b) The Lyman School for Boys at Westboro (established 1846)
  - (c) The Industrial School for Boys at Shirley (established 1908)
5. A Detention Center for Boys in Jamaica Plain (established 1951)  
(Operated in cooperation with the City of Boston)
6. Two Reception Centers - one at Westboro and one at Lancaster; both established 1949
7. The Institute for Juvenile Guidance at Bridgewater (established 1954)

The Board anticipates the construction of a new Reception-Detention Center for Boys in a short time.

The procedure usually followed after commitment in regular permanent commitments to the Division is as follows: When committed the child is sent to one of the Reception Centers where a psychological and psychiatric study is made of the child. During this time a social history is written by the worker from the Parole Division, who will later supervise this child in the community. The social history includes all information regarding the family background, the child's development up to the time of commitment and whatever additional information may be helpful to the

Board in the classification meeting at which the decision is made with regard to a disposition or plan for the individual child.

The official decision of the Board is known as a Vote. The Vote of the Board with regard to an individual child may be changed from time to time as the need in the case changes. The Board may use any resource in the community which it may feel could best suit an individual child in addition to the institutions which the Division operates.

The various types of commitment to the Division are:

A. Permanent Commitment

1. Regular Permanent Commitment

In this type of commitment the child is committed as a delinquent and is taken to the Reception Center, where the usual procedure of study and classification is followed, and in these cases the jurisdiction of the Board extends to the twenty-first birthday.

2. The Permanent "Foster Home Commitment"

This commitment is a vestige of the former proceedings of commitment in operation until 1949 by which the Division of Child Guardianship accepted from the court certain delinquent children for foster home placement, with the proviso that if the foster home placement did not prove satisfactory it could transfer the child to a state training school. Such a transfer was a legal paper and transferred all responsibility to the training school and the Division of Juvenile Training. After the creation of the Youth Service Board the children who were in care of the Division of Child Guardianship who were delinquent became children under the care of the Youth Service Board either by transfer or by new commitment. The Youth Service Board then inherited the function of the previous commitment form, and this is what is now referred to as a Foster Home Commitment. The court making such a commitment may request placement other than foster home for the girl. The chief difference in these commitments is that the girl does not go to the Reception Center at commitment but is placed directly from court. If the plan requested fails for any reason, the case is then handled in the same manner as a regular commitment and there is no further distinction. Commitment in these cases extends to the twenty-first birthday.

3. The School Offenders Commitment

This is a permanent commitment under Chapter 77 of the General Laws. These commitments are made on the charge of school offense, habitual truancy, or habitual absenteeism. These commitments are not for the minority but extend only to the sixteenth birthday. In all other ways they are similar to the regular permanent commitment.

4. The Exceptional Permanent Commitment

This commitment is permanent made by the Superior Court on criminal charges and in which the court specifies an extension of the jurisdiction of the Division to the Twenty-third birthday.

B. Temporary Commitment

1. The Short Term Temporary Commitment

These commitments are made for a period of days or weeks for the purpose of detention, or for detention and study.

2. The Long Term Temporary Commitment

These commitments extend for the period of court continuance, and during this period the child is placed in a foster home or private placement by the Division. At the termination of the continuance the child is returned to court and unless another commitment is made, the jurisdiction of the Division ends. The usual length of these commitments varies between six months and twelve months.

It might be noted with regard to these commitments that unlike the permanent commitments, certain temporary commitments can be made only if the Division is willing to accept the commitment. The Division must accept for temporary care all children committed to it who are between seven and fourteen years of age, but may or may not accept children between fourteen and seventeen. It may not accept a child over seventeen except in those cases where there was a hearing or suspended sentence prior to this birthday.

In all permanent commitments, the Board may discharge the juvenile from its care at any time "it is satisfied that such discharge is consistent with the protection of the public".

Since August of 1953 the Division of Youth Service has focused its attention on the expansion and improvement of the services offered by the Bureau of Research and Delinquency Prevention. Previously, these areas were restricted by personnel shortages and financial limitations. The present staff consists of five full-time persons. These include a Supervisor of Research and Statistics, Assistant Director of Delinquency Prevention, a Supervisor of Recreation, Field Agent and a stenographer. This division maintains a consultation service which is available to any community in the commonwealth through official request of its city government.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The information in this chapter in addition to the writer's own knowledge as an employee of the Division was obtained from Edith H. Cruff, Supervisor of the Girls' Parole Division and William MacDonald, Supervisor of Recreation, Bureau of Research and Delinquency Prevention.

## CHAPTER III

## THEORETICAL DISCUSSION OF STUBBORNNESS

The literature on the subject of juvenile delinquency and behavior disorders is fairly extensive, but theoretical discussion on the specific subject of the stubborn child is negligible. Books on delinquency and chapters of books dealing with delinquency discuss under separate headings such difficulties presented by children as stealing, lying, sex delinquency, arson, truancy, running away, and others, but little recognition or theorizing is done on the problem of the stubborn child, whether the authors are presenting these as emotional disturbances or delinquencies.

The child who is legally designated as a stubborn child, stubborn and disobedient, or guilty of stubbornness, as the complaint may be, when mentioned in the literature is mentioned under such terms as "incorrigible",<sup>1</sup> "ungovernable",<sup>2</sup> and "disobedient".<sup>3</sup> This child is also referred to as "unmanageable", "not amenable to parental authority", or "beyond parental control".

The chapter of the General Laws in Massachusetts under which such commitments are made is Chapter 272 "Crimes against Morality, Decency and Good Order", and the section, Section 53 is listed under the heading "Rogues and Vagabonds".

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<sup>1</sup> Pauline Young, Social Treatment in Probation and Delinquency.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Tappan, Juvenile Delinquency

<sup>3</sup> Leo Kanner, Child Psychiatry

A "stubborn child" is defined in Chapter 119 of the General Laws of Massachusetts as "one under twenty-one who unreasonably refuses to obey the commands of his parents or lawful guardians". The law defines a juvenile as being between the ages of seven and seventeen, and a stubborn child as one under twenty-one. If a stubborn child complaint was signed against a girl or boy between their seventeenth and twenty-first birthday they would be handled as adult offenders. Mr. John Collins, Probation Officer on Domestic Relations cases at the Boston Municipal Court, verified that this does happen but in Boston Municipal Court such cases are infrequent. He estimated that there are only about three or four such cases appearing in this court annually.

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck state that the concept, stubborn, as derived from the psychiatric interview, can be compared with the Rorschach traits of social assertion, defiance and defensive attitude, because "each of the Rorschach traits contains elements which may lead to the type of behavior called stubborn by the psychiatrist". They state that only four of the traits determined by the psychiatrist can be considered comparable to the traits derived from the Rorschach although others are overlapping. These four are stubbornness, introversion-extroversion, conventionality, and realism.<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Leo Kanner, in a chapter on delinquency,<sup>5</sup> discusses the subject of disobedience. He states that disobedience is a form of rebellion against authority ordained by the culture. He states that

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<sup>4</sup> Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency, p. 252  
<sup>5</sup> Leo Kanner, Child Psychiatry pp. 665 - 666

much of the progress of human civilization was brought about by a struggle against the holders of authority. Dr. Kanner states that the concepts of authority, obedience and disobedience have been and are being used with a wide variety of definitions and interpretations. He states that authority has been defined in the dictionaries as "influence commanding respect and confidence". He states that child rearing is not possible without authoritative guidance by the natural instructors, the parents, and that obedience, compliance and conformity on the part of the child are a necessary basis. He states that obedience is not an attribute which a child either possesses or lacks primarily. It is a reaction to other people's orders or suggestions and, therefore, depends on the child's emotional relation to those people and their emotional relation to him.

Dr. Kanner states that the law is usually still in league with the parents against their disobeying children unless crude physical neglect or torture can be demonstrated. He says that a child's obligation to obey his parents is still considered sacrosanct with little regard to the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the existing authority. The juvenile courts, which deal with behavior outside the home, still pass judgment on children brought before them, because of disobedient rebellion against their parents within the home.

The average child, says Dr. Kanner, reared by fond parents has no need for rebellion. He is guided through the so-called period of resistance, imbedded securely in the warmth of parental affection.

Disobedience does not become a major issue unless the child is driven to rebellion by parental attitudes; and occasional disobedience is dealt with in a manner which does not cause the child to feel guilty and does not push him in the direction of chronic revolt.

Dr. Kanner points out that once the respect for authority has been shattered in the home, the resulting disobedience may be transferred to other authority as well. It may lead to a disregard of the teacher's instructions and to "impudence" in school or even, especially if examples are furnished by the family, to defiance of legal authority. It is then that the child whose "managers" have created in him a need for rebellion is labelled pseudo-diagnostically as "unmanageable", the child who does not submit readily to autocratic government is condemned as "ungovernable", and the child who does not respond amicably to hostile methods of correction is termed "incorrigible".<sup>6</sup>

Paul Tappan states that behavior, legal or illegal, results at any given time from the personality as it responds to the enviroing situation. He discusses the detention of girls charged with stubbornness in his book.<sup>7</sup> Speaking of detention, Paul Tappan states: Quite often an apparent reason for detaining the child is the strain existing between the child and his parents. This is often the situation in instances of filial disobedience or incorrigibility and happens frequently in girls' cases. Sometimes under the circumstances, there appears to be no solution but detention while the parents and their child have an opportunity to "cool off". Very frequently, however, the domestic strife represents a

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6 Ibid, pp. 666-669

7 Paul Tappan, Juvenile Delinquency, pp. 387-388

crucial phase of the relationship between child and parent. When an apparent parental rejection is followed by a dreary experience the breach in the family may grow too big for tardy efforts at patching. It is a familiar result in such cases for the child to declare his hate of the repudiating parent and for the judge, incensed at such display of unfilial disrespect, to commit the child to a training school where he "may learn to appreciate what his parents have done for him".

In the literature, newspapers and magazines frequent examples are given of the stubborn child, but no discussion is given around this aspect of the problem in itself. Books on a wide range of subjects commonly use this type of case as the only illustration of delinquency.<sup>8</sup>

Pauline Young in her book refers to thirty-three cases, and seven of these the writer feels clearly fall within the group referred to commonly as stubborn. One of these she calls incorrigible, three are beyond parental control, and one combines beyond parental control with stealing, while two others include the problem of mother-daughter conflict.<sup>9</sup>

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8 Arthur E. Fink, The Field of Social Work.

9 Pauline Young, Social Treatment in Probation and Delinquency, Contents, p. xxi

CHAPTER IV  
PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

In this chapter the writer will discuss the facts obtained with regard to the age of the girls, the grade attained by these girls (in connection with this, the grade obtained by their parents) the girls' intelligence quotients, and the delinquent behavior manifested prior to commitment. The source of pressure exerted on the parents which led to their signing stubborn complaints, the reasons given for the commitment, and the vote or disposition decided upon after commitment will also be discussed. In addition to these facts, the writer will mention the placements experienced by these girls in their lives prior to commitment, the delinquencies presented by the siblings of these girls, and the contact of their families with other agencies.

Table I shows the age of these girls at the time of their commitment to the Division of Youth Service.

TABLE I  
AGE AT COMMITMENT OF  
THE TWENTY-THREE GIRLS

Age in Years	Number of Girls
8-9	1
10-11	0
12-13	1
14-15	17
16-17	4
Total Number of Girls	<u>23</u>

Table I indicates that ninety per cent of the girls in the group under study when committed to the Division of Youth Service were fourteen years of age and over. Only two of the twenty-three cases studied did not fall within this range. Only six did not fall within the fourteen through fifteen year range. The two falling below this group were, one nine years and the other thirteen years. Of the four falling in the higher range, three were sixteen and one had passed her seventeenth birthday. In the group that did fall within the fourteen through fifteen year range, five were fourteen and twelve were fifteen. This indicates that more than half of the girls studied were fifteen years of age and under sixteen at the time of commitment. This is the age when the problems are intensified, yet the girls are still under school supervision. The writer feels this may have some significance because of the fact that sixteen is the legal age at which girls can withdraw from school, and wonders if there may be a link between commitments made at this age and the pressure which is exerted on the parents to take responsibility for the behavior of these girls when they reach this age. This factor (source of pressure) will be discussed later on page 31, and may throw light on this hypothesis. It might be noted here also that the great predominance of girls over fourteen (ninety per cent) suggests the possibility that the stubborn complaint may represent a long history of difficulty.

Table II presents the intelligence ratings of the girls studied.

TABLE II  
INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT  
OF THE TWENTY-THREE GIRLS

Intelligence Quotient	Number of Girls
150-over	0
130-149	0
115-129	0
85-114	13
70-84	4
50-69	1
Not given	5
Total Number of Girls	23

Table II showed that over half of these girls fell within the normal range of intelligence according to the Terman classification. Four of the girls had dull normal intelligence and only one of the girls tested showed defective intelligence. This girl had an IQ of sixty-nine according to Terman classification. This IQ would place her in the moron group. In addition to this, the IQ of five of the girls is not known.

Table III shows the grade at the time of Commitment, or the grade last attended if the girl was not still attending school when committed.

TABLE III  
 SCHOOL GRADE ATTAINED  
 BY THE TWENTY-THREE GIRLS  
 PRIOR TO COMMITMENT

School Grade Attained	Number of Girls
3-6	1
7-9	18
10-12	4
Total Number of Girls	<u>23</u>

Table III shows that in all but five of the twenty-three cases studied, the girls were in junior high at the time of commitment, or if not attending school, had attained a junior high school grade before leaving school. The one girl who falls below this level is the girl who was only nine years old, and this girl was in grade three. This girl it would seem was not making an adequate school adjustment, as it would seem that for her age she should be at least one grade higher than she actually was. Of the four falling in the high school range three were still in school and were all fifteen. Two were in grade ten and one in grade eleven, but none were adjusted well to the school program prior to commitment. However, according to the average age and grade, it would seem that they had not fallen behind in grade placement. The one girl in the high school range who had left school prior to commitment was almost seventeen years old, but had left school a year earlier at

the time of her sixteenth birthday, and had at that time been in grade eleven, which would certainly be an average placement for her age.

Of the eighteen girls that were in junior high, either at commitment or at the time of leaving school, all but two were between the ages of fourteen and sixteen inclusive. The two that were not in this age range included one thirteen and in grade seven, and one seventeen who had left grade nine when sixteen years old. Of the girls between fourteen and sixteen only two were sixteen and both were in the ninth grade. The remaining fourteen therefore, were all fourteen and fifteen years of age; three were in grade seven, six were in grade eight, and five were in grade nine. It would seem that these girls in the junior high school group for the most part were not generally below the average academic placement for their age, except for the three who were fourteen and fifteen in grade seven. The fifteen year old girls in grade eight and nine would, if they continued to advance in grade placement, be eighteen and nineteen at the time of high school graduation which would be only one year above the average age for high school graduation.

Table IV will show the grades attained by the fathers and mothers of these girls. Only the grades attained by the natural parents are listed in the table.

TABLE IV  
 SCHOOL GRADE ATTAINED  
 BY THE PARENTS  
 OF THE TWENTY-THREE GIRLS

School Grade Attained	Number of Fathers	Number of Mothers
3-6	4	4
7-9	9	11
10-12	5	1
Not given	5	7
Total	23	23

The significance of Table IV lies in the predominance of parents for whom the educational achievement is known who left school at the junior high school level. It is interesting to note this fact because it is precisely when their children reach the educational level which they themselves achieved that these commitments appear to most frequently occur. It is interesting to note that in those cases where the educational achievement of the parent was known, in only one case had the mother entered high school, in which case she also graduated; in the case of the fathers three finished high school and two left in the tenth grade.

Table V shows the marital status of the natural parents of these girls.

TABLE V  
MARITAL STATUS  
OF THE NATURAL PARENTS  
OF THE TWENTY-THREE GIRLS

Marital Status	Number of Parents
Married and together	4
Divorced	1
Separated by death	8
Separated by desertion	10
Total	<u>23</u>

The significance of Table V lies in the fact that it shows that in all but four cases the natural parents of the girls were separated either by divorce or death or desertion of one of the parents. This means that nineteen of these girls lived with only one of their own parents prior to commitment. Eleven cases showed marital conflict manifested by divorce and desertion.

With regard to the complaints issued against the girls, fourteen were signed by mothers, seven by fathers and two by agencies having guardianship of the girls.

Table VI presents placement experiences of the girls themselves, and contacts of their families with social agencies. The writer has made special notice of the cases known to SPOC, because this indicates that there were earlier complaints about these girls, their siblings, or the parents' care of them. The institutional experience in every instance was in one which specialized with children having behavioral difficulties.

Table VI shows that seventeen of the twenty-three girls had some placement experience prior to commitment. Fifteen of the girls had institutional placements and two had other types of placements. In only one of the twenty-three cases was the family unknown to any agency as far as was indicated by the records, and in this case the girl did have a placement experience, therefore there was no record among the twenty-three in which the girl had not had previous placements nor had the family been known to some agency.

TABLE VI  
 PLACEMENTS EXPERIENCED BY THE TWENTY-THREE GIRLS  
 AND CONTACTS OF THEIR FAMILIES WITH AGENCIES

Case Number	Institutional Placement	Other Placements	Known to SPCC	Known to Other Than SPCC	Total Factors Present
1				x	1
2	x	x		x	3
3		x	x	x	3
4			x	x	2
5	x			x	2
6	x			x	2
7			x	x	2
8	x				1
9			x	x	2
10		x		x	2
11	x		x	x	3
12	x		x		2
13	x	x	x	x	4
14			x	x	2
15	x	x		x	3
16			x	x	2
17	x	x	x	x	4
18	x	x	x	x	4
19	x	x	x	x	4
20	x		x	x	3
21	x		x		2
22	x		x	x	3
23	x		x	x	3
Totals	15	8	16	20	59

The Following four case extracts point up the way in which the factors presented in Table VI (previous placements experienced by the girl and contacts of the girl's family with agencies) operated in these cases.

CASE NO. 1 (No. 19 in Table VI)

Rose was fourteen years old at the time of commitment. Her parents had a long history of marital discord, and had been known to SPCC since 1942 for neglect of their children. At the time of commitment her father's whereabouts were unknown and her mother was in jail. Rose was brought to court as a stubborn child on the complaint of an agent of the Division of Child Guardianship, into whose care Rose and her siblings had been committed. Rose's earlier placement experiences included New England Home for Little Wanderers, The Bradley Home in Rhode Island, at least one of the Houses of Good Shepherd, and a number of foster home placements. At the commitment hearing the complainant explained that Rose had been in three institutions and seven foster homes in three years and had failed to adjust in any of these placements. As a last resort she had been tried again with her mother, but she began running away and refusing to attend school. At the time of the hearing it was felt that the Division had no placement in which Rose could adjust, and Rose had no home as her mother just had been arrested for drunkenness and sentenced to jail. Since there was no supervision for Rose in the community and she was out of control, she was committed to the Division of Youth Service. As can be seen from the placement experiences of this girl, her family, in addition to being known to SPCC, were known to institutions which included the Bradley Home and the Houses of Good Shepherd, and they were also known to NEHLW and DCG. Other contacts mentioned in the history included the Legal Aid Society and the Red Cross. That both parents had court records and were themselves therefore known to the court is evident in the fact that all of their children were committed earlier to the state because of neglect.

CASE NO. 2 (No. 13 in Table VI)

Inez was fifteen at the time of commitment. Her parents were separated and Inez and her siblings had experienced much friction in the home. Inez and three of her older siblings had been born in another state and previous to their coming to Massachusetts in 1943 with their parents, they had placement experiences in foster home and in an institutional placement, similar to an orphanage. Before coming to Massachusetts Inez' parents had been known to the SPCC in this other state for neglect of Inez and her older siblings. This state's SPCC reported year after year terrible neglect, and since coming to Massachusetts Inez and one of her older siblings have both been in an institutional placement because of stubbornness which their mother could not cope with. This family have been known to the Division of Child Guardianship and are recipients of welfare. Inez had been only a few months old when she and her siblings were adjudicated neglected. In 1947 complaints of neglect against these children resulted in their temporary commitment to the Division of Child

Guardianship. Other complaints of neglect were issued in 1948, 1949, and 1950. In 1951 the SPCC referred the complaints received to the court, where the family were by this time well known. Complaints in 1951 were said to refer to mother and daughter's questionable activities. Inez' father is remarried and her mother has in recent years given birth to an illegitimate child. Inez had obtained a work permit from school and was employed at the time of commitment. It might be noted that the mother of Inez had herself been in numerous placements in growing up, as both her parents died when she was young.

CASE NO. 3 (No. 18 in Table VI)

Kate was fifteen at the time of commitment and was illegitimate. She had lived with her mother until three years of age, then with her two brothers who were also illegitimate, went to live with a man her mother told them was their father. When Kate was seven years of age she and her brothers went to an orphanage from this man's home where they remained for one year and a half. When she was nine years old this man took them from the orphanage and returned them to their mother and the mother's boyfriend. Kate's mother later married the boyfriend with whom she was living when Kate, at the age of nine returned to her, and Kate and her brothers took the name of this man. Kate hates her present stepfather and says she "doesn't understand about fathers". Kate's earlier placements include changes from home to home by her mother, and one year and a half in an orphanage. Kate's mother was known to the SPCC before Kate was three. When Kate and her brothers went to live with the man whom they were told was their father they used his name, and he told them their mother was dead. Kate's mother, in addition to being known to SPCC and Division of Child Guardianship, was also known to family service agencies. Kate also in more recent years and a brief institutional placement and before her permanent commitment to the Division, she had previously been in temporary commitment to the Division for study, and had also been to the Metropolitan State Hospital for study and observation. She was also known earlier to the Division of Juvenile adjustment.

CASE NO. 4 (No. 3 on Table VI)

Joan was fifteen at the time of commitment. Her mother deserted her family when Joan was ten months old. After Joan's mother deserted, each of the three children were placed in different foster homes. Before Joan was three years old she had several foster homes, but between three and eight years she remained in the same home. Joan's father remarried and took Joan and her older siblings home. The older siblings never adjusted in the home and both left before their marriages. Before commitment Joan had in more recent years had an institutional placement. She was also known to a psychiatric clinic in a general hospital, to which she was referred because of complaints of severe headaches, upset stomach, nocturnal vomiting, repeated colds, depression and general malaise. They had suggested psychotherapy, but the family refused to cooperate. Joan's family were known to SPCC.

Table VII shows the delinquent behavior presented by the twenty-three girls, which led to the complaint, plus additional behavior difficulties.

TABLE VII  
DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR  
OF THE TWENTY-THREE GIRLS

<u>Delinquencies</u>	Precipitating Delinquencies	Additional Delinquencies	<u>Totals</u>
	Number of Girls	Number of Girls	
Out of control	11	6	17
Truancy	4	11	15
Running away	7	5	12
Out late at night	0	9	9
Stealing	2	5	7
Resentment of control	0	5	5
Poor companions	0	4	4
Immorality	0	4	4
Drinking	0	3	3
Lying	0	3	3
Disobedience	2	0	2
Bad conduct in school	1	0	1
<b>Totals</b>	<u>27</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>82</u>

Table VII shows that the most frequent problems in the precipitating delinquencies were being out of control, truancy, and running away. The most frequent problems in the additional delinquencies were truancy, out late at night and out of control. The problem of being out of control is not as significant as an additional delinquency as it is as a precipitating delinquency. It occurs in only one case more than does running away, stealing, and resentment of control as an additional delinquency. In the totals of precipitating delinquencies and additional delinquencies it again takes precedence over other forms of delinquency and is the one

with the highest total. Truancy and running away appear as the next two most frequently appearing forms of delinquent behavior presented by this group. It would appear to the writer that the problems which appear almost as frequently as out of control, namely truancy and running away, were simply more specific indications as to how these girls were out of control. Since it is from the home they run, and since it is the parents and not the school's responsibility to see that these girls attend school, it would appear that these girls are not only out of control, but more specifically out of 'parental' control. Another significant fact which the writer would like to call attention to is the existence of school problems in a total of sixteen cases.

Table VIII shows the delinquent behavior with which fifteen siblings of nine of these girls were charged.

TABLE VIII  
DELINQUENCIES WITH  
WHICH SIBLINGS  
WERE CHARGED

Delinquencies	Number of Siblings
Stubbornness	9
Truancy	2
Larceny	1
Drunkenness	1
Not given	2
Total	<u>15</u>

Table VIII shows that the siblings of nine of these girls presented the same predominant delinquency problems as the girls under study, namely being stubborn or out of control. These fifteen siblings and the nine girls in the study represent twenty-four children in nine families with juvenile court records. The number of members per family was as follows: In two families having four children, two in one and four in the other had delinquency records. In two families of five children each, one had five with court records and the other had three out of the five with court records. In this latter family where three of the five had court records, it is to be noted that only these three were raised by the parents at any time, as one of the five had died in infancy and another, the oldest, was left in infancy to be raised by the grandparents, when the parents came to the United States, where the other children were born. The parents never sent for the first child. In the remaining four cases three cases showed that two out of two children had court records, and in a fourth case two out of three children had court records.

It might be mentioned also that one of the siblings charged with stubbornness and one of the two charged with truancy also had charges for drunkenness. These two siblings, and one of the two charged with drunkenness are all of one family and are siblings to one of the girls in our study in which drinking appears as an additional delinquency.

A further significant fact which Table VIII points out is that in forty per cent of the cases studied the girls already had been exposed to delinquent behavior at close range.

The following two case extracts point up the way in which the factor presented in Table VIII, that of sibling delinquencies, operated in the cases.

CASE NO. 5

Mary's delinquencies included drinking and immorality, but her chief problem was running away. Mary's parents had been known for neglect of their children since Mary's earliest days. Her father had a court record which included over one hundred arrests for drunkenness and other arrests for such offenses as breaking and entering. His court record extended from 1927 to the time of the girl's commitment. Mary's mother also had a poor reputation and a court record. Her mother's court record included charges of drunkenness and adultery. Mary was the youngest of four siblings. Her two oldest siblings were both married and both had juvenile records for drunkenness, the third oldest sibling in addition to having a record for drunkenness had also spent time in a school for truants. In addition to the family pattern of delinquency to which Mary had been exposed, the neighborhood in which Mary lived was considered to be a delinquency area and all of her companions had court records.

CASE NO. 6

Gail was fourteen at the time of commitment and the youngest of five siblings; the other four were all half siblings to Gail. Gail's mother had been married three times, and shortly after the death of her third husband all of her children became unmanageable. When Gail's mother signed a stubborn complaint against Gail, this made the fifth of her five children against whom she had signed such a complaint. Gail's mother had come to Massachusetts in 1946, and had been known to the courts for neglect in that other state from 1936 to 1946 when she left to come to Massachusetts. When she came here, she left her oldest child in the state industrial school there because of stealing. He was later sent home to her in Massachusetts and was committed here for stubbornness. After coming to Massachusetts the mother almost immediately became known to the SPCC here and was known up to the time of Gail's commitment. Gail's mother was slightly deaf and had little continuity of thought in her conversation. Her children report that she blacks out three or four times a year. When two of Gail's older siblings were being returned home from the industrial school years earlier, mother expressed pleasure of their home coming saying they had promised to work and buy her new teeth and glasses. One of Gail's older sisters had an illegitimate child three years before Gail's commitment. Gail's delinquencies included in addition to being out of control, poor companions. Gail was keeping company with a married man, who was the husband of a girl formerly at the industrial school.

Table IX shows the sources of pressure on the persons signing the stubborn complaints. The complainant in the case of a stubborn child is usually a parent, but in two of these cases the complainant was a representative of an agency having guardianship of the girls.

TABLE IX  
SOURCE OF PRESSURE  
ON THE PERSONS  
WHO SIGNED THE COMPLAINT  
AGAINST THE TWENTY-THREE GIRLS

Source of Pressure	Number of Persons
School authorities	10
Police	7
Others in community (agencies, neighbors, etc.)	6
Total Number of Persons	23

In Table IX the primary source of complaint to the person signing complaints, or pressure exerted on them to take some action or responsibility is given. It is interesting to note that in the largest number of cases this pressure was exerted by the school authorities, usually by the truant officer. Some school authorities perhaps realize only too well that for the individual who has no supervision or control at home withdrawal from school is a withdrawal from all control and authority, and if nothing is done to obtain supervision for these youths they are in danger of entering into a life of difficulty and conflict with the law. It is perhaps at this point that the schools concern for these

individuals becomes greatest and they try to make the parents face their responsibility. One record indicated that the school had "really got after the mother." It is interesting to note however, that although the pressure in ten cases was exerted by the school, Table VII shows only five cases in which school problems appeared as the precipitating factors, although in eleven other cases truancy appeared as additional delinquencies.

Among the other sources of pressure, one case in which a social agency had brought the case to court unofficially prior to the signing of the complaint, it was actually the girl herself that exerted the pressure because she went to the agency asking for help and in court literally insisted that her mother sign the complaint, because she would not go home and there seemed to be no other way to free herself from having to return home. This girl had already been involved in delinquent behavior, but no complaint had been made by her mother. In many cases, more than one form of pressure was exerted at the same time; neighbors, police, school and agencies all being interested. In none of the twenty-one cases in which the parent signed was it evident that without outside pressure would the parent have been concerned to the point of signing a complaint.

Table X shows why the decision to commit the girl was made by the court. The reasons in some cases were largely implied, but in others were stated quite explicitly.

TABLE X  
REASON FOR COMMITMENT  
OF THE TWENTY-THREE GIRLS

Reason for Commitment	Number of Girls
Repeated court appearances or violation of probation	7
Needed supervision	5
Needed protective custody	2
Needed training and discipline	1
Refused to return home	3
No other plan-problem serious	4
Incorrigible during court continuance	1
Total Number of Girls	23

The significant fact shown by Table X is that the reason used most frequently for commitment is that of repeated court appearances, or violation of probation. While this reason is given in only seven cases, a review of the records indicates that in seventeen out of the twenty-three cases the girl had appeared in court prior to the commitment appearance. These facts indicate the culmination of a long history of difficulty. Another significant fact which seems apparent in the reasons for commitment is that the court seems to be trying to obtain for the girl through commitment what she has not received at home; supervision, protection, training, and discipline.

The following three case extracts point up the way in which the factor presented in Table X, that of reason for commitment operated in the cases.

CASE NO. 7

Dora was fifteen when committed. Dora's mother was the complainant.

Dora's father had separated from her mother before Dora was born. Dora had one older sibling against whom mother had also complained. When Dora was only six years old she was referred to a child guidance clinic because of her poor school adjustment, and stealing in school. She had stolen money from the teacher's pocketbook and bought candy to distribute among the other children. It is interesting to note that the guidance clinic referred the case to SPCC because it was felt "the child lacked supervision in the home". At the time of Dora's commitment to the Division of Youth Service nine years later the court gave as the chief reason for commitment the lack of supervision in the home. At thirteen Dora was involved with some boys in the stealing of an auto but Dora's chief delinquency, like that of her sister, was running away. Dora's mother was intemperate, and had a court record for co-habitation.

#### CASE NO.8

Jane's mother was married four times and Jane and her sister were illegitimate children whose alleged father became mother's second husband. At the time of mother's fourth marriage Jane went to live with her father. She said her mother put her out but her mother claimed she left home. Early in 1952 Jane's mother was notified that Jane's father was jailed and she made arrangements for Jane to stay with a neighbor. In the spring of 1952 this neighbor notified mother that she couldn't cope with Jane who was keeping late hours and drinking and smoking. Jane's mother took her to court and there was an unofficial hearing and a private group placement was arranged for Jane, but in July 1952 Jane ran away and the group would not take her back. The judge was still reluctant to issue a complaint and requested that a foster home be found. A foster home couldn't be found and Jane refused to go to school. In September 1952 Jane was officially before the court on a stubborn complaint and was given one year probation and sent home to her mother and stepfather. Soon after, she and her sister, who had just returned from a TB hospital, took money from their stepfather and ran away, but later they phoned mother and returned. Jane's sister pleaded that she was at fault and not Jane. After this, Jane seemed to adjust well at home and reported weekly to her probation officer. A year later in September of 1953 the probation officer was notified that mother and Jane went to police station where mother complained that Jane was not going to school and didn't have any reason for staying away. Following this, mother brought Jane to court and claimed that Jane was drinking and stated that stepfather had seen Jane drinking. Jane was held in custody for two days and a hearing for violation of probation followed, and she was given a temporary commitment to the Division of Youth Service with a request for study. In November of 1953, Jane was returned home on probation with a suspended sentence to the Division of Youth Service, and was asked to report to the court weekly. Jane reported faithfully. In January of 1953 stepfather went to see the probation officer complaining about Jane, whose mother was, at that time, in the hospital. The same day Jane told the probation officer that everyone was picking on her. Jane was told by the probation officer to remain home every evening until probation

officer could talk with Jane's mother. In February of 1954, the school attendance officer complained to the probation officer that Jane was truanting. In February of 1954 Jane was picked up by the police at 3 A.M. with two girls already known to the court. Jane was surrendered to the court by police. She was still on probation at the court and Jane's mother said she could not cope with Jane and that commitment would be the only solution. Jane was given a permanent commitment to the Division of Youth Service because of repeated violation of probation. Jane's commitment in February 1954 was almost a year and a half after her first official appearance in court.

#### CASE NO. 9

Rena was sixteen years, eleven months, and fifteen days at the time of commitment. Rena's mother first had her in court on a stubborn charge two years before actual commitment. During part of the period of being on probation which followed this earlier hearing, Rena was in a group placement, but her mother wanted her home again and this was allowed. Rena had only one sibling whom she claimed mother preferred to herself. The climax to Rena's difficulty with her mother occurred five years before when her father committed suicide, after becoming despondent when he learned that his wife planned to divorce him. Rena blamed her mother for her father's death, and her mother again arranged a placement. But, as before, this solved nothing in their relationship and they continued in conflict. The ambivalence in their relationship continued to result in separations and reunions between them until Rena's commitment to the Division of Youth Service. When Rena was before the court at the time of the commitment hearing a placement in a group was again considered, but the court feared that if the problem between this girl and her mother continued Rena would be seventeen and no longer a juvenile, and it was therefore felt that there could be no further continuances of the case, and commitment was made. The commitment in this case followed after repeated court appearances.

Table XI shows the disposition of these cases after commitment.

The decision as to a plan or disposition in these cases after commitment is made by a vote of the Board, after a study of the case is made. In these twenty-three cases the terms of commitment were as follows: twenty were given regular permanent commitments to the Division of Youth Service and three were given the specialized type of commitment known as the "Permanent Foster Home Commitment."

TABLE XI  
DISPOSITION OR PLAN  
AFTER COMMITMENT FOR  
THE TWENTY-THREE GIRLS

Vote after Commitment	Number of Girls
Industrial School	15
Belchertown changed to Industrial School	1
Foster home	2
Group placement	1
Paroled home to marry	1
Sub total	20
Vote to ratify acceptance of foster home commitments	3
Total	23

Table XI shows that the most frequent vote or disposition after commitment of the girls under study is placement at the Industrial School. Two girls were placed in foster homes by vote of the Board and one in group placement. One of the girls was paroled home to marry, this girl was pregnant at the time of commitment, and wished to marry the boy responsible. The parents of the girl and those of the boy responsible were willing to give permission to the couple to marry. The girl had been committed on her father's complaint, but her father was opposed to the commitment and claimed he had only wanted help with the problem. Three were accepted for foster home placement. Of these three, two were placed in a small group placement and one in a foster home (see explanation of Foster Home Commitments, pp. 6 & 7).

It might be noted that many of these girls cannot adjust to foster home because of the ambivalence in the relationship with their own parents. The availability of small groups in the community is very limited and expensive.

TABLE XII  
PLACEMENT OF THE TWENTY-THREE GIRLS  
AT BEGINNING OF FEBRUARY 1, 1955

Placement of Girl	Number of Girls
Industrial School	15
Foster home	2
Group placement	1
Home of parents	3
Home of relatives	1
Discharged	1
Total Number of Girls	23

Between commitment and February 1, 1955 a period of at least seven months had elapsed in all cases, but in some the period was longer than this. The longest period of time between commitment and this date was thirteen months.

Table XII shows the largest number of these girls to still be at the Industrial School, but considerable explanation is needed to show the mobility that did take place.

In Table XI it was shown that a total of sixteen girls were placed at the Industrial School from the reception center, following study and vote of the Board. Of these sixteen, thirteen are still at the Industrial School and have had no other placement. Four of the original sixteen girls sent to the Industrial School have been paroled, three to the home of a parent, and one to a group placement. The girl originally placed in a group placement has been voted into the home of a relative. The three additional placements at the Industrial School are the three girls originally committed under the special Foster Home Commitment and who failed to adjust to their placements. Two girls originally voted into foster homes are still there and are adjusting, and the girl paroled home to marry has been discharged.

Of the five girls paroled home to parents, two of them were paroled because it was felt by the parents that they could adjust at home if they were working. Since both had had their sixteenth birthday since commitment, they were paroled home to work. It might be mentioned that in one of these two cases a family agency that had been working with the mother prior to the girl's commitment also asked that mother's request for the parole of her daughter be granted, and stated that they would continue to work with the mother and her daughter. In two other cases the girls were paroled on the recommendation of the Metropolitan State Hospital to which they had been sent from the Industrial School. In one case, return home was recommended and in the other a small group placement. In the case where the girl was returned home, this plan was received with little enthusiasm on the part of the parents who

continued to complain that they had not expected the girl home until she was old enough to work. Since she was not yet sixteen they felt she should have been kept from home until after her birthday. In the fifth case, the vote for parole was made upon request by the authorities of another state. This girl had run away from group placement and had gone to a married brother in another state. When she arrived there this brother agreed to keep her if it would be allowed. The girl found employment and was apparently adjusting well when the brother reported to the authorities that the girl was with him and safe, and made his request to have the girl remain and make her home with himself and his wife. After due consideration, and with the parents' consent, this plan was voted on.

It might be noted here that of the twenty-three girls under study, nineteen have been placed at the Industrial School either at the time of the vote made while they were at the Reception Center, or at a later time.

## CHAPTER V

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Purpose of the Study

This was a study of twenty-three girls who were permanently committed to the Massachusetts Division of Youth Service on the charge of "stubbornness". The author hoped to learn from an examination of the background of these girls whether or not there were any characteristics common to this group as a whole which might underlie this difficulty, and what special meaning the "stubborn" complaint may have from the point of view of the girl's behavior, the complainant and the number of commitments.

The following specific areas were investigated:

1. What factor or factors precipitated the signing of the complaint?
2. Why was the girl committed to the Division of Youth Service?
3. What kind of commitment was made, and what was the disposition, or vote of the Board after study in these cases?

The age of the girls at commitment ranged from nine years to seventeen years. Almost half of these girls were between fifteen and sixteen, and ninety percent of them had past their fourteenth birthday. The high percentage of the girls over fourteen raised the question as to whether or not this commitment was a culmination of a history of difficulties and this seemed to be borne out by the findings. A study of the intelligence quotient of these girls showed that more than half of them fell within the normal range of intelligence according to Terman's classification.

Regarding the grade placement attained, eighteen of the girls had attained junior high school education or were in junior high at the time of commitment.

Regarding the marital status of the parents, only four cases showed the natural parents living together indicating that in nineteen cases the girl lived with only one of her parents prior to commitment. In ten of these nineteen, marital friction was indicated by divorce and separation between the parents. In addition to the high incidents of marital friction in the lives of these girls, their history showed that a high percentage of them had had previous placement experience and fifteen of them had had placements in an institution which specialized with children having behavior problems. In all of the cases studied the family of the girl had been known to some agency with the exception of one, and in this one the girl had had previous placements. In sixteen of these cases the girl's family had been complained of earlier either because of their care of the child or of the child's behavior.

A study of the delinquent behavior of these girls showed that in approximately half of the cases the problems of truancy, running away, and out of parental control were manifested. When the delinquency records of the siblings of these girls were analyzed, they revealed the same or similar problems to those presented by the girls themselves. It was noted that forty per cent of the girls had been exposed to sibling delinquencies.

The author found that among the factors which led to the signing of the complaint was the pressure which was exerted on the complainant from outside sources including school authorities, police, community agencies, and neighbors. The primary source of the pressure would seem to be the school authorities. This fact leads the writer to question the significance of the high percentage of the girls who were nearing the legal age at which they might leave school. It was noted that the principal reasons given for the commitments were repeated court appearance, violation of probation, and the need for supervision for the girls.

The types of commitment and the disposition after commitment revealed that twenty of the girls were given regular permanent commitments and three of them were given the special type of commitment known as the permanent foster home commitment. Most commonly the vote or disposition made in these cases after commitment was placement in the industrial school. The significance of this fact is the high cost of maintaining such institutions and the fact that the real problem of adjustment or re-adjustment between these girls and their parents is postponed to a still later date, namely their return home from the Industrial School. One of the reasons for the placement of so many of the girls at the Industrial School is the problem of the ambivalent relationship between them and their parents, which makes foster home placement not feasible. It accounts also for the fact that the plan for the majority of the girls when reconsidered on February 1, 1955 still showed the largest number of them to be placed in the Industrial School.

The factor of repeated court appearances, added to the age factor, earlier parental discord, placement experiences of the girl, complaints of neglect and sibling delinquency all add to the conclusion that commitment culminates a history of difficulty for the girl and her family.

Reviewing and summarizing the facts of this study the writer feels that there are several conclusions that can be drawn from an analysis of the data and case extracts:

1. The stubborn complaint is vague and misleading, as is evidenced by the precipitating delinquencies as well as the additional behavioral difficulties presented by these girls, but the problem of the stubborn child is an important one because of its ramifications outside of the home in the school and community adjustments of these girls.
2. The history of these girls is typical of the history of delinquents in general in the multiplicity of disturbing factors which are found in their histories which may be considered to be causal or contributing factors. In reference to causal factors Paul Tappan stated that to understand etiology in delinquency one must look to multicausal explanations. He said that delinquency may be attributable less to specific causes than to the relationship that exists between them. He states that a particular form of delinquency may reflect one of a diverse but characteristic and distinct set of conditioning influences, and one does not know all the significant forces in delinquency causation, and even less the relation of particular factors to particular offenses.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Paul Tappan, Juvenile Delinquency, pp. 65-66

3. The problem which comes before the court at a late date in the lives of these individuals and which it asks the Division of Youth Service to deal with at a still later date, was not initiated in adolescence but was present from earlier childhood days and in most instances was also recognized outside of the home at an earlier date. In reference to this, it might be noted that the Gluecks found in retrospect in their study of five hundred delinquents that on the average they were a little over eight years of age when they first manifested their maladaptive behavior either in or out of school. Half of them were under eight and all but 12.4 per cent were under eleven. They had, however, reached the average age of twelve and a half by the time of their first court appearance. They were nearly thirteen when first placed on probation and nearly fourteen when first committed to a correctional institution.<sup>2</sup>

4. The school is the institution to which not only all of these girls were known, but to which their lack of adjustment was also known, as evidenced by the fact that a school problem existed in sixteen of the twenty-three cases studied. In one of the seven cases in which a school problem was not in evidence immediately preceding commitment, it was noted that nine years earlier the school had referred the girl to a guidance clinic because of behavior difficulty in school. In a chapter entitled Prediction of Delinquency<sup>3</sup> Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck state that:

The school has the function not only of teaching the "three R's" but of discovering and remedying those distortions of

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<sup>2</sup> Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency, p. 258

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

personality that are brought to the surface by the child's first attempts to adjust to the codes and authority imposed by adults outside the home. This stage in the child's contact with the adult world affords the acid test of his social adaptability, and if fundamental psychiatric, psychologic, educational and social measures are not taken at this stage, subsequent remedial action becomes proportionately more difficult.

5. The problem child and the problem family are inter-related and there is need for greater coordination between agencies helping the family and those offering services to the child.

*Approved 7/27/55  
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APPENDIX

## Schedule Questions

## I. Statistical Data

- a. Age at time of commitment
- b. Intelligence quotient
- c. Educational attainment

## II. Family Background

- a. Parents
  1. Education
  2. Marital status
  3. Previous agency contacts

## III. The Girl

- a. Early childhood history
- b. Delinquent behavior
- c. Placement experiences
- d. Earlier exposure to delinquency

## IV. The Commitment

- a. Source of pressure on parents
- b. Reason for commitment
- c. Vote following commitment
- d. Placement of girl, February 1, 1955

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