

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

FRANCES PERKINS, Secretary

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

KATHARINE F. LENROOT, Chief

# INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT OF DELINQUENT BOYS

PART 1.—TREATMENT PROGRAMS OF  
FIVE STATE INSTITUTIONS

By

ALIDA C. BOWLER

and

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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,  
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,  
Washington, December 22, 1934.

MADAM: There is transmitted herewith part 1 of a report on Institutional Treatment for Delinquent Boys. This section of the report deals particularly with the plants and programs of the five State institutions which were included in the study. The second part will contain an analysis of 751 cases of delinquent boys who had been under care in these five institutions and had been released 5 or more years prior to the time of the study.

The preliminary plans for the study were prepared under the supervision of Agnes K. Hanna, director of the Social Service Division of the Children's Bureau, and Harrison A. Dobbs, associate professor of social economy in the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago. Alida C. Bowler, then director of the Delinquency Division of the Children's Bureau, was in charge of the development of the study. With the assistance of Ruth S. Bloodgood of the Division's staff, she has written the report.

The schools selected for study were State institutions which are representative of treatment programs being administered in various sections of the country. It was not expected that conclusive judgments could be passed on the results of these programs, but it is believed that such studies as this can give some indication of the values and difficulties inherent in them. Although more money and thought should be spent on prevention, treatment will still be necessary, and we need to consider objectively what is being done and how the success of a program can be tested in the lives of individual boys.

The Children's Bureau acknowledges with appreciation the cordial cooperation of the many departments, agencies, and individuals in the several States and in the United States Government in giving access to essential sources of information. To the superintendents and the staff members of the several institutions it is especially indebted for their cordial cooperation throughout.

Respectfully submitted.

KATHARINE F. LENROOT, *Chief.*

Hon. FRANCES PERKINS,  
*Secretary of Labor.*

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# INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT OF DELINQUENT BOYS

## Part 1.—Treatment Programs of Five State Institutions for Delinquent Boys

### Chapter I.—INTRODUCTION

#### OBJECTIVES OF AN INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAM

In the beginning, institutions for delinquents, whether they were for juveniles or for adults, were conceived to be places for the punishment of malefactors or for the safe-keeping of dangerous persons. Then the idea that removal from the evil influences of a bad environment would be helpful developed. In earlier days, when the word "treatment" was used, its meaning was limited. It signified kindly or cruel handling of the children in custody. Today, among specialists, its significance is closely akin to, if not identical with, the meaning of the word "treatment" in the field of therapeutics.

Punishment did not seem to do juvenile delinquents a great deal of good. Society, interested primarily in self-protection, applauded custody but recognized the temporary quality of its effectiveness. Society also had occasion to observe that the after effects of the prevailing types of custodial care are frequently worse than the original misconduct. But permanent custody seemed an absurdly impossible—as well as exceedingly expensive—solution save for a very limited number of extreme cases. So "reformation" became the watchword of the committing courts and institutions. But it was easier to talk in general terms about reforming boys than it was to formulate and put into effect a program that would actually accomplish that end. Therefore a period of experimentation ensued.

Enthusiasts appeared who believed that rigid discipline, preferably of a military character, would wipe out bad and inculcate good habits. Others, equally enthusiastic, were convinced that life in the country, close to nature, would somehow result in bringing about a spiritual reclamation. Others were certain that a first-class academic education would effectively reshape behavior patterns. Still others were sure that if the boys were given industrial training, taught trades, they would somehow be enabled to stay within the bounds of accepted modes of behavior.

Thus institutions that emphasized one or another or some combination of these types of training came into being. There were institutions where boys lived together in large groups under a rigid, semimilitary regime, where boys marched to and fro in long, shuffling, silent lines, where the normal exuberance of healthy boyhood was rigorously repressed in the name of reformation. There were other institutions where boys lived in small segregated groups in the country,

engaged daily in agricultural pursuits, with some time given to academic study. There were still others where great emphasis was placed on industrial training. This particular type has had such a vogue that the term "industrial school" has come to be almost synonymous with "institution for juvenile delinquents" in this country. Unfortunately this type of institution frequently showed a tendency to specialize in teaching a boy how to do maintenance work for the institution, in the interests of economy, without sufficient consideration as to whether what he was learning would be of any use to him on his release. There seemed to be a belief that work in itself would cure behavior ills.

Whatever the type of training emphasized, practically all institutions for delinquent boys recognized that it was expected that they would "reform" the boys committed to their care; that is, that they would turn "bad boys" into "good boys." Recognition of this as their purpose is evidenced by the unanimity with which institutions made the claim that amazingly high percentages of their boys "made good" on release. But even a superficial acquaintance with some of the State schools for delinquents would have revealed to the inquiring mind that no clear, far-seeing, well-defined objectives governed either the individual or the joint thinking of the staffs actually engaged in operating many of these institutions. Confusion arose when it became necessary to resolve the general purpose into specific objectives. In other words, just what was this process of "reformation"? Did it mean handling court-committed boys in such a way as to reduce to a minimum escapes and violations of rules and to produce a smoothly running institution?

For example, some of the so-called "training schools" were fine show places. Visiting boards and committees saw paint shining, floors scrubbed and polished, beds unwrinkled and spotless, lawns and decorative flower beds in perfect order. They saw quiet lines of uniformly garbed boys, grouped by size and age, on dress parade, and often they listened approvingly to a brass band offering a performance to show "what could be done with bad boys." It may all have looked well to visitors—except that a few who really knew and cared about boys must have wondered what was going on under those subdued exteriors and whether the permanent effect of so much repression and regimentation would prove beneficial or the reverse.

As a matter of fact it did occur to many people, both inside and outside the institutional field, that a large and showy institution was certainly not the main objective of the work in hand: that the individual boy, not the institution or the group, should hold the center of the stage. Interesting experiments began to appear here and there. Repression, harshness of discipline, and mass handling began to give way to more positive methods of control and more individualization of treatment. Social research invaded the delinquency field and found the soil fertile. There was much talk of "causes of delinquency." Scientific studies threw some light on the connection between social conditions and delinquency. To such movements the developments in the fields of psychology, psychiatry, and mental hygiene have given great impetus in recent years. But despite the progress that had been made, the delinquency committee of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection reported in 1930 that "there are now in existence State institutions for delinquents which



represent almost every stage in the development of principles and methods of treatment for children committed for institutional care."<sup>1</sup>

Today, to be in agreement with the most progressive thought among staff members in institutions for delinquent boys, the objectives of such an institution must be described somewhat as follows: An institution for delinquent boys exists for the purpose of reeducating the individual child committed to its care by the court. Reeducation here means something much broader and deeper than any amount of improvement or increase in the academic instruction or vocational training which the individual child is to receive. It means reshaping his behavior patterns. It means giving thoughtful attention to his personality difficulties to the end that he may achieve healthy emotional development as well as growth in mental equipment or manual skill. It means giving the child an opportunity to meet and experience life under controlled conditions, in order that he may be more readily redirected and guided into behavior channels that will gratify him and be acceptable to others. It also implies making quite sure before he is released that he has acquired sufficient reeducation, or redirection, to enable him to make those personal and social adjustments that will be necessary if he is to lead a fuller, happier, more productive life and if he is to avoid those conflicts which had previously brought him, and would again bring him, into conflict with society and its laws. To imply that all these things can be done for all boys would be to sidestep reality flagrantly. Realistically the institution's task is to discover each boy's assets and liabilities in relation to the social scheme, and then to go as far as possible in each case toward building up a personality capable of satisfactory self-direction.

Since readjustment to social living is now recognized as the primary purpose of these training centers for delinquent youth, it is inevitable that the institution, or its associate public agencies, should shoulder the responsibility for assisting the child during the first difficult weeks and months of adjustment in the community to which he returns. For life in that community differs in many essential features from life in even the most ideal of institutions, and the transition is not easy. Moreover, if it is the same community from which the boy came, the chances are very great that the same destructive influences and forces which were contributing factors in bringing about his original conflict will still be operative.

Closely related to these developments with respect to institutional objectives are the changing attitudes toward the child and his behavior problems. It took a long while to reach the point where it was recognized that behind specific offenses, such as stealing, might lie causes as diverse as those underlying physical fevers. A physician does not treat the fever; he treats the physical disorder of which the fever is one symptom. In like fashion the psychiatrist and the social worker are attempting to get away from the treatment of the offense. They seek to discover and treat the psycho-social disorder of which that specific act is but a symptom.

For a time, in their efforts to understand and help the juvenile delinquent, workers regarded and studied the child as a more or less isolated mechanism. The approach was becoming more scientific, but

<sup>1</sup> *The Delinquent Child*, p. 298. White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Century Co., New York, 1932.

the philosophy was still circumscribed and child-centered. Inevitably these studies led to a realization of how inextricably the child is embedded in the social fabric. This in turn pointed to the necessity of widening the sphere of interest of the institution. It became apparent that an institution could hope to approach its goal only when it was able to understand and help each individual child committed to its care. This could be done only through a careful, sympathetic, but scientific study of the child. Such a study would consider the child not only in relation to himself but also in relation to all those factors in his home and in his community which had had a part in shaping his previous behavior and would wield a powerful influence in determining his future.

When the individual child has been carefully studied, treatment believed to be appropriate to his situation may be devised. But, despite the advances made by social, psychological, and psychiatric research in recent years, there is still too little knowledge of what makes a particular human being do the things he does. Therefore, any treatment plans, based on however thorough a study, must, as yet, be constantly observed in progress and carefully modified or changed if they fail to work the changes for which they were designed.

#### RESULTS OF INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT

If, then, it is agreed that the primary objective of institutional treatment for delinquent boys is so to reeducate and redirect these boys as to enable them to return to normal social living free of supervision, it becomes pertinent to inquire to what degree existing institutions are achieving success in approaching that goal. A need to appraise the results of institutional treatment of delinquent boys in terms of fact exists. In the words of the delinquency committee of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection:

There is very little authentic information available in this or other countries regarding the results of parole. Nearly every institution makes its claim, but these claims are usually superficial, most of them based on conduct during the period of parole, or in some cases, only on conduct immediately following release to the community. Adequate findings can be had only years after release; such findings must necessarily trace many winding ways through long and systematic effort, at great expense.<sup>2</sup>

Now and then during the years some frankly thoughtful individual in the juvenile-institution group has expressed doubt as to how many of the boys subjected to institutional treatment are permanently "reformed" or rehabilitated. But no large-scale intensive study of the results of institutional treatment was on record. A limited study of the subsequent careers of 103 boys who had been committed to the Whittier State School in California in 1917 was made in 1927 by Elmer E. Knox, secretary of that school.<sup>3</sup> Most of the boys had been away from the institution and had been released from parole supervision for some time. All of them were known personally to Mr. Knox, and much information was procured directly from the boys themselves. Other data were obtained from probation and parole officers and from other officials and individuals, largely by correspondence. Mr. Knox felt that returns were fairly complete on 80 of the 103 cases. The

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 320.

<sup>3</sup> Knox, Elmer E.: Follow-up of 103 Whittier State School Boys Ten Years after Admission. *Journal of Juvenile Research*, vol. 12, nos. 3-4 (September-December 1928), p. 261.

returns indicated that 58 percent had made adjustments that could be rated as average or better than average success, 4 percent had made poor adjustments but could hardly be rated as total failures, and 38 percent had unmistakably failed and had repeated specific delinquencies. This small study was presented as "suggestive rather than conclusive", and the hope was expressed that more intensive studies with larger numbers of juvenile delinquents might be carried out, both at Whittier and elsewhere.

In 1930 Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck made available in "500 Criminal Careers" the results of their research into the histories of 510 boys and young men who had been committed to the Massachusetts Reformatory, who had spent some time under treatment there, and who had been given a final discharge at least 5 years prior to the study. They found that of the 474 parolees about whom information was obtained, 55 percent "were officially known to have committed serious breaches of parole conditions, including the commission of new crimes." From data obtained on social adjustment subsequent to discharge from parole it was apparent that 333 (almost 80 percent) of the 422 men about whom such data were procurable had committed offenses that were either officially recognized or were discovered by the investigators.<sup>4</sup>

These findings challenged the complacency of both professional and lay groups which had assumed that reformatories really did reform, or permanently rehabilitate, a fairly substantial proportion of the boys and young men committed to their care. They constituted almost a complete reversal of the proportions optimistically—and very commonly—cited as institutional-treatment "successes" and "failures" in annual reports or in connection with superficial "surveys."<sup>5</sup>

This Massachusetts study had been concerned with individuals older in years, and consequently in experience, than those with whom the institutions for juvenile delinquents were working. Only 8 of the 506 cases about whom age information was available were less than 16 years old at the time of their reformatory commitment. The average age at commitment was 20 years. Moreover, the reformatory methods of treatment were markedly different from those in vogue at most of the institutions for younger delinquents. Therefore, the findings of that study could not be assumed to represent the probable outcome of treatment in the training schools for juvenile delinquents. Yet the fallacy of drawing conclusions from incomplete data had been pointed out so clearly that it might well give pause to anyone about to voice a belief or a claim that 75 to 85 percent of the boys who pass through training schools for juvenile delinquents make successful social adjustments and do not again come into conflict with man-made laws.

The temptation to draw a much-to-be-desired conclusion from incomplete evidence seems to be irresistible. Although parole service is almost universally so inadequately supported that close acquaintance with the actual daily life and activities of all parolees is impossible, these claims of successful adjustment are often based solely on the assumption that all parolees are "getting along all right" unless

<sup>4</sup> Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor T.: 500 Criminal Careers, pp. 85, 167, 169, 184. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1930.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6.

their misconduct has happened to bring them to the attention of the authorities and to occasion their return for parole violation or their commitment to another correctional or penal institution in the home State.

Studies of this kind can lay no valid claim to being a representation of the ultimate results of the treatment given. The arbitrary time limit necessarily set for the purpose of the study automatically restricts the meaning of the findings. Some boys that were having difficulties during the period covered by the research observations may eventually reach a reasonably satisfactory adjustment. Others may go along fairly well during the observation period because no combination of circumstances happens to occur that hits their particular weak spots hard enough to break through. In other words, these studies make no final answer to anything. Nevertheless, they should provide a useful basis for an analysis of treatment methods currently used, with a view to initiating modifications or new measures that seem to offer more direct progress toward the avowed objectives.

The study which will be described in this report was undertaken in the belief that an analysis of the results of institutional treatment of delinquent boys which was based on patient, thorough, intensive, and extensive field investigations would be genuinely useful to institution managements and to others interested in methods of treating juvenile delinquency.

A field unit of the Children's Bureau followed up and obtained information about the subsequent careers of 751 boys who had been under care in five different State institutions for juvenile delinquents. The descriptive material, the statistical analyses, and such interpretations as seemed warranted by careful study of all the data are presented herewith. For convenience in publication and in use for reference purposes, the report is issued in two parts. The first part contains (in the six chapters following this introduction and a brief statement relative to methods used in the study) a description of the plants and treatment programs of the five State institutions included, and certain comments on facilities and treatment methods in use in institutions of this character. The second part is devoted to a more detailed account of methods used in the field investigations, to presentation of the statistical analyses of the case-schedule material, to discussion of possible interpretations of the analyses, to illustrative case studies, and to general comments on the findings.

#### GROWTH OF THE MOVEMENT TO ESTABLISH SEPARATE INSTITUTIONS FOR JUVENILE OFFENDERS

The first separate institutions for the treatment of juvenile offenders in this country<sup>6</sup> were known as houses of refuge, and were established in the cities of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia in 1825, 1826, and 1828, respectively. Some authorities consider the Philadelphia institution historically the second, because in Boston there was not a separate building for juveniles until 1837. Part of the building occupied by the house of correction for adult offenders had been used to house the juveniles until that date.

The movement for the establishment of such separate institutions had begun as early as 1819 in New York City, when the Society for

<sup>6</sup> Several were in existence in Europe. See *The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children*, by Homer Folks, p. 199 (Macmillan Co., New York, 1911).

the Prevention of Pauperism, reporting on conditions at Bellevue Prison, stated:

"Here is one great school of vice and desperation; with confirmed and unrepentant criminals we place these novices in guilt—these unfortunate children from 10 to 14 years of age, who from neglect of parents, from idleness or misfortune, have been doomed to the penitentiary by condemnation of law."

This society continued its study of the subject and in 1823 came to the conclusion that pauperism and vice could be considered mainly due to families whose children had been delinquent from an early age. The prevailing view seems to have been that poverty and crime were the offspring of faults in human character. These investigators seem to have had no distant glimpse of the recognition that was to come of the economic and social factors underlying delinquency and crime, nor of the present-day idea that it is to some extent poverty and its attendant unappeased hungers that beget delinquencies. In a further report of the society it was shown that the most dangerous criminals of that day had been neglected, untrained boys of the city streets, vagrant and given to petty thievery. How to reach this group was the problem they had to solve. In this same year the society reorganized as the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents. A committee was appointed to prepare and report a plan for an institution for juvenile offenders, and the opening of the House of Refuge on January 21, 1825, resulted. As there were 6 girls among the 9 children brought in by the police as the first to receive care at this new institution, the necessity for separation of girls and boys was immediately seen, and a separate building was erected for the girls within the year. Separation of sexes was not effected in the other two of these earliest institutions until several years later.

Importance was attached by both the New York and Philadelphia institutions to providing care for dependent and neglected children who were likely to become delinquents. Five types of cases, including the dependents, were listed by the committee under whose guidance the New York House of Refuge was established, as those to receive care.<sup>7</sup> In Philadelphia emphasis was placed upon the fact that the house of refuge was not a place of punishment.<sup>8</sup>

These earliest institutions were largely local in character, both in territory served and in source of financial support. Those in Boston and Philadelphia were municipal enterprises and remained such for a number of years. Aside from a small appropriation of \$2,000 by the State in 1825 and certain other State funds, the New York House of Refuge was supported by private funds during the first 5 or 6 years.

<sup>7</sup> The types were: "1. To furnish, in the first place, an asylum in which boys under a certain age, who become subject to the notice of our police, either as vagrants, or houseless, or charged with petty crimes, may be received. . . . 2. The committee have no doubt that were such an institution once well established and put under good regulations, the magistrates would very often deem it expedient to place offenders in the hands of its managers, rather than sentence them to the city penitentiary. 3. A third class, which it might be very proper to transplant to such an establishment and distribute through its better divisions, are boys, some of whom are of tender age, whose parents are careless of their minds and morals, and leave them exposed in rags and filth to miserable and scanty fare, destitute of education, and liable to become the prey of criminal associates. 4. Youthful convicts, who on their discharge from prison, at the expiration of their sentence, finding themselves without character, without subsistence, and ignorant of the means by which it is to be sought, have no alternative but to beg or steal. 5. Delinquent females who are either too young to have acquired habits of fixed depravity, or those whose lives have in general been virtuous." *The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children*, p. 200.

<sup>8</sup> "A work of charity and mercy, the refuge is not a place of punishment: it is not a provision simply, or even principally, for the security of society against offenses by the confinement of the culprits, or for inflicting the vengeance of society upon offenders as a terror to those who may be inclined to do evil. In the accents of kindness and compassion it invites the children of poverty and ignorance, whose wandering and misguided steps are leading them to destruction, to come to a home where they will be sheltered and led into the ways of usefulness and virtue." *The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children*, p. 211.

It then became a State and municipally supported institution. Legal authority to receive children from any city or county in the State had been given in New York as early as 1826, so that the territory served was not as limited in New York as in the other institutions.

The administration of the New York and Philadelphia institutions was under private control, and it is of significance to note that it remained so in the New York House of Refuge until 1932, and that this is still the case at the institution in Pennsylvania which is the outgrowth of the old house of refuge.<sup>9</sup> The establishment of other municipal institutions, likewise called Houses of Refuge, for the care of juvenile offenders continued, and such institutions were reported established in New Orleans, Cincinnati, Baltimore, and St. Louis between 1845 and 1854.<sup>10</sup> In the meantime, in other sections of the country the movement for State provision for care of juvenile delinquents in institutions was starting, and its growth through establishment of such institutions strictly under State management was rapid. The first of these was the Lyman School for Boys at Westboro, Mass., opened in 1847. By 1865 schools had been opened in Massachusetts, New York (Western House of Refuge at Rochester), Pennsylvania (Western at Morganza), Maine, Connecticut, Michigan, Ohio, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and New Jersey.

A report made in 1900 for the International Prison Congress listed 65 reformatories for juveniles (including some private and local public institutions).<sup>11</sup>

The American Prison Association reported in 1933 that there were in the United States a total of 111 State institutions for the care of juvenile delinquents; 52 were for boys, 50 for girls, and 9 for both boys and girls under the same management.<sup>12</sup> All the 48 States and the District of Columbia have institutions for juvenile delinquents. Two institutions, one for boys and one for girls, known as "National Training Schools", provide care for juveniles in the District of Columbia and receive also some committed for violations of Federal laws outside the District. Separate institutions for Negro boys are maintained by several States. In a few States no provision is made for the care of colored juvenile delinquents. In most of the other States Negroes are cared for in the institutions caring for white children—in some cases in separate buildings.

It is impossible in this brief sketch of the development of institutions for juvenile offenders to trace in detail the changes in theory regarding the programs offered in the treatment of young persons committed to these institutions as these changes occurred. Neither is it possible to give a full account of the gradual separation of the sexes through reservation of certain institutions for boys only or the establishment of separate schools for girls. This would necessitate outlining to some extent the history of various individual institutions. The statement can only be made in passing that many of the earlier institutions, private, local, and State, cared for both boys and girls, some providing separate buildings for the boys and the girls, others

<sup>9</sup> Glen Mills School for Boys, maintained by the State of Pennsylvania and the City of Philadelphia under a private corporation. For changes in the New York House of Refuge see p. 135 of this report.

<sup>10</sup> Local public (both city and county) and private institutions have continued to be a part of the program of institutional treatment of juvenile delinquents, and at the present time there are a large number of such institutions. As this report, however, is concerned with State institutions, further detail regarding other types has not been included.

<sup>11</sup> Charlton, T. J.: *Juvenile Reformatories of the United States*. House Documents, vol. 91, pp. 227-228. Washington, 1900.

<sup>12</sup> State and National Penal and Correctional Institutions of the United States of America and Canada, compiled by the American Prison Association, New York, June 1933.

caring for all in one building. The first State institution for boys was the State reform school for boys (now the Lyman School for Boys) which was established at Westboro, Mass., in 1847, as has been stated; and the first separate State institution for girls was the Industrial School for Girls, established in the same State at Lancaster by a law of 1854. At the present time all except 9 States maintain separate institutions for boys and girls.<sup>13</sup>

The State School for Boys at Lancaster, Ohio, which opened in 1856, marked a turning point in the general plan for such institutions. It was a pioneer in using the cottage plan; that is, relatively small units for housing inmates replaced the former congregate method of housing. This venture in institutional care raised a controversial issue as to which was the more effective method of treatment, the cottage or the congregate plan. The former has become generally accepted as the modern standard, although a few State institutions still use the congregate plan, and in some institutions the cottages are so large as to provide in effect congregate housing.

### SCOPE AND METHOD OF THE STUDY

The study of institutional treatment for delinquent boys undertaken by the Children's Bureau included (1) a study of the plants and treatment programs of a selected group of institutions for delinquent boys, and (2) a case study of a group of boys who had undergone treatment in the institutions selected, and who had been released from supervision by the institution for a period sufficient to permit a demonstration of the social and economic adjustments that might reasonably be accepted as indicative of their probable future careers.

For the first section the method of study included a visit of several days to each of the institutions by members of the Children's Bureau staff. During these visits careful observations were made as to the physical facilities, the standards of care, the training program, and the general atmosphere of the institution. Data were obtained from the records and through interviews with members of the institution staff concerning the physical plant, the program being carried out, and the policies and aims of the institutions. Information was also secured, so far as possible, to show how the present institutional programs differ from those existing at the time the boys included in the case study were under treatment. In connection with obtaining record material for the case study one of the investigators spent considerable additional time at each institution. It was possible to verify policies referring to the earlier period as shown by the record study, through conferences with staff members who were there at that time. The managements at all the institutions generously cooperated in the preparation of special tabulations requested. Annual and special printed reports were consulted for material. The statutes of the five States were reviewed for the information on laws governing the establishment and operation of each institution.

This volume, dealing with the plants and programs of the schools themselves, makes no pretense to being an exhaustive treatise on the subject. It simply presents a general picture of each institution as it appeared, during a relatively brief visit, to field workers trained in

<sup>13</sup> Idaho, Mississippi, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Utah, and Vermont.

methods of observation and having considerable experience in connection with delinquency problems and institutional life.

For the case study the method was that of an intensive follow-up on each case. This included obtaining data from records and personal interviews with local officials, the boy's family, and the boy himself. Data obtained covered the boy's preinstitutional history, his institutional treatment, his parole and postparole history, and his situation at the time his case was studied. From the boys interviewed an expression was sought as to their attitudes toward the institution and its program as it appeared to them during their period of care.

The following State schools for delinquent boys were selected for this study: Whittier State School, Whittier, Calif.; Boys' Vocational School, Lansing, Mich.; State Home for Boys, Jamesburg, N.J.; State Agricultural and Industrial School, Industry, N.Y.; and Boys' Industrial School, Lancaster, Ohio.

The original plan had been to select only schools which were quite generally thought to have developed programs of especially high standards along progressive lines. It was soon realized that a study which proposed to show the results of institutional treatment of delinquent boys rather generally should include schools that would be representative of the varying standards of care and training given by State institutions throughout the country. Selection was influenced to some extent by this consideration.

The desirability of representation for the various sections of the country was also considered. At the outset it had been hoped to include 10 schools, which would have permitted of wider geographical representation than that covered by the 5 schools finally included. The curtailment of this original plan became necessary because of the considerable time found to be required for the case studies in each State. This accounts for the fact that no schools in the South, Southwest, nor in that section of the country lying between the Mississippi and the Pacific coast were studied.

Institutional population was another factor entering into the selection. It was essential to select institutions in which the number placed on parole during a specified period would yield a sufficient number of cases in each State so that all cases studied might be reasonably comparable as to length of time since release from institutional supervision.

Only institutions operated and maintained exclusively by the State, and caring for boys only, were considered for inclusion in the study.

Selections for the case study were made on the basis of 150 cases of boys who had been released from institutional supervision over a comparable span of years from each of the five institutions. Because of the differences in policies and legal provisions relating to discharge from parole in the different States the selection was made so that the period between leaving the institution the last time and the beginning of the field study in each State would be comparable. For the institutions in California, Michigan, and Ohio it was possible to make the selection by means of taking cases discharged from parole 5 years or slightly more preceding the beginning of the study in the respective States. In New Jersey and New York the period between the boy's last placement on parole and the date of study was the deciding factor.

All cases were selected in chronological order from either lists of final discharge from parole or lists giving date of last placement on parole. The only exclusions made were cases in which the boy's



death subsequent to release from the institution was noted during the course of the study.

Every effort was made in the case study to obtain as accurate and detailed information about each boy as was possible through inspection of records and through interviews. The interview with the boy was stressed, and the field agents spent untiring effort in many cases to locate boys and obtain interviews. Sources of information included the records at the institution and records from the following: Local juvenile courts; adult courts; State and local bureaus of identification; the police; and other institutions, mostly correctional or penal institutions in which subsequent care was given. In communities where social-service exchanges were operating, cases were cleared to determine whether the boy or his family was known to social agencies either prior to or subsequent to his institutional commitment. Records of all registering agencies were not inspected, but those of agencies which might be expected to show evidence of delinquency problems were always consulted. The boy's immediate family was interviewed in all cases in which it was practicable to do so. Other relatives frequently gave valuable assistance in furnishing supplementary data and in locating the boy and his own family.

Great care was exercised by the field agents not to embarrass in any way the boy or his family by stating the reason for seeking information to neighbors or others who might not be familiar with his delinquency history. The same care was exercised to avoid in any way jeopardizing the boy's employment or his social standing in the community. For this reason, employers, either former or present, were seldom interviewed, although it would have been advantageous in many cases to verify the boy's work history as reported by his family or himself.

The field work for the case study, which included a total of 751 cases, was begun in September 1929 and was completed in May 1932.

The agents who did the follow-up and interviewing were young men, all of whom were college graduates and some of whom had had training at schools of social work. An applicant's personality was carefully considered in selection of the field agents. Skill in making the initial approach and in conducting interviews was deemed very important. The work was started with a staff of two field agents. Later the number was increased to four. The record work at the institutions and a considerable part of the work connected with checking and clearing cases with local and State authorities and securing subsequent misconduct records was done by the supervisor of the field work, a member of the permanent staff of the Children's Bureau. Cooperation by the institutions concerned, by other State agencies and institutions, and with few exceptions by local county and city officials, was freely given and proved most valuable. For the most part the families of the boys and the boys themselves responded cordially as soon as they understood the purpose of the study. There were only a few instances in which a flat refusal to give the desired information was encountered.

The findings of the case study, with a more detailed discussion of the selection of cases at each institution and the methods used in following the cases through, are given in part 2.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Institutional Treatment of Delinquent Boys, Part 2—A Study of 751 Cases. U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 230. Washington, 1935.

## Chapter II.—WHITTIER STATE SCHOOL, WHITTIER, CALIF.

Except as otherwise indicated in the text, the statements made in this chapter refer to conditions existing at Whittier State School in November 1931, when it was visited for the purpose of securing material for this study. It has not been possible to revisit the five institutions included in this study immediately prior to publication of the report. It is well therefore for the reader to bear in mind that the programs in 1934 and thereafter may reflect many changes. From reports received from California it would seem that this is especially true of Whittier State School. These reports reveal that a citizens' advisory committee was appointed in the spring of 1933, and a man of considerable training and experience was appointed superintendent at that time.<sup>1</sup> The committee and the new superintendent inaugurated certain changes in policy and new activities which they believed would constitute significant developments in the training program.

### 1. STATUTORY PROVISIONS GOVERNING ESTABLISHMENT AND OPERATION

The first law authorizing the establishment and maintenance of an institution for juvenile delinquents in California was passed in 1889. The institution was called the "Reform School for Juvenile Offenders", and its purpose was outlined by the law to be for the confinement, discipline, education, employment, and reformation of juvenile offenders. It was to be governed and supervised by a board of trustees consisting of three citizens appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. This early law provided that the institution should be for the care of both boys and girls, specifically stating that the buildings and grounds were to be so arranged as to provide separate places for the confinement, care, and education of each sex, so that there could be no communication of any kind between them.<sup>2</sup> Boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 16 were accepted on conviction by any court of competent jurisdiction of any crime which if committed by an adult would be punishable by imprisonment in the county jail or penitentiary. Children to 18 years might be accepted under certain conditions. The law specified that commitments to the reform school should be for terms of not less than 1 year nor more than 5 years.

Provision was made in this first law for payment for care of children at the institution. When any child was committed at the instance of his parent, guardian, or other protector, the cost of keeping him, including the cost of transportation to and from the institution, was to be paid wholly by the parent or guardian. In the event that the

<sup>1</sup> On May 1, 1933, Judge E. J. Milne was appointed superintendent. He had been in educational work for 25 years as director of physical education at the University of Utah and as superintendent of the industrial schools in Nevada and Utah. He had also served as judge of the juvenile court in Salt Lake City, Utah. His appointment is reported to have met with approval in professional and educational circles in California.

<sup>2</sup> California, Laws of 1889, p. 111.

parent or guardian was unable to pay because of poverty or other good reason, half of the expenses were to be paid by the county of commitment and the other half by the State. No amount was specified, but the board of trustees was expected to estimate as nearly as possible the actual cost per month of keeping each child at the institution.

It is of interest in connection with the institution's establishment to note that the sum of \$200,000 was appropriated for the erection, equipment, and maintenance of the buildings and grounds for the first 2 years.

The present name of the institution—Whittier State School—was adopted in 1893. At the same time the law stating the purpose of the institution was changed slightly to read, "for the discipline, education, employment, reformation, and protection of juvenile delinquents."<sup>3</sup>

Again in 1921 the purpose was restated by amending the title of the original act to read, "An act to establish in the State of California an educational institution for the care, supervision, education, training, discipline, and employment of boys."<sup>4</sup> This amendment is still in effect.

There has been one change in the form of supervising government. In 1921 the institution passed from the control of a local board of trustees to the supervision of the State department of institutions, which was created in that year. This department succeeded to the powers and duties, purposes, responsibilities, and jurisdiction of the board of trustees.<sup>5</sup>

In 1913 a separate institution for girls was authorized, and the Ventura School for Girls (as it was renamed later) at Ventura, Calif., was opened in June 1916. Thereafter the Whittier State School provided care for boys only.<sup>6</sup>

Changes have been made several times in the ages of children accepted. In 1905, when both dependent and delinquent children might be accepted, the lower age limit was made 7 years for both boys and girls, with an upper age limit of 16 years for boys and 18 years for girls. The other changes have varied the age limitations but slightly. Under the present statutes, boys 8 years old but not over 16 who are wards of the juvenile court may be committed to the school.<sup>7</sup>

Since early in its history the institution has been able to carry into effect the principle of indeterminate stay. Commitments are made until the boy shall reach majority unless sooner discharged by the institution. Statutory provision for this was made in 1893, and except for short periods when slight variations were made effective (but later amended) it has remained in force. Under further legal authority, parole and honorable discharge are provided for under rules and regulations approved by the superintendent and the State department of institutions, respectively. Thus the determination of the period of institutional care and parole in individual cases rests with the administrative officer of the institution, with the approval of the State director of institutions.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> California, Laws of 1893, p. 328.

<sup>4</sup> California, Laws of 1921, p. 868. (Deering's Gen. Laws 1931, act 9255.)

<sup>5</sup> California, Laws of 1921, p. 1048. (Deering's Political Code 1931, secs. 366-366e.)

<sup>6</sup> California, Laws of 1913, p. 857. (Deering's Gen. Laws 1931, act 1177.)

<sup>7</sup> California, Laws of 1905, p. 80. (Deering's Gen. Laws 1931, act 3966, sec. 8.)

<sup>8</sup> California, Laws of 1893, p. 328. (Deering's Gen. Laws 1931, act 9255, sec. 18.)

Until 1895 no statutory mention was made of payment for the care of boys committed to the school. In that year a law set \$11 as the amount to be paid by the committing county. This was increased to \$20 in 1921.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. THE PHYSICAL PLANT

### Location

This institution is immediately adjacent to the city of Whittier, an attractive and prosperous community of 15,000 population about 40 minutes' drive from the heart of Los Angeles. Whittier Boulevard, a part of the arterial highway between Los Angeles and San Diego, carrying heavy traffic almost constantly, bounds the institution grounds on the north.

The school campus had been attractively landscaped with flowers and shrubbery native to southern California. The grace and beauty of many pepper trees, mingled with stately palms, made the place very attractive. The buildings were somewhat scattered and were arranged along winding drives. As a matter of fact, the institution, which had no walls nor fences, was not unlike a college or private school in appearance.

### Acreage

The land owned by the school, totaling about 226 acres, was level and was quite typical of the fruit and truck raising sections of southern California. It was in a very productive area, oranges and walnuts being the primary crops in that locality. Except for the 48 acres used for the buildings and their surrounding grounds, the land was all under cultivation, 130 acres being planted in orange and walnut trees and the rest used for truck gardening. Most of the necessary vegetables and small farm produce for the use of the institution were raised on that acreage.

### Administrative offices

The administration building, which was completed in 1929, was a very attractive structure of modified English design, built of brown tapestry brick with a steep tiled roof. The interior was beautifully finished and provided large, well-arranged offices for the administrative and business departments, the placement department, and the staff members detailed to Whittier from the California Bureau of Juvenile Research (see p. 29). There was a spacious lobby or reception room attractively and comfortably furnished.

### Boys' residence quarters

There were 11 cottages in use for housing boys. These cottages, like the other buildings of the institution, were of brick with reinforced-concrete construction. The newer ones were of the same modified English architectural style as the new administration building, yet with enough individual variation to avoid the sameness which too often characterizes an institution.

The cottages were two stories in height. Four had individual rooms; the others had dormitory quarters for the boys. In a new cottage that was nearing completion both types of sleeping arrangements were provided, individual rooms for about half the boys and dormitories for the other half. This cottage was to be the residence for the youngest boys.

The interiors of the cottages, except in the "lost privilege" (disciplinary) cottage were quite attractive. The furnishings were bright

<sup>9</sup> California, Laws of 1895, p. 122, and Laws of 1921, p. 870. (Deering's Gen. Laws 1931, act 6083; act 3966, sec. 11.)

and cheerful, and the walls were painted in pleasing colors. The living rooms were homelike with comfortable chairs, bookcases, tables, plants, and flowers. Some had fireplaces at one end of the room. Although a second room was used for rougher play, these living rooms were not just for show. They were used by the boys for their reading, study, and general living room. Each cottage had a radio, which was hooked up with the central radio at the power plant.

The one exception to this general atmosphere of pleasant homelikeness was the "lost privilege" cottage, the rooms of which were very plainly furnished. In its dormitory the beds were in the center and were enclosed within a heavy wire netting, which gave it a cage-like appearance.

Sanitary facilities seemed wholly adequate and in good condition in all the cottages visited.

#### **Staff residence quarters**

A number of the staff (more than half) resided off the grounds in the city of Whittier or in nearby suburbs; housing facilities on the grounds for staff members were not extensive, and in fact had not been adequate to meet the needs. There was a very attractive residence for the superintendent, and in 1929 one of the older buildings had been remodeled into apartments of one and two rooms for staff members, mostly teachers. The cottage supervisors and housemothers had pleasant rooms in their respective cottages. The night supervisors lived at the boys' cottages to which they were assigned for duty.

#### **Dining-room and kitchen facilities**

The dining-room and kitchen facilities for both boys and officers were centralized in one building. A new building for this purpose had been opened recently. It was very attractive, modern in style and equipment. The building was of the 1-story English cottage type, matching the other buildings of the institution. There were separate dining rooms for officers and boys, but one central kitchen.

Besides the kitchen and dining rooms, the bakery, equipped with all the most modern appliances, and the cold-storage and refrigeration plants were in this building.

#### **Chapel and assembly hall**

The chapel building was used both for religious services and as a general assembly hall for entertainments, motion pictures, and various gatherings at which the entire school population might be in attendance. The main floor was level, and there was a small balcony. Seats were the usual wooden theater folding seats. The stage was so arranged as to be suitable for use in entertainments and small dramatic productions.

#### **Hospital**

The hospital was one of the newer buildings, having been erected in 1929. It was a short distance from the main group of buildings and stood rather apart. It was of cream-colored stucco and was pleasing in appearance like all the other buildings. There were 18 individual rooms, all on the ground floor, and no wards. Each room was equipped as a hospital room and had a radio operated from the central control station at the institution power house. All the equipment was modern and said to be complete. Facilities for minor operations such as tonsilleotomies were available. The dental office also was in the hospital. There was a hospital diet kitchen in which the meals for the patients were prepared.

**School building**

The school building was centrally situated in the main group of buildings, which consisted of the chapel, trade units, gymnasium, dining room, and kitchen. It was erected in 1922, a 1-story building which provided pleasant quarters for the academic school. The various classrooms were furnished with tables and chairs instead of the old-style desks. The library was located in one of the very light, airy rooms of this building.

**Shops**

Except for the general shop erected in 1929, the buildings housing the trade units were among the older buildings on the grounds. There were no outstanding features in connection with these shop units. They were fairly well equipped for trade work. Printing had always been one of the featured trades at Whittier, and the print shop, in a separate building, was equipped with modern machinery, including linotype.

**Farm buildings**

Farming at Whittier was that typical of southern California. The farm buildings, though not extensive, were sufficient for the needs. Farm equipment was good and included tractors and up-to-date machinery desirable for this type of farming. The farm unit was located some little distance from the main grounds of the institution.

**Gymnasium and athletic field**

The gymnasium presented a contrast to the other buildings. It had been built in 1914 and was not in good repair. One of the walls was cracked, and the floors in places were in very bad shape. However, the building was kept clean and orderly. Much of the sports program was carried on out of doors almost the year round, and the gymnasium was not used extensively for basketball or other sports but was primarily for floor work in gymnastics. In the spring of 1933 an earthquake rendered the building unsafe for use. The administration reported in February 1934 that a new gymnasium, to cost about \$50,000, was in process of erection. It was designed to afford ample room for indoor athletic work. It was to be dedicated to the memory of former Superintendent Fred C. Nelles. (See p. 19.)

The athletic field was a very fine one, situated at one end of the grounds. An outdoor swimming pool adjoining the gymnasium was in use practically the entire year. This, like the gymnasium, did not seem up to the general standard of the physical equipment in other things. However, new machinery recently installed provided for filtering, chlorinating, and warming the water.

**3. PLANT VALUATION AND OPERATING EXPENSE**

The valuation of the physical plant at Whittier which appeared on the inventory as of June 30, 1931, was as follows:

Lands.....	\$70, 897. 00
Buildings.....	994, 731. 24
Equipment.....	234, 165. 47
Total .....	1, 299, 793. 71

As a matter of fact this valuation was not particularly significant, though it represented the amount of money invested in land and improvements. The land value was the amount for which the acreage had been purchased. The building item was the total of costs of

construction for the various building units. No allowance was made for deterioration in buildings nor for changes in land values.

The following figures on costs of operation were supplied for the year ended June 30, 1931:

Salaries.....	\$145,858.13
Material and supplies.....	84,598.02
Service and expense.....	54,167.90
Property and equipment (replacements).....	14,048.32
Total.....	298,672.37

As the average daily population of the institution was 330, the per capita cost (cost per boy) of operation was \$905.07. The per capita cost per year was figured on the basis of the items in this list. It included cost of replacement of equipment during the year, but no charge for items produced and consumed.

#### 4. ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL, STAFF ORGANIZATION, AND PERSONNEL

##### Administrative control

As the head of the State department of institutions, which was created in 1921, is director of institutions for the State, this officer has ultimate responsibility for the management of the Whittier State School. Two local persons were still designated as trustees. Their duties were advisory only and in practice purely nominal.

No other State department possessed the power to exert administrative control. The State department of social welfare had the right to make investigations at the school and to make recommendations based thereon to the director of institutions. The State department of health and other State services were reported to cooperate freely at all times when their aid was requested for particular purposes, but they had no legal power of any kind in connection with the management of the institution.

The director of institutions, with the approval of the Governor, appointed the superintendent, defined his duties, and fixed his salary. In practice the superintendent was permitted to assume full responsibility for the school's operation. Practically the only responsibility assumed by the director of institutions was for the approval of the general policies and for certain specific duties with which he was directly charged. Foremost among these duties was approval of the school budget before it was forwarded to the chief accounting officer of the State to be presented to the Governor and the State legislature.

##### Personnel: Number and duties

In 1931 Whittier State School employed 111 persons, of whom all but 2 (the physician and the dentist) worked full time.<sup>10</sup> More than half resided off the campus. Positions listed were:

Superintendent.....	1	School teachers.....	8
Assistant superintendent.....	1	Vocational director.....	1
Secretary to the superintendent <sup>11</sup>	1	Vocational instructors <sup>12</sup> .....	9
Principal of the school.....	1		

<sup>10</sup> A communication from Whittier State School indicates that on Feb. 15, 1934, there were but 90 employees. The reduction in personnel was the result of a drastic cut in the school appropriations. It will be noted that this represents a 19-percent cut in personnel. Unless the school population shows a marked decrease this will mean an unfortunate change in the very favorable ratio of boys to personnel.

<sup>11</sup> As the secretary had many duties other than clerical and stenographic, his was an important staff position.

<sup>12</sup> Persons listed definitely as vocational instructors on the pay roll were the instructors in automobile mechanics, aviation, carpentry (2), electrical work, masonry, painting, plumbing, and printing.

Head group supervisor.....	1	Dentist (part-time).....	1
Group supervisors.....	38	Nurses.....	3
Housemothers.....	8	Tradesmen or foremen <sup>13</sup> .....	9
Physician (part-time).....	1	Placement officers.....	3
Librarian.....	1	Clerical workers <sup>15</sup> .....	8
Chaplain.....	1	Other personnel <sup>14</sup> .....	13

Two workers whose names did not appear on the institution pay roll gave full-time service at this school. One was the psychologist, the other the psychiatric social worker detailed from the California Bureau of Juvenile Research for continuous duty at Whittier State School. Other members of this bureau gave considerable but irregular time to clinical service for Whittier boys. Nine students from Whittier College in the adjacent city, who were training for Y.M.C.A. and physical-education work, gave 10 to 12 hours' service a week (mainly supervision of recreation and extracurricular activities) in return for room and board in the cottages.

#### Personnel: Salaries

The salary scale at this institution ranged from \$660 to \$4,000. Salaries for certain positions were as follows:

Superintendent.....	\$4,000	Vocational instructors..	\$1,440-\$1,800
Assistant superintendent.	2,820	Director of physical edu-	
Medical director (part		cation.....	1,800
time).....	1,800	Head group supervisor..	2,040
Nurses.....	1,020-1,080	Group supervisors.....	1,020-1,440
Principal of the school...	2,220	Housemothers.....	660
School teachers.....	1,140-1,980	Placement director.....	2,280
Director of vocational		Placement officers.....	2,040-2,100
training.....	2,700	Clerical workers <sup>15</sup> .....	780-1,440

In addition to salary, the staff members in residence received full maintenance, and certain others had one or more meals daily at the institution.

#### Personnel: Appointments and removals

Appointments at this institution for all positions except those of the superintendent, the assistant superintendent, and the chief placement officer were under civil-service regulation. However, the State civil-service commission had held only a few examinations to create eligible lists from which permanent appointments might be made. Only 19 (17 percent) of the total number of employees were reported to have permanent civil-service status. All others were rated as of temporary civil-service status. It was stated that the civil-service commission was beginning a more active program and that plans were under way to hold examinations for the creation of eligible lists for permanent appointments. On February 16, 1934, it was reported that 84 (93 percent) of the total number of employees on that date were under permanent civil service.

#### Personnel: Terms of service

Tenure of the superintendency at this school since 1912 is shown by the following list:

<sup>13</sup> This group included employees who supervised boys at work but were not designated as instructors such as baker, barber, shoemaker, laundryman, head farmer, orchard man, gardeners, and supervising cook.

<sup>14</sup> Personnel included in this miscellaneous group were as follows: 1 seamstress, 3 housekeepers, 1 housemaid, 1 "institution handy man", 2 institutional cooks, 1 storekeeper, 1 power-equipment laborer, stationary fireman, and 2 dining-room supervisors. Some of these individuals directed boys doing maintenance work for the institution, but their activity seems distinctly remote from the specific training program.

<sup>15</sup> Six did only clerical work, two (the bookkeeper and the information clerk) had additional duties.



March 1912 to May 1927, Fred C. Nelles. (deceased May 23, 1927).	April to July 1931, Claude S. Smith.
May to August 1927, vacant.	July 1931 to April 1933, George C. Sabichi.
August 1927 to April 1931, K. J. Scudder.	

The following figures indicate the length of service of the 109 full-time workers:

Less than 1 year.....	32	4 years, less than 5.....	5
1 year, less than 2.....	12	5 years, less than 10.....	16
2 years, less than 3.....	14	10 years or longer.....	17
3 years, less than 4.....	9	Not reported.....	4

Among the 32 new appointees in 1933 in addition to the superintendent were such important officers as the assistant superintendent, the vocational director, the director of placement (parole), 1 placement officer, the director of physical education, the chaplain, 3 school teachers, and 3 trade instructors.

#### Personnel: Qualifications

A limited amount of information as to the background of education and experience of personnel was made available. The man who was superintendent in 1931 had been a practicing physician and surgeon for many years. His educational work included a considerable number of graduate courses in medicine and surgery. He was national past president of the Exchange Club and had been interested in boys' work. No experience in institutional administration or in professional social work of any kind appeared in his record.<sup>16</sup> The assistant superintendent at that time was a high-school graduate with some experience in railroad work and with considerable experience in the business world as an employer of boys and men. He had done some work for the Boy Scouts and had served as assistant organizer for a fraternal order.<sup>17</sup>

The principal of the academic school was a woman. She was a normal-school graduate with some years' experience in the public schools. All the members of her teaching staff had had university or normal-school training and prior teaching experience. All held State teachers' certificates. All were eligible for the California State teachers' pension, and their service at this school counted toward advancement in State classification and toward a life certificate for teaching. One had had some special training and experience in correctional work for speech-defect cases.

The vocational director appointed in 1931 was a high-school graduate with business-college training. He had experience as a factory branch manager in mechanical electrical work. The records supplied failed to show any history of training or experience in the vocational teaching field.<sup>18</sup> The pay roll listed 9 vocational instructors, of whom only 2 were reported to have had prior experience as vocational instructors. The others were described as having had practical experience as workmen in their trades. For example, the instructor in automobile mechanics was listed as having had a high-school education

<sup>16</sup> In regard to the new superintendent, see footnote 1, p. 12.

<sup>17</sup> The assistant superintendent appointed in May 1933 will be concerned primarily with the business affairs of the institution. His business experience was reported to include 10 years as assistant manager of a large retail automobile company. He had been active for many years in boys' work, had sponsored Boy Scout troops, served as chairman of committees for Boy Scouts councils in San Antonio and San Francisco, and had directed the child-welfare work of a fraternal order in California for a number of years.

<sup>18</sup> In February 1934 the institution reported that this vocational director remained but a short time and was succeeded by 2 professionally trained men recommended by the University of Southern California. Later the position was abolished.

and having been assistant engineer with the United States Shipping Board, night foreman, and tractor driver. Other members of the staff not definitely classified as vocational instructors also gave some trade training. They too were practical tradesmen.

The director of physical education had had normal-school and university training and experience as a teacher of physical education and as coach in public high schools. He had also been an active Boy Scout worker.

The staff included 38 group supervisors and 1 head supervisor. Six of these supervisors were described as having had university or college work. None had stopped short of the eighth grade, although 8 had had no formal education beyond it. The background of experience in this group was exceedingly diverse. Eight had had experience in other similar institutions. Two had had hospital experience as attendants, 1 had been a nurse in a soldiers' home, and 1 had served as supervisor in a school for Indians. Noninstitutional experience in this group in preparation for boy supervision ran the gamut of occupations from ranching, dairying, soldiering, carpentering, mechanical trades, plumbing, pipe fitting, and truck driving to such activities as those that fall to the lot of teachers, lawyers, recreation directors, postmasters, real-estate salesmen, automobile salesmen, press agents, and professional ball players. One of the 8 housemothers had been a teacher and 1 a trained nurse.

The placement director appointed in 1931 who would be known in most schools as director of parole (see p. 44) had a high-school education supplemented by a business course. His experience was that of a rancher.<sup>19</sup> One of the two placement officers had had university work and experience in "production control, United States Army." The other had had 2 years in college, with experience as athletic instructor and in operating a business of his own (type not specified).

#### Personnel: Living and working conditions

Except for the cottage personnel, housing for the staff was said to be inadequate and unsatisfactory. As has been stated, more than half the employees were not in residence at the institution. Since the pleasant little city of Whittier is immediately adjacent, this meant no particular difficulty. In many ways it seemed advantageous. To have so many of its employees with their families bring a variety of outside contacts into play tended to make the institution an integral part of the life of a normal community. It complicated the salary question to some extent, as is inevitable when some employees are on full maintenance for themselves and family, some on full maintenance for themselves only, some on partial maintenance allowance, and some receiving none.

For those who boarded at the school there was a pleasant dining room in the new central commissary building, except that cottage masters and matrons ate in the boys' dining room. Service in the staff dining rooms was cafeteria.

Cottage masters and matrons had quite satisfactory quarters in the various cottages.

The personnel at this school suffered none of the social isolation sometimes found in State industrial schools. They participated in

<sup>19</sup> On May 1, 1933, a woman was appointed director of placement. She had had charge of welfare work among the employees of an automobile company for 5 years. She received her training in the school of social service at the University of Southern California and had done advanced work at Claremont College. She was formerly social worker at Pacific Colony, a California State institution for mental defectives.

diverse social activities in the life of the small commercial and college community of Whittier. Only 40 minutes distant, by way of a wide paved boulevard, lay Los Angeles, with the amusements and educational and cultural advantages of a big city. For those without cars of their own there was both bus and interurban car service. Within easy reach for outings lay the beach resorts along the Pacific Ocean, or the canyons of the nearby mountains. Under the new management a social meeting, with dancing and cards, was being held monthly, members of the personnel and their families being invited. The administration felt that this social gathering contributed to the development of good staff morale.

Working conditions were reported to be reasonably good. The previous administration had made an effort to build up the personnel to a size that would permit an 8-hour working day, with sufficient time-off allowance per week, to be put into effect. The executives had realized that the work was difficult, complex, and trying and that long hours and duties were in the long run wasteful, since they were certain eventually to bring the individual workers to the point where because of sheer fatigue and nervous strain they could not give the highest quality of service of which they were capable.

#### **Staff organization**

The staff had been previously organized along departmental lines. The data in an organization chart supplied to show the departmental pattern and the lines of administrative responsibility are reproduced on page 22.

#### **Administrative leadership and staff teamwork**

Staff meetings, with planned programs for discussion of institutional policies and problems, were not held regularly in 1931, but were said to be called "as occasion demands." The new superintendent, appointed in 1933, stated that he conferred with his immediate staff each morning regarding routine matters, and that once each week he met with the supervisors and trade instructors.

### **5. ADMISSIONS, CAPACITY, AND POPULATION**

#### **Intake provisions and policies**

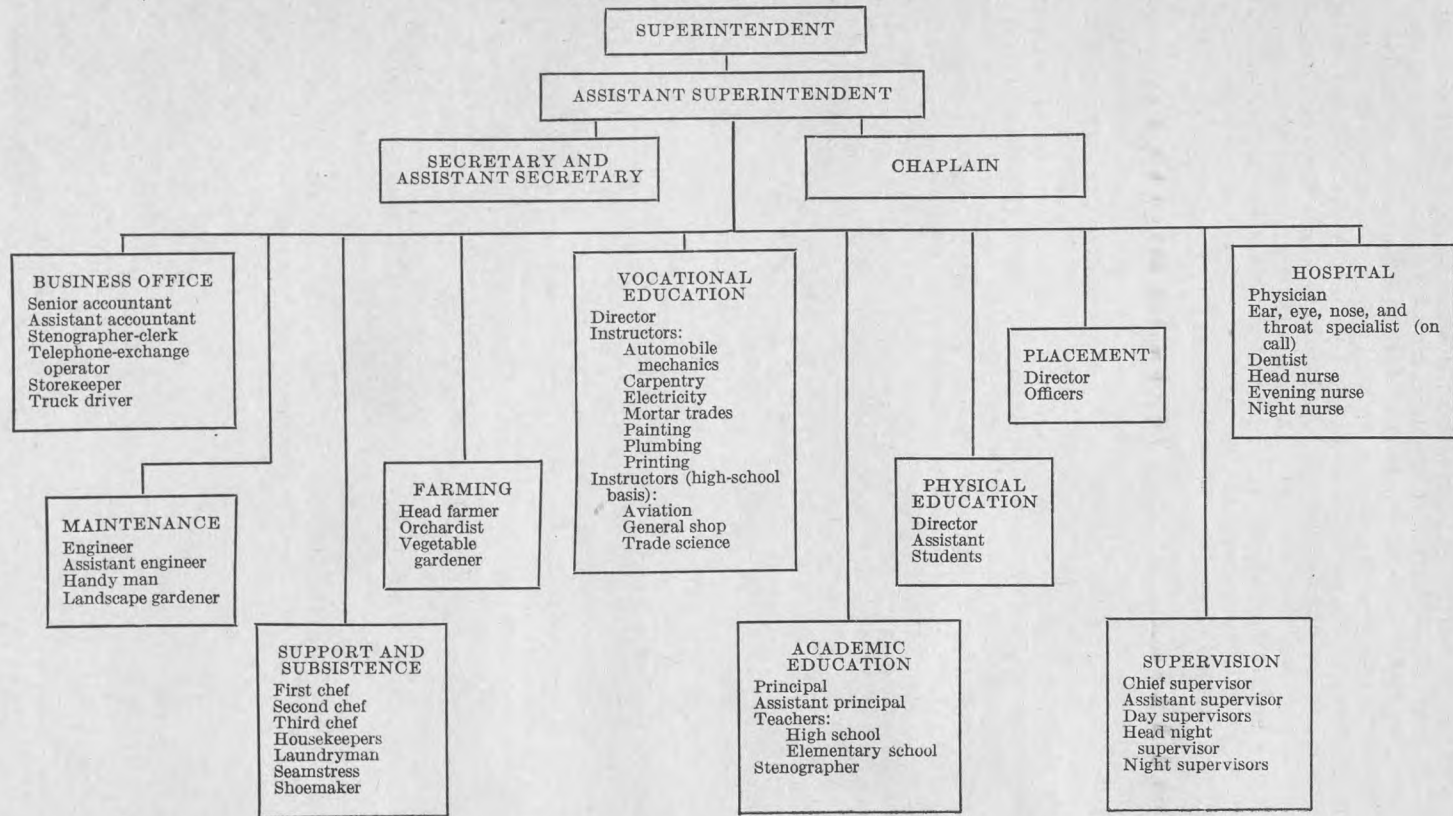
Both the legal provisions for intake and the policies adopted by this institution made possible some restrictions in accepting boys at Whittier. The school was able to reject boys of too low intelligence to profit by the training offered and boys who were too old to associate with the younger boys or to fit into the training or disciplinary program at this school.

Although the legal age for commitment was between 8 and 16 years, some boys remained at the institution past the age of 16 or even 17 years. These were boys who became 16 before they were eligible for parole or who had been returned as parole violators.

As transfer of any boy who had passed his fifteenth birthday to the Preston School of Industry (an institution for boys 15 to 21 years of age) was possible without further court action, older boys who did not fit into the program at Whittier might be transferred to Preston.<sup>20</sup> Such transfers were often made in the case of parole violators without their return to Whittier.

<sup>20</sup> California, Deering's Gen. Laws 1931, act 3966, sec. 8.

# Whittier State School



Owing to the provision in the juvenile-court law that children should not be committed to the institution unless the judge was satisfied that their physical and mental condition was such that they would benefit from the training offered, it had been possible to adopt a definite policy in regard to the exclusion of subnormal boys. The school declined to accept any boys having an intelligence quotient of less than 75. This rule was applied in cases of boys from counties which had facilities for adequate mental examinations and case study prior to the boy's commitment. Boys of border-line or presumably low intelligence from counties lacking such local resources were frequently accepted for examination and observation at the institution. Those found to be definitely feeble-minded were returned to the county for placement elsewhere. The new management emphasized the fact that no boy was refused admission because of a fixed numerical minimum I.Q. and that admission was refused only after careful study of each case by the California Bureau of Juvenile Research in collaboration with the staff of the Whittier State School.

Boys suffering from contagious or infectious diseases, including venereal disease, tuberculosis, and even scabies, were not accepted.

Two types of voluntary admissions were permissible at Whittier: first, by the probation plan, under which a boy might be sent as a part of his probation treatment but without any formal commitment; second, by "voluntary" admission upon request of parents or guardians, under an agreement made with them. However, no such informal admissions had been made for several years.

#### Capacity and population

Whittier State School had a capacity of 350 boys, with a population of 319 on November 9, 1931. It was stated that the average daily population for the year ended June 30, 1931, was 330. The population at this institution was predominantly white, there being only a small number of Negroes and Mexican Indians. The available figures for race were those for the 215 boys committed during the year ended June 30, 1931. Of these 215 boys, 170 were white, 23 were Negro, and 22 were Mexican Indian. These figures may be taken as indicative of the proportion of the racial groups in the average population. No Chinese or Japanese boys were committed during 1931, but such boys occasionally were received. No information was obtained from this school concerning the nativity of the inmates.

In his report to the State department of institutions for 1930 the superintendent pointed out that the age level of boys received during recent years had become practically stationary, as follows: 25 percent averaged 15 years; 35 percent averaged 14 years; and the remaining group consisted of boys 8 to 13 years.<sup>21</sup> The age distribution of the population of 316 boys in residence on one day of 1931 (Nov. 9) was as follows:

Age	Number	Percent	Age	Number	Percent
Total.....	316	100.0	13 years.....	39	12.3
9 years.....	1	0.3	14 years.....	84	26.6
10 years.....	5	1.6	15 years.....	93	29.4
11 years.....	10	3.2	16 years.....	60	19.0
12 years.....	13	4.1	17 years.....	11	3.5

<sup>21</sup> Fifth Biennial Report of the Department of Institutions of the State of California, 2 years ended June 30, 1930, p. 146. Sacramento, 1931.

In addition to those in residence, the school has still under its legal supervision the group of boys on parole, those absent on approved leave, and those who may technically be absent without leave or in escape status. On November 9, 1931, 342 boys were on "placement" (the term used at this school for parole) and 13 in escape status.

The movement of population for the last fiscal year before the institution was visited (ended June 30, 1931) was reported as follows:

Population July 1, 1930.....	329
Received during the year.....	357
By new commitments.....	215
Return from placement (parole).....	72
Return from escape.....	70
Lost during the year.....	348
Released on discharge by court order.....	30
Released on discharge by order of superintendent.....	8
Released on placement.....	222
Released on approved absence.....	7
Escaped.....	74
Transferred.....	4
Died.....	3
Population June 30, 1931.....	338

## 6. RECEPTION AND ASSIGNMENT PROCEDURE

### Reception

Boys were usually accompanied to this school by a probation officer, though sometimes deputy sheriffs or other law-enforcement officers brought them from counties having no special juvenile-court facilities.

Upon arrival, the boys were received and interviewed by the school secretary, who made the necessary official records. He had a friendly talk with each new boy, in the course of which he explained the educational opportunities which the school offered and something about what was expected in the way of cooperation from the boy in return for these opportunities. It was stated that whenever possible each new boy was greeted personally by the superintendent at the time of admission.

From the secretary's office the boy was sent to the hospital. There he remained in quarantine for a few days. During that period the physician gave him the initial medical examination. While in quarantine the boy remained locked in one of the hospital rooms. These rooms were all on the ground floor and had abundant light and sunshine. His meals were served on trays from the hospital diet kitchen. During this quarantine period the school chaplain also made his acquaintance and established friendly relationship with him. As soon as the physical examination was completed and the record showed him to be free from any contagious or infectious disease, he was released from quarantine and transferred from the hospital to the receiving cottage.

### Receiving cottage

Boys remained in the receiving cottage 4 to 6 weeks. During that time they were under close observation and subjected to study from six different points of view: Vocational, educational, social,

recreational, psychological and psychiatric, and religious. This cottage was less attractive and had somewhat less pleasant living arrangements than the cottages in which the boy was to spend the major part of his institutional stay. The idea back of this was very definite and purposeful. It was based on the belief that it was good psychology for the boys to feel that by the behavior which had resulted in their being sent to this institution for further education they had lost the right to certain social privileges and that they might reclaim privileges and more freedom and personal pleasures by their good conduct and cooperation. Boys in the receiving cottage did not mingle with the other boys at the school. A special teacher gave them instruction an hour and a half each day. Boys from the receiving cottage did all the laundry for the institution and spent whatever time remained on outside details working about the grounds.

#### **Service cottage**

This institution had an unusual provision in the way of an intermediate cottage between the receiving cottage and the regular residence cottages. It was known as "service" cottage. Boys came to it from the receiving cottage and remained about 6 weeks, still under observation and study. They attended a special class conducted by a teacher who came to the cottage for that purpose. The boys did all the kitchen and dining-room work and other routine chores from which little or no trade-training value could be expected. The purpose behind this period of definite routine service was that, having served that time, all boys would then be free from such maintenance service and could devote the remainder of their stay to school and vocational training. The executives felt that it was a very successful plan. It was believed to have elements of psychological value on the theory that release from drudgery and transfer to more pleasant living should be earned.

#### **First assignments**

When the boy was ready for transfer to one of the regular cottages, his case was taken to the clinic. The clinic group consisted of the superintendent, the vocational director, the school principal, the chief supervisor, the chaplain, the psychologist, the school secretary, and any other staff members who had an important relation to the boy in the school. The group met weekly for the careful consideration of permanent assignments of individual boys to cottage, school, trade, and general social treatment programs. The school secretary presented for each case a summary of the information he had obtained in his interview with the boy when he was first admitted, together with an outline of all information he had obtained from the probation officer, the committing court, or any other source. The psychologist then added a supplementary report which had been carefully prepared in advance and which included the results of all examinations to which the boy had been subjected. These findings included not only the results of the physical examination and the psychological tests but also the information obtained on personality traits and behavior problems. The case was discussed at length informally and frankly. Out of the discussion grew the decision as to what the boy's program of activities should be.

Cottage assignment was based primarily on age and physical development. Other factors considered in this connection were the boy's

mental status and his previous conduct. Consideration was also given to his personality problems and the likelihood of his making a satisfactory social adjustment with the personnel and the boys in the cottage to which he was to be assigned.

Assignment to school grade was based on the result of the tests that had been given him by the special teacher who worked with the boys in the receiving cottage (see p. 25) and on her observations as to the school level at which he could do most successful work. Consideration was given, of course, to the grade he had attained before coming to Whittier, but the assignment was by no means automatic and was based on a consideration of the boy's real needs in the educational field.

Assignment to vocational training was likewise based on the results of certain tests which had been given, the boy's own interests and wishes with respect to a trade, and consideration whether or not the trade desired would be likely to lead to better opportunities for him in the community to which he would probably return.

In addition to these specific assignments this same clinic always discussed the recreational life of the boy and his particular needs along that line. Suggestions were offered and a tentative treatment program mapped out.

A staff member was appointed as each boy's counselor, to remain his "first friend" during his entire stay at the school. Counselors were expected to keep in close touch with the personal problems of the boys assigned to them and to be easily accessible to them at all times for advice and help.

After the clinic group had reached a decision as to the various assignments, the boy himself was called in and introduced to his new cottage supervisor and his counselor in a friendly fashion. He was told just what his program was to be and why these plans had been made. The atmosphere was friendly and informal.

## 7. THE BOY'S LIFE IN THE INSTITUTION

### Daily routine

At Whittier State School the boys lived according to the following schedule:

6:30 a.m.-----	Rising bell.
7 to 7:30 a.m.-----	Breakfast.
8 a.m.-----	Report to school classes, vocational training, or work detail.
11:45 a.m.-----	Return to cottages.
12 m. to 12:30 p.m.---	Dinner.
1 p.m.-----	Report to school, vocational training, or work detail.
4 p.m.-----	School dismissed.
5 p.m.-----	Vocational classes and work details dismissed.
5 to 5:30 p.m.-----	Supper.
5:30 to 6:45 p.m.-----	Activities on cottage playgrounds.
6:45 p.m.-----	Activities in cottage living rooms.
8:30 p.m.-----	To bed.
9 p.m.-----	Lights out.

### General atmosphere

The general atmosphere at this institution was one of relative freedom from restraint. There was no outward semblance of prison or reformatory methods. Boys moved about the grounds singly, in pairs, or in small groups. Occasionally the visitor might see them



moving in cottage-group lines, but even then there was little of the formal military type of movement. Boys and officers addressed each other in much the same way that teachers or recreation supervisors in schools or on public playgrounds do when they meet.

#### **Cottage "family" atmosphere**

Each cottage had its supervisor and housemother, who were husband and wife. These officers were expected to represent as nearly as possible the father and mother character in the boys' lives. Cottage groups were of reasonable size, varying from 25 to 30 boys. Although that would be a rather large family in a normal community, each cottage father and mother could know quite intimately all the boys in their charge and have time to give some individual attention to each one. No distinctions as to race were drawn at this institution. Colored, Mexican, and white boys lived together in the same "family." It was stated that little or no difficulty of any kind ever arose from this mingling.

#### **Arrangements for sleeping**

Four of the cottages had individual rooms. The rest contained dormitories. The individual rooms were attractive and popular. The dormitories were light, airy rooms, well equipped as to beds and bedding. The sleeping arrangements presented the principal evidence of difference between this school and schools for nondelinquent boys. A night supervisor was on duty all night in each cottage to keep strict watch over the boys, both in the dormitories and in the single rooms.

#### **Arrangements for eating**

The new commissary building contained a very attractive boys' dining room. There each cottage family ate as a unit, with the cottage father and mother at a small table close by. The dining room had cafeteria service. Food was of very good quality and apparently abundant. A sample menu for 1 week is reproduced in appendix A, page 289.

#### **Sanitary arrangements**

Each of the cottages had adequate sanitary arrangements. Modern plumbing with facilities for shower baths was a part of the equipment in each one.

#### **Living-room and playground activities**

The cottage living rooms were attractively furnished and had a homelike atmosphere. It was stated that the boys not only were allowed to make the same sort of use of the cottage living rooms as they would in their own homes but were encouraged to do so. With so many boys present, of course, there had to be a certain limit on the amount of actual physical rough-and-tumble play, just as would be necessary in a private home. Favorite living-room activities were games of various kinds, reading, Boy Scout work, and other handwork.

Each cottage had its own separate playground. The school ideal contemplated plenty of time both for supervised and for free play. An interesting experiment was going on and was proving highly successful. The nine students from Whittier College were aiding in the program of play supervision under the general guidance of the director of physical education.

### Miscellaneous arrangements

In the cottages with single rooms each boy had a place for his personal possessions. In the cottages having dormitories individual lockers were furnished so that each boy might have a place to keep his clothing and those personal possessions of little value but full of meaning for the boy possessor. Boys were permitted to have their own clothing as the institution did not use uniforms.

Smoking was not permitted at any time or place.

Each cottage had a monitor system. The monitors were boys selected by the cottage supervisors and given responsibility for certain types of service, such as seeing that the dormitories and the living rooms were kept in good condition and that the lawns were properly cared for. Authorities were not convinced that the monitor plan was advisable. They were conscious of both advantages and disadvantages in its use.

Other phases of the boys' life, particularly with reference to education and specialized recreation, will be treated in the sections dealing with those subjects.

### Outside contacts

Boys were permitted to write twice a month to relatives. There was no restriction as to the number of relatives to whom they might write, but special permission was required before they could communicate with anyone else. Both outgoing and incoming mail was censored. This duty was performed by the night nurses at the hospital. There was no limitation on the incoming mail, except that the censors might withhold communications which they felt it would be unwise to let the boy have. The probable effect of the communication on the boy was always the primary consideration in determining whether or not to withhold a particular letter. Boys were permitted to receive packages from relatives, but these packages were inspected before they were given to them.

Relatives were permitted to visit the boys as frequently as they desired, the only restriction being that they must come during the visiting hours, which were from 1 to 4 on Saturday afternoon and from 10 in the morning to 4 in the afternoon on Sunday. Boys entertained their visitors either on the grounds, if the weather was pleasant, or in the school rooms at other times.

All sorts of outside contacts of a wholesome character were encouraged by the administration. Many of the men's service clubs in nearby towns were much interested in the school and visited it fairly frequently. Boys from the school occasionally went in groups to serve luncheons or dinners at the men's clubs. The atmosphere on such occasions was said to be friendly and informal, and the boys were treated in much the same fashion as any group of community school boys would be for performing that kind of service.

## 8. PHYSICAL EXAMINATIONS AND MEDICAL CARE

### Hospital facilities

All medical work at Whittier State School was carried on in the new hospital building. For special examinations which necessitated X-ray or laboratory work, the facilities at the Murphy Memorial Hospital in Whittier were available.

**Hospital staff**

The physician in charge was a part-time employee. He had a private practice in the adjacent town of Whittier. The nursing staff consisted of three graduate nurses, one of whom was a surgical nurse. Dental care was given by a dentist who was a full-time State employee and devoted all except 9 days of each month to Whittier State School.

**Physical examinations**

Each new boy was given a complete physical examination at the hospital before he was admitted to the receiving cottage. Immunizations for typhoid, diphtheria, and smallpox were part of the routine. Tuberculosis and venereal-disease tests were given only in cases in which the physician suspected infection. The findings were entered on a physical-examination blank and made a part of the hospital records. A summary of these medical findings was always included as part of the report for the clinic which met to discuss assignments.

**Corrective work**

It was understood that comparatively little corrective treatment of an operative character was being done. It was stated that boys with known physical handicaps were not usually accepted. The committing county was supposed to arrange for such correction before sending a boy to Whittier. However, correction of eye difficulties which could be remedied by provision of proper glasses, and of foot troubles which called for arch supports or other minor corrective work was part of the treatment program, and each boy's counselor was responsible for keeping track of the follow-up care he needed. If the physical examination indicated that the boy was under weight or in need of special diet, the physician issued instructions for treatment of the proper kind to remedy the existing condition. The physical-education department was particularly interested in keeping track of physical development. (For further details see the section dealing with that subject, p. 36.)

**Dental work**

Dental work was done as found necessary by the dentist on the State pay roll who devoted the major part of his time to this school.

**Other medical care**

The physician called regularly every day at the hospital. A daily sick call was a part of the routine. Boys from all the cottages were sent by their cottage supervisors or housemothers for examination or dispensary treatment at that time. Boys needing attention at any other time of day were accepted when sent over by the supervising officer. Boys with acute illness received excellent care.

**9. PSYCHIATRIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICE****Clinical facilities**

Psychiatric and psychological service at Whittier State School was supplied by the California Bureau of Juvenile Research. The work of this organization was begun in 1914 as the result of a study of the boys at Whittier State School conducted by members of the psychology department of Stanford University. Its work was limited to the population of Whittier State School until 1921, when it became a State bureau with a State-wide program. This included consultant

service to any community in the State on request in addition to services to the State institutions. In 1923 the State legislature failed to appropriate funds for the work, but it was continued as the department of research of Whittier State School, its staff being greatly reduced and the work curtailed. It was reestablished as a State bureau in 1929. The staff consisted of a director (who was a psychologist), a psychiatrist, two additional clinical psychologists, two psychiatric social workers, and the necessary clerical assistants.

One of the clinical psychologists and a psychiatric social worker were assigned to full-time duty at Whittier State School. They had a joint office in the administration building.

#### **Psychological tests**

All the new boys were given certain psychological tests as a matter of routine. A variety of tests were used, principal among them being the Stanford revision of the Binet-Simon test, the Stanford achievement test, the Terman group test of mental ability, the Stanford attitude-interest analysis test, and the Arthur performance scale. The resident psychologist stated that the median intelligence quotient of the population of the school at that time was 91.5.

#### **Psychiatric examinations**

The psychiatrist for the bureau was not examining all new cases. This routine service had been discontinued a few months previously, when the headquarters of the bureau had been removed from Whittier State School to offices in the city of Los Angeles. Since then the psychiatrist had examined only those selected for such special study by the resident psychologist at the school. The cases usually chosen for psychiatric examination included boys of the seclusive, aloof type, boys with outstanding mental or emotional abnormalities, and boys who had distinct sex problems.

#### **Personal histories**

The psychiatric social worker was newly appointed and was comparatively inexperienced. It was the intention that her work would be supervised from the headquarters of the bureau. One of her duties was to supplement the social history of each individual boy, as it had been sent in by the committing court, by personal interviews with the boys themselves and by visiting the homes from which they had come whenever possible. It was stated that she was able to visit most of the homes of boys committed from Los Angeles County. These usually constituted a considerable part of the total commitments from the State.

#### **Application of findings**

As was indicated in the section on assignment procedures, the summarized results of the psychological and psychiatric examinations were used in practical fashion in the clinic's consideration of the assignment of new boys when they were ready to leave the receiving and service cottages. These findings were considered in assigning boys to school grade, to vocational training, and to cottages and in planning for all extracurricular social and recreational treatment of the individual boy.

In addition to the use made of these findings in connection with original assignments, this school had a system designed to provide for keeping watch over the progress made by the individual boy and the

difficulties he encountered. The counselor was expected to report monthly on a blank designed for that purpose to the research department. That blank (reproduced in appendix C, p. 318) contained spaces for entries showing how many contacts the counselor had made with the boy during the month; what problems had been discussed with him; what his physical condition was; what his social adjustment was in relation to other boys, to his teachers, to his cottage officers, and to other supervisors; whether his recreational activities seemed to be meeting his needs; what relationships he was maintaining with his family; and what the counselor's opinion was as to his progress or failure to progress. These reports, together with reports from teachers, shop instructors, and other officers, gave a basis for clinic discussion of needed modifications or changes in the original assignments and treatment plans. It was intended that the research department should play an important part in assembling the necessary material and interpreting the boy's needs for program changes.

The research department was likewise concerned with the personality problems of the boys and their relation to social adjustment. Each cottage supervisor reported to the resident psychologist on a blank for that purpose certain facts which might serve as evidence of each boy's progress in social adjustment. This blank provided an opportunity for the cottage supervisor to register his judgment not only as to a boy's average conduct rating but also as to his attitude toward the cottage supervisor and toward other boys, the attitude of other boys toward him, outstanding personality traits, personal habits, type of companionships and friendships which he was seeking, and other items of similar nature. These reports obviously were of value in dealing with conduct problems and social attitudes.

Although there was no formal procedure by which the bureau personnel were consulted in connection with decisions as to disciplinary action, the files of the bureau were always accessible to the staff officer who was responsible for discipline, and there seemed to be a cordial understanding and working relation between his office and that of the bureau.

The very considerable amount of information which the bureau personnel had accumulated as a result of the original examinations and the follow-up work done while boys were in the institution was made available to the school placement committee when an individual came up for consideration for parole. (For further detail as to its use in this connection see p. 45.)

#### **Attitude of other staff members toward clinical services**

Staff members who had been at the school for some time manifested considerable appreciation of the value of the service rendered by the research staff and a tendency to use the clinical service in practical ways in connection with determining their own attitudes toward individual boys, particularly those with distinctive problems.

#### **Research activities**

There had always been a great deal of research activity in connection with the work of the Bureau of Juvenile Research at Whittier State School. The results of many individual studies had been published from time to time. In 1931 no special research project was under way, but the resident psychologist whose time was largely filled with service to the boys of the institution reported that she expected

to start work on a study of reading disabilities very shortly. The research program of the California Bureau of Juvenile Research was carried on from its headquarters in Los Angeles.

### 10. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM—CLASSROOM WORK

#### School staff

The school staff consisted of the principal, three high-school teachers, three elementary teachers, one social-science instructor, and one instructor in "music and expression." The last had had to cease teaching music and devote her time to regular classroom work because the number of teachers was insufficient. Members of the teaching group regularly attended the various teachers' institutes and other academic association meetings.

#### School day and school year

Classes were maintained the year round. The school day was from 8:15 a. m. to 3:15 p. m., with 1 hour and 15 minutes out for the noon meal and rest period.

#### Attendance requirements and enrollment

All boys who were not yet 14 years of age and those who were 14 or over but had not completed the fourth grade attended school all day 5 days a week. The others spent half the day in school and the other half day in vocational or other work. No boys were excused from attendance except on written request of some supervising officer or because of physical reasons. The hospital and the lost-privilege cottage (see p. 42) sent their population lists to the school daily to be checked against absentees.

The school enrollment and the time of school for boys enrolled on November 6, 1931, were reported as shown in the following table:

*Time of school for boys enrolled in specified school grades on Nov. 6, 1931*

Grade	Boys enrolled			
	Total	Time assigned		
		All day	Morning	Afternoon
Total.....	288	37	129	122
Eleventh and tenth grades.....	36		18	18
Tenth and ninth grades.....	36		20	16
Ninth and eighth grades.....	40		22	18
Eighth grade.....	18			18
Ninth, eighth, and seventh grades.....	35		19	16
Seventh grade.....	36		18	18
Sixth and fifth grades.....	17	17		
Fourth to first grades.....	20	20		
Ungraded.....	50		32	18

<sup>1</sup> The difference between the school enrollment (288 on Nov. 6, 1931) and the total population of the institution on approximately the same date (319 on Nov. 9, 1931) is due to the fact that boys not released from the receiving and service cottages for assignment to school grade were included in the total population, and also to other conditions of institutional life.

#### Courses given

One of the teachers held classes in the receiving and service cottages, which the boys in those two units attended for an hour and a half each school day. This teacher made particularly careful observations and

records which were used by the clinic in placing new boys at their proper levels in the classroom work.

It will be noted that work was being given in all grades through the eleventh and that there was an ungraded class for special cases. In the ungraded class were placed all boys of 14 years or over who had not yet completed the fourth grade. According to the enrollment figures, a considerable portion of the school population fell within that group. Boys who had not completed the fourth grade but were not yet 14 were grouped in one class for all-day attendance. Boys in the fifth and sixth grades likewise attended school all day and were in a single room.

There was an arrangement through which one teacher was giving individual instruction to a number of boys who were having difficulty with particular subjects. The teacher, who had training in correction of speech defects, was endeavoring to help the boys who had such defects. In the class containing the lower grades, an hour and a half a day was being given to particular reading problems. A few boys with defective hearing were also receiving special attention.

All work beyond the sixth grade was carried on through a contract plan which had originated at Whittier State School. It was said to embody some of the features of the Dalton Plan and to have borrowed some ideas from the Winnetka Plan. The teaching staff at Whittier had worked out the adaptations which seemed most likely to meet the needs of these boys. The lesson schedules had been made up by the teachers under the leadership of their principal. An interesting feature of the plan here was that these lessons were carefully graded within the groups in order that each boy might be given lessons adapted to his intelligence level. When the contract plan was adopted, the start had been made with three such levels; that is, all boys actually able to "contract" to do eighth-grade work were assigned to one group, but within that group would be three intelligence levels—upper normal or superior, average, and dull normal. Therefore there would be three sets of eighth-grade contract lessons of 200 jobs each. Later experience led to division of the dull-normal group on the basis of school retardation and of individual needs, so that the school had put into use a 5-level division of lessons within each contract grade. It was felt that this was a successful experiment. Dull boys were not subjected to the discouragement which tended to lead to the emotional conflict and hatred of all school work that is frequently the result of being forced to do exactly the same amount of work of the same degree of difficulty as very much more intelligent boys. By being given lessons suited to their ability they were relieved of the feeling of inferiority and given a feeling of achievement which in turn reacted most favorably on their interest and the effort which they were willing to put forth.

All lessons were closely correlated with the trade which the boy was learning. For example, a boy who was studying automobile mechanics would have for his spelling lesson such words as "cylinder", "mechanical", "battery", and "transmission". A boy who was studying carpentry would find his arithmetic lessons concerned with figuring on amounts of material and costs for simple carpentry jobs. This effort to correlate the academic work with the trade training was said to have greatly stimulated the boy's interest in both.

A further argument in favor of the contract system was its flexibility. This was said to be a very desirable feature because of the entry and withdrawal of boys at irregular times during the year. Moreover, changes in the educational program of individual boys could be arranged much more expeditiously and with much less public notice than under the usual school-grade promotion and demotion from class to class in which all work is done through recitation and all pupils of a group progress at the same rate or are considered to have failed. This again eliminated some of the incidents that frequently tend to make educational experience a destructive instead of a constructive force in the development of a boy's personality.

The Whittier State School administration recognized that many of the boys who were committed to their care had been problems in their own communities' public schools. For that reason they believed that a satisfactory adjustment to school work was a very important part of the boy's social adjustment. They were of the opinion that it was essential to have teachers selected not only because of their educational qualifications but also because of their possession of unusual understanding, personal dignity, poise, patience, and genuine interest in the problems of boys.

It was reported that very few disciplinary problems arose in connection with classroom life that could not be handled by the individual teachers. The atmosphere was very informal. The boys passed singly or in groups about the school, not in silent lines.

#### 11. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM—VOCATIONAL OR PREVOCATIONAL WORK

For many years vocational training had had an important place in the training program at this school. Much experimental work had been done in this field in earlier years during the superintendency of Mr. Nelles. During his last 5 years it was said that the pendulum swung slightly back in the other direction so that increased emphasis had been placed on academic work. In 1927, with the change in superintendents, emphasis again was shifted to vocational training. At that time a survey of the school had been made under the direction of the chief of the bureau of trade and industrial education, which had been outlined by the chief of the division of city secondary schools of the State department of education. Partly as a result of that survey a general shop plan was inaugurated in 1928. All boys were given 4 months' trial in a selected group of trades. Each class contained about 15 boys. The instructors observed aptitudes closely and were thus able to advise and recommend specific training assignments on a basis of actual knowledge of the individual. The boy would then specialize in that particular type of work during the remainder of his stay at the school. Moreover, the time given to academic work was reduced to 90 minutes per day, the remainder of the boy's time being spent in his vocational work or allied subjects.

Since the recent change in superintendents the general shop had been abandoned and the traditional half day in school, half day in trade training had been resumed.

In February 1934 the new administration reported that a committee of vocational educators in the State was cooperating with the superintendent and staff at the school and the director of the California



Bureau of Juvenile Research in a survey of the vocational program at Whittier with a view to measuring its value and significance. They expected to undertake any revisions in the program that the study might indicate to be desirable. A similar survey of the educational work was reported under way simultaneously.

#### Enrollment

The vocational or other work in which boys were occupied on November 3, 1931, and the time assigned are shown in the following table:

*Time of work for boys occupied in specified vocational or other work assignments on Nov. 3, 1931*

Vocational or other work	Boys occupied in vocational or other work		
	Total	Time assigned	
		Morning	Afternoon
Total.....	146	87	59
Aviation.....	16	8	8
Garage.....	5	3	2
Power house.....	3	2	1
Carpentry.....	7	4	3
Masonry.....	8	5	3
Painting.....	5	2	3
Plumbing.....	3	1	2
Printing.....	8	5	3
Farming.....	11	8	3
Vegetable garden.....	14	9	5
Flower garden.....	9	6	3
Shoemaking and shoe repairing.....	11	5	6
Tailoring.....	6	3	3
Laundry.....	20	10	10
Bakery.....	12	8	4
Housework.....	8	8	-----

<sup>1</sup> The difference between the number of boys assigned to vocational or other work (146 on Nov. 3, 1931) and the total population of the institution on approximately the same date (319 on Nov. 9, 1931) is due to the fact that boys not yet released from the receiving and service cottages for assignment were included in the total population and that vocational and other work assignments were not given to the younger boys, and also to other conditions of institutional life.

The school did not claim to be able in the short time that these boys were in training to make them ready to take their place in any trades. The work was considered prevocational, designed to familiarize them with the main facts about the industry, the tools, and the materials which they would have to learn to handle expertly to become skilled workmen.

From its earliest history the print shop at Whittier had been one of the outstanding features of its work. It was well equipped and the instructor was a qualified teacher. Print-shop classes had always done a great deal of printing for the various State departments and other organizations. The quality of their work compared favorably with that of commercial printing.

The class in aviation ground work was a fairly recent innovation. The Navy had given the school three condemned planes from their war stock. The 16 boys assigned to that work ranged in age from 12 to 16. Their time was divided between talks by the instructor, work with the Navy planes, and model work in which each boy actually constructed to scale a miniature plane.

The machine shop, situated in new quarters and equipped with 8 new lathes, offered an opportunity to learn the rudiments of machine work. In automobile mechanics the boys spent most of their time learning to do repair work through actual-practice jobs on institution cars.

The agricultural courses included practical work in the care of citrus and walnut trees. The vegetable farm afforded opportunity to teach methods of truck gardening. Both these courses included instruction in methods of irrigation essential for all agricultural work in southern California. Equipment for agricultural work was reported to be adequate and of modern type. It included tractors, which the boys were taught to care for and operate.

#### **Maintenance and repair work**

The ever-present question in such institutions is to what extent boy labor should be used in performing the maintenance work of the institution. The impression was gained that under Mr. Scudder the vocational-training program had so emphasized training as distinct from work that maintenance and repair work for the institution had been badly disrupted. Maintenance work had been done for practice, but much less time had been given to it, and fewer boys had been assigned to perform that kind of service. The tendency seemed to be to swing back toward keeping the institution buildings and equipment in better repair through the giving of more hours of boy labor to such maintenance, although still placing emphasis on the training possibilities in such work when done under the direction of men experienced in the trades.

## **12. PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND ATHLETICS**

A director of physical education was in charge of the program for physical education and athletics. He had one full-time assistant and the aid of 9 college students previously mentioned. These students worked with the boys on their cottage playgrounds, coached the cottage teams, and did other related work.

There was no military training of any kind at this institution.

#### **Physical education**

There was a daily program of gymnasium classes for all school boys. In the classes the principal emphasis was on calisthenics. The work was designed to promote general physical development and to improve posture. It was stated that posture defects were extremely common among the new boys. Each boy was weighed and measured and given certain physical tests each month. The findings were recorded regularly, and the director said that the boys were very much interested in watching their own progress in weight, growth, and muscular ability. The monthly record proved to be a great incentive to a boy to stick at routine exercises that were being given him for particular purposes, which were carefully explained to him.

Each month the director prepared a report which showed the total number of boys weighed and the total number of pounds gained or lost. His report for October 1931 showed 271 boys weighed, with a total of 567 pounds gained and only 13 lost, or a net gain of 554 pounds, a little more than 2 pounds each. On the monthly report he listed each boy who was under weight or who had shown no gain

for some time past, or boys who were over weight and gaining too rapidly. A copy of this report went to the superintendent, the research department, the physician, the chef, and the supervisors of the dining room.

#### **Sports program**

Competitive athletics occupied a prominent place among institutional activities. Each year each cottage developed a team in the several sports as the seasons changed. There were regularly scheduled intramural series in the various sports. The winning cottage team and the school team composed of the best players from all cottage teams played games with outside organizations. For example, the football team was scheduled for 11 games with outside teams. There seemed to be a very friendly relation between teams from this school and teams from schools throughout the surrounding territory. It was stated that the Whittier State School had a well-earned reputation for good sportsmanship and that its teams held a record for having played 4 years without a single foul in extramural contests.

A swimming schedule provided opportunity for practically every boy in the school who wished to do so to use the swimming pool daily, including Sunday. Considerable emphasis was also given to track events. The school was very proud of the fact that two of the Whittier boys had been able to enter the junior Olympic semifinals the previous spring.

One interesting feature of team membership under the leadership of the director in charge was that in addition to athletic prowess a boy must measure up not only in his school work but in his character traits. A list of candidates for the school football team was sent around to teachers, cottage supervisors, and other officers who were asked to answer the following questions with respect to each boy: "Is he interested in his work? Can he be trusted? Is he loyal to his cottage? Is he a bully? Does he cause you any trouble? Is he underhanded? Does he intimidate other boys? Is he a good or a bad influence in the group? Does he smoke? Does he work well with other boys? Is he a good sportsman? Do you consider him a fit candidate for the school team?" In other words, team membership at Whittier was something that stood for a great deal more than mere physical strength or skill.

The director of physical education was strongly of the opinion that a certain amount of competition in school teams is a good thing, but he believed that it must be very carefully supervised in order that desirable rather than undesirable character traits be strengthened. He thought that the physical-education classes and the athletic contests offered exceptional opportunities for developing a sense of social or group responsibility and appreciation of fair play and good sportsmanship, also for teaching boys to restrain their tempers, fight on equal terms, and take defeat with good grace. Moreover, he thought it enabled the physical weaklings to learn how to defend themselves, which, in turn, had a very desirable effect on their self-confidence and their attitudes toward all other types of development. In other words, the therapeutic aspects of physical education were considered of paramount importance and athletics was by no means treated merely as a form of recreation.

### 13. OTHER RECREATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

During previous administrations there had grown up at Whittier an appreciation of the need for a diversified program of activities to fill the hours when boys were neither at work nor in school. Observation of boys after release revealed that the greatest dangers to their future adjustment came not while they were at school or on the jobs found for them but because they had made unwise and undirected use of their leisure hours. Therefore the fundamental objective underlying the program of activities at Whittier was to help them to find new outlets for mental interests and emotional energy and to learn how to use leisure time in ways that were none the less engrossing because wholesome. It was believed that the normal boy has a genuine interest in wholesome play provided he and the opportunity for it can be brought together. The activity program had been built up with that definitely in mind.

#### Music

Musical training had been an important feature in the Whittier program. Group singing was used at all assemblies. There had been two bands, although it was stated that there was only one in 1931. Individual instruction was given in the various band instruments to all boys who could demonstrate any ability and who wished to try out for the band. Instruments were supplied by the school for boys whose relatives were unable to provide them. It was said that the services of the band were in constant demand for outside performances. Many public concerts were given, but an attempt was made to see that there was no element of exploitation. The band played at school assemblies and gave frequent concerts for the school. Boys who showed exceptional talent were given special attention, and attempts were made to procure individual lessons for them. For example, a Whittier civic club had provided a scholarship in violin lessons for a Whittier school boy who showed unusual ability with that instrument.

This year the special teacher in music and expression had to be diverted to regular school work because of a shortage of teachers.

#### Radio

Each cottage was equipped with loud-speakers through which programs regulated from a central station were broadcast to all parts of the institution. The school had its own small broadcasting station donated by a civic club of Los Angeles. Through that station the school band and other entertainment groups were able to present their programs to the various cottages and to the hospital. It was also possible for the superintendent and other members of the staff to read stories or other good books regularly over the air to all the boys at once. It was regarded as significant that since the installation of the radio broadcasting system there had been no instance of serious misconduct at night. It was also stated that with the radio programs carefully controlled it had been interesting to note the improvement in the musical preference of the boys and their growing desire for good music.

#### Dramatics

Considerable emphasis formerly had been placed on dramatics, including pageantry, as an outlet for the interest of certain types of

boys, but there was said to be somewhat less emphasis in 1931 because neither staff nor boys had much time for that sort of activity. The boys usually put on a play of some kind at Christmas and Easter, and occasionally one of the cottages would present a "show" for the whole school.<sup>22</sup>

#### **Motion pictures**

A motion picture was shown each Thursday from 6:45 to 9 p.m. The school had a new machine for showing talking pictures. The films, said to be of relatively high standard, were furnished free by a Los Angeles film exchange. Their selection was supervised by a member of the staff. The weekly picture show was attended by all boys except the few who had been deprived of the privilege as a disciplinary measure.

#### **Reading**

The school had a well-equipped and well-run library which was a regular branch of the Los Angeles County Library. A woman who was a trained librarian was in charge full time. The county library was reported to be taking special interest in maintaining this branch in good shape, with consideration for the particular needs of these boys. The equipment included several library tables with chairs around them where the boys could sit and read.

The library had about 5,000 volumes. Boys who had been assigned to their permanent cottages had regular library cards and were permitted to draw books as they would from any public library. The receiving cottage, lost-privilege cottage, and service cottage each had a case of books selected for them by the librarian, as the boys in those cottages did not have the privilege of drawing books individually. The library seemed well supplied with reference books of all kinds which the boys would need in their school work, and it possessed in addition a liberal supply of appropriate fiction. The librarian stated that their interest ran largely to the usual boy literature—adventure, western stories, and detective stories. The library also had a number of good periodicals that appealed to boys, and in addition each cottage received one of the Los Angeles evening papers.

The school classes had regular library periods. From the sixth grade up the classes came to the library daily for study and reference work in connection with their contract lessons. In the lower grades each class had one 45-minute period per week in the library, as did also the boys from the rooms for retarded pupils, who came to the library with their teachers weekly.

Boys from the service cottage who were not yet in school also had a weekly library period.

#### **Boy Scout work**

Four cottage groups had been organized into Boy Scout troops. There was very great interest in Boy Scout work among the boys and much competition in making progress in Scout training. The management of the school felt that it was one of the best influences at work among the boys in the school. The regular Scout program, which included hikes and other activities off the grounds of the school, was in full effect.

<sup>22</sup> Under date of Feb. 16, 1934, the school reported a dramatics instructor again at work, making dramatic training again a significant part of the program. Several plays were to be presented in 1934. Participation was definitely a part of the treatment program, with special effort to reach individual problem boys through this medium.

Scout executives in the district had taken a very friendly and active interest in the work at the Whittier State School and had contributed no little part to making it a success. One of the district Scout executives had been very regular in his attendance at the meetings of the school scoutmasters and their troop committeemen. At those meetings problems connected with the promotion of the work were freely discussed, and much good came out of those discussions.

When a boy who was a Scout was ready to be released for placement, the placement officer sought to arrange for his admission to a Scout troop in the community to which he was going and to enlist the interest of the scoutmaster of that troop in being of special help to the boy during his first months at home. No particular difficulties in working out such arrangements were reported.

#### **Summer camp**

A summer camp for the boys of Whittier State School was conducted annually at Catalina Island on a camp site that had been given to the school, and the donor also furnished the Whittier boys free transportation to it. Each cottage had 7 to 10 days at this camp every summer. Permanent buildings for the dormitory and mess hall had been built, and each year some improvements were made by the various groups while they were there. The Navy had donated an old motor launch which had been put into good shape for use at the camp.

#### **Other organizations and clubs**

Some material received from this institution in March 1934 describes in some detail the establishment of a system of honor clubs at Whittier, at the suggestion of the superintendent and under his leadership. He had devised the system while he was in charge of the Nevada School of Industry in 1918 and installed it later in the Utah Industrial School when he became its superintendent. At Whittier it is known as the "Paramount Honor Club", with members in each cottage.

The honor club, as its name might indicate, seems to have for its primary purpose the encouragement of self-control and self-discipline. Its "oath of allegiance" pledges members (1) not to escape, nor attempt to escape, and to do their "utmost to prevent and persuade others from escaping"; (2) when out on any kind of leave to conduct themselves in such a way as to bring credit upon themselves and the institution, and to do nothing to endanger the chances of others for obtaining future leave; and (3) "to put forth an honest and honorable effort to stamp out the use of tobacco among the boys." This special pledge of "allegiance" was purposely limited to these three rules which the superintendent and the boys felt could be enforced through this method. Members of the honor club whose honor-club group had no "A.W.O.L." for 60 days are rewarded by a special party and by certain credit allowances described as equivalent to about 1 week's time off their stay at the institution.

### **14. RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION**

Whittier employed a full-time Protestant chaplain. The man who held this position at the time of this study had an A.B. degree from the University of California and had taken theological courses at Grace Biblical and Moody Institutes. He had had service as an

Army chaplain, where he held the rank of lieutenant. His experience also included 5 years' work as probation officer in Sutter County, a rural and mining region.

The chaplain conducted nonsectarian services every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock, these services being attended by all boys. These services, except for their nonsectarian character, closely resembled church services outside the institution. The school print shop published an attractive program for each Sunday service.

The pastor of the Whittier Catholic Church conducted Mass each Sunday morning in the school chapel for the Catholic boys. He also gave instruction to all boys who wished to prepare for confirmation.

The few Jewish boys were visited periodically by a representative of the Jewish Welfare Federation, and they were always permitted to go home for certain of their important religious holidays if it were possible to arrange the trip.

In addition to conducting Sunday exercises, the chaplain was reported to be doing a considerable amount of personal contact work with individual boys, having general responsibility for their ethical and moral training. It was one of the chaplain's duties to interview each new boy and to take him on a tour of the grounds and buildings, explaining to him the various kinds of work and training opportunities, getting personally acquainted with him, and obtaining information about his religious and ethical background. Boys who were troubled by unhappy conditions or illness at home were invited to come to the chaplain for advice and help.

## 15. CREDIT SYSTEM AND DISCIPLINARY MEASURES

### Credit system

The Whittier plan did not include a formal merit or credit system. Before 1931, at the request of the superintendent and in consultation with staff members, the California Bureau of Juvenile Research had worked out a 5-point rating scale for boys. A record blank had been made out to serve for objective measuring of the boys' attitude and behavior. This form was printed on a large sheet which contained spaces for the name of each boy and places for entering daily ratings for 1 month. During the entire month such a record sheet remained posted on the bulletin board in each cottage. The cottage supervisor daily entered a rating for each boy under his supervision. The points 1 to 5 represented varying degrees from excellent response, numbered 1, down to unresponsive and uncooperative, which was indicated by 5. The public postings of these ratings enabled each boy to know at any time just where he stood for the month. At the end of the month the blanks were filed with the research department. They formed an important link in the clinic's consideration of the progress which a boy was making toward adjustment sufficient to warrant parole.

Doubt was expressed by some of the staff members as to the practicability of this rating method. Although designed to be as objective as possible, it obviously leaned very heavily on the subjective side. It was said that despite all efforts to equalize attitudes of cottage supervisors, there remained considerable variation in their appraisals of conduct. A cottage supervisor with high standards would give low ratings for behavior that a more lenient officer would grade two

or three points higher. Moreover, there seemed no way of obviating the day-to-day variation resulting from the fact that inescapable personality clashes between officers and boys would affect the officers' ability to give entirely objective ratings.

The monthly summaries of these ratings, together with periodic reports as to trade and school progress, were entered on permanent record cards in the administrative offices. With this material was included a record of the number of trips to the disciplinary cottage and the reasons for each trip.

#### Disciplinary measures

The superintendent retained personal responsibility for the fixing of policies with respect to the types of disciplinary measures that might be used. Responsibility for the administration of discipline in minor cases of misconduct rested with the cottage supervisor, the teacher, the shop instructor, or other officer under whose supervision the boy was at the time. Responsibility for the imposition of disciplinary measures in cases of major misconduct was vested in the chief supervisor, who had full power to determine the extent of the discipline to be meted out. In exceedingly difficult cases he consulted the superintendent for approval of the action to be taken.

The principal method of discipline was deprivation of privileges. The scale for such withdrawal of privileges varied from merely requiring a boy to sit on a bench on the cottage playground while other boys indulged in free play, through such things as being denied attendance at the weekly motion-picture show or participation in or attendance at athletic games down to complete loss of social privileges, which meant removal from his own residence group to the lost-privilege cottage—the disciplinary cottage which was very different from the pleasant, homelike residence cottages at Whittier. During their stay in this disciplinary group boys were required to do the heavy work around the school, such as road work, digging trenches, and other physical labor. The only play permitted was a 15-minute period of unsupervised activity in an inside court each morning and evening. There was no curtailment of food for boys under discipline in this group. The length of time that a boy remained here depended almost entirely on the attitude he himself assumed. He was closely observed at all times. As soon as he expressed a willingness to do his best to fit into the less restricted social life of the regular cottages and had given evidence of sincerity in his intent, he was released to make a fresh start with his own family unit.

In the lost-privilege cottage were four rooms known as "quarantine rooms" where boys could be completely segregated. It was stated that it was very seldom necessary to use these rooms, but when a boy remained stubbornly and actively defiant after all other measures had been tried, he might be placed in isolation in one of those rooms. He received the same food as the other boys. He was interviewed at frequent intervals to ascertain his attitude and to determine whether or not the opportunity he had had for quiet thinking about his responsibilities toward the other boys and the school had enabled him to realize his own personal obligations. The emphasis in all of this lost-privilege work was on the individual responsibility of each boy for so living that he contributed toward happiness and progress for all boys in his own group and in the school.



No corporal punishment of any kind was permitted by the administration.

The head group supervisor stated that it was necessary to use boy monitors to a certain extent, as they did not have assistant cottage managers. He felt that this was not a desirable system but that it was unavoidable until it became possible to employ additional cottage personnel. Their use was minimized and restricted to duties that had as little to do with discipline as possible.

Those in charge of disciplinary action stated that the most severe measures were employed in cases of bad sex practices, and the next most severe for escape or attempting to escape, with insubordination of a pronounced character taking third place. Such things as smoking, stealing, and fighting were considered of less serious character.

## 16. INSTITUTION RECORDS

The record system which had been developed at Whittier State School included a central or summary record kept in the office of the secretary, and detailed records of the study of each boy and his progress in the institution, kept by the various departments.

The summary records consisted of a "history book" in which all admissions were recorded in chronological order, a permanent record card for each boy, and an individual case folder for correspondence and miscellaneous data. A double page in the history book was assigned to each boy on admission. On one page was entered identifying material such as name, date of birth, facts as to parents' status, commitment data, and school grade. On the opposite page were the boy's picture, a summary of his parole history, and record of his escapes, if any.

The permanent record card was a large printed form on a double card, about 17 by 11 inches. This contained a very complete summary of the boy's record, including outstanding facts in his previous history, summary of his treatment and progress while in the school, and reports concerning his placement history. The summary of his institution record showed his assignments to cottage, school, production or utility work, and vocational instruction; his cottage, trade, and school reports, and disciplinary record; and the medical, physical, and psychological reports. Quarterly reports while on placement were entered on the card, including such facts as date, school attendance or employment, type of home, and observations as to social adjustment.

Records of the boys in the institution and on placement were filed as active cases, those discharged from placement as closed cases.

Numerous record forms had been adopted by the various departments for keeping detailed records of each boy's institutional history and progress. The essential facts recorded in these various departments are briefly pointed out in the following comments.

Each teacher in the academic school kept a daily record card showing pupil performance and the amount of work done. Record was also kept of each boy's attendance. The school's permanent record for each boy was kept on a loose-leaf form and included his yearly attendance record, his progress, and grading in habits and attitudes. A photograph of the boy was also attached to this permanent record. A regular form was used by the school for transferring a boy to the

public school when released on placement. A full transcript of the Whittier School history was sent to any outside principal on request.

All the detailed medical records were kept at the hospital. Blanks used for recording the physical examination on admission and blanks giving a summary of medical records were adequate. Copies of the summaries were sent to the central administration files and to the research clinic. Forms were supplied for the daily hospital reports and the daily sick-call reports.

The records of the clinical studies and case histories were kept by the California Bureau of Juvenile Research. Summaries of data obtained by the bureau which would be useful to particular departments in the institution were sent to the respective departments. The research department kept records on social history, intelligence tests, and personality studies. A special report blank on which the research department requested reports from the cottage supervisors contained a considerable amount of information relating to the characteristics of each boy. (See appendix C, p. 317.) Another record kept by the research department that was significant was the monthly record blank made out by each cottage supervisor and posted in each cottage. These blanks were sent to the research department for filing at the end of each month.

The monthly reports submitted by the physical-education department showing the number of boys enrolled in that department during the month and listing boys who were under weight or who had lost weight, which were sent to the superintendent, the research department, the physician, and several other officers, were on regular forms supplied for the purpose. Individual physical-development records were kept by the physical director on special forms.

A chronological history of each boy's conduct record was kept and was available to the chief supervisor at all times.

Special blanks were supplied for monthly reports of each boy's progress in his trade assignment.

The placement department kept an individual record for each boy while he was on placement. These records contained the formal notice of his placement on parole signed by the superintendent, the monthly reports sent in by the boys, the records of visits made by the placement officers, a card listing the dates on which reports were received and visits made, and other miscellaneous items including all correspondence concerning the boy. Forms were supplied to the boys for sending in their monthly reports and contained such items as data concerning their employment or school record during the past month, church attendance, and place where leisure time was spent. When a boy was discharged from placement this record was then combined with his general record in the administrative office.

## 17. PAROLE AND DISCHARGE

At this institution the term "placement", which had been substituted for parole, was used both in reference to the staff doing parole work and to the boy's release, whether he returned to his own home or was placed in a foster home.

Although legal provision had been made for the release of boys on placement and for their discharge, the details as to requirements and policies of carrying out the program were administrative functions

of the institution, subject to the approval of the State department of institutions. (See p. 13.) At Whittier the placement department with three placement officers—a director and two assistants—was part of the institution staff and had its headquarters at the institution. The director was responsible to the superintendent of the institution for the placement work. The director at the time of this study was a recent appointee, but an assistant had been on the placement staff nearly 10 years. The position of the other assistant was vacant at the time of the study but was soon to be filled.

The principle that policies controlling release on placement should be closely correlated with the treatment program of the institution had been recognized. The average period in the institution was 18 to 20 months. There was no formal merit or time system for earning placement. A boy's eligibility for such release was based on his progress in his school work and vocational training and on his general attitude and behavior. Very complete progress records were kept of both work and behavior, and each boy's readiness for placement was given careful consideration by a placement committee. This committee included the superintendent, assistant superintendent, secretary, vocational director, school principal, chaplain, chief supervisor, recreational director, psychologist, and the three placement officers.

A list of boys whose grades showed that they were eligible for consideration was referred to the placement committee every month by the school secretary. The placement department visited the home to investigate the home conditions and to discover school and employment opportunities before a case was considered by the committee.

For the committee conference a report of the preplacement investigation, a statement of the boy's precommitment history, and a summary of his progress and conduct in the institution were prepared. Each case was discussed at length, and the committee then decided whether the boy's progress had been such as to fit him for placement and whether he would be benefited thereby. This committee was also responsible for outlining a plan for a placement program in preparation for the boy's return to his own home or placement in a foster home, attendance at school, or entrance into employment. It was the policy to return boys to their own homes, and foster-home placements were made only when conditions in their own homes were found extremely unfavorable.

Each boy was called into the committee meeting and informed in a friendly way of the decision. If it had been unfavorable to release at that time, the reasons were carefully and frankly given him. The superintendent was authorized by law to furnish to any boy on discharge, or on leave of absence, suitable clothing and transportation to his home or to the county from which he was committed, also such sum of money as the rules and regulations of the board of trustees allowed for this purpose.<sup>23</sup> When the boy was released the responsibility for carrying out the program suggested by the committee and for continuing supervision rested on the placement officers.

With a placement staff limited to three officers it was not possible to carry out for all cases a program based on personal visiting, adequate guidance, and assistance in recreational, employment, or school adjustments. The area served by each officer was necessarily large, and the case load was heavy, averaging 114 cases. Personal super-

<sup>23</sup> California, Deering's Gen. Laws 1931, act 9255, sec. 23.

vision was extremely limited and had been concentrated largely on those boys who had presented the more serious problems while in the institution. The placement officers had effected cooperation with many local agencies and maintained close working relations with them.

In some instances local agencies had undertaken direct supervision of cases on request of the placement officer.

For the majority of cases on placement the method of supervision was mainly that of written reports which were required monthly on forms furnished by the institution. The information requested on these forms included facts as to the boy's employment or school attendance; brief accounting of his earnings, savings, and expenditures; church attendance; and leisure-time activities. The signature of parent or guardian was required. On the basis of these monthly reports each boy was graded and was notified of his grade every month. The items for grading boys on placement were as follows:

1. Saving, church, education, efforts, employment, and regular reports.
2. Obedience, school effort and work.
3. Good report from parents, employers, or officials.
4. Indifference, instability, unsteady employment or school, late hours.
5. Misconduct, bad company, disobedience, lying, untrustworthiness, no report.

The rating was on the same 5-point basis as that used in the institution. The boy who made an outstandingly good record, particularly in the item named, was credited with 1. If he made an outstandingly bad record he was charged with a 5. The average was of course 3, while 2 was above average, though not outstanding, and 4 was not as good as an average, though not outstandingly bad.

The usual period on placement was about 2 years, if the boy had made a satisfactory record. Decision as to final release (discharge from supervision and jurisdiction of the institution) was made by the superintendent, on recommendation of the placement department. The department sent to the superintendent a résumé of the boy's record on placement on which to base his decision. The responsibility for determining what constituted violation of parole was left largely to the placement officers. Boys who had not entirely satisfactory placement records but who had committed no new offense were sometimes returned to the institution for adjustment. The commitment of a new offense usually was considered a violation.

Commitment to another institution at any time while on placement was cause for discharge; likewise enlistment in military or naval service. Boys absent without leave were so carried on the records until they became 21, when they were recorded as discharged.

Under date of February 16, 1934, the superintendent of the Whittier State School and the director of the California Bureau of Juvenile Research made the following comments with respect to the placement service:

The boys' homes are being visited within 60 days after admission, monthly reports from the boys on placement are actually being received, a complete card-index system has been installed, and other innovations of great significance have been made in the placement program. For example, there is a preparole training class designed to prepare the boy for the problems he will face in the community. A placement breakfast is held before the boy leaves, at which time a number of

distinguished visitors, including the State director of institutions, are present, and an effort is made to give the boy a genuine farewell party. He leaves the institution in a spirit of friendliness, with the understanding that the Whittier State School continues to be interested in him while he is on placement and that his first obligation is to consult with the placement officer in the event that any problem arises. Furthermore, one aspect of the present program is the making of adequate contacts with the officials in the community to which the boy returns, such as the coordinating councils sponsored by the juvenile court and the probation office in Los Angeles County, in order that there may be some dependable adult in his community ready to help him make the initial difficult adjustments to community life.

#### 18. PLANT AND PROGRAM CHANGES IN RECENT YEARS

Of the cases analyzed in part 2 of this report (see p. 10), 149 were of boys from the Whittier State School. Those boys had been under care in this institution during the years 1917-24, inclusive, the majority having been committed in 1919, 1920, and 1921. It is therefore important to take note, so far as information is available, of any significant ways in which the institution and its treatment program at that time differed from the 1931 program just described.

During the years 1917-24 the plant itself was undergoing certain changes. Although in its first report the founders had promulgated plans calling for "cottages", each of which was to "accommodate a family of 50 boys, each family to be in charge of a man and his wife and a teacher", the families "to be composed as nearly as possible of pupils of similar age and similar innocence or culpability";<sup>24</sup> those ideals were not put into effect in the early days of the institution. Housing had been, in effect, of the congregate type. From the beginning of his superintendency in 1912 Mr. Nelles had sought to achieve conversion to a cottage-unit system, and in 1917 the first unit, designated "home cottage", was opened. From that time cottage units were added as rapidly as the appropriations could be procured and the construction work done. The management "tried to see that the buildings in all their details, the settings, and the color schemes employed expressed careful thought, good taste, and were such as would exert a refining, uplifting influence on the boys; that 'home' should be felt in every cottage built; and this without extravagance."<sup>25</sup>

Other building operations had added an assembly hall, a school building, and several shop structures. Since 1924 an extensive building program had completed the provision of adequate cottage housing and had added the new commissary building, the hospital, the administration building, and further shop space.

There had been some increase in population and in staff personnel, with a slight proportionate decrease in operating expense, as revealed in the following comparisons for the fiscal years ended June 30, 1921 and 1931:

Item	1921	1931
Average number of boys in care.....	272	330
Employees.....	91	111
Boys per employee.....	3	3
Cost per inmate.....	\$933	\$905

<sup>24</sup> General Bulletin No. 7, Whittier State School, p. 21. Whittier, 1929.

<sup>25</sup> Whittier State School, Thirteenth Biennial Report, 1914-16, p. 32.

There had been, however, a significant change in population characteristics. In its early studies the department of research had repeatedly emphasized the heavy incidence of subnormal mental levels and the urgent need of providing State care and training of other kinds, in a separate institution, for boys definitely feeble-minded. Through the use of their analyses, along with other data, policies had been gradually changed until a procedure had been achieved which permitted Whittier to eliminate boys who were unquestionably feeble-minded; also many of the exceptionally unstable border-line cases. Even though the figures must not be interpreted too literally or accepted as representing infallible diagnostic groupings, the following comparison of mentality of boys at Whittier State School in 1918 and 1926 is of interest:

*Comparison of mentality of boys in school in 1918 and 1926*<sup>1</sup>

Mentality and intelligence quotient	Boys in school in—			
	1918		1926	
	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution
Total.....	251	100	320	100
Superior (above 110).....	14	6	35	11
Average normal (90-110).....	56	22	136	43
Dull normal (80-90).....	60	24	83	26
Border-line (70-80).....	46	18	59	18
Feeble-minded (below 70).....	75	30	7	2

<sup>1</sup> California State Department of Institutions, Third Biennial Report, 2 years ending June 30, 1926, p. 49. Sacramento, 1926.

The reduction in the number of feeble-minded boys in Whittier's population had been effected in several ways. Two things had been of primary importance. Continuous effort had been made by the superintendent, aided by the department of research, to bring about a better understanding in the juvenile courts, and in the public mind, as to the true purpose of the State School—to serve as an adjustment center for boys with serious educational and social problems who were possessed of sufficient native intelligence to profit by the training there available to such an extent as to be able to fit back into community life satisfactorily when released from supervision. The second factor had been the creation of a second State institution for the feeble-minded.

A bill to create this additional provision for care of the feeble-minded, designated Pacific Colony, had been drafted at Whittier State School and passed by the State legislature in 1917.<sup>26</sup> A site was procured and the institution was opened in 1921. The object of the drafters of the bill had been to provide a simplified environment in which feeble-minded children and young people could live happily and usefully. On its opening a number of boys were transferred from Whittier State School to the new colony. Within 2 years the colony had to be closed owing to lack of a sufficient water supply, and the inmates were transferred to the Sonoma State Home for the feeble-

<sup>26</sup> California, Deering's Gen. Laws 1931, act 3690.

minded until a new site could be secured and proper facilities provided. The new Pacific Colony was formally opened in May 1927.

The Whittier administrators felt that the presence of the feeble-minded in residence units, school classes, and shops had interfered with the progress of the better-endowed boys, so that the removal of the low-grade group greatly benefited the boys who remained. Moreover, the elimination of the feeble-minded made available more places for normal boys—as all through these years there had been a waiting list of 35 or so for admission to Whittier. Perhaps the most important effect of all was setting free for staff members, and especially for the research personnel, much time that could be devoted to developing more intensive study of the individual boy's problems and needs and making plans for individualized treatment to meet the specific needs discovered.

However, the research work suffered some setbacks. It had developed steadily until 1921, when the unit became the California Bureau of Juvenile Research, with a State-wide program including service to all State institutions and consultant service to communities that desired advice on treatment of problem cases. When in 1923 the legislature failed to appropriate funds for the bureau's work, research activities were more or less at a standstill for a brief period until they were resumed through the generous cooperation of members of the staffs of the psychology departments of the University of California at Los Angeles and Leland Stanford University. The workers carried on as the department of research of Whittier State School. Many university members and advanced students contributed liberally of their services during the next few years. In 1929 the bureau was reestablished on a State basis.

Thus the boys included in this study were under care at Whittier during a period when the ideal was individualized treatment, based on scientific study and with the clinical approach, but many obstacles hindered the practical application of that treatment. These boys may be considered products of a program that was one of the most conspicuous forerunners of today's progressive trends in treatment individualization on the basis of clinical study. But the program was in its pioneering period, methods were in the making, and facilities were frequently inadequate or ill adapted to needs.

As early as 1915, Whittier was trying to adapt its educational system to the needs of its boys. The school work was being organized and conducted with a view to arranging a flexible course for the boy rather than fitting the boy to an inflexible grade. Instruction was individual or in very small groups where practicable. The work was ungraded, although the public-school curriculum was being followed as closely as possible. Efforts were being made to correlate the work of the academic department and the trades. Boys of normal or superior intelligence were given a maximum of academic work. Duller boys were given a combination of academic and manual work, with each teacher possessing wide latitude to adjust the work to the boy. Subnormal boys were given manual work almost exclusively.

Through the intervening years the research staff and the teachers had worked in close harmony in an effort to evolve methods of instruction best suited to the problems presented by the boys that came under their observation. Much research material of practical value was

accumulated. It was found that in many cases a boy's truancy and delinquency had followed a requirement to do the impossible in school. Sometimes clinical study revealed the boy to be possessed of some mental peculiarity that rendered him unable to learn by ordinary methods. Many such boys were helped to discover learning methods by which they were able to make up much of their school retardation in relatively short periods. Overcoming their former sense of inferiority and defeat often had almost startlingly apparent beneficial effects on their personalities and their subsequent social adjustments.

Eventually the contract plan under which the educational department was functioning in 1931 was worked out and adopted as offering the most flexible machinery for meeting the widely varying needs of the individual boys coming for academic work.

For many years instruction in trades had occupied a prominent place on Whittier's program. In the biennial report for 1914-16 the statement was made that it was the management's intention "to so develop the trades work that definite formal instruction in connection with it will become possible. We hope to provide courses of training and instruction through which boys will pass to a regular graduation." The same report stated that as yet it had not been possible to offer "formal" instruction, in the sense of giving each boy opportunity to follow a clearly outlined course designed to give him a fair acquaintance with a particular trade as well as experience in practice work.<sup>27</sup> In effect the instruction consisted of experience in service as apprentices performing actual work under the direction of skilled and experienced tradesmen. This was the type of trade instruction that prevailed while the boys included in this study were at Whittier. The psychological findings were considered in placing a boy in trade training, in an effort to spare him the disturbing experience of attempting something beyond his native capacity or wholly unsuited to his particular aptitudes.

A very considerable program of athletics and of other recreational activities had been developed prior to 1918. A Boy Scout troop, known as Whittier No. 2, had been in existence for some years prior to 1918. The annual outing at the Catalina Island camp had already become a feature of the school life. Military training, which was discontinued later, was still a part of the program in 1918. The boys drilled four times a week for about 30 minutes, going through regular squad and company drill, with United States rifles. It was asserted that the plan had been to move steadily away from a strict military system and that the military work was simply a convenient device for organizing and handling the boys in groups. The large residence groups were divided into companies. With the construction of cottages which provided for smaller family units, the military organization and drill were entirely discontinued. This occurred during the period of training of the boys included in this study.

Discipline was administered along practically the same lines then as later. Corporal punishment had been abolished in 1912. As the program grew rich in activities which brought satisfaction and pleasure to the boys permitted to participate in them, the loss of such privileges as an effective disciplinary measure gained weight. The disciplinary cottage whose population suffered complete withdrawal from the

<sup>27</sup> Thirteenth Biennial Report, pp. 21, 41.



social satisfactions of the normal institutional group life came to be known as "lost-privilege cottage."

The biennial report for 1914-16 contained several references to the undeveloped parole system and its significance in the whole treatment picture. Extracts from that report give evidence of the thought that was being given to that aspect of the institution's responsibility.

After assuming control and direction of its juvenile wards, and spending much time and money in efforts to train them in self-control, generally by making it impossible for them to exercise any form of self-control for a number of months, [the State] grants them a parole where they *must* exercise the self-control and self-direction of a well-balanced adult or be adjudged guilty of failure. After declaring that certain boys are not capable of self-control and (by assuming direct control) that their natural guardians are incapable of controlling or directing them, the State proceeds to turn them loose with instructions to do that which it has firmly declared they are incapable of doing. \* \* \* One parole officer continues to represent the care which this school is able to give its paroled boys. The field worker of the department of research occasionally comes in contact with paroled and discharged boys, in the prosecution of his investigations into hereditary and environmental influences related to delinquency and dependency. The unavoidable neglect of important duties toward the State's wards which results from this condition constitutes a serious defect in the corrective machinery of this school, and also (it seems probable) of other institutions.

By 1924 the term "parole" had been discarded in favor of "placement" in an attempt to get away from terminology that had come to be associated wholly with penal institutions in the public mind. But there was no increase of personnel for this work reported until several years later:

The placement department of the school had hitherto been operated by one supervisor who was responsible for the placement and follow-up work of more than 225 boys on the placement rolls. Two additional supervisors have been added to the personnel of the department, which will also have the cooperation of a trained psychiatric social worker, connected with our department of research. It is expected that a more efficient and comprehensive type of work will result.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> State Department of Institutions, Fourth Biennial Report, 1926-28, p. 87. Sacramento, 1929.

### Chapter III.—BOYS' VOCATIONAL SCHOOL, LANSING, MICH.

Unless the text contains some indication to the contrary, all statements made here refer to conditions existing at the Boys' Vocational School in March 1932, when it was visited for the purpose of securing descriptive and statistical material for this study.

#### 1. STATUTORY PROVISIONS GOVERNING ESTABLISHMENT AND OPERATION

This institution was first established as the "House of Correction for Juvenile Offenders", under a statute approved in 1855. The general supervision and government of the institution were vested in a State board of control consisting of 6 members appointed by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a term of 6 years. The law provided for the commitment of juvenile offenders of both sexes, as follows: "Every person who, at the time of his or her conviction of a prison offense, shall be under the age of 15 years, and such other persons so convicted between the ages of 15 and 20 years as the circuit court and other courts having jurisdiction \* \* \* may deem fit subjects therefor, shall be sentenced to said House of Correction for Juvenile Offenders, for the term of their imprisonment." <sup>1</sup>

No specific purpose, as for education, reformation, or training, was stated in the original authorization for this institution, and no provision has ever been made for receiving payment for the care of inmates.

The institution has undergone three changes in name, the first in 1859 to "Reform School", the second in 1893 to "Industrial School for Boys", the third in 1925 to "Boys' Vocational School." The law changing the name in 1925 also authorized conversion of the industrial school into a vocational school. The managing board, after undergoing changes in name from time to time, is now the State corrections commission, and its membership has been reduced from 6 to 3. This commission is empowered to appoint the superintendent as well as all other officers and employees, subject to the approval of the Governor; also to fix salaries and other expenses, subject to the approval of the State administrative board and in accordance with the State accounting and budget law, rules, and regulations.<sup>2</sup>

Only during the first few years were girls received, and so far as is known only eight were ever committed to this institution. A law of 1861 specified that only "male persons" were to be committed.<sup>3</sup>

The ages of commitment and discharge underwent frequent legislative changes as to various details between 1857 and 1917. The upper limit was placed at 16 years in 1857 and remained the same

<sup>1</sup> Michigan, Laws of 1855, act 78.

<sup>2</sup> Michigan, Laws of 1859, act 139; Laws of 1857, act 91; Laws of 1893, act 130; Laws of 1925, act 185; Comp. Laws 1929, secs. 8164, 17817.

<sup>3</sup> Michigan, Laws of 1861, act 250.

until 1917, when it became 17 years. During this period the lower limit was changed from 7 years to 10 years, and then to 12, which it is at present. Under the early laws, commitment was until the boy should become 21 years of age or be discharged. In 1877 the upper age limit was changed to 18 years, and in 1885 it was again changed to 17 years. The modifications made in 1917, which remain in effect, provided for the commitment of boys under 17 and over 12 years of age, to remain until they reach the age of 17 or are discharged. The 1917 law further provides that "any boy between the ages of 16 and 17 committed to the State industrial school may, in the discretion of the court, be sentenced thereto until he shall reach the age of 18 years." Commitment may be made of boys of the specified ages convicted before any court or magistrate of competent jurisdiction for any offense punishable by fine or imprisonment, or both, who in the opinion of the court or magistrate are fit subjects for the school. Boys under 17 who are delinquent may also be committed to this school.<sup>4</sup>

Although the law authorized commitment to a specified age, the actual time spent by boys in the institution was indeterminate because of the provisions for leave of absence, which could be granted during good behavior. Both leave of absence and parole were granted under rules and regulations prescribed by the State corrections commission with the approval of the Governor. Under the law, discharge was automatic when the boy reached the age of 17 or 18 as specified in his commitment, however, whether he was in the institution or on parole at the time.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. THE PHYSICAL PLANT

### Location

The location of this school was unusual, in that it was situated within the limits of the capital city of Lansing (population about 78,400) in the heart of a residential area, and only a few blocks from the business center. One of the large city high schools, with its athletic field, was directly adjacent to the institution grounds, and very close to two of the cottages and the institution's school building.

Originally the institution was well outside the city, but as the city grew it gradually surrounded the institution. A plan started about 1917 to move to a rural site 4 or 5 miles from the city was not carried through, owing to opposition on the part of a group who believed the urban location more advantageous for the development of trade training, which should be the major function of this institution, but the land purchased with this plan in view was retained as part of the school property.

The campus was not walled or fenced in, and there was nothing to indicate that it was a school for delinquents, although the general appearance marked it as some kind of institution. The grounds were made attractive by the presence of large shade trees and, in season, flowering shrubs and many flower gardens.

### Acreage

The land owned by the institution was in two units, the 220 acres in the city on which the buildings and surrounding grounds were situated, and the 961 acres that had been acquired in a nearby rural section. About 300 acres of the rural unit were under cultivation as

<sup>4</sup> Michigan, Laws of 1857, act 91; Laws of 1877, act 84; Laws of 1885, act 172; Laws of 1917, act 80; Comp. Laws 1929, secs. 17802, 12834, 12838, 12854.

<sup>5</sup> Michigan, Comp. Laws 1929, sec. 17803.

a farm project of the institution. The rest was used by other State agencies. About 31 acres of the city property were planted in fruit trees and berries.

Both tracts of land were level and the farm land was fertile. The farm produced all the vegetables for use at the institution, and also the stock feed needed. A dairy herd kept here was sufficient to furnish all the milk consumed. Poultry, hogs, and cattle for butchering were also raised on the farm.

#### **Administrative offices**

The general administrative offices were housed in the oldest building on the grounds, one erected in 1881 and changed but little since that date. It was dark-red brick, typical in design of the architecture of those days. This building, which also contained staff quarters and officers' dining room and kitchen, stood at the top of the arc of a circular drive leading up to it from the street. About six rooms on the first floor were given over to office use. The receiving room in which the boys entertained their visitors was also on the first floor of this building. Very high ceilings, rather dull brown or tan walls, and dark woodwork made the offices somewhat cheerless in appearance.

#### **Boys' residence quarters**

The boys were housed in 8 large double cottages and 1 single cottage, making 17 cottage units in all. The "family" unit per single cottage ranged from 31 to 55 or more boys, depending on the capacity of the cottage. Five of the double cottages, built in 1924 and generally referred to as "the new cottages", were on either side of a long straight strip of lawn, back and a little to one side of the older group of buildings. The others, designated as the "old cottages", although all but one had been remodeled, were situated mostly on the main front campus along the circular drive leading from the street. These cottages had been remodeled to look like the newer ones—square, flat-roofed, 2-story double houses. They all resembled rows of large double houses or flats, typical of any midwestern city.

Each cottage had its own dining room and serving pantry, but no kitchen. The food was prepared in a central kitchen and sent to each cottage. The cottage dining rooms were pleasantly arranged.

In some of the remodeled cottages there was no special living room, and the dining room was used for this purpose in the evening. In the others the living rooms were fairly homelike. There were small tables for games and reading; each cottage had a radio, and books were supplied by the school library. A room for rough play was provided in each cottage, usually in the basement.

All sleeping quarters were in dormitory style, and at the time of the visit all were very crowded. Double-decker beds were being used in nearly all dormitories. Special attention was given to the proper ventilation of the dormitories, and they were well lighted. In the remodeled cottages the windows were of modern escape-proof style but permitted ample light and ventilation.

The sanitary facilities in each cottage were adequate, and in the more recently remodeled cottages especially up-to-date facilities had been installed. These consisted of the latest in shower-bath equipment and a new type of large round washbasin, with a carefully regulated flow of water.

**Staff residence quarters**

Housing facilities for staff members were definitely limited, as aside from the rooms available in the administration building there were no special quarters for the teaching and office staff. Separate residences were provided for the superintendent and assistant superintendent, both small, unpretentious, old, red-brick houses, built in 1881 and 1867, respectively. The cottage managers with their wives, and in some instances families, had quarters in the respective cottages of which they had charge. These quarters usually were not more than two rooms and bath.

A large number of the staff resided away from the institution. Plans were being considered for providing more adequate housing for the personnel.

**Dining-room and kitchen facilities**

Although the boys ate in their own cottages, the food was prepared in a central kitchen. This kitchen was in a fairly new fireproof brick building, well fitted with modern equipment.

The staff, except for the cottage personnel, superintendent, and assistant superintendent, were served in a large dining room in the administration building. The tables were long ones, seating 10 or 12 people, and service was by inmate waiters. The room was large, had a very high ceiling, and in general seemed rather bare and cheerless.

The separate staff kitchen was also in this building, and like the boys' kitchen it was adequately equipped with modern fixtures.

A separate building housed the storage and refrigeration plants for the entire institution.

**Chapel and auditorium**

A very fine auditorium was a part of the new school building. It had a seating capacity for the entire school population, the staff, and a considerable number of guests. The seating arrangement, that of wooden pews, was designed for chapel purposes. The wall decorations were unusually attractive, the stencil work having been designed and applied by the boys under the supervision of the paint-shop instructor. The stage curtain and short curtains for the balcony rail were of the same attractive dark red velvet.

The auditorium was used for all general assembly purposes as well as the weekly chapel services, motion pictures, and other entertainments.

**Hospital**

The hospital building erected in 1930 at a cost of \$40,000 was a 2-story, red-brick, fireproof building, well built, well equipped, and well kept. It had a bed capacity of 56; there were 2 wards of 16 beds each on the first floor; the second floor had 6 rooms with 4 beds in each, also 2 single rooms. These single rooms were so arranged and equipped with sanitary facilities that they could be used for isolation cases when necessary. The hospital had a well-equipped surgery, where both minor and major operations could be performed, and a well-equipped dental office.

**School building**

The school was likewise one of the new buildings erected in 1930. It was of brick and was fireproof and modern in every respect. At each end at the back were the classrooms, principal's office, and library. The parts of the building housing the classrooms were two stories in

height; the auditorium was only one story. All the classrooms were adequately lighted from outside, and the ventilation was good. They all presented a very attractive appearance. They were equipped with regulation desks of modern pattern. The wall decorations were cheerful, and in addition many colorful cutouts and blackboard stencils were on display.

#### Shops

Two buildings housed the industrial and vocational shops, both 2-story brick structures. One was erected in 1925, the other was an older building that had been remodeled during the same year. The various shops in these buildings were independent units and included the manual training room, print shop, radio shop, shoe making and repairing, paint shop, tailor shop, and machine shop. Each was adequately equipped with modern appliances for its respective trade. The machine shop occupied the entire second floor of the new industrial building, and was the especial pride of the school in its complete and strictly modern equipment. All the shops had a maximum of light, with windows occupying all the side wall space possible in each.

#### Farm buildings

The farm which was operated by the institution was several miles distant from the main institution and seemed entirely separate from it. Only about 12 or 14 boys lived at the farm cottage, an ordinary frame farmhouse. The farm buildings included a fairly new dairy barn, several smaller barns, three farmhouses, hog house, poultry houses, milk house, implement house, two large silos, and various small sheds.

#### Gymnasium and athletic field

The large, beautiful new field house was the pride of the school and of the whole State. It was quite unusual for an institution of this type, in both size and equipment. All facilities for athletic activities were found in this building; basket-ball, handball, and volley-ball, courts, indoor track, gymnasium, and swimming pool. The basket-ball court was of full regulation size and was used by outside teams and for tournaments of various public-school leagues, as well as for the institution basket-ball games.

The swimming pool was a beautiful tiled pool, kept in excellent condition. It measured 70 by 30 feet and was graduated in depth from 3 to 9 feet at one end and from 7 to 9 at the other.

There were sufficient showers and dressing rooms in the building so that activities might be under way in several branches of sports at the same time.

Each cottage had an individual outdoor playground 400 feet square, which was used for general outdoor play by the boys during their leisure-time periods. The athletic field, where football and baseball games and the track meets were held, was adjacent to the field house.

### 3. PLANT VALUATION AND OPERATING EXPENSE

The value of the physical plant was stated to be as follows:

Lands .....	\$202, 296. 80
Buildings .....	1, 212, 325. 00
Equipment .....	260, 837. 16
Total .....	1, 675, 458. 96

These items represented the expenditures made by the State and did not take account of any decrease in value of buildings or possible increase in value of lands. The financial office supplied the following statement of operating costs for the year ended June 30, 1931:

Salaries.....	\$159, 949. 05
Maintenance and supplies.....	191, 678. 30
Operation of farm.....	30, 334. 08
Total.....	381, 961. 43

As the average daily population of the institution was 708, the average per capita cost of operation (cost per boy) was \$559.49. This is computed to include the item for farm costs in order to be comparable so far as possible with the per capita cost at other institutions. At this school the per capita cost was figured from a total item which included a charge for farm products produced and consumed. The products were purchased from the farm for institutional maintenance and the items were included in the total for maintenance and supplies. Since the farm supplied a considerable portion of the foodstuffs for the institution, the per capita cost would be considerably lower if it were possible to isolate and deduct that item.

#### 4. ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL, STAFF ORGANIZATION, AND PERSONNEL

##### Administrative control

The administrative control over the Boys' Vocational School was vested in the State corrections commission, one of five bodies constituting the Michigan State Welfare Department, the head of which was the State welfare director, appointed by the Governor.

The State corrections commission consisted of five commissioners appointed by the Governor with the consent of the State senate. These commissioners were not appointed for fixed terms but served at the pleasure of the Governor. There was no provision that the membership should be bipartisan; the commission might be wholly changed each time that a governor took office. In addition to the five appointed commissioners, the State welfare director was an ex-officio member of the commission.

This commission controlled only two institutions, the Boys' Vocational School and the Girls' Training School. Although ultimate responsibility for the entire program at each institution rested upon this commission, in practice the institutional management was left almost entirely to the superintendent of the school. The superintendent consulted the commission with respect to general policies, budget matters, and particular problems in connection with which he wished their advice or aid.

The State required that before any appropriated funds might be released for actual expenditure, the proposed items must have the approval of the Governor's administrative board. All requisitions for farm equipment and livestock were inspected and approved by members of the staff of the State department of agriculture before the purchases might be completed. All of the academic school work was supervised by the State department of public instruction. The State department of health had no supervisory relationship with the Boy's Vocational School, but very close working relationships were maintained. The State department of health tested the school's

water supply regularly, inspected the premises for sanitary purposes, did all laboratory work without charge, and reviewed and approved all bills of consulting specialists and surgeons who did any work for the school. It was stated that this latter procedure was instituted some years ago because of some extravagant charges made by private physicians for services to inmates of State institutions.

The superintendent of the Boys' Vocational School was appointed and might be removed by the State corrections commission. Since that entire commission might be changed with each incoming governor and since governors were elected each 2 years in Michigan, this provision made it possible for political pressure to change the personnel frequently. However, in practice it did not seem to be working that way, the 1932 superintendent having held office since 1923.

#### Personnel: Number and duties

The Boys' Vocational School employed 114 full-time and 10 part-time employees. A complete list of individual positions was not obtained, but a partial list of personnel as supplied by the superintendent included the following positions:

Superintendent.....	1	Night watchmen.....	21
Assistant superintendent.....	1	Detail officers.....	2
Second assistant superintendent.....	1	Physician.....	1
Steward (purchasing agent).....	1	Dentist (5 half days per week)....	1
Secretary to the superintendent....	1	Nurses.....	3
Clerical workers.....	6	Chaplains (1 part time).....	2
School principal.....	1	Bandmaster <sup>8</sup> .....	1
School teachers.....	13	Teacher of vocal music.....	1
Instructors, manual and trade		Farm manager.....	1
training <sup>6</sup> .....	14	Other farm personnel.....	4
Librarian and substitute teacher....	1	Trade foreman <sup>9</sup> .....	8
Athletic director.....	1	Engineer and assistants.....	3
Cottage managers <sup>7</sup> .....	8	Other personnel <sup>10</sup> .....	15
Cottage matrons.....	13		

#### Personnel: Salaries

At this school the salaries ranged from \$420 to \$5,000. Complete data on salaries were not furnished, but information as to amounts paid for certain specified positions was supplied as follows:

Superintendent.....	\$5,000	School principal.....	\$2,800
Assistant superintendent.....	3,200	School teachers.....	1,260-1,620
Steward (purchasing agent).....	3,400	Instructors, manual and	
Athletic director.....	2,200	trade training..... <sup>11</sup>	1,800-2,400
Physician.....	4,200	Cottage managers..... <sup>12</sup>	1,140-2,700
		Nurses.....	1,200-1,500

<sup>6</sup> Under this classification have been grouped all persons definitely designated as instructors by the superintendent. These were the men in charge, or assisting, in the electrical shop, machine shop (4), manual-training work (2), painting (2), printing (3), radio and mechanical drawing, and shoe shop; 6 of these instructors also served as cottage managers, and 1 as relief cottage manager.

<sup>7</sup> These had no duties as instructors, but they were reported to have certain outside duties connected with maintenance work, such as work on the farm, on the grounds, in the garden, and in the meat shop.

<sup>8</sup> This officer also served as cottage manager.

<sup>9</sup> These were not designated as instructors, but they supervised boys working with them: Baker, barber, cooks (2), florist, laundrymen (2), and tailor.

<sup>10</sup> Includes 2 housekeepers, 1 wood-shop officer (doing maintenance work without aid of boys), 3 firemen, 1 truck driver, and 8 students from the Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science (in East Lansing). See p. 60.

<sup>11</sup> This was the salary range for shop instructors who did not also serve as cottage managers.

<sup>12</sup> This was the salary range for all cottage managers, including those who also served as shop instructors.



**Personnel: Appointments and removals**

As has been previously stated, the superintendent at this institution is appointed by the State corrections commission, and he may be removed at any time by that body. Under the existing system a new governor can change the commission membership entirely, which might in turn result in a change of superintendents on a purely political basis. All other employees were appointed by the superintendent, with the approval of the commission, and might be removed by him. It was reported that under the current management the practice was to approve, almost without exception, whatever action the superintendent took in relation to the staff. There were no civil-service requirements or regulations with respect to any positions at this school.

**Personnel: Terms of service**

Despite the fact that the system would permit frequent changes in the superintendency at Lansing, that had not been the experience. There had been but four superintendents since 1905. The incumbent at the time the institution was visited (1932) had been in office since 1923.

The approximate length of service of 88 of the 114 full-time employees, as reported by the superintendent, was as follows:

	<i>Number of employees</i>
Less than 1 year.....	3
1 year, less than 2.....	3
2 years, less than 3.....	2
3 years, less than 4.....	10
4 years, less than 5.....	4
5 years, less than 10.....	49
10 years or more.....	17
Not reported.....	26

Tenure of office among the teachers ranged from 3 to 16 years, that of the vocational instructors from 2 to 10 years. Of the cottage managers and matrons only 2 had been appointed within the year, 16 had been at the institution for more than 5 years, and 4 for more than 9 years.

**Personnel: Qualifications**

Data obtained as to education and previous experience of personnel were meager. The superintendent had had some years of experience as head of the Michigan State police before becoming chief executive of the Boys' Vocational School. In his police work he had become exceedingly interested in boy behavior and in ways and means of giving the boys who come into conflict with the law a "chance to come out of it." The assistant superintendent was reported to have had previous institutional experience, but in prison work.

The school principal and four teachers held B.A. degrees. Of the other teachers, 4 had had 2 years of college work, and 5 had had 3 years. One teacher who had the B.A. degree had taken special training for teaching modern ungraded classes. All had life certificates for teaching in Michigan and had had experience teaching in the public schools before appointment.

The athletic director was a normal-school graduate who had specialized in physical education. Among the instructors in trades were 2 college graduates and 1 normal-school graduate with a life certificate to teach. Others in this group were skilled tradesmen, with practical experience in their particular lines.

The superintendent stated that practically all the cottage managers had had a high-school education, and that many of the cottage matrons had had work in normal schools in preparation for teaching.

Among the part-time employees were eight young college students who were given board and lodging and \$25 per month for certain hours of duty in connection with group supervision. Their principal assignments were to assist in organizing and supervising recreational activities in the cottages and on the cottage playgrounds during the evening hours and on Saturday. The superintendent considered these students' greatest contribution to be in the attitude they were giving the boys on ethical standards, rather different from anything some of the boys had ever encountered before. He expected much from the socializing influence of the acquaintance they were giving the boys with the pleasures and the values of clean sportsmanship and good teamwork.

#### **Personnel: Living and working conditions**

It was reported that 76 employees were obtaining full maintenance at the school, 1 was taking meals only, and the remaining 47 received no maintenance. Housing for those who resided on the campus was not adequate nor satisfactory. The administration hoped to be able to remedy the condition to a certain extent by remodeling the old school building, which had been vacant since the occupancy of the new school.

Cottage masters and matrons were quartered fairly satisfactorily in the various cottages. They had their meals in the cottages, at separate tables in the boys' dining room. Other employees ate in the officers' dining room in the administration building. The food was good and plentiful.

The location of the Boys' Vocational School within the city of Lansing meant that in this institution, as at Whittier, there was no lack of opportunity for normal social life for the personnel.

A considerable number of the staff had very heavy work. For example, seven of the cottage masters carried full duty as vocational instructors in addition to "family" responsibilities as cottage heads. The cottage relief officer was also an instructor. The cottage master's day was described as beginning at 6 a.m. and running through to 6:30 p.m. one day and to 8:30 p.m. on the next. Cottage masters who were not instructors were reported to be detailed to carry on various maintenance jobs, with boys assisting. One of the cottage matrons also did double duty by teaching full time. Another cottage matron acted as school librarian and office secretary to the principal. Another served as secretary to the superintendent.

Cottage personnel were allowed a half day off one week, and a full day off the following week. All employees received 14 days' vacation allowance annually. Sick-leave allowance was said to be flexible, discretion resting with the superintendent.

#### **Staff organization**

The staff was not organized formally along departmental lines, and no organization chart was available. However, certain phases of the program at this institution did, in practice, constitute independent departments with one staff member serving as an executive head. For example, the school principal was given full authority and full responsibility for academic instruction. The athletic director had full charge of the athletic program and all athletic activities. The assistant superintendent was directly in charge of all maintenance

work that was not done as part of a vocational course. On the other hand, the vocational work was not departmentalized. Each shop operated as an independent unit, with its instructor responsible directly to the superintendent. Likewise each cottage master worked directly under the superintendent himself, without other supervision or direction.

#### **Administrative leadership and staff teamwork**

The strong personal influence of the superintendent was clearly apparent. Results seemed to be obtained through highly individualized leadership rather than through the method of staff education and group thinking and planning. Staff meetings were not regularly scheduled, with planned discussion of problems and policies. Whenever the superintendent felt the need of doing so, he called staff meetings, usually in small groups, for some announcement or instruction with respect to a particular field.

### **5. ADMISSIONS, CAPACITY, AND POPULATION**

#### **Intake provisions and policies**

The age limit for commitment as specified by law was between 12 and 17 years. Commitments were for the period until the boy became 17 years of age or was discharged according to law. There were further legal provisions that boys 16 years old at the time of commitment might, at the discretion of the court, be committed to the institution until they should become 18. Unless committed until 18, or discharged earlier for some reason, boys were automatically released from the institution's supervision the day they became 17 years old, whether they were in the institution or on parole. It had become the general policy of the courts, particularly in Wayne County (containing Detroit) and Kent County (containing Grand Rapids) to use the provision for extending the commitment of 16-year-old boys to the 18-year age limit for discharge. Under this type of commitment boys might be returned for parole violation to the time they became 18.<sup>13</sup>

In its commitment provisions the law stated that such boys of the ages specified as in the opinion of the court or magistrate were "fit subjects for commitment to the industrial school" might be so committed. The superintendent, under the authority of the State corrections commission, could refuse to accept a boy who was deemed an "improper subject." The policy was not to accept active cases of venereal disease or of tuberculosis. Boys received on commitment who were found to be obviously feeble-minded could be returned under the "fit-subject" clause for commitment to the institution for feeble-minded. Because of congestion at the latter institution it had been difficult for some time to get cases, except the very worst ones, transferred, however, and the Boys' Vocational School had to accept some low-grade boys who no doubt should have been at the other institution.

There was no provision for transfer from this institution to other correctional institutions in the State.

#### **Capacity and population**

At the time the institution was visited, its population of 684 boys exceeded by more than 100 the normal capacity of 575 reported by the superintendent.

Of the 684 boys in residence March 21, 1932, 589 were white, 93 were Negro, 1 was American Indian, and 1 was Mexican. Figures as

<sup>13</sup> Michigan Comp. Laws 1929, secs. 17082, 17086.

to nativity were available for the resident population as of October 1, 1931, and were accepted as representative. Of the 578 boys in the institution on this date, 346 were native born, of native parentage; 213 were native born, of foreign or mixed parentage; and 19 were foreign born.

The age distribution of the 486 boys received in the last fiscal year preceding the study—July 1, 1930, to June 30, 1931—was as follows:

	<i>Number of boys</i>
12 years.....	27
13 years.....	50
14 years.....	109
15 years.....	154
16 years.....	137
17 years.....	9

More than half (291) of the 486 boys committed were 15 and 16 years of age. It was reported that 9 boys were 17 years old at admission, although the general policy was not to receive boys of that age on first commitment.

The group under legal control outside the institution as of March 1, 1932, was 458 boys nominally on parole, and 8 boys who were absent without leave (escaped). For the last fiscal year before the institution was visited (ended June 30, 1931), the movement of population was as follows:

Population July 1, 1930.....	647
Received during the year.....	652
New commitments.....	488
Parolees returned.....	137
Escapes returned.....	23
Returned from placement.....	3
Returned from own home (not parole violation).....	1
Lost during the year.....	632
Released on discharge.....	161
Released on parole.....	440
Escaped.....	29
Died.....	2
Population June 30, 1931.....	667

## 6. RECEPTION AND ASSIGNMENT PROCEDURE

### Reception

This school had a regulation that it would receive boys only from the 1st to the 10th of each month. This policy was well known to the counties throughout the State. During that period boys were brought to Lansing by county welfare agents or law-enforcement officers. New boys were received by the superintendent's secretary, who signed the necessary papers, took such additional information as was required, and then turned the boy over to the receiving cottage. A little later during his stay at this cottage each boy was interviewed by the secretary to obtain a somewhat more complete case history.

### Receiving cottage

Boys remained in the receiving cottage 3 weeks to 1 month; that is, at the end of each month all boys were transferred to residence cottages. The receiving cottage of this school was not noticeably different from any of the other residence cottages for boys. During

their stay there, however, new boys had no contact with the rest of the school population, being considered in quarantine. They did not go to school. They did no institution work except all the housekeeping at their own cottage and the care of its grounds. During this period the boys received their examinations by the physician and the principal of the school. The receiving-cottage manager was expected to make a special study of each boy and to be prepared to report his observation. (For form for this report see appendix C, p. 313.)

#### First assignments

Cottage assignment was made largely on the basis of age and physical development, with some consideration of mental level and prior conduct. Assignment was made by the superintendent, but the recommendation of the receiving-cottage manager was reported to be the deciding factor in the choice of cottages.

Assignment to school grade was made by the school principal on the basis of the history which he had procured as to the boy's prior school experience and status, together with the results of such examinations as he had given during the boy's quarantine period.

Assignment to vocational training was made by the assistant superintendent, who was the staff officer entirely responsible for the maintenance work of the institution. In making assignments he was said to be very largely influenced by the boy's own choice as to what he wished to learn. Naturally, the assignment would be to a certain extent influenced by the maintenance needs and the size of the various shop groups at the time of assignment.

### 7. THE BOY'S LIFE IN THE INSTITUTION

#### Daily routine

The daily schedule for the boys at this school was as follows:

6 a.m.	Rising bell, followed shortly by 15 minutes of calisthenics.
7 a.m.	Breakfast, followed by cottage housework.
8:15 a.m.	Report to detail and then to school, vocational training, or work squad.
11:30 a.m.	Return to cottage.
12 noon	Dinner.
1:15 p.m.	Report to school, vocational training, or work squad.
4:30 p.m.	Dismissal from school, vocational training, or work.
5 p.m.	Supper.
6 to 8 p.m.	Recreational period.
8:30 p.m.	In bed.

#### General atmosphere

The general atmosphere was somewhat more formal than that observed at the Whittier State School (Calif.) described in the preceding chapter; that is, more marching lines of boys in semimilitary formation were observed. Although somewhat intangible, the feeling of continuous close supervision was more in the air here, but there were no physical evidences of restraint in the way of walls or barred windows.

#### Cottage "family" atmosphere

Each cottage had a manager and matron who were husband and wife. The superintendent desired to have these two individuals stand as nearly as possible in the relation of father and mother to the boys

under their care. This became, however, quite difficult with the groups so large as they were in this institution, living in the comparatively small space that each cottage provided. The ideal was for the cottage manager to seek to know and understand thoroughly every one of his boys. The superintendent felt that the cottage manager should be able to guide and control the boys in such a way that formal disciplinary measures would not be necessary. He was quite severe in his judgments of his cottage personnel, stating that he believed many of the difficulties which they encountered in bringing about improvement in a boy's general conduct and attitude were due to their own mental laziness or lack of ability. Although he called it common sense and intelligence, what he was aiming at was the application of mental-hygiene principles in individual-boy treatment.

#### **Arrangements for sleeping**

All cottages had well-ventilated dormitories, adequately provided with beds and bedding. They were kept in good condition. They were, however, crowded beyond their capacity in several of the cottages. This required that boys sleep in double-decker beds. Insistence was placed on careful attention to temperature and ventilation of the sleeping quarters at all times.

Each dormitory was supervised by a night watchman all night long. This supervision was obviously for the purpose of enforcing rules and regulations and preventing expected misconduct.

#### **Arrangements for eating**

Each cottage had its own dining room, but food was prepared in a central kitchen, and at each meal a detail of boys brought the food from the kitchen to their own cottage in specially constructed push-carts with thermos containers. There it was served from a pantry which had facilities for keeping things hot. The boys sat at small tables furnished with white tablecloths and china. The cottage father and mother ate at a small table in the same room. It was stated that silence during the meals was not required. However, in the one cottage visited during a meal hour the boys did not carry on conversation. This might have been due to the presence of strangers in the room.

Food was good and there seemed to be an abundance of it. A sample menu for one week is reproduced in appendix A, page 290.

#### **Sanitary arrangements**

Physical hygiene of the finest kind was insisted upon as a major duty. Sanitary facilities were good. In the old cottages that had just been remodeled a new large round washbasin had been installed, of the type that has a carefully regulated flow of running water which the boys could use for washing of faces and hands. All cottages were reported to have ample shower fixtures. Individual towels were supplied, and each boy was furnished with a toothbrush and paste. Cottage officers were expected to see that the boys made use of these articles properly.

#### **Living-room and playground activities**

Living rooms in the cottages were comparatively small for the number of boys who were expected to make use of them. Some cottages had only a combination dining room and living room. This meant no comfortable living-room furniture. Time indoors had to

be spent on the straight chairs at the tables in more or less restricted fashion. It was stated that the boys used the rooms for playing games and reading and that silence was not required. However, the impression was gained that little informal, normal, spontaneous conversation and play went on in these crowded living rooms. This difficulty was obviated to a certain extent by the evening use of the field house for recreation purposes by each cottage at prescribed periods each week and by use of a basement room for some play.

At all times when the weather would permit, all the daytime and evening leisure hours were spent out of doors on the cottage playgrounds. The superintendent insisted that each boy must take part in group play. He stated that many boys had to be taught how to play with other people; that they had never had opportunities to take part in free play. Supervision of the activities on each cottage playground was the responsibility of the cottage manager, and he was expected to see that his boys developed play morale of a wholesome character. The college students were very helpful in this connection.

#### **Miscellaneous arrangements**

Each cottage contained lockers so that every boy had a place all his own where he might keep his clothes and any other individual personal possessions.

The boys' everyday suits were of olive-drab wool in winter and of khaki in summer. For Sunday they had gray cadet uniforms. Each boy also had a suit of overalls for work or rough play. All clothing was commercially made. The superintendent stated that he could purchase better material on the open market at less cost than if he had the clothes made in a tailor shop at the school.

Smoking was not permitted; the principal reason given was the fire hazard, rather than that it was wrong.

The character of the boy's life along other lines, with particular reference to training and recreation, is described in other sections of this report.

#### **Outside contacts**

Boys were permitted to write letters twice a month. They could write to relatives or to certain approved adults, such as probation officers, judges, or pastors. Both incoming and outgoing mail was censored by the school teachers or the cottage manager. Boys might earn through good conduct the privilege of writing as often as they wished.

Boys might receive visits once a month from their immediate family or other persons who had secured permission from the superintendent. Visiting hours were from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. daily, except Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. Visitors were permitted to stay as long as they wished within those limits. There was a system of admission cards for visitors, each visitor being required to have a card before a boy was allowed to see him. The visits usually took place in rooms in the administration building.

Boys were sometimes permitted to leave the institution to go home for a visit. Quite a number were permitted to spend Christmas at home. The superintendent's permission was required for this privilege.

## 8. PHYSICAL EXAMINATIONS AND MEDICAL CARE

### Hospital facilities

Medical work at this institution was housed in the new building already described. (See p. 55). The hospital was not prepared to do X-ray nor laboratory work, these being taken care of through facilities in the city of Lansing or in State laboratories.

### Hospital staff

The physician in charge gave full time to looking after the physical health of the school population. A dentist was at the school half the day 5 days each week and was subject to emergency call on other days. Three registered nurses, a housekeeper, and a night watchman completed the regular staff. Consulting surgeons were regularly employed for certain types of specialized work.

### Physical examinations

Each boy on admission was given a complete physical examination. For all boys the routine included Wassermann test, throat cultures, urinalyses, immunization against diphtheria and typhoid fever, and vaccination against smallpox. The findings were recorded on regular forms and became a permanent record at the hospital.

### Corrective work

The hospital report for 1931 revealed a considerable amount of corrective surgical work undertaken, as shown by such items as "200 tonsillectomies, 15 herniotomies, 50 circumcisions, 3 operations for osteomyelitis." The same report showed that 6 boys had received treatment for syphilis and 2 for gonorrhea.

Glasses were fitted at State expense. If visual defects were noted during physical examination, a boy was sent to a consulting eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist for the proper prescription.

### Dental work

All necessary dental work was done at State expense.

### Other medical care

Each morning at 8 o'clock the daily sick call was held. Cottage officers sent their boys for medical examination or dispensary treatment at that time. There was a strict regulation at this school that every boy who wished to see the doctor must be permitted to report at the morning sick call. No other officer was permitted to judge as to whether or not a boy was in need of the doctor's attention. In addition to the routine sick call, boys were permitted to report to the hospital for attention at any time during the day that occasion might require. The annual report showed a daily average of 22 boys reporting for sick call.

Boys with acute illness of any type were cared for in the hospital until completely recovered and able to take their places in normal cottage life and school activities. Cases of acute illnesses and accidental injuries received care promptly. The daily average of boys in the hospital during the previous year was 12.

## 9. PSYCHIATRIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICE

### Psychological tests

The principal of the school gave the Stanford revision of the Binet-Simon test to all new boys during their stay at the receiving cottage as a part of his examination to determine where each boy should be placed in school.



**Psychiatric examinations**

Specially difficult cases that were suspected of being psychopathic or psychotic were referred to the State hospital at Ann Arbor for examination. The psychiatrist at that hospital kept such boys there under observation long enough to make a diagnosis and to advise as to what further treatment each boy should receive, either in the Boys' Vocational School or in some other institution.

This school had no resident psychiatric or psychological personnel.

**10. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM—CLASSROOM WORK****School staff**

The school personnel consisted of the principal and the 13 teachers. The general impression gained from visiting all the schoolrooms was that the teaching staff included individuals of ability, maturity, and pleasing personality.

**School day and school year**

The school day was from 8:15 to 11:30 a. m. and from 1:15 to 4:30 p.m. From the fifth grade down, all boys attended school all day 5 days a week. The others attended school every other day, going to shop work on alternate days. The school year was 10 months in length.

**Attendance requirements and enrollment**

All boys were required to attend school unless excused by the school principal. He had the authority to excuse from school attendance any boys 13 years old or over who were found to be mentally unable to do any school work to which they might be assigned. Once assigned, boys were not excused except for illness.

The school enrollment as of March 21, 1932, and the ages of boys attending all day on alternate days or 5 days in the week were as shown in the following table:

*Age of boys enrolled in a specified school grade or class on Mar. 21, 1932, and the time of school attendance<sup>1</sup>*

Grade and time attended	Boys enrolled								
	Total	Age of boy							
		11 years	12 years	13 years	14 years	15 years	16 years	17 years	18 years
Total.....	512	6	15	44	90	161	163	32	1
Attending all day on alternate days.....	384		3	17	65	126	146	26	1
Ninth grade.....	80			1	9	19	42	9	
Eighth grade.....	102			2	11	38	40	10	1
Seventh grade.....	103			7	22	37	34	3	
Sixth grade.....	99		3	7	23	32	30	4	
Attending all day 5 days in the week.....	128	6	12	27	25	35	17	6	
Fifth grade.....	50	1	5	12	14	10	5	3	
Fourth grade.....	26	3		4	3	10	5	1	
Opportunity room.....	27	2	5	8	2	7	2	1	
Special class.....	25		2	3	6	8	5	1	

<sup>1</sup> The difference between the school enrollment (512 on Mar. 21, 1932) and the total population of the institution on the same date (684) is due to the fact that boys not yet released from the receiving cottage for assignment to school grade were included in the total population, and also to other conditions of institutional life.

These figures show that school retardation was very common among boys committed to this institution. Adjustment in school was consequently more difficult and demanded more time and thoughtful analysis, especially in view of the congestion due to the necessity of admitting to the school some boys of decidedly low intelligence level.

#### Courses given

As is indicated in the enrollment table, regular classroom work through the ninth grade was offered. The curriculum followed that of the Michigan public schools in all essentials. In addition to work from the fourth grade through the ninth grade, there were two special rooms. One was known as the special class. This was for boys of very low grade mentally. A considerable amount of handwork was done by these boys, and fairly simple projects were undertaken. The other specialized class was known as the opportunity room. In this group were placed boys who were badly retarded in school but who actually possessed enough mental ability so that they could make up some of their work; there were some boys who were having difficulty with particular subjects and who needed a great deal of individual attention. The teacher in charge of this group had been well trained for that particular work and showed considerable ingenuity in devising original projects to arouse and hold the boys' interest. The classroom had many colorful decorations, all made by the boys themselves. They had constructed a little puppet theater of which they were very proud. They had made furniture and settings suitable for the production of several simple stories in which the characters were represented by clothespin puppets appropriately dressed.

Teaching methods throughout all classes included much project work. As much visual material was used as it was possible to procure, although the school did not have the proper equipment to show educational films or lantern slides. The boys made a considerable amount of poster material themselves so that all the school rooms presented an attractive appearance. One of the rooms was doing a transportation story by the project method, and one was setting up an exhibit which would illustrate in simple fashion the principal features of municipal, State, and National governments.

One special feature in this school was the emphasis on training in penmanship. Buttons were awarded and bulletins were posted to show the progress made by the different boys in each room. The reason for such emphasis was said to be the observation that effort to achieve the muscular control necessary for good penmanship seemed to have an excellent effect on muscular coordination and control in general, in which these boys especially needed assistance.

The grading followed that used in the Michigan public schools and was the usual A, B, C, D, and E system, E meaning complete failure.

Monthly reports were prepared and filed in the principal's office as permanent school records.

#### 11. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM—VOCATIONAL OR PREVOCATIONAL WORK

As its name indicates, this school had placed heavy emphasis on vocational training for many years, with a number of new developments during the past 12 years. Prior to that time the institution

had owned only the Lansing property. Then the plan was evolved for removing the entire school to a rural site; and more than 900 acres of farm land some 4 or 5 miles out of town were purchased for that purpose, as has been stated (see p. 53), and several hundred thousand dollars was appropriated for the erection of new buildings on that site. But vigorous opposition arose. Many influential persons, including the present superintendent, were strongly of the opinion that a larger-farm program was less to be desired than the development of trade-training facilities on the urban site. They contended that relatively few of their boys came from rural areas and that very few would ever adopt an agricultural career. After much discussion this group prevailed. The State legislature canceled its order as to the expenditure of the appropriation on the new farm lands and permitted its use for the erection of new cottages, shop buildings, and the field house on the Lansing campus.

#### Enrollment

The vocational or other work at which boys were occupied all day on alternate days was reported as follows on March 21, 1932:

	<i>Number of boys</i>
Total.....	384
Baking.....	9
Barbering.....	12
Farming (including general farm work, outside work, and extra details).....	44
Horticulture.....	4
Laundry and sorting room.....	25
Painting.....	10
Printing.....	10
Shoemaking and shoe repairing.....	10
Choir and vocal music.....	14
Manual training.....	27
Tailoring.....	10
Mending department.....	9
Radio shop.....	7
Store.....	4
Machine shop.....	43
Band.....	65
Work assignments <sup>14</sup> .....	35
No report as to assignments.....	46

The management were particularly proud of the machine shop, which they said rated as the best for schools of this character in the United States from the point of view of equipment and instruction. During the first few weeks each boy was required to go through a hard course of routine work, that was held to put his character to the test. Each boy had to learn to chip and file and to do his work with a high degree of accuracy. He then progressed through easy stages to the more complex operations until he was able to make simple tools. It was claimed that if a boy had a reasonable amount of aptitude and applied himself diligently he could learn enough in 8 months so that he could be placed in a good job in this line outside the institution.

Although the print shop was turning out a great deal of satisfactory work, the instructor did not consider that he could do more than help a boy to take the first steps toward trade skill in the 6 to 10 months that each boy remained in training, as the printing trade requires

<sup>14</sup> Includes jobs considered to have some training value, to which boys were assigned as follows: Kitchen work, 17; vegetable room, 10; janitor work, 6; office work, 2.

several years' apprenticeship. The instructor stated that most of the boys encountered great difficulty because of their very inadequate educational background. The shop printed forms and reports of many of the other State institutions and departments, in addition to doing all the printing for the vocational school. Much of their work would compare well with commercial products.

One shop housed the classes in mechanical drawing and radio, conducted by an instructor who was said to possess unusual ability and initiative. Boys at work there seemed to be taking great pride in their achievements and to be finding satisfaction in the production of useful equipment. They had made radio equipment for the hospital and all of the cottages.

It will be noted that this school classed musical work, both vocal and instrumental, in its vocational department. It was not known, however, how many boys were able to make any vocational use of this training after leaving the institution.

The agricultural work was under the direction of a superintendent who was a practical farmer and achieved a good record of farm production. The training which the boys assigned to farm work were receiving was probably directly comparable to that which they would get from working for a successful farmer, with all the good features and all the limitations as to general and specialized agricultural knowledge that this would imply. At certain seasons large groups of boys worked practically as farm laborers, doing work that had little training value except in the matter of building up work habits. It was believed that this participation in the production of quantities of food which all were to enjoy might have some value in establishing a certain satisfaction in group activity and an appreciation of social responsibility.

#### **Maintenance, repair, and construction work**

Much of the other "training" was in effect performing the maintenance and repair work for the institution, but the administration sought to have the training features of such work emphasized so far as was possible. Many of these work assignments necessarily offered little training except in the general direction of habits of regularity, reliability, and thoroughness that are requisite in a good worker.

One assignment which was not shown in the list supplied was the number of boys employed on construction work. In Michigan all construction of new buildings or remodeling of old ones was done by the State department of construction, or by a private contractor under the supervision of this State department. At the Boys' Vocational School practically all building had been done by this department with the use of boy labor. This not only cut costs, but it was also considered that the boys received much good training in construction work "on the job." Boys were said to show genuine interest in tasks of that description and to regard such assignments as preferable to much of the shop work. They were just completing the remodeling of one of the older cottages at the time the institution was visited.

## **12. PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND ATHLETICS**

The program of physical education and athletics was directed by a normal-school graduate who had specialized in physical education and had taught in the public schools and served as athletic coach. Some of the other officers at the institution who had other duties served part

time as his assistants, as did also the college students who were employed part time. The indoor work was all done in the field house, the unusual facilities of which have been described earlier in this report. (See p. 56.) For outdoor activities the cottage playgrounds and the large athletic field were used.

#### **Physical education**

No regular gymnasium classes were scheduled, but the boys in each cottage were given 15 to 20 minutes of setting-up exercises each morning under the direction of their cottage managers. No particular corrective work with individuals was undertaken. There was, however, a close relation between the physician and the athletic department, so that boys with any physical weakness might be watched and protected from overexertion or from activities of a kind that might be harmful.

Although no regular gymnasium classes were conducted, the field house was a beehive of activity every evening. Each evening three cottage families used it. Three teams from each cottage played against each other in the various sports appropriate to the season. Each cottage had a first, a second, and a third team. The director sought to make sure that all boys actively participated in games during the evenings assigned to their cottages at the gymnasium.

Each boy was taught to swim unless he had some physical disability which rendered it undesirable. Every cottage had one evening at the pool a week, each evening being divided into 3 periods so that the boys of 3 cottages might use it at once.

In winter when the temperature reached freezing the athletic field was flooded for ice skating. The school had six tennis courts, but for some reason tennis was not particularly popular, being considered something of a "sissy" game by the boys. Practically no apparatus work was undertaken. It was considered too dangerous, owing to the reports that many boys had been injured doing stunts with the apparatus.

The field house contained showers and dressing rooms. Habits of cleanliness and personal hygiene were taught in connection with the gymnasium and athletic program, though not through any formal methods.

#### **Sports program**

A very lively athletic program was carried on throughout the year, indoors in winter and outdoors whenever the weather permitted. Football was said to be the most popular branch of athletics so far as the school as a whole was concerned.

The vocational-school football team belonged to the Michigan Athletic Association and played a regular schedule with high-school teams. To be eligible for the school team the boys were required to have a "B" average throughout their school work. There were no cottage football teams, although all cottages had footballs for play on their own cottage grounds.

In basket ball there was a large organization for intramural competition, with 79 teams organized into what was practically 10 leagues. The winning team in each league was presented with a banner or token which became the permanent possession of the cottage. The best players won a place on the school team, which was scheduled for 14 games with outside teams. The field house had an excellent

basket-ball court with ample space to accommodate spectators. It was often used for tournaments and contests not only of local but also of State-wide importance. Three-fourths of the scheduled games with outside teams were played on this court, and all boys attended.

In baseball there was also an extensive intramural seasonal competition, with 42 teams constituting 6 leagues. The winning team in each league was presented with a trophy donated by the baseball manufacturers.

Considerable attention was given to track events. An annual track meet was held on the Fourth of July.

#### Military training

In accordance with the legal requirement that all the boys at the school "be formed into a cadet corps",<sup>15</sup> military training of a modified type was being given to all the boys. When the weather permitted, the boys of each cottage were given 15 minutes of drill daily by their cottage managers, who were under the general supervision of the athletic director in regard to this matter. Some of the cadet officers of the cottage companies served as cottage monitors for the groups. The smaller boys drilled with wooden model guns, the older ones with dismantled rifles. Competitive drills were held each year on Memorial Day and on July Fourth.

The superintendent gave great credit to the athletic director, the facilities at the field house, and the busy program of athletic activities for minimizing disciplinary problems at the school. He was convinced that these normal outlets for bottled-up physical and mental energy and the opportunities for rough-and-tumble play were vitally necessary for the boys' mental and emotional development as well as for their physical growth.

### 13. OTHER RECREATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Although the major emphasis in recreation at this school was on athletics, certain other recreational activities were going on all the time, though not under any specialized supervision or direction.

#### Music

Considerable prominence had been given to band training. The band instructor was experienced in instruction and in band leadership. It was stated that he often accepted boys who wished to try for the band but who had never had any musical training whatever, and usually he could gradually bring them to the point where they could take part in the institution's band work. The first band consisted of a 75-piece organization. Usually about 100 boys were competing for places on it. The school had been able to send the band to the national competitive meets regularly for the past few years. It won the national championship at Denver in 1929 and second place in 1930 and 1931; 83 bands competed in 1931. The superintendent expressed great pride in the band.

The teacher of vocal music directed a boy choir. She also had developed a group of singers who were able to put on very creditable concert programs. Both the band and the chorus were said to be in great demand for entertainments in Lansing and nearby cities, and they were permitted to do a certain amount of that kind of work.

<sup>15</sup> Michigan, Comp. Laws 1929, sec. 7815.

**Radio**

Each cottage living room had a radio which had been made in the radio shop at the vocational school. The programs were not centrally controlled, supervision being left to the cottage personnel. The hospital had also been equipped with radios so that boys who were ill could have the benefit of the programs.

In addition to the radio each cottage had a phonograph which had not entirely lost its popularity.

**Dramatics**

There was no particular emphasis on dramatics at this school, as no staff member had much time to devote to such work. Special programs were usually developed for the various holidays. These programs were supervised by the music teacher.

**Motion pictures**

The school had recently obtained apparatus for showing talking pictures. A motion picture was shown each week on Sunday morning following the Sunday-school hour. The films were provided without charge by a film exchange in Detroit. The superintendent stated that one of the women employees in the office of this exchange was very much interested in the school and assumed personal responsibility for selecting the films. He rated her judgment as to suitable pictures as excellent. The weekly film was attended by all boys except those deprived of the privilege for disciplinary reasons.

**Reading**

The institution library was housed in a beautiful room on the first floor of the new school building. The walls were a pleasant tan and cream, the hardwood floor was nicely polished, and colorful cretonne curtains were at the windows and potted flowers were on the tables. The room was in charge of a woman librarian who also did some of the school office work and served as substitute teacher, secretary to the principal, and cottage matron.

The library contained about 3,500 volumes, all catalogued. It sent 25 to 30 books to each cottage once a month. The books were carefully selected with reference to the type of boys at each cottage. At the end of the month the books were returned and a different set issued. The library was constantly used for reference work in connection with classroom instruction. Certain periodicals were sent to each cottage regularly. Among these were magazines dealing with popular mechanics, outdoor life, and current events, and a few newspapers of serious type.

**Boy Scout work**

This school had one Boy Scout troop, composed of boys from the different cottages who had expressed a desire to become Scouts. The scoutmaster was one of the college students whom the school employed. The Scout troop took one long hike each year.

**14. RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION**

"Recognizing that the moral well-being of the youth cannot be conserved without due attention to the Bible",<sup>16</sup> the school had arranged for close attention to religious education, taking care that there

<sup>16</sup> Boys Vocational School, Lansing, Mich. (souvenir booklet), p. 13. [1931.]

should be no sectarianism in the teaching and that family preferences should be scrupulously respected.

A resident Protestant chaplain was at the service of boys from Protestant families. He conducted Sunday school for them every Sunday morning. The Sunday-school group did not break up into small classes, but all boys had quarterlies and were expected to prepare their Sunday-school lessons. Instruction included the requirement that each boy commit to memory the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Beatitudes, certain psalms, and other outstanding scriptural passages.

On Sunday afternoon the entire school population attended strictly nonsectarian services in the auditorium. Visiting ministers of various denominations addressed the boys on these occasions. The boys' choir furnished the music.

The spiritual needs of boys from Catholic families were attended by the pastor of the Church of the Resurrection in Lansing, employed on a part-time basis by the school. While the Protestant boys attended their Sunday school each Sunday morning, the Catholic priest conducted Mass and gave instruction to Catholic boys.

There were too few Jewish boys to warrant the making of any special provision for religious instruction through group services. Every effort was made to meet their needs through occasional visits from members of their own faith.

The full-time chaplain spent a great deal of time with the new boys in the receiving cottage. He sought to establish a friendly, personal relationship with each boy and to gain his confidence. The chaplain also spent much time with boys in the hospital and maintained close contact with boys worried because of sickness or other troubles in their homes. When a boy was about to be paroled the chaplain wrote to a pastor or to some religious organization in the boy's home town, asking that every effort be made to assist the boy to make the necessary adjustment. He reported that in his opinion the cooperation given by the ministers in the home communities usually was good. This chaplain was the officer who took all parolees to their trains or busses and gave the last words of advice to them when they left the institution.

## 15. CREDIT SYSTEM AND DISCIPLINARY MEASURES

### Credit system

This school did not have a formal merit or credit system. It had a grading system by which each cottage manager graded every boy under his care daily with respect to behavior and effort. The symbols used were A, B, C, D, and X. At the end of the month each teacher and shop instructor reported to the cottage manager the grades of each boy under his supervision. The cottage manager then combined their three ratings into an average rating which became the boy's monthly grade. These grades then formed a basis for deciding what progress a boy was making toward satisfactory adjustment.

### Disciplinary measures

The system for meeting disciplinary problems at this institution was rather loosely knit. The superintendent followed the policy of vesting considerable authority for discipline in his cottage managers. He expected his cottage managers, as he phrased it, to "use their



heads" on these problems. His attitude was that if a cottage manager came into serious conflict of any kind with an individual boy, it was usually the cottage manager's fault. He contended that it was the managers' duty to study and understand the personalities of their individual boys so as to be able to manage them with relatively little friction. In his opinion the key to successful management was getting the right type of cottage personnel. When exceptionally serious problems of discipline arose, the cottage manager referred the case to the superintendent.

The primary disciplinary measure was deprivation of privileges. Boys might be denied attendance at motion pictures or other entertainments and might be forbidden to participate in play or games of any kind, either on their cottage playgrounds or at the field house. There was no fining. Once a boy's monthly rating had been established, it remained permanently at that point. No curtailment of food was permitted. Cottage managers were allowed to place boys "on line" for limited periods and might require them to drill while others played.

Until early in 1931, use was made of a disciplinary cottage. This was discontinued because the space formerly used for that purpose had to be taken for a regular cottage unit while one of the old buildings was being remodeled. The superintendent stated that they had gotten along so well without a segregation unit that he doubted if he would ever reinstate it. He felt that when there was such a disciplinary unit the cottage managers formed a habit of depending too much on it when they could really solve individual disciplinary problems much more satisfactorily within their own units if they would work hard enough at it. He was of the opinion that a disciplinary unit provided cottage managers with too easy a way out of a difficult situation. In the case of a few persistent runaways, return to the receiving cottage, where closer supervision could be given, was resorted to.

There were no details to hard work for disciplinary purposes. According to the superintendent's statement, that was no particular punishment for some of his boys, as a number of them did not care to do anything else, because they did not wish to "use their heads." In other words, rough manual labor under a "boss" was the extent of their ambition.

No corporal punishment of any kind for any reason was permitted. Any breaking of that rule, if detected, resulted in quick action against the offending staff member by the superintendent.

A very definite impression was gained that discipline was thoroughly individualized. Circumstances, the boy's personality, his emotional state at the time of the misconduct, and other related facts were taken into consideration in dealing with each problem of major misconduct that was referred to the superintendent. He appeared to be attempting to inculcate in his cottage personnel the same attitudes toward disciplinary action in minor cases.

There was no clear-cut scale of offenses on the basis of relative importance. Probably active insubordination would here be rated as the most serious offense. Boys who escaped on the first attempt were usually talked to by the superintendent and then sent right back to their home cottages. Persistent runaways were required to return to the receiving cottage because they could be watched more easily there. Sex offenders were carefully watched and every effort made

to prevent incidents of that kind. Smoking was not permitted. The fire hazard was the primary reason, and this was carefully explained to the boys. Whenever discipline had to be meted out because of smoking, it was this fire hazard that was impressed upon the boy as the reason and an effort was made to have him see how he was endangering others by his violation of that regulation. The superintendent expressed great impatience with relatives who, although they knew the rules of the institution, persisted in giving the boys tobacco. Whenever an instance of that kind was discovered the offending relative had his visiting privilege cut off at once.

#### 16. INSTITUTION RECORDS

The record system kept by the administrative office at this school consisted of a card file, which contained most of the record data, and a case folder for each boy, in which were kept correspondence and miscellaneous information. For the boys on parole, copies of reports of the home investigation preceding parole and any visits by the supervisors from the State welfare department were filed in the case folder. Reports relating to parole were on special blanks. The commitment papers were filed separately in the vault. Records of medical care were kept by the hospital and records of school work by the education department.

The system did not include any case records organized along the lines of case-work procedure or chronological history. The card file (5 by 8 cards) included all the identifying face-sheet information about the boy and his parents; brief statements regarding previous history; monthly conduct grades while in the institution; list of any physical defects; results of mental tests, if given; record of escapes; record of placement on parole with address, dates of parole and return, and reasons, if applicable; date of discharge. Cards of three colors were used, white for first commitment, blue for first return, and red for boys returned more than once. The cases of boys in the institution, on parole, and discharged were filed separately, both in the card file and in the file containing the case folders.

Except in special cases and in the cases of boys committed from Kent and Wayne Counties (which have special facilities in their juvenile courts), the social data about the boys received by the institution were very meager. The information entered on the card file concerning the family and previous records was secured largely from the boy himself in the interview by the school secretary shortly after admission.

The results of the physical examination given upon entrance were recorded on a medical blank and filed in the hospital office. Fairly full hospital and follow-up examination records were kept for individual cases.

The permanent record of each boy's academic schooling while in the institution was kept by the education department and filed in the principal's office. Monthly report cards and a master sheet showing grades and progress constituted the record forms used. A "chart for defective child" was kept for each boy in the special class, and forms were furnished for use by teachers wishing to transfer boys from the grades to the special class.

No detailed records were kept showing a boy's progress in his trade or vocational training, nor were individual records kept by the physical-education department. A small card file (3 by 5 cards) in the same color scheme as in the larger file was used for recording chronologically the boy's assignments to trade and work and indicating his school grade. These were filed in his case folder when he left the institution.

Forms were supplied by the State welfare department for reports on home investigations, placements, transfers on parole, returns, and supervisory visits. Copies of these were sent to the department, and one was kept with the institution records.

### 17. PAROLE AND DISCHARGE

The provisions relating to parole, discharge, and parole supervision at this school differed from those in any of the other institutions studied. As has been stated, commitments were for a definite period—until the boy became 17 years of age if he had been under 16 when committed, or until 18 if he had been 16 years old at commitment. Boys might be paroled by the superintendent, under the authority of the State corrections commission, before they reached the age for discharge. (See p. 53.) These provisions resulted in long parole periods for the boys who were under 15 at time of commitment, and short parole periods for the group 16 or older. Some courts did not commit to 18 years, and in such cases the boys 16 at time of commitment might reach their seventeenth birthday before being paroled. Frequently boys returned for parole violations were discharged directly from the institution, since discharge, whether from parole or from the institution, was automatic upon the boy's reaching the age specified in the court commitment (either 17 or 18 years).

There was no parole supervision in the administrative program of the institution. All the parole work was done by the State welfare department through its State supervisors and its county welfare agents. As a matter of fact, no staff was engaged in parole supervision exclusively, as both the State supervisors and the county welfare agents had many other duties.

The county welfare agents in counties of less than 150,000 inhabitants were only part-time workers, paid on a per diem basis (\$5 a day) while actually on duty. Counties of 150,000 or more could employ full-time agents on salary. At the time of this study only 3 counties had full-time agents and 80 had part-time agents. Among their other duties were investigations for and supervision of placements from the State Public School (an institution for dependents at Coldwater, Mich.); in many counties they served as probation officers for the courts and supervised mothers' aid. In most cases they were the only paid social workers in the county. Except for full-time agents, no special qualifications were required. Many of the county welfare agents were actively engaged in other occupations; some had retired from business or were occupied mainly in political activities. Some were so old that the value of their services was questionable; one interviewed was 90 years of age and several others were found to be very elderly. In a few instances the education or occupation reported would indicate no fitness whatever for the work; one was a caretaker for a livery stable who was reported as having about a third-grade education.

The State welfare department had five supervisors for the entire State. They were expected to visit State wards, including parolees from the Boys' Vocational School and the Girls' Training School and children placed out from the State Public School. So far as was discovered, the supervisors' qualifications did not include any special training for parole work.

In Wayne and Kent Counties, which contain the cities of Detroit and Grand Rapids, the county welfare agent and the juvenile court had an informal agreement whereby the probation department of the juvenile court accepted responsibility for parole supervision. Thus in at least two counties an agency engaged primarily in work with juvenile delinquents was responsible for supervision of boys paroled from the vocational school. Qualifications based on special training were required for the members of both of these probation departments.

Eligibility for parole was determined through the school's general grading system. (See p. 74.) It was necessary to have earned six marks no lower than B to become eligible.

As has been noted, the immediate authority for granting parole was vested in the superintendent of the institution. Approval of the State corrections commission, which was required to make his action valid, was almost invariably given to his recommendations.

Notification of a boy's readiness for parole was made to the State welfare department, which then requested that a visit be made to the boy's home by the county welfare agent in that county. Report of this visit was made in duplicate to the department, which sent one copy to the institution for use in deciding whether the boy should be returned to his own home. It was difficult to appraise the adequacy of these investigations. In the few records examined the reports were brief and did not seem to give sufficient information upon which to form a judgment as to the fitness of the home. Often the report was a mere recommendation by the agent, without proper supporting data.

From the information available it appeared that the supervision or assistance given to parolees by either the county welfare agents or the State supervisors was considerably below the standards of regular parole work. The supervisors were reported as "usually getting around" to visit parolees about three times a year. Their reports of such visits were made in duplicate, one copy for the State welfare department files and one for the institution that had released the parolee. The questions on the blank for reporting such visits were answered very briefly indeed, and few really pertinent data regarding the boy's progress were given. These reports frequently did not even indicate whether the boys had been seen. It was considered the duty of these State supervisors merely to "check up" on the boys by these occasional visits. They did not attempt to offer any employment, school, or recreational adjustment service. The pressure of their other work was stated to be heavy and the responsibility for helpful supervision of parolees was left largely to the county welfare agents.

These agents were not required to make detailed reports of their work to anyone, and it was found that a number of them did not even keep records for their own use. During the field study for part 2 of this report (in the summer of 1930) some agents interviewed could not tell how many boys and girls they had on parole, and one who had

only two boys could not recall their names. It was found that visits were seldom, if ever, made to the boys' homes, the general policy being to require parolees to report to the agents. Several agents held office hours at the courthouse on Saturday mornings; if the boys came in, all right; if not, no effort was made to follow them up. In a number of the counties the boys who did not live in the same town as the county welfare agent were expected to report to him by mail. Several agents excused boys from reporting after a few months. One agent stated that he did not ask boys to report in person, as it would take too much of his and the boys' time; he further remarked that the boys were afraid of being returned to the institution and that this was why they "succeeded" without close supervision. Another county agent, who was very busy with welfare investigations, gave the parolees only perfunctory attention. The parolees, he said, were a "nuisance" and he mostly "let them sink or swim." On the other hand, a few county agents stated that they tried to do everything possible to assist the boys by helping them secure employment and proper recreational connections.

In Wayne and Kent Counties, where the parolees were under the supervision of the juvenile-court probation department, it was reported that the supervision was also largely done by the office reporting method. However, some home visits were made, and some assistance was given to parolees in finding employment and making school adjustments.

The boys were not required to make any written reports to the vocational school, but the superintendent stated that a considerable number wrote personal letters to him, and in that manner the institution did hear from a number of its parolees. Foster fathers of boys placed in farm homes were asked to keep the school informed of the boys' progress, but no regular reporting was required.

Placement of boys on farms, when their own homes were unsuitable for their return or when they had no home, was customary. A list of suitable farm homes was on hand most of the time. The farmers made personal application to the institution, investigation was made by the county welfare agent at the request of the State welfare department, and if the home was found suitable it was then placed on the list.

Boys could be returned to the institution for violation of parole until they became 17 or 18 years of age, as the term of their commitment specified. Decision as to what constituted sufficient violation of parole to warrant return to the institution was generally made by the judge of the committing court, with the advice of the county agent or State supervisor. It was stated that boys were seldom returned unless they got into serious difficulties involving new offenses. Michigan has no legal provision for transfer to other correctional institutions. Therefore, although commitment to another correctional institution while on parole technically constituted discharge, such cases were generally carried on the institution records and not formally discharged until the boys reached the age limit. In special cases full discharge might be granted prior to the discharge age. This most frequently occurred when for some legitimate reason a boy wished to move to another State before his parole period was completed. Formal discharge papers were issued to the boys by the institution.

As has been indicated, there was no real record of the boy's progress or of his conduct while on parole. In many instances the institution was not even notified when a boy on parole was committed to another correctional institution. The copies of the reports of the visits by the State supervisors, copies of the home investigations before parole, and casual letters from the boy to the superintendent constituted the total of the parole records.

When leaving the school on parole or discharge, each boy received, in accordance with the law, a complete outfit of new clothes, which he had been permitted to select himself, transportation to his destination, and such sum of money, not exceeding \$50, as was deemed necessary for sustenance for a period of 30 days.<sup>17</sup> During the year 1932 a total of \$2,936 was given to 175 boys who were released. The amount given to each boy varied from \$5 to \$40, depending on the need in each case. The superintendent expressed the belief that this financial aid in many instances was of great practical help in rendering the boy independent of his old associates "long enough for him to get his feet on the ground."

Each boy also received a certificate to show that he was rightfully on parole or "leave of absence" (the term used officially). Three express conditions were specified in this certificate as follows:

First: That he lives a correct and moral life and violates no National, State, or municipal law.

Second: That his conduct and surroundings be at all times satisfactory to the State corrections commission.

Third: That he makes a satisfactory report of his residence, and circumstances in life, either in person or by letter as often as instructed, to \_\_\_\_\_, county agent; or, if, for any cause that cannot be done, that he reports directly to the superintendent of this institution.

For boys returning to Detroit, the certificate specified the juvenile court as the agency to whom they were to report.

## 18. PLANT AND PROGRAM CHANGES IN RECENT YEARS

Of the cases analyzed in part 2 of this report, (see p. 10), 150 were of boys from the Boys' Vocational School. These boys had undergone training in this institution during the years 1919-25, inclusive. That period was one which saw considerable change taking place in the institution and in its treatment program.

The State legislature in 1917 had authorized the State board of control to make arrangements for the removal of the school from its location in Lansing to a farm site not far from the city; \$100,000 had been appropriated for the purpose in 1917, and \$600,000 in 1919. After the farm land had been acquired, the struggle began which culminated in legislative action canceling the previous plans and authorizing the use of the appropriations for buildings and equipment at the Lansing site, except for such expenditures as were necessary to make it possible to carry on a supplementary farm project on the new land.

As a result of this change a very lively building program was going on at the Lansing campus during the period 1919 to 1925, in which the boys included in this study were under care. Four new double cottages were erected. A large industrial building to house several shops was completed, and the pride of the campus, the field house,

<sup>17</sup> Michigan, Comp. Laws 1929, sec. 17826.

was being built. In the time that had elapsed since the last of this group was paroled the program of improvement had continued. All the old cottages had been remodeled, and the new school and hospital buildings had been erected and occupied.

The following data show some changes in the 10-year interval from 1921 to 1931 (fiscal year ended June 30):

Item	1921	1931
Average number of boys in care.....	600	708
Employees.....	73	124
Boys per employee.....	8.2	5.7
Per capita cost.....	\$487	\$540

Although the school population had increased, the number of employees had increased more rapidly, so that there was a better ratio between boys and employees. This increase in personal service may have been the cause of the slight increase in per capita cost. In the report for the biennial period ended June 30, 1920, the superintendent had stated that the institution was "badly handicapped by reason of the fact that it has not been possible to go into the open market to secure just the right kind of people to handle the boys", adding that competent shop supervisors could not be secured because a man who was really capable was unwilling to take charge of a cottage together with his shop duties, and it was not possible to pay some men for cottage work only and others for shop work only.<sup>18</sup> Even by 1931 this difficulty had not been entirely overcome.

Overcrowding was undoubtedly a feature of the institutional life during this period. Moreover, according to the report quoted in the preceding paragraph, many of the buildings were in "a deplorable state of repair", the plumbing was antiquated, there were no recreation rooms for the boys, no school building, no gymnasium.

School work was carried on under considerable handicap, with classrooms scattered about the campus and centralized supervision difficult. Normal-school graduates were procured whenever possible, but the report commented that it was difficult to attract the highest type of teacher to institutional teaching with the salaries payable. Statements indicated the awareness of the management of the handicaps under which the teachers worked, special note being taken of the large classes, and the presence in the regular graded rooms of large numbers of mentally subnormal boys, who not only could not profit by the institutional training themselves but also interfered with the progress of the brighter boys.

The institution had always emphasized industrial work in preparation for self-support on release. But reports indicate that the shops were handicapped by inadequate quarters and poor equipment, until the funds appropriated in 1917 permitted the erection of the new industrial building, the remodeling of the old shop quarters, and the installation of a great deal of new equipment, including the entire machine shop which was especially featured in the 1932 program.

<sup>18</sup> Biennial Report of the Board of Control of the Industrial School for Boys, Michigan, 1920, p. 6.

Most of these improvements were made during the last months that boys studied were at the school or after their release.

The same is true of the development of the extensive athletic program now so prominent a part of the treatment activities and credited by the superintendent with greatly reducing disciplinary problems. The superintendent appointed in 1923 had abolished corporal punishment and put a great deal of energy into getting facilities for constructive activity on the athletic field and in the gymnasium as an outlet for the natural physical energy and exuberance of healthy youth.

Parole supervision had not changed to any extent in the 10 years since the first of the boys in this study were initially released on parole.



## Chapter IV.—STATE HOME FOR BOYS, JAMESBURG, N.J.

Early in March 1931 the State Home for Boys at Jamesburg, N.J., was visited for the purpose of obtaining descriptive and statistical material for this report. Except as otherwise indicated, all statements refer to conditions prevailing at that time.

### 1. STATUTORY PROVISIONS GOVERNING ESTABLISHMENT AND OPERATION

The New Jersey State Home for Boys was established in 1865 as the State Reform School for Juvenile Offenders. From its beginning it provided care for boys only, and its purpose, as specifically stated in the law, was their reformation. The Governor of the State, the chancellor, and the chief justice constituted a board of control, which was to appoint six suitable persons as trustees or managers of the institution. This board of trustees was to be generally responsible for the institution, to see that strict discipline was maintained, to provide employment, to bind out inmates, to discharge or remand them, and to have charge of the office personnel. The law further stated that they should require the boys to be "instructed in piety and morality, and in such branches of useful knowledge" as could be adapted to their age and capacity, "and in some regular course of labor, either mechanical, manufacturing, agricultural, or a combination of these, as is best suited to their age, strength, disposition, and capacity, and in such other arts and trades as may seem best adapted to secure the reformation, amendment, and future benefit of the boys." The commitment age was between 8 and 16, and boys could be committed on conviction of an offense which might be punished by imprisonment other than for life. Specific reference to the term of commitment was not made in this first law, but it empowered the trustees to bind boys out as apprentices or servants until they should become 21 years of age, or for less time. In 1900 a law "to establish and regulate the State Home for Boys" changed the name from State Reform School for Juvenile Offenders to State Home for Boys. The form of management remained the same until 1918. In that year a law creating the State department of charities and corrections placed general control of the State Home for Boys under the authority of that department, and in the following year an amendment which is still in effect established in place of the department of charities and corrections a department of institutions and agencies.<sup>1</sup> This department is the executive agency of the State board of control.

The board of managers of the State Home for Boys is now appointed by the State department of institutions and agencies with the approval of the Governor. The board of managers consists of not less than five nor more than seven members, at least two of whom must be women. This board, with the approval of the State department, appoints the chief executive (superintendent) of the institution.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> New Jersey, Laws of 1865, p. 886; Laws of 1900, ch. 93; Laws of 1918, ch. 147; Laws of 1919, ch. 97.

<sup>2</sup> New Jersey, Cum. Supp. 1924, secs. 34-53, 34-55.

The age limits for commitment remained the same, boys over 8 and under 16 years. Under the present statutes boys may be committed until they reach the age of 21, unless the detention is terminated earlier by the board of managers, in accordance with rules and regulations formally adopted. Placement on parole after a period in the institution is authorized. Indenture or binding out to service is not permitted, but under the parole system a boy may be placed in a home other than his own if this is thought to be for his best interest.<sup>3</sup>

Payment for care of boys by the parents was authorized in the 1900 law as follows: "Every boy committed \* \* \* shall be personally liable for his own maintenance and all necessary expenses incurred therein on his behalf; and the parent, guardian, or relative who would have been bound by law to provide for and support him if he had not been sent to the said home shall be liable to pay for such maintenance and necessary expenses."<sup>4</sup> The board of trustees was authorized to remit all or part of such liability or to sue in the name of the superintendent in case of failure to pay. Under the present law it is the duty of the judge at the time of examination to inquire into the ability of the parent or guardian to pay the expenses of commitment proceedings and the boy's board; and his findings, with the amount ordered, are to be endorsed on the warrant of commitment.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. THE PHYSICAL PLANT

### Location

The State Home for Boys had a rural setting, 2 miles from the village of Jamesburg and about 27 miles from the capital city of Trenton. Jamesburg was accessible on a branch of the Pennsylvania Railroad from Trenton and also from northern New Jersey. There was bus service to New Brunswick, 15 miles distant. Although not on a main highway, the institution was readily reached by several automobile routes.

There was a brick archway at the immediate entrance to the grounds, but no fence or wall. The buildings and surrounding grounds were about a mile back from the main road and grouped around a series of quadrangles. Each building was, however, separate. Well-cared-for lawns, with many large shade trees and flower beds in season, surrounded the buildings.

### Acreage

The institution was situated on rolling farm land with thinly wooded areas. The school campus was on land slightly higher than the immediately surrounding area. The land owned by the institution was quite extensive, a total of 889 acres. About 150 acres were used for the buildings, lawns and roads, athletic and drill field, and playgrounds for the cottages. All but about 150 acres of the farm was under cultivation; some 75 acres were in pasture and 75 were waste land. About 489 acres were given over to the raising of general farm products, 50 to truck gardening, and 50 to orchards and berry patches.

### Administrative offices

The first building at this institution was erected in 1866, and in this were the administrative offices. It was a large, 3-story, dark-

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, secs. 34-141, 34-146, 34-147, 34-148.

<sup>4</sup> New Jersey, Laws of 1900, ch. 93.

<sup>5</sup> New Jersey, Cum. Supp. 1924, sec. 34-144.

red brick building, of old-style architectural design. The offices, which included those of the superintendent, assistant to the superintendent, psychologist, parole secretary, business administration, and food supervisor, were on the first floor. In the basement were rooms that could be used by the boys when they received visitors, also a club room for the men staff members. The second and third floors were used for staff residence quarters.

#### **Boys' residence quarters**

Nine single and two double cottages were in use, and three more single cottages were under construction. Four of the older cottages still in use dated as far back as the period 1871 to 1879; of the other two (double) cottages one was erected in 1906 and the other in 1913. All these old cottages were of dark-red brick, square in shape, three stories in height. Their use was being discontinued as fast as new cottages became available.

The new cottages were a light-red brick, semicolonial in style, and only two stories in height. They were all of similar design and fitted in with the general style of architecture used in the entire recent building program.

All provision for sleeping quarters was on the dormitory plan. The dormitories in the cottages visited, both old and new, were well equipped as to beds, bedding, and sanitary facilities. Lighting and ventilation were satisfactory, although the dormitories were all quite crowded, 30 to 50 boys sleeping in each.

Meals were prepared and served in a central kitchen and dining room; hence the cottages did not have dining rooms or kitchen facilities, except that one of the cottages built in 1930 had a dining room and a service pantry, the plan being to use this as an honor cottage for boys about to be paroled, these boys to eat in their cottage.

Owing to their newness and the modern style of the building, the living rooms in the recently erected cottages appeared more attractive than those in the old ones, but all were comfortably furnished with chairs and small tables, books and games. All had pretty colored curtains, attractive posters and pictures, and the atmosphere created was that of a "homey" living room where the boys might enjoy their leisure. Each new cottage had a room for rough play in the basement.

Sanitary facilities were modern and adequate in all cottages. The shower and wash rooms were in the basement as a rule.

#### **Segregation cottage**

This cottage is described separately from the boys' residence quarters because it was designed for special treatment in connection with the disciplinary program at the institution. This cottage, situated about one-half mile away from all the other buildings, was a small, square, 1-story building of brick and steel construction. Inside were 16 individual cells, constructed of heavy wire mesh, with glass front. They all faced a central court or room in the center of the building. Boys regarded as difficult cases were locked in the cells at night, others slept dormitory-fashion in the open space in the center of the room. The small dining room in this cottage was very plain and bare, with long tables and benches as the only furniture. There were adequate sanitary provisions, which included shower baths. The supervisor and matron had living quarters in the cottage.

### Hamlet

The hamlet, one of the very special features in the institutional program, was about 2 miles from the institution proper. This was a small unit to provide special treatment for problem and psychopathic boys. Though details with regard to the hamlet are given elsewhere (see p. 117), some brief mention of it seems fitting in connection with description of the physical plant. It had a 1-story frame building of bungalow type intended for only a small group at any one time. Sleeping quarters were in a dormitory room comprising one wing of the house. A large room in the other wing served as dining and living room combined. The officer and matron in charge had their rooms in the house also. The hamlet contained a small church, theater, and even a store and post office. These had been entirely constructed by the boys and were built from odds and ends of materials. There were also a few small sheds and a poultry house and yard. Landscaping had been done by the boys. Artistic log bridges were built over the small stream that ran through the grounds.

### Staff residence quarters

The rural location necessitated that practically all of the employees be housed at the institution. A few who were residents of Jamesburg lived there.

The superintendent's residence was an attractive tile and frame house, built in 1920. It was situated on the entrance drive, about half way between the entrance archway and the administration building.

A building containing five attractive apartments furnished living quarters for the assistant to the superintendent, the business manager, the director of education, the director of department of cottages and discipline, and the secretary to the superintendent. Some of the old cottages formerly occupied by boys had been remodeled into 2- and 3-room apartments for staff members. Other facilities were provided in single rooms and small apartments in various buildings, including the second and third floors of the administration building, the third floor of the old dining room, and the third floors of some of the old cottages.

All available space was being used to provide staff housing. The building program in progress included four single cottages and a building with apartments for 22 single men. With completion of these additional facilities, it was thought that provision for staff residence would be quite adequate.

### Dining-room and kitchen facilities

In January 1932 the new refectory was completed. This building, of semicolonial style, in light-red brick, contained the central kitchen, the bake shop, and the boys' and officers' dining rooms. It was centrally situated, close to the administration building. The dining rooms were pleasant, with good lighting and ventilation. The walls were tiled in a soft tan with a rose tint, the windows were attractively curtained, and the entire atmosphere was one of good cheer. Although both dining rooms were equipped for cafeteria service, this method of service was not being used. In the boys' dining room the service was at tables seating eight boys each and supplied with white table linen and china dishes. In the officers' dining room, except for one table seating eight, small tables for four were used.

The kitchen and bake shop had excellent equipment, including cookers, electric stoves, dishwashers, and other labor-saving appli-

ances. The equipment in the bake shop was all electrical, including the two large ovens. The wall decoration was the same throughout the building, a soft shade of tan tile with a rose tint. The floor in the kitchen and bakery was a red composition, easily kept clean.

#### **Chapel and assembly hall**

At this institution the chapel and assembly hall were entirely separate. The chapel was one of the old buildings (erected in 1898) on the main drive as one entered the grounds and in the first group of buildings from this approach. The building was of dark-red brick, resembling a small rural church. Seating capacity was limited, but as the services for Protestant colored boys, Protestant white boys, and Catholic boys were held at different times it was adequate for these three groups separately.

All affairs which the entire institution population attended were held in the assembly hall, which was in the school building. This had adequate seating capacity for the inmates, staff, and a few guests.

#### **Hospital**

Another of the older buildings still in use was the hospital. In comparison with the plans for a new hospital which showed a proposed capacity of 90 beds, the one in use at time of this study seemed inadequate with its bed capacity of only 18. There were 2 wards with 8 beds each and 2 single rooms. There was an operating room, fully equipped to perform major operations, and a well-equipped dental office. A large wing added in 1920 was being used as the receiving cottage. About this time the hospital itself had been remodeled and the operating room added. Although housed in an old building, making general upkeep more difficult, the hospital was kept in excellent shape. Wall decorations were cheery and everything was in good repair. Equipment was modern and adequate.

#### **School building**

The school building, at the opposite end of the campus from the administration building, was three stories high and was constructed of red brick. It had been erected in 1911. In this building, besides the regular classrooms, were a number of the vocational shops, classrooms for special activities, school library, gymnasium, and auditorium. The classrooms were of ample size, well lighted and ventilated. Tables and chairs, rather than the old-fashioned desks, were used in all classrooms. The library room was well arranged, cheerful, and attractive. Classrooms for special activities included those for clay modeling, art, drafting, dramatics, band, and special classes in hand work.

#### **Shops**

As vocational and manual education were a part of the general department of education, a number of the shops were centralized in the school building along with the classrooms for academic work and extracurricular activities. These shops included printing, woodworking, automobile mechanics, tailoring, manual training, and shoe shops. All these shop rooms were adequately equipped, and lighting and ventilation were good.

In addition to the shops quartered in the school building, the masonry, paint, steam-fitting, electric, plumbing, machine, carpen-

ter, and blacksmith shops were in various buildings. There was no separate central shop building.

#### Farm buildings

Fifteen farm buildings, including various small sheds, were within a short distance from the main institution grounds. There were no outstanding special features in connection with the farm units. Two of the barns and a poultry plant were among the buildings recently completed in the building program under progress. Farm equipment included up-to-date machinery such as was necessary to do modern farming.

#### Gymnasium and athletic field

The gymnasium was on the ground floor in the right wing of the school building. It had a floor space 45 by 90 feet and was equipped with a fair amount of apparatus for gymnastic work. It had a dressing room with showers, a store room for equipment, and an office for the director of physical education.

Although there was a small balcony in the middle of one side of the gymnasium, even with this space there was room for only part of the boys at a time to attend games and athletic contests held there.

The athletic field was directly back of the school building. It had a quarter-mile track and two baseball diamonds, one of regulation size and one slightly smaller for the younger boys. Each cottage had a playground used by the respective cottage boys during their leisure hours when weather permitted. These playgrounds each had basketball standards; and equipment was provided for outdoor games, including basket ball and baseball.

### 3. PLANT VALUATION AND OPERATING EXPENSE

The plant valuation of the State Home for Boys was as follows:

Lands.....	\$145, 171. 40
Buildings.....	1, 521, 946. 00
Equipment.....	90, 000. 00
Total.....	1, 757, 117. 40

This valuation allowed for no depreciation on buildings. The figures represented the total expenditures made by the State for the purposes specified. The business office stated that the valuation on buildings as here given was probably about 20 to 25 percent above the insurance valuation. The following figures were supplied to show the cost of operation for the institution for the year ended June 30, 1931:

Salaries.....	\$171, 758. 56
Maintenance and supplies.....	149, 358. 85
Current repairs.....	12, 954. 26
Miscellaneous.....	13, 475. 77
Total.....	347, 547. 44

As the average daily population was 625, the average per capita cost (cost per inmate) was \$556.07. This per capita cost was figured on a net basis, the maintenance and supply item having had \$57,259.12 deducted as representing the value of farm products consumed and

charged in the statement of gross expenditures. In other words, this figure represented the cost per boy without reference to goods produced and consumed.

#### 4. ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL, STAFF ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL

##### Administrative control

The New Jersey State Home for Boys was administered by the State department of institutions and agencies under the general supervision of the State board of control. (See p. 83.) The State board of control consisted of 9 members who were to be appointed by the Governor. These appointments required the approval of the senate. Board members were not paid and the board was nonpartisan. The board met at regular intervals and board meetings were well attended. The executive officer for the board was the commissioner of institutions and agencies, who was in direct charge of the administration of the department of institutions and agencies.

The State Home for Boys had a local board of managers consisting of seven members appointed by the State department of institutions and agencies, with the approval of the Governor, for 3-year terms. On them rested the responsibility for actually running the institution, their executive officer for that purpose being the superintendent. It was said that they actually did mold policies and exercise administrative control, subject always to the approval of the State board of control. They met monthly at the institution, meetings were well attended, and the superintendent stated that all members were actively interested in the treatment program and that each gave a great deal of support to the school.

The institution maintained very close cooperative relations with several other State departments. The State board of education was often consulted on problems in its field and acted frequently in an advisory capacity. The State department of health had general control over sanitary conditions and hospital practice. It made inspections periodically and was notified immediately on discovery of the presence of any epidemic or contagious disease. Representatives of the State department of agriculture were said to visit the institution frequently and to give extremely helpful advice, especially in the field of animal husbandry.

##### Personnel: Number and duties

This institution had 172 employees, of whom 4 gave part-time service, these being the 3 chaplains and the organist for church services.

The pay roll listed the following positions at the time the school was visited:

Superintendent.....	1	Director of education <sup>6</sup> .....	1
Assistant to the superintendent.....	1	Elementary teachers.....	9
Secretary to the superintendent....	1	Manual-arts and manual-training	
Business manager.....	1	teachers.....	4
Clerical workers.....	13	Vocational instructors <sup>7</sup> .....	12

<sup>6</sup> At this institution the director of education has charge of academic work, manual-training courses, and vocational instruction.

<sup>7</sup> It is difficult to draw the line between employees definitely giving vocational instruction and those directing work without specific instructional features. In this particular pay-roll group has been included these officers: Automobile-mechanics instructor, blacksmith, carpenters (3), electrician, mason, painter, plumber, printer, shoemaker, and tailor.

Director of physical education	1	Assistant psychologist	1
Supervisor of cottages	1	Library clerk	1
Cottage masters	16	Chaplains (part-time)	3
Cottage matrons	16	Scout executive	1
Assistant cottage masters	16	Maintenance foreman	1
Night sergeant	1	Farmer	1
Watchmen	18	Assistant farmer	1
Housekeeping officers	7	Farm officers <sup>8</sup>	11
Resident physician	1	Engineer	1
Resident dentist	1	Other mechanics and laborers <sup>9</sup>	10
Nurses	3	Supervisor of food	1
Laboratory technician	1	Kitchen and dining-room officers	7
Orderly	1	Other employees <sup>10</sup>	7

Some additional service was given to this institution in connection with the work of its psychological clinic by members of the State mental-hygiene division, which assigned one psychologist full time to the State Home for Boys, and a psychiatrist one day a week to the institution.

Further services of a wholly volunteer character were given by members of the faculty and student body of Princeton University, largely in connection with the program for religious instruction. (See p. 118.)

The absence of any parole personnel will be noted. Parole service for all institutions in the State of New Jersey was given by the staff of the State parole bureau. (See p. 124.)

#### Personnel: Salaries

The salary scale at this institution ranged from \$480 to \$7,000. Salaries for certain specified positions were as follows:

Superintendent	\$7,000	Vocational instructors	\$1,080-1,680
Assistant to the superintendent	2,500	Director of physical education	1,200
Business manager	3,000	Supervisor of cottages	1,980
Resident physician	3,000	Cottage masters	840-1,380
Nurses	1,200	Cottage matrons	480-660
Director of education	2,580	Assistant cottage masters	840-960
Teachers	1,080-1,440	Clerical workers	840-1,560
Manual-training instructors	1,200-1,500		

All but two of the full-time employees received maintenance in addition to salaries. A few received meals only.

#### Personnel: Appointments and removals

All positions except that of the superintendent and secretary to the superintendent were subject to civil-service regulations; 78 employees were rated as of competitive and 92 of noncompetitive civil-service status. The superintendent was appointed by the local board of managers, subject to the approval of the State board of control. Full responsibility for appointing and removing employees rested on the board of managers, but in practice that board left the superintendent quite free to exercise his own initiative in connection with appointments and removals of all other employees, with due observance of civil-service regulations.

<sup>8</sup> These include 6 general farm officers, 1 dairy officer, 1 truck gardener, 1 poultryman, 1 florist, and 1 creamery officer.

<sup>9</sup> This group includes 1 steam fitter, 1 ice-plant operator, 3 "firemen and helper", 3 assistant enginemen, and 2 truck drivers.

<sup>10</sup> This group includes 1 organist (part-time), 1 "charge attendant", 2 relief officers, 2 sewing-machine operators, and 1 school janitor.



**Personnel: Terms of service**

The superintendent in charge when the institution was visited had been continuously in office since May 1927. He also had served in the same capacity some years previously—as acting superintendent for a short period in 1919 and then as superintendent from 1920 to 1923. Information was available as to the terms of service for the 168 full-time employees, as follows:

Less than 1 year.....	44	4 years, less than 5.....	13
1 year, less than 2.....	16	5 to 9 years.....	32
2 years, less than 3.....	20	10 years or more.....	30
3 years, less than 4.....	12	Not reported.....	1

**Personnel: Qualifications**

A certain amount of detailed information as to the education and prior experience of employees was available. The staff at this school had academic degrees as follows: One Ph.D., 1 M.D., 1 M.S., 1 M.A., 4 B.A., and 6 B.S. degrees. One staff member was working toward an M.A.; 14 had spent some time at a college or university but had not yet completed the work for a degree. The value of professional training and experience was clearly recognized by the administration, and staff members were encouraged to continue their educational work.

The superintendent was primarily an educator. His educational background included training at three normal schools and at Columbia University, and his experience included teaching in both grammar and high schools and administrative work as school principal. He had served as superintendent of schools in Auburn Prison, as superintendent of a George junior republic, and as superintendent of the Preston School of Industry in California. He had spent some time as acting warden at Sing Sing and as warden in the Westchester County penitentiary in New York. He had also served a short term as director of education and parole in the State offices at Trenton. His thorough acquaintance with theory and practice in the field of correctional work was recognized in many parts of the country, and he had often been called on to help make special surveys and reports on conditions in correctional institutions in cities and States. His experience and his ability were recognized by his coworkers in that field in their choice of him to hold important positions in the American Prison Conference and the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies.

The assistant to the superintendent had a Ph.D. degree. He had studied in the University of Chicago, Columbia University, Harvard University, and the University of Pennsylvania. His public-school experience included not only teaching in both country and city schools but also service as principal of city public schools and as director in special schools of various kinds, including continuation schools. He had given courses in psychology at New York University and had served as first assistant director of education and parole in the State offices.

The director of education held the degrees of B.S. and M.A., the latter from Columbia University. He had had 10 years' experience as school principal in New York and New Jersey and had done government educational work during the World War. In addition to his academic work he had taken training in carpentry, electrical work, and machine work and had served as instructor in those trades. He had had 6 years' experience as director of vocational education in public-school systems.

Among the teachers were 3 with B.A. and 2 with B.S. degrees. Three were graduates of normal schools or teachers' colleges, others had taken many special courses in educational work at normal schools, colleges, and universities.

There was less specific information available as to the educational background of cottage personnel. However, among both cottage masters and cottage matrons a considerable number were reported to have a high-school education, and some had spent some time in college. One cottage master held a B.A. degree in agriculture from the University of Minnesota. One of the assistant cottage masters held a B.S. degree from the University of Illinois. As to prior experience, the usual diversity of background was clearly apparent here. Among the cottage masters were men with experience in the Army and in the Navy, in office work, and in various occupations; painters, carpenters, salesman, policemen, and farmers. The records showed comparatively little previous institutional experience.

#### **Personnel: Living and working conditions**

The administration at this institution believed it important to provide satisfactory living conditions for personnel in order to have them maintain a high degree of efficiency in their work. A genuine effort was being made to furnish not merely adequate but also comfortable and attractive living arrangements for them. This was indicated in the fact that a new building had been recently opened, and four new separate staff houses were under construction. Practically the entire staff resided at the institution. They constituted a small community of their own because the nearest city or town of any considerable size was Trenton, 27 miles away. A minimum amount of community contacts were to be found in the nearby village of Jamesburg.

The personnel ate in a pleasant central officers' dining room in the same building as the boys' dining room. The food was of excellent quality and the service was good.

Although an effort was made to limit the hours of work per week to a reasonable number, it was stated that so far it had proved impossible to relieve the cottage personnel from being practically on duty about 72 hours a week. Of course many of those hours were not spent in very hard service, but continuous duty of that kind causes fatigue that needs to be offset by a certain amount of free time. Other personnel had varying hours of work. Office personnel worked an 8-hour day with a half day off on Saturday. Hours for others varied from the 30-hour week of the teachers to the 48-hour work week of such maintenance officers as engineers and dining-room officers. Other personnel with long hours of duty were those at the hospital, whose service was reported to average some 50 hours a week. Provision for time off was as generous as possible for all employees. Annual vacation allowance was said to be 3 weeks for staff members and 2 weeks for all other employees. All workers were entitled to two weeks' sick leave with pay.

#### **Staff organization**

The staff at this institution was well organized and departmentalized. The data from an organization chart which was supplied are reproduced on page 93.

NEW JERSEY STATE DEPARTMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

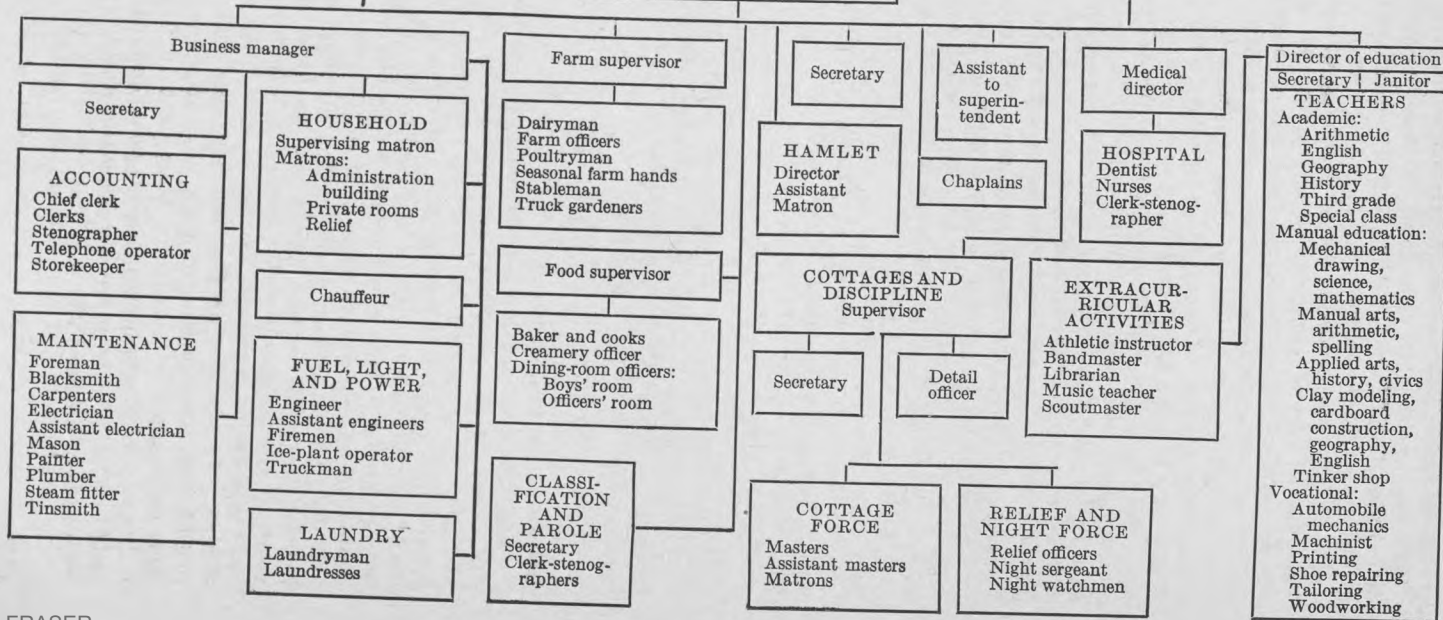
STATE HOME FOR BOYS

MENTAL-HYGIENE CLINIC

BOARD OF MANAGERS

PAROLE BUREAU

SUPERINTENDENT



STATE HOME FOR BOYS, JAMESBURG, N.J.

### Administrative leadership and staff teamwork

The executives at this institution believed firmly in the necessity for genuine team work on the part of the entire staff. The keynote of the whole institution was the idea that the basic program is educational and that every activity of the boys must be considered from that point of view. Hence every employee who in any way came into contact with the boys was considered an educator. It was regarded as imperative that they all understand the objectives of the school and know something about the modern methods by which it was hoped some of those objectives might be achieved.

In order to keep all workers in touch with these objectives, conferences were held frequently, not for the entire staff but for small groups of workers whose duties were related. The superintendent stated that he felt such conferences to be of inestimable value. They were carefully programmed so that vital questions of policy might be discussed. Ample opportunity was afforded for participation in the discussions by every employee, and such discussion was encouraged. During the visit to the institution a meeting for cottage masters only was held one evening. The meeting lasted until nearly midnight. One of the main items under consideration was a more thorough analysis of the possibilities in the job of assistant cottage master. Discussion was lively and productive of many good ideas.

The superintendent stated that one of his principal dreads was lest any of the staff, including himself, become too smug and contented with the present ways of doing things.

Even a casual visitor would have observed that the staff at this institution included some interesting personalities and that a great deal of rather original work, some of it of more or less experimental character, was being done. This is only possible where there is a measure of administrative leadership and where the workers receive encouragement from those in authority.

## 5. ADMISSIONS, CAPACITY, AND POPULATION

### Intake provisions and policies

Delinquent boys from 8 to 16 years of age were accepted on court commitment. In 1929 the law creating a State-wide system of juvenile and domestic-relations courts vested in these courts exclusive jurisdiction over boys under 16. Previously, boys within such age found guilty of any crime except murder in any court of record might be committed by the court to the State Home for Boys by warrant, instead of after judgment and sentence.<sup>11</sup>

Boys who had passed their sixteenth birthday but who previously had become court wards might also be committed to the age of 21 years, if the judge desired. In practice, however, most of the older boys were sent to one of the two State reformatories—either Annandale, a reformatory for the less hardened offenders aged 16 to 30, or Rahway, a reformatory for the more hardened 16 to 30 years of age. The provision for transfer of boys past 16 from the State home to either of the reformatories made it possible for the institution to eliminate older boys who did not fit into the training program, or who were unsuitable to remain in a group consisting largely of younger boys. Such transfers might be made on the recommendation of the classi-

<sup>11</sup> New Jersey, Cum. Supp. 1924, sec. 34-142; Laws of 1929, ch. 157.

fication committee, with the approval of the State commissioner of institutions. Boys who had been committed to the State home remained State wards until they were 21, and could be returned for violation of parole. The general practice was not to return them to this school if they were past 16 years of age.

Boys of very inferior mentality could be transferred to institutions for defectives on recommendation of the classification committee, approved by two physicians and the judge of the county in which the State home was located, after a hearing had been held.<sup>12</sup>

#### Capacity and population

The State Home for Boys had a population of 631 boys on March 3, 1932. This number was slightly in excess of the normal capacity, which was 625.

The proportion of Negro boys at this school was relatively high—30 percent of the population on February 29, 1932 (451 white and 191 Negro).

Boys of native birth but of foreign or mixed parentage outnumbered those native born of native parentage—379 in the former and 255 in the latter group. There were only 8 boys of foreign birth.

Among the admissions during the year ended February 29, 1932, shortly before the institution was visited, the 14- and 15-year-old groups comprised slightly more than half of the commitments for the year. The ages of the 460 boys committed were as follows:

8 years.....	1
9 years.....	13
10 years.....	21
11 years.....	32
12 years.....	46
13 years.....	93
14 years.....	112
15 years.....	126
16 years or over.....	16

During the year ended February 29, 1932, a total of 358 boys were received on new commitments and recommitments, 102 parolees were returned to the school, 185 boys were discharged, and 312 were placed on parole. The movement of the population in detail during the last fiscal year before the institution was visited (ended Feb. 29, 1932) was as follows:

Population Mar. 1, 1932.....	637
Received during the year.....	971
New commitments (including recommitments).....	358
Parolees returned.....	102
Escapes returned.....	138
Returned from approved absence.....	360
Other.....	15
Lost during the year.....	966
Released on discharge.....	185
Released on parole.....	312
Released on approved absence.....	357
Released on transfer.....	76
Escaped.....	154
Died.....	2

Population Feb. 29, 1932..... 642

<sup>12</sup> New Jersey, Cum. Supp. 1924, secs. 34-155 and 34-188.

The policy of permitting boys in "A" class (the highest group in the credit-earning system) to make week-end visits home, and the policy of letting the boys go home for Christmas under certain conditions, account for the large number released on and returned from approved absences.

The large number of boys on parole in New Jersey—1,177 on March 3, 1932—may be accounted for by the fact that the average period on parole from this school was comparatively long. The legal maximum is to 21 years of age, as has been stated (see p. 84), but a policy had been adopted of provisional release before that time in cases of boys with satisfactory records. (For detailed discussion see section 17, p. 124.)

## 6. RECEPTION AND ASSIGNMENT PROCEDURE

### Reception

Boys were brought to the State home at any time by an officer from the committing court, usually a deputy sheriff. Each boy was received first by the supervisor of cottages and discipline, who in a brief friendly interview told him something about the institution, the opportunities offered, and the spirit of the place. The supervisor signed whatever papers were necessary to acknowledge delivery of the boy and made the necessary first record. The boy was then sent to the receiving cottage.

### Receiving cottage

The receiving cottage consisted of quarters in one wing of the hospital. As soon as possible each new boy was given a complete physical examination by the resident physician.

While in the receiving cottage the boys had very limited contacts with the general life of the institution. They were not completely segregated, since they did go to the central dining room for their meals, but they did not attend school or the institution's general recreation programs. The only work which they did outside the cottage was work about the lawns and grounds.

Boys remained at the receiving cottage about 4 weeks. That period was used for psychological study, for physical examination, and for personal interviews and observations on the part of various other staff members in preparation for their first assignments.

### First assignments

Assignments were made by the classification committee maintained in accordance with the requirement of the State department of institutions and agencies that each State correctional institution maintain a classification committee. The regulation was the result of considerable thought on the part of State executives with respect to improving State procedure in the treatment of delinquents. At this institution the classification committee had been working very actively for some time. It consisted of the superintendent, the assistant to the superintendent, the supervisor of cottages and discipline, the physician, the psychologist, the director of education, one of the clerical force who acted as classification secretary, and, if possible, a representative from the State division of parole.

After the boy had been examined by the various specialists, his case was listed for consideration by the classification committee for the purpose of deciding on his cottage assignment, and his general training

and treatment program. Prior to the meeting of the classification committee each examining specialist presented to the secretary a report of his findings. From those reports the secretary made a classification summary which combined in outline form the principal findings and the recommendations of each specialist. In addition the case summary included a statement as to the results of a preinstitutional investigation and all the facts available bearing on the boy's social history.

At the meeting of the committee the secretary presented the case summary, and the members of the committee informally discussed the boy and his problems. The various specialists did not always agree in their recommendations. When that was the case the discussion continued until a plan was approved by a committee majority.

Cottage assignment was usually made in accordance with the recommendation of the supervisor of cottages, as that officer was most familiar with the actual characteristics of the cottage personnel and the different cottage populations. Very careful consideration was given to the boy's characteristics in relation to those of the cottage father and mother and of the boys with whom he was to live.

School assignment was almost invariably based on the recommendation of the director of education. His recommendation was based on certain tests which had been given and on the information secured as to the boy's previous school history and academic attainments.

Vocational assignment was reported to be made as a result of consideration of the boy's age, physical development, and mental level, also his own preference if it was reasonable. This school made a distinction between industrial and vocational-training assignments. An industrial assignment meant practically a straight work job on maintenance duties. Very often boys were given industrial assignments first. These constituted a preliminary try-out. Intensive supervision during that period made it possible to get a better appreciation of the boy's attitude and aptitudes so that he could be more intelligently placed in vocational training at a somewhat later date.

## 7. THE BOYS' LIFE IN THE INSTITUTION

### Daily routine

At Jamesburg the boys' life was regulated by the following schedule:

6:30 a.m.-----	Rising whistle.
7 a.m.-----	Breakfast.
7:45 a.m.-----	Report to industrial or vocational training assignments.
8:20 a.m.-----	Report to school.
11:30 a.m.-----	Dismissed from school, shop, and work.
12 m.-----	Dinner.
12:55 p.m.-----	Report to school, shop, or work.
4 p.m.-----	School, shop, and work details dismissed.
4:55 p.m.-----	Prepare for supper.
5 p.m.-----	Supper.
5:30 p.m. to 7 p.m.-----	Recreation.

### General atmosphere

In general the impression given by the outward appearance of living arrangements and activities at this institution was that of a closely regulated boarding school. It was the intention of the management that everything about the boys' life should have a training aspect and

should be considered educational in that it was preparation for normal community life. However, the size of the group under care required a certain amount of regimentation, which tended to create an institutional aspect. Long lines of boys marching two by two on the way to and from their various assignments contributed greatly to that impression. On the other hand, little feeling of repression was anywhere apparent. The boys neither looked nor acted as if they were dominated by fear of any kind. Conversation and laughter were noted frequently in all groups of boys observed.

#### **Cottage "family" atmosphere**

The size of the cottage group at this school ranged from 30 to 50 boys. Each group, or "family", was under the direct care and supervision of a cottage master and his wife, who assumed the attitude of father and mother toward the boys in their charge. In many of the cottages there was obviously a very real interest and affection between the cottage father and mother and their boys. At this school each cottage had an assistant cottage master. This position was newly created, and there was much interest in the development of a distinct sphere of activity for it. The administration's idea was that the man holding that position would have most of his time free to devote to the right kind of leadership and supervision for the leisure-time activities of the boys. All three cottage officers were expected to become thoroughly and intimately acquainted with the personalities and the problems of each of their boys and to devote time, thought, and effort to helping individual boys overcome their particular difficulties. The larger the cottage group the more difficult this became.

#### **Arrangements for sleeping**

All cottages had dormitories, and all that were visited were in excellent order. They were more crowded than the administration would like to have had them, but at the time of the visit they were not seriously overcrowded. The system of night watchmen on duty in each cottage dormitory throughout the sleeping period was found in force at this institution.

#### **Arrangements for eating**

The boys ate in a very pleasant, large, central dining room. Each table seated eight persons and service was in family style. Boys marched to meals in line and stood in silence until all were in place. At the sound of a musical gong they were seated. They then said grace in unison, at the close of which the gong was again sounded as a signal that they might begin to serve. They were permitted to carry on conversation while they ate. As they left the dining room they were again required to march in silent lines. It was stated that this was merely to maintain order, as it was difficult with so many boys to keep the conversation and the shouting between tables within the proper bounds if permitted at all.

Food was of good quality and seemed to be quite sufficient. A sample menu is reproduced in appendix A, page 29.

#### **Sanitary arrangements**

Each cottage was equipped with adequate sanitary facilities. Shower and wash rooms were in the basement of each cottage. Each boy was supplied with a toothbrush and received clean towels weekly.



### Living-room and playground activities

During the hours spent in the pleasantly furnished cottage living rooms the boys appeared to behave much as any large group of normal youngsters would. They were free to talk and play as they pleased within reasonable bounds. Many of the boys spent most of their evenings on Boy Scout work; others read or played games.

Whenever the weather permitted, all free time was spent out of doors on the cottage playgrounds. Although boys on these grounds were under constant supervision, it was the intent that they should have some time for free and spontaneous activities in addition to the organized games in which they participated.

### Miscellaneous arrangements

This institution did not have a separate regulation-size locker for each boy nor much equipment which would provide places for boys to keep private possessions. It was stated that each boy was permitted to have a small box in which he might keep a few things of his own. Smoking was not permitted.

The boys wore institution clothing of cotton khaki, which was laundered at regular intervals. On Sunday they wore regular suits of different kinds, the institution having no uniform. The everyday clothes were made in the tailor shop of the school, but the Sunday suits were purchased in commercial lots. Members of the Boy Scouts or the Rangers who wished to wear their uniforms on Sunday were permitted to do so. The shoes which the boys wore were purchased from another State institution which manufactured them.

Life in this institution was rich in opportunities for boys to find outlets for their individual personal interests. Description of those various outlets in the educational and recreational field appear in other sections of this report.

### Outside contacts

Each boy was encouraged to write to his parents or close relatives every Sunday. The letters were written in the boys' own cottages and read by some one of the cottage officers. Incoming letters were read in the office of the supervisor of cottages and discipline. Letters were withheld from the boys rarely, and only if they contained statements that were likely to prove upsetting to the boy and to interfere with the adjustment which he was making. Boys were also permitted to receive packages from home. Such parcels were inspected in order to prevent the sending in of forbidden articles, especially tobacco.

Visiting hours at this school were Tuesday and Friday afternoons. On those days boys were permitted to receive visits from any close relatives. The administration preferred that boys should not be visited oftener than once a month, and so informed relatives. The reason given was that visits from relatives often made the boys homesick and unhappy and interfered with their progress. Parents who worked during the week were given special permission to visit their boys on Sunday. Visits were usually made in the living room of the boy's own cottage or, during the summer months, on the grounds adjacent to his cottage.

Boys who had won special privileges through their good conduct and their rapid progress toward satisfactory adjustment were allowed to go home for week-end or holiday visits, provided their parents or

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some other close relative could come for them and bring them back. More than 100 boys had been allowed to spend Christmas at home in 1931, and only two had failed to come back at the exact time at which they were due; these two were very young boys whose parents neglected to bring them back as expected.

Outside contacts of other kinds were much encouraged. The members of the staff often took boys out with them when they were addressing various groups about the work of the school. The boys often took part in programs in different communities. Every effort was made to have them considered and treated not as delinquent boys but as school boys with abilities and interests like those of other normal youngsters.

## 8. PHYSICAL EXAMINATIONS AND MEDICAL CARE

### Hospital facilities

As the medical work here was done in one of the very old buildings, the capacity was not sufficient to meet the needs of the school without considerable crowding at times. Despite the unsuitable housing, the equipment was modern and in good shape. Plans for a new hospital showed a proposed capacity of 90 beds.

### Hospital staff

The physician in charge, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania Medical School with 5 months' experience as staff physician for the Philadelphia Hospital for Mental Diseases, who had been appointed September 1, 1931, was aided by a consultant in surgery employed on a part-time basis to assist in all cases requiring major operations. Other consulting specialists were paid on a fee basis. The dentist, who devoted full time to the dental work of the school, the two registered nurses and two attendants on duty full time, and the laboratory technician completed the hospital staff.

### Physical examinations

On entrance all new boys were given quite thorough examinations. The examination routine included weighing and the measuring of height and hip width. A Wassermann test of the blood (and of spinal fluid if indicated), nose and throat cultures for diphtheria, the Dick test for scarlet fever, blood-chemistry test, basal-metabolism test, urinalysis, and complete blood count were made. All boys were immunized against typhoid, paratyphoid, and diphtheria and were vaccinated against smallpox. Chest X-rays were made when indicated, although not as a matter of routine. Arrangements for pulmonary X-rays and for X-rays of fractures were made with the Trenton State Hospital, and every boy having a heart murmur was sent to Trenton to have an electrocardiogram made.

The findings from the physical-examination work were placed on a record blank, which became a permanent part of the hospital files, and always were summarized for the classification committee's use in consideration of assignments for new boys.

The examining physician was much interested in research designed to develop more adequate standards. He was making careful records as to nationality and race in each case in order that these data might be available for study.

Each boy was weighed and measured each month. Any boy for whom a decided variation was noted was given a special examination

to determine what corrective treatment was needed. Any boy having serious physical defects, such as very improper posture or poor heart condition, was reported to the director of physical education in order that precautions might be taken against unsuitable physical exertion and in order that correction of his defects might be undertaken.

#### **Corrective work**

A considerable amount of corrective medical and surgical work was done as a regular part of institutional treatment. Minor operations, such as circumcisions and removal of adenoids and diseased tonsils, were performed at the hospital by the resident physician. Major operations were performed there by a consulting surgeon.

Boys with venereal disease were quarantined in the hospital until rendered noninfectious. When tests showed them to have reached the noninfectious stage, they were assigned to cottage life, but treatment was continued and reexaminations were made regularly.

#### **Dental work**

All necessary dental work was done for the boys at State expense. The hospital was equipped for dental X-rays.

#### **Other medical care**

Sick call was held daily. Boys were sent to the hospital line by their cottage officers or might come of their own volition. No officer was permitted to forbid any boy's reporting to the hospital, if the boy expressed a desire to do so. Decision as to the necessity of treatment rested exclusively with the physician.

Boys needing hospital care were transferred from cottage to hospital promptly and were given such care as long as was necessary. With the limited facilities, occasional mild epidemics of various kinds caused considerable crowding. Otherwise, care appeared to be first class.

### **9. PSYCHIATRIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICE**

#### **Clinical facilities**

The mental-hygiene clinic at this institution had one psychologist on the institution pay roll and one paid by the State mental-hygiene division and assigned to the State Home for Boys, as has been stated. (See p. 90.) Both psychologists worked directly under the supervision of the chief clinical psychologist of the State mental-hygiene division. The clinic staff occupied offices in the administration building.

#### **Psychological tests**

The resident psychologists interviewed all new boys. They gave psychological examinations to all boys, unless a boy had been so examined very recently and a copy of the findings had been forwarded to the school.

The Kuhlmann-Anderson tests were used as a matter of routine, and the Binet-Simon test was used occasionally. One of the psychologists stated that they found a large proportion of the boys to be non-verbal types and to have language handicaps of various kinds. They therefore made it a practice to use a considerable number of different performance tests. These included such standard tests as the Healey pictorial completion test, the Witmer form board, the Witmer block, the Porteus maze, and the Stenquist mechanical-aptitude tests.

All boys were seen again by the clinic personnel before reclassification during their stay at the school and before their parole hearings. One of the psychologists furnished figures indicating the mental level of the school population on March 1, 1932, as shown in the following table:

*Mental level of white and Negro boys enrolled in school on Mar. 1, 1932*

Mental level	Boys enrolled					
	Total		White		Negro	
	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution
Total.....	623	100	455	100	173	100
Bright.....	15	2	14	3	1	1
Normal.....	132	21	94	21	38	22
Dull normal.....	425	68	318	70	107	62
Very inferior.....	56	9	29	6	27	16

The average mental age of both the white and Negro boys appeared to be lower than their chronological age. The figures reported by the psychologist were as follows:

Average age and intelligence quotient	White boys	Negro boys
Average chronological age.....years.....	14.5	13.8
Average mental age.....do.....	11.1	10.2
Average intelligence quotient.....percent.....	82	75

**Psychiatric examinations**

A psychiatrist from one of the State hospital staffs came regularly one day a week to examine boys referred by the psychologists as a result of their interviews and tests. In addition the resident physician, who was very much interested in psychiatry and who had had some experience in a hospital for mental diseases, gave a brief psychiatric examination to each boy at the time of his physical examination. He wrote up a summary report and a problem analysis for each case.

**Personal histories**

At the time of their interviews with new boys the psychologists obtained from them as much personal history as possible to supplement such social history as had been furnished by the committing courts or had been obtained through correspondence or by a report from a parole officer who had visited the boy's home immediately after admission.

**Application of findings**

The findings of the clinical staff were recorded and a summary prepared for use of the classification committee in making first assignments for boys on leaving the receiving cottage. The clinical reports were very carefully considered and usually given great weight in making all assignments.

The system in operation at this school for following up a boy to determine his progress under the original plan seemed to be functioning effectively. When the original assignments were made a date was fixed at which the boy was to come before the committee for reclassification. The committee secretary was responsible for seeing that each case should be considered at the proper time. This did not mean that a boy's case could not be called up for review at an earlier date if that seemed desirable to any staff member, but it guarded against any boy's being forgotten and staying in the original assignments if they were not proving particularly helpful to him. The clinical findings and additional study by the clinic personnel, together with reports from cottage supervisors, teachers, trade instructors, and other officers, formed the basis of the discussions and decisions on any changes in the plan of treatment. A second reclassification date was then set at which time the boy's response to treatment was further analyzed. Always the clinical findings were made a part of the discussions.

The psychologists gave particular attention to personality problems and to boys who were exceptionally unstable and often in difficulty. The boys themselves had free access to the clinic, and the spirit was such that many boys came voluntarily to talk over their problems or to consult the psychologist about some desired change of assignment.

The special residence cottage for certain boys found to be emotionally unstable (the "hamlet") is described on pages 86 and 117.

There was no definite provision for consultation of the clinic personnel with respect to disciplinary action in particular cases and no requirement that the psychological and psychiatric findings be used in that connection. However, the director of discipline, who was also a member of the classification committee, had all these findings at hand and used them in reaching his decisions. It was customary for the clinic staff to be asked to render advice in connection with release of boys from the segregation cottage.

The clinical findings likewise played an important part in the determination of fitness for parole. They were particularly useful in determining the kind of placement to be made and the type of work and social contacts that would be suitable and useful in aiding in a boy's adjustment in the community.

#### **Attitude of other staff members toward clinical services**

Many officers at this institution were consulting the clinic personnel in regard to their handling of difficult boys. They came freely to the offices of the clinic, sometimes for advice, sometimes to protest against the action of the classification committee and to learn the reasons for it. It was felt that the clinic could give much help to some of the staff members, particularly cottage supervisors, in understanding problem boys and in attaining more objective attitudes toward their misconduct. It was also felt that such interviews were indirectly helping individual staff members with maladjustments of their own that were bringing them into conflicts with boys.

A later report from the institution stated that it had become the custom to invite different staff members to attend the weekly meetings of the classification committee, and that this had brought about more tolerant and sympathetic understanding of one another's problems.

### Research activities

Research work was a definite part of the program of clinical service. The clinic had undertaken to set up and standardize for certain of the performance tests some forms that would be more applicable to boys of the types committed to the institution. One of the psychologists was to work in close cooperation with the new resident physician, who particularly desired to carry out a number of research projects.

## 10. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM—CLASSROOM WORK

The staff seemed of the opinion that the equipment was reasonably adequate, though their rather complex program could utilize a great deal more than their budget permitted; the school building was at all times a perfect beehive of activity.

### School staff

All educational work at this school was centralized in its department of education. As shown in the institutional-organization chart reproduced on page 93, the director of education was in charge of the academic school, the manual-education school, the vocational school, and all so-called "extracurricular" activities.

The teaching staff included both men and women, all of whom held State teachers' certificates or had qualified under State civil-service regulations. (Persons holding State teachers' certificates were not required to take a written civil-service examination.)

### School day and school year

The school day was from 8:30 to 11:30 in the morning and from 1 to 4 in the afternoon. The school year consisted of 10 months. For the younger boys a summer session of 2 terms of 4 weeks each was operated. Boys attended school one-half day and spent the other half day in industrial, vocational, or extracurricular pursuits. Many activities customarily classed as recreational were recognized at this institution as having a definite educational function and were listed as a component part of the educational program. These included music, dramatics, library use, and scouting.

### Attendance requirements and enrollment

Under the New Jersey compulsory school attendance law all children must attend school unless they are above 14 and have completed the eighth grade, or unless they are above 15 and have completed the sixth grade. A permissive clause in the law, however, authorizes an "approved educational program" in lieu of completion of the sixth grade; furthermore, boys between 14 and 16 who hold work<sup>13</sup> permits are required to attend continuation school 6 hours a week. The classification committee at this institution conformed strictly to these legal requirements with respect to school attendance. They did not, it will be noted, require some of the older boys to continue with regular academic classroom work.

The school enrollment and the time of school for boys enrolled in a specified school grade or class on March 17, 1932, were as shown in the following table:

<sup>13</sup> New Jersey, Laws of 1931, ch. 307.

*Time of school for boys enrolled in a specified school grade or class on Mar. 17, 1932*

Grade or class	Boys enrolled		
	Total	Time assigned	
		Morning	Afternoon
Total.....	1 378	177	201
Academic work:			
Ninth grade.....	10	10	-----
Eighth grade.....	10	10	-----
Seventh grade.....	17	-----	17
Sixth grade.....	20	11	9
Fifth grade.....	28	15	13
Fourth grade.....	19	8	11
Third grade.....	32	15	17
Second grade.....	14	14	-----
Special class I.....	17	8	9
Special class II.....	17	1	16
Special class III.....	26	11	15
Manual education:			
Group I.....	36	17	19
Group IIA.....	30	15	15
Group IIB.....	28	13	15
Group III.....	32	15	17
"Co-op" group.....	30	14	16
Mechanical-drawing class.....	12	-----	12

<sup>1</sup> The difference between the school enrollment (378 on Mar. 17, 1932) and the total population of the institution (631 on Mar. 3, 1932) is due to the fact that a number of the older boys had their school work in connection with their vocational assignments instead of in the classroom (see p. 104) and that boys not yet released from the receiving cottage for assignment to school grade were included in the total population, and also to other conditions of institutional life.

The ages of boys enrolled in a specified school grade or class on March 17, 1932, were as shown in the following table:

*Age of boys enrolled in specified school grade or class on Mar. 17, 1932*

Grade or class	Boys enrolled										
	Total	Age of boy									
		8 years	9 years	10 years	11 years	12 years	13 years	14 years	15 years	16 years	17 years
Total.....	1 378	2	5	18	29	47	74	103	76	23	1
Academic work:											
Ninth grade.....	10							1	7	2	-----
Eighth grade.....	10						1	4	3	1	1
Seventh grade.....	17						3	-----	10	4	-----
Sixth grade.....	20						2	7	4	2	-----
Fifth grade.....	28			2	3	5	12	5	1	-----	-----
Fourth grade.....	19			1	3	6	5	2	2	-----	-----
Third grade.....	32			6	8	2	8	4	3	1	-----
Second grade.....	14	1	4	5	4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Special class I.....	17	1	1	3	2	7	2	1	-----	-----	-----
Special class II.....	17			1	3	5	4	3	-----	1	-----
Special class III.....	26			1	1	1	7	13	4	-----	-----
Manual education:											
Group I.....	36						12	20	4	-----	-----
Group IIA.....	30					2	7	13	8	-----	-----
Group IIB.....	28				1	6	4	13	2	2	-----
Group III.....	32				2	10	6	10	4	-----	-----
"Co-op" group.....	30							6	20	4	-----
Mechanical-drawing class.....	12							1	1	4	6

<sup>1</sup> The difference between the school enrollment (378 on Mar. 17, 1932) and the total population of the institution (631 on Mar. 3, 1932) is due to the fact that a number of older boys had their school work in connection with their vocational assignments instead of in the classroom (see p. 104) and that boys not yet released from the receiving cottage for assignment to school grade were included in the total population, and also to other conditions of institutional life.

From these figures the frequency of school retardation among these boys is apparent. The school administration expressed a belief that educational maladjustments had played an important part in bringing about the social conflicts resulting in institutional commitment and stated that the boys' social histories, as procured from various sources and summarized for the classification committee, revealed that many of the boys appeared to have been at some time conduct problems or maladjustment problems in school, truants, loafers, mischief-makers, or neighborhood nuisances if nothing worse. Assuming that the public schools in the boys' home communities had failed to satisfy their developmental needs, the educational group at the State Home for Boys had set about trying to analyze those needs and to devise ways and means of meeting them more adequately.

As a prelude to the brief description of some of their unusual devices it seems appropriate to summarize the administration's conception of its general educational objectives. From their own statement of goals these particular extracts have been chosen. They aim "to train boys in the actual processes, habits, attitudes, acts of participating, functioning, democratic citizenship." They seek to adjust the social attitude of the individual boy, "specifically to stabilize jangling, temperamental, discordant, noncooperative personality misfits." They attempt to build up "an attitude of voluntary responsibility." Lastly, they aim "to reveal those facts, develop those skills, produce those attitudes and habits which are currently accepted as conventional and which will best allow each individual to adjust to his own environment", and "to equip every boy with the intellectual tools of thought that he . . . will best be able to turn to his service."<sup>14</sup>

#### Courses given

As is indicated in the enrollment lists, the school was divided into a section for academic work and a section for manual education. This division was based partly on the mental abilities or limitations of the individual students and partly on an attempt to meet the needs of boys of certain types through different teaching methods and materials.

In the academic school, grade work was taught from the first through the ninth grade and three special classes were conducted for subnormal boys and boys badly retarded. These boys were taught in three classes that were graded somewhat by mental level and also by temperamental difficulties. Special class I was for boys with a mental age of approximately 5 to 9 and chronological age 10 to 15. Much use was made of simple hand work and of pictures and dramatization of materials. Boys were shown the use of simple tools. They were taught a certain amount of needlework, and this class made sheets, towels, coffee bags, and other so-called "flat work" for institutional use. While handling the actual materials they learned to name the articles and spell the names correctly. Boys in special class II were slightly younger, the average chronological age being 9 to 14 and mental age  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to  $10\frac{1}{2}$ . The work done was some what like that of regular first and second grade public-school work except that more hand work was done and more colorful materials were used in order to arouse and hold the attention of the boys. Special class III included boys whose chronological age was 10 to 14 and mental age 6 to  $10\frac{1}{2}$ . To this group were assigned the boys who were to be

<sup>14</sup> Educational Program; a Plan of Organization and Description of Activities, pp. 8, 9, and 10. New Jersey State Home for Boys, 1930.



given more complicated manual tasks and more individual attention. In all the special classes a certain amount of academic instruction was given along with the hand-craft projects. This included reading, spelling, and very simple arithmetic, all correlated very closely with the materials and projects with which the boys' hands were occupied.

The regular second-grade work followed quite closely the usual course in public schools except that the emphasis in this institution was somewhat different. Since truancy had been the major cause of commitment of most of the younger boys, an attempt was made to overcome dislike of school and to substitute genuine pleasure in accomplishment. Each boy was carefully watched, and so far as possible the tasks assigned to him were those known to be within the possibility of achievement for him if he made the necessary attempt. Each success was given praise that provided surprisingly effective incentives to greater application.

The third-grade work was conducted under a partial contract plan, and all beyond that grade was done under a full contract plan. That is, in the third grade part of the work was done by the class as a whole, all members having the same daily assignment, and part was individualized so that each boy finished certain lessons which he contracted to do as rapidly as he wished, regardless of the progress made by others in the group. Above the third grade all work was assigned on a contract basis, individual pupils progressing as rapidly as they were able to complete the daily assignments which they accepted "under contract." The contract plan in use here was the Dalton plan with a considerable number of modifications and adaptations. From the fourth to the ninth grade each subject was taught by one teacher, the grade work being departmentalized. Four major subjects were included below the ninth grade—English, history, arithmetic, and geography. Among the ninth-grade courses were the elements of algebra and vocational mathematics, English, industrial history, vocational civics, and mechanical drawing. Much more time was spent in the third and fourth grades on language, reading, spelling, and composition. It had been found that there existed a tremendous variation in the stages of progress in the different subjects among these boys from schools all over the State and that a great amount of individual aid and attention was required. Most of this was among the third-grade boys.

The school staff were enthusiastic about the practical values of the contract plan in view of the constantly changing population and its widely divergent character, also of the varying amount of previous school work of the boys who were admitted. Great care was taken to introduce the boy gradually and without discouragement or confusion into his work under the contract plan. All the way through all the courses, regardless of subject matter, emphasis was placed on habits of study and of lesson preparation that would contribute somewhat toward the general objectives of the department of education. Teachers gave much individual instruction and help until the boys became familiar with the various reference books and other available materials to be used in getting their lessons. This opportunity to go ahead as fast as they chose was said to be particularly stimulating to the brighter boys, once they understood it and were brought into contact with materials and subject matter that appealed to their interest. On the other hand, the dull-normal boys likewise responded in gratifying fashion to these methods, which relieved them of their former feeling

of inferiority engendered by group recitations and group tests in which they had to compete publicly with the boys of far superior intelligence.

The manual-education classes were developed in an attempt to provide teaching materials and methods that would meet the needs of boys whom the psychological clinic diagnosed as of nonverbal mental type. These boys, it was found, might reveal just as high a mental level as the verbal types, provided the test materials did not require the use of language, written symbols, and abstractions. Obviously they needed a different approach to the same educational objectives. The manual-education school was divided into five groups. Group I approximately paralleled the academic sixth and seventh grade work. Groups IIA and IIB were practically equivalent to academic fifth grade; Group III, to the third and fourth grades. The "Co-op" group was designed especially for retarded older boys of 15 years or thereabouts. This was a still further differentiation in order to meet individual problems. It was conducted by an instructor with much ingenuity and understanding who used a unique plan for dividing the boys' activities between academic and shop work under very close individual supervision and with great flexibility of both group and individual programs.

These other three manual-education groups (except the "Co-op" group) spent 3 weeks each in classrooms devoted to the following subjects, in rotation every 3 weeks:

1. *Applied art*—Subject matter dealing with history and civics or citizenship.

2. *Clay modeling and cardboard work*—Subject matter in geography, English, and spelling.

3. *Woodwork*—Subject matter in mathematics, spelling of words used in connection with this work.

4. *Metal work (sheet metal, bent iron, etc.)*—Full-sized patterns were drafted for objects to be made and such objects constructed with these patterns.

Throughout this educational program visual aids were widely used. The stereopticon was used extensively. The microscope brought a new world of natural phenomena within the boys' range of knowledge. Educational films were used in order to show them the application of scientific principles to industrial uses. The school equipment included a semiportable projector used to present 35-mm films and also apparatus for projecting 16-mm pictures. They also had 2 lanterns, and 2 stereoscopes, with several hundred slides and stereographs. Each year much material was obtained free through the cooperation of the lending department of the State museum. A careful schedule was prepared at the beginning of each school year and was mimeographed so that each teacher might have a copy and know exactly when specified material was to be shown, so that all classes whom it could possibly help might have opportunity to see it. All the classroom work in both schools was correlated with the vocational work in which the boy might be spending his other half day; and as all the educational work sought to prepare the boy for social and economic adjustment back in his home community, the teachers therefore made it relate, so far as they could do so, to the life from which he had come and to which he would return.

In each schoolroom, posted on the bulletin board where the boys might consult it at any time, was a daily-progress card for each boy.

The teachers reported that the moral effect of this card was very great, that the boys watched it closely and were greatly disturbed when they received a poor mark.

### 11. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM—VOCATIONAL OR PREVOCATIONAL WORK

As has been indicated in the preceding section, the vocational school was under the supervision of the director of education. Its aims were described as being to give the boys knowledge of the fundamental principles of some specific trade, skill in handling tools, appreciation of the need for orderliness and accuracy, and understanding of the proper use of shop equipment from a safety standpoint. Special attention was being given to the development of such personality traits as dependability, diligence, initiative, self-confidence, and resourcefulness in relation to their work.

#### Enrollment

The vocational or other work in which boys were occupied on March 17, 1932, and the time assigned were reported as shown in the following table:

*Time of work for boys occupied in specified vocational or other work assignments on Mar. 17, 1932*

Vocational or other work	Boys occupied in vocational or other work			
	Total	Time assigned		
		All day	Morning	Afternoon
Total.....	1 520	225	162	133
Automobile mechanics.....	6	3		3
Baking.....	8	8		
Barbering.....	4	3		1
Blacksmithing.....	4	2		2
Carpentry.....	3	1		2
Electrical work.....	4	1	2	1
Farming:				
Dairy.....	28	11	7	10
Poultry raising.....	11	2	5	4
General farming.....	79	31	24	24
Truck farming.....	30	2	11	17
Greenhouse work.....	5	2		3
Laundry.....	32	21	6	5
Masonry.....	22	14	5	3
Painting.....	7	5	1	1
Plumbing.....	4	3	1	
Printing.....	11	7		4
Sheet-metal work.....	6	6		
Shoemaking and repairing.....	7	5	1	1
Steam fitting.....	4	3		1
Tailoring.....	10	6	1	3
Woodworking.....	10	6	2	2
Boiler room (two 8-hour shifts).....	5	5		
Coal force.....	22	14	3	5
Creamery.....	3	2	1	
Dining-room work.....	50	8	24	18
Engine room.....	2	1		1
General housework.....	86	18	54	14
Hospital service.....	4	2	2	
Ice house.....	3	1	1	1
Kitchen work.....	20	15	4	1
Lawns.....	3	3		
Office work.....	8	4	2	2
Power house (three 8-hour shifts).....	8	8		
School force.....	11	2	5	4

<sup>1</sup> The difference between the number of boys assigned to vocational or other work (520 on Mar. 16, 1932) and the total population of the institution (631 on Mar. 3, 1932) is due to the fact that boys not yet released from the receiving cottage for assignment were included in the total population and that vocational and work assignments were not given to the younger boys, and also to other conditions of institutional life.

These enrollment and assignment figures reveal that boys were engaged in many kinds of work that did not bring them within the definite vocational courses offered in the department of education. As has been shown (see p. 93), the school had instructors in the following lines of work: Automobile mechanics, electrical, printing, shoe repairing, tailoring, and woodworking. In addition, the trade-drawing course given in the school brought in boys learning other trades, such as masonry, plumbing, steam fitting, and sheet-metal work. In that course all the boys began with a series of 12 to 15 drawings, designed to give a chance to become acquainted with the use of drawing instruments and the common elements of mechanical drawing. After that each boy had his own series of drawing problems directly related to practical problems in his own specific trade.

The automobile-mechanics shop had an abundance of material to practice on in connection with repairs on the various automobiles belonging to the institution and on the farm machinery. (An outline of the course as given is reproduced in appendix B, p. 293.) Following their seasonal use all farm implements and machinery were brought into the shop to be put into first-class shape. For boys who were likely to go into any kind of agricultural work this offered an opportunity to learn a great deal about the mechanics of farm machinery and about its proper care, both during use and between seasons.

The print shop turned out a high grade of work. The boys in this shop did all the printing for the institution. Its monthly publication, "The Advance", was a credit to the shop. An interesting type of special work had been developed experimentally. This was linoleum block printing. Their attractive display of linoleum block prints would do credit to any establishment. Among them were some interesting original designs as well as a great many cleverly executed copies. The finished work was characterized by excellent color choice and considerable technical skill in printing. An attractive colored block print, designed and made by one of the boys, decorated the cover of each issue of "The Advance."

Although the tailor shop did not pretend to turn out full-fledged tailors, it claimed that the boys were given sufficient knowledge of the trade processes and of power-machine operation so that they could go to work in a tailor shop or clothing factory and hold their own while completing their trade apprenticeship. The same statements applied to the shoe shop. The woodworking course included making and repairing furniture and general mill work.

It will be noted that a very considerable number of boys were assigned to agricultural work. The farm supervisor was a practical farmer of 24 years' experience. His assistants were also men with practical experience rather than with educational or teaching background. Obviously the agricultural training would be that which a boy would get from working for a successful farmer and would not include the wider knowledge that he might get from taking an agricultural course in which the farm constituted the laboratory for demonstration in relation to the courses being studied. That the farm contributed a great deal to the good table set at this institution was evidenced by the valuation of \$39,766 placed on food supplies produced and consumed during the year ended June 30, 1931.

**Maintenance and repair work**

Boys assigned to trade or industrial work outside the vocational school were under the supervision of experienced workmen in particular lines—as in the maintenance division of the business office, under the food supervisor, or under the farm superintendent. There they carried on production, maintenance, and repair work of various kinds. Insofar as it was possible to do so, all of this work was treated as practice work, with emphasis on its educational aspects. Many types of work, such as those associated with domestic service or with boiler-room or power-house labor, were recognized as having little inherent training value except in the inculcation of good work habits. These work assignments were frequently given to new boys for a try-out period, in order to afford opportunity to observe their attitudes toward work, their ability to apply themselves to an assigned task, and any general aptitudes which they might display. The system for classifying and reclassifying boys was such that there was no danger that a boy would be left in such routine and relatively poor assignment for any considerable length of time.

**12. PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND ATHLETICS**

Physical education at this institution was a part of the program of the regular educational department. The supervisor of physical education was therefore subordinate to the director of education. Physical education and athletics were directed by a man specially trained for this work, a graduate of the University of Illinois. He was assisted by another graduate of the same university who gave part of his time to the physical-training program and part to the duties of an assistant cottage master. The gymnasium in one wing of the central school building has already been described.

Since 1920 there had been no military training at this institution.

**Physical education**

The work was divided into two parts, one being part of the school curriculum, the other being the larger program for the entire institution. Both parts were considered educational. Every boy attending school was required to take physical education. Each class met 2 or 3 times a week. When the weather permitted, these classes met on the school playground, otherwise they met in the gymnasium. The following were taught:

## Games (relays and contests):

1. Loosely organized (leap frog).
2. Semiorganized (long ball).
3. Highly organized (playground ball).

Baseball.

Track and field work.

Basketball.

Soccer.

Boxing and wrestling.

Apparatus work.

Gymnastic dancing.

Tumbling.

Pyramid building.

Care was taken to protect boys with any physical defects who might be injured by too strenuous a program. The director was given a

report on each new boy by the physician, who listed any physical difficulties or needs. Although it was the desire of the school to do considerable remedial gymnastics, the director stated that with the time at their disposal for individual cases it was not possible to do anything of very considerable value. Effective work of that kind would necessitate having the same boy at the same time every day, which the crowded program would not permit.

The classes were operated somewhat like organized recess play. A number of the boys were said to come to the school in poor physical condition, undernourished and undeveloped, with poor posture and defective muscular control and coordination. Many of them were found to have had no opportunity to develop normal play habits. In the regular classes every boy was expected to be busy. New boys were patiently taught to take part. If a boy had special difficulties he was given individual attention. This might consist of simply starting him out at batting a tennis ball against the wall and playing by himself until his awkward attempts gave way to a certain amount of skill in hitting, catching, and throwing the ball. Gradually he was worked into play with one or two other boys, and in a month or so he was playing games with the whole group, accepted as one of them. It was said that exercise as such was not usually particularly popular. Therefore compulsory routine calisthenics were avoided, and every type of physical exercise was given a motive. Instruction in tumbling had been found to be particularly useful in that direction. Boys with poorly developed physiques envied those who could do interesting stunts. The weaker boys were taught how to do certain exercises that would develop the particular muscles and give them the kind of control that would enable them to do the same stunts. This often resulted in astonishing perseverance in the routine performance of prescribed calisthenics on the part of individual boys.

The average number of boys in a class was 25, so that it was possible to give a considerable amount of individual attention. The director felt that all kinds of games, from the simplest to the most difficult, were highly important for their therapeutic value in boys' mental and emotional life. Many of these boys had for varying reasons led lives more or less isolated psychologically. They did not know how to work with others. They knew nothing about teamwork, good sportsmanship, or accepting defeat with good grace. It was said that it was possible to see characters changing week by week as boys learned how to sacrifice self-interest to team loyalty.

The institution had no pool nor any facilities for teaching swimming, except such as the swimming hole at the Boy Scout camping ground in the woods afforded.

#### **Sports program**

The sports program was highly developed. The organization unit was the cottage. The principal sports seasons were spring and summer. The main items on the program of the spring season were the calisthenic competition on Memorial Day and the games of the first baseball-league series. The events in the summer season were two track<sup>1</sup> and field meets on the Fourth of July and on Labor Day and the games of the second baseball-league series. There were three baseball leagues for boys of different stages of growth and development. A cup was presented to the winning team in each league.

During the fall and winter there was a basket-ball series for the league of first teams from the various cottages and one for the second teams. Other events were a basket-ball foul-shooting contest on Thanksgiving Day, an indoor relay carnival on New Year's Day, and an indoor stunt meet on Washington's Birthday. The school had a varsity basket ball team which had played about 16 outside teams from high schools, continuation schools, and other institutions. The team went to other towns for six of its games. The second team also played two outside games. In connection with this somewhat elaborate sports program the instructors were aided by the assistant cottage masters and 2 carefully selected boys from each of the 6 larger cottages. These boys were taught to help coach cottage teams and to referee intermediate and junior games.

Much practice work for the sports events went on continuously on the individual cottage playgrounds, each being adequately equipped to permit practice.

The director emphasized repeatedly the fact that stunts and games did not have entertainment or competition as their basic purpose, nor was it their intent to develop skilled athletes who were experts in one sport. They sought to give a working knowledge of many games to all of the boys. Basically the work was designed to give an opportunity to all boys to participate in activities that would stimulate normal physical, mental, and emotional development and the growth of social attitudes.

### 13. OTHER RECREATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Many of the activities usually listed as recreational were here included among the extracurricular activities under the department of education. At the beginning of each school year the director of education and the director of the division of cottages and discipline worked out together a program of activities which was mimeographed for distribution among staff members. The program was very carefully prepared so that there would be as little conflict as possible. This was rendered necessary by the rich and varied program of activities which went on continuously at this school. The management here were firmly convinced that activities of this description play a very important part in the normal development of a boy and in helping him toward responsible social living. They believed that many of the boys' maladjustments were due to starved or thwarted needs for mental and emotional development.

#### Music

The musical activities at this institution were carried on in a department of music and dramatics. At the time the school was visited it was without an instructor in music; therefore musical activities were somewhat at a standstill. This was said to be merely a temporary situation and it was hoped that a new instructor would be procured within a short time. When the school had an instructor of music it had a first band of 40 or more pieces and a second band of 30 or more. In addition, it had a first orchestra of 30 pieces, a second orchestra of 20 pieces, and a string quartet.

Also as one of the musical activities the school had produced several operettas in which as many as 100 boys of diversified talents

had taken part. Many concert programs had been given, and musical numbers for a wide variety of occasions had been provided. A weekly song festival had been held, and this group singing had been very much enjoyed by all of the boys.

#### Radio

The school did not own any radio equipment for the cottages. However, in each cottage the cottage master gave the boys the benefit of his own radio. There was an institution-owned radio at the hospital with a loud speaker in each ward.

#### Dramatics

Very considerable emphasis was placed on dramatic activities under the direction of a full-time instructor for that work. It was believed that through participation in dramatics boys might be aided to build up new habits to replace behavior patterns that had been socially unacceptable and that they would be greatly helped by these opportunities for self-expression. It was thought the stage offered excellent practice in manners and in the exercise of good taste and poise. Training in working with the group and in timing one's own part to fit perfectly with that of all others was believed to be very valuable also. Moreover, there was a wealth of opportunity for the exercise of individual initiative and originality in connection with staging different kinds of entertainment. The staff believed that needed opportunities to satisfy a creative urge and a native hunger for art forms of various kinds were offered through these activities.

Plays, both short and long, modern and classic, were staged. The boys did everything connected with the production; this included designing and making costumes and sets under the direction of the instructor. An important phase of the work was that boys of widely different mental levels, interests, and tastes were purposely included. That meant that the purpose was not merely to discover and cultivate unusual talents for this kind of work, but that the program was definitely designed to give an opportunity for this kind of self-expression to any boy whom it might benefit. The objective was not at all a finished performance, but an opportunity for boys to work out something to meet their own personality needs.

#### Motion pictures

A motion-picture show was held every Thursday evening and attended by all boys who had not lost the privilege through misconduct. The school did not possess apparatus for showing talking pictures and it was said that it was growing increasingly difficult to secure good silent pictures.

Reference has already been made to the extensive use of educational motion-picture material in connection with the classroom and vocational work. Most of those educational films were shown to limited groups as a part of their school work. Some of the industrial films, however, were exhibited to large groups of boys whether or not they were doing school or vocational work in the field concerned. This was done in the hope that such pictures might give the boys new ideas and serve in a measure as vocational information relating to the variety of worth-while occupations open to boys at the present time.

#### Reading

The institution library was in the school building. The room was furnished with a sufficient number of library tables and chairs so



that groups of boys could use it comfortably for study and reference work.

The library had about 3,000 volumes. A woman librarian was in charge full time. She stated that the present supply contained a preponderance of fiction, though there were some good reference books and a fairly adequate number of periodicals interesting to boys. It was the intention to spend some money on new books shortly, and the lists were being carefully prepared.

Each school class had one library period a week. At that time boys were permitted to draw books through a regular library-card system such as is used in public libraries.

#### **Boy Scout work**

In 1921 the superintendent on his own initiative organized two or three Boy Scout troops. The boys became so interested that evening classes were opened, and by December of that year 142 boys had passed the tenderfoot test. This impressive showing gained permission from Scout headquarters for the organization of a Scout troop, which was formally registered. The movement had steadily grown ever since that time.

In March 1932 the institution had 10 regular Boy Scout troops, one troop of Scout Cubs, and one of Sea Scouts. The membership in these troops totaled 325 boys. The work was directed by a Scout executive who was a member of the staff of the department of education and who devoted all of his time to Boy Scout activities in the school. He had a room in the school building which served as Scout headquarters for the institution.

The scoutmasters were drawn from among the cottage supervisors. These men sought to perfect themselves in their work by attending a training school each year. Each troop had a patrol system—four patrols to a troop with a patrol leader over each and a senior patrol leader who was directly responsible to the scoutmaster. Each troop had a "scribe" who was responsible for keeping all records of attendance and troop accomplishment. The patrol leaders were given a 4-day training course in preparation for their duties.

The troops constituted part of the Monmouth Boy Scout Council. Through that membership many outside contacts were available. Each spring and fall a competitive rally was held at the institution. The two troops which won the highest number of points then competed with similarly chosen troops of the district council at a district rally. This was said to be one of the regular events which were supplemented by many other special outside meetings and entertainments participated in by Scouts from the institution.

The home Scouts had a camp in the woods on ground owned by the institution. Each troop had 1 week of intensive scouting work at that camp every summer. It was said that practically all of them advanced at least one rank or won at least one merit badge while in camp. The boys had made a very good swimming hole and had done a great deal of work in beautifying the grounds. One Scout troop each year was given a week at Princeton Boy Scout Camp, which was maintained by a group of interested people connected with Princeton University. A Scout rally had recently been held at the institution, attended by the 325 Scouts and 300 other spectators. The assistant dean of Princeton University and one of the managers of the Princeton camp summoned to the platform the institution troop

that had been at Princeton camp the past year, and together with several visiting Princeton leaders they sang Scout camp songs. The Princeton summer-camp director then presented a shield to the two Scouts from the State home who had had their names placed on the Princeton camp honor roll, also a loving cup to another Scout who had made the best record for the 1931 season.

The Sea Scouts were carrying on an exceptionally active program, a number of the boys being intensely interested in the work. The Sea Scout troop had recently played host to 125 Sea Scouts and officers from six different ships in nearby New Jersey.

One cottage at Jamesburg was organized into a Boy Ranger group, and this, too, was very active and happy in its program.

The State supplied uniforms for all boys whose parents were unable to provide them.

The management believed that activities of this kind are a genuine help in rebuilding character. They said that many of their boys came to them with social attitudes distorted by their previous experiences. In their study for Scout advancement these boys often made unconscious substitutions of wholesome thoughts and ideals for their previous antisocial attitudes. In going through the tests for Scout work the boys also were brought in touch with a wider range of vocational contacts than might otherwise be possible, and often some particular aptitude was revealed or some interest and ability discovered that could be utilized in working toward economic adjustment.

When a Scout was about to be paroled the parole officer, with the help of the scoutmaster at the school and the executives in the district councils in the States, made every effort to secure the boy's admission to a troop in his own community in which he would be cordially received. In the earlier years some difficulty was experienced along this line. Certain troops had declined to receive boys who had been at the State Home for Boys, and some others would accept a parolee but treated him in such a way that making him a marked character did more harm than good. Careful and persistent work on the part of the school authorities, together with the cooperation of Scout headquarters, was said greatly to have reduced this attitude on the part of local troops and to have made them conscious of their opportunities to help these boys in their own communities and of the contradiction of Scout ideals involved in risking the likelihood of doing permanent damage to a boy through an unfriendly or supercilious attitude toward him.

#### **Other organizations and activities**

The smallest colored boys had a special club all their own, organized by their cottage mother.

The tinker shop in the school building was a busy place. This belonged to a cottage which housed about 50 of the smallest white boys. These boys went around the grounds every day gathering up discarded articles. All usable materials they turned in to the tinker shop. During his spare time their cottage father took groups of these boys to the shop to while away some hours tinkering. Many useful articles were made from the material the boys had salvaged. The idea back of this enterprise was that a measure of thrift might be taught in this way, at the same time that the boys were learning to handle tools and do simple carpentry jobs such as they might have occasion to do around their own homes later. The boys were said to

have made all the equipment for a camp of their own from materials they had gathered and converted to their needs.

Another interesting experiment at this institution was the hamlet, the miniature village that has been described. (See p. 86.) It had been built entirely by boys who had been permitted to follow their own bent, with little direction other than such help and guidance as they cared to seek. The result was a somewhat motley array of structures. Salvaged materials had been used, and much work had been put into some of the units. After having been closed for some time the hamlet had recently been reopened as a cottage-family unit, to be used for a group of exceptionally difficult and emotionally unstable boys needing highly specialized treatment. The new man in charge, who was a graduate of the University of Minnesota, had been in charge of Ranger units in that State.

Since the time of the visit the institution has continued to devote much attention to the recreational life of its boys. Although all cottage officers still contribute to developing this phase of the program, the trend previously noted has gained in strength, so that one officer, the assistant cottage father, is held specially responsible for these activities. The following information, furnished in February 1934, indicates progress in the development of the individual cottage programs displaying a wealth of constructive activities, covering many fields of interest to boys:

Aside from the general features of the institution's educational, scouting, athletic, dramatic, and religious programs, leisure activities in the cottages have included individual and group projects of many kinds—competitive tournaments, collections, and club work.

Tournaments in checkers, quoits, marbles, pingpong, pool, and the like are conducted in the various cottages. Both cottage elimination contests and inter-cottage competition have been provided. Each cottage acts as host to its opponents. Highly desirable intercottage visits are the natural outcome of the tournament idea. It is felt that cottage spirit, as well as intercottage tolerance, paradoxical as it may seem, have both been improved.

Present economic and industrial trends, with the resulting increase in leisure time, emphasize the need for more specific recreational training in institutional and school programs. A comprehensive program of club activities designed to broaden and extend the scope of the "hobby" idea has been developed. A total of 34 clubs have been organized. Each club meets for an hour each week, under the leadership of a volunteer advisor (a teacher, an assistant cottage father, or some other officer). A steering committee composed of the director of education, supervisor of cottage training, athletic director, scout executive, and director of music and dramatics determines what clubs shall be organized, selects the sponsors, and passes upon the eligibility of boys to membership in the various clubs.

At a special hobby-club night held in November 1933, a total of 35 different hobby clubs were offered to the boys, 400 of whom signed for membership. Each club consisted of not fewer than 6 nor more than 20 boys. Some of these clubs that got off to an enthusiastic start were as follows:

- Boxing club
- Gym club (for tumbling and apparatus work)
- Basket-ball club
- Out-door sports club (for fishing and hunting)
- Card club
- Games club (to organize and play games usually played in family gatherings and at young people's parties)
- Puzzle club
- Checkers club
- Stamp club
- Art club
- Modeling and arcraft club

Handicraft club (for woodworking)  
 Linoleum block and bookbinding club  
 Nature club  
 Science and chemistry club  
 Aviation club  
 Navigation club  
 Travel and story-telling club  
 Actors' club  
 Radio club (for radio construction)  
 Glee club  
 Harmonica club  
 Ukelele club

Five of the boys' residence cottages had been "adopted" by Princeton University students; 2 to 5 students came to each cottage once a week or oftener to play ball with the boys, or to sit around and talk with them, telling them stories—often accounts of their own travels, their hunting and fishing experiences. It was believed that the informal friendly relationships resulting were likely to be of lasting benefit to the boys.

#### 14. RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

The assistant to the superintendent at this institution was particularly interested in the spiritual welfare of the boys and in the development of a satisfactory program for meeting their spiritual needs.

Church services for Protestant white boys were conducted each Sunday by volunteers from Princeton University. The dean and the assistant dean of the Princeton Theological School had become interested in the institution, and they regularly sent either faculty or student representatives to occupy the pulpit at the Sunday services. On Sunday morning a series of Sunday-school classes were held in the various cottages. The assistant to the superintendent planned definite courses of study for these classes, adapting them to the boys' interest and needs. The classes were conducted by volunteers from the Princeton student body. An Episcopal rector visited the institution about once a month to instruct a class of boys from Episcopal families who were preparing for their first communion.

A chaplain for the Protestant colored boys, employed on a part-time basis, conducted services regularly for them.

A Catholic chaplain, employed on a part-time basis, conducted Mass for the boys from Catholic families each Sunday morning while the Protestant boys were attending their Sunday-school classes. He also gave some time during the week to hearing confessions and to instructing boys for their first communion. Some months before the institution was visited the Bishop of Trenton had confirmed 225 boys.

As the Jewish boys numbered only 5 or 6 in the entire school population, it was not thought feasible to make provision for special services for so small a group. However, arrangements were made to have them regularly visited by representatives of their own faith, and every possible provision was made for their observance of religious festivals.

#### 15. CREDIT SYSTEM AND DISCIPLINARY MEASURES

##### Credit system

At this institution a rather complex credit system was in operation, having been put into effect in 1918 and developed in accordance with experience in its use.

Each cottage master, work supervisor, shop instructor, or school teacher marked a credit card daily for each boy under his supervision. The boys were graded on two things—first, on conduct and effort, second, on accomplishment. The term “conduct and effort” was defined as meaning progress in those qualities, traits, and habits on which satisfactory and wholesome individual happiness and community life depend. For determining the grade such items as the following were said to be taken into consideration: Whether the boy applies himself to his work, makes good use of his time, works to his maximum ability, respects property rights of others, tells the truth, tries to control his temper, refrains from quarreling or complaining, shows good sportsmanship, and takes pride in being trusted. Rating on accomplishment was based on what the boy actually had achieved in his school or work assignments. Not only the amount of work completed was considered, but also the manner in which it was done. The daily marking was made in terms of “Excellent”, “Good”, “Fair”, or “Poor.”

The number of credits a boy earned depended on two things—the class which he was in and the rating which he received in these markings. Boys at the school were divided into four classes, designated A, B, C, and D. New boys automatically took their place in class C. At the end of 4 months they were considered for promotion to class B, and after 4 months in class B they might be eligible for class A. Promotion from class to class was determined at a meeting of the supervisor of cottages, the cottage master, and the boy concerned. It depended upon the boy's record, but no boy could be promoted unless his card had been clear from major disciplinary difficulty for at least 30 consecutive days. Promotion was automatically ruled out if a boy had received even one “Poor” mark during that period. Receiving 6 or 7 such “Poor” marks automatically reduced a boy to the next lower class. Class D was the “noncitizen group” and usually indicated residence in the segregation cottage or the imposition of major disciplinary action of some other type.

These classes had different credit-earning capacities. The number of credits that could be earned in each class was as follows:

Daily rating	C	B	A
Excellent.....	80	160	240
Good to excellent.....	70	140	210
Good.....	60	120	180
Fair to good.....	50	100	150
Fair.....	40	80	120
Poor to fair.....	30	60	90
Poor.....	20	40	60

At the end of each month the daily-progress cards for each boy were assembled and his average for the month was computed. That average determined the number of credits with which he would be charged. Every other month the director of cottages and discipline spent an evening at each cottage, going over each boy's daily markings with the cottage master and the boy so that the boy might understand exactly how his final credit awards were determined and, if

they were low, the reasons for this. On alternate months this averaging was done by the cottage master without the presence of the director.

As a means of encouraging a boy to make special effort, extra credits might be awarded by the director on recommendation of some one of the boy's supervising officers, with proper representations as to reason. Credits once earned and averaged for the month were never taken away; that is, there was no system of fining. What was taken away for disciplinary reasons was the right to earn the credits, accomplished by class demotion which reduced credit-earning capacity. After the monthly averages were made up, a list was prepared in triplicate of the credit standing in each cottage group. One copy was posted on the cottage bulletin board, one was sent to the parole office, and one was kept in the office of the director of cottages and discipline. A copy of this monthly credit summary was also sent to the Scout executive. He was notified, too, whenever disciplinary action was taken against a Boy Scout. It was believed that this operation of positive social disapproval benefited the individual boy, institution discipline, and the Scout program.

At the first reclassification meeting for each boy, the classification committee, after carefully considering his history and his accomplishment since coming to the institution, set a credit goal believed to be appropriate for him. A boy was not eligible for parole until he came near that goal. The average credit goal was 1,440 credits. An average boy could earn that number in about 12 months with determined effort and application. If the classification committee decided that for various reasons inherent in the boy's past life or his personality it was desirable that he be kept a longer period, he was given a higher credit goal—which might be as high as 2,000 or 2,400.

It will be apparent that this somewhat complex system was flexible enough so that treatment within its provisions might be highly individualized.

#### **Disciplinary measures**

Staff officers immediately responsible for the supervision of the cottage, the classroom, the shop, or some work group dealt directly with minor misconduct. Instances of major misconduct were referred to the director of cottages and discipline. Usually the supervising officer took the boy to the director's office. The policy tended toward centralizing all responsibility for a boy's conduct in the hands of his cottage father. This was in accordance with the desire to simulate family life and parental control so far as possible. The superintendent of course maintained final authority over the establishment of disciplinary policies, but major responsibility for their administration rested with the director of cottages and discipline. Staff members were of the opinion that the credit system and the thoroughness with which all officers made certain that the boys understood its operation with respect to themselves wielded tremendous influence. This was evidenced by the anxiety of the boys to do anything to avoid the rating "Poor."

For minor misbehavior, such as persistently making a nuisance of oneself in the cottage, boys were sometimes put "on line" in the cottage living room or on the playground. This meant simply that they could not participate in games and other recreational activities

going on. Deprivation of privileges was one of the customary disciplinary measures in use. Since the institution was rich in activities and privileges of all kinds that were greatly coveted by the boys, deprivation was an effective punitive measure. As a few extremely difficult disciplinary problems were inevitable, the segregation cottage had been provided. As has been stated, the boys sent to this cottage lost most of their privileges, earned no credits, did not attend school, and were required to do the hardest and most objectionable work of the institution. They received practically the same food as all other boys except occasionally such items as desserts.

Within the larger segregation group was a smaller unit for offenders who failed again and again to respond to the more constructive treatment. The boys in this disciplinary unit did not go out with the hard-work detail. Instead they were required to spend the entire working day going through disciplinary routine exercises. This consisted principally of old-style calisthenics for 5 minutes, a rest period for 5 minutes, and repeat. The monotony of this routine, rather than its difficulty, was said to be what made it effective. The boys were closely watched, and when their attitude seemed to have been sufficiently modified they were transferred to the regular segregation-cottage detail. There was no complete isolation, except of course for the occasional boy who became seriously disturbed mentally. Boys were sent to the segregation cottage and released from it by the director of cottages and discipline. It was the custom to have the clinic staff see each boy before he was released in order to secure their advice in the case, as has been stated. (See p. 102.)

No corporal punishment of any kind was permitted.

Forms of misbehavior considered most serious at this institution were escape or attempt to escape, extreme insolence or insubordination, and persistently committing minor offenses to an extent that seemed to amount to willful defiance of the institution's regulations. Boys who did these things, also boys returned for violation of parole, constituted the types sent to the segregation cottage. Although smoking was not permitted by the institution and was a matter for discipline, it was not considered a major offense.

The general impression was that an effort was being made to individualize disciplinary action as completely as possible. The progressive attitude of the staff officer in charge of discipline at this institution can best be shown by quoting his statement in a recent report:

We are inclined to interpret discipline as the development of morale—the establishing of those group and individual controls which made social achievements possible. Its punitive and retributive “virtues” are now entirely discounted. In a democratic society it is far more important for the individual to learn self-control, group responsibility, and social participation than for him to become a subservient, repressed, regimentalized cog in a huge machine. It is thoroughly inconsistent for us therefore to set up any program of training having as its premise mass conformity and turn out a product which is expected to compete adequately in a society which places such a premium on individual initiative and success. \* \* \* Institution custom and tradition have been a most difficult barrier to the universal acceptance of a progressive enlightened form of boy control. It is an obstacle which even after months of effective defeat raises its head to voice objection or warning, when new methods or devices are introduced.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Sixty-eighth Annual Report of the New Jersey State Home for Boys, 1931-32, pp. 89 and 90.

A report of further developments in February 1934 is briefly summarized in the following paragraphs:

The Jamesburg training program has been so organized as to contribute to the development of morale—the establishing of those group and individual controls which make social achievement possible. For the vast majority, such indirect discipline (or training) is sufficient. There are, of course, in any group a few who do not respond to subtle approach. It is for these that more direct disciplinary methods have been established.

Cottage councils, in one form or another, are in operation in all cottages. Each council operates under a system suited to the age, abilities, and interests of its boys. One cottage has a military court, a Sea Scout cottage may use the "deck courtmartial", another the jury plan, and the open forum is found most effective in the youngest groups.

These cottage governing bodies have had a far-reaching influence outside as well as within the cottage group. Any infraction of rules in the cottage group is reported to the council by the cottage officers, unless the case is unusually serious, in which case it is referred directly to the supervisor of cottage training. Such referred cases represent only outstanding and unusual forms of disorder. Each cottage council, under the direction of the cottage father, keeps a log of its proceedings. This is subject to the call of the supervisor. Any council action is subject to review or appeal.

Major offenders and those referred from the various departments of the institution outside the cottages are given a hearing before the supervisor of cottages. If he deems the case suitable for disposition by the cottage council, he refers it to the council of the cottage in which the boy resides. The council, after trying the case, may return a recommendation of demotion or segregation to the supervisor. In any event, the final disposition of all referred cases must be approved by him. It is sometimes found necessary to return a case to a council for retrial when the penalty imposed is deemed out of keeping with the seriousness of the offense. Penalties imposed range from reprimand to segregation and include such things as extra duty, deprivation of recreation and other privileges, class demotion under the credit system, increase in credit goal, and change in assignment.

The fact that most cases involving misconduct will first be dealt with by the cottage council means that a boy's behavior at any place becomes a matter of cottage concern. Social disapproval of the most constructive kind is thus made possible. This type of program requires skillful adult leadership, but the cottage personnel believe they can guard against the abuses that sometimes result from juvenile participation.

A cooperative procedure has been worked out between the psychologist, the resident psychiatrist, and the supervisor of cottage training, whereby all boys requiring segregation, or other forms of treatment outside of their cottage group, are referred for psychological or psychiatric study. In addition many potential offenders, as well as boys displaying emotional instability, are referred for study. The recommendations of these specialists are always considered. The clinical examinations and studies submitted are very helpful in arriving at the final disciplinary disposition of these cases.



An advisory disciplinary clinic has been established, composed of the following members: The superintendent, the assistant to the superintendent, the resident psychiatrist, the psychologists, the director of education, and the supervisor of cottage training. Outstanding problem cases may be referred to this clinic by the supervisor of cottage training. The disciplinary clinic is subject to call, but usually meets regularly on Monday following the classification committee's meeting.

#### 16. INSTITUTION RECORDS

A very complete record system had been developed. The general administrative records included a card file and a case-history folder for each boy. The different departments of the institution furnished summaries of the detailed records that were kept of all studies made of each boy and of his progress in school and training programs. These central records were kept by the office of the secretary to the classification committee.

Since the time of the study a conference adjustment report form has been evolved and put into use. Cottage officers and instructors submit their estimates of individual boys on these blanks prior to the dates on which the classification committee will consider them. The ratings given each boy are scored, these serving as an index to the boy's progress in adjustment and the development of positive personality traits. These reports are placed in the boy's case-history folder, where they are available to the members of the classification committee when they make out their separate case summaries.

The card file served as a general index of the boys in the institution and on parole. This provided identifying information regarding each boy and his commitment.

Each case-history folder contained a face sheet; a large card on which a summary of the discipline record was entered; copies of all the classification committee's reports on the boy's classification, reclassification, and parole; copies of the reports of home visits made by the central parole bureau preceding commitment and parole; all correspondence relating to the case; and the commitment papers together with any social data received from the court.

The face sheet served as a permanent record card and included, besides identifying data such as age, color, and nationality, a summary of the boy's institutional history.

The record forms used by the different departments of the institution in keeping detailed accounts of the boy's movements and progress and recording the study of his case were numerous and provided for a great deal of detail. All cards and records had been carefully devised in order to give a clear picture of the boy's progress.

The medical department used a summary form for recording the physical examination at entrance and various other forms for recording special examinations and all treatment given. A card file was kept of height and weight records of each boy.

The psychological clinic kept records of all of its contacts with individual boys. A copy of the report of the psychological examination of all new cases was sent to the director of the mental hygiene clinic work and to the central office of the mental-hygiene clinic of the New Jersey State Hospital at Trenton. A simpler form was used for reports on all other cases, a copy of which was sent to the parole department for its record folder.

One of the interesting and important forms used by the mental-hygiene clinic was the "adjustment score card", which contained eight groups of statements that would describe the boy's behavior. This form was sent to the cottage master to be filled in before a boy was to come up for classification or reclassification. The cottage master checked in each group the descriptive phrase which best applied to the boy under consideration. The adjustment score cards were filed with the boy's clinic record.

The office of the director of education kept a complete record of each boy's progress in school and vocational training. In each folder were filed the following data:

Carbon copy of all classification summaries.

Regular reports of progress as submitted by teachers and work officers.

School-record card on which school achievements were entered.

Training-progress card, showing performance in training assignments.

Transfer slips from one class or one training group to another.

The school office also kept a card file of the boy's progress cards, which, as has been stated, were currently posted on a bulletin board in each school room. (See pp. 108-109.)

The department of cottages and discipline, because of the various activities for which it was responsible, kept rather full records. These included the movement, assignments, and discipline of the boys, also the detail necessary for staff assignments and relief duty in the institution.

Records kept in this department that pertained to the boys included all detail relating to his custody, such as his formal receipt at the institution, the leave granted, parole, and transfer from one cottage or one assignment to another. Records of all disciplinary action and all details of the credit plan also were kept here. For each boy there was kept a credit-summary envelop, the back of which contained a printed form for entering the summary of credits made from the daily progress and credit cards, the boy's credit goal, the credits added or taken away, the date of escape if any, and the time spent in the segregation cottage. The daily-progress cards were summarized monthly and then filed in this credit envelop.

The records pertaining to general items included daily-population sheets with population changes, reports by the night watchmen who supervised all conduct at night, and the schedule of staff and relief-officer assignments.

Record data pertaining to preparole investigations and preparation for parole were on file in the boy's case-history folder, and copies were furnished to the central parole bureau in the State department of institutions and agencies. For description of the records of parole supervision kept by that bureau, which is described in the following section, see page 129.

For reproduction of some of the forms see appendix C, p. 302.

## 17. PAROLE AND DISCHARGE

After the establishment of the State department of institutions and agencies in 1918, the parole work for the correctional institutions in the State, except the State prison, was organized in a bureau within that department called the central parole bureau.<sup>16</sup> Its director was

<sup>16</sup> New Jersey, Cum. Supp. 1924, secs. 34-42, 34-50, 34-79, 34-80.

under the general supervision of the State commissioner of institutions and agencies. This parole bureau administered the parole work for eight institutions.<sup>17</sup> Each parole officer had parolees from several institutions under his supervision.

The provision of the law requiring that each division of the State department of institutions and agencies be in charge of a qualified expert made possible the appointment of a director with special training and qualifications for parole work, and the director serving at the time of this study had had special training and experience for the position. The personnel consisted of the director, assistant director, supervisor of work with women and girls, 24 parole officers (18 men, 6 women), and 10 stenographers and clerks. The appointment of parole officers was under civil-service regulation, and within the past few years the requirements for qualifications for parole officers had been raised to meet the following standard:

Education equivalent to that represented by graduates from colleges or universities of recognized standing; standard course in social service; 2 years' experience as social investigator, or education and experience accepted as full equivalent by the Civil Service Commission; knowledge of problems of delinquency, laws governing commitment, care and parole of delinquents; knowledge of approved methods of social case work, investigation ability, thoroughness, accuracy, tact, leadership, firmness, good address.

It has been the aim of the parole bureau continually to raise the standards of its personnel; and they had been closely adhered to in appointments since the adoption of these requirements. Some of the officers who had been on the staff for a number of years could meet these requirements; others had been in parole work a number of years and were qualified through experience on the job rather than through training or other prior experience.

The rules and regulations relating to parole procedure and the granting of parole, and to its terms and conditions, were established by the State board of control and carried out through the central parole bureau.

In addition to the general provisions for parole, specific provisions relate to placement in foster homes of boys on parole from the State Home for Boys. Under these the indenture or binding out of boys is illegal, but they may be placed in wage or boarding homes whenever the welfare of the individual boy makes this advisable. Furthermore, boys who have shown a capacity for more extensive training than is offered by the State Home for Boys may be placed in educational or vocational institutions.

These legal provisions were administered through methods adopted by the State department of institutions and agencies. Along with the development of the parole program, it had built up the procedure and determined the standards on which recommendations for the parole of inmates at all institutions were to be based. In accordance with this procedure, the staff of each institution determined the inmate's readiness for release and made recommendation to its own board of managers, which had the authority to make the final decision. In the majority of cases the board of managers accepted the recommendations of its staff members and its final decision was merely the giving of formal approval.

<sup>17</sup> State Home for Boys (Jamesburg), New Jersey Reformatory (Rahway), New Jersey Reformatory (Annandale), State Colony (New Lisbon), Vineland Training School (Vineland), State Colony (Woodbine), State Home for Girls (Trenton), Reformatory for Women (Clinton).

In New Jersey parole was regarded as part of the inmate's treatment program—a period of adjustment under supervision from life in the institution back to normal life in the community. The procedure which had been developed by the department of institutions and agencies through its classification system had always closely related parole to the institutional treatment of the inmate. It has been stated that "one effect of this conception is that parole is in the minds of the institution authorities from the moment an offender enters prison, and the steps for scientific treatment of the individual in the institution have, as their goal, release on parole when the time is most favorable and under the best conditions which the staff can supply."<sup>18</sup>

Though the procedure which had been adopted by the State department of institutions and agencies involved a classification system within the institution and a parole supervisory program which had been made uniform for all the correctional institutions (except the State prison), it will be referred to here as it worked out in relation to the State Home for Boys.

Although the work of the classification committee has been described in detail on pages 96-97 as it related to the planning and carrying out of the boy's program while he was in the institution, some brief repetition seems desirable here in order to relate it to parole and to point out how it fits into the parole program.

The same group of officers and staff specialists that planned each boy's program at the institution decided upon his readiness for parole. At the time a boy came before the committee for his first reclassification (usually 6 months after the first classification), the committee established a credit goal which must be reached before he could be considered for parole. This system had been very carefully worked out to represent a grading plan whereby the boy's progress in all phases of his institutional program could be measured. Each boy's ability and progress were weighed, and his credit goal set in accordance to these. On the second reclassification, if a boy had made sufficient progress and had reached his credit goal, a date was set on which the committee would meet for parole consideration. If progress had not been satisfactory, the case was continued for further reclassification without consideration for parole.

During a boy's stay at the institution the central parole bureau had already become acquainted with the case through a home visit made by a parole officer as soon as possible after the boy was admitted. This visit was considered a part of the classification program, as it was requested of the parole department for use in the boy's first classification. The parole department again became active on the case in the preparole program of the classification committee; when the date was set for parole consideration, a request was made for investigation of the boy's home. This investigation was made by the parole officer to whom the boy was to be assigned for supervision, if returned to his own home.

Further preparation for parole included reexamination of the boy by staff specialists, including the physician, the psychologist, the psychiatrist, the educational director, and consultation with the chaplain, and the disciplinary officer.

<sup>18</sup>Lane, Winthrop D.: Parole Procedure in New Jersey. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, v 122, no. 3 (September 1931), p. 380.

The meetings of the classification committee at which boys under consideration for parole were discussed were attended by representatives from the central parole bureau—usually either the director or his assistant—and each of the district parole officers to whose districts boys who were coming before the classification committee would probably be sent.

At this conference each member had in hand the original classification summary, the reclassification summaries, and the report of pre-parole home investigation for each case. In the uniform procedure recommended for use of the classification committee the following points were enumerated as those to which the classification committee in conference with the parole officers should give especial attention in each case: The boy's physical and mental health, his industrial and educational competence, his social adaptability, and the condition of the home to which he was to be paroled.

The case of each boy was discussed and the following matters determined: First, whether or not the boy himself was really ready for parole; second, whether he should be returned to his own home; third, whether, if his home was utterly unsuitable, he should be tried in some other placement; fourth, whether he should continue in school or what plan should be followed in helping him to make adjustment in the community to which he was going. When the committee had reached a decision, the boy was called in and told in a friendly manner what plan had been made for him and why. If he was to be released on parole, he was introduced to the parole officer who was to supervise him. The parole officer arranged for a conference with the boy following the meeting and discussed the plan with him in more detail. The boy was given a little pamphlet which outlined parole duties and explained just what was expected of him.

As has been stated, final approval for parole in each case had to be given by the board of managers of the institution, which usually accepted and approved the recommendations of the parole committee.

At the time the institution was visited an interesting and important piece of work was being done in relation to parole by a member of the staff of the State department of institutions and agencies. She was trying to stimulate in local communities in the State work which would assist in preparing the home and the community for the boy's return on parole. If the parole officer who made the visit to the boy's home after he entered the institution found dependency a factor, or noted other family situations seriously affecting the boy's case, that officer referred the family to her, and she tried to find a local agency to work with the family while the boy was in the institution. If younger children in the boy's family appeared to need care and attention, she referred the case to the proper agency. She also had assisted in making adjustments through securing the help of local agencies in special cases, particularly those involving physical handicaps or especially difficult school adjustment.

When the boy had been released from the institution, the central parole bureau became responsible for his supervision. The State was districted geographically for assignment of cases to the parole officers. On March 12, 1932, 16 men officers had 1,035 boys from the State Home for Boys under supervision. These same officers also were supervising older boys and young men on parole from the two State reformatories, and children from the State institutions for the feeble-

minded. Their average case load was 175, including all types of parolees.

The standard for field parole work kept in mind by the central bureau was active social case work for every person on parole. The bureau realized that the average case load of the officers, particularly of the men officers, was too large to permit satisfactory case work. Nevertheless the standard urged for these officers was that of the better type of family-welfare society. It was believed that this was achieved in a large number of cases, though not in all. An effort to meet the situation and to raise standards of work had been made by adopting a program of gradually diminishing supervision. That is, intensive supervision was given immediately following the boy's release from the institution and at times of subsequent emergencies while he was still on parole. The officers made considerable effort to help boys get work and recreational connections and to give such other help in adjustment as was seen to be needed. When a boy had done very well on parole for some time, he was placed on what was called quarterly supervision, which meant that the officer was held responsible for ascertaining his situation four times a year. The average period for active supervision—that is, before placement on quarterly supervision—was 1 year. The next step was to promote the boy to semiannual supervision, which usually was done about a year later. When the boy appeared to have made a thoroughly satisfactory adjustment, he was granted a conditional release, though remaining legally under control until he became of age. This conditional release merely discontinued visiting and reporting as long as the boy's conduct was satisfactory. If it was found that his conduct was not satisfactory, active parole might be resumed or the boy might be returned to the institution for violation of parole. Thus the boys were given the most thorough supervision during the earliest period of parole.

Another procedure frequently used in releasing boys on parole was trial parole for 3 months in special cases. These cases were grouped with the active-supervision cases in the parole officer's case list. They received special supervision as needed. At the end of 3 months the case was reviewed to determine whether the boy should be placed on the regular active-parole basis, or be returned to the institution, or continued for another trial period.

There was no fixed schedule of types of conduct that were to be considered parole violations. The matter was determined on an individual-case basis and was left largely to the judgment of each parole officer as he knew his boys and their community. The decisions of course were subject to supervision from the central office.

Boys were returned to the institution not only if they committed overt violations of parole, but also if their family situations became undesirable or actually harmful, if they needed medical care, or if their conduct was so noticeably unsatisfactory that a short period of further adjustment and training was deemed advisable.

Boys were not committed to the State home for any definite term but might be detained until they became 21 years of age, unless sooner discharged. Boys remained on the parole list until they became 21, even though they had been discontinued from active supervision on conditional release. Boys who were committed to other correctional institutions while on parole from the State Home

for Boys were declared "delinquent parolees" and removed from the State home parole lists.<sup>19</sup> When paroled from the subsequent institutional commitment they were again under supervision of the central parole bureau, and usually assigned to the same officer under whom they had been on parole from the State Home for Boys.

Boys who enlisted in military service were carried as parolees until they became 21, like those given conditional release.

The records of the boy's parole history kept by the central parole bureau consisted of a case folder for each boy, containing the identifying face-sheet information; copies of all classification-committee reports from the institution; copies of the home investigation after entering the institution and before parole; field reports of visits made by the parole officers; and all correspondence relating to the case. Special blanks were furnished for the reports of the home investigations and the parole officers' visits. Each parole officer kept a loose-leaf notebook with a page for each boy on which he noted the "high spots" of his parole progress as convenient means of reference during his work in the field. The only records on parole kept by the institution were the reports of the home visits made by the parole department. If boys were returned for parole violations, the central parole bureau sent a summary of pertinent data to the institution. A card file consisting of the permanent parole record cards also was maintained.

#### 18. PLANT AND PROGRAM CHANGES IN RECENT YEARS

Of the cases analyzed in part 2 of this report (see p. 10), 153 were of boys who had been under care at the New Jersey State Home for Boys. The dates of commitment of these 153 boys varied more widely than those of the other institutions studied because of a different policy with regard to parole and discharge in New Jersey. Some of these boys had been originally committed as early as 1914, and the commitments were scattered over the next 10 years, the last being in 1924. By far the greater percentage of the boys were admitted and were at the home during the years 1918-23, inclusive.

Great changes had been made in both plant and program between 1918 and 1932. Many of those changes were being put into effect during the training period of the 153 cases studied. The report of the institution's board of managers for the year ended June 30, 1921, frankly stated that when that particular board took charge in 1918 the condition of the plant "was almost notorious, as a result of inadequate funds for repairs, lack of skilled labor, and other conditions." In the fiscal year 1919-20 enough repairs had been made to bring about "very substantial improvement."<sup>20</sup> In the following year under a new superintendent, the program of reorganization was begun.

By 1924 most of the old buildings had been put in good repair and some construction work had been done. One new cottage had been erected, and the wing which was used as a reception cottage had been added to the hospital building. An extensive building program since that time had put the plant in the condition found at the time the

<sup>19</sup> New Jersey, Cum. Supp. 1924, sec. 34-146.

<sup>20</sup> Fifty-seventh Annual Report of the Managers of the New Jersey State Home for Boys (Jamesburg, Middlesex County) for the year ending June 30, 1921, pp. 7-8.

institution was visited. The addition of 8 new cottages for boys had made it possible to relieve crowding and to cut down to some extent the size of the cottage families.

Comparison of the figures shows an increase in school population during the past few years, accompanied by an increase in personnel that kept the ratio of boys to employees almost the same. The per capita cost had been considerably reduced, although lack of detailed information as to the method of computing the per capita cost at the earlier date makes it uncertain whether the two figures are exactly comparable. Figures for 1922 and 1931 (fiscal year ended June 30) are as follows:

Item	1922	1931
Average number of boys in care.....	491	625
Number of employees.....	128	172
Boys per employee.....	3.1	3.6
Per capita cost.....	\$651	\$556

Before 1919 the facilities for physical examinations and medical care had been exceedingly limited. The nonresident physician in charge then had only a practical nurse to assist him. The hospital had consisted of 2 wards of 8 beds each, a small dispensary room, and the nurse's apartment. There had been no equipment for even the simplest surgery. In 1920, when another physician was put in charge and made resident physician, he was given the assistance of two surgical nurses. The operating room was built and equipped in 1921 and in the two following years the hospital was remodeled, with the addition of a wing for the reception of new boys, so that the whole functioned as a medical social unit in the institutional program. Consultant service was built up and corrective work was undertaken in relation to treatment plans, with the boy's social and economic adjustment as their objectives.

Through the increasingly thorough examinations a larger proportion of the new boys were found to be suffering from remediable physical defects, such as diseased tonsils and defective teeth. Recommendations for the correction of these conditions were acted upon promptly.

The year 1919 also marked the beginning of extensive use of psychological examinations at the institution. Dr. E. A. Doll, now director of research of the Vineland Training School, and Wm. J. Ellis, now commissioner of the State department of institutions and agencies, gave psychological tests to 480 boys that year, using the Army alpha test. Dr. M. J. McCallie, now assistant to the superintendent of the school, gave them the Otis group-intelligence test. Meanwhile the State classification procedure was being worked out, and it was first tried at the State Home for Boys late in that same year. During the next few years psychological examinations became a matter of regular routine, and the findings began to form an important part of the material upon which the classification committee based its plans for individual treatment.

In the fiscal year 1920-21 psychiatric examinations were given to 316 boys. Of that number 2 had been sent to the State Hospital, 5 percent had been diagnosed as "constitutional inferiors", 7 percent



were found to be suffering from "personality disorders", and 20 percent were described as "mentally deficient." Many of the feeble-minded boys were transferred to the State institution for defectives (Vineland Training School).

These years therefore saw the beginning of clinical approach to each boy's problems and of practical use of clinical findings in planning and carrying out treatment plans for him through the classification and reclassification procedures in operation at the time the institution was visited.

In 1920 the "school of letters" had on its staff a principal and 8 teachers, only 3 of whom had certificates for teaching, and was described as "woefully undermanned."<sup>21</sup> Steps to improve this situation were taken immediately, and through the next few years the academic work was gradually improved and methods of correlating the classroom work with the developing vocational and prevocational courses were being devised and tried.

The institution had had the usual maintenance shops where boys were kept busy making uniforms and shoes and repairing buildings and equipment under the direction of foremen who were skilled workmen. Excellent in its way, this apprentice style of work offered trade training to a certain number of boys. But the work to be done, rather than the needs of the boys, was rated as of primary importance. This great problem in education the new management tackled with interest and with vision. In 1922 the manual-education school was opened and thereafter the program for coordinating the academic, with the manual and vocational training had steadily developed, changes experience indicated as desirable being made from time to time. Most important of all was the revolution in attitudes gradually instilled in the personnel. Through persistent education of the staff all the institution's activities had been brought into the training picture, and every employee on the place had been impressed with the idea that his main function was to be a teacher. Naturally this had been a slow process, taking years to accomplish and needing repeated emphasis.

It was in 1923 that the classification committee began to assume the responsibility for making all assignments to trade courses as well as to other phases of school life. The value of having this done by persons who had at hand a great deal of information about individual mental levels, aptitudes, and personalities was soon demonstrated. By 1925 the classification committee had taken over all assignments, even those to routine work details. The most important developments in trade-course planning and classification procedure had undoubtedly occurred after most of the boys included in this study had completed their training periods.

It is interesting to note the doubt with which the board of managers had viewed the extensive farming operations as far back as 1921:

We have felt increasing doubt of the wisdom of an institution of this sort being tied up with the operation of a farm of such great size. The conduct of a State enterprise in farming takes too large a share of the interest and energy of the officers of the institution. The idea that there is available at the State home a large amount of free labor, which will go to waste unless there is a large farm to operate, is certainly mistaken at the present time even if it ever was correct. The average age of our boys when entering is less than 13 years, and the average age when leaving is hardly over 14; and the number of boys suitable for farm work,

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

outside of the dairy and truck farming is limited almost to the group in Cottage Eight. Even in the case of these boys the purpose of reeducating them to return to the communities from which they came is almost entirely defeated by keeping them at farm labor. They are nearly all city boys, and will return to city conditions.<sup>22</sup>

Out of that intelligent questioning came, no doubt, the backing which was given to the experimental work of developing trade courses that would give the boys something different from the use of free child labor to perform maintenance and production work.

Until 1920 there had been no organized recreation or athletic sports. Cottage masters had directed such organized play for their individual groups as time permitted. In 1921 a physical director was procured and planned athletics and physical-education work developed rapidly. In 1920 this institution had been in effect a military school, with boys and staff officers in uniform, drilling regularly. All military activities were abolished under the new management in 1920, and citizens' clothing was adopted for both boys and staff.

The Boy Scout movement took form in 1922 and grew rapidly. By the end of that year 5 cottage masters had qualified for scout-master and 144 Boy Scouts had been registered. In 1923 the first Boy Scout camp had been organized. The immediately ensuing years saw the gradual enrichment of the program of activities through which boys might find an opportunity for wholesome expression of the normal impulses which inevitably bring boys into conflict with any unnaturally repressive regime.

The board of managers that took office in 1918, with the aid of the new superintendent from 1920 to 1923, were responsible for the introduction of all sorts of progressive ideas and procedures. In the matter of discipline they did some straight thinking. As in 1918 they had found hardly a trace of such ideas in the institution, they had set out to do some experimenting which they themselves said might properly be called "reforming the reform school." To continue in their own words—

The old repressive method of discipline seems to have for its main purpose making life simple and easy for employees, rather than benefiting the boys under their charge. Our belief is that discipline should be positive rather than negative and should aim to make the boys capable of becoming self-directing free citizens when they go back to their communities. Discipline should not have as a purpose to break the will, but to train it in the right channel.<sup>23</sup>

Corporal punishment was abolished. Experiments in self-government under officer control were carried on. Gradually the disciplinary system came, by reason of successful experimentation, to be based on the principle underlying the earning or forfeiting of personal privileges in relation to participation in the increasingly informal cottage "home" life and the many forms of organized play and constructive activities that were being developed.

With the centralization of the administration of institutions and agencies brought about by 1918 legislation the centralized parole system had come into being. In 1922 the central parole bureau was reported to have had under supervision about 3,000 parolees. The case load per field officer averaged about 210. This new bureau had taken into its personnel the former field officers of the various institutions. Although they were stated to be mostly untrained officers, they

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

were doing as well as possible according to the dictates of common sense. Trained supervision became available about 1923, and standards improved greatly after that time. Parole officers with training and experience had been sought and employed whenever possible, modern methods of case work had been adopted, and better supervision had been provided.

Obviously the boys included in this study who had been under care in the New Jersey State Home for Boys had been subjected to treatment under a continuously changing program, during the period when old repressive methods of discipline and inadequate educational facilities were giving way to progressive ideas in both fields. Only a thorough analysis of all the institutional data available in each case can show to what extent the new methods were brought into play in relation to the treatment of the particular boys studied.

## Chapter V.—STATE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, INDUSTRY, N. Y.

To obtain information for this report relative to the physical plant and the treatment program in effect at the State Agricultural and Industrial School at Industry, N. Y., the institution was visited by field workers late in March 1932. The material included here refers to conditions prevailing at that time, unless there is a statement to the contrary.

### 1. STATUTORY PROVISIONS GOVERNING ESTABLISHMENT AND OPERATION

The Western House of Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents was established in Rochester, N. Y., in 1850, having been authorized by a law passed in 1846. This institution was to serve the western part of the State primarily, the specific counties to be designated by the Governor. The governing body was to be a board of managers consisting of 15 "discreet" men appointed by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Comptroller to serve without compensation. The institution was to receive boys under 18 years of age and girls under 17 who were legally committed as vagrants, or on conviction for any criminal offense, by courts having authority to make such commitments. The managers were given power to place the children committed to their care during their minority at such employment and cause them to be instructed in such branches of useful knowledge as might be suitable to their years and capacities. They could also bind the children out as apprentices or servants during minority. Such indentures were to be for the purpose of learning trades and employments, which in the judgment of the board of managers would be most for the reformation and amendment and the future benefit and advantage of such children.<sup>1</sup>

The provision for payment for care in this first law was interesting. It stated that the board of supervisors of each county designated to send juveniles to the institution were to raise annually such sum "as shall in their opinion be sufficient to pay to the treasurer of said house of refuge 50 cents per week for the support, maintenance, and care of every person sentenced in their county to confinement therein." This, however, remained in effect only until 1852, when it was repealed.<sup>2</sup>

In 1886 the institution was renamed the State Agricultural and Industrial School, and in 1902 legal action provided for the selection of a new site on which new buildings were to be erected. When completed this new institution was to be called the State Agricultural and Industrial School and was to be "used by the State for the purpose of caring for and training all juvenile delinquents properly committed thereto by courts of competent jurisdiction in accordance with existing laws authorizing commitments to the State industrial

<sup>1</sup> New York, Laws of 1846, ch. 143; Laws of 1850, ch. 24.

<sup>2</sup> New York, Laws of 1846, ch. 143; Laws of 1852, ch. 387.

school."<sup>3</sup> The buildings were started on the present site at Industry in 1904 and completed in 1907.

While the new institution was being built at Industry, the State legislature discontinued the girls' department at the Western House of Refuge and authorized the State Industrial School at Rochester to be continued as an institution for boys.<sup>4</sup> Thus girls have never been received at this institution since its establishment at Industry as the State Agricultural and Industrial School.

Since 1867 this institution has been under the supervisory control of a State agency created in that year which, after some change in name, is now the State department of social welfare. The general reorganization act of 1926 transferred to the department of social welfare certain authority formerly vested in the local board of managers of the institution, changing that body to a board of visitors, still consisting of 15 members, with no compensation other than actual and necessary traveling and other expenses.<sup>5</sup>

The legal provisions as to age of commitment had remained the same, except for the first few years. Boys under 16 years of age found to be delinquent by any children's court might be committed to the school, but no boys under 12 might be committed for any crime or offense less than a felony. Commitments were indeterminate in effect, in that boys might be paroled or discharged at any time after commitment in accordance with rules and regulations made by the State department of social welfare. However, they remained wards of the school until they became 21 years of age, unless sooner discharged.<sup>6</sup>

At the time the institution was visited for this study (March 1932) boys might be committed from any rural county in the State, but not from the urban counties of New York, Bronx, Queens, Richmond, and Kings. Boys from these latter counties were to be committed to the House of Refuge in New York City.<sup>7</sup>

Since that time, with the opening of a new institution—the New York State Training School for Boys—at Warwick, N. Y., in 1933, the geographical districting for commitment to Industry has been further restricted, and boys may be committed to Industry from the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth judicial districts only (including 43 of the 62 counties in the State). The House of Refuge in New York City then became an institution to care for boys 16 to 19 years of age.<sup>8</sup>

Statutory provision was made for requiring parents to pay something toward the boy's care in the institution. The court was charged with ascertaining the financial standing of the parents or other persons responsible for the boy's support. If it was found that they were able to pay anything toward his care, the court was obliged to so order, in whatever amount was judged fair and equitable, but not to exceed \$10 a week. The treasurer of the institution was required to

<sup>3</sup> New York, Laws of 1886, ch. 539; Laws of 1902, ch. 527.

<sup>4</sup> New York, Laws of 1904, ch. 167. Another law of the same year established an industrial school for girls, designated the New York State Training School for Girls, by reserving for girls under 16 years of age the house of refuge for women at Hudson, N. Y. (Laws of 1904, ch. 453).

<sup>5</sup> New York, Laws of 1867, ch. 951; laws of 1926, ch. 343; Cahill's Consolidated Laws 1930, State Charities Law, secs. 50-52, 180. See Eightieth Annual Report of the Board of Visitors of the State Agricultural and Industrial School, Industry, N. Y., for the year ending June 30, 1928, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> New York, Cahill's Consolidated Laws 1930, State Charities Law, sec. 196 (1).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 184. See also p. 7 of this report.

<sup>8</sup> New York, Laws of 1932, ch. 414 (1932 Supp. to Cahill's Consolidated Laws 1930, Penal Law, secs. 2184, 2184a). The following counties are included in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth judicial districts of the State: Schenectady, Montgomery, Fulton, Saratoga, Washington, Essex, Warren, Hamilton, Clinton, Franklin, St. Lawrence; Jefferson, Lewis, Oswego, Oneida, Herkimer, Onondaga; Madison, Otsego, Delaware, Chenango, Broome, Tioga, Chemung, Schuyler, Tompkins, Cortland; Steuben, Yates, Seneca, Cayuga, Wayne, Monroe, Ontario, Livingston; Allegany, Cattaraugus, Chautauqua, Erie, Wyoming, Genesee, Orleans, Niagara.

keep in a separate fund any such money that might be collected and at the end of every month to pay it to the treasurer of the State to be added to the general fund.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. THE PHYSICAL PLANT

### Location

After the change of site the New York State Agricultural and Industrial School was about 12 miles southwest of the city of Rochester, N.Y. The location was rural, Industry being merely the name of the institution post office and railroad station. There was no town or village of that name. The village of Scottsville with 936 inhabitants was 2 miles distant. This afforded nearby small stores and garages, although Rochester was the real center for all purchasing and recreation.

The highway which passed through the center of the grounds was a main highway, but not arterial, and was a connecting link between two main routes; it carried considerable traffic. A branch line of the Erie R.R., between Rochester and Corning, passed directly through the campus. This furnished train and mail service about four times a day.

The surrounding countryside was rolling farm land with low hills and some woodlands. The Genesee River flows through the institution property.

There was no distinct central campus about which all the buildings had been grouped, as in the other schools included in the study. With the development of more centralization, diverging from the old separate colony plan, a unit of buildings centering about the school building was being developed. Aside from this one group of buildings, some of which were still in process of erection, the units were widely scattered, and there was little appearance of an institution as one approached from either direction.

### Acreage

Under the old program the entire emphasis was on agriculture. The institution owned 1,432 acres of land. This was originally broken up into 32 separate farm units, operated really as 32 independent farms. One hundred and six acres comprised the land used for the central group of buildings, lawns, and grounds about the separate colonies, the hospital, and other units. Some of the farming was still done in separate colony plots. In all, 652 acres were under cultivation; the balance was meadow, pasture, and woodland.

### Administrative offices

In the early plan of this institution the underlying purpose was to avoid any appearance of an institution. The original buildings were all of frame, each of slightly different architectural design. The administration building belonged to this group of early buildings. It was of frame construction, two stories in height, with an attic that was almost equivalent to a third floor. With its pillared portico and with its lawn it was like a large private residence in appearance. The offices of the superintendent and assistant superintendent, the business administration, the chaplains, the head matron, and the parole department were on the first floor. One large room was set aside as the board room. The second floor was used for rooms for

<sup>9</sup> New York, Cahill's Consolidated Laws, 1930, State Charities Law, sec. 196 (5).

women members of the staff. No sign designated the building. The offices were small, and those in which several persons worked in one room were crowded.

#### **Boys' residence quarters**

The boys' residences were still referred to as "colonies", as in the early days of the school under the independent farm unit plan. They were widely scattered, some of them being as far as 2 miles from the administration office and the school building. Twenty-four of the thirty-two original colony houses were still in use for boys. All were frame, of varying types of architecture, carefully designed so as not to be uniform nor to present the appearance of an institution. They looked, as was intended, like ordinary farm houses.

Some of the smaller colonies used one room as living room and dining room combined. A few had separate living rooms. All were attractively and comfortably furnished. The windows had gay curtains and the wall decorations were cheery. The separate living rooms were supplied with comfortable chairs but had no tables for games, the dining-room tables being used for that purpose. However, both living rooms and dining rooms were in constant use and were in no sense show places. All the colonies contained dormitories. These were small, as each colony had a maximum capacity of 25 boys.

The buildings were old, and plumbing fixtures were not of the most modern type. However, the upkeep was good, and sanitary facilities were fairly adequate. Two colonies set aside as disciplinary units, one for younger and one for older boys, were little different from the others, except perhaps not quite so attractively furnished. There were no additional security features in the physical equipment of these colonies. None had any bars or heavy screening at the windows.

#### **Staff residence quarters**

Although the institution was rural in location, a number of the staff members lived in Rochester or nearby small towns. This was particularly true of the academic teaching staff. The principal of the academic school preferred that the teachers live off the grounds.

For the resident officers with families, there were 6 small frame cottages and recently remodeled quarters in 2 of the 5 colonies which had been discontinued as boys' residence quarters. The officers were charged a nominal rent for these. The night guards had a small cottage; the few single men living at the institution had rooms in various colonies; women teachers and office staff had single rooms in the administration building and annex; colony supervisors lived at their respective colonies; and the hospital staff, three nurses and a cook, had quarters at the hospital.

The superintendent's residence was a large white house, at the top of the hill, affording a beautiful view and standing out from the other buildings as one approached the institution.

#### **Dining-room and kitchen facilities**

Each colony had its own dining room and kitchen. Small tables were used, with white table linen and china dishes. The only central dining room was one used for some of the officers located in an annex adjacent to the administration building. Four large tables seating 12 to 14 persons and two small tables each seating 5 or 6 made the dining room rather crowded. Seating capacity was not sufficient for

all the officers at one time. The kitchen was small but fairly well equipped.

#### **Chapels and assembly hall**

Two chapels, one Protestant and one Catholic, and the assembly hall comprised a unit of buildings situated on a hillside, adjacent to the central school building. The two chapels were of brown shingles; the assembly hall between them was frame, painted white. The latter was one story in height; it had a small stage and was used for all assemblies and for a gymnasium. Seating arrangement was by portable chairs. The room was finished suitably for use as a gymnasium, and hence was not particularly attractive as an assembly hall.

Both chapels had distinctive interiors containing elements of real beauty. The Catholic chapel had an unusually attractive altar and furnishings. The wall decorations surrounding the altar were rich in color, with soft dark green and gold predominating. The same color scheme was continued in a decorative band around the chapel wall above the dark wood wainscoting. The windows were colorful and designed in excellent taste. It took very close inspection to discover that they were not stained glass but transparent colored paper carefully applied in stained-glass designs. All this has been described in detail because it had been done by the boys themselves under the direction of the officer in charge of field parole and the leadership of the vocational instructors. The Protestant chapel was similarly decorated except that the coloring was maroon and gold. Both chapels had small pipe organs.

#### **Hospital**

The hospital, a 3-story brick building, was at some distance from the administration building, on a hill commanding a view of the institution grounds and the surrounding country.

The hospital had a bed capacity of 40 but could care for 50 boys very easily. There were 3 wards (2 for sick patients, and 1 for convalescents), 6 individual rooms, and a very attractive porch, used for special convalescents. The hospital was equipped with its own surgery, complete enough for performing major operations, but did not have an X-ray laboratory; such work was done at the General Hospital in Rochester.

The third floor of the hospital was used for living quarters for the hospital staff.

#### **School building**

The central school building had been in use only since September 1930. It was about a city block from the administrative office and part way up a gentle slope. Although this building was centrally situated in the new plan of centralization of training activities, it was as much as 2 miles from some of the outlying colonies.

The building was of red brick, fireproof, two stories and basement. It housed, besides the academic department, the office of the Boy Scouts, the offices of the clinic of psychiatry and psychology, the school nurse, the dental hygienist, the vocational director, and some trade shops. A large attractive room was set aside for a school library, but no considerable number of books had been obtained. Lighting and ventilation in all the classrooms were good. The walls were white and the woodwork gray. School desks of the usual type were provided. Gay paper cut-outs and art work done by the boys and



pinned up around the blackboards added to the cheerful and attractive appearance of the rooms.

#### Shops

Some of the shops, including printing, mechanical drawing, and carpentry, were in the basement of the school building. This was a temporary arrangement pending the completion of a group of trade buildings whose construction was in progress. The trade-unit plan contemplated the erection of 12 small, square, 1-story brick buildings, each to house a separate trade and its allied training courses. These trade buildings were adjacent to the school, and were being built very close together.

Such trades as plumbing, electrical work, and painting were largely carried on in connection with maintenance work; and no shops had been set up as yet. The transition from a purely agricultural training course to a vocational program was still in process, and the facilities for shops for trade work were somewhat limited.

#### Farm buildings

The existence of practically 32 independent farm units under the former agricultural program resulted in a wide scattering of farm buildings. While the agricultural program was being centralized the various farm buildings were still scattered, and the major farm buildings were at different outlying colony sites. For example, the dairy barns were all about 2 miles distant from the administration and school plants in one direction, and the poultry buildings were 1 mile from the center in the opposite direction. All the farm buildings were fairly adequate and were well kept. The machinery and equipment were modern and sufficient to permit the teaching of up-to-date farm methods.

#### Gymnasium and athletic field

The institution had no gymnasium building at the time of the visit. Plans had been drawn for a new gymnasium to cost \$150,000 but no funds had been secured. The assembly hall was used as a gymnasium. Besides providing space for floor gymnastics, it had a basketball court. Ample space for such outdoor athletic activities as baseball, basketball, and football was provided near the school building. Each colony had its own play space. A new outdoor swimming pool had been completed in 1931.

### 3. PLANT VALUATION AND OPERATING EXPENSE

The business office supplied the following figures relative to the plant valuation:

Lands.....	\$184,966.88
Buildings.....	603,331.53
Equipment.....	241,376.58
Total.....	1,029,674.99

The values given represented amounts expended by the State for these purposes and not the findings of recent appraisals.

The business office supplied the following information relative to costs of operation for the year ended June 30, 1931:

Salaries.....	\$279,861.46
Maintenance and supplies.....	189,211.15
Total.....	469,072.61

As the average daily population was 572, the per capita cost (cost per boy) was \$820.06. This cost did not include any charge for food produced and consumed. These "home products" were valued at \$89,587.31.

**4. ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL, STAFF ORGANIZATION, AND PERSONNEL**

**Administrative control**

Functional control over the New York Agricultural and Industrial School rested with the State department of social welfare, as has been previously shown. (See p. 135.) Fiscal control was vested in the State department of standards and purchase.

The local board of visitors, subject to the authority of the State department of social welfare, was responsible for the general management of the school and was to "take care of the general interest of the institution and see that its design is carried into effect."<sup>10</sup> The board or a majority of its members were required by law to visit and inspect the institution at least once each month and within 10 days after each visit to make a written report to the department of social welfare and to the Governor. This board was reported to be a very active group, which maintained standing committees and kept in close touch with the school. Its duties included primarily "the maintenance of an effective inspection of the institution", according to the formal bylaws that had been adopted.<sup>11</sup>

Close working relationships of purely advisory character were maintained with other State departments and divisions, such as architecture, budget, education, health, and farms and markets.

Immediate executive control was vested in the superintendent, who was appointed by the director of the State department of social welfare.

**Personnel: Number and duties**

The pay roll at this institution carried 204 full-time and 7 part-time employees. The following positions were listed:

Superintendent.....	1	Relief guards.....	3
Assistant superintendent.....	1	Physician (part time).....	1
Second assistant superintendent.....	1	Dentist (part time).....	1
Steward.....	1	Optical surgeon (part time).....	1
Secretary to superintendent.....	1	Nurses.....	2
Clerical workers.....	13	Hospital matron.....	1
Superintendent of schools.....	1	Dental hygienist.....	1
Teachers.....	18	Psychiatrist (part time).....	1
Director of trade education.....	1	Psychologist.....	1
Instructors, trade education <sup>12</sup> .....	19	Psychiatric social worker.....	1
Athletic director and assistant.....	2	Chaplains (1 part time).....	3
Colony supervisors.....	23	Organists (part time).....	2
Relief supervisors.....	5	Boy Scout director.....	1
Colony matrons.....	34	Farm supervisor.....	1
Relief matrons.....	5	Engineer and electrician.....	1
General supervising matron.....	1	Assistant engineer and electricians.....	4
Other matrons.....	2	Chief parole agents.....	2
Day guards.....	2	Parole agents.....	8
Night guards.....	27	Other personnel <sup>13</sup> .....	18

<sup>10</sup> New York, Cahill's Consolidated Laws 1930, State Charities Law, sec. 52.

<sup>11</sup> Revised Bylaws of the State Agricultural and Industrial School, Jan. 1, 1932, sec. 3, p. 1. See also p. 135 of this report.

<sup>12</sup> Persons listed specifically as "instructors" in the department of trade education at this institution were: Baker, bandmaster, blacksmith, canning-plant manager, carpenters (2), creamery man, electrical-construction foreman, laundryman, machinist, mason, mechanical-drawing teacher, miller, painter, printer, shoemaker, tailors (2), and tinsmith.

<sup>13</sup> This group included 2 storekeepers, 2 head cooks, 3 cooks, 5 waitresses, 1 butcher, 2 carpenters, 1 painter, and 2 chauffeurs.

The school benefited by the occasional services of additional workers. Notable among these were the services contributed by members of the staff of the child-guidance clinic attached to the University of Rochester. That clinic cooperated whole-heartedly in giving psychological and psychiatric service when needed. They also paid half of the psychiatric social worker's salary and all of a part-time psychologist's salary for this institution.

**Personnel: Salaries**

The salary scale at the school ranged from \$780 to \$5,000. Full-time employees, with the exception of the field parole agents, received maintenance in addition to salary. Those not in residence at the institution received a maintenance allowance. A graduated allowance was made to men with families residing at the school and maintaining their own table. The parole agents of course were reimbursed for their actual expenses in the field. Salaries for certain positions were as follows:

Superintendent.....	\$5,000	Teachers <sup>14</sup> .....	1,296-1,500
Assistant superintendent	2,750	Director of trade educa-	
Second assistant super-		tion.....	3,000
intendent.....	2,500	Instructors, trade educa-	
Steward.....	3,000	tion <sup>15</sup> .....	1,166-1,800
Physician (part time)---	2,500	Athletic director.....	1,500
Head nurse.....	1,186	Colony supervisors <sup>14</sup> ---	1,048-1,500
Nurses.....	\$1,020	Colony matrons <sup>14</sup> .....	792-888
Psychiatrist (part time) -	2,000	Chief parole agents.....	2,000
Psychologist.....	2,000	Parole agents.....	1,600-1,800
Psychiatric social worker..	1,800	Clerical workers.....	960-1,320
Superintendent of schools	1,800		

New York State employees are eligible for certain additional monthly remuneration after 3 years' continuous service as follows: \$4 a month at the end of 3 years' service; \$8 a month at the end of 5 years' service; \$12 at the end of 10; \$16 at the end of 15; and \$20 after 20 years' service. The service is not required to be all in the same State agency or unit.

Of the full-time employees at this school, 159 were receiving additional remuneration per month for time service as follows:

25.....	\$4
51.....	8
26.....	12
16.....	16
41.....	20

**Personnel: Appointments and removals**

At this school almost all the staff members, including the superintendent, must be appointed from civil-service eligible lists established by examinations. Only a few positions were listed as not under the civil service. Though the superintendent was appointed by the State board of social welfare, all other employees were appointed by the superintendent.

<sup>14</sup> Only 1 received the lower salary.

<sup>15</sup> In this group 1 was receiving \$1,166, 11 were receiving \$1,400, and 6 were receiving \$1,800.

**Personnel: Terms of service**

The following figures show the length of service at the institution of the 204 full-time employees:

	<i>Number of employees</i>
Less than 1 year.....	16
1 year, less than 2.....	21
2 years, less than 3.....	21
3 years, less than 4.....	16
4 years, less than 5.....	16
5 years, less than 10.....	46
10 years or more.....	66
Not reported.....	2

Whether or not the State bonus for continuous service has anything to do with it, the fact remains that this school has a very considerable number of employees who have remained in service a long period of time. Twenty-one of the persons who were on the pay roll had been with the school 20 years or more and 45 others had been there 10 to 19 years. In this group 11 colony supervisors and 10 colony matrons had served 10 to 19 years, and 5 colony matrons and 5 colony supervisors had served 20 years or more. Five trade instructors had served 10 to 19 years, and 2 had served more than 20 years. Among the school teachers in the department of academic education 5 had served 20 years or more, and 5 had served 10 to 19 years. In the short-service group, especially among those who had been there only 1 year, were many individuals who were filling new positions under the expanded program since the change of administration in 1929.

**Personnel: Qualifications**

Unfortunately there was very little information available in the records at this school with respect to the education and previous experience of the employees. As many of them had been on the roll a number of years, their educational experience prior to appointment, if on record at all, would be found in old civil-service files at Albany, which were not inspected.

The superintendent had had a great deal of previous experience in the educational world and in institutions of similar character. He was much interested in developing and applying progressive methods of treatment for juvenile delinquents.<sup>16</sup>

The assistant superintendent came to his position from the public-school system in New York State, having been superintendent of schools in a small city. The principal and teachers of the academic school were all reported to be normal-school graduates.

The director of trade education and superintendent of shops was a graduate of the State Teachers College at Albany and had taken courses at Mechanics Institute, also in Cornell, Columbia, and New York Universities. He had had considerable previous experience in teaching and directing vocational-education work. He had served in that capacity in a rural consolidated school, at the Oswego State Normal School, and in the continuation and vocational school at Newburgh, N.Y. Six of the trade instructors were reported to have taken vocational training in summer courses at State normal schools, and nine had taken extension courses of the State department of education. Others, some of whom had been a long time in service, had been

<sup>16</sup> The superintendent in charge when the institution was visited resigned Mar. 6, 1934.

practical workmen in their own particular fields prior to appointment. Some of those who had taken the teaching course had likewise had some years of experience in actual shop work.

The 2 chief parole agents and 5 of the field agents had had college work, 4 being university or college graduates. Only 1 in that group had not gone beyond eighth grade, but he had been on the staff at the school for 15 years and had been promoted to parole work. Three of the agents were young college graduates with no previous experience. One was trained for the ministry and was an ordained minister. Another had had previous experience with church agencies in Buffalo. Two others whose education had not gone beyond graduation from high school were officers who had been promoted from other positions at the school. One was a retired Army officer who had previously been a colony supervisor; the other, a man 65 years old, had formerly served as laundry instructor.

#### **Personnel: Living and working conditions**

The staff housing at this institution has been outlined in connection with the description of the physical plant. (See p. 137.) Staff housing could hardly be considered as either adequate or satisfactory in character.

Members of the staff who did not have family quarters ate in the officers' dining room in the administration building. Food was plentiful, of good quality, and well prepared.

Information on working hours could not be provided. There was great difference, of course, in the hours of duty among the different types of workers, and the schedule was said to be very complicated and variable.

The location was such that the institution personnel was somewhat dependent on activities at the institution itself for a semblance of normal community life. The city of Rochester, however, only 12 miles away, was easy to reach for those who had their own cars. Others had to depend on the infrequent railroad service.

#### **Staff organization**

The staff at this institution was organized on a strictly departmental basis. The most important departments were said to be the following: Trade education, scholastic education, physical education, religious work, Boy Scout work, stewardship, agriculture, medical work, scientific research, parole, and the matrons' department. As the new administration was not yet 3 years old and as the entire program had been undergoing more or less complete reorganization, no attempt had yet been made at the time of the visit to the institution to chart the new organization plan.

#### **Administrative leadership and staff teamwork**

Under the superintendent appointed in 1929, a system of regular staff conferences had been instituted. Through these conferences the personnel had been kept informed in advance of the proposed changes. Opportunity was given for the older staff members, who were accustomed to entirely different working methods and programs, to bring up any questions or any problems that they might wish to have discussed. The superintendent faced a very difficult problem in more or less attempting to revolutionize the treatment accorded

the boys at this school. Although he had on the staff many men and women who had been thoroughly schooled in the old regime, he reported that for the most part he had been able to secure, if not their enthusiastic support of the new plans, at least their promise of cooperation in trying them out.

General staff conferences attended by all department heads were held weekly in the superintendent's office. Discussion was noted to be quite free, and opinions were cordially invited and frankly expressed. Staff conferences for persons other than department heads were not observed in action. These conferences were particularly important in view of the necessity of winning support for progressive policies involving considerable reorganization of the institution's program.

## 5. ADMISSIONS, CAPACITY, AND POPULATION

### Intake provisions and policies

Commitments to the State Agricultural and Industrial School were made by children's courts and included boys between the ages of 12 and 16 years charged with all types of offenses; boys under 12 could be committed if found guilty of a felony, but for no other type of offense. The practice had always been to send to Industry boys from all parts of the State except the metropolitan district, and this was still in effect at the time of this study, as the legislation establishing the new institution at Warwick did not go into effect until after the field work for the study had been completed. (See p. 135.)

The superintendent had authority to refuse to receive boys mentally and physically incapable of benefiting by the program offered.<sup>17</sup> Because many of the children's courts lacked facilities for examining and diagnosing the children, particularly as to mental ability, it had been difficult to exercise the right to refuse boys on those grounds. Therefore many defectives had been received. The superintendent had been making a special effort to eliminate defective boys from this institution and had made some progress through the help of the psychological clinic.

Transfer or nonacceptance of boys suffering with certain diseases was the policy of the institution. Boys with epilepsy and active tuberculosis were transferred to suitable institutions for treatment and care. Those with active gonorrhoea were returned to the committing courts. Treatment for syphilis was given at the institution.

### Capacity and population

The population at Industry on March 29, 1932, was 470 boys. This number was far below the normal capacity, reported to be 700, and several cottages had been closed.

The proportion of Negroes was very low. Only 16 of the 393 boys committed in the year ended June 30, 1932, were Negro. Figures on nativity were not readily available.

During the last fiscal year prior to the study (July 1, 1930 to June 30, 1931) 12 boys under 12 years of age were received, 1 being only 7 years old. The largest age group consisted of 15-year-old boys (166), and the next largest group was the boys 14 years old (99).

<sup>17</sup> New York, Cahill's Consolidated Laws 1930, State Charities Law, sec. 196 (1).

The age distribution for the 393 boys admitted during the year was as follows:

	<i>Number of boys</i>
7 years.....	1
9 years.....	2
10 years.....	2
11 years.....	7
12 years.....	37
13 years.....	67
14 years.....	99
15 years.....	166
16 years.....	12

More than three times as many boys were under the authority of the institution on parole as were resident. As in New Jersey, the parole period in New York was generally long (see pp. 128,171.) The turnover in this group was small. On April 1, 1932, the number on parole was 1,742.

Movement of population during the last fiscal year before the institution was visited (ended June 30, 1931) was as follows:

Population July 1, 1930.....	538
Received during the year.....	782
New commitments.....	393
Recommitments.....	3
Parolees returned.....	95
Escapes returned.....	291
Lost during the year.....	768
Released on discharge.....	33
Discharged by court order.....	1
Committed to Randall's Island.....	3
Committed to Rome State School.....	8
Committed to Rochester State Hospital.....	1
Released on request of committing judge.....	1
Enlisted in Army.....	1
Returned to committing judge.....	8
Returned to children's agency.....	1
Returned to committing judge for commitment to Randall's Island.....	2
Returned to committing judge for commitment to Rome State School.....	1
Sent to parents out of State.....	1
Released on parole.....	413
Escaped.....	321
Died.....	1
Population June 30, 1931.....	552

## 6. RECEPTION AND ASSIGNMENT PROCEDURE

### Reception

Boys were brought to this school by officers delegated by the committing children's court—usually a probation officer, or a sheriff or his deputy. New boys were received by the assistant superintendent who took care of the necessary papers and who obtained the facts necessary to make the first entries on the registration blanks. At this first contact the assistant superintendent talked to each boy in a kindly way about the opportunities which were open to him at the school. The boy was then sent to a receiving colony.

### Receiving colonies

This school maintained two receiving colonies—one for boys under 14, one for boys 14 or over. A very rigid policy regarding the strict segregation of the younger from the older boys was enforced. These were pleasant, homelike colonies, in no way different from the others.

Boys remained in the receiving colonies about 3 weeks. While there they attended school but in a special room for new boys. They were also given a try-out in shop work. Their only work assignments during this period were on out-of-door details on the grounds.

During this period each boy was subjected to intensive study. He was immediately brought into contact with the parole department, which would eventually be responsible for helping him to make his adjustment back into normal social life in his own community. The parole agent assigned especially to preparole work met the boy very shortly after his admission. During the boy's stay at the receiving colony one of the parole field agents made a preliminary home, school, and court investigation for the purpose of getting, so far as possible, a complete social history of the boy. This investigation included registering the case with any social-service exchange that might exist in the boy's home community or in any city where he was known to have lived and following up references secured from that source. The boy had meanwhile been in the hands of the staff members of the school clinic of psychiatry and psychology, who had been carrying on an intensive study of his mental and emotional make-up. He had been interviewed by the superintendent of schools to determine what his past school experience and achievements had been, and the supervisor in the receiving colony where he was in residence had been making close observation of his personality and any particular difficulties which he might reveal in his association with the other boys. He had also had a complete physical examination.

### First assignments

At the end of the 3-week study the boy's case was set for consideration by the assignment committee, which was composed of the assistant superintendent as chairman and the psychiatrist, psychologist, psychiatric social worker, supervisor of preparole activities, vocational director, and superintendent of schools. The committee held its meetings at the receiving colonies. A report on the boy's case was presented in detail. Each specialist contributed a report on his findings and his recommendations. The case was then discussed very frankly and informally, and the necessary decisions were reached.

Colony assignment was based on consideration of a number of different factors, the first being age and physical development. Next the boy's prior conduct and experience were considered with a view to deciding whether he was likely to need very strict supervision or was of a type that did not require close and constant attention from the colony supervisors. Another point that was given much attention and one that was no doubt of great value was consideration of the boy's personality traits in relation to the known temperaments of the colony supervisors and matrons. It was noted that the psychological clinic workers had a very good knowledge of the characteristics of both the staff personnel and the boy population in the various cottages. The clinic's advice was generally the determining element in the decisions reached.

This school was exceptionally fortunate in having sufficient colonies so that the several groups could be kept down to a reasonable size and



so that there could be a real attempt at segregation involving many factors additional to age and size. A number of the colonies were reserved for boys with distinct characteristics, some of which might be described somewhat as follows: One for boys 13 and over who were very definitely personality problems; one for older boys, 15 and 16, who presented definite problems not quite so serious nor so acute; one for dull boys 12 to 14; another for boys of the same age group not dull but mischievous and troublesome; one for the youngest boys who presented very few behavior problems and who maintained excellent morale in their colony; a similar nonproblem colony for older boys; another for older boys who were probably going to be returned to rural environment or placement; one for an older group who were shop boys, probably going to city placement, and who were fairly steady and reliable; another for the very young boys distinctly problem cases; another for older boys of border-line mentality; and a special colony for older boys described as "diamonds in the rough", a rough-and-tumble group but not in any sense vicious.

Assignment to school was based almost entirely on the recommendations made as a result of the clinic's examinations, supported by the advice of the superintendent of schools.

Assignments to vocational training were said to be based on a combination of the wishes of the boy, his showing in the psychological, psychiatric, and mechanical-aptitude tests, and the observations of the vocational director during the shop try-out period.

After the assignment committee reached its decision the boy was called in and told what plans had been made for him. The atmosphere was very informal, and the boy was given every opportunity to discuss the plans or to ask for any modifications of them. The meeting attended left an impression of kindly and intelligent interest in the problems of the individual boys and of cordial relations between the committee members and the boy during the classification procedure.

## 7. THE BOY'S LIFE IN THE INSTITUTION

### Daily routine

No rigid daily schedule was allowed at this institution. There was said to be variation in the hours of rising and retiring in the various colonies. The colony supervisor fixed the hours just as any parent regulates the hours of his family in relation to the things which they are going to do during the day. This in itself tended to contribute to the pattern of family life outside an institution.

It was reported that in general the boys in the various colonies rose around 6 o'clock or shortly thereafter, and were through with their breakfast by about 7. They then did the housework and the outdoor work for their own colonies until time to report to other assignments. Boys who had morning assignments to the shops went at 8 o'clock. School pupils reported at 8:45. At 11:30 all the boys went back to their colonies. Dinner was at 12. School and shop work began again at 1:15 and lasted until 4. A few of the shops continued work until 5. Most colonies had supper about 5:30. From then until bed time the boys were free for play. Most colonies sent the boys to bed at 8 o'clock. Some of those in which the older boys resided did not send the boys to bed until 9 or even until 10:30 p.m. In some colonies boys were permitted to read in bed if they wished until 9 o'clock, when all lights were supposed to be out.

**General atmosphere**

The general atmosphere at this school more nearly escaped the institutional flavor than did that of any of the other schools visited. The colonies really seemed somewhat like individual farm homes clustered about a community center which contained the school, work shops, and chapels. Boys might be seen at any time moving freely about the grounds, singly, in couples, or in small groups. They did not go to school or work in marching lines but went just as boys would go from any home. They talked and laughed with perfect freedom as they came and went. No evidence of restraint of any kind was observed.

**Colony "family" atmosphere**

Each colony had a supervisor and a matron who were husband and wife. In some colonies the supervisor also served as a shop instructor. In some of these colonies an officer known as a day guard was supplied to provide the daytime supervision that was considered necessary. The colony supervisor and matron assumed a relationship that was very like that of a foster father and mother. As the colony groups were small, by far the most of them containing fewer than 25 boys, one having as few as 9 boys and several having only 16 or 17 boys, the colony father and mother could really know each boy intimately and deal with him on an individual basis. It was believed that the feeling of a family unit was closely approximated in a good many of the colonies at this school.

**Arrangements for sleeping**

The dormitories in which boys slept in all of the colonies were comfortably lighted and ventilated rooms on the second floor, adequately equipped as to beds and bedding. In some of the colonies where the boys presenting the more difficult cases resided, night guards remained on duty during the entire sleeping period. The staff was not at all certain that night supervision was desirable. It had been much discussed in staff conferences and was still being carefully considered. The clinic personnel seemed to favor 24-hour supervision for certain classes of cases.

**Arrangements for eating**

In each colony the kitchen and dining room were much like the kitchens and dining rooms to be found in many farm homes. Food was prepared there under the supervision of the colony matron, assisted by some of the boys. There was a provision that no boy should do kitchen or dining-room work longer than 2 months at a time, so as to guard against any boy's getting lost in this kitchen work and missing an opportunity for other kinds of training. In each colony the personnel ate in the dining room with the boys. There was no uniform menu for all colonies. Each colony matron was permitted to use her own ingenuity in utilizing the supplies which were issued uniformly. That resulted in considerable variety of preparation of the same staple materials. Food, however, was said to be plentiful, and the colony matrons were for the most part reported to be very good at maintaining variety and serving attractive meals.

**Sanitary arrangements**

As none of the colonies at this institution were new, the plumbing naturally was seldom of the most modern type. However, sanitary

arrangements were fairly adequate, and everything was kept in good condition.

#### **Living-room and playground activities**

Colony living rooms were particularly homelike. They were furnished comfortably but not expensively. Pictures and plants helped a great deal to make the rooms pleasant. All of them that were visited were distinctly the type of room that is for use, not for show. During the hours when bad weather kept them indoors the boys lounged about these rooms, played cards, checkers, dominoes, and other games, spent the time in reading, or worked on Boy Scout projects. Spontaneous conversation, laughter, and play of any kind within reasonable bounds were permitted and encouraged.

Each colony had its own playground, which was large enough for football and basketball practice. A few colonies had tennis courts. Play on the colony grounds was quite free and informal and not very closely supervised.

#### **Miscellaneous arrangements**

No lockers were provided, but in most of the colonies the boys were permitted to have small boxes in which they might keep their personal possessions.

Khaki uniforms, cotton for summer and wool for winter, were worn on week days. On Sundays and for special occasions boys who had good suits of their own and wished to wear them were permitted to do so. Boy Scouts wore their Scout uniforms if they so desired. These uniforms were furnished by the State if their parents could not afford to furnish them.

Boy officers were used to some extent, serving as assistants in supervising some of the activities at the individual colonies. This system was a holdover from a former regime, not approved by the present administration, and it was expected that eventually it could be abolished. The boys had a special term for these boy officers which was quite expressive of their opinion of the system. They called them "P.C.'s", which stood for privileged characters.

Other aspects of boy life, particularly with reference to education, vocational training, and recreation are described in other sections of this report.

#### **Outside contacts**

Boys were permitted to receive any number of letters from parents or close relatives. These incoming letters were censored by the colony supervisor or matron for the purpose of withholding any letter that might prove disturbing to the boy's morale. Each boy wrote home once a month. These letters were prepared at the school and read by the boys' teachers. Boys with especially good records were given the privilege of writing oftener. Packages might be received at any time. These were inspected to make sure that only suitable articles were enclosed.

Visiting was restricted to the first Saturday of alternate months (February, April, June, August, October, and December). Visiting hours on those days were from 7:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. It was said that many relatives came and spent the whole day with their boys, often bringing picnic lunches which the boys ate with them. A boy was visited in his own colony so that the relatives could see exactly where he lived and get some idea of what his life was like at the school.

Boys were not permitted to go home for visits except in cases of emergency. The reason for not permitting home visits was said to be that such permission would probably result in considerable unfairness. Very deserving boys might not be able to go because their parents could not afford the expense, while boys who were considerably less deserving but whose parents had money might obtain such privileges. It was felt that this would seem to the boys to be unfair discrimination and that the complete elimination of such privileges was a safer policy.

## 8. PHYSICAL EXAMINATIONS AND MEDICAL CARE

### Hospital facilities

The hospital building and equipment have been described on page 138. The whole atmosphere here was unusually cheerful and kindly.

### Hospital staff

The physician in charge was a part-time employee who maintained a practice in surgery in the city of Rochester. He spent Monday afternoon and each morning except on Monday at the school hospital. An eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist from Rochester was employed by the school on a part-time basis. Several other members of the staff of the Rochester General Hospital served as consultants without charge. The cooperation on the part of the medical men of Rochester was outstanding. It was said that the best medical service in the city was freely available to the boys at any time that a specialist was needed.

The dentist employed on a part-time basis spent 1 day a week at the school. He had as an assistant a full-time dental hygienist.

There were three graduate registered nurses: one served as matron in charge of all executive duties, one had immediate charge of boys under hospital care, and the third had charge of the operating room and also served as school and visiting nurse.

### Physical examinations

Each Monday afternoon the boys who had been admitted during the previous week were brought in for complete physical examinations. In addition to the usual clinical observations and taking of medical history, each examination included a Wassermann test and urinalysis. (The physician had his own laboratory for making urinalyses at the hospital; he had taught one of the boys to do this work under his direction.) Each boy was vaccinated and received toxin-antitoxin treatment. Each week the eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist examined all new boys. Every boy found to be under weight was taken to the county hospital for a chest X-ray, as were also all boys whose family history showed tuberculosis. The county hospital performed this X-ray service without charge to the school. The county hospital also gave basal-metabolism tests when need was indicated, either without charge or with a nominal one. The results of the physical examination were carefully recorded and became a permanent part of the institution's records. The findings were made available to the psychiatric clinic and were carefully considered by the assignment committee in determining the institutional treatment which the boy was to receive.

### Corrective work

Corrective treatment indicated as needed by the initial examination was always undertaken, so far as possible. All types of major and

minor surgery (with the exception of brain surgery) were taken care of by the school physician at the school hospital unless the case required X-rays, in which case the patient was taken to the Rochester General Hospital. Diseased tonsils were removed, and hernias were treated surgically or otherwise. Under-weight boys were carefully followed up, such special diets being prescribed as seemed desirable, and the boys were seen regularly by the school nurse. Each boy was given a careful physical examination as a matter of routine prior to release. Records of these reexaminations indicated that 90 percent of the boys had been gaining an average of 20 pounds a year. When the institution was visited, it was the custom to return infectious cases of gonorrhea to the committing court to be rendered noninfectious before admission, but this policy was changed later to acceptance of infectious cases. Parolees who were returned because of infection were treated at the institution under quarantine if treatment could not be arranged elsewhere. About 14 syphilitic cases were usually under intensive treatment. When boys were paroled arrangements were always made for continuing treatment, and the parole agents were required to follow up to make sure that it was continued. Most of the new boys under treatment for syphilis were suffering from the congenital type. It was stated that their response to such treatments was more favorable than was indicated by the findings in many juvenile clinics in large cities.

#### Dental work

All necessary dental work was done for the boys at State expense. An interesting and somewhat unusual piece of work at this school was that of the dental hygienist. All boys were required to report to her office in the school building at regular intervals. At such times she examined and cleaned their teeth and designated the boys who were to report to the dentist for treatment. She also taught the boys how to take care of their teeth and why it was important to do so. The administration felt that this service was of great value to the boys.

#### Other medical care

The hospital did not maintain any special sick-call hour. Dispensary service was given at any time during the morning. Every boy who showed any symptoms of illness or who had any kind of injury, however slight, was supposed to report to the hospital to be seen by the doctor. There was a strict regulation that no "home remedies" should be administered in colonies. Colony officers were permitted to give no cathartics. Matrons were not permitted to dress even slight cuts. The physician insisted on keeping in his own hands full responsibility for the physical health of the boys.

One of the nurses was in charge of a completely equipped dressing station at the school. She did all first-aid work and minor dressings at that office under the physician's direction. He considered this an unusually valuable service to the boys. He credited it with their very low rate of infections, even of slight character, and was very proud of the school's records of almost complete freedom from serious infections or complications of any kind despite the number of minor accidents that inevitably occur at such institutions. The duties of the school nurse also included visiting-nurse service, which meant visiting and inspecting the various colonies regularly in order to report to the physician their sanitary conditions and to discuss health and hygiene problems with colony supervisors and matrons.

All boys suffering from acute illnesses or injuries received prompt care of high standard.

The hospital report for the year 1931 showed 20 major surgical operations, half of which were corrective or constructive in type, the others being to meet acute conditions such as appendicitis and injury cases. Despite the fact that there had been epidemics in adjacent communities, the school had been free from epidemics during the year, the only contagious cases being 3 suffering from scarlet fever when admitted. Immediate quarantine and careful treatment prevented any spread of contagion within the institution.

### PSYCHIATRIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICE

#### Clinical facilities

An unusually complete and active clinic of psychiatry and psychology was in operation at this school. It had been started unofficially in October 1928 when the State department of social welfare and the superintendent requested the cooperation of Rochester University in planning and putting into operation a school clinic. The head of the psychiatric clinic at Rochester University agreed to undertake to organize a mental-hygiene unit for the school. The work was done on a volunteer basis until 1930 when an appropriation was obtained which enabled the administration to set up the clinic as an integral part of its treatment program. The clinic had grown steadily until its personnel consisted in 1932 of the director (a psychiatrist), two clinical psychologists (one part-time), an additional psychiatrist (part-time), a psychometrist, a psychiatric social worker, and a secretary. The clinic was in the new school building. The child-guidance clinic attached to the university was paying half of the social worker's salary, all the part-time psychologist's salary, and giving additional psychological and psychiatric service as needed.

#### Psychological tests

On admission each boy was tested by the psychometrist. Plans for the psychometric study included the use of abstract-intelligence tests, performance tests, and aptitude and educational tests. Each boy was put through a certain routine, and boys displaying particular difficulties or problems were further studied through the use of suitable test material. During the year 1930-31 the psychometrist had given the following tests:

Abstract intelligence.....	294
Nonlanguage.....	662
Aptitude and mechanical.....	741

The clinic had classified the mental level of new boys examined during 1930-31, as indicated by their intelligence quotients, as follows:

Mental level	Number	Percent distribution
Very superior (120 and 125).....	2	0.5
Superior (110-120).....	13	3.4
Normal or average (90-110).....	112	29.3
Dull or low normal (80-90).....	118	31.0
Border-line deficiency (70-80).....	91	23.8
Feeble-minded (below 70).....	46	12.0

### Psychiatric examinations

Each new boy was made the subject of a psychiatric study which was based on the social history, the findings of the psychometric study, the medical report, and the material obtained by the psychiatrist in his interview with the boy.

### Personal histories

The personal-history records were built up from a number of sources. These included a certain amount of personal history received from the committing courts; reports of home visits made under the direction of the parole agent in charge of preparole activities; and the material obtained by the psychologist, the psychiatrist, and the psychiatric social worker in their contacts with the boy at the school. Every effort was made to secure the type of information that would enable the clinic staff to understand the boy's problems thoroughly and to interpret his reactions to other staff members at the school in order that effective treatment might be given him.

### Application of findings

All the findings of the various workers in the clinic were recorded and served as a basis for study of the child as a whole. These records and the clinic summary of the boy's problems were used as the basis for first assignments of each boy to school grades, to type of vocational training, to the colony in which he was to live, and to a program for extracurricular activities. The object was to help the boy to a successful social adjustment.

The clinic played an important part in every consideration of changes from the original assignments. The school program provided for a careful record of the boy's progress or his difficulties, and if he did not progress the clinic sought to discover the reasons for his failure and to advise changes that might be desirable.

One of the outstanding characteristics of the clinic work in contrast to some similar organizations elsewhere was the special attention given to personality problems and to difficulties in social adjustment encountered by boys with varying degrees of emotional instability. The clinic considered with care the personalities of the various staff officers in relation to the boys to be assigned to their supervision in colonies, classrooms, shops, or work details. It was felt that many unnecessary conflicts which would not only hinder the boy's adjustment in the institution but also perhaps seriously and permanently affect his personality could be avoided through this type of service. It was stated that cases had been studied in which boys of fair intelligence were not advancing in their school work. Tactful investigation had revealed in some such cases the existence of deep-seated personality clashes between the boy and a teacher. Therefore a change in the educational program was worked out so that the boy might be placed under different supervision. In many cases the boy's conflicts disappeared.

The clinic was consulted frequently on questions of discipline and played a considerable part in determining what measures should be used in an effort to bring about a change in a boy's attitude and behavior. When a boy was to be released from the disciplinary colony the advice of the clinic as to whether he should be returned to his former assignments or whether some change should be made was always given great weight by the deciding committee.

After a boy had been in the school 6 months his entire case was carefully reviewed in the clinic, developments both within and without the institution being noted. That is, the boy's progress was studied, and any marked personality changes or achievements in the direction of social adjustment to group life were considered and recorded. Prior to parole the case was given a final analysis in the clinic. This analysis noted carefully factors in the boy's make-up, or in his history, or in the environment to which he was to be released which would be likely to predispose to delinquency, and suggestions were offered as to how these factors might be offset or corrected. The clinic and the parole department worked together very closely in mapping a treatment program which would include efforts to revamp negative family attitudes, to provide suitable home and neighborhood environment, to make sure that the boy had proper recreational outlets and suitable school and vocational opportunities, and to plan for any special medical or psychiatric attention he might need during his parole period.

#### **Attitude of other staff members toward clinical services**

The clinic staff had maintained as close contact as possible with the colony officers, the school authorities, the vocational director, the medical staff, and the parole department. It was recognized that the complete psychological and psychiatric study of each individual boy would be sheer waste unless the treatment program which grew out of that study could be put into effect. The carrying out of the treatment program was entirely dependent on the understanding and the cooperation of the various members of the staff under whose direct care the boys engaged in their daily activities. Therefore, educational and advisory service for the whole staff, through group meetings and individual consultation, had been a part of the clinical work. Both the staff members and the boys themselves visited the clinic freely of their own volition. The services of the psychiatric social worker were regarded as invaluable in this task of interpreting mental-hygiene principles and the problems and needs of the individual boy to staff members.

The clinic had attempted to make itself a vital part of the school program. It considered that part of its function was to study all the work of the institution in terms of values to the individual boy. This implied a twofold task—on the one side, to discover the most appropriate program for each boy, and on the other, to consult and advise as to institution policies so far as they affected the programs outlined. The clinic had been given a free hand in its work in both directions. Its advice as to certain modifications or developments in the institution program was invited and given careful consideration. Some general services rendered during the preceding year included outlining plans for one or more preparole cottages which were to have individual sleeping rooms and extra privileges for their boys; making a plan for a summer camp for specially selected boys; devising a new basis for housework assignment, to enable each boy to receive instruction in a variety of household tasks and to prevent sidetracking on one routine job; and surveying the recreational facilities of the institution with specific recommendations for subsequent developments.



### Research activities

Research was a definite part of the program of the clinic. The staff looked forward to increased opportunities for child study and research as the routine work became better established and the development work with the institution staff consumed less time. The location of the school close to the city of Rochester was very favorable to the development of research work. This city with its university, its State hospital, its progressive school system, and its social agencies offered all sorts of cooperative possibilities.

Among the several projects under consideration at the time of the visit was the operation of an 8-week summer course for juniors and seniors from nearby universities during the summer of 1932. No fees would be charged, and the institution would supply maintenance (except laundry) for the students, who would give service to the school in return for this educational opportunity. Lectures would be given by members of the institution staff and of the university faculty. The work would include some clinical psychology and psychiatry. A later report from the institution tells of the successful carrying out of this plan, describing it as a summer institute for college students interested in the psychiatric approach to the work. The program included lectures, visits to other institutions, and work and research within the institution at Industry. Staff members of the institution were aided in conducting the course by members of the faculty of the University of Rochester School of Medicine and Dentistry, the clinical director at the Rochester State Hospital, the superintendent of the Rochester Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and a psychiatric social worker from the child-guidance clinic of the Strong Memorial Hospital. The following topics were included in the series of lectures: Problems of institutional administration, administration of the psychiatric clinic, administrative aspects of medical care in an institution, vocational administration and guidance in an institution, school programs and problems, Boy Scout programs, parole administration, mental hygiene, puberty and adolescence, application and interpretation of psychological tests, child-guidance problems in the community, administration of protective agencies in the community, social case work in the community, mental diseases (with clinical demonstrations), epilepsy, mental deficiency, and psychiatry in the court.

Several specific research projects were under consideration at the time of the visit. A study of enuresis was about to be undertaken. Already the clinic staff had attempted to be of service to the colony officers in connection with this difficult problem. A little folder had set forth the principal facts concerning enuresis and suggested to the personnel the attitude to be taken toward boys suffering from this difficulty. It was hoped that through an intensive study some better methods of handling these cases might be developed. Two cases of stuttering were being specially studied by the clinic. The relation between performance and vocational tests and shop efficiency was being checked, and a study in this field was one of the possibilities. It was hoped that some study might be made of reading disabilities found among these boys, and of certain other educational difficulties discovered. The clinic staff also wished to undertake a scientific

study of a specific nature in regard to the problems of the delinquent superior child. One of the important things which should be of considerable value which they hoped to scrutinize carefully was the question as to what should be the exact functions of such a psychological and psychiatric clinic in a correctional school.

### 10. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM—CLASSROOM WORK

#### School staff

The school staff consisted of the principal and 18 teachers. All were reported to be normal-school graduates, as has been stated. (See p. 142.)

#### School day and school year

The school day was from 8:45 to 11:30 in the morning and 1:30 to 5 in the afternoon. Boys under 14 attended school all day. Boys 14 or older who were enrolled in certain trade courses had no classroom work, their school work being done in the department of trade training under a new system being tried there. (See p. 159). The other boys 14 or older attended school half the day and went to industrial assignments (vocational or other work) the other half day. The school enrollment and the time of school for boys enrolled in the various grades and in a commercial class were reported as shown in the following table:

*Time of school for boys enrolled in a specified school grade or class on Mar. 30, 1932*

Grade or class	Boys enrolled				
	Total	Time assigned			
		All day	Morning	Afternoon	Half day <sup>2</sup>
Total.....	1 278	121	53	103	1
Ninth grade.....	6	2	1	2	1
Commercial class.....	25	-----	13	12	-----
Eighth grade.....	24	5	5	14	-----
Seventh grade.....	32	9	9	14	-----
Sixth grade.....	52	25	9	18	-----
Fifth grade.....	66	29	7	30	-----
Fourth grade.....	27	18	6	3	-----
Third grade.....	28	17	3	8	-----
Second grade.....	14	13	-----	1	-----
First grade.....	4	3	-----	1	-----

<sup>1</sup> The difference between the school enrollment (278 on Mar. 30, 1932) and the total population of the institution on approximately the same date (470 on Mar. 29, 1932) is due to the fact that a few boys of low mentality worked on the farm all day and did not attend school, that boys 14 or older enrolled in certain trade courses had no classroom work (their schooling being given in the department of trade training (see p. 158), and that boys not yet released from receiving colonies for assignment to school grade were included in the total population, and also to other conditions of institutional life.

<sup>2</sup> Not reported whether morning or afternoon.

The school year corresponded approximately to that of the public schools of the State of New York and included all regular vacation periods. The only difference was that this school was not dismissed until July, so that it had a full 10-month year.

#### Attendance requirements and enrollment

All boys were required to attend school except as they were excused on recommendation of the psychological and psychiatric clinic

from any formal classroom work, or except as they were excused temporarily for physical reasons.

The ages of the boys enrolled in specified grade or class on March 30, 1932, are shown in the following table:

*Age of boys enrolled in a specified school grade or class on Mar. 30, 1932*

Grade or class	Boys enrolled								
	Total	Age of boy							
		9 years	10 years	11 years	12 years	13 years	14 years	15 years	16 years <sup>1</sup>
Total.....	273	2	5	6	18	52	69	85	41
Ninth grade.....	6					1	1	3	1
Commercial class.....	25						1	13	11
Eighth grade.....	24					1	8	9	6
Seventh grade.....	32					6	8	13	5
Sixth grade.....	62			2	3	13	15	13	6
Fifth grade.....	66			2	4	11	18	24	7
Fourth grade.....	27		3			7	9	5	3
Third grade.....	28		1	1	6	9	5	4	2
Second grade.....	14	1	1	1	3	4	3	1	
First grade.....	4	1			2		1		

<sup>1</sup> The difference between the school enrollment (273 on Mar. 30, 1932) and the total population of the institution (470 on Mar. 29, 1932) is due to the fact that a few boys of low mentality worked on the farm all day and did not attend school, that boys 14 or older enrolled in certain trade courses had no classroom work, their schooling being given in the department of trade training (see p. 159); and that boys not yet released from the receiving colonies for assignment to school grade were included in the total population, and also to other conditions of institutional life.

These figures show that the boys committed to this school were retarded in very much the same way as those committed to the schools in the institutions previously described.

#### Courses given

Elementary work from the first grade through the eighth grade was being given, as has been shown, and a small class of ninth-grade boys was enrolled. The 25 boys who were taking special commercial work were divided into two classes—one in the morning and one in the afternoon—and on the alternate half days were carrying either eighth-grade or ninth-grade work; their commercial course was considered vocational training.

The curriculum conformed fairly closely to that of the New York State public schools.

For boys below the fourth grade two classrooms had work corresponding roughly to that of special classes for subnormals in the public schools. One was for the older boys of low intelligence. Both these special classes did considerable handwork and carried out simple projects. Some of the teachers had mixed grades, the boys in the fourth and fifth grades being so grouped as to put together the boys of approximately the same size and physical development. This was done in order that physically large but mentally retarded boys should not be in the same class with smaller younger ones. This plan worked out to the advantage of both groups. It was stated that work in these lower grades was much individualized, there being little general class

work. They were operating as modified opportunity classes. The teachers in these rooms were said to have had special training in handling the problems of retarded or subnormal children. Otherwise teaching methods were apparently the usual public-school methods with no particular original variations or adaptations because of the special institutional problems involved.

#### 11. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM—VOCATIONAL OR PREVOCATIONAL WORK

Great emphasis had been placed on agricultural work when the institution was removed from Rochester to the rural site. The administrators at that time firmly believed in the efficacy of country life in "reforming" boys. Inevitably a certain amount of industrial work grew up within the institution, in connection with its maintenance. But curiously enough, from the modern point of view, assignment to the industrial work was considered a disciplinary measure. The "worst" boys were detailed to shop work, and the "best" boys followed strictly agricultural pursuits. For some years past this attitude had been undergoing a change, which the present administration had greatly accelerated, and the vocational-training program was being rapidly developed in diverse directions.

The director of trade education was enthusiastic over the possibilities inherent in a trade-training program for boys faced with such difficult problems of social adjustment. He believed that finding work for which a boy was specially suited and in which he could gain satisfaction and self-confidence through actual accomplishment was an important contribution toward social adjustment, over and above the practical value of teaching a trade in which the boy might find economic value. When the school was visited in 1932 it was apparent that the director was devoting a great deal of initiative and energy to the development of an effective program. He had surrounded himself with an interesting and interested group of instructors and had been giving a new vision of further horizons to many of the tradesmen who had been long at the job of supervising boys performing maintenance tasks. It was pleasant to note the air of eagerness with which some staff members were working out original plans designed to meet the problems in this field, in which so much pioneering remains to be done.

#### Enrollment

Farm work was assigned to 45 boys who attended school half the day, 28 working in the morning, 17 in the afternoon. The commercial training also was considered vocational work, as has been stated (see p. 157), the 25 boys in this class attending eighth-grade and ninth-grade classes in alternation with their periods of commercial work. Information regarding vocational or other work assignments was not obtained for the rest of the boys reported as attending academic classes half the day.

All-day assignments as of March 30, 1932, to vocational or other work were reported for 189 boys, including a number who were being given both academic and trade training in the trade-training depart-

ment under a new system that was just being put into effect. The assignments of these boys were as follows:

	<i>Number of boys</i>
Baking .....	14
Blacksmithing .....	6
Carpentry .....	23
Creamery .....	3
Electrical work .....	12
Laundry .....	17
Machine shop .....	12
Masonry .....	11
Meat cutting .....	1
Painting .....	18
Plumbing, boiler room .....	9
Printing .....	12
Sheet-metal work .....	6
Shoe repairing .....	5
Trade cooking .....	14
Tailoring .....	10
Trucking .....	2
Storeroom .....	7
Office work .....	3
Janitor work .....	4

Under the new system, boys over 14 who were enrolled in certain regular shop courses were being given both scholastic and trade instruction in the trade-training department. All their study was to be correlated with their trade needs. In all subjects instructors were seeking to coordinate teaching materials with specific trades. Many opportunities were afforded for original ideas and initiative in this direction. It was pleasing to note the way in which various instructors were meeting the challenge. For example, on the day the paint shop was visited the class was in the midst of the applied-science hour. The instructor had led his eager listeners far afield, geographically and biologically. The subject of the discussion had been the bristles used in manufacturing the many different kinds of paint brushes. Those bristles, it had been explained, came from a variety of animals native to different, and some to distant, parts of the world. The opportunities for teaching through the opening of channels like these, in which the boys had an immediate interest, will be obvious to anyone with imagination. It was gratifying to observe instructors with imagination surrounded by alert and interested boy groups.

As the program developed it required careful systematizing in order that conflicts might be avoided. The director and his office assistant worked out such detail with great care. Much use was made of charts and graphic representations of the organization and the subject matter for the various courses. A large loose-leaf notebook contained a schedule for each trade class for each week, so that the director could tell where each class was at any time during the day. Through the combination of these schedules joint projects could be worked out with a minimum of conflict.

Visual materials were used for instructional work. Films were exhibited and were proving a popular and effective medium of instruction.

A general shop was operated for the younger boys and for some boys of low mental level. It resembled an industrial-arts class rather than a definite trade try-out shop. However, it provided a good opportunity to observe aptitudes and attitudes.



The mechanical-drawing classes were in charge of an instructor who had come to the school 4 years previously as a guard. His natural interest in mechanical drawing had been discovered, and he was encouraged to take correspondence courses and special work at the State normal school. When he had acquired sufficient training in the essentials, he was given an opportunity to develop a course for the boys. All boys did the same problems when they entered the class. After they had progressed a certain distance they were given special problems directly related to the trades in which they were registered. This instructor's systematic development of original-drawing problems carefully fitted to the trade-course substance and needs was said to be noteworthy. His classes were described as very popular with the boys. No doubt his own enthusiasm was contagious.

Accurate detail as to how many boys were participating in farm work could not be obtained. The former individual and entirely independent farm colonies were still operating independently to a certain extent, with each colony supervisor directing farming activities on his own colony acreage. Agricultural work was in a transition stage from that period to one in which the work was to be under one directing head, with agricultural training features introduced. The colonies reported that 93 boys were doing farm work, but this included a considerable number of boys who were merely doing farm chores after school, just as they would on any farm. It was stated that some of the older boys of low mentality were employed steadily all day on farm work.

#### **Maintenance and repair work**

Boys were used relatively little on straight maintenance work. The management stated that this policy, of course, restricted production, but the boy's adjustment, not the production record, was considered of prime importance. A small amount of "squad work" of service and janitor type was still required of certain boys, but it was curtailed as much as possible. About the only regular assignment to strictly maintenance work was the detail for kitchen duty in the various colonies. Boys spent 2 months on that detail and were then replaced by others. The intent of the administration was to have boys in the individual colonies do their own housework with their colony matrons in much the same spirit that boys in large all-boy families are required to perform household chores.

## **12. PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND ATHLETICS**

As the institution had no gymnasium, the old assembly hall was used for gymnasium classes. The director of physical education was assisted part of the time by one of the guards.

The superintendent frankly stated that physical education and athletics were as yet the weakest part of the program, but developments to be made in this field were beginning to be talked of. As has been stated, the clinic had been making a survey of the needs, and plans were in the making. (See p. 154.)

#### **Physical education**

Boys reported to the assembly hall for gymnasium periods regularly from the school. Calisthenics were taught during part of the period, the remainder being used for games.

Swimming was taught during the outdoor season, practically all boys having an opportunity to learn. The Boy Scout leaders took an important part in this work. Reference has been made to the new outdoor swimming pool. (See p. 139.)

#### **Sports program**

The colonies competed with each other in basketball, baseball, and soccer in a regular organized sports program. The teams were organized in 3 leagues with about 10 colonies to a league. The school had a team which played outside teams in baseball and basketball. Part of the games were played at the institution and as many boys as there was room for attended.

#### **Military training**

There was no military training of any kind at this institution, although the law permits the superintendent to establish a system of such training.<sup>18</sup>

### **13. OTHER RECREATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES**

As has been stated in the preceding section, the recreational activities at this institution were still somewhat uncoordinated and lacking in plan, but it was expected that with the help of the clinic's survey in this field a program would shortly provide for all kinds of developmental activities outside the school and vocational training.

The management felt that considerable progress had been made in developing recreational activities since the institution was visited by representatives of the Children's Bureau in 1931. In a communication early in 1934 mention was made of the entertainment provided during the holiday season, when groups of entertainers from various organizations in Rochester put on three evening programs at the school. More significant perhaps was the inauguration of evening classes in various types of handcraft, in which boys were displaying much ingenuity, fashioning all sorts of articles out of celluloid, imitation leather, and other materials.

#### **Music**

At the time of the visit the institution had a small band of about 15 pieces. Some 30 or 35 boys were being instructed on various instruments. The band was formerly rated as a unit of the trade-training program, but the training was found to be of little effective use on the boys' release from the institution. Although the band was still under the trade-training department, the boys who took up band work attended regular school classes and were excused for instruction in special instruments at regular periods during the week. Saturday morning was given over to general band practice.

One of the regular teachers had a music room at the school and gave classroom instruction in music to each class once or twice a week. She also gave individual lessons in singing to boys who had special ability and were interested. Group singing was a customary feature of school assemblies.

The school had a harmonica band composed of 14 Boy Scouts. This band was very popular, both at the institution and in the surrounding country. It was said to have particularly distinguished itself at the Boy Scout anniversary program at a motion-picture

<sup>18</sup> New York, Cahill's Consolidated Laws, 1930, State Charities Law, sec. 187.



theater in Rochester where it played every night for a week and was said to have been the most popular feature of each program.

#### **Radio**

The school itself owned no radio equipment. However, practically all colonies had radio facilities owned by the supervisors, who generously turned on appropriate popular programs for their boy families. One of the nurses had given a radio to the boys at the hospital as a Christmas gift. The administration would have liked to procure equipment which would permit them to have loudspeakers in each cottage through which they could rebroadcast programs from a central control, but funds had not yet been forthcoming for that purpose.

#### **Motion pictures**

The institution had a motion-picture machine in its assembly hall, and until the winter of 1931 a motion-picture show had been given every 2 weeks. As the apparatus was only for silent pictures and it was very difficult to get good silent films, the pictures had been discontinued except for an occasional show. The entire school group were occasionally taken to the city of Rochester to one of the theaters. For the past 2 years the institution had asked the State legislature for apparatus for talking pictures, but so far it had not been allowed.

#### **Reading**

The institution did not have a central library. It was making plans to open one in the school building in the fall of 1932. The only library facilities yet available were the small collections of books owned by the individual colonies and by the hospital. It was recognized that these were inadequate, both in quantity and in variety of material.

#### **Boy Scout work**

The superintendent and assistant superintendent were convinced of the benefits to be derived by their boys from participation in Boy Scout work. They had sought the cooperation of the Scout executive for the Rochester district, and with his help Scout activities were organized in December 1930. A previous attempt to organize had not been very successful. A full-time scoutmaster was appointed in March 1931, and his office in the school building was a perpetually busy scene. It was expected that one of the closed farm colonies would be placed at the disposal of the Scouts to serve as Scout headquarters for the school.

The school Scout group consisted of 190 Scouts, organized into 10 groups. It was expected that the number would increase until there was a steady membership of about 250 Scouts at all times.

Various colony supervisors, guards, and teachers acted as scoutmasters. Two of these staff members were taking a scoutmaster's training course which consisted of 10 night sessions, 2 afternoon outdoor sessions, and 1 overnight trip. The same men were also planning to take a Red Cross first-aid course and during the summer months a life-saving course.

In addition to a regular program of Scout projects, the scoutmaster had a regular schedule for hikes by the different troops. He had taken selected groups to participate in various outside programs. For instance, 25 Scouts from this school were taken to a district

Scout council jamboree attended by 1,500 Boy Scouts from the surrounding area. Recently a big Scout rally had been held in the assembly hall at the institution, with contests in various Scout work projects. An all-day outdoor rally for all Scouts at the institution was to be held in May.

The scoutmaster hoped to set up an outdoor camp for summer use on ground owned by the institution, some distance away from the main campus. A communication in January 1934 stated that such a camp had been constructed on some land on the Genesee River, which flows through the institution property. It had been in operation during the summer season of 1932 and 1933. During 1933 the scoutmaster had 60 boys in camp each week. At the end of the camp season 360 boys had spent 1 week each at the camp.

The school administration felt that Scout work had two particular values for their boys—first, in giving them opportunities for wholesome activities of diverse character during their leisure hours while in the institution; and, second, in helping to bridge the gap between their institutional life and their life in relation to other boys when they were ready to return to their home communities.

The scoutmaster discussed frankly some of the difficulties that had been encountered in connection with making the outside adjustment for a boy when he was paroled. Some unpleasant incidents had occurred when an attempt was made to affiliate boys with an outside unit. Through energetic work on the part of the school executives, and particularly on the part of the parole director and his field agents, these difficulties were said to have been largely overcome. Close contact was maintained with the district and national Scout executives, and whenever there was any difficulty the matter was taken up through official channels and worked out in that way. Since February 1931, 160 Scouts had been paroled, and 65 of these had been successfully enrolled in active troops in the communities to which they had gone. Records at this school indicated that of 660 consecutive admissions to the institution, 66 were of boys who had been Scouts before they were committed, some of whom had achieved considerable standing in the Boy Scout movement.

The scoutmaster issued a regular intertroop transfer certificate supplied by national headquarters to each Scout who was to be paroled. The parole agent found out whether the community to which the boy was going had a troop in which he could be satisfactorily and happily enrolled. If so, the transfer certificate was made out and his exact Scout standing and record up to the time of transfer were entered on it. A record of the transfer was sent on a card made specifically for that purpose to the Scout district council. In the headquarters at the school a card-system record was being kept of all boys who had been Scouts at the institution so that the scoutmaster could tell at any time the Scout history of any boy enrolled there, whether before commitment, during institutional stay, or on parole.

#### **Outings**

All boys from the institution who were not under discipline were sometimes taken on special trips to attend baseball-league games at the ball park in Rochester. These outings were naturally popular and much coveted by the boys.

#### 14. RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

This institution had always placed heavy emphasis on the importance of religious instruction and affiliation for the boys committed to its care. Reference already has been made to its two very attractive chapels, one for Catholics and one for Protestants. (See p. 138.)

The school employed a Protestant chaplain full time to serve the spiritual needs of boys from Protestant families. He conducted a religious service each Sunday morning. Music was supplied by a boy organist and a boy choir.

Religious education was not made a matter for attention on Sunday only. There was no Sunday school, but the chaplain conducted regular classes during the week, meeting groups for 45-minute periods, as part of the school work, for Bible study and to give boys an opportunity to bring up for discussion any matters that might be troubling them.

The school also maintained a Catholic chaplain full time. He conducted a service each Sunday morning in the Catholic chapel. This group also had its organist and boy choir. During the week Catholic boys were given religious instruction in certain periods, as a part of the school program.

Although the school had very few Jewish boys enrolled, services were conducted at intervals for them by a rabbi who was paid on a per diem basis.

Close cooperation had been developed between the parole department and the chaplains. When a boy was to be paroled his chaplain was notified. He immediately communicated with the pastor of the particular denomination to which the boy had said his people belonged in the community to which he was to be sent. This was done whether or not the boy had been a regular church attendant before commitment. Sometimes the chaplains wrote to religious organizations in certain areas as well as to the pastors in an effort to enlist intelligent help and guidance for the boy among members of his own religious group.

If any difficulty developed after the boy was released and the parole officers felt that the home pastor was not keeping in as close touch with the boy as was desirable, or if the boy proved unfaithful to his religious obligations and the regular parole agent and the pastor were unable to adjust the matter satisfactorily, the school chaplain visited the district and helped to solve the problems involved. At regular intervals also the chaplains visited certain centers where there were a good many parolees and met with them, giving them an opportunity to talk over their ethical and spiritual problems, answering any questions and giving any advice which the boys might seek.

#### 15. CREDIT SYSTEM AND DISCIPLINARY MEASURES

##### Credit system

The program at this school did not include a formal merit or credit system. Each school teacher, shop instructor, and colony supervisor kept an individual record card for each boy. On that card daily entries were made. At the end of the month the officer entered a monthly rating, and these cards were then turned in to the central record office.

Boys were graded on conduct, effort, progress, character of the work done, and attitudes. A card giving specific instructions for keeping these record cards was placed in the hands of each officer who was required to rate a boy. Ratings were by letter, one indicating good, or above the average; one indicating fair (which was a fluctuating average or below-average rating); and one indicating poor, or considerably below the average. Sometimes plus or minus signs were used to indicate gradations. Officers were continually cautioned to use great care in arriving at these monthly grades as these ratings were used in determining eligibility for parole. The administrative office expected these ratings to be the result of serious thought and fair weighing of all factors by the individual awarding the grade. The cards were not handled by the boys. They were considered confidential between the grading officer and the administrative record office.

If a boy had received a low rating and this was a determining factor in delaying parole, the matter was explained to him. If he felt that he had been unjustly rated, the rating officer was asked to appear before the parole committee and explain the basis for the ratings that had been given.

#### **Disciplinary measures**

General policies with respect to types of discipline to be used were determined by the superintendent. Working out of detail and the responsibility for administering disciplinary measures under these general policies were placed in the hands of the assistant superintendent aided and advised by the colony supervisors, school teachers, shop instructors, and other officers having boys under their supervision. The assistant superintendent preferred so far as possible to leave disciplinary problems in the hands of group supervisors. Only when they felt that a boy was getting completely out of hand did they refer him to the assistant superintendent's office for action. It was stated that relatively few were thus referred and that school teachers and shop instructors seldom called for aid on disciplinary problems. It was desired that colony supervisors approximate as closely as possible the parent attitude in disciplinary administration.

The primary disciplinary medium in use was deprivation of privileges. Boys were deprived of their play hours, having to remain inactive and off the playground while the rest of the colony family was enjoying its games. Curtailment of food was contrary to institutional policy, though it was said to be not unlikely for individual colony matrons sometimes to take a boy's dessert away from him just as any mother might. Standing on line was not very much used at this institution, although boys withdrawn from active play on colony playgrounds might be required to remain on the side lines. Denial of the right to attend school entertainments was not usual.

Boys were sent to disciplinary colonies by the assistant superintendent on recommendation of the colony supervisor if on investigation of circumstances that action seemed desirable. The disciplinary colonies were not different in their living arrangements from the regular colonies. Their living rooms were pleasant, homelike places. The supervision, of course, was very much more rigid. Moreover, boys residing in disciplinary colonies did not attend school. They were required to do the roughest and most unpopular forms of manual labor about the institution, usually working about 7 hours a day at these

unpleasant tasks. The length of stay at these colonies varied greatly. Release from disciplinary colonies and decision as to whether a boy was to return to his former residence unit, or whether his program of treatment was to be changed, depended upon the action of the assignment committee, which considered each case on its individual merits.

This institution was making great strides in individualizing the treatment of disciplinary problems through its clinic service. It was expected that the clinic study of cases of enuresis, for example, or of sex practices, was going to prove invaluable in connection with the handling of such difficulties. The clinic had undertaken, with the aid of the medical director and with the cooperation of colony supervisors and matrons, to try out various methods of treatment in cases for which no definite physical reasons which could be corrected were discovered. The general staff was coming to recognize that problems of this kind were not cleared up by severe punitive methods.

Boys were sent to the disciplinary colonies mainly for such things as persistent disobedience, refusal to obey reasonable requests, open defiance, smoking in the buildings, stealing, and running away. The institution had a very high runaway rate. Supervision was very informal, and it was easy for the boys simply to walk away. However, most runaways were picked up and returned almost immediately. Smoking was forbidden primarily because of the fire hazard. This rule was particularly important at this institution where most of the buildings were old and of frame construction, so that danger from fire was always present. This was made very clear to the boys, and an attempt was made to have them feel their responsibility for endangering the property and even possibly the lives of other members of their groups. Boys were told that it was thought unwise for very young boys to smoke but that the primary reason for rigid enforcement of the nonsmoking rule for the older boys was as a fire-prevention measure.

Corporal punishment was strictly forbidden, and any failure to observe this rule would be met with instant action on the part of the superintendent against the offending staff member.

## 16. INSTITUTION RECORDS

Along with other changes made and the new developments in the institutional program in 1931 and 1932, the record system had undergone revision. A system was being developed which made basic a record for each boy, organized along the lines of case-work procedure, which would contain all the case-history data, including social history, institution progress records, and parole history.

The individual departments, of course, kept considerable detailed data in connection with their study of each boy and their judgment as to his progress in their respective fields. The reports of the various departments were summarized for the central case-history folder.

The central records were under the general supervision of the assistant superintendent and were kept in his office. A record clerk was in charge of the detail of the record office. For each boy there was a folder, the front of which served as a face sheet, with a printed outline for recording identifying information such as age, school grade, and nationality. It also contained space for summaries of shop, school,

and colony assignments. In each folder was filed the following material:

- Commitment papers.
- Reports of psychologist and psychiatrist.
- Report of the preliminary home and social investigation.
- Report of the preparole home investigation.
- Notes on home-reconstruction work.
- Monthly reports from the discipline and trade departments, school, and colony.
- Correspondence.
- Medical reports.
- Parole data (preparole and field parole reports).

Special printed forms were used for each of these reports. The blanks used for the preliminary home, school, and court investigations were exceptionally complete, covering all possible points included in a thorough case investigation. These forms, with supplementary sheets for the parole agent's comments, consisted of several pages. The monthly reports as to discipline, school, trade, and colony record were made on large cards, one for each department. They were turned in to the record clerk monthly for filing in each boy's folder. (See appendix C, pp. 320-324).

Forms necessary for recording the institution routine of transfer from one assignment to another, leave of absence, Boy Scout certificates, notices to parents, and similar items were in use.

In addition to the case folder the administrative record office had an index file of cards 5 by 8 inches, which provided for a complete summary of each boy's case. These were filled out progressively and included very complete detail of the boy's institutional and parole history.

Separate individual records were kept by the medical and academic school departments. A full record was made of the boy's physical examination and of the medical history taken on his entrance. Further records were set up for boys receiving hospital or medical treatment. These were very complete and detailed as to progress of treatment. They became permanent records and were filed at the hospital. The school nurse kept records of all boys seen by her, including weight records for those found to be underweight.

The academic school kept a set of monthly report cards which constituted a permanent file. A copy of the regular report card was given the boy when paroled, and one was also sent to the boy's parole agent.

As has been indicated previously, records considered as preparole material and the supervisory parole reports were included in the boy's general case-history folder. In addition to the preparole social-investigation forms, there were certain forms used in preparole preparation which became part of the record. These were the form letter of inquiry sent to the judge of the committing court asking his cooperation in recommending placement or return home, the reference for parole signed by the judge, and the reference from the pastor of the boy's church; and the summary of the parole treatment program as outlined. This last was a 3-page form giving brief identifying information, brief summary of institutional progress and problems, and an outline of the program to be followed after the boy's release on parole.

Forms were furnished boys on parole for their monthly reports, and written reports were required of all visits by the parole officers. Both were filed in the boy's case record.

## 17. PAROLE AND DISCHARGE

Boys might be paroled or discharged from the institution at any time after commitment in accordance with the rules and regulations which the State department of social welfare was authorized to establish.<sup>19</sup>

The parole department was part of the administrative organization of the institution, with headquarters at the institution, and the assistant superintendent acted as director of parole. The immediate supervision of all parole work was under his direction. During 1930 a complete reorganization of parole work was effected. Previously, the parole work had been organized on a basis of religious affiliation, a Catholic parole officer being in charge of Catholic boys and a Protestant parole officer in charge of Protestants. In the new program the field staff had been combined into one unit, and the assistant superintendent assumed the duties of director of parole. The Protestant parole agent became supervisor of preparole activities, and the Catholic parole agent became supervisor of the field parole—that is, of the services of the parole agents to boys after their release.

There were 8 field agents or parole officers, and it was expected that 2 more officers would be added at the beginning of the next fiscal year (July 1, 1932).

Appointment of the parole staff was through civil service; details as to salaries, qualifications, and appointment have been given in pages 141-143. As was there stated, the standards of personnel for the parole work were being raised, and the few officers who did not meet the new requirements were men who had been on the staff of the institution in other capacities for a number of years and had been promoted to their present work before the reorganization took place.

Investigation and planning with parole in mind and preparation of the boy for parole were emphasized as important phases of the work of the parole department. In his annual report for the year ended June 30, 1930, the director of parole stated that "full preparation for a boy's parole should begin the moment a boy is received at Industry."<sup>20</sup> As has been noted, a special staff position had been created to carry out a carefully planned preparole program. The first step in this was a home, school, and court investigation, which a field agent was directed to make very soon after a boy was received. This was planned to obtain a complete case history previous to commitment relating to home, neighborhood, school, mental status, health conditions, and court history. These investigations included registering the case with a social-service exchange, if one existed in the community from which the boy had come, and following up the references thus obtained.

The supervisor of preparole work was expected to keep in close touch with the boy while he was in the institution, to follow his progress records, and to serve as a member of the assignment and parole committees. He also directed the field agent in work with the boy's family during the boy's stay at the institution if, as was usually the case, the investigation had shown a need for rehabilitation work in the home. He made every effort to secure the help and cooperation of local agencies in this program. Thus through these

<sup>19</sup> See p. 135 and Cahill's Consolidated Laws 1930, State Charities Law, secs. 196 (1), 203.

<sup>20</sup> Advance Pages of Parole Department, State Agricultural and Industrial School, Eighty-second Annual Report for year ending June 30, 1930, p. 6. Industry, N. Y.

preparole activities the parole force was brought into contact with the boy and his problems immediately after commitment and remained in close touch throughout his period of institutional treatment.

Eligibility for parole was not based on any specific merit or credit system but depended on the individual boy's progress in his conduct, work, and training program. The basis for measuring his progress was the grading system used at the institution in which the boys were graded on conduct, effort, progress, character of work done, and attitudes, as has been described. (See p. 166.)

The assignment committee and the parole committee decided a boy's readiness for parole, and the latter committee worked out with the supervisor of field parole the plan to be carried out on parole. The personnel of these two committees was practically the same, both including the assistant superintendent, psychologist, psychiatrist, psychiatric social worker, supervisor of preparole work, vocational director, superintendent of schools, and second assistant superintendent. The superintendent of the institution, supervisor of field parole, and the chaplains were additional members of the parole committee.

Each boy's case was reviewed by the assignment committee when he had been at the institution 6 months. At that time the probable date on which he would be ready for parole was determined, and his name was placed on schedule for a hearing by the parole committee on that date. The average length of stay was 13 months. Before this hearing, the supervisor of preparole work reviewed the boy's record and had a check-up visit made to the boy's home. This supervisor, with the advice of the clinic, and especially that of the psychiatrist in problem cases, made the formal recommendation for parole to the parole committee. Each case was discussed in detail by the committee and suggestions were made for the after-care treatment plan to be followed by the supervisor of field parole. If parole was approved by the committee, the name was sent to the superintendent and to the parole committee of the board of visitors of the institution for final approval. References were also required from the judge of the committing court and from the pastor of the boy's church.

When the preparole investigation showed that the boy's own home was entirely unsuitable for his return, it was the policy of the parole department to recommend placement in a foster home, usually either a free or a wage home if the boy was of legal working age.

The State was districted geographically for assignment of cases for supervision. The total number of boys on parole on a given date (April 1, 1932) was 1,742, of whom 1,112 were "active cases" and 630 were "semiactive" (legally still on parole but no longer under active supervision). As the field staff numbered eight officers, the average load of active cases was 138 per officer. This varied somewhat in the actual assignment of cases, and it was noted that one officer had as many as 185 active cases under supervision and another had 150, while others had as few as 115 and 105 cases.

The frequency of visits to the boys by the field agents depended upon the individual case characteristics. Monthly visits were required as a matter of routine, but difficult problem cases were visited as often as there was need and as time permitted. After the first year, visiting was less frequent if good progress had been made; and active supervision was discontinued after 2 or 3 years if the field agent so recommended and the school authorities approved.



The written reports required monthly from the boys, on forms provided for that purpose, were sent by the boy directly to the field officer, who made a record of them for his own information and sent them in to the institution for filing. These monthly reports had to be signed by the boy, by his teacher if he was in school, and by his pastor. Weekly reports of visits made by the parole officers during each week were sent to the supervisor at the institution. These were made on separate sheets, so that each might be filed with the record of the boy concerned.

As was noted in the description of the work of the parole committee, an after-care treatment program was carefully planned and summarized. When a boy was paroled, copies of this summary were sent to the following people: The assistant commissioner of social welfare in charge of State institutions; the local superintendent of schools in the community to which the boy was going; the committing judge; and the parole field agent. The contact established through this means with the local school authorities had been found to be very helpful in many cases in assisting paroled boys to make their school adjustments.

Each field parole officer was expected to carry out the treatment program determined upon, and he could not make any change in it without first consulting the supervisor of field parole. Suggestions were readily accepted by him, however, and parole officers were encouraged to recommend change whenever they felt it to be for the best interests of the boy.

Since the chaplains were field workers as well as resident officers, they frequently assisted the parole officers in maintaining contacts with church organizations and in making adjustments in regard to church problems. In addition to case work with parolees, the supervisor of field parole considered it part of the work of the parole agents to carry on an educational program in the communities, to interpret the parole work to the public, and to make clear to social agencies the part they might play in the constructive work necessary to help boys returning to their communities. The parole department had enlisted the assistance of courts and many social agencies of various types in connection with the supervisory work.

Another interesting feature of the parole program was the staff conference of the entire field force and supervisors, held every 2 months. At these conferences the various phases of the parole work were discussed. It was felt by the supervisory staff that through these conferences the field officers got a better understanding of the boy's problems, of the value of obtaining complete and thorough case histories, and of the importance of working out plans of cooperation with agencies in the communities to which the boys were paroled.

As the institution's legal control continued until each boy reached 21 years of age unless sooner discharged (see p. 135), most of the boys remained under its supervision until that time, though active supervision usually was discontinued after 2 or 3 years of satisfactory parole record. Unless a case demanded special attention the boy merely "stayed on the books." Boys were automatically discharged before reaching 21 if they married, enlisted in military service, or were committed to some other correctional institution.

The decision as to returning a parolee to the institution for violation of his parole was the responsibility of the parole department. There

was no definite rule as to what constituted a violation. It was left to the judgment of the field parole officer with final approval by the supervisor, or to the judge of the court, usually in consultation with the parole department. Boys were sometimes returned for further training when adjustment had not been satisfactory, though they might not have committed any specific offense.

The parole department in its reorganization was developing and improving its record system. Because preparole and parole activities were all considered a part of the whole institution-treatment program, they were made a part of the case record, so that one record folder might contain each boy's complete history.

#### 18. PLANT AND PROGRAM CHANGES IN RECENT YEARS

Of the cases analyzed in part 2 of this report (see p. 10), 148 were of boys from the New York State Agricultural and Industrial School. Most of these boys (115) were admitted during 1923 and paroled for the last time during 1924 and 1925. Some admissions were of still earlier date, one as far back as 1918. The program at this institution was distinctly different in several ways during this period from that described as in effect in 1932.

Except for the addition of the central school building, the plant itself was approximately the same. The boys lived in widely separated colonies, seldom numbering more than 25 to a group, and having a supervisor and matron in charge of each such family unit. There were two types of colonies, industrial and farm. Each farm colony had about 50 acres of land assigned to it and had all the buildings, equipment, and stock necessary to carry on a small independent farm program. Each farm-colony supervisor was the directing head of his own farm, responsible only to the superintendent or his assistant. Supervisors of the industrial colonies were skilled tradesmen who carried on production and maintenance work for the institution with boys doing the work under their supervision. Each industrial colony had a large garden plot assigned to it, and its boys were expected to raise all the vegetables for their colony, in addition to doing their shop work.

The boys were segregated according to age, size, mental ability, home training, and previous experience. The segregation was as complete as it was possible to maintain. The aim was to prevent the "comparatively well-disposed boys" from being brought into any contact with "the vicious and depraved."<sup>21</sup>

Comparison of figures for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1922 and 1931, reveals some changes in the intervening years:

Item	1922	1931
Average number of boys under care.....	665	572
Number of employees.....	194	211
Boys per employee.....	3.4	2.7
Per capita cost.....	\$568	\$820

<sup>21</sup> State Agricultural and Industrial School, Seventy-sixth Annual Report, year ending June 30, 1924, p. 115. Industry, N.Y.

It will be noted that the population had decreased but that the number of employees had slightly increased, so that the ratio of employees to boys was even more favorable than at the earlier date. The per capita cost had risen, indicating the probable expenditure of more money to procure not only more but also better-trained personnel.

For many years special attention had been given to the physical health of the boys admitted and of those under care. Not only had the boys suffering from acute conditions been given excellent medical care, but much corrective work had been undertaken to relieve conditions noted at time of examination on admission. In 1923 the school hospital was destroyed by fire. Until the new fireproof hospital was built and opened in 1925, the medical work was seriously handicapped by the inadequacy of facilities, and much of the corrective work had to be foregone.

The boys included in this study did not have the benefit of the psychiatric and psychological services described as operating in 1932. But all boys were given mental tests (Binet-Simon), and the results of those routine examinations were utilized in making assignments to school classes and industrial training. The tests were given by a teacher who had taken some special training for that work. The annual report for the fiscal year 1923-24 included the following classification on the basis of those tests, with the comment that although the examinations probably did not always do full justice to the boys, especially those from homes in which foreign languages were habitually spoken, it was believed the findings tabulated gave an approximately accurate picture of the levels of intelligence of the boys admitted during the year:<sup>22</sup>

Mental level	Number	Percent distribution
Superior (110-120) .....	6	1.5
Normal (90-110) .....	83	21.0
Dull normal (80-90) .....	102	25.5
Border-line (70-80) .....	109	27.0
Feeble-minded (below 70) .....	100	25.0

In keeping with the policy of complete segregation by colony the school classwork was carried on in each colony home. During 1924 and 1925 there were 19 teachers under the supervision of a superintendent of schools. Each colony classroom really constituted a small country school, to which a teacher came either in the morning or in the afternoon every day. Half the colonies had school in the morning and did their other work in the afternoon, and the rest of them reversed the program. Three of the 19 teachers taught special subjects (music, freehand drawing, and physical education), visiting all colonies at regular intervals. The others taught regular public-school work, adapting the courses to the varied abilities and degrees of retardation of their boys as best they could. But the annual reports for this period contained comments on the handicap under which the teacher labored who tried to teach the work of several different grades, and perhaps some high-school courses, during the short half-day school period.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

As has already been pointed out, this institution had been primarily an agricultural school, about two-thirds of the boys being engaged in farm activities. At the time this institution was removed from Rochester to this rural site, its founders had firmly believed in the efficacy of rural life and farm pursuits as rehabilitative agents. They recognized the fact that most of their boys came from cities and would return to city life. They had no desire to turn these city-bred lads into farmers. But they believed there was a healthy freedom in farm life and activity, a wholesome physical, mental, and moral tonic in contact with the soil, the sunshine, and the fresh air. They felt that kindness and consideration for the needs and desires of others could be developed through teaching the care of animals. It was natural, therefore, that the most promising boys should be assigned to the farm colonies, and the most hopeless types should be required to do the industrial work in the various shops. In the 1926 annual report these shops were described as "nothing but ill-lighted, poorly ventilated, uninviting barracks which create an environment that is positively detrimental to the best results."<sup>23</sup> The training consisted of "learning by doing" the maintenance and production work for the institution under the direction of experienced workmen.

In recognition of the fact that the educational and vocational programs were not altogether satisfactory, the board of managers requested the State department of education to make a survey of the institution and to suggest such changes as the survey might indicate as desirable. That survey was not made until 1928, after the last of the boys included in this study had been finally released. When completed it recommended centralizing of the school and vocational work, greater development of the latter, and correlation of the two types of educational activity.

The prevailing segregation policy was slightly relaxed from 1917 on but was fairly rigid until 1928. The only relaxation had been in certain general assemblies held, always under the closest of supervision. But there was no intercolony play, nor organized athletic sports and games until later.

The institution had never been under a military regime nor had military drill.

Neither had corporal punishment ever been authorized under the rules of the school since its establishment in place of the old House of Refuge in Rochester. Discipline was described in 1924 as being "maintained by kindly advice and persuasion, by public recognition of right conduct, by the publication of a 'reliable list'" (which entitled a boy to certain extra privileges). When these measures failed, sterner ones were employed; for instance, the time before parole was extended, one or more of the ordinary privileges was withdrawn, certain unpleasant work had to be done, or the boy was sent for a term in the disciplinary colony or experienced "temporary restriction of diet."<sup>24</sup>

The annual reports of the institution for the past 10 or 12 years indicate that parole supervision has been considered one of the most vital parts of the treatment program. An effort had always been made to maintain close contact with the boys during the first year or two after their release. The supervision had been friendly and

<sup>23</sup> State Agricultural and Industrial School, Seventy-eighth Annual Report, year ending June 30, 1926,

p. 40. Industry, N.Y.

<sup>24</sup> Seventy-sixth Annual Report, 1924, p. 115.

designed to be as helpful as possible. It had been under the direction of the assistant superintendent and 2 supervisors (a Catholic and a Protestant parole agent), aided by 3 additional field agents. In 1924 these 5 parole agents were responsible for 1,840 parolees. Of that number, 870 were on "active" and 970 on "semiactive" parole. Obviously the case load was too heavy to permit as close relations as the agents desired to maintain with the released boys whom they were trying to help, but cooperative relationships were being built up with outside agencies whose efforts on behalf of paroled boys were used to supplement those of the institution's field officers. The method of actual field supervision, save for the reduction of case load through addition of more agents, did not differ greatly in 1932 from what it had been in 1924 and 1925. An attempt was being made to procure agents with college and special social-work training during the later period, with a view to raising the standards of work still higher and integrating it more completely with the work of other social agencies in the communities from which the boys came and to which they returned.

The most important difference between the parole work in the two periods lay in the procedures preceding parole and concerned with its granting. In the years during which the boys included in this study were in the institution or on parole, the parole agents themselves had no contact with a boy's case until he had been granted parole and was about to leave the institution. Usually there was very little social history available. When a colony supervisor recommended parole for one of his boys, a home investigation was made a few days before the boy was to be sent home, but it was said that more attention was paid to the references signed by the pastor and by the judge than to the parole agent's report on the home. For many years the supervision had included close cooperation with the pastors in the boys' home communities. Boys were expected to attend church regularly and to send in at regular intervals written reports signed by their pastors.

With the reorganization in 1930 the procedures were put into effect which started preparation for a boy's parole as soon as he was admitted to the institution and which insured the procuring of much more complete social history and the application of all the findings of the clinical study of the boy to the plans for his adjustment back into community life. (The new system is described in pp. 169-170.)

Throughout the reorganization of the school program in 1929, 1930, and 1931, the institution management had had the strong support of the State department of social welfare, whose staff took a deep interest in the plans being made and were most helpful in procuring the necessary funds for putting the desired changes into effect. Other State departments proved to be genuinely interested and cooperative. The administration expressed particular gratitude to the vocational section of the State department of education for the aid given in working out the comprehensive plan for bona fide vocational training for the boys.

## Chapter VI.—BOYS' INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, LANCASTER, OHIO

The Boys' Industrial School at Lancaster, Ohio, was visited by field workers in March 1932 for the purpose of securing the material needed to prepare a description of the physical plant and treatment program to be presented in this report. Unless otherwise specified, all statements refer to conditions existing at the school at that time.

### 1. STATUTORY PROVISIONS GOVERNING ESTABLISHMENT AND OPERATION

In Ohio the early statutes establishing institutions for the care of delinquent children made provision for several types. In 1857 two separate laws were passed, one to authorize the establishment of "houses of refuge", the other to provide for the establishment of "reform schools." The term "reform school" was to apply to institutions "where youth are detained under discipline for their reformation." Three classes of institutions were indicated under the reform-school law; namely, city institutions, farm schools, and institutions for private charity. Farm schools, the second class, were to be "reform farms" to receive young persons sent either by judicial decision or by parental or township authority, who were to be employed under less restraint, chiefly in agricultural labor. The Governor was to appoint, with the advice and consent of the Senate, a board of commissioners, consisting of three members, to establish and supervise these reform schools.<sup>1</sup>

Provision was made in connection with the establishment of the farm schools for an "Ohio State Reform Farm", and it was this institution which became the Boys' Industrial School of the present time. The board of State commissioners was made responsible for the purchase of land and for the erection of suitable buildings to accommodate "40 male youth and necessary officers and employees." As soon as the buildings were completed, the commissioners were to call on the directors of the house of refuge in Cincinnati, or the directors of the Ohio penitentiary, or the officers of any jail in the State for 40 boys to "constitute the first family of said reform farm."<sup>2</sup>

Under the provisions for commitment boys under 18 and girls under 16 found guilty of an offense or crime against the laws of the State could be committed to reform schools, also those under such ages who by law might be sent to houses of refuge—that is, both delinquent and dependent or neglected children. In accordance with the statutory reservation of the Ohio State Reform Farm for "male youth", girls have never been admitted. Children committed were to remain under control of the reform schools until legally of age. They might be placed out on

<sup>1</sup> Ohio, Laws of 1857, pp. 163 (houses of refuge), 171 (reform schools).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171, secs. 7-9.

apprenticeship by the authorities of the school and could be discharged only by order of the authorities or in due process of law.<sup>3</sup>

In 1858 the law of the previous year in regard to reform schools was repealed and a new one was passed, which stated that the purpose of the reform schools was to provide institutions in which youth were to be detained under discipline for their reformation, rather than for their punishment. Three classes of institutions were included: Houses of refuge, as organized under the provisions of the 1857 law; institutions such as the "State reform farm already established in Fairfield County"; and reformatories. The board of State commissioners remained the governing authority over all reform schools, and the law specifically provided for the inclusion of the Ohio State Reform Farm under its control. The terms for commitment and discharge remained the same.<sup>4</sup>

There has been only one change in the name of this institution, that made in 1885 to the "Boys' Industrial School." The statement of the institution's purpose was modified as changes were made in the laws; an act of 1921, which is still in effect, provides that the school "shall be maintained for the industrial and intellectual training of those admitted to its care."<sup>5</sup> In order to carry out this purpose, the boys were to receive such education and be instructed in such branches of industry—agricultural, mechanical, or otherwise—as the State department of welfare might decide, their reformation and preparation for usefulness to be kept in view by the administration.<sup>6</sup> In 1911 the administration of the institution passed from a local board of trustees to the Ohio Board of Administration, created in that year to govern all State institutions, and 10 years later to the State department of public welfare, which took over the powers and duties of the Ohio Board of Administration (except the purchasing of supplies, which was transferred to the department of finance).<sup>7</sup> Since that time there has been no local board of management for the "Boys' Industrial School."

The law had undergone few changes in regard to age limits and length of commitment. During one considerable period—from 1878 until 1913—the upper age for commitment was 16 years, but the lower age limit remained consistently 10 years. Commitment had always been until the boys should reach "majority", "legal age", or "21 years." The law of 1921, which is still in effect, provided that boys not over 18 nor under 10 years, of normal mental and physical capacity for intellectual and industrial training, might be committed to the "Boys' Industrial School." All boys were to be committed until they became 21 years of age unless sooner released for satisfactory behavior and progress in training.<sup>8</sup>

Authority to release on parole or leave of absence and to discharge boys before reaching majority was vested entirely in the department of public welfare, which had formulated rules and regulations in accordance with the law.<sup>9</sup>

The law of 1858 had provided for voluntary payment for the care of children at this institution. If the parents or friends were willing,

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163, secs. 6-15; p. 171, secs. 10, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Ohio, Laws of 1853, p. 27-34.

<sup>5</sup> Ohio, Laws of 1885, p. 141; Laws of 1921, p. 523 (Gen. Code 1932, sec. 2083).

<sup>6</sup> Ohio, Gen. Code 1932, sec. 2094.

<sup>7</sup> Ohio, Laws of 1911, p. 212; Laws of 1921, p. 124 (Gen. Code 1932, secs. 154-157, 1835).

<sup>8</sup> Ohio, Laws of 1878, p. 60, sec. 8; Laws of 1913, p. 879; Laws of 1921, p. 523 (Gen. Code 1932, secs. 2083, 2084).

<sup>9</sup> Ohio, Gen. Code 1932, secs. 92, 154-157, 2091.

they might by "agreement made between them and the authorities \* \* \* be held to pay a weekly charge, not exceeding \$1.50." This provision was omitted from the law of 1878. The only later statutory reference to payment for maintenance was in the law of 1921, still in effect, in which no amount was specified; the very general provision stated merely that "male youth \* \* \* may be admitted to the \* \* \* school under such regulation governing tuition, maintenance, and discipline as the controlling board may provide. Funds collected for the maintenance of youth so admitted shall be turned into the State treasury for the use of the school."<sup>10</sup>

No records indicated whether or not the department of public welfare had made regulations regarding the payment of any tuition.

## 2. THE PHYSICAL PLANT

### Location

The natural setting of this institution among the hills of southeastern Ohio is very beautiful. Though the rural section surrounding it was fairly well settled, many of the farm houses were "up the hollows" or on the hillside, presenting many picturesque settings. All about were extensive hillside orchards, which in the spring added to the beauty of the whole countryside. The institution was 6 miles from Lancaster, the county seat of Fairfield County, a city of about 19,000 population. No arterial routes passed the institution, but it was reached by two good secondary highways. There was a street-car line from Lancaster, the cars running at very infrequent intervals. The mail was transported over this car line. Lancaster itself was only about an hour's bus ride from Columbus, the State capital.

The main buildings of the school were situated on a sort of ridge, roughly shaped like a horseshoe and considerably elevated over the surrounding country. The deep ravine which formed this ridge wound through the grounds and with its wooded slopes added much to the beauty of the school campus. The grounds were artistically landscaped, and during the spring and summer the various flower gardens were profusely in bloom.

### Acreage

This institution had a larger acreage than any other among the five studied, although it only slightly surpassed the New York school in size. Of the 1,485 acres 502 were under cultivation and 508 were in native timber, 135 were occupied by the numerous buildings, the lawns, and the athletic and drill field, 250 were in pasture, and 90 were waste land. As the land was hilly it was not particularly suitable for farming. Practically three-fourths of the cultivated land was used for general farm products (375 acres); 20 acres were used for truck farming; and 107 acres were orchards and berry patches, both of which were highly productive.

### Administrative offices

The superintendent's residence, an imposing, 2-story, yellow-brick house of colonial style, housed also the offices of the superintendent, the record clerk, and the business manager, and was known as the administration cottage. It had been erected in 1895 and was apart from the other buildings, near the entrance to the grounds. The interior was quite as imposing as the exterior, with high-ceilinged rooms and a

<sup>10</sup> Ohio, Laws of 1858, p. 27, sec. 15; Laws of 1921, p. 523 (Gen. Code 1932, sec. 2084-1).



rotunda in its center. On the first floor were the offices, a reception room, and a dining room, the last named used for formal entertaining.

The other administrative offices, including those of the assistant superintendent and the day captain, were in what was known as the "main building", which, except for these offices, the institution post office, and officers' barber shop, was primarily a residence building for staff members. This had a more central location with regard to the other institution buildings.

#### Boys' residence quarters

In this country the plan for housing boys in cottage units, rather than in one large building, was given its first trial with the founding of this institution in 1858. However, although a pioneer in this field, Ohio has not kept pace with the accepted theory that such cottage groups should be small enough to permit of normal family-group life, for their so-called cottage populations ranged from 40 to as high as 90 boys, and the bed capacity was reported to range from 50 to 94. In addition to the large groups per cottage there was apparently overcrowding in some cottages, as the following list shows:

Cottage	Number of beds	Population	Cottage	Number of beds	Population
Receiving cottage (Cuyahoga)-----	68	41	Muskingham-----	75	63
Discipline cottage (Auglaize)-----	50	50	Harris-----	74	74
Ohio-----	94	74	Pattison-----	74	93
Highland-----	85	59	Scioto-----	74	75
Herrick-----	80	81	Nash-----	72	49
Bushnell-----	80	45	Harmon A-----	70	47
Lagonda-----	70	58	Harmon B-----	70	58
Hocking-----	75	55	Union-----	51	63
			Maumee-----	51	53
			Farm cottage no. 1-----		5

Eighteen cottages were being used for boys' residence quarters, including the receiving, discipline, and farm cottages. Only five boys lived at the farm cottage. Four of the cottages housed the younger boys in a unit called the "East Side." The institution had practically two campuses, maintaining a very distinct line between its so-called "East Side" (used for complete segregation of the younger boys) and the main school, called the "West Side", about one-fourth mile distant.

The cottages exhibited a wide variety of architecture and interior planning, as they ranged in age from the earliest buildings of the institution to a cottage that had been built in 1931. The older cottages were all of dark-red brick, mostly three stories high, with cupolas and fancy cornices typical of the Victorian period. Four of the old cottages which had contained third-floor attics used as dormitories had been remodeled about 1925. Three were made into square, 2-story, flat-roofed buildings. The fourth was a 3-story cottage, but its third floor was left unoccupied. The newest cottage was of modern architecture, two stories high, and of attractive light-red brick. It was the only building which was entirely fireproof. Some of the older cottages seemed to present a distinct fire hazard. There were two dormitories in each of 11 cottages and only one dormitory in 6 other

cottages. Windows were not barred, but a very heavy screen was used to prevent escapes.

Except for a small lavatory off the dormitories, all sanitary facilities were in the basements, including showers, toilets, and washbasins. The older cottages had not as modern fixtures as the remodeled cottages and the new cottage, but all such facilities were fairly adequate.

Not all the cottage living rooms were visited, but those which were seen had a formal and rather stiff aspect. The chairs stood around the room against the wall or had been placed around the tables in very precise arrangement. Each cottage had some books and table games. Clothes rooms were in the basement, and these were also used for indoor play space, particularly on the so-called "bath nights" while the boys awaited their turn at the showers. Some of the living rooms were made more attractive by plants, all had some pictures, and most of the cottage supervisors had their personal radios placed so that the boys might hear them.

#### **Staff residence quarters**

Practically all the staff resided at the institution; single persons had one room each, married couples had two rooms. Cottage supervisors, in all instances husband and wife, had quarters in their respective cottages. The long, 3-story main building, which was entirely given over to residence quarters, except for the offices of the assistant superintendent and certain other offices, housed the largest staff group. There was a recreation room for the men officers in the basement, and on the second floor was a parlor or living room for the women officers. The third floor, except for one guest room, was occupied by men, mostly night watchmen. None of the staff residents in this building, except the assistant superintendent, had private baths.

Some additional staff quarters were afforded on the second floor of the East Side dining-room building. Two single rooms for men had been fitted up in the armory building. In a few cottages single rooms were available in addition to the resident supervisor's quarters.

#### **Dining-room and kitchen facilities**

Separate dining rooms and kitchens were maintained for the two divisions of the institution. The building used for this purpose on the East Side was one of the oldest on the grounds. It had been remodeled, however, and the interior of the dining room was rather pleasant. A small dining room for the East Side officers adjoined the boys' dining room.

The East Side had its own kitchen, in which all the food was prepared except the bread, which was baked in the main bakery. This kitchen was rather small and did not have a great deal of modern equipment.

The boys' dining room for the West Side was somewhat less attractive than that on the East Side. It was much larger, and had bare walls, high ceilings, and long windows. It had capacity to seat approximately 700 boys at a meal.

The main officers' dining room adjacent to that of the boys in the same building seemed to emphasize utility at the expense of attractiveness and good cheer. Each table seated about 14 people, and the room was crowded. The officers' and boys' food was prepared in the

main kitchen. This was large, airy, light, and adequately equipped but had few labor-saving devices.

#### **Chapel and assembly hall**

The chapel, which had been built in 1895, was centrally situated about half-way between the West Side and the East Side campus. It was a gothic building of sandstone with attractive stained-glass windows and wooden church pews. There was a balcony for staff or visitors. All institution assemblies, motion-picture shows, and other entertainments were held in the chapel, as well as the church services on Sunday. This chapel had sufficient room to serve as assembly hall for the entire population of the institution.

#### **Hospital**

The hospital was a 1-story, red-brick building set well back from the main walk near the East Side. The building was rather attractive both from the outside and on entrance. The halls were well kept, and there was a cheerful reception room. The capacity was 100, arranged in 3 large wards of 20 beds each, 2 small wards with 5 or 6 beds in each, and 5 private rooms with 1 or 2 beds each.

The hospital kitchen was in the basement, and all meals served to patients were prepared there. The surgery and dispensary were said to be adequately equipped, also the dental office in the hospital. The physician resided at the hospital, but the nurses had no quarters there.

#### **School buildings**

The academic school, which was carried on in two groups (one for the younger boys and one for the older ones), had a building for each group. Neither school had very modern equipment.

The East Side school, completed in 1925, was located at the far end of the East Side campus. It was a 2-story and basement brick building of the ordinary type of school building, semifireproof. Old-style school desks and seats were used. The classrooms were well lighted and ventilated and were made cheerful with colored cut-outs and art work done by the boys.

The West Side school, the one for the older boys and really the central school building, was some 15 years older than the East Side school and less modern in design. It was not fireproof, but it was kept in fairly good repair. Old-style desks were used here likewise.

#### **Shops**

The industrial building, the paint and tin shop, and the garage were the three separate buildings provided for shop work in the vocational program. In the industrial building were several other shops, including those for printing, shoemaking, manual training, and carpentry. These shops were equipped with some modern machinery. The print shop had 2 linotype machines, a cylinder press, and 3 job presses. The tailor shop was on the second floor of a building that was used also for the storeroom. The mechanical building housed the blacksmith shop, automobile-repair shop, plumbing shop, electricians' shop, and machine shop.

The new modern powerhouse may be mentioned along with the shops, for although it was part of the institution maintenance plant it was a training center for a group of older boys. The shops, with the exception of the shoe shop and the printing shop, were devoted chiefly to maintenance.

On the East Side a small building, consisting of only one room, was used as a handcraft shop for the younger boys.

#### Farm buildings

There were about 19 major farm buildings, all well kept up, some of recent construction. One of the dairy barns was new, with up-to-date equipment. Practically all phases of farming were included in the agricultural-production program, and farm machinery was adequate and up to date. There were two large greenhouses, one for flowers and one for vegetables, both large and well fitted for the work carried on in them. These afforded excellent training in horticulture, especially the raising of hothouse vegetables.

#### Gymnasium and athletic field

An armory which was an old sandstone building of typical armory architecture was used both for military drill and as a gymnasium. During the winter season it was used for basket-ball games. In its basement was a swimming pool that could be used only during the summer months.

The athletic or drill field was at some distance from the armory and was quite extensive, being composed of three playgrounds. It was used for military drill and as a baseball field during the appropriate season. Each cottage had a playground, and on the East Side each of them was equipped with some play apparatus.

### 3. PLANT VALUATION AND OPERATING EXPENSE

The institution supplied the following figures on plant valuation:

Lands.....	\$108, 234. 00
Buildings.....	1, 315, 855. 00
Equipment.....	487, 950. 84
Total.....	1, 672, 689. 84

These figures did not take into account depreciation of property. They represented the total amount expended by the State for the respective items.

The business office supplied the following information on operating expenses for the year ended December 31, 1931:

Salaries.....	\$123, 750. 65
Maintenance and supplies.....	117, 972. 53
Professional services.....	3, 906. 47
Equipment.....	22, 796. 31
Total.....	268, 425. 96

As the average daily population was 1,120, the average per capita cost (cost per boy) was \$239.66. In figuring this per capita cost the business office disregarded entirely the goods produced and consumed at the institution. No figures were available to indicate how much the farm contributed to institutional maintenance, though it was undoubtedly a very considerable item. Expenditures for equipment also were included in the institution's figures on per capita costs. As it was impossible to distinguish new equipment from replacements within that item, no effort was made to deduct cost of new equipment, although it is not properly chargeable against operating costs in a single year.

#### 4. ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL, STAFF ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL

##### Administrative control

As has been noted (see p. 177), the State department of public welfare was responsible for the administration of the Boys' Industrial School. This department, through its division of State charities, supervised all the benevolent and correctional institutions in the State and received as its wards delinquent, dependent, neglected, and crippled children committed to it by juvenile courts. The chief executive officer of the department was a director appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate for an indefinite term. The division of State charities, within the department, was under a superintendent appointed by the director for an indefinite term.

The State department of public welfare included in its budget funds for the operating expenses of all State institutions and allocated these funds to the various institutions for their maintenance and operation. Funds for all capital outlay were appropriated specifically to each institution.

The Boys' Industrial School was not under the control of any local board. It frequently consulted the State departments of health and of agriculture. The health department gave help on questions of sanitation, conducted occasional inspections of the water supply, and performed all laboratory work for the school hospital.

The State department of public welfare had on its staff an agriculturist who supervised farming activities on all land under the department's control (some 21,000 acres, including the Boys' Industrial School).

The superintendent of the school was appointed by the State director of public welfare, with the approval of the Governor. His term was 4 years. The State director of public welfare depended on the superintendent for immediate executive control and management of the school.

##### Personnel: Number and duties

The Boys' Industrial School at the time it was visited had in its employ 147 persons, all except 9 of whom were reported as full-time employees. The following positions were listed:

Superintendent.....	1	Day and night captains.....	2
Assistant superintendent.....	1	Family officers.....	12
Chief clerk.....	1	Assistant family officers.....	16
Secretary to superintendent.....	1	Cottage matrons.....	15
Other clerical workers.....	2	Relief officers.....	6
Court officer.....	1	Relief matrons (2 part time).....	5
Chief matron (part time).....	1	Other matrons (administrative, employees', and officers' quarters, etc.; 3 part time).....	7
Superintendent of schools.....	1	Physician.....	1
Principal, East Side School.....	1	Nurses.....	3
School teachers.....	16	Dentist (part time).....	1
Manual-training instructor.....	1	Shop and trade supervisors <sup>11</sup> .....	15
Military instructor.....	1		
Bandmaster.....	1		
Chaplain.....	1		

<sup>11</sup> In this group were included such industrial officers as seemed to supervise boys performing maintenance work in such a way as to involve some elements of trade training: Baker, blacksmith, chief carpenter and assistant, chief cook and assistant, electrician, chief engineer and assistant, painter, plumber, printer, shoemaker, tailor, and tinner.

Farmer and stockman.....	1	Gardener and greenhouse man....	1
Dairyman and assistant.....	2	Poultryman.....	1
Orchardman.....	1	Parole officers.....	4
Farm and grounds squad foremen..	6	Other personnel (2 part time) <sup>12</sup> ....	18

The court officer, whose duties consisted for the most part in maintaining discipline, seemed to rank quite high among the executive personnel. The assistant family officers performed duties practically the same as those of night watchmen. Cottage matrons evidently were not expected to assume toward the boys the relationship of house-mother; although they were said to be usually at home the entire day, their official day was 4 hours and their duties were limited to responsibility for the premises; in fact, they were reported under domestic service. Industrial and maintenance officers were reported under a classification of work carried on rather than with reference to their service as including supervision of boys; therefore it was difficult to determine which of these officers should be considered in any sense shop and trade supervisors.

#### Personnel: Salaries

The salary scale ranged from \$300 to \$3,600. Salaries reported for some of the positions listed in the preceding section were as follows:

Superintendent.....	\$3, 600	Family officers.....	\$1, 020
Assistant superintendent..	1, 750	Assistant family officers..	600-780
Chief clerk.....	1, 500	Matrons, cottage ma- trons <sup>13</sup> .....	300-360
Secretary to superintend- ent.....	900	Physician.....	2, 300
Other clerical workers....	600-900	Nurses.....	720-1, 140
Court officer.....	1, 620	Shop and trade super- visors.....	660-1, 800
Chief matron.....	500	Farmer and stockman....	1, 200
Superintendent of schools	1, 560	Dairyman.....	1, 440
School teachers.....	600-1, 080	Parole officers.....	1, 740-1, 800
Military instructor.....	960		

All but 5 of the officers at this institution were listed as receiving full maintenance in addition to salaries, and 1 of the 5 was receiving partial maintenance.

#### Personnel: Appointments and removals

All positions at this institution were under civil-service regulations. The superintendent had complete control of appointments and discharges, subject to the civil-service law. All appointments had to be made from a civil-service eligible list if one existed. It was stated that by far the greater number of positions had noncompetitive civil-service status, which, according to the superintendent, meant that applicants for such positions simply filled out application blanks at the school when they applied. Their applications were then examined and passed upon by a board composed of the assistant superintendent, the day captain, and the chief clerk.

#### Personnel: Terms of service

The superintendent had been in charge since 1928. His predecessor had served from 1924 to 1928. The State department of public welfare stated that the average tenure since the first superintendent was in office was 3½ years.

<sup>12</sup> This group included 2 part-time mail clerks (censors for the boys' mail), 1 hospital cook, 1 administration-building cook, 2 dining-room officers, 3 seamstresses, 1 laundry assistant, 1 storekeeper, 1 hospital watchman, 1 engineer and truckman, and 5 operating engineers.

<sup>13</sup> The low salaries paid to cottage matrons were in conformity with the classification of their duties under domestic service.

The following figures indicate the length of service of the 138 full-time employees:

	<i>Number of employees</i>
Less than 1 year.....	7
1 year, less than 2.....	10
2 years, less than 3.....	7
3 years, less than 4.....	10
4 years, less than 5.....	6
5 years, less than 10.....	49
10 years or more.....	49

It will be noted that 98 of those employees had served for 5 years or more, 49 having served 10 years or more. Only one of the family officers had been with the school less than 5 years, and most of them had been there 8 to 10 years. Many of the trade supervisors had been employed long periods. The superintendent of schools had served 11 years, and one teacher had served 20 years.

#### **Personnel: Qualifications**

A limited amount of information regarding the education and the previous experience of employees was made available.

The superintendent of the institution was a high-school graduate, had taught in the public schools of Ohio for 9 years, and had a life certificate for teaching. He had come to the institution in 1913 as a family officer and later had served as a teacher. He had left institution service for some months in 1913 and again in 1922, but had remained away only short periods and became superintendent in 1928.

The assistant superintendent had had normal-school training. He had been an officer in the State schools for boys in North Dakota and in Michigan. The court officer was a high-school graduate and had taught in the public schools. He had also served 5 years as probation officer in Clark County, Ohio, and had acted as superintendent of the juvenile detention home in that county.

The superintendent of schools held the degree of B.S. in education and had begun work toward a master's degree. He had taught in the public schools 9 years prior to coming to Lancaster and held a teacher's life certificate. He also had a special life certificate for teaching public speaking. The principal of the East Side school had had some work in Ohio University. He had taught 8 years in the public schools and held a life certificate for elementary teaching.

Three of the school teachers had B.S. degrees, and all others had some college or normal-school training. Eight of them held teachers' life certificates in Ohio. One, in addition to public-school teaching, had taught 4 years in the Children's Village at Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.

Most of the family officers were reported to have only a common-school education, but 2 were listed as high-school graduates. Their records showed experience in farming, clerking in grocery store, carpentry, gardening, factory work, and other trades and occupations. One had had experience of 8 months in a State hospital and 6½ years in the State hospital for epileptics. Another had been employed 1 year in the Glen Mills Training School for Boys in Pennsylvania and 3 years in the National Training School for Boys at Washington. The education and experience of the relief officers and the assistant family officers were similar, by far the greater number having common-school education only. Three were said to be high-school graduates, and two had had some college work. Three had previous experience in Ohio State hospitals, including the hospital for epileptics.

The general educational background of those who had been classed as trade supervisors was that of common-school education. They had been workmen prior to appointment at the institution. One, the chief carpenter, had come to the school on retirement from the Army.

The military instructor had an eighth-grade education and experience in the Army during the World War.

One of the four parole officers had had some education in preparation for the ministry. He had been appointed as relief officer at this institution in 1910, become a family officer in 1919, served as day captain from February to August of 1920, and was made a parole officer in that year. Another officer, reported to be a high-school graduate, came to Lancaster as a family officer in 1914, became day captain in 1920, and was promoted to the position of parole officer about 1924. The third officer, who had some normal-school training and some experience as a bookkeeper and also as a druggist, came to the school in 1922 as relief officer. Soon he became quartermaster, then day captain, and was promoted to parole officer in 1924. The fourth parole officer had a common-school education and had taught in the public schools 7 years. He came to the Boys' Industrial School in 1912 as a family officer and became parole officer in 1919. For 2 years of the period thereafter he had been out of parole service, serving as storekeeper at the institution.

#### **Personnel: Living and working conditions**

The superintendent considered the fact that the school had a smaller labor turnover than any other State institution in Ohio an indication that the living and working conditions were satisfactory. Quarters of the cottage personnel varied considerably, depending on the cottage to which they happened to be assigned. There was nothing pretentious or particularly attractive about employees' quarters or the recreation rooms—either that for men in the basement of the main building or that for women on its second floor. However, this school was sufficiently isolated so that the employees had to depend largely on the social life on the campus for whatever normal social living they had. Those who had cars could mingle with various social groups in the city of Lancaster and the surrounding rural territory. For those who had to depend on the street car, which ran very infrequently between the institution and Lancaster, it was difficult.

The staff members had exceptionally long hours on duty. It was stated that the family officers averaged 12 hours a day 7 days a week. They were entitled to 1 Sunday a month off and to 2 additional days each month; the latter applied to their vacation allowance and could be accumulated to 14 days. Several of the school teachers, including the superintendent of schools, also acted as relief and family officers. It was stated that the teachers serving as family officers averaged a 14-hour day, 7 days a week, with the same allowance of 1 Sunday and 2 additional days off per month, cumulative to 14 days. The combination of teaching with relief duty made such officers subject to duty at any time, day or night, and their work was for long periods at a time. Ten of the teachers were listed as performing double duty in such capacities. Some family officers who were not teachers had other work in addition to their cottage responsibilities; for example, one was the laundryman, another was the florist. One man classed as relief officer served as supervisor in the main dining room for boys, one was



engineer and truckman, and another had charge of the canning room during its busy season.

Office workers and the women teachers had Saturday afternoons and Sundays off duty. Kitchen and dining-room workers had every other Sunday off. Their vacation allowance was 14 days, and all employees were allowed sick leave on pay during the year, to 2 weeks if needed.

The superintendent stated that the long hours noted when the institution was visited were necessitated by personnel shortage which was especially severe at that time because of a cut in budget for personnel of about \$1,000 a month for the current year.

#### **Staff organization**

No organization chart was available. The institution seemed to have a somewhat loosely drawn and incomplete departmental organization. For example, there was a superintendent of schools to whom all academic teachers were responsible, but there was no director of vocational instruction, to whom instructors in industrial shops or vocational work should be responsible and who would supply supervision and leadership. The chief engineer was said to be in charge of the plumbing, electrical, and machine shops and of the power plant; the head gardener was in charge of certain men detailed to him; and the farm supervisor was responsible for the work of the various farm officers, but all other instructors or foremen reported directly to the superintendent of the institution or to the assistant superintendent. Family officers likewise were responsible directly to the superintendent or to the assistant superintendent. There was no cottage supervisor whose entire time could be devoted to the supervision of the cottage personnel and to helping them develop cottage activities and organize cottage life in such a way as to approach normal noninstitutional living in preparation for the boys' unsupervised life on release. All matrons were reported to work under the direction of the chief matron, who was the wife of the superintendent.

The parole department had no chief parole officer to supervise the work of the parole agents and devote time to the development and improvement of the parole work. Each parole officer was said to report to, and be responsible to, the superintendent only.

#### **Administrative leadership and staff teamwork**

Machinery for providing channels through which administrative leadership might flow to the various working staff units seemed to be somewhat lacking. There was no program for regular staff conferences. The superintendent stated that he called special groups together for discussions as occasion demanded. The impression gained was that such meetings as were called were for particular announcements and statements by the executives and were not conferences of the type that permit free discussion and stimulate original thought on the part of the staff members. The general impression which would be received was that the whole spirit at this school was rather that of an old-fashioned institution running on institutional precedents established during its long years of existence, with only such staff teamwork as comes from a somewhat militaristic organization. No indications were noted of staff teamwork in the sense of getting together to discuss more progressive policies and decide as to experimenting with them.

## 5. ADMISSIONS, CAPACITY, AND POPULATION

**Intake provisions and policies**

Boys 10 to 17 years of age, inclusive, were committed to this institution on a finding of delinquency under the juvenile-court law.<sup>14</sup>

The Ohio policy of automatic discharge from parole at the end of 1 year necessitated recommitment of many boys who, in other States where parole periods were longer, would be returned as parole violators without court action. Beginning with the 17-year-old group the courts had the option of sending boys to the Lancaster institution or to the State reformatory at Mansfield (which received boys and men between 16 and 30 years of age). It was the practice of the courts to use both institutions, and a number of such boys were committed or recommitted to the Boys' Industrial School.

All commitments were until the boy became 21 years of age or was earlier discharged, but only a few boys remained until they were 21. Unless they were returned for violation of parole or were recommitted subsequently, the average period under care in the institution and on parole was about 2 years. Some boys, however, remained in the institution considerably longer—those who were not successful in "earning time" and those who were returned repeatedly for violation of parole. Such boys often remained under care until 21 or near that age.

As the law stated that any boy within the specified ages having normal mental and physical capacity for intellectual and industrial training might be committed by the courts,<sup>15</sup> the school could decline to accept boys who had been definitely diagnosed as feeble-minded prior to commitment. Neither did it accept cases suffering from infectious disease, and tuberculous cases and active cases of venereal disease were excluded. Transfer of tuberculous boys to proper sanitariums was made when possible.

**Capacity and population**

This was the largest of the five institutions visited, with a population on March 14, 1932, of 990 boys. The capacity was given as 1,213.

Figures as to nativity of the boys were not available. During 1931 there were 713 white boys and 181 Negro boys committed. The age distribution for the 894 boys committed during 1931 was as follows:

10 years.....	13	15 years.....	185
11 years.....	18	16 years.....	216
12 years.....	45	17 years.....	178
13 years.....	96	18 years.....	2
14 years.....	144		

The total number of boys still under jurisdiction but not resident was 1,265. Of these 1,147 were on parole, 109 absent without leave (escaped), and 9 absent with leave. The movement of population for the last fiscal year before the institution was visited (ended Dec. 31, 1931) was as follows:

<sup>14</sup> Ohio, Gen. Code 1932, secs. 1644, 1652, 1653-1.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 2084-1.

Population Jan. 1, 1931.....	1, 147
Received during the year.....	1, 249
First admissions and received from court.....	808
Readmissions.....	86
Parole violators returned.....	196
Returned from absence with leave.....	55
Temporary returns.....	19
Escapes returned.....	85
Lost during the year.....	1, 389
Released on discharge direct from institution <sup>16</sup> .....	5
Died.....	5
Transferred to other institutions.....	3
Paroled and restored to parole.....	1, 112
Absent with leave.....	161
Escaped.....	103
Population Dec. 31, 1931.....	1, 107

## 6. RECEPTION AND ASSIGNMENT PROCEDURE

### Reception

Boys were brought to this school by the probation officer from the committing court, or by a sheriff or his deputy. Each boy was brought immediately into the receiving office, where the receiving clerk signed the warrant which served as a receipt for the boy's person. This clerk then made a record containing a few facts regarding the boy and his family. After that formality the boy was taken to the quartermaster's office to receive school clothing. Although heads of new boys were not shaved, it was stated that they were usually clipped for sanitary reasons. From the quartermaster's office the new boy then went to the receiving cottage.

### Receiving cottage

The receiving cottage was in one of the older residence units adjacent to the main building. There were no bars on the windows, but very heavy screen was used. Partial quarantine was observed; the boys did not go to school nor work in the shops, but they ate in the central dining room, went to general school entertainments, and did some work about the grounds. The average stay here was 14 days.

While at the receiving cottage new boys were examined by the resident physician and the psychologist, each of whom prepared a report of his findings. The psychological work at this institution was necessarily limited, with but one psychologist for the very large population of this school. There was no classification or assignment committee, assignment being made by individual officers.

### First assignments

Cottage assignment was made by the court officer. His assignments were based almost entirely on the boys' age and physical development, the younger boys being assigned to cottages on the East Side campus. (See p. 179.) Colored boys were housed separately from the white boys, and in three cottages all the boys were of the Catholic faith. Boys who played in the band had a cottage to themselves.

<sup>16</sup> Figures secured at the time of the visit show these as separate item. They are included with all discharges in the printed report. See Ohio Department of Public Welfare, Advance Sheets of the Tenth Annual Report, year ended Dec. 31, 1931, p. 154.

School assignments were made by the superintendent of schools. These were made as a result of his interview with the boy and his conversation with him about prior school experience and progress, plus consideration of the psychologist's report.

Vocational assignments were made by the court officer. Items taken into consideration in making these assignments were the boy's expressed preference, the needs of the various shops, and the results of the psychological examination.

## 7. THE BOY'S LIFE IN THE INSTITUTION

### Daily routine

The boys spent the day at this institution somewhat as follows, the schedule varying slightly between the winter and summer seasons:

6 a.m.....	Rising bugle.
6:30-6:45 a.m.....	Setting-up exercises (in summer boys rose at 5:30 and had military drill from 6 to 6:45).
7 a.m.....	Mess call.
7:30 a.m.....	Report to work and hospital drill.
7:45 a.m.....	Report to school.
11:30 a.m.....	Return to cottages from work and school.
12 noon.....	Mess call.
12:30-1 p.m.....	Recreation period.
1 p.m.....	Report to school and work.
4:55 p.m.....	Dismissed.
5 p.m.....	Detail assembly.
5:30 p.m.....	Evening mess.
6-7:30 p.m.....	Recreation period.
8 p.m.....	Taps.

### General atmosphere

At this school there were many more evidences of regimentation and repression than at the four other institutions included in this study. One of the most striking evidences was the constant passing of long, silent, shuffling lines of boys marching two by two about the grounds. There was also something about the expression on the faces of the boys—sullenness and sometimes fear or hate—that contributed to the impression. Little or no spontaneous conversation and laughter were observed at any time about the grounds. There was a rough-and-ready character to the interchange between officers and boys and a brusqueness in the directions given that suggested military usage rather than ordinary teacher-pupil relations.

### Cottage "family" atmosphere

Each cottage had a family officer and a matron who were husband and wife. As has been stated, however, the matrons at this institution rated practically as housekeepers and were responsible only for the physical care of the cottage, not for supervision of the boys. Such relation as was observed between family officers and the older boys seemed much more like that between a strict master in a boarding school and his pupils than that obtaining between a foster parent and foster child. Since very few of the cottages housed less than 50 boys (one housing 81 and one 93), this large size of the cottage populations almost entirely precluded the possibility of any real family atmosphere.

### Arrangements for sleeping

Each cottage, no matter what its size, had either 1 large or 2 small dormitories. They were simply furnished with white iron beds and

adequate bedding and were kept in orderly condition. The boys left their shoes and coats downstairs, the remainder of their clothing in clothes rooms upstairs. The dormitories were locked at night, even though none of the cottages except the new one was considered fireproof. In some of the older cottages this meant a serious hazard. Night watchmen visited each locked dormitory at regular intervals.

#### **Arrangements for eating**

As has already been stated, each campus had a central dining room and kitchen for the boys. The dining room for the younger boys on the ground floor of one of the oldest buildings—which, however, had been remodeled—was light, having windows on three sides, and its ventilation was good. The wall decorations were quite unusual, consisting of two large mural paintings by a former inmate. The colors in these murals were pleasing and the designs attractive. Added cheeriness was furnished by plants at the windows and sometimes flowers on some of the tables. Except for the boys assigned to the kitchen and those acting as waiters, all ate in the dining room at the same time. Each table seated 10 boys, long benches being used for the seats. White table linen was used, but all the tableware was aluminum. Boys entered the dining room in military line, going to their places at the tables and taking their seats on signal in complete silence. They then said grace in unison before the signal to begin eating was given. Silence was reported to be the usual rule in the dining rooms. The assistant superintendent said the boys were permitted to talk during part of the meal; if this permission was in effect at the time the East Side dining room was visited, the boys were not taking advantage of it, as they were wholly silent. The West Side dining room (for the older boys) was somewhat less attractive, perhaps partly because it was so large and had bare walls, high ceilings, and long windows. Each table seated 10 boys, benches were used, and the table service was like that in the East Side dining rooms with white table cloths and aluminum ware. Here too, the atmosphere suggested military repression, and there was complete lack of cheerful and spontaneous social expression. A sample menu for 1 week is reproduced in appendix A, p. 292.

#### **Sanitary arrangements**

Plumbing in the older cottages was naturally not of the most modern design, and keeping it in good shape required a great deal of work. Individual towels were issued twice a week. For certain of the labor groups clean towels were issued four times a week. All boys were furnished with toothbrushes and required to use them twice a day. All boys were required to bathe twice a week, and some of the labor groups bathed daily during a large part of the year.

#### **Living-room and playground activities**

When the weather was too unpleasant for the boys to remain outdoors during the evening recreation hour, the time was spent in the cottage living rooms except on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Those evenings were known as "bath nights", and the whole cottage group stayed in the basement rooms adjoining the showers. There they were free to take part in certain forms of play while waiting their turn. Boxing was said to be a popular pastime with some of the older boys.

In the living rooms they were permitted to read or play games, the favorites being checkers and dominos. Though the executives said there was no rule of silence for the living room, the impression was gained that the matter was left largely to the family officers. In one of the living rooms visited in the evening, which was that of a cottage for colored boys with a family officer who had an excellent reputation, some 15 boys were standing "on line." All the other boys were seated around tables, some reading, some playing games, but conversation was in an exceedingly low tone or in whispers. There was nothing of the natural noisy give-and-take of normal boyhood. It would be difficult to permit normal energy outlets to boys living in such large units.

Family officers were supposed to be responsible for the supervision of boys at play on the cottage playgrounds. However, it was said that they had so many other duties to perform that they were compelled to depend to a large extent on boy monitors for direct supervision of boys on the playgrounds. The system of "boundary boys" was in use, these boys apparently acting very much like army sentries to keep boys rigidly within the limits of the respective playgrounds. Otherwise a measure of free play seemed to be possible on the cottage playgrounds.

#### Miscellaneous arrangements

This institution had no lockers for individual possessions. There were large clothes rooms in each cottage, each boy having a separate space allotted to him, but his things were not under lock and key. Some of the cottages had a few cupboards in which a little space could be allotted to individual boys for their personal possessions; however, there was no possible real security for their private treasures. Smoking was strictly forbidden.

The monitor system was rather highly developed. Each cottage had two monitors who served practically as assistants to the family officer. In addition, each cottage had several other boys serving as stair guards, lavatory monitors, boundary guards, or on assignment to other specific duties. Both the assistant superintendent and the court officer stated that they regarded the monitor system as almost wholly bad, but that with the exceedingly limited personnel which their budget permitted they knew of no other way to cope with the situation. They said they knew it lent itself to abuses against which it was very difficult to guard. For example, cottage officers who wished above all things to "preserve order" were likely to select for monitors the boys able to maintain order and discipline. As a consequence some of the most unworthy boys—from the point of general character—might be made monitors because they had strong personalities with fairly high intelligence and were wise enough to remain on their good behavior while in the institution in order to win as early release as possible. To have such boys set up as officers over younger boys or boys with less experience in delinquent behavior was recognized as bad policy; but the management had found no way to eliminate the system nor to control its functioning.

Boys at this school were wearing school uniforms which consisted of blue overalls and an old blue coat that was said to be the coat of their old dress uniforms. They had small service caps of the overseas type with B.I.S. buttons. On Sundays they wore dark-blue dress uniforms, military in style, with dress service cap in winter, and in summer white caps similar to those worn by men in the Navy.

### **Outside contacts**

Each boy wrote one letter a month to his parents or, if they were not living, to his nearest relative. Permission to write oftener could be secured under special conditions. Boys were permitted to receive incoming mail without restriction except as to suitability of content. All incoming and outgoing mail was read by the women officers (the wives of other employees) designated as mail clerks.

Near relatives were permitted to visit boys once a month. Fridays were visiting days, a certain Friday being designated as the visiting day for each group of cottages, the groups rotating. Additional visits might be allowed under certain conditions with the approval of the superintendent.

Boys were not permitted to leave the institution to visit their homes except in cases of serious illness or death in the family. Even then the permission was granted only if the application came through the court that had committed the boy concerned. The transportation expense, of course, had to be borne by the family.

## **8. PHYSICAL EXAMINATIONS AND MEDICAL CARE**

### **Hospital facilities**

In spite of the age of the hospital building and its type of construction, it was well kept up and seemed bright and cheerful.

### **Hospital staff**

A physician who had been at the institution for 9 years was in charge of the medical work. Specialists in Lancaster and in Columbus were reported to be available for consultant service. All surgical work was done by these specialists and on a fee basis. The dental work was done by the dentist who gave part-time service—that is, he spent 2 weeks of every 3 at this institution. The staff included a registered nurse who served as chief nurse, a practical nurse who had many years' experience in institutional hospital work, a relief nurse who was a practical nurse with 11 years' experience in this institution, and a night watchman and cook. The night watchman gave full duty at night, taking temperatures and performing other services. Boys were assigned to hospital duty to assist the nurses and the night watchman.

### **Physical examinations**

All boys were given physical examinations on entrance as a matter of routine. These included throat cultures and the Schick and Wassermann tests. Weighing and measuring was part of the entrance-examination routine, but this was not done regularly. Toxin-antitoxin was given to those boys who needed it. The results of the physical examination were entered on a medical record blank which became a part of the permanent school records. All boys were given a reexamination before release on parole.

### **Corrective work**

The physician in charge stated that until 1932 a great deal of corrective work had been done, but that shortage of funds for payment of the surgical fees had compelled this type of work to be greatly curtailed. Hospital statistics for 1931 had included 130 surgical cases, among them being 34 tonsillectomies, 4 circumcisions, and 7 herniotomies.

**Dental work**

The dentist examined all new boys and gave such ordinary dental service as was required, these needs being cared for at State expense.

**Other medical care**

Daily sick call was held at the hospital at 8 o'clock each morning. Any boy might go to sick call if he had the permission of his family officer. Boys reported at that time for treatment for minor cuts, scratches, and miscellaneous conditions. Boys were permitted to report to the hospital at any time for examination and treatment of more serious injuries or illnesses, if the officer who had them under care believed there was sufficient reason for it. Any boy who on examination at sick call was found to need treatment was given a hospital slip which notified his family officer or detail officer of the time at which he was to report for dispensary treatment daily, if he were not a hospital case. He then had to return regularly at that time until released by the physician. Records were made of all examinations and treatments.

The hospital report for the previous year showed 831 medical and 93 contagious cases, in addition to the surgical work mentioned. Among these 93 contagious cases were listed 39 cases of influenza, 9 of diphtheria and 13 of diphtheria carriers, 12 of measles, 8 of scarlet fever, 2 of syphilis, 4 of scarletina, 3 of mumps, and 3 of chicken-pox. Surgical cases in addition to corrective work included 2 appendectomies, 3 amputations, 28 infections, and a considerable number of cases of other types.

Although the hospital authorities did not like to retain boys suffering from tuberculosis, one tuberculous boy was in this hospital at the time the institution was visited, having been under treatment there 9 months. An effort always was made to transfer such cases to a regular hospital or sanitarium for the treatment of tuberculosis, but sometimes it proved impossible to find facilities for free treatment for such cases. In that event boys were retained for treatment in the institution's hospital.

Two of the amputations reported were for boys who had escaped at night, barefooted, during zero weather, and had been hiding out for nearly a week. It had been necessary to remove frozen feet for both boys.

**9. PSYCHIATRIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICE****Clinical facilities**

Psychological service was furnished at this school by the State bureau of juvenile research.<sup>17</sup> At the time the Boys' Industrial School was visited the bureau had detailed a psychologist to the school to examine and classify all cases admitted there and to study such other problems as might be presented. He had offices in the East Side school building and the institution was supposed to supply him with stenographic service. At that time, however, he had only the help of one boy who was a pupil in the institution's commercial class.

<sup>17</sup> The bureau of juvenile research, which is one of the 10 major divisions of the State department of public welfare, was established in 1914 (Laws of 1913, p. 175; see Gen. Code 1932, sec. 1841-2). Its purposes are the physical, psychological, and psychiatric study of juvenile delinquents and children with behavior difficulties and the provision of advisory service for the State in its work with such children. It is housed in a building of its own in Columbus. In addition to the work done here the bureau maintains a field-clinic department, which sends staff members to various places throughout the State to examine children who for one reason or another cannot be brought to the bureau and to give such advisory assistance as is desired.



It was even necessary for this boy to take a certain amount of the information required on the interview sheets. All the writing of the psychologist's records was done by such assistants. No aid was available in the way of psychiatric social work.

#### Psychological tests

Each new boy was interviewed individually. All new boys admitted during the week were called together for group tests each Monday. The National Intelligence and Morgan tests were used. Boys who obtained a lower rating than an intelligence quotient of 60 were later summoned for individual examinations. In those the Stanford-Binet was customarily given. Occasionally achievement tests also were used. The results of the tests and the information obtained in the interview were then recorded on a summary sheet. The original was sent to the superintendent and carbon copies were sent to the bureau of juvenile research, to the State department of public welfare, and to the disciplinarian of the school.

During the preceding year 1,104 new boys had been given group tests and 155 had been called back for individual tests. In addition 14 boys had been given individual examinations on request of some other staff member and 100 had been retested for research purposes. The psychologist supplied the following figures on mental classification of the entire group:

Mental level	Number of boys	Percent distribution
Total.....	1, 104	100
Superior.....	18	2
Normal intelligence.....	312	28
Inferior intelligence.....	485	44
Border-line intelligence.....	196	18
Feeble-minded.....	93	8

The following figures show the number and percent distribution in this group of 1,104 boys, by commitment, and the median intelligence quotients assigned for the respective groups by the psychologist:

Commitment	Number of boys	Percent distribution	Median intelligence quotient
Total.....	1, 104	100	-----
First commitment.....	806	73	81. 5
Second commitment.....	215	19	83. 6
Third commitment.....	56	5	82. 5
Fourth commitment.....	22	2	82. 5
Fifth to seventh commitments inclusive.....	5	-----	80. 0

#### Psychiatric examinations

Psychiatric examinations were not given as a matter of routine. When the psychological examination revealed that boys had special problems the psychologist recommended that they be sent to the

bureau of juvenile research for a period of observation. He reported that the bureau usually had one to four boys from this school under observation in its clinic. The types usually designated for this intensive study were said to be those suspected of being incipient psychotics or those whose antisocial tendencies were considered to be serious.

#### **Personal histories**

Personal histories were obtained from three sources: Some of the committing courts sent a certain amount of social data, but this source was not particularly well developed. Each week the full list of new boys was sent for clearance to the central office of the bureau of juvenile research, which supplied records of former examinations. Lastly, the psychologist at the school undertook to obtain supplementary history from the boy himself in the interview at the institution.

#### **Application of findings**

The psychological findings were used to a certain extent in determining the assignment to school or trade instruction. There was, however, no assignment committee nor clinic group of any kind. The individuals responsible for assignments always had access to the psychological records if they wished to make use of them. The school department called on the psychologist for special examinations and recommendations for boys who were believed to be incapable of profiting further from routine school work. There was a regular form letter which the superintendent of schools used in sending to the psychologist a request for such examinations. A regular form also was used for certification that the boy was believed "incapable of profiting substantially by further instruction", on the basis of which recommendations the boy might be excused from further school attendance regardless of his age or school progress.<sup>18</sup>

With clinical facilities so limited it was obvious that practically no individual study and careful planning of individualized treatment based on consideration of personality difficulties could be undertaken. Nor did there seem to be any connection between the psychological work and the parole procedures.

#### **Attitude of other staff members toward clinical services**

Some of the staff members, notably the school principal and the disciplinarian, depended to a certain extent on the psychologist for advice in connection with some of their most difficult cases. The disciplinarian often consulted him in regard to his more serious problems, and he was very careful not to order corporal punishment for a boy until he made sure through such consultation that the boy was "responsible." There was no evidence that the school personnel in general believed the application of mental-hygiene principles to individualized treatment of delinquent boys would be helpful.

#### **Research activities**

The psychologist had an interest in research, but the burden of routine work was much more than he could carry, and it left him practically no time for study and research.

<sup>18</sup> Ohio, Gen. Code 1932, sec. 7762-7.

## 10. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM—CLASSROOM WORK

**School staff**

Academic education was directed by the superintendent of schools and a teaching staff consisting of 18 men and women teachers; one of these teachers served as principal at the East Side school and another directed the work in manual training.

**School day and school year**

The school day was from 7:45 to 11:15 in the morning and 1:05 to 4:45 in the afternoon. The school year was from September 1 to May 1. The reason for dismissal on May 1 seemed to be in order that the older boys might be used for the spring farm work. A summer session for the smaller boys on the East Side was conducted.

**Attendance requirements and enrollment**

The small boys on the East Side attended school all day. The older group who attended the main school were in school one half day and in trade training or work assignments the other half day with the exception of those in the commercial group. The school-attendance laws of the State served as the guide for attendance requirements.<sup>19</sup> A considerable group of the older boys were excused from school attendance. Boys past 16 who had completed the seventh grade were not required to attend school. This older group constituted a fairly large unit in the school population.

The enrollment in the two schools and the periods of school assignment on March 14, 1932, were as shown in the following table:

*Time of school for boys enrolled in specified grade or class on Mar. 14, 1932*

Grade or class	Boys enrolled								
	Total	In West Side school				In East Side school			
		Total	Time assigned			Total	Time assigned		
			All day	Morn- ing	After- noon		All day	Morn- ing	After- noon
Total.....	<sup>1</sup> 757	527	21	202	304	230	27	83	120
Commercial class.....	34	34	21	1	12				
Ninth grade.....	58	58		24	34				
Eighth grade.....	67	67		30	37				
Seventh grade.....	163	121		41	80	42			42
Sixth grade.....	158	114		41	73	44		21	23
Fifth grade.....	114	65		31	34	49		30	19
Fourth grade.....	80	34			34	46		23	23
Third grade.....	17					17	17		
Second grade.....	7					7	7		
First grade.....	3					3	3		
Ungraded.....	34	34		34					
Shop class.....	22					22		9	13

<sup>1</sup> The difference between the school enrollment (757 on Mar. 14, 1932) and the total population of the institution on the same date (990) is due to the fact that a number of older boys were excused from school attendance and that boys not yet released from the receiving cottage for assignment to school grade were included in the total population, and also to other conditions of institutional life.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., secs. 7762, 7763, 7766.

The ages of the boys and the grades in which they were enrolled were reported as shown in the following table:

*Age of boys enrolled in specified grade or class on Mar. 16, 1932*

Grade or class	Boys enrolled											
	Total	Age of boy									Not reported	
		10 years	11 years	12 years	13 years	14 years	15 years	16 years	17 years	18 years		19 years
Total.....	1767	7	12	34	59	133	175	210	95	3	1	38
Commercial class.....	33						6	16	8	2	1	
Ninth grade.....	56					10	19	21	6			
Eighth grade.....	61				1	14	18	22	5	1		
Seventh grade.....	166			1	11	25	48	45	36			
Sixth grade.....	158			4	10	34	32	53	25			
Fifth grade.....	117		4	11	14	30	24	25	9			
Fourth grade.....	79	2	3	10	17	11	16	16	4			
Third grade.....	7	2	3	5	3	3	1					
Second grade.....	7	2	1	2	1	1						
First grade.....	3	1	1			1						
Ungraded.....	32			1	2	4	11	12	2			
Shop class.....	22											22
Not reported.....	16											16

<sup>1</sup> The difference between the school enrollment (767 on Mar. 16, 1932) and the total population of the institution on approximately the same date (990 on Mar. 14, 1932) is due to the fact that a number of older boys were excused from school attendance and that boys not yet released from the receiving cottage for assignment to school grade were included in the total population, and also to other conditions of institutional life.

As in the other schools from which such data were procured, evidence of school retardation was conspicuous.

**Courses given**

Regular public-school work from the first through the ninth grade was being given. The curriculum was patterned on the public-school curriculum for the State and had been approved by the State department of education. In addition to the regular grades in the main school a special class was conducted for boys of very low-grade mentality. This class was being taught by a middle-aged man who was not using the newer methods for teaching subnormal children. The school had formerly had an ungraded class to which boys having difficulty with particular subjects were assigned. This had been successfully conducted by a specially trained teacher. It had been discontinued because of the extra expense involved in retaining this well-qualified instructor.

Another experiment which had been tried and which had been very successful was a special art class in which three kinds of work had been offered; namely, mechanical drawing, free-hand drawing, and commercial art work. To that class had been sent boys showing any particular talent and boys who were not getting along well in regular academic work but had some aptitude for drawing. Each boy was permitted to experiment and to choose the type of art work in which he was most successful and in which he found the most personal satisfaction. The school superintendent stated that the class had been very helpful in dealing with conduct-problem boys. However, this class had also been discontinued because it had been considered too expensive by the school management.

The superintendent, who was particularly interested in public speaking, held a class every year in that subject. Contests were held at the end of each semester, and boys who took part in them were granted certain additional credits in English. The superintendent stated that he believed the work was genuinely helpful to certain types of boys who had always had great difficulty with self-expression and with classroom recitations.

The commercial work was available to boys of average or better than average mentality who had completed the ninth grade.

#### 11. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM—VOCATIONAL OR PREVOCATIONAL WORK

In a descriptive booklet which this institution prepared in 1930 for distribution to persons interested in its program, a section on vocational training presented a long list of vocational-training "departments", together with the following statement:

Each department is composed of an instructor and from 8 to 30 boys according to the amount of work the department has to be done, and the boys of each department are organized into efficient operating crews, the older boys doing the more skillful work, and the new boys learning to do the less skillful work. Usually one of the more experienced boys is appointed monitor of the crew, and in this position he becomes a sort of an assistant to the instructor and is quite a help in keeping the work going as it should.

We realize that the 10 to 12 months which a boy may spend in one of these departments is not sufficient time for one to become a finished artisan, but we do believe that a boy by applying himself reasonably well may become so familiar with the work he is doing that he could follow the same line of work to good advantage after leaving the institution.<sup>20</sup>

Production and maintenance work for the institution, in the opinion of the management, provided opportunities for boys to learn many useful trades under the supervision of practical workmen and boy assistants. These opportunities were determined by the "amount of work to be done." None of the instructors had had any special educational preparation or previous teaching experience. Courses were not planned with certain periods devoted to group instruction in general trade information and theory, in preparation for the practice work. It was wholly a case of learning by doing, within the limits imposed by the needs of the institution and its materials and equipment.

#### Enrollment

The vocational and other work in which boys were occupied on March 16, 1932, and the time assigned were reported as shown in the table following.

<sup>20</sup> The Boys' Industrial School, Lancaster, Ohio, 1930, p. 13.

*Time of work for boys occupied in specified vocational or other work assignments on Mar. 16, 1932*

Vocational or other work	Boys occupied in vocational or other work				
	Total	Time assigned			
		All day	Morning	Afternoon	Night
Total.....	932	184	441	293	14
Automobile mechanics.....	5	3	1	1	
Baking.....	8	4	4		
Band.....	48	1	38	9	
Barbering.....	11	6	3	2	
Blacksmithing.....	4	1	1	2	
Butchering.....	5	1	2	2	
Carpentry and cabinet making.....	5	2	2	1	
Electrical work.....	5	2	1	2	
Farming:					
Dairy.....	28	12	8	8	
Fruits.....	22	11	1	10	
Horse barn.....	2	1	1		
General farming.....	22	13	4	5	
Poultry raising.....	13	6	2	5	
Truck gardening.....	29	7	7	15	
Horticulture.....	17		7	8	2
Ice plant.....	2	1			1
Laundry.....	27	9	9	9	
Manual training.....	11		6	5	
Masonry.....	3		1	2	
Painting.....	9	1	2	6	
Plumbing.....	6		2	4	
Power plant.....	45	25	3	9	8
Printing.....	8	4	3	1	
Sheet-metal work.....	3	1	1	1	
Shoemaking and repairing.....	25	12	6	7	
Tailoring.....	31	3	13	15	
Office work.....	17	11	5	1	
Quartermaster.....	9		4	5	
Storeroom.....	2	2			
Telephone operators.....	2	2			
Dining-room service.....	52	7	36	9	
General force.....	185	4	69	112	
Hospital.....	6	1	2	1	2
Housework.....	135		135		
Ironing room.....	19	11	4	4	
Kitchen work.....	35	9	22	3	1
Mending room.....	31		16	15	
Paring room.....	24	1	12	11	
Sewing room.....	11	2	6	3	
School janitor.....	2	1	1		
Monitors in receiving and disciplinary cottages.....	5	5			

<sup>1</sup> The difference between the number of boys assigned to vocational or other work (932 on Mar. 16, 1932) and the total population of the institution on approximately the same date (990 on Mar. 14, 1932) is due to the fact that work assignments were not given to younger boys and that boys not yet released from the receiving cottage for their assignments were included in the total population, and also to other conditions of institutional life.

<sup>2</sup> Duties in greenhouse and vegetable hothouse.

The total of boys on night assignments (14) and in crews performing domestic service or routine manual labor concerned with institution upkeep (488), as shown in this table, indicates that approximately 54 percent of them were spending half or all of each day in work of that kind. Careful inspection of all items will lead to the conclusion that the limitation of personnel had compelled the management to carry on a heavy proportion of the institutional work, including the office duties, with the labor of the boys themselves. Observation confirmed that conclusion.

**Maintenance and repair work**

As was to be expected in an institution with so low a per capita cost, maintenance and production were emphasized in all vocational work. In the descriptive booklet quoted previously, this fact stands out in every paragraph: "Nine thousand bushels of apples were picked in one season. \* \* \* The work is all done by inmates under the supervision of a head dairyman and assistant [referring to the dairy which supplied all milk and butter for the school]. \* \* \* More than 100,000 pieces of laundry pass through this department each month. \* \* \* The painting department is busy painting the outside woodwork during the summer, and decorating the rooms and the inside work during the winter. \* \* \* The new boys must be dressed out in school clothes and the homegoing boys must be supplied with 'outside' wear."<sup>21</sup>

The quartermaster's department purchased the clothes for "outside wear" and for each boy to receive on his release, and the tailor shop made all the school clothes. Thus the work theme runs throughout the story of their vocational work so that the boys and their training seemed to be overshadowed by the gigantic material needs of the institutional machine.

**12. PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND ATHLETICS**

Physical education at this institution was under the supervision of the family officers, except for the gymnasium period immediately following military drill, when the military instructor was in charge.

**Physical education**

No special attention was given to corrective work for individuals. Though records of height and weight for all incoming and outgoing boys were kept at the hospital and main office, records of height, weight, and physical development were not made as part of the physical-education program during the boy's stay at the institution.

There was an indoor pool in the basement of the gymnasium building which could be used only during the warm months. Swimming was supervised, but no teaching was done.

**Sports program**

The sports program included baseball, basket ball, and some track work. All these activities were participated in by the boys divided into three classes according to size and age, with intercottage competition in each class. The winning team in each class was presented with a pennant. An all-star basketball team had played about 12 or 15 games with outside teams. Most of these games were played at the institution, and the boys from the cottages attended in rotation, as the gymnasium had relatively small space for spectators.

On July 4 each year a big athletic field meet was held, and individual prizes were awarded to the winners in the various events.

**Military training**

During the winter the boys were given 10 to 15 minutes of setting-up exercises each morning in their respective cottages, but in summer this was replaced by military drill from 6 to 6:45 a.m. Three mornings each week the entire group was drilled 45 minutes, with the band play-

<sup>21</sup> The Boys' Industrial School, pp. 15, 16, 17.

ing. On other mornings each company was drilled on its own playground. During the winter each cottage group spent one-half day every other week at the gymnasium, where they were drilled by the military instructor 1½ to 2 hours and spent the rest of the time in games. The older boys drilled with old Army Springfield rifles from which the firing pins had been filed off. The younger boys carried wooden rifles. Each cottage had its own company of 40 boys. The remaining boys in the cottage, usually the newer ones, drilled as "rookies." The Butts Manual of Arms and the School of the Soldier were used. A dress parade was held every Saturday evening. In September on the annual military day the 10 companies selected as best had a competition drill, organized into three battalions, one consisting of 4 companies, two consisting of 3 companies each. The day was quite an event in the life of the school. Judges, usually officers of the National Guard and the Adjutant General or his representative, came from various parts of the State. Cash and other prizes were presented. The sum of \$50 was divided among the members of the companies in the winning battalion, its captain being given \$5, second lieutenants \$2.50 each, and the privates \$1 each. A Sam Browne belt, a saber, and a pennant were also presented to each prize-winning company.

### 13. OTHER RECREATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The program at this institution included very little planned or directed recreational activity outside the sports program previously described. No individual staff member or staff committee was undertaking to study or recommend developments in this field.

There were no Boy Scouts, no boy clubs, nor organizations of any kind, nor any provisions for outings away from the institution.

#### Music

The institution had a band of about 50 pieces directed by a bandmaster who had held that position for about 18 years. The band work was rated as vocational training. Boys were given individual instruction in the different instruments. The bandmaster had also organized an orchestra of about a dozen pieces which played for chapel exercises, and a choir which sang at the Sunday services.

#### Radio

The institution owned no radio equipment. Practically all the cottages, however, contained radios owned by the family officers, who made a practice of turning on appropriate popular programs for the boys.

#### Dramatics

There was very little activity in dramatics at this school. The personnel was so limited and the hours of duty so long that it was impossible for them to give the time necessary to work up entertainments of any kind. It was said that they had some kind of program on each major holiday and that usually a minstrel show was put on by some of the boys each year.

#### Motion pictures

Because of the scarcity of funds for the weekly motion picture, this had been discontinued, and at the time the school was visited it had a film only every 2 or 3 weeks. Films were selected by the super-



intendent, and the pictures were attended by all boys except those in the discipline cottage. The apparatus was for the showing of silent pictures only. At the one picture show attended by the visitor from the Children's Bureau the boys entered the building in strict military lines and went down the aisle in silence, giving an impression that was wholly prisonlike.

#### Reading

In the main school building was a small library consisting primarily of reference books, used chiefly in connection with the school work. It had been in existence for about 3 years and contained about 500 books. Boy librarians, working under the supervision of the superintendent of schools and a teacher, were in charge. The teacher was familiar with methods of book repairing and taught this to the boys detailed to library work.

Each cottage had a certain number of books, largely fiction. These were read during the evening hours when weather conditions made it necessary for the boys to remain indoors.

#### 14. RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

A Protestant chaplain, an "ex-soldier evangelist" belonging to the United Brethern denomination, was a full-time staff member. At 2 p.m. on Sunday afternoons he conducted interdenominational union services, which all boys were required to attend. This service was often addressed by visiting pastors, evangelists, and representatives from the Salvation Army. Music was furnished by a choir of about 50 boys led by the bandmaster. Every Sunday morning Sunday school was conducted in the cottages in which Protestant boys resided. These classes were conducted by the cottage officer and his wife, or by other staff members or visitors, and the chaplain went from cottage to cottage visiting the various classes.

The Catholic priest from a nearby Catholic church, who was employed on a part-time basis, conducted Mass every Sunday morning for all Catholic boys and went to the school once a week to give instruction and to hear confessions.

For the small group of Jewish boys religious instruction was supplied by a layman of their own faith from Lancaster, there being no rabbi in that city or nearer than Columbus.

It was stated that the school had several boys from Greek Orthodox families and that an attempt had been made to have a Greek Orthodox pastor from the church supply instruction. But it was found that the boys spoke so many different dialects that group instruction was impossible and the attempt had been discontinued.

The Protestant chaplain stated that he interviewed all new boys regularly every Wednesday afternoon, talking to them as a group and then individually about the school and the way to get the most out of their stay in it. In his own words, he tried to impress on them that "to get the most out of life one must be reborn and have Christ in one's heart." On Friday evenings he conducted a special service for boys about to be released on parole, at which he tried to impress upon them the importance of affiliating with the church. He had prepared a form letter which he sent to each parolee within a week or 10 days after he had left the school.

## 15. CREDIT SYSTEM AND DISCIPLINARY MEASURES

**Credit system**

A boy on entrance was listed for a stay of 12 months. For each month of perfect conduct during his first 2 months he was allowed 5 days off his total "time." If at the end of these 2 months he had won 5 days for each month, he was given an extra 10 days off, which made a total of 20 days off his institution stay. If at the end of 3 months he still had no misconduct reports, he was given 15 additional days' credit, thus having built up a total of 40 days. Under this system if a boy succeeded in keeping his record absolutely clear of misconduct reports it was possible for him to win his release in 8 months and 20 days. In addition to these automatic ways of obtaining days of credit, boys might be given extra awards for such as the following: 10 days for each promotion in school, for each month of service as monitor, or for winning second place in the monthly military inspection; 15 days for winning first place in monthly military inspection; 5 days for winning third place in the inspection; and 60 days for capturing a runaway. Additional days off were sometimes awarded also for particular services such as preventing a fire, returning lost or stolen articles, and reporting information of value (such as plots to escape).

Misconduct reports resulted in the addition of time to be spent at the institution. Records of a boy's status as to "time" still to be "served" were kept in the office of the court officer, and a boy's release was entirely dependent on that record. A master record was maintained by the record clerk. As all these details indicate, this Ohio institution did not have a credit system in the usual sense in which this term is used in industrial training schools. Its system more nearly resembled that of a prison.

**Disciplinary measures**

Cottage officers, teachers, trade instructors, and other officers who had boys under their supervision were permitted to place a boy "on line" for minor misconduct. This means that the boy was withdrawn from all the regular activities of his group and had to stand on line wherever he might be, whether in school, shop, or cottage. It was stated that no unusual strained positions were permitted.

When an officer felt that a boy required more severe punishment than being placed on line, he reported the case on a "blue slip" to the court officer. The slip contained an entry showing the reason for making the report. The court officer was a prominent member of the staff, responsible directly to the superintendent of the institution. The superintendent determined the general policies with respect to types of disciplinary measures that might be used. Complete responsibility for the administration of discipline within the limit set by those general policies was vested in the court officer, and every day he held "court." There each case was taken up and discussed with the boy in person. Occasionally "witnesses" were called in to give their versions of the incident reported on the blue slip. A court card was kept for each boy, and the blue slips were filed in his folder in the administration office.

Discipline meted out by this court took several forms. Time might be added to the period which a boy must complete before he was eligible for parole. This might range all the way from a day or two

for minor infractions of rules to the entire year which was regularly added in case of an escape. Boys guilty of sodomy were required to remain 6 months longer. For such offenses as insolence, disobedience, persistent talking on line, fighting, and smoking, varying numbers of days were added.

It was stated that there was no curtailment of food for any offense; that is, no boys were ever limited to a bread-and-water diet. Withdrawal of the privilege of attending the occasional motion-picture show or athletic games was used as a medium of discipline. For more serious cases a discipline cottage was maintained. Boys were sent there by the court officer for specific periods to 30 days. Boys in this cottage attended school but did not do shop work. In lieu of their trade classes they were assigned to do the hardest and most unpleasant manual labor around the institution. They were barred from all games and entertainments. The discipline cottage itself was one of the oldest buildings. It had a living room and dormitory similar to those in other cottages. The living room was quite bare, stiff, and colorless in its atmosphere. No talking was permitted at any time in the living room. When it was visited during an evening hour the boys were sitting in rigid positions on straight chairs at tables, holding books in front of them, presumably reading. The officer in charge sat in a chair in the front of the room. The monitors for the cottage, two physically powerful boys, walked back and forth around the tables, apparently watching for any relaxation in attitude or any movement.

Corporal punishment was administered only on order of the court officer. Individual officers were forbidden to strike any boy or to use any physical force upon him unless the boy became violent and attacked other boys or an officer. The corporal punishment used was known as "padding." The paddle was a flexible piece of leather shaped like a regular paddle about 6 or 8 inches wide and 12 to 15 inches long, with a stiffened leather handle at one end. The usual number of strokes was 6 to 9, though in extreme cases 12 to 15 might be given. The boy's clothing was not removed for the padding. Each padding had to be witnessed by the superintendent, the assistant superintendent, the physician, or the chaplain; and this officer signed the discipline slip as witness. It was stated that boys were padded only in extreme cases of persistent repetition of offenses, sex offenses, continuous insubordination, or some action regarded as a particularly grave delinquency. Among the latter were sex offenses and escape from the institution—unless they came back of their own volition.

The court often gave an order for padding and then suspended the order so long as the boy maintained a good conduct record. The court officer believed this procedure had effectively deterred certain types of boys from repetition of offenses, as he found that some of the vainglorious, would-be gangsters were "yellow" when threatened with physical pain.

Although the court officer occasionally sought the advice of the psychologist in disciplinary cases, the system afforded little opportunity for individualizing of treatment in the modern sense of that word. Procedure was very much what its terminology indicated, patterned after criminal-court practices, with actual "hearings" to determine a boy's "guilt" or "innocence" of the offense charged.

## 16. INSTITUTION RECORDS

The records were in charge of a staff clerk, who gave full time to the work and who had the assistance of boys who were assigned to this duty. Besides keeping the individual case records, it was the duty of the record clerk to prepare the parole and discharge lists, to send out any notices to parents, and to send out to the officers the various notices as to institutional matters.

The records in the administrative office consisted of a case folder for each boy and an alphabetical descriptive card file. All the files were separated according to cases in residence in the institution, on parole, and discharged.

No face sheet or chronological case history was contained in the record folder. The court commitment papers, including a statement of the medical examination by the court, and a social history, if obtained, were filed in the boy's folder. The information on social history was very meager except from a few counties, and the institution did not seek to supplement it except from the interview with the boy.

Material filed in the folders pertaining to the boy's institution record consisted of the "blue slip" forms (on which were reported misconduct and court action), the psychologist's report, and a card memorandum of correspondence received and sent by the boy. A separate card was kept by the record clerk, showing a boy's trade, work, and school assignments, and listing his discipline record chronologically. This was filed in the case folder when the boy left the institution. All correspondence relating to the case was also filed there, and the field officer's reports of visits to boys on parole.

The alphabetical card file had such descriptive information as a case-record face sheet usually contains about both the boy and his parents. Such facts as date of birth, color, offense, court, school grade, truancy, occupation, height, weight, and use of tobacco were entered on the case, also the parents' status and occupations, siblings, and other such data. On the back of the card were recorded the dates of the parole officer's visits with brief comments regarding the boy's conduct or adjustment on parole and dates of return or discharge from parole. A smaller card showing such items as the boy's name, age, and color, with the facts as to his commitment, was made out for each boy admitted and sent to the State department of public welfare.

The medical, psychological, and educational departments and the court officer kept their own records. Several forms were used by the hospital staff, such as a report of the physical examination on admission, forms sent to parents to obtain consent for corrective work or operations if needed, and daily hospital registers.

The psychological department used the record forms furnished by the State bureau of juvenile research and kept detailed records of all examinations and recommended treatment.

The school department kept a permanent record card showing school progress as to grades completed, ratings in studies, trade and work assignments, and certain identifying information. In addition, monthly report cards were issued. The rating card for the boy's progress in trades was also filed with the school records. Various other forms incident to the school work were used by the school department.

An elaborate record system was used by the court officer, whose duties included the assignment of boys to cottages and to trade and work detail as well as disciplinary matters. Hence the records kept by his office included such detail forms as were used in making a record of assignments and changes in assignments and also those used in connection with reporting misconduct to his office and recording the action taken. Each boy's record was summarized and entered on a master card as a permanent record for the administrative office.

### 17. PAROLE AND DISCHARGE

Both the juvenile-court law and the law governing the Boys' Industrial School contain provisions relating to parole. Under the provisions of the latter, the State department of public welfare is required to establish rules and regulations under which inmates of the school may be allowed to go on leave of absence until finally discharged. Authority to carry out these rules and regulations is given by the law to the superintendent of the institution, and no boy may be paroled except on his written recommendation. He also has authority to order the return of any boy so placed on leave. The juvenile-court law requires "agents" to be maintained to "examine the homes of children paroled for the purpose of reporting \* \* \* whether they are suitable homes, and assist children, paroled or discharged \* \* \* in finding suitable employment, and maintain a friendly supervision over paroled inmates." The department of public welfare designates the number of such agents or "field officers."<sup>22</sup>

Therefore, the parole program as it was functioning at this institution was under the direct supervision of the superintendent. Four field officers were members of the institution staff and had headquarters at the institution. Their work was not organized as a departmental unit. Each worked independently in his own district, and each was responsible only to the superintendent. Detail as to the training and qualifications of these officers for parole work has been given in the section on personnel (p. 186.) All four had been employees of the institution in other capacities before appointment as parole officers, and all had been on the staff for several years.

For parole consideration emphasis was placed principally on the boy's conduct or misconduct while in the institution instead of including all phases of his institutional treatment and progress. As has been stated, each boy admitted was listed for 12 months' stay at the institution, and his release prior to that date depended on the earning of good-time allowance in accordance with the system in effect in the institution; this was shortened or lengthened through the credit system of days off for good conduct or days added for misconduct, under which it was possible for a boy who had absolutely no misconduct reports to earn parole in 8 months and 20 days. (See p. 204.) The average period in the institution was said to be 9 to 10 months. A boy returned for violation of parole, or returned from an escape, entered on the same conditions as on his first admission; that is, he was listed for a year and could begin to earn good time as before.

Every 2 months a list was made up of all the boys who had made their time allowance and hence were eligible for parole. The superin-

<sup>22</sup> Ohio, Gen. Code 1932, secs. 1677 (juvenile court), 2091 and 2092 (Boys' Industrial School).

tendent forwarded this list to the director of the State department of public welfare with recommendation for their parole. The parole technically became effective when the director signed the list, but the approval of the committing court was sought before the boy was actually released. As soon as the list was returned with the approval of the State department, the superintendent sent a letter notifying the court of the pending release, requesting that a preparole home visit be made and that the court advise whether, in its opinion, the boy should be returned to his home. In Ohio many of the committing courts had no probation service or other resources for social investigations, and it was felt that these preparole inquiries were more or less perfunctory and that the answers were based on the personal knowledge of the judge rather than on an adequate social investigation. Practically no preparole work other than seeking this approval of the committing court was done by the institution. Investigations of relatives or foster homes were sometimes made by the parole officers in cases in which the boy had no home or in which return to his home was not desirable. Nor was there any definite preparation of boys for the parole period. Both the superintendent and the chaplain gave them short talks before they left, usually to groups of 25 to 40 boys, just as they were all ready to leave the institution grounds.

As there were 1,147 boys on parole as of March 14, 1932, the case load per parole officer was 287. Obviously no officer with so many boys under his care could give much supervision through personal visits. It was stated that each officer tried to get around to visit parolees once a month. Sometimes when a parole officer was to be in a certain county seat, the juvenile court would ask the parolees to call on the parole officer at the court rooms. The committing courts did not accept responsibility for any parole supervision, but parolees were directed to report to the court within 10 days after their return, and frequently the court maintained friendly contact with them. If the policy of monthly visits was carried out, actually making that many visits left little or no time available for individualized supervision or giving assistance in employment, school, or recreational adjustments. The monthly visit did not always include seeing the parolee. The records examined indicated that an interview with a member of the family, if the boy was not at home, or perhaps a verbal report from the judge or some other person interested in the boy frequently constituted the monthly visit. Considerable time was reported spent by the officers in investigating cases of parole violations and in returning boys to the institution.

The parolees were not required to send in written reports. The officers reported any visits or contacts in relation to each boy on regular forms which were filed in the boy's folder at the institution. They constituted the only parole records.

In accordance with the provision of the law that boys, although committed until 21 years of age, may be sooner released for satisfactory behavior and progress in training (see p. 177), it was the established policy to grant final discharge from parole before boys reached the age of 21, theoretically on a basis of satisfactory conduct for 1 year subsequent to release from the institution on parole. This system of discharge had become very automatic, based almost entirely on the time element. So far as could be ascertained, a boy's

conduct was considered satisfactory for discharge when after the year he had not been returned for violation of parole.

No consideration was given to conduct which might not have been satisfactory yet had not been such as to warrant return to the institution. The possibility of the boy's needing further supervision or assistance in making his adjustments in society was not taken into consideration. The time period was firmly fixed and seldom if ever extended. No approval or recommendation for discharge was required from the parole officers, nor were the reports of their contacts with the boys reviewed for discharge consideration.

The actual procedure for discharge was the same as that followed for release on parole. Every 3 months the record clerk prepared lists of all boys who had been on parole for a year. These were submitted to the superintendent, who sent them to the State department of public welfare with his recommendation for discharge. The discharge became effective on the approval of the director of the department.

As a result of the 1-year rule, return to the institution for violation of parole was possible without further court action within a year's time from release on parole. Recommitment was necessary following discharge. Each time a boy was returned, whether as a parole violator or on recommitment, the same policy as to his length of stay in the institution and the 1-year parole period was followed. Thus it frequently happened that boys were recommitted several times who ordinarily under a program of longer parole care would have been returned as parole violators. Recommitments were made even if the boy was to be returned within a few days after his year of parole had ended. Some boys who were returned to the institution repeatedly remained under jurisdiction until 21 years of age because of their continued record. In such cases discharge was automatic when they became of age. Frequently a boy committed at an early age and discharged after a year of parole was recommitted, perhaps two or three years later, and became a "new" case.

There was no fixed policy as to what should be considered sufficiently serious misconduct to warrant return for violation of parole. It was stated that it was the policy to be reasonable about minor offenses and to have the parole officers make an adjustment in the community rather than return the boy. In cases of continued misconduct which seemed to tend toward the later commission of a serious offense, the boys were returned.

#### 18. PLANT AND PROGRAM CHANGES IN RECENT YEARS

Of the cases analyzed in part 2 of this report (see p. 10) 151 were from the Boys' Industrial School. The period during which these boys were under treatment included the years 1918 through 1925, with by far the greater number under care during the period 1922 through 1924.

There had been relatively few changes of major importance in either plant or program at this institution since the training period of the cases studied. Construction of the new building for the East Side school had been begun in 1925, and in 1931 one new cottage had been constructed. In 1925 four of the old cottages had been

remodeled. The annual report for that year commented that the remodeling contemplated elimination of the third-floor attics that had been used as dormitories accommodating about 35 boys each.

The following figures for the fiscal years ended December 31, 1922 and 1931, reveal the similarity between certain factors affecting institution life in the two periods:

Item	1922	1931
Average daily population.....	1, 156	1, 120
Number of employees.....	130	147
Number of boys per employee.....	9. 0	7. 6
Per capita cost.....	\$324	\$240

The later period shows a slightly more favorable ratio between boys and employees, the number of employees having increased to some extent while the population remained about the same. In spite of this increase in personnel there was a slight decrease in per capita cost in the institution.

In August 1930 a psychologist from the State bureau of juvenile research was detailed full time to the Boys' Industrial School. Before that time psychological tests had been made only occasionally. The State department of public welfare reported in 1922 that the bureau of juvenile research had been making a thorough examination of inmates at both the girls' and the boys' industrial schools, such examinations to be conducted regularly at each institution at 30-day intervals "so that all new inmates will be classified and the feeble-minded or degenerate set apart."<sup>23</sup> Many of these earlier reports referred to the presence of a considerable number of mentally defective boys who were unable to profit by the training offered. In 1925 it was reported that 28 percent of the year's admissions had been classified as subnormal, but the division between feeble-minded and border-line cases was not indicated. Exceptionally unstable cases, and those suspected of being psychotic or presenting exceptionally difficult problems in behavior and control, were sent to the bureau of juvenile research in Columbus for periods of observation, to be followed by advice as to disposition to be made or treatment to be given.

It was stated that prior to 1925 the academic school had not been chartered by the State, but that a charter was granted that year. This meant that it could exchange school credits on an equal footing with outside schools. Since 1924 psychological and educational tests had been used to aid in school assignments.

Vocational training had undergone no great change during the 10-year period, according to the management, except that more boys were being given trade training through the half-day school and half-day work plan than had been the case in the early 1920's. The training had always been limited very much to the production and maintenance work of the institution under the direction of experienced foremen. The director of the State department of public welfare stated that insofar as funds had been available the shops had been modernized to keep abreast of mechanical progress.

<sup>23</sup> State Department of Public Welfare, First Annual Report, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1922, p. 23.



The same system of military organization and training had been in effect. The amount and type of recreational activities were about as they had been over the 10-year period.

In 1924 the annual report had described the school's treatment methods as being governed by "common sense and discipline," which were "based upon simple, orderly, regular, and strict routine." So far as could be discovered the 1932 disciplinary methods had been in effect for some years past without any important changes. The superintendent, who had been at the school in various capacities for about 20 years, stated that in the early 1920's boys had been sentenced for specific terms and had to "serve out their time" regardless of their good conduct. The merit system in use when the school was visited has already been described. The superintendent said that in 1932 they did not make such rigid rules, and they and the boy might agree on "a proposition" with respect to the terms under which he could earn his release under a relaxation of the requirements. The average time a boy remained at the institution had been reduced according to the management from 18 to 10 months.

At the time the boys included in this study were on parole there were but 3 parole officers looking after 800 to 1,000 paroled boys scattered over the State of Ohio. By 1932 the number of such officers had been increased to 4.

## Chapter VII.—RECAPITULATION AND COMMENTS

In the five preceding chapters the facts gleaned in visits to each of five institutions have been presented as objectively as possible. The following sections contain a recapitulation of certain salient points in relation to characteristics of the plants and phases of the programs, with comments on the strengths and weaknesses believed to be inherent in them and to characterize much current institutional work.

Representatives of the Children's Bureau have visited 37 State institutions for delinquent boys during the past 2½ years in connection with the Bureau's program of cooperation with the Bureau of Prisons of the Department of Justice in the interest of the Federal juvenile offender. Certain comments hereinafter include the institutional field beyond the 5 institutions described in detail in this report, and are based on the observations recorded as a result of the visits to all those 37 institutions.

Methods and practices in general administration, in accounting, in statistical recording, in personnel classification and management, in educational programs, and in control and guidance of boys all differ so radically that there is grave danger of erroneous conclusions if comparison of institutions is attempted. Therefore few comparative judgments have been undertaken.

### 1. STATUTORY PROVISIONS GOVERNING ESTABLISHMENT AND OPERATION

Throughout the 48 States there is no uniformity in the laws governing the operation of institutions for juvenile delinquents. So far as is known, no attempt has been made to discover what provisions have seemed to work out most effectively. Opinions on the subject are readily offered, but painstaking accumulation and analysis of factual data in support of these opinions are not forthcoming. No group has attempted to formulate the essential principles which should be incorporated in legislation of this character for the guidance of citizens who may wish to scrutinize the laws designed to meet this governmental responsibility in their own States.

The first legal enactments for the establishment of the five institutions especially studied were made in 1850 (New York), 1855 (Michigan), 1857 (Ohio), 1865 (New Jersey), and 1889 (California). The statutes have been amended from time to time as described in the preceding chapters. Some of the amendments reflect the changing concepts as to how reformation may be effected and reveal the growing emphasis on training and education in that connection. Similarities and differences in the regulations governing administrative control, types of commitment, releases, and discharges will be discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter.

## 2. THE PHYSICAL PLANT

### Location

These institutions differ considerably with respect to location. One is in the midst of a residential area in the State capital. One is immediately adjacent to a college town with a population of about 15,000, quite close to a city of more than a million inhabitants. The others are in rural districts, with varying degrees of accessibility to cities offering good shopping and amusement centers, educational and cultural resources, and opportunities for diverse social contacts. None suffered from extreme isolation. All were reached by good paved highways. All were served by bus, trolley, or railroad lines, although service on these lines was not always frequent enough for real convenience in relation to needs.

Location is important for several reasons. Since the primary purpose of institutional treatment is to prepare the boys for return to community life, it would seem that they should not be removed completely from community contacts during the training period. The more isolated the institution the more artificial its life inevitably becomes, with consequent difficulties of reorientation for the boy on his return to the community. In many of the institutions generally regarded as progressive a distinct trend toward seeking to establish normal community contacts for boys under care is perceptible. Normal contacts for city-bred boys, who constitute a heavy proportion of the institutional population, mean urban contacts. This is a difficult problem under any circumstances. It becomes practically impossible when the group is of necessity, by reason of physical remoteness, out of touch with any organized community life.

On the other hand, a city site offers certain disadvantages. Property may be too costly to warrant its use for the very considerable space, with ample playgrounds and athletic fields, which is indispensable. Such a location also robs a campus of the degree of privacy that is desirable for wholesome, unself-conscious movement and play activity. No matter how innocuous a name may be given the institution and no matter how completely it may be shorn of outward evidences of restraint, such as fences, bars, and posted guards, to the general public it remains a custodial and training center for young delinquents. A large part of that public continues to regard the boys moving about its campus as objects of somewhat curious interest, as somehow different from boys over whom the magic commitment papers have not been waved, thus deplorably intensifying the boys' feeling that they are set apart. A rural, or at least suburban, site would seem to be more likely to offer ample space, coupled with a reasonable degree of privacy, than a site in the heart of a city. But it should be readily accessible in order that contacts with suitable outside groups may be developed, to give the boys a sense of belonging in the community and a feeling of responsibility for contributing to the good character of its life and its reputation.

Location has also some significance in relation to staff morale. Employees need a normal social life. Friendly associations outside the institutional circle are helpful in achieving and maintaining emotional balance and a rational attitude toward the problems that constantly arise in connection with the guidance, control, and training of boys. Wholesome amusements of diverse kinds, entirely devoid of institutional flavor, may be highly tonic in effect. Ambitious and

able staff members who take advantage of opportunities for educational or cultural advancement in nearby urban centers supply a valuable leaven in any institutional group. Extreme isolation may make it difficult to obtain and to keep high-grade personnel, one of whose greatest assets is a desire to keep abreast of the times, to avoid sinking into a rut, no matter how smooth and comfortable the traveling within the rut.

Another penalty attendant upon inaccessibility is the relative infrequency with which the institution may obtain the advisory services of experts in divers special fields ranging from animal husbandry to surgery or psychiatry. Moreover, an institution remote from well-populated centers and from much-traveled highways is likely to remain unknown and unappreciated by a large proportion of the public. Yet an intelligent understanding of its aims, its program, and its needs on the part of a considerable number of the citizens of the State might notably affect its progress in two directions, first, in that more support might be forthcoming when funds are needed to increase or improve institutional facilities or to develop new phases of the guidance and training program; second, that much greater cooperation might be had in the communities in which boys must make their social and economic adjustments on release from the institution.

#### Acreage

All five institutions owned farm lands in addition to the acreage occupied by the campus buildings, lawns, roads, playgrounds, and athletic fields. The following figures give some idea as to their respective land utilization in relation to the boy population:

*Acreage used for buildings and grounds, athletic fields, and cultivation, and number of boys per acre in 5 State institutions for delinquents*

State	Acreage used for—		Boys <sup>1</sup> per acre of land used for—	
	Buildings and grounds and athletic fields	Cultivation	Buildings and grounds and athletic fields	Cultivation
California.....	48	178	6.6	1.8
Michigan.....	191	331	3.6	2.1
New Jersey.....	150	589	4.2	1.1
New York.....	106	652	4.4	0.7
Ohio.....	135	502	7.3	2.0

<sup>1</sup> Based on institution population: California, Nov. 9, 1931; Michigan, Mar. 21, 1932; New Jersey, Mar. 3, 1932; New York, Mar. 29, 1932; Ohio, Mar. 14, 1932.

As has been shown in the previous chapters, the remaining acres in some cases were meadow, pasture, or woodland. In Michigan 466 acres were used by other State agencies. No attempt was made to obtain information on differences in soil productivity. Such data would be required if any effort were made to compare the available land in terms of actual usefulness, either for maintenance or for training purposes.

In general, it may be said that three considerations are of prime importance in making any estimate as to the suitability of a tract of land for an institution of this character, in addition to its location. Any such tract should afford ample space for attractive and convenient building sites for all the units essential to a well-rounded training

program for a maximum anticipated boy population. A plentiful supply of good water should be available, and there should be enough fertile farm land to carry on an agricultural program that will offer useful training to boys from rural areas or to others interested in farm operations and that will make a reasonable return in farm products for labor expended.

The institution dietary will be greatly improved by such fresh vegetables and fruits as can be produced. Most institutional budgets do not permit the purchase of as much fresh market produce as is desirable in the light of present-day knowledge of food values and food needs for growing young persons. When the soil is poor, costs rise rapidly, and too much boy labor is consumed for the food produced.

A farm of low-grade soil constitutes a poor laboratory for agricultural training. Most institutions for delinquent boys regard agricultural work of various kinds as a type of vocational training. It is therefore short-sighted economy that establishes a permanent handicap to the training activities in order to effect an initial saving in investment in capital assets.

#### **Buildings and equipment**

In this study much more emphasis was placed on program than on plant and equipment. Inspection of buildings was somewhat cursory, and no survey of equipment by persons technically informed in that field was undertaken. However, certain comments seem permissible on the basis of observations made by the field workers and the remarks made by staff members with whom they talked.

It goes without saying that an institution will find it easier to function effectively when its buildings and equipment are adequate and are fully adapted to the work that is to be done. That means thoughtful planning by the members of the administrative staff who most thoroughly understand the true objectives of institutional treatment and the methods most likely to result in progress toward the attainment of those objectives. Many institutions occupy buildings erected at various times during the past 50 or 60 years. Some have had funds for considerable new construction during the past decade, others have been able to make plant improvements by remodeling old structures, and still others have been able to make very few changes for many years.

When old buildings must be utilized for new activities, careful study of the enlarged program in relation to all facilities available will sometimes reveal the possibility of rearrangement that will make for much greater efficiency. Custom, tradition, and the preferences of privileged, old-time employees should not be permitted to stand in the way of perfecting the best possible location of activities in relation to needs of the training program.

When new buildings are authorized, it is of vital importance that persons who know exactly what activities are to be carried on in them shall outline the plans. Architects and builders rarely know enough about the projected uses of institutional structures to be able to design acceptable floor plans unless they consult the proper staff members at every step. An architect who has done considerable institutional building has stated this need in the following words:

The architect \* \* \* is helpless without the technical advice based on years of experience which necessarily must come from the technician who so ably handles this problem throughout our country. It is only when a happy correlation

of these two fields is properly expressed that a successful institution can be executed.

Any properly trained architect can take the requests of a properly trained superintendent and clothe them in architecture which suits the particular locality in which the institution is to be built.<sup>1</sup>

Expenditures merely for making the institution a show place are inexcusable. Such ostentation does the boys no good and wastes money that should go into providing useful structures and adequate furniture and equipment. On the other hand, some attention may well be devoted to making sure that all decorations are in good taste and devoid of drabness, that the buildings are well proportioned, and that they are so placed as to make for general attractiveness as well as convenience. Satisfaction in belonging to a school group possessed of a good-looking campus can be made an asset in the reeducation of boys; and the cultivation of a taste for beauty, for balance, for genuine quality in material things, may well be a step forward in preparation for successful independent living.

#### **Administrative offices**

Very little comment is needed on the subject of office space. Recognition is being given in greater and greater degree to the contribution that can be made to the effectiveness of a treatment program through the introduction of modern business methods into the operative machinery. That need was probably first recognized clearly in connection with the business management of the institution, but, more important in its results, the establishment of a scientific case-record system is rapidly becoming an indispensable item in the treatment program of all progressive institutions. Attention to business methods leads also to realization that it is necessary to provide, so far as is possible, sufficient office space for doing the work comfortably and conveniently. Light and ventilation are important problems in connection with any office arrangement.

Office equipment is of considerable importance to the smooth functioning of the program. All modern aids that will definitely contribute to the making and keeping of records which have a direct usefulness in the treatment program should be provided. This does not mean that a great deal of money should be spent on expensive equipment. It does mean that some thought must be given to the office needs and that some person on the staff should be interested in keeping advised of new developments in office equipment and supplies so that advantage may be taken of new devices, particularly any that will simplify processes.

#### **Boys' residence quarters**

All these institutions were described to the field agents as being of the so-called "cottage plan." To some extent there seemed to be uncertainty as to just what should be properly called a cottage. Residence units ranged in size from those accommodating 16 or 17 boys to those accommodating 75 or more. In general, there seems to be justification for the belief that cottage units should provide living arrangements for not more than 25 to 30 boys, and for still fewer if plans can be worked out for operating even smaller units with a reasonable degree of economy.

<sup>1</sup> Hopkins, Henry P.: *Building Design and Its Relation to Efficient Institutional Operation*. Proceedings of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies, 1932, p. 141.

In four of these institutions the residence units for boys were built on the dormitory plan. At the fifth (the Whittier State School), four cottages contained single rooms and one new cottage contained half dormitory and half single-room sleeping arrangements. In other State institutions for delinquents that have been visited by representatives of the Children's Bureau the dormitory arrangement prevails almost exclusively. There is some division of opinion as to whether or not this is entirely necessary or desirable. It simplifies night supervision, but there is some question whether that is as necessary as has sometimes been believed. Some workers expressed the belief that it would be well to have at least one cottage containing single rooms at each institution, this cottage to be used as a residence for boys preparing for release on parole. It would provide for them a transition period from the supervised dormitory to a more private bedroom comparable to what they would have when they left the institution.

For the most part, in institutions of this kind, considerable attention is now paid to provision of sufficient sanitary facilities for comfort, convenience, and the promotion of proper standards of personal hygiene. These facilities of course vary in type and arrangement; no particular investigation of this equipment was undertaken in connection with this study.

Each individual residence unit in an institution of the kind under consideration needs sufficient living-room or recreation-room space so that an approximation of home life may be enjoyed by the boys when weather conditions do not permit them to spend their free time out of doors. In these particular institutions there was considerable variation in the type of living room provided. They ranged all the way from the rather bare, stiff, and formally arranged room, with its polished floors and with the chairs set in rows about the tables, to the comfortably and attractively furnished living room with colorful decorations, such as might be found in any moderately well furnished home. It is believed that living rooms in institutions of this kind should be conducive to the informal free-time activities that any big family of boys might enjoy in their own family home. Inexpensive but comfortable furniture, pleasing decorations, and plenty of light and ventilation are essential for this phase of the cottage life. The right kind of living-room atmosphere, with which the actual room itself and its furnishings have much to do, can be very helpful in building up an appreciation of good standards in family life.

#### **Staff residence quarters**

Sometimes too little attention is paid to making staff members comfortable and happy through the provision of good quarters. These do not necessitate extravagant expenditures. It is, however, essential that some attention be given to this phase of institutional management, and such attention will bear fruit in increased efficiency on the part of the personnel. Often it is necessary for institutional workers to be on duty for long hours and for long periods without leaving the institution. Familiarity with human psychology compels recognition of the fact that service of this nature produces a certain amount of nervous tension and consequent fatigue. Opportunities for privacy and for physical comfort in off-duty hours help to relieve the tension and to offset the fatigue.

The farther away an institution is from an organized community that offers opportunity for social life and entertainment, the more necessary is provision of recreation or club rooms for staff members, so that they may build up a community social life of their own, separate and distinct from any connection with the boy life of the institution. In other words, they need some place where they can enjoy a change from the surroundings that create the work atmosphere for them.

#### **Dining-room and kitchen facilities**

In these five institutions, as well as in other State institutions that have come under observation, the most common place for serving meals is a central dining room to which the members of all cottage units come. In the New York school each cottage had its own kitchen and dining room, however, and in the Michigan one food was prepared in a central kitchen but taken to the cottages and served in cottage dining rooms. The Ohio institution had two central dining rooms, one for the younger and one for the older boys. The institution in California was the only one which had adopted the cafeteria style of serving. Members of the staff were quite enthusiastic about it and believed it to be particularly efficient and satisfactory, both from the point of view of the boys themselves and from the point of view of the management.

The dining rooms and the dining-room equipment at these institutions showed considerable variation. Some were very cheerful, attractive rooms, others rather drab and bare. Benches instead of chairs and aluminum ware instead of china at one institution tended greatly to emphasize the institutional character of this phase of the boys' life.

The central kitchens were for the most part supplied with modern equipment and with mechanical labor-saving devices of various kinds for preparing the food and washing the dishes. Certainly it is desirable that such labor-saving devices be installed that the boys' time which might be better employed in specific educational and vocational activities is not required for routine kitchen and dining-room work.

#### **Chapel and assembly hall**

Every institution needs some general meeting place large enough to seat the entire boy population and the staff. All five institutions had assembly halls, and some of them had separate chapels for religious services. In every large group of this kind will be found boys with talent for music or some form of dramatic art. It is desirable, therefore that the institution have an assembly hall with a stage so arranged that good concerts, also plays and other entertainments, can be presented conveniently.

#### **Hospital**

Hospitals fairly adequate to meet the needs of the boys were found at all these institutions. Some were fully equipped for practically all kinds of medical work, including major surgery. No general requirements can be laid down for hospital plant or equipment. It may be said that each institution of this kind should have a separate hospital with enough space to give first-class care in all cases of acute illness, to isolate contagious or infectious cases, and to carry on corrective surgical work for boys found suffering from remediable defects. An institution near a city that has high-class hospital facilities which



may be used at reasonable cost for certain major operative cases may find that preferable to equipping the institutional hospital for such work. The facilities must be available; but each institution must determine for itself the best and most economical method by which the service may be provided.

#### **School building**

Very considerable variation was found in the types of school buildings and equipment at these various institutions. In some the school building was the conventional plant most common in public-school architecture in this country. In others the school building combined classrooms, shops, and space for extracurricular activities of various kinds which were closely affiliated with the more strictly educational work.

The variation seemed greater in equipment than in the buildings themselves. Some classrooms were found equipped with the old-style fixed desks; some had much more modern desks but nevertheless the fixed type; and others were so progressive as to have no fixed desks, the classrooms being equipped with tables and chairs and other movable furniture. There was considerable difference in the amount of equipment for visual aids to education. These items will be dealt with in more detail in the section on the educational program (p. 254).

The instructors in the schools which had discarded the conventional fixed desks were enthusiastic about the type of work which was encouraged by maintenance of a less formal classroom atmosphere. It would seem that the general trend in education is toward the elimination of the old formal mass instruction, and that this is inevitably reflected in the type of equipment considered desirable.

#### **Shops**

Very often in years past the shops at institutions of this description have been set up with a view to carrying on certain types of maintenance work for the institution, the vocational-training aspects being given secondary rather than primary emphasis. In many institutions that attitude is now giving way to the desire and the intent to make all the industrial shops genuine training centers. In some of the institutions visited new shops had been built or were being built with that purpose definitely in mind. Any detailed discussion of this technical subject, however, would be of value only if presented by persons thoroughly familiar with vocational training and shop management. It is sufficient to say here that any institution which pretends to give vocational training should devote careful attention to planning and equipping its shops so that they can give a kind of training worthy of the name. This will mean that they should resemble as closely as possible the shops with high standards of working conditions in which boys may seek employment when they go from the institution to the community. That in turn postulates tools and machines that are currently in use in the commercial and industrial world, so that a boy's prevocational training is not in the use of antiquated tools and machinery.

There are bound to be certain institutional services midway between maintenance labor and industrial training; for example, the great central laundries, the central heating plants, and the bakeries. In all these it seems logical that as much modern labor-saving machinery as possible should be provided in order that the boys may give more time to the training than to the work aspects of these activities.

**Farm buildings**

It seems to be general practice for institutions of this kind to carry on rather extensive farm operations, even though these are not definitely for vocational-training purposes. There is no doubt that one of the primary reasons for large-scale agricultural operations is to produce food for institutional consumption. When hours are reasonable and programs are laid out with a view to training, participation by the boys in these activities is in no sense undesirable. However, farm buildings and equipment should be such as to make it possible to emphasize training with the several types of agricultural work and to give the boys a thorough acquaintance with modern agricultural methods and machinery. Labor-saving machinery is highly desirable so that the boys may have enough time for the study which should accompany all agricultural work if it is to serve its true purpose over and above mere production.

**Gymnasium and athletic field**

Gymnasium facilities at these institutions ranged all the way from use of the general assembly hall for gymnasium classes to the elaborate and very completely equipped field house at the Michigan school. It is generally agreed that every training school for boys of these ages has a definite need for facilities for both indoor and outdoor athletics and sports. The size and the character of the building need to be determined through a thorough analysis of the exact uses which can be made of it with greatest benefit to the whole school population.

Inasmuch as an active sports program is a desirable feature for every institution of this character, there is need for an athletic field properly laid out and arranged for the various types of seasonal games. In addition it is highly desirable that each cottage group have a playground of its own, sufficiently large to permit practice by cottage teams in addition to general free play.

**3. PLANT VALUATION AND OPERATING EXPENSE**

The plant valuations as supplied by these five institutions totaled \$7,529,232. No one plant was valued at less than \$1,000,000. As has been pointed out in the preceding chapters, these valuations represent almost without exception the total expenditures by the individual States for lands, buildings, improvements, and equipment. They do not represent a current appraisal of lands, improvements, or equipment. In some instances an appraisal on buildings and equipment might have been procured from the valuation placed on those items by the insurance underwriters. However, it was not deemed sufficiently meaningful for purposes of this report to seek any figures beyond such as are currently carried on the books of the institution as "valuation." These figures have a certain significance as indicating the investment which the various States have made in physical properties for use in their treatment of delinquent boys. Their investments vary decidedly, some States having a much heavier investment per boy under care than others. It would require intensive research in this field to arrive at any trustworthy basis for establishing a fair minimum of investment from which reasonable results could be expected. Moreover, it is doubtful whether any such minimum could be set up. Results of treatment are largely dependent on other factors than physical properties, although these affect the work to some extent

since a rightly designed program can function very much more efficiently with proper material aids.

The item of operating expense cannot be asserted to be strictly comparable among these five institutions. There is little or no uniformity in accounting methods. Expense items are classified under different headings and in different subtotals at the several schools. So far as possible in this report the operating expense for each institution was calculated from the actual expenditures for salaries, maintenance and supplies, and replacement of equipment. Sums for new equipment or for additional improvements were not included as operating expense where it was possible to eliminate them without too prolonged review of itemized accounts.

At the several institutions there was variation in accounting practice with reference to the value of food products produced and consumed at the institution. So far as possible the item charged on some of the books for goods produced and consumed was subtracted in order that actual expenditures for operating might be comparable. However, in Michigan the products of the farm were recorded as purchases by the school, and these purchases were included in the total expenditure for maintenance and supplies in such a way that they could not be eliminated without a complete review of the accounts.

Although the figures are not comparable and no far-reaching conclusions are possible, it is nevertheless interesting to examine the average per capita cost (cost per boy) and the proportion of the total expenditures used for salaries in these five schools:

State	Per capita cost (cost per boy)	Percent of total expenditure used for salaries
California.....	\$905	49
Michigan.....	540	42
New Jersey.....	556	45
New York.....	820	60
Ohio.....	240	46

In practical considerations this per capita cost often looms very large. In the fight for adequate State appropriations the demonstration of a low per capita cost seems in some places to be considered a telling argument in behalf of support. Such an attitude seems to indicate lack of appreciation of an institution's objectives. That is, an institution struggling to do good work with too limited funds should be able to obtain better support financially by showing how impossible it is to do the things that need to be done with the limited financial allowances. Far greater emphasis on the human aspects of the work, and less pride in material economies that cripple human effort are highly desirable and should be productive of results under tactful and vigorous leadership.

There would seem to be in this, as in all other matters, a desirable moderate course between niggardliness and extravagance. By niggardliness is meant the refusal to allow enough money not only to give good physical care but also to maintain a high standard of educational and vocational work and to have the best possible trained leadership and guidance. By extravagance is meant spending too much money

on matters for external show or indulging in a great deal of experimentation that could not be justified by practical results.

Again it must be admitted that in this study no attempt has been made to determine what might be a reasonable minimum expenditure in an institution of this kind. No general minimum could be established which would be applicable in all parts of the country and in institutions of differing size. Material costs and salary scales vary in different regions. So-called "overhead expenses of administration" as well as service expense per capita naturally run higher in the smaller institutions.

#### 4. ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL, STAFF ORGANIZATION, AND PERSONNEL

##### Administrative control

Throughout the various States administrative control of institutions for juvenile delinquents assumes a great variety of forms. Even in the five institutions studied, no two had exactly the same form of control. All five were under the ultimate supervision of the director either of a State public-welfare department or of a State department particularly concerned with institutional management. As has been described in the previous chapters, these various State departments were differently organized as to personnel, powers, and duties.

The author of a study of training schools for girls in the United States found about two-thirds of the 39 State-controlled institutions studied administered by some central system, and reached the conclusion that there was a definite trend toward some form of centralized control for State institutions.<sup>2</sup> This has certain advantages. It makes for more economical operation. It makes it possible to set up uniform standards for all types of institutions. It should place ultimate control in the hands of well-trained and experienced professional executives who can offer much guidance and support in the development of progressive programs. The disadvantage of such control lies in the fact that the citizens of a State may permit this important authority to be placed in the hands of individuals whose qualifications are political rather than professional and who will inject political considerations into the appointment and removal of institution personnel. This need not happen in any State in which even a minority group is ready to protest publicly and vigorously the use of public-welfare machinery to supply rewards for political workers who do not have proper training and experience for the jobs to which they are appointed.

Three of these five institutions—California, Michigan, and Ohio—had no local boards. The California institution had two local persons designated as trustees, but they were trustees in name only, performing no service for the institution at the time of the visit. In 1933, however, through administrative action an advisory committee was created and is now functioning at this school. (See p. 12.) Although the institutions in New Jersey and New York were under State control, each had in addition a local board that was active and took interest in the work being done. The management at both of these institutions felt that the local board was a distinct aid in many ways.

Members of a supplemental local board who thoroughly understand an institution's activities and objectives might provide a good link

<sup>2</sup> Reeves, Margaret: *Training Schools for Delinquent Girls*, p. 49. Russell Sage Foundation, New York. 1929.

between the institution and the public. Such board members could render genuine service in connection with winning popular support for more adequate appropriations to carry on a progressive program. The contribution which such a local board makes will depend on several things—the caliber of persons appointed to its membership, the genuineness of their interest in the work, the care taken and the ingenuity exercised by the institution management in preparing for the board such subject matter as will best utilize its services and enable its members to make real contributions in the way of advice or even of personal service in connection with committees appointed for special purposes. Without this close friendly working relation between the local board and the management of the institution under its control, a local board may become simply an automatic rubber-stamp organization—or under some circumstances it may become an obstructive force. On the whole, it is believed that a good local board, working in harmony with an institution superintendent who provides a program for services which the members are well able to render, can appreciably further the attainment of an institution's objectives.

So far as relation with State departments or other State agencies that do not have a direct supervisory power were concerned, a close advisory contact was found with such agencies working in various fields. In many States there is doubtless much room for further development of such cooperative relations. Many State agencies are in a position to render service of great value to an institution of this character and would be glad to do so if their aid were sought. State universities and their extension courses might be utilized, it would seem, to a much greater degree than is now the case. Home-economics departments could give valuable suggestions if consulted with regard to institutional food problems and the preparation of balanced menus in institutions that do not employ trained dietitians. Many State library-extension services would be glad to cooperate with institutions of this character and might be able to help in improving the character and the quantity of reading matter available and the uses made of it. Relatively few institutions in this country are able to employ the services of a trained librarian who keeps abreast of all the latest developments in this field. These are merely samples of the varied resources which would be available for cooperative service in other State administrative groups.

#### **Personnel: Number and duties**

The number of employees in relation to the number of boys varies considerably among the State institutions. In the five schools included in the present study the number of boys per employee was approximately as follows: California and New York, 3; New Jersey, 4; Michigan, 6; and Ohio, 8. No specific ratio is known to have been determined as the minimum below which personnel should not drop. In the study of training schools for delinquent girls that has been mentioned, it was reported that approximately one-fourth of 57 schools studied had more than 4 girls per employee but not more than 5, and about one-fifth had more than 7 but not more than 10. The average number of girls per worker was 5.5.<sup>3</sup> The number of employees will be determined partly by the extent to which the institution is expected to be self-sustaining.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Several points are important in considering the number of employees required to operate an institution of this kind effectively. If the management is too limited in its personnel for the number of boys under care, all employees will have long hours on duty without needed time for complete relaxation and for getting away from their jobs. Many of them also will have a multiplicity of duties which will be both tiring and confusing if the mental and physical energy required to do each one effectively is expended. Inevitably the efficiency of each such individual will fall below his or her possible maximum. Limitations on personnel also mean that the staff must be deprived of the services of persons peculiarly fitted for special types of educational or guidance work of which the individual boys stand in exceptional need.

As State institutions follow no uniform pattern in classifying positions and prescribing duties for the holders of those positions, no exact comparison between any two institutions in this particular is possible. In many of them the duties seem to have become more or less fixed in character by virtue of tradition from the earlier days. In some there is greater similarity in the pattern of the personnel as a whole than in others that have been doing considerable experimentation with new types of work necessitating new and differently qualified workers and the creation of positions with new duties. A few serious attempts are being made at job analysis. Studies of this kind with consequent outlining of the place of each particular type of employee in the whole picture should be of great value. Institutional managements that carry this job analysis through and that prepare their findings in usable form for the benefit of other States will make a splendid contribution to institutional work.

#### **Personnel: Salaries**

The salary range for many of the comparable positions of the several schools was rather wide. There is danger in attempting to draw any conclusions from a comparison of the salaries paid in different parts of the country. For some of the jobs with the same general title, the duties and responsibilities in the different institutions may vary in such a way as to account for some of the variations in salary. It would be easy to bring together in a single table the salaries paid for somewhat analogous positions at the different schools, but every attempted comparison would have to be so qualified as more or less to nullify any conclusions that might be drawn. The material has been presented in the separate chapters so that readers may know what salaries were actually being paid at the time of the study in these five States.

It is obvious that a State will seriously cripple the work of its institutions if it reduces its salary scale below a certain level. Many superintendents assert that their greatest difficulties lie in their inability to obtain high-grade workers for the salaries they are able to pay. It would seem that this is one of the most vital points in an institution's budget. No institutional program can possibly rise above the level of the personnel entrusted with its operation. The finest physical plant and the most generous budget for maintenance and supplies will be largely wasted unless accompanied by adequate provision for a well-qualified staff, for high-grade workers from the chief executive to the least important of the laborers who come into any kind of contact with the boy population.

**Personnel: Appointments and removals**

Some variation was found in the provisions relating to appointment and removal of personnel. In two of these institutions—New York and Ohio—all personnel, including the superintendent, were subject to civil-service regulations; in New York the superintendent was appointed by the director of the State department of social welfare from an eligible list created by civil-service examinations; and in Ohio he was appointed by the State director of public welfare, with the approval of the Governor, from such a civil-service list. In both institutions all other workers were appointed by the superintendent from civil-service eligible lists. It was noted that a heavy proportion of the positions were classed as “noncompetitive”, which means that the holders of those positions were subjected to no special tests and the civil-service provision was simply an observance of certain formalities in the matter of application.

Only one school—Michigan—was entirely without any civil-service regulations in the matter of selection of personnel. There the superintendent was appointed by the State corrections commission, and that commission's approval was required for appointments to all other positions at the school. In practice this meant that the superintendent had a free hand in both appointments and removals.

In the California school all positions except those of the superintendent, the assistant superintendent, and the chief placement officer, and in New Jersey all except those of the superintendent and the secretary to the superintendent, were under civil-service regulations as to appointments and removals. In California the superintendent, the assistant superintendent, and the chief placement officer were appointed by the State director of institutions with the consent of the Governor. In New Jersey the two non-civil-service positions were filled through appointment by the local board of managers, subject to the approval of the State board of control. In California all other positions were filled through appointment by the superintendent from a civil-service eligible list if any had been established. In New Jersey the incumbents of all positions except those mentioned were appointed by the local board of managers from civil-service lists. In practice, however, the workers were actually selected from these lists by the superintendent, whose recommendations the local board almost invariably accepted. A high proportion of the positions there were also rated as noncompetitive.

Opinions differ widely as to the best method for selecting personnel for institutional work. Some superintendents feel that the civil-service law hampers them in obtaining the best-qualified workers and in removing incompetent or unsuitable ones. Others feel that the weeding out accomplished by civil-service examinations is a great help to them and that the protection from political influence afforded by civil-service regulations relating to removal is a beneficial, stabilizing factor.

To anyone who knows the destructive influence of political activity in connection with appointments to positions in public agencies and removals from them, it must be apparent that civil-service principles properly applied make for much greater efficiency in public service. The difficulties seem to be not with civil-service principles but with

some prevailing practices. Under civil service the selection of personnel for particular positions, if to render constructive service, cannot be perfunctory. The assembling of the right personnel is one of the most difficult pieces of work in connection with any enterprise. A civil service that establishes proper qualifications to require for each particular job within its classification and that permits no breakdown in the application of those standard qualifications will render incalculable benefits to the public which it is supposed to serve. The kind of job analysis which makes it possible to set up qualifications for appointment by civil service is in itself useful. In order to set up those standards and to give examinations that will be truly selective, the civil-service staff of examiners must be well qualified and must be thoroughly imbued with interest in and enthusiasm for the work to be performed. They must seek and obtain advisory aid from properly qualified experts when examinations are held for positions in any skilled work or in the professions. In the higher administrative and professional ranks, competition from outside the State should be permitted so that the best possible standards of personnel may be maintained.

Critics of the civil-service system who advocate its abolition because of its failure in many instances to operate effectively must face the alternative that without it the institutional personnel may at any time lawfully become the prey of the political-spoils system. The fact that some State administrations do not utilize institutional jobs to pay political debts does not remove the threat. Every new election holds the possibility that qualified, experienced, and competent workers may be removed to make way for friends of a new officialdom. The amount of energy that sometimes goes into an attack on a poorly functioning civil-service system might, if intelligently directed, bring about a genuine reform in civil-service methods which would mean a long step forward in raising standards for personnel in public service.

#### Personnel: Terms of service

Although it is necessary to exercise considerable discretion in drawing any conclusions from comparison of tenure of office of employees at the several institutions, the figures for these five schools are of interest. They are as follows:

*Length of service of full-time employees in 5 State institutions for delinquents*<sup>1</sup>

Length of service	Percent distribution				
	California	Michigan	New Jersey	New York	Ohio
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100
Less than 1 year.....	30	3	26	8	5
1 year, less than 2.....	11	3	10	10	7
2 years, less than 3.....	13	2	12	10	5
3 years, less than 4.....	9	11	7	8	7
4 years, less than 5.....	5	5	8	8	4
5 years, less than 10.....	15	56	19	23	36
10 years or more.....	16	19	18	33	36

<sup>1</sup> For number of full-time employees in each institution, see California, p. 17; Michigan, p. 58; New Jersey, p. 89; New York, p. 142; Ohio, p. 183.



It is interesting in this connection to observe that the one school under no civil-service requirements whatever—Michigan—had the highest percentage whose tenure of office was 5 years or more. Although governors are elected every 2 years in Michigan, they apparently have not made any clean sweep of the personnel at this institution for the purpose of satisfying political obligations. The California school, on the other hand, though presumably protected by the civil-service laws, had a very high turnover within the months immediately preceding the visit. The comparatively low percentage for long tenure of service in New Jersey is attributable to the large number of new appointments at this institution during the year before it was visited, owing to the creation of a number of new positions, notably the adding of several assistant cottage masters. The New York and Ohio schools had the highest percentages of personnel who had remained in service 10 years or longer.

The personnel problem in this connection is one of maintaining a balance between too constant a turnover and the accumulation of too many employees who have fallen into a routine. Too frequent changes in personnel, either through dissatisfaction of the individual worker or through discharge, tend to be injurious to staff morale and to the stability and smooth operation of the program. On the other hand, institution workers who remain in one place and one job for many years will have a tendency, unless they are very exceptional people, to get into a rut and to remain at a standstill so far as development is concerned. They are likely to become dependent on tradition and to constitute a dead weight that retards progress when new methods are introduced. Probably the most successful management will be the one that so manipulates appointments and removals as to keep a rather steady flow of new blood coming in, at the same time never having such frequent changes as to threaten the stability of the training program.

#### **Personnel: Qualifications**

An attempt to obtain complete information about all workers at each institution would constitute a study within itself. All that could be done in this study was to assemble whatever was readily available from the institutional records and other sources that could be easily consulted. No attempt was made to check the correctness of the statements made as to education and prior experience. Judging from the five institutions especially studied, there is great variation as to the amount of previous education and the type of previous experience of institutional employees performing all kinds of duties. Though educational requirements would differ with the type of work to be done, it would seem that all employees should have had at least a grade-school education, except the occasional individuals who lack this amount of formal schooling but are unusually well qualified by experience and self-education. No attempt will be made here to set up specific standards for the qualifications of persons for the various types of work to be done at an institution of this kind. Nevertheless, certain general statements are applicable to all personnel.

Probably more uniformity exists in the educational and experience requirements of academic teachers than in that for any other group of workers. Teachers for the most part conform to whatever standards the State public-school systems have set up. Obviously these differ considerably from State to State. Not all State institutions

require State certification of their academic teachers. Certainly that is the minimum that should be required for teaching as difficult as that in institutions for juvenile delinquents.

More will be said of the vocational instructors in the section dealing with that phase of the training program. (See p. 255.) Vocational training is now being developed in many public schools, and courses by means of which persons may obtain some preparation for teaching in this field are now available. It would appear that efforts should be made to obtain instructors who have prepared for this special work and that trade teachers at the institution should be encouraged to take courses which would give them a new vision of possibilities in connection with training of this kind for juvenile delinquents. The whole industrial picture is changing so rapidly that even the most alert persons find it difficult to keep abreast of the times. Those who are out of the main stream of industrial activity, at work in an institution, can easily become so out of touch with current happenings that they are poorly equipped to aid boys who later must take their chances in the constantly changing labor market.

Observation not only at these five schools but also at many other State institutions leads to the conclusion that the point at which there is the greatest breakdown in personnel qualification is the parole work. The nature of this work requires that it be done by individuals who are thoroughly trained and who have had a reasonable amount of experience in case work under supervision. They should be well grounded in the social sciences and in the principles of mental hygiene. They should have a thorough knowledge of the many different types of social agencies that may be found functioning in the communities to which the boys in their care will be released. Surprisingly few institutions throughout the country have made real efforts to procure the services of such trained workers in their parole departments. A few States are making energetic efforts in that direction. So far as these five schools are concerned, the parole service in New Jersey and New York stands out as having sought to raise the standards of personnel who engage in parole activities, and California has recently taken a step in that direction.

Education and suitable prior experience represent only one side of the picture so far as qualifications for effectiveness in institutional work are concerned. Personality traits are at least equally important, perhaps even more important. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine or even to estimate how much of the success of institutional training depends on the personal influence of individual staff members on individual boys. There is every reason to believe that such influence, whether it be good or bad, is one of the strongest factors in institutional treatment. That being the case, the character and personality of the staff are vitally important. Men and women of fine character, possessed of those personality traits that enable them to understand and to influence boys, must be secured if the institution's program is to approach its objectives. The mental and emotional attitudes of prospective employees are extremely significant. They should be emotionally stable, yet responsive to emotional variations; that is, they should not be devoid of feeling but should be able to maintain a desirable balance. They must under no circumstances be individuals who will show favoritism. They must above all things be fair, just, reasonable, and courteous in all their dealings.

Boys are much more likely to acquire desirable traits through imitation of individuals whom they like and admire than through any amount of instruction. Toward all the different behavior problems that arise in connection with the handling of these boys the satisfactory employee will be able to maintain an impersonal but interested scientific attitude, one that is devoid of faultfinding, that seeks to comprehend the underlying factors in particular instances of misbehavior and to help eliminate them.

Obviously no amount of education and experience that is not coupled with the right type of personality and the right attitude will make a successful institutional worker. On the other hand, individuals qualified by character and personality are only partly effective if they have not been able to obtain that education and experience which the work demands. The ideal employee is the one who combines a reasonable amount of training with a good basic personal equipment.

#### **Personnel: Living and working conditions**

Living conditions have already been touched upon in the section dealing with staff housing. (See p. 217.) Let it be repeated here that there is a direct relation between the provision of proper housing for the staff members and individual efficiency on the job. Wherever one goes among institutions, one finds evidence of working hours that are too long. In some places a multiplication of duties in itself constitutes a strain over and above the long hours necessitated by carrying more than one job at a time. Consequently it is all the more essential that the employee off duty should have comfortable quarters where he may have a reasonable degree of privacy, for complete rest and relaxation. It is also essential that employees have recreation centers that are roomy, attractive, and equipped for real social life. This becomes still more imperative when the institution is some distance from communities that offer social activities in which institutional personnel may participate.

Probably too much emphasis cannot be laid on the need for establishing, as nearly as the complicated schedule of the institution will permit, an 8-hour working day for all employees. It is recognized that this is difficult and in many places as yet impossible. However, it should be the goal toward which every institutional administration directs its efforts. Solely on the basis of consequent efficiency in operation, such a goal can be amply justified. It is a matter for commiseration rather than congratulation when devoted employees have to overtax their energies through long and continuous hours on duty. The devotion and the willingness on the part of the employees are admirable, but the results in lowered effectiveness on the job are far more likely to be disastrous.

The same statements may be made with respect to the necessity for days off at regular intervals and for vacation allowances ample enough to permit employees to get completely away from the institution and its problems for a sufficient period to permit complete relaxation. In work that is as confining as institutional duty, 30 days of annual leave does not seem excessive. The renewed strength and energy which employees will bring back to their tasks will more than make up for the time away from duty. It is hardly necessary to say that reasonable time off because of illness should be permitted.

### Staff organization

The desirability of departmental organization of the staff depends to a great extent on the size of the institution and the type of program in operation. In small institutions it is, of course, unnecessary. In those having populations of less than 200 the superintendent probably can maintain close enough contact with all lines of work so that not much formal staff division is required. The larger the institution, the more the chief executive has to delegate to subexecutives responsibility for the various training and maintenance activities. These subexecutives perhaps can function most effectively when the work is divided into departments with the lines of demarcation as to powers and duties clearly defined. Such organization places responsibility for all detail on the subexecutive who is the director in each department. Thus freed of the overwhelming burden of administrative detail, the superintendent is able to devote more of his time to thoughtful consideration of the bigger issues and to planning for constant development of the work toward its avowed objectives.

Various types of departmental organization have been worked out at some of the institutions studied, as has been shown in the preceding chapters. On careful study of the functioning of the component parts of the institutional machinery, an alert executive sometimes will see that certain changes in organization and in division of duties may lead to better results.

### Administrative leadership and staff teamwork

An institution whose staff works in close harmony toward mutually understood and accepted objectives will be certain to produce the best results. How to bring about close teamwork on the part of personnel is one of the superintendent's primary problems.

Some of the superintendents who are generally considered progressive and who are accepted as leaders in the correctional group believe that teamwork can best be effected through frequent staff conferences. These are of various types. Some institutions hold regular weekly or biweekly conferences of the subexecutives, the directors of their various departments. At these meetings, at which the superintendent presides, questions of general policy are thoroughly discussed. Staff members are encouraged to bring up difficulties that have arisen or criticisms of the policies or regulations in effect. When these conferences follow a well-planned program and are diplomatically handled by the presiding officer, they result in ironing out many differences of opinion that might prove disrupting to the general program. More valuable is the opportunity thus afforded for offering suggestions as to improvement in the program on the part of the persons most closely in touch with the success or the failure of the existing methods.

In addition to regular staff conferences of the heads of departments, it is the practice at some institutions to hold regular or called conferences of special groups. Sometimes these are merely for the purpose of announcing changes in program or policies and clearing up any misunderstanding as to just what is expected of individual workers or departments. Sometimes they are called for the mutual interchange of ideas as to how well the program is working and what might be done to improve it. Group thinking and frank discussion of practical problems presented in the various fields are said to aid materially in

the development of the program. Much probably can be done everywhere to develop this plan of group thinking in the interests of improved operation in the various phases of institutional work. Thoughtful and understanding leadership in the planning and conducting of such conferences should produce gratifying results in perfecting personnel teamwork. Small conferences of this description may be of particular help in carrying forward a progressive program in institutions where a considerable proportion of the personnel is devoted to existing traditional methods. Their cooperation is essential if progress is to be made. It will be obtained much more quickly and will be much more sincere if friendly effort is made to persuade staff members of the value of the new methods. Old-line workers who give lip service and who observe the letter but not the spirit of new regulations do much to nullify the success of a program during a transitional period. It is in situations of this kind that administrative leadership of the highest order is called for and has its best opportunity to demonstrate its value. After all, the question is not whether the superintendent can "get on" with these people but what their attitudes do to the boys under their care.

**5. ADMISSIONS, CAPACITY, AND POPULATION**

**Intake provisions and policies**

Statutory provisions governing commitments to these five institutions offer further evidence of the lack of uniformity in the States' approach to the problem of caring for their juvenile delinquents. No two had identical regulations. No two had even the same age limits for commitment. The upper age limit was 15 in two, 16 in two others, and 17 in the fifth. The lower age limit was 8 in two, 10 in another, and 12 in the remaining two. The range was as follows:

California.....	8 to 16 years, inclusive
Michigan.....	12 to 16 years, inclusive
New Jersey.....	8 to 15 years, inclusive
New York.....	12 to 15 years, inclusive
Ohio.....	10 to 17 years, inclusive

This range is fairly typical of the provisions found in other States. Exceptions and qualifications in various statutes affect certain types of cases at either end of the scale.

Statutes often contain clauses intended to prevent the commitment of boys who are mentally or physically incapable of being benefitted by the training offered. The great majority of counties lack the clinical facilities or the expert consultant service which would be required for the strict observance of those requirements. This is especially true with respect to resources in the psychiatric and psychological field. Therefore in practice every State institution for delinquents receives boys so far below normal mental level that they do not fit into the general training picture. Some meet this problem more or less effectively by transferring such boys, after examination and study, to a more appropriate State institution. At times this transfer is rendered difficult through lack of the proper statutory authorization. In each State transfer authority should be conferred upon the appropriate officials, care being taken to safeguard the rights and the welfare of the child and of society by the requirement that qualified experts examine the child and certify his physical or mental condition and needs.

As most institutions for delinquents do not accept boys suffering from communicable diseases, boys suffering from tuberculosis or from gonorrhoea or syphilis in an infectious stage are barred from admission. Consequently full responsibility for seeing that the boy receives proper and adequate treatment is left with the court which desires to commit that boy. Because examinations made at the instance of the committing court are sometimes hasty and superficial, boys may be received at the institutions in infectious condition. The institution's medical officer then discovers the need of segregation and treatment. Some institutions have the facilities necessary to provide the indicated treatment, others return the boy to the committing court for treatment until he can be certified to have reached a noninfectious stage. It would seem that, having accepted the case and discovered the disease, the institution is under obligation to make sure that the boy receives proper and adequate treatment to clear up the condition that is barring him from the training which he has been adjudged to need. There is grave doubt whether an institution is justified in declining to accept a boy committed for treatment for a conduct disorder on the ground that the boy is suffering from an infectious physical disease. The institution would be meeting its responsibilities better if it undertook to provide proper medical care for such boys whenever hospital care could not be arranged elsewhere, or when boys who were ambulatory cases were unable to make satisfactory adjustment to the ordinary hospital regime. General hospitals cannot provide the training activities that such boys need. In many areas institutions that follow the policy of refusing infectious cases encounter considerable difficulty in fulfilling these various obligations. Hospitals for mental disease and institutions for the feeble-minded may be overcrowded and burdened with long waiting lists. Clinics and hospitals for the treatment of venereal disease may be entirely lacking or hopelessly inadequate. Faced with such situations, the institutional administration has a fine opportunity to work hand in hand with the individual communities and with other State-wide organizations in an effort to improve the public service in these respects.

#### Capacity and population

The capacity and the population of the five institutions on given dates within the period during which each was visited were reported as follows:

State	Capacity	Population <sup>1</sup>
California.....	350	319
Michigan.....	575	684
New Jersey.....	625	631
New York.....	700	470
Ohio.....	1,213	990

<sup>1</sup> On Nov. 9, 1931, in the California institution; on given dates in March 1932 in the other institutions. See pp. 23, 61, 95, 144, 188.

These figures recall the overcrowding at the Michigan institution to which reference has been made on page 61. The New Jersey institution was running close to capacity. The other three institutions were not filled to capacity.

A growing appreciation of the values inherent in individualized as against mass treatment strengthens the belief held by many institution executives that training schools for young delinquents should remain relatively small in size. There seems to be general agreement that no such school should exceed a capacity of 500 and that a population considerably less than this figure can be handled much more effectively for training and treatment purposes. But over against this belief on the part of thoughtful executives is the inescapable fact that per capita cost rises as population diminishes. This creates a problem in public education of community leaders.

It will be noted that three of the institutions studied had populations in excess of 500 boys. By 1933 these (in the order listed) had decreased 31, 16, and 14 percent, respectively, Michigan having only 470 boys, New Jersey 528, and Ohio 852.<sup>4</sup> According to the American Prison Association, 10 institutions for delinquent boys in the United States had an average population of more than 500 in 1932.<sup>5</sup> Despite the handicap offered by an overlarge population, some of these schools were making valiant efforts to operate on a basic policy of individualized treatment. New Jersey, for example, has made great strides in that direction.

The ratio between number of boys committed to four of the institutions for delinquents that were studied and the total number of boys of the same age in the respective States is given in the accompanying table, in which are shown the legal age of commitment to each of these institutions, the State's total male population of the same age group, and the number and proportion of boys committed—the latter being the rate calculated per 10,000 male population of commitment age. For the fifth institution—New York—such ratio could not be computed owing to uncertainty as to just what counties should be included in the total-population count. Although courts in all except five specified counties in the State were authorized to send boys to this institution, they were not compelled to do so and committed boys to other schools when this seemed desirable. (See p. 135.)

*Legal age of commitment and commitment rates per 10,000 boys of the same age committed during a year<sup>1</sup> to 4 State institutions for delinquents*

State	Legal age of commitment	Male population of commitment age <sup>2</sup>	Boys committed	
			Number	Rate per 10,000 boys of commitment age
California.....	8 years, under 17.....	394, 656	215	5.4
Michigan.....	12 years, under 17.....	224, 167	488	21.8
New Jersey.....	8 years, under 16.....	309, 956	<sup>3</sup> 358	11.6
Ohio.....	10 years, under 18.....	483, 321	808	16.7

<sup>1</sup> Figures for year ended: California and Michigan, June 30, 1931; New Jersey, Feb. 29, 1932; Ohio, Dec. 31, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> Population according to the 1930 census.

<sup>3</sup> Includes recommitments.

<sup>4</sup> Figures as of October 1933 furnished by the probation office of the Bureau of Prisons, U. S. Department of Justice.

<sup>5</sup> State and National Penal and Correctional Institutions of the United States and Canada, compiled by the American Prison Association, New York. June 1933.

It appears that in California relatively few boys were committed to the State school for juvenile delinquents. New Jersey stands next with a rate a little more than twice that of California. Ohio committed almost three and one-half times as many boys as California, Michigan four times as many. No effort was made to discover any explanation of this variation. That would make a study in itself. It seems unlikely that California has actually fewer delinquents in proportion to total boy population. It seems far more probable that the difference could be traced to the use of other methods of attacking the delinquency problem in those States having the lower commitment rates.

The striking difference between the rates for institutional treatment of white and Negro boys is shown in the following table, which gives the rate per 10,000 white and Negro boys of these age groups committed to or in the four institutions for delinquent boys under discussion in relation to commitment:

*Legal age of commitment and commitment rates per 10,000 white and Negro boys of the same age committed during a year<sup>1</sup> to 4 State institutions for delinquents*

State, legal age of commitment, and race of boy	Male population of commitment age <sup>2</sup>	Boys committed during the year or in institutions on a specified date <sup>1</sup>	
		Number	Rate per 10,000 boys of commitment age
California (8 years, under 17):			
White.....	340,324	170	5.0
Negro.....	4,840	23	47.5
Ohio (10 years, under 18):			
White.....	464,647	<sup>3</sup> 713	15.3
Negro.....	18,383	<sup>3</sup> 181	98.5
Michigan (12 years, under 17):			
White.....	218,209	589	27.0
Negro.....	5,150	93	180.6
New Jersey (8 years, under 16):			
White.....	296,469	451	15.2
Negro.....	13,367	191	142.9

<sup>1</sup> Figures for California and Ohio are for boys committed to institutions during years ended June 30, 1931, and Dec. 31, 1931, respectively. Figures for Michigan and New Jersey are for boys in institutions on specified date, Mar. 31 and Feb. 29, 1932, respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Population according to the 1930 census.

<sup>3</sup> Includes recommitments.

As this table shows, in California the commitment rate for Negro boys is almost 10 times that for white boys, and in Ohio it is more than 6 times as great. In Michigan the rate for Negro boys in the institution on a given date was almost 7 times that for white boys, and in New Jersey it was more than 9 times as great.

No field work was done to try to determine whether these figures should be assumed to indicate a greater amount of delinquency among Negro than among white boys or whether they merely indicate that a higher proportion of Negro juvenile delinquents were receiving institutional treatment. Police-department statistics on arrests almost always show a figure for Negroes considerably out of proportion to their number in the population. The rate of arrests per 10,000 population (15 years of age and over) in a period of 3 months in 1933, as reported by the United States Department of Justice, was



8.0 for native white persons, nearly 5.6 for foreign-born whites, and 25.0 for Negroes.<sup>6</sup>

Tabulation of the number and percent distribution of boys committed, by age at commitment, reveals other similarities and differences in State planning for the treatment of youthful offenders. The figures are given herewith for the five institutions studied:

*Age at date of commitment for boys committed during a year<sup>1</sup> to 5 State institutions for delinquents*

Age at date of commitment	Boys committed									
	California		Michigan		New Jersey		New York		Ohio	
	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution
Total.....	215		488		460		393		894	
Age reported.....	215	100	488	100	460	100	393	100	894	100
Under 12 years..	17	8			67	15	12	3	31	3
12 years.....	22	10	27	6	46	10	37	9	45	5
13 years.....	45	21	50	10	93	20	67	17	96	11
14 years.....	69	32	109	22	112	24	99	25	144	16
15 years.....	60	28	154	32	126	27	166	42	185	21
16 years and over	2	1	146	30	16	3	12	3	393	44
Age not reported.....			2							

<sup>1</sup> Figures are for year ended: California, Michigan, and New York, June 30, 1931; New Jersey, Feb. 29, 1932 (includes recommitments and 102 returned parolees); Ohio, Dec. 31, 1931 (includes 86 recommitments).

The New Jersey school received the heaviest proportion of cases under 12 years of age, with New York a close second, followed by California and Ohio, the latter having a low percentage. Michigan admitted none under 12. On the other hand, the intake in both Michigan and Ohio showed a large proportion of boys 16 and over. New York admitted none of these older boys, New Jersey relatively few, and California only an exceptional case. California sends this older group to a separate institution, the Preston School of Industry; New Jersey had just opened a new institution offering training facilities for the group of cases intermediate between those in the school studied (the State Home for Boys) and the Rahway Reformatory. In New York some of the 16- and 17-year-old boys were sent to the House of Refuge in New York City, and others were committed to the reformatory at Elmira.

The provision of an intermediate institution between the training school for the youngest group of delinquents and the reformatory is believed highly desirable by some of the most thoughtful of the experienced executives in correctional work. It serves several useful purposes. Through this division the size of each institution can be kept down to a group that can be handled effectively, and individualization of study and treatment becomes more feasible. The educational and recreational needs of boys under 12, boys in their early teens, and boys in middle or late adolescence differ materially. Complications often arise in trying to work out a satisfactory training program for a large mixed-age group. These tend to disappear when the boys more mature in body and mind and more fixed in behavior patterns can be kept separate.

<sup>6</sup> Division of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice: Uniform Crime Reports for the United States and Its Possessions, vol. 4, no. 3, Third Quarterly Bulletin, 1933, p. 18. Washington, 1933.

## 6. RECEPTION AND ASSIGNMENT PROCEDURE

### Reception

Boys are usually brought to institutions of this kind by some officer designated by the committing court. From the urban areas it is frequently a probation officer who accompanies the boy. Very often, however, that duty is delegated to a sheriff or his deputy. This is especially true in the rural areas. Arrangements for the boy's reception at the institution vary considerably. At some institutions the initial reception is by a special clerk or secretary who gives the accompanying officer the necessary acknowledgment of the delivery of the boy and who registers the newcomer. This means receiving the commitment papers and noting such additional information as the particular institution may require.

In some institutions a special effort is made to have the new boys greeted by some member of the administrative staff. This first contact is considered extremely important. The staff member undertakes to give the boy, immediately upon arrival, some understanding of the institution's desire to be of help to him, to offer him opportunities for education and training that will enable him to make his way satisfactorily and without conflict when he returns to his community. At this first meeting with the people in authority at the institution, it is considered essential for the boy to understand that the institution officers desire to be his friends rather than his keepers.

In these five institutions and in other institutions that have been visited more briefly there is some variation as to the next step in the boy's induction into the regular life of the institution. In order to safeguard the health of the institutional population, some form of quarantine of new boys is usually observed. This ranges all the way from a few days of complete isolation in the institution hospital to partial segregation by temporary residence in a receiving cottage, whereby contact with the rest of the school population is kept at a minimum.

Institutional staffs that recognize clearly the importance of the boy's own attitude toward the institution and its program probably are taking a long step in the right direction when they undertake to give the new boy the right point of view at the moment of his first contact with the place in which he is to live for a considerable period. To those who have been in close touch with prevailing practices in dealing with juvenile delinquency it must be apparent that one of the greatest handicaps to successful institutional treatment is the distrustful antagonism with which the boy approaches this new sort of life. All too often the delinquent has had commitment to an institution held up as a constant threat. He has been "warned" that if he fails to observe the conditions of probation under which he has been permitted to return to his home after one or more juvenile-court appearances, he will be sent to a place where he will learn what discipline means. Unthinking social workers and probation officers use this threat of commitment in a misguided effort to strengthen their juvenile clients' resistance to adverse influences in the environments in which they are permitted to remain. Inevitably a boy gains the impression that commitment to an institution means something in the way of punishment of a distinctly unpleasant character. He may even expect it to be very much in the nature of a prison. Certainly under such conditions he is not likely to acquire the idea that

it is a very special kind of school in which he must live away from his family and his old associates but in which he will find friends and helpers.

Likewise institutional commitment often is resorted to only after every other method of adjusting the boy in community life has been attempted and has failed. Through all those experiences a boy is likely to build up an attitude that greatly magnifies the difficulty of doing anything for him. His attitude may become that of a genuine social outlaw; that is, he may feel that everyone is against him, that everyone considers him simply a nuisance, that no one is interested in him, and that he might as well take up the fight against society and make it a thorough one; or a boy may have been thoroughly discouraged by failure after failure so that he has a deep feeling that it is of no use to try to do what seems to be the accepted thing. Another type may be the boy who has developed great personal satisfaction in being the center of attention as a notoriously "bad" case. He may be looking forward to an enjoyable career in the spotlight as one of the institution's worst problems. These and other perverse attitudes with which boys approach the institution are definite obstructions in the way of successful work. Undoubtedly most institutions would agree that it is the exception and not the rule for a boy to come to the institution more or less voluntarily. Institutional commitment seems to be seldom the result of a frank and friendly discussion with the judge and the probation officers of the committing court in which opportunities open to the boy through the institutional program are made clear and in which his consent to going to the institution is sought and obtained.

Since delinquent boys do approach institutional life very often in an emotional state of fear, hatred, or active antagonism, the boy's reception and his experiences during the first few days become exceptionally important. It would be infinitely better if the procedures through which he comes to the institution could be devised to operate in such a way as to send him to the institution in a cooperative mood, anticipating interesting and profitable activities. Until that can be done, it is highly desirable that his interest and his cooperation be deliberately sought immediately on entrance.

#### **Receiving cottages**

In many institutions the receiving cottage differs very little in its physical arrangements from the other residence units. In some it is somewhat less attractive in its living arrangements and less effort is made to have in it any resemblance to family life. In the institution in California a very definite philosophy lay back of the provision of less attractive living quarters in the reception cottage than in other units. This philosophy was based on a belief that there was some psychological advantage in having the boy feel that he had a responsibility for earning pleasant living arrangements, that by his own conduct he had forfeited these to some extent, but that he could earn privileges and more satisfactory living arrangements again through his own efforts. In some other institutions it was felt that the receiving cottage should be exceptionally pleasing and friendly in atmosphere in order to help establish a cooperative attitude in the boy and to help overcome the feelings of strangeness and the homesickness that interfere with adjustment to the training program. There is probably something to be said for both points of view. However, as in other

questions, it seems likely that the policy which would prove best for some cases might prove less effective in others. In other words, even in the reception procedure, if it were possible so to arrange matters, it might be more effective to have the initial treatment based on individual characteristics and needs, dependent on previous experience, previous conduct, and current attitudes.

As has been mentioned, there is usually a system of quarantine or semiquarantine designed to prevent the introduction of communicable diseases into the institutional group by boys coming in from possible exposure in the community at large. It is accomplished usually by considerable restriction of activities for the group resident at the reception cottages. That is, for the most part these boys do not participate in the general assemblies, and in some institutions they do not attend school nor mingle in any way with the other residence units.

The period during which a boy remains in the reception cottage is occupied usually with making observations and examinations which may form the basis for assigning him to a permanent residence unit and to a school and vocational or work group. It is during this time that he has his complete physical examination, his psychological test, and his psychiatric examination, if the institution has such clinical service. He is also interviewed by staff officers who are delegated to determine certain of his characteristics or abilities either in school or in vocational lines in preparation for assignment. The average stay in a reception cottage in complete or partial segregation varied from 2 to 6 weeks in these five institutions.

Some of the superintendents stated that they considered it vitally important to have in charge in the receiving cottage an exceptionally well qualified cottage officer, one who was an excellent judge of character and a keen observer, able to detect and to have some insight into the problems of individual boys. They felt that this cottage officer must be unusually skillful in handling boys and in helping them to make the emotional adjustment which is sometimes very difficult.

#### **First assignments**

Three of these five institutions used the clinical method in making first assignments to cottage, school, or vocational units. In the other two schools these assignments were made by individual staff members delegated for that purpose by the superintendent when he did not himself make the decisions. At each of the three schools using clinical methods (see pp. 25, 96, 146), there was great confidence in the effectiveness of this procedure. Their experience indicated that it was very useful to have the various points of view with respect to an individual case brought together and considered in relation to one another. It was felt that the final plan of treatment evolved for the boys was often more appropriate than would have been the case had the different assignments been made by different individuals without knowledge of the points of view of other staff members and without joint discussions. Another point made was that this method tended to direct the attention of all the leading staff members who participated in the discussion toward the boy's case as a whole instead of to particular phases of his problem, and that this resulted in a much better all-around program of treatment. Thus his cottage-family life, his school work, his vocational work, and his general recreational

and emotional life were all considered in relation to one another and to his needs as evidenced by his physical and mental condition, his previous experience, and his current conduct and attitudes.

Institutions that are able to operate in relatively small cottage units (not more than 25 boys) are much more fortunate than those which must maintain larger residence groups. A greater number of small units makes it possible to maintain a greater variety in cottage groups in relation to the characteristics of the boys. Consequently the persons responsible for assigning boys to residence units can give more consideration to each boy's particular characteristics and social needs. The small unit reveals one of its greatest advantages when it is effectively utilized for the grouping together of types of boys and of cottage personnel that seem particularly suited to develop congenial and satisfactory community living and to bring out the best rather than the worst in one another's personalities. Institutions that must maintain very large cottage units are badly handicapped in this regard. Many of them find it impossible to do much more than classify by size and age, with a little attention to previous experience in delinquency or to mental level.

In making the first school assignment some institutions rely almost entirely upon the boy's statement as to what grade he had completed in his home community, plus a little questioning in an interview by the school principal. Others supplement this by the use of psychological findings when available. The variation in possible school assignment dependent on the simplicity or the complexity of the institution's educational program will appear more clearly in the sections which discuss the educational program. (See pp. 253, 255.)

The industrial or vocational assignments seem to be made on a variety of bases. They depend, of course, upon the fullness or the paucity of the information available relative to the abilities of the individual boy. Usually the boy's own preference is ascertained and some consideration given to it if it seems reasonable in relation to his obvious abilities. In some institutions special vocational tests are given. In others, attempts are being made to devise satisfactory shop try-out systems for new boys. If this can be done in practical fashion, it would seem to be a step forward in the development of the vocational work. Very little evidence was found of any attempt to canvass the community to which the boy was likely to return, to determine what would be the probable work opportunities open to him when he was ready for self-support. That is, of course, a somewhat difficult task, and under present unemployment conditions, with the seeming uncertainty as to what employment opportunities will be, it becomes almost impossible. Nevertheless, it does seem desirable that some consideration be given to probable work opportunities in making vocational-training plans for individual cases. The young man who has more than one skill at his command has a decided advantage over the person who is entirely dependent on one line of work. The needs of the various shops that are carrying on a heavy maintenance or production program for the institution should never be permitted to divert the assignment of boys from training for a vocation.

In some institutions care is taken to consider the boy's needs for development that will not be met by the help he will find in school and vocational training. In these institutions plans are made which

insure that each boy will have an opportunity to participate in recreational or other free-time activities that will contribute to the growth and development of his personality along normal lines. His participation is not left to chance. His needs are very definitely analyzed, and an attempt is made to meet them through the various activities available in the institutional program.

In the institutions using the clinical method for making these first assignments, it was usually part of the procedure to have the boy come in after the decision had been reached and to explain to him in friendly, informal fashion just what plans were being made for him. It was considered important to have him feel that everyone there was interested in his future and that every decision made had been reached because they all thought this the best plan for him to follow at the time. In schools where the clinical method was not used an effort was usually made to convey this impression of friendly interest through interviews conducted by the individual officers making the different assignments.

## 7. THE BOY'S LIFE IN THE INSTITUTION

### Daily routine

Every institution which cares for a considerable number of boys must of necessity follow an established routine for daily activities. With slight variations in time the routines established at the various schools were quite similar. In each all the boys rose at the same time, dressed, breakfasted, performed such chores around their cottage as were assigned to them, and then reported to the classroom, the shops, or work assignments. Some boys belonging to squads that worked in the dairy, in the kitchens, and on other assignments requiring early rising had to go to work earlier than the rest of the group. At noon there was usually a recreation period following the noon meal, then all boys reported back to school, shop, or work. Most schools released the boys from shop and school and work assignments early enough to allow a short period of free time before the supper hour. Supper was fairly early in most of these institutions and was followed by the longest recreation period of the day. The retiring hour varied somewhat, being usually around 8, 8:30, or 9 o'clock. Some of the institutions which cared for older boys permitted them to remain up later than the boys in the cottages for the younger group.

This necessity of living by exact routine inevitably tends to create an institutional atmosphere that in some ways hampers individual development. On the other hand, it inculcates regular habits of eating, working, playing, and sleeping. The fact that these things are done by the boys en masse because it is the rule that they be done at the same time instead of because they are good habits to acquire, decreases the training value. However, the same type of routine characterizes practically all boarding-school life and is an essential feature of life in large groups. Much can be done to offset the mechanical character of the routine by those in charge if they make sure that every boy understands why the rules exist and why it is necessary for the good of all of them that the routine be gladly and carefully observed. The boys' response will then tend to be voluntary in character instead of purely mechanical.

### General atmosphere

In external appearance all these institutions visited were devoid of prison characteristics; that is, the buildings were surrounded by no walls or fences and no bars were in evidence. The types of architecture used and the placing of the buildings affect to some extent the impression which the visitor gets as to the character of an institution. Some have more in common with private boarding or military schools than with public correctional institutions. In general much care has been taken to make the grounds attractive and pleasing.

Radical differences were observed as to the freedom of movement permitted to the boys. In some institutions boys went about freely, alone or in couples, apparently with no thought of being constantly observed or under guard. In others such freedom of movement was allowed to a very few "honor" boys, and others moved only in groups accompanied by an officer or a boy "monitor." The restrictive institutional atmosphere was naturally conveyed most distinctly in those institutions where the boys almost always marched in groups two by two accompanied by some supervisor.

Although the psychological or emotional atmosphere of an institution is so intangible that any appraisal of it must necessarily be subjective, the character of such "atmosphere" in each of the institutions visited by representatives of the Children's Bureau seemed to be revealed more or less clearly by numerous small matters. The facial expression of boys and staff, the tones in which boys and officers addressed one another, the phrases used, the evidence or lack of evidence of sincere liking between boys and staff members, the absence of spontaneous laughter, the droop of shoulders or the upright and confident bearing with which boys walked about the grounds or worked in shop or school—such things as these, plus the attitudes expressed and those revealed without open expression, furnished a basis for at least some measure of appraisal of institutional atmosphere. Evaluated in such terms, the atmospheres of the various institutions visited were very different.

If such a thing as the psychological or emotional atmosphere is apparent to a visitor who spends a comparatively short time within the institution, it must surely be very real to the boys who live in it for months or years and must have a profound effect on the majority of such boys. If that atmosphere is relatively free of restraint, devoid of fear, imbued with friendliness and an invitation to natural boyish gayety, encouragement to industry, and appreciation of effort and accomplishment, it should be highly tonic in its effect. On the other hand, if it is distinctly repressive, curbing boyish exuberance through fear, bowing heads and painting sullen expressions on young faces, echoing curt comments and harsh reprimands, or scoldings and faultfindings, it is hard to see how it could have a beneficial effect on the personalities of boys, particularly those already warped and twisted by unhappy experience.

### Cottage "family" atmosphere

In most institutions operated on the cottage plan, it was found that there was a desire to approximate a feeling of family life and family relationship within each residence unit. As has been remarked previously, this becomes practically impossible when the cottage

population exceeds 20 to 25 boys. In larger units such family atmosphere as is created begins to take on an artificial character, and as the number increases it is strained to the breaking point. In all but one of these institutions studied, the cottage personnel included a man and wife who were supposed to stand in the relationship of father and mother to the boys in their residence units, so far as that was possible. In the fifth institution the woman on the cottage personnel staff was considered a part-time worker and ranked as a matron responsible for the housekeeping but having practically no responsibility for the supervision and guidance of the boys.

Since the principal objective of the institutional treatment is to prepare boys for normal social living in a home in a community, too much attention cannot be paid to the development of a semblance of home atmosphere in relation to the boy's life in the institution. This means the provision of pleasant homelike surroundings, also exercise of the greatest care in the selection of cottage personnel, as their character and their personal attributes are highly important. They need to be men and women who understand and like boys. They should have an appreciation of the needs of all the boys committed to their care. They should be people quick to take advantage of the opportunity to teach all boys who become members of their cottage groups the reasons behind all the rules, regulations, and customs that control cottage life. One of the criticisms that seems justified in relation to institutions is that they tend to suppress the impulse to self-direction and to make boys dependent on routine and regulation. This hinders instead of encourages the development of personal and social responsibility. The chance to help boys to learn to stand on their own feet is probably greater in the homely details of cottage life than in any other phase of institutional activity, though this fact is not always recognized.

The building up of a cottage spirit which will resemble family loyalties can be a very good thing if not carried too far in a competitive direction. The awakening of loyalties of this kind sometimes satisfies a real hunger in boys who have had too little sense of belonging to a family or other group in which they could take pride.

#### Arrangements for sleeping

In these five institutions, as well as in many other State institutions more briefly visited, the dormitory system prevailed. There is a division of opinion as to which is the more desirable, the dormitory or the single-room system. The dormitory of course makes night supervision easier. In the one school where there were some single rooms there seemed to be a feeling that it was wise to have both types of housing available and to use them with discrimination for different types of cases, and the newest cottage at that institution provided for half of the cottage population in a dormitory and half in single rooms.

In three of these schools all-night supervision was given in all dormitories. In one institution the only dormitories supervised were those in which the more difficult boys slept. In the fifth the boys were locked in the dormitory at night and the dormitories were visited at regular intervals by night watchmen. There has been considerable discussion of this question of all-night supervision, and opinions as to its value differ. Some institutional authorities feel that this incessant watchfulness has not a particularly good psychological effect on the boys; others feel that despite the drawbacks it is essential, and very few favor discarding it altogether.



### Arrangements for eating

As was the case in regard to the physical aspects of the kitchen and dining-room arrangements, the social aspects among the five institutions revealed similar variations. In some dining rooms the silence rule was observed during meals, in others boys were permitted to talk in natural tones. With so many boys it is of course difficult to conduct a dining room in informal fashion without running into difficulties in the way of too much noise and too boisterous behavior. But it can be done. When the boys eat in separate units it is easier to encourage natural conversational habits and to give more attention to table manners. This is one more place in which there is real opportunity to give the boy an understanding of standards of living with which he may have had relatively little acquaintance in his own home.

### Sanitary arrangements

Little need be said in the way of comment on this subject. Obviously the sanitary arrangements should be adequate to encourage a high degree of cleanliness. The use of sanitary arrangements under the guidance of the cottage personnel can be made to furnish opportunity for teaching good personal hygiene and an appreciation of the care of the body and the importance of such care to health, growth, and happiness. The institution that merely has routine bath nights and has boys bathe because it is the rule to do so, not because they want to be clean and understand the values of cleanliness, is missing a fine opportunity to contribute to the development of personal habits and standards that may mean a good deal to the boy in later life.

### Living-room and playground activities

Even the busiest daily routine includes some free time that usually is spent on the cottage playgrounds when the weather permits and indoors in cottage living rooms at other times. These hours free from scheduled duties offer opportunities for developing self-direction and provide an outlet for physical, mental, and emotional energy in directions that may contribute to healthy growth of personality or the reverse. These are the hours that are the counterpart of the ones during which boys are most likely to get into difficulty when they try to make their adjustment after they are returned to normal community life. It is therefore highly important that careful attention be given to teaching them how to make profitable and satisfying use of this free time. This places a heavy responsibility on cottage personnel that already bear a very considerable burden. One of the institutions studied was developing a system under which assistant cottage managers were expected to take the major responsibility for leadership and supervision during this part of the boy's day. In two others a few students from nearby colleges were being utilized to aid in this particular feature of the institutional treatment. Those hours are full of opportunities for teaching in an unobtrusive way all kinds of lessons in personal ethics, in subordination of individual impulses and desires to the comfort of others, and in the general personal control that is essential to successful social living.

It seems important to provide the necessary physical facilities for activities that will be helpful in these directions. Each cottage needs a playground of ample size so that boys may play games in small groups, if they desire, without interfering with one another. The use of the playground should not be too formal nor the activities too restricted to permit choice according to individual likes in the way of

games and exercise. Each cottage too needs for the hours that cannot be spent out of doors a living room that is attractive and as homelike as possible, in which the boys may read, play games, or do any kind of handicraft that appeals to them. Institutions using basement playrooms should take care that such rooms are not used exclusively for the purpose of keeping the regular living room an orderly "show" room that does the boys no good. If and when basement playrooms are used they should be reserved for the rougher play which boys like and which provides an outlet for pent-up energy during bad weather that keeps them indoors. These rooms should be carefully supervised at all times. The use of boy monitors for this purpose is very inadvisable. The cottage atmosphere should be kept as near to that of a large family of boys as possible. This means that a reasonable amount of order is necessary but the normal boy talk and laughter should be heard at all times. With the right kind of cottage personnel the spirit of the boys can be so built up that it will not be difficult to maintain such an atmosphere.

#### **Miscellaneous arrangements**

Some institutions make a special effort to provide at least a small space in which a boy may keep his few valued private possessions in safety. In others there is no such provision. It is a universal characteristic of human beings that they do like to have, and as a matter of fact they need to have, some degree of privacy and some place in which to keep at least a few personal "treasures". Boys certainly are no exception to this rule; and, if possible, it would seem desirable to provide individual lockers for personal possessions.

Smoking was forbidden at all times in all five of these institutions. At some of them it was made quite clear to the boys that the principal reason for the establishment of such a regulation affecting all ages and for its strict enforcement was the fire hazard involved in permitting smoking among so many boys lodged or working in buildings that were not entirely fireproof.

At some institutions boys are used in the capacity of monitors, the extent of the practice varying considerably. At every institution in which their use was noted, staff members expressed considerable dislike of the system. They seemed to feel that it had more disadvantages than advantages, but all declared that with the limitations on personnel, it was absolutely necessary to make use of boy assistants in connection with many phases of group management.

#### **Outside contacts**

In all five institutions the boys were permitted to receive letters and were encouraged (and in some cases required) to write to their parents or to members of their immediate family at regular intervals. Both incoming and outgoing letters were inspected by staff members assigned to that duty.

Each institution also permitted relatives to visit boys under certain conditions and at established times, the rules for such visits not differing greatly, except in details due to local conditions.

Some institutions permitted boys to go to their homes for visits. These visits were often made a special feature of the Christmas season. It was said that very little difficulty had been experienced in connection with the return of boys from such leave. At other institutions no such visits were allowed, different reasons being given

for this prohibition. At none of the institutions was the impression gained that these home visits were a part of what might be called a "gradual-release" system, such as is sometimes discussed in relation to release from institutional supervision.

## 8. PHYSICAL EXAMINATIONS AND MEDICAL CARE

### Hospital facilities

Reference has been made in the section of this chapter on the physical plant to the type of hospital facilities provided (see p. 218). These of course necessarily differ with the size of the institution and its accessibility to such facilities outside the institution itself. Every institution requires sufficient hospital accommodations to provide for thorough physical examinations, for the treatment of minor injuries, and for care in slight illnesses. For an institution of any size it seems desirable to have facilities to take proper care of all cases of acute illness, with arrangements such that cases of communicable disease may be isolated properly. Surgical work, either corrective or emergency, may be carried on in the institution, or arrangements for such cases may be made at hospitals near by. Every institution should have adequate provision, which should, of course, be made in the most economical fashion consistent with the boys' safety and welfare.

### Hospital staff

Three of these institutions had physicians serving full time and two had physicians on part time at the head of their medical divisions. The two latter physicians were in private practice in nearby cities. No general rule can be laid down as to which arrangement is the better. The decision depends on a number of factors, such as size of the institution, its location, and the availability of high-grade medical men in adjacent communities willing to devote part of their time to the institutional work. Generally the services of the directing physician are supplemented by surgeons and specialists in various fields who serve as consultants, either on an annual retainer's fee or on a case-by-case fee basis. Most institutions need considerable service from ear, eye, nose, and throat specialists.

The dental work likewise was done in some institutions by a dentist who gave full time, in others by dentists employed only on part time. Arrangement for dental service, like arrangements for medical service, needs to be worked out in the most effective manner possible in relation to the institution's needs and the resources available. It is of great importance that good dental service be provided.

These five institutions varied somewhat as to the amount and the character of the nursing service. All of them employed at least one registered nurse. In some institutions she was assisted by a practical nurse and attendants or boy aids. Others had additional registered nurses.

### Physical examinations

On entrance or within a very short time after admission to these five institutions—also a considerable number of other State institutions visited for other purposes than this study—all boys were given physical examinations. The character of these examinations ranges from a fairly simple clinical examination to one involving quite complete procedure including laboratory tests. Height, weight, and other physical measurements are usually taken and recorded. Throat cul-

tures and a Wassermann test are usually made in all cases and frequently the Schick test is part of the initial examination routine. In some institutions urinalyses, blood-chemistry examinations, and basal-metabolism tests are made in all cases; in others these tests are done only as indicated. If there is any suspicion of tuberculosis in an individual, most institutions arrange for an X-ray examination. Immunization against diphtheria and typhoid fever and vaccination against smallpox are frequently included as part of the initial routine.

In some institutions boys are periodically weighed and measured, and a continuous chart of their growth and development is kept. In others the boys are not reexamined until just before they are to be released, unless they come to the hospital for some reason.

#### **Corrective work**

A varying degree of use is made of the findings of the physical examinations. In practically all cases the medical record is available to all officers under whom the boy may live or work, if they choose to consult it. In some institutions particular effort is made to direct the attention of officers under whom boys work, or under whose direction they may indulge in active exercise of any kind, to any physical weaknesses which would make undue exertion or special kinds of effort unwise, if not unsafe. In some institutions all under-weight boys are recommended for special diets, and each case is followed up to make sure that the diet is followed and that it is proving successful. There is great opportunity for fine health service of this description in connection with boys committed to institutions for delinquents. Many physical defects of a type easily remedied are discovered through the entrance examinations, and the better-supported institutions seek to do such corrective work as appears to be needed. This means that funds are made available for proper glasses, that appliances such as arch supports and special shoes can be purchased as needed. The hospital records at many institutions show a considerable number of operations annually to remedy such conditions as diseased tonsils, adenoids, and hernias. In those institutions that make an effort to study each individual boy and to give him every possible aid toward normal growth and development as a part of the treatment looking toward readjustment, this attention to physical defects and difficulties is considered an indispensable part of the treatment routine.

#### **Dental work**

In institutions for juvenile delinquents the amount of dental work provided at State expense varies considerably. In some instances funds are insufficient to do more than provide the absolutely necessary extractions and fillings. In others more complete care looking toward the preservation of the boy's teeth and toward putting his mouth into first-class shape and keeping it that way is provided. In this connection a special feature at one of the institutions might be mentioned. It employed a full-time dental hygienist who maintained an office in the school building and who examined and cleaned the teeth of all the boys at regular intervals, designating those who needed to report to the dentist for treatments and making sure that they did so report. An important part of her work was educating the boys in the care of their teeth and the importance of such care to their general health.

### Other medical care

In these five schools and in most of the other State institutions that have been visited more briefly by Children's Bureau representatives, arrangements are made for boys in need of attention to see the physician any day. Sometimes this is done at a set hour known as "sick call", sometimes the service is operated like a dispensary and boys may come at any time during certain daily office hours. In some institutions it is the policy to make the cottage officers responsible for sending boys to the physician or at least for giving them permission to report to the hospital. In others there is a strict regulation that no cottage officer may refuse a boy permission to go to the hospital. In the latter the physicians wish to keep strictly in their own hands full responsibility for the health of the boys. They believe that they themselves should make the decision whether or not the boys need medical attention. They permit no home remedies to be used in the cottages. They require that even minor cuts be dressed at the hospital. In one institution where this regulation prevailed it was stated that the school had an exceptionally low rate of infections, even of slight character, and it was believed that the close attention paid to even minor injuries was very much worth while.

Each of the institutions had some regulations fixing responsibility for following up each case which the physician decided needed further treatment, until the case was dismissed by him as no longer needing attention.

All five of the institutions in this study were fairly well equipped to take care of acute illnesses. Inevitably an occasional epidemic, particularly of influenza, overcrows hospitals planned for ordinary needs. In general it was the policy not to attempt to give care to chronic cases. Effort was made to secure hospitalization for such cases in their own home communities or in other State institutions particularly designed to serve their special needs. Occasionally it was found very difficult to arrange proper sanitarium care for boys with tuberculosis. The institution hospital then made special arrangements to give hospital care pending the working out of the boy's return to his own community for care.

Most institutions, as has been stated in the section on admissions (see p. 232), are not required to admit and do not admit boys suffering from venereal disease in an infectious stage. The better institutions make very careful provision for giving continuous treatment to boys suffering from syphilis who may be admitted after being rendered noninfectious. Occasionally boys returning from parole are found to be suffering from gonorrhea or syphilis in an infectious stage. They must then be isolated until rendered noninfectious, and care must be taken to continue treatment so long as tests indicate that there is need. It is vitally important that when a boy still in need of treatment for syphilis is paroled, the parole officer make sure that treatment is available for him in the community to which he goes, and that he reports regularly for such treatments or periodically for necessary reexaminations.

A special feature at one of the institutions that seems worthy of mention here was the maintenance of a school nurse. (See p. 151.) Her office in the school building was a completely equipped dressing station in which, under the physician's direction, she could take care

of all first-aid work and to which teachers could have boys report if they appeared to need some attention. This seemed to be a very effective supplementary service in the field of medical care.

## 9. PSYCHIATRIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICE

### Clinical facilities

Four of these institutions had some full-time or part-time psychiatric and psychological personnel rendering diverse services.

In one institution a State juvenile-research bureau was supplying one full-time psychologist for a population that at the time of the visit was 990 boys, with 808 new admissions during the previous year. When the institution was visited this psychologist did not have even stenographic service, except as such duties were performed by boy inmates detailed to his office. To a second institution a State research bureau detailed a full-time psychologist and a psychiatric social worker. The services of the other psychiatric or psychological personnel of the bureau were available for special cases. This institution had a population of 330, and its new admissions during the previous year numbered 215. In the third institution one full-time psychologist was carried on the school pay roll, and the mental-hygiene division of the State hospitals supplied a second full-time psychologist and a consultant psychiatrist who visited the institution once a week. The population of the institution when visited was 631, and the previous year's new commitments were 358. The fourth institution had a psychiatric and psychological unit directed by a part-time psychiatrist who was connected with a psychiatric clinic in a nearby city. Its staff at the time of the visit included, in addition to this psychiatrist, two clinical psychologists (one on part time), a psychometrist, a psychiatric social worker, a second psychiatrist giving part time, and a secretary. This school had a population of 470, and the new commitments during the previous year had been 393.

Obviously there was much variation in the amount of clinical attention which could be given to each new boy or to all boys under treatment at these various institutions and to the relation of either handicaps or abilities to their physical condition and hygiene.

### Psychological tests

In all five institutions psychological tests were used to some extent, varying from the routine of a group test for all new boys, with additional individual tests for a very limited number of boys who made poor showings in the group test, to fairly extensive use of various forms of both group and individual tests. In the institution which had no clinical facilities, the principal of the school gave psychological tests to all new boys prior to their school assignment. It is obvious that a single psychologist working with a large school population and a heavy load of new commitments can give little time to individual study through the application of special tests and to thoughtful interpretations of individual responses to the tests given. On the other hand, the institution which had the complete unit was able to do a considerable amount of genuine study of the psychological characteristics of individual boys as a basis for determining certain needs in individual cases.

Routine psychological tests, which must be applied and interpreted in more or less wholesale fashion because of the great burden of work,

may well be regarded as of doubtful value. Psychological measurements are by no means rule-of-thumb procedures. Unless utilized with great care they can do harm rather than good. It is little short of terrifying to contemplate the damage that may have been done by labeling individuals as subnormal after diagnoses by inadequately trained examiners. On the other hand, thoroughgoing, painstaking, psychological analysis aimed at discovering exactly what abilities a boy has and whether he has any special aptitudes can be a potent force in shaping effective treatment plans. In the opinion of some psychiatrists, far too much attention has been given to looking for a child's handicaps and far too little to discovering his innate abilities and the relation of either handicaps or abilities to his physical conditions and hygiene; yet it is upon his abilities that constructive effort to point him toward a hopeful future must be centered.

#### **Psychiatric examinations**

In the two institutions served by psychologists from a State research bureau, psychiatric examinations were given only to certain boys designated by these psychologists on the basis of their examinations, or to boys whose difficulty of adjustment in the institution showed special need for such examinations. In one State institution these boys were sent to the State bureau and remained in its building for a period of observation and examination. Then they were returned unless the diagnosis and recommendations were for some other type of treatment. The institution which had no clinical services sent individuals suspected of being "psychopathic" or "psychotic" to one of the State hospitals for examination and for recommendation as to further treatment. In the institution which was regularly visited by a consultant psychiatrist, the two resident psychologists designated cases for special psychiatric examination. In the fifth institution, which had a complete clinic, all new boys were made the subject of psychiatric study by the clinic's psychiatric personnel.

Thus in three of the institutions studied, only the boy recognized as suffering from some serious mental condition or constituting a grave and especially troublesome behavior problem is given psychiatric attention. In the other two institutions, and especially in the one with full clinical facilities, all boys had the benefit of some psychiatric service. Presumably this meant a more complete understanding of the factors underlying their conduct problems and some valuable advice as to types of treatment likely to help them overcome their difficulties.

#### **Personal histories**

In two of the institutions relatively little personal history was obtained concerning the committed boys. In one of these, if the boy had been under observation at the separate institution operated by the State bureau of juvenile research, a fairly complete history was usually available. In the other three institutions a fair amount of social history was usually on file, and in any case certain definite efforts to obtain such histories were made. In all five States relatively few of the committing courts sent anything like an adequate case history with the committing papers. The story was built up through interviews with the boy himself, through correspondence with the committing court or other social agencies in his home community, and through information obtained by parole officers who visited his home and his community shortly after his commitment.

Here the institution has a clear-cut obligation. It must seek to build up, through correspondence and through as much direct personal contact as possible, the channels through which it may obtain the information required if it is to perform its own function effectively. In institutions which have no psychological or psychiatric clinics through which this information may be sought the responsibility may be assumed by some other staff unit or by a person qualified by training and experience to know what data will be useful and from what sources they may best be obtained in the communities from which the boys come.

#### **Application of findings**

Psychological and psychiatric examinations are largely waste effort unless their findings are used in developing plans of treatment that will help the boy make the adjustments necessary for return to community life and for remaining there without further serious conflict. The findings of course have considerable value in the field of research, but their primary purpose should be to serve the needs of the boy.

In three of the institutions such findings were of definite and practical use through the clinical method for making treatment plans, for making first assignments and reassignments, and for determining the boys' fitness for parole. Staff members at these institutions were generally of the opinion that this clinical method was very satisfactory and was much more likely to result in a good understanding of the entire need of the boy than any plan which permitted different parts of his program to be determined by individuals working in complete independence of one another. Often, it was said, a staff member who was considering the boy and his problem from some particular angle obtained much help from getting a new point of view for that particular problem through the observations of staff members who were concerned with other aspects of the boy's life. In the discussions in these clinic groups recommendations for treatment were often modified or changed when the whole picture was put together and examined critically by all the specialists on the staff. If all points of view could be combined in one individual, the same purpose might be achieved. However, such persons are rare. Some are being developed in connection with the psychiatric work in child-guidance clinics, but there is still so much to be learned about the things which determine a boy's attitude and his conduct that few individuals are likely to be found who possess the great insight and wisdom required if a decision as to a boy's program is to be left in the hands of one person.

In connection with disciplinary problems within the institution, the psychologists and the psychiatrists are being consulted more and more frequently. Their value in that connection should be especially notable, but caution should be used in seeking their aid, lest their clinical and guidance usefulness be jeopardized by their coming to be known in the institution as a punitive force. The whole question of disciplinary method is one to which mental hygiene can and will undoubtedly make a great contribution.

#### **Research activities**

A certain amount of research had been done at some of these institutions, and more was contemplated. Considering the importance of the problems here presented and the opportunities for study in a field



that should have tremendous practical value in relation to the prevention of delinquency, by an effort to discover the forces that produce it, the field seems to have been as yet relatively untouched. These institutions lie ready to serve as laboratories in which the scientific mental hygienist may find fertile fields for exploration in his search for a knowledge of what the community needs to do to render the maintenance of such institutions less necessary.

#### General comment

The past 20 years have seen the growth of the mental-hygiene movement and its initial steps in connection with institutional treatment of young delinquents. Unfortunately, both inside and outside institutions—speaking generally rather than with specific reference to the institutions dealt with in this report—much of the early work has been confined largely to so-called “diagnosis.” The next step was to follow up such diagnoses with recommendations for types of treatment. At first the work consisted mainly of sorting out the mental defectives or those suffering from mental disease, with consequent effort to have them committed to other types of institutions than training schools for delinquents. The growth of child guidance clinic service has given impetus to the study of the behavior problems of all children. The difficulties so far have been in making sure the treatment recommended is given a fair trial. Like the parent who takes a sick child to the doctor, learns what is wrong with him, and then fails entirely to follow the doctor’s advice, many communities have not followed the recommendations of the psychiatric clinic. A psychiatrist does not give a recommendation which is to be followed regardless of consequences any more than a physician seeking to heal some physical disease. The effects of the treatment must be constantly reviewed. Individual reactions to a program vary greatly. The result of regarding diagnoses and recommendations as though they were verdicts ending a case instead of information on the basis of which a case begins has been clearly pointed out in the recently published study of 1,000 juvenile delinquents whom the Boston juvenile court had referred to the Judge Baker Foundation for clinical examination. This study revealed that the clinic had confined its efforts mainly to diagnosis and to the initial recommendations for treatment and that in a large proportion of cases the court and other agencies concerned did not follow the recommendations or made some modification in them.<sup>7</sup>

If the psychiatric clinic in the institutions is to be of definite practical value, it would seem that four things are essential:

1. Sufficient properly trained and experienced professional workers so that each boy may be given the thorough study that is required if his difficulties are to be analyzed successfully. This means both psychological and psychiatric service of high quality for all cases, supplemented by social case work for procuring adequate histories, as well as such stenographic and clerical aid as is required for systematic records.

2. A plan of operation which insures the use of all the findings of the clinical study in connection with planning the various phases of the boy’s institutional treatment and in making the preparations for his return to his own community. The clinical service should be sufficient

<sup>7</sup> Glueck, Sheldon, and Eleanor T.: *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents; their treatment by court and clinic*, p. 258. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1934.

to permit review from time to time of the boys who do not make the hoped-for progress under the initial treatment plans.

3. A system through which it is certain that the treatment plans finally decided on will be carried out in all their essentials. This probably means that the clinic will need psychiatric social service. No child-guidance clinic in a community can expect to operate with any degree of success without psychiatric social workers. This is as true in an institution as in any community. In the institution the boy lives in a group more or less similar to a family. He has teachers, vocational instructors, and other group supervisors. The clinic must have the sympathy and understanding of all of those workers who are daily affecting the boy's life if full use is to be made of the clinic's appreciation of the boy's needs. It is this work of interpreting the boy's need, as scientifically determined by the clinic, to all the institutional personnel who in any way associate with him or direct his activities that is tremendously necessary and as yet relatively undeveloped. Just as clinic workers in communities emphatically declare that much of their most difficult work must be done with parents, teachers, and employers, so it is undoubtedly true that much of the work which would obviate many of the boy's difficulties in institutional adjustment needs to be done with cottage officers, teachers, and other group supervisors. In all this the psychiatric social worker can be of great assistance.

This does not mean that all the boy's previous misconduct must be made known to any considerable number of staff members and discussed with them. Nor does it necessitate the psychiatrist's violation of the boy's trust through presentation of material obtained in confidential talks. Just how much must be divulged regarding a boy's pre-institutional experiences in order that staff members may fully appreciate his problems and help him to meet them is always problematic. No rule can be laid down. The decision will depend in great part on the education, the experience, and the personal attitudes and ethics of the staff members concerned, also on the skill with which the clinic personnel can bring about intelligent, helpful attitudes without the use of the full history. Each case will have to be handled on the basis of the personalities involved. A summary of the discussion of these problems at a recent conference of psychiatrists and psychologists from juvenile training schools contains the following statement:

Clinics, as a new invention, have been welcomed with open arms in some institutions, with the expectation that immediate and permanent solution of the institutional problems would be forthcoming. And sometimes clinics have been viewed with suspicion as meddling in a field where they had no experience. Both receptions have hindered the work of the clinic, and in some schools the clinic has taken steps to modify the attitude of the staff—to instruct them in the functions of a clinic, its possibilities, and its limitations \* \* \*. The importance of educating the cottage parents in mental hygiene was remarked especially. The clinic must realize that the cottage parents generally have more contact with the child than the psychiatrist or psychologist has and they can help or hinder the clinic's plan of treatment according to whether or not they understand and sympathize and cooperate with the aims and methods of the plan.<sup>3</sup>

4. A parole or placement service that will make intelligent use of the clinical analysis of the individual boy in making and carrying out the plans for the boy's return to community life.

One of the surest ways to discredit a method or a movement is to claim too much for it. Like many another good movement, mental

<sup>3</sup> Butler, Louise H.: Third Annual Conference of Psychiatrists and Psychologists from Juvenile Training Schools. *Mental Hygiene*, vol. 17, no. 2 (April 1933), pp. 331-332.

hygiene is in grave danger of suffering seriously at the hands of those who hail it as a panacea for all social ills. Its sincerest advocates make no such claims; they urge its use, however, as one particularly effective approach to the problem of the young delinquent—an approach characterized by scientific objectivity, unhampered by emotional attitudes and moral prejudices. It will attain its purpose most completely when it so wins the confidence of the boys themselves that they respect it, turn to specialized clinical help when in difficulty, and recommend it to associates who appear to need such aid as they themselves have received from a clinic.

#### 10. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM—CLASSROOM WORK

##### The problems presented

Into the classrooms at these institutions come boys from a great variety of previous educational experience. They have attended all kinds of public schools from the simple 1-room rural school to the highly organized institution in a metropolitan center. The boys enter and leave the institutional classes irregularly throughout the year. Many of them are badly retarded. (See the tables in foregoing chapters showing school grades by age, pp. 67, 105, 157, 198.) Many State institutions for delinquents receive boys of all gradations of mental ability except the very lowest grade of the feeble-minded. In every institutional population can be found boys presenting special educational problems that may or may not have been previously recognized. Reading difficulties are not at all uncommon.

A number of the boys are confirmed rebels against school and school routine. The schools which they had attended failed to arouse their interest or to provide the things that would satisfy their particular developmental hungers. Many dull boys or boys of slow reactions have acquired resentful attitudes and definite feelings of inferiority when compelled to compete in classes with pupils much brighter and quicker. Sometimes exceptionally bright boys have wearied of the slow and dull routine and have become hostile toward school programs that failed to give them sufficient activities to hold their interest. As a consequence the institution for delinquents is immediately confronted with the necessity of finding a way to change the boy's attitude toward school work and educational activity in general.

The first step toward the solution of the problem is to discover each boy's educational need with special reference to such abilities as he may have and to his probable environment and mode of life when he will leave the institution. The services of the psychological and psychiatric clinic can be invaluable here. The next step is to build an educational program sufficiently rich in subject matter and in diverse instructional media so that it will supply these things needed to arouse the interest of every boy and to convert him from his attitude of rebelliousness to a real interest in his school work.

An important need in every institutional program is to devise an educational system that will permit each boy to progress at a rate suited to his particular intellectual endowment, thus eliminating the discouraging competition and comparison with boys much quicker and superior in intelligence. A chance to enjoy a sense of achievement and to be protected from the unpleasant emotional reactions aroused by continuous defeat and failure is particularly important for the dullest and slowest boys.

### School facilities

If the problems outlined in the preceding paragraphs are to be met adequately the institution must have a school plant of size and equipment suitable for carrying on a fairly diversified educational program. It must have a teaching staff highly qualified, not only by training and experience but also by possession of certain personal endowments that especially fit them to work with boys presenting unusual educational problems. Institutions of this kind need teachers with a genuine liking for boys and a willingness to go to any length to help them overcome not only their educational difficulties but their emotional ones as well.

In general, State institutions tend to follow the State compulsory school attendance laws and to conform to the public-school curriculum. This is of course essential, since the boys come from the public schools and are to return to them unless they stay at the institution throughout their school-attendance years.

Observations indicate that most boys are released from school attendance as soon as they have completed the minimum legal requirement. This probably results in an educational handicap to some boys who might have continued their schooling with profit if the right guidance had been offered them and if the curriculum had been full enough and flexible enough to meet their further needs.

Another essential is sufficient funds for high-grade teaching materials, so that the institutions not only may have enough good materials to work with but also may keep up with new and progressive ideas in the teaching world. This is particularly noticeable in relation to the amount of money that can be spent on various types of visual aids, including the equipment necessary for the use of slides and motion pictures in connection with classroom or vocational work. Some institutions are fairly well provided with funds for such purposes, others are not. A good reference library is likewise an essential for first-class school work, but in some institutions the library facilities are poor.

In many States the institutions for juvenile delinquents do not seem to be utilizing as completely as might be possible the services of certain other State educational agencies, such as the extension departments of the State universities, the State libraries and museums, and special consultants in State departments of education. Some institutions of other kinds do call on these other State agencies, sometimes for special studies and advice, sometimes for fairly continuous service of various kinds.

### Meeting the problems

In these five institutions educational problems were being met in a number of ways. The amount of study of an individual case preparatory to planning for the boy's academic work varied considerably. In some of them it consisted of little more than asking him what grade he was in before committed, determining his age and his standing in a psychological group test, and then placing him accordingly. In others a rather intensive study of the boy was made, a number of different types of tests being in use, any particular educational difficulties he may have had were discovered, and his academic program was made up with special reference to enabling him to overcome them.

The two schools that were using the contract system considered it well adapted to the needs of an institutional population such as they

were handling. It has certain distinct advantages. It makes possible a high degree of individualization in education. It permits rather easy correlation with vocational work. Lessons within the same school grade can be arranged so as to suit the different mental pace of dull, average, or superior boys. The dull boy may plod along at his own rate of intellectual progress without feeling the sense of inferiority that comes with classroom recitations when boys of all degrees of intelligence are doing the same lessons at the same time. The exceptionally bright boy can go ahead as rapidly as his interest and his energy carry him. The system is peculiarly effective in relation to the irregular entrance and exit from classes at all times of the year.

There is always a need for ungraded classes in institutions of this character. Some of the institutions studied have set up a considerable variety of ungraded classes in an effort to meet the many conspicuously different problems presented by individual boys. In some of these ungraded classes teachers with considerable imagination were doing a great deal of individual work. Experimentation in this field by qualified teachers is highly desirable. In their work they need to have available a great variety of teaching materials. It was interesting to note that in some of these schools provision was made for just such experimental individualized instruction.

In one institution the classroom work was in two divisions, one academic and one designated as manual education. In each division the work of the different grades was going on. The academic division was following the more or less conventional type of instruction, largely through the use of text and reference books; the manual-education division, planned particularly for boys classified as nonverbal types by the clinic, made use of a great deal of visual material and hand project work of various kinds. Thus the same general subject matter was taught to the boys in both divisions, but through entirely different instructional media and method.

### Essentials

From the foregoing paragraphs it will be apparent that if an institution for delinquent boys is to meet its full responsibility in relation to educational activities, it must have adequate appropriations for specially qualified personnel, for good modern classroom equipment, and for an abundant supply of many different types of educational material. The problems presented are challenging and difficult. Many of these institutions' inmates represent failures, not of the individual boys, but of the conventionalized school system into which they have been forced and from which their personalities have suffered definite damage. It is not an easy task for an educational unit to undertake to repair the damage done and to win the interest of the boys and make it possible for them to develop to the highest possible degree whatever abilities they may have, be they ever so limited or ever so superior in quality.

## 11. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM—VOCATIONAL OR PREVOCATIONAL WORK

From the beginning many of the State institutions for young delinquents were designed to include industrial training as an important part of their program. For example, the statute authorizing the establishment of the New Jersey institution in 1865 specifically pro-

vided that the program should have the boys under care do regular labor of mechanical, manufacturing, or agricultural character. (See quotation from this statute on p. 83.) Many other States included a similar definition of purposes in the statutes which created their institutions for juvenile delinquents. The general wording of many of these early laws, also some of the earlier reports from the institutions, show clearly how well established in the minds of the founders was the idea that many of these young offenders committed their delinquencies because they lacked education and possessed no knowledge of some useful trade through which they could make an honest living. They needed "to be taught to work." There seemed to be confidence at that time in the efficacy of agricultural and industrial training as a means of deflecting boys from criminal careers. It was the popular panacea of those days.

At present there seems to be much difference of opinion as to the amount of definite vocational or trade training that can and should be given in an institution of this kind, though no one doubts its necessity in an institutional program. The questions are how that training should be given and to what age groups and what types of boys.

Considerable difference in actual terminology in this field has been noted among many institutions visited. Descriptive terms used are "manual training", "vocational training", "industrial-arts training", and "trade training." These have different meanings, yet there is some confusion as to their exact applications. No attempt will be made here to enter into any technical discussion nor to establish any exact definitions. Such comments as are made will be rather general and directed to the ways in which some institutions have been seeking to meet those problems.

#### **The problems presented**

In State institutions for juvenile delinquents may be found minors all the way from 8 or 9 years of age to 18, 19, or 20 years of age. This immediately raises the question as to how old a boy should be before he is introduced to vocational work of any kind. As has been remarked in the section on academic education, there is also the problem involved in planning for boys of exceedingly different mental endowment. (See p. 253.) This brings up at once the need for determining, so far as tests of various kinds can analyze them, each individual boy's abilities and his special interests or aptitudes. If a boy expresses some particular interest, the next question that arises is how much or how little he may know about the great variety of other occupations that are open to boys at the present time. Institutional workers find that many boys coming to them for care have very little knowledge of occupations upon which they may base their choice. One such worker commented on this point in these words:

He may have a vague idea that he wishes to be a mechanic but may not even know the several trades by name, much less anything about the work, wages, opportunities for employment, or social environment of such occupations. The popular choice among the uninformed youth is the auto-repair and electrician trades. Usually he has no real conception of these trades but chooses them because they touch his life in some spectacular way. The great need for many of these young people is sane counsel and an opportunity to come in contact with some life activities suitable to them.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Shank, Allen L.: Method of Developing Manual Skills through Industrial Arts Training. Proceedings of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies, 1932, p. 87.

Whatever trade training is to be a part of the boy's institutional treatment, one of its objectives, presumably, is to provide him with some skills that will be useful on his return to community life. It is therefore highly advisable that something be known about the employment opportunities in the region to which he will go when he leaves the institution.

A difficulty often mentioned by the instructors in trade-training courses at institutions is the relatively short period during which boys remain under their instruction. They ask very seriously how useful short-time training actually is in trades that usually require an apprenticeship of 3 or 4 years. However, even those who question the practical value so far as employment on release is concerned often express a belief that the training has definite therapeutic value in connection with the boy's social adjustment, both in the institution and in later life.

One of the problems that is as old as the institutions and that still remains to be worked out to the satisfaction of thoughtful institution administrators is how the maintenance and production work for the institution can be done as part of the vocational training with a proper balance between the performance of a reasonable amount of work for the institution and the other kinds of vocational training. Even when the welfare of the boy is the only criterion, a decision is not always easy.

#### Training facilities

An institution for training delinquent boys, representing as it does a simple community, constitutes an excellent laboratory for trade training. Instructors commented that they found the boys liked to do useful work and responded very much more enthusiastically to projects in which actual jobs were to be done than to pseudo or so-called "made-work" projects. If this is generally true, then an institution has a distinct advantage over shops that must depend almost exclusively on made-work projects, in which work is done and then repeatedly torn down to be done over again. The institution plant can offer opportunity for real projects in a reasonably varied field.

Facilities in the way of shops for trade training were found to differ widely in the various State institutions. Many of them have been unable to keep up, in their shops and their equipment and working materials, with industrial progress of the past 2 decades. An institutional superintendent of many years' experience commented that although training schools for delinquents were pioneers in the field of industrial training, it had to be admitted that they have not been able to keep step with modern changes and that the methods of training had fallen short of the ideal requirements. He further remarked that although he recognized the deficiency of the training program in his own institution, he had been compelled for economic and other reasons to be tolerant of a system which he recognized as not meeting industrial conditions of modern times.<sup>10</sup> Many other institutional administrators make the same complaint. They have not been allowed adequate appropriations to keep up with the mechanical advances as the years have passed. Some institutions make a brave

<sup>10</sup> Hickman, Maj. Hanson B.: Value of Industrial Arts in the Training of the Juvenile Delinquent. Proceedings of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies, 1932, p. 74.

fight for adequate support for developments in this field, and some of them have managed to keep at least some of their shops reasonably modernized.

The question of personnel in this field is important. It is a common observation that many institutions operate their trade courses under instructors who are efficient workmen in their particular trades but who have no training or talent for teaching, and little or no conception of what a well-rounded trade course should include. Many of them are of course inherited from the earlier days when the conception of trade training was merely that a boy be kept at work on maintenance or production jobs under the direction of a foreman. Some of the more outspoken institutional administrators recognize that they are using as instructors men who would find it difficult, if not impossible, to hold a job outside in the trade which they are teaching because they have remained in institutional life for many years without making the effort needed to keep abreast of developments in their own particular lines.<sup>11</sup> It is encouraging to note, however, that some of the more progressive institutions are seeking to obtain for their trade instructors men who have been thoroughly grounded in the trade which they are to teach, and who besides have had definite training for teaching. On the rolls of some institutions one now finds vocational instructors who are college graduates specializing in vocational work and in some particular branch of it, also workmen taking courses of instruction in a commendable effort to increase their knowledge and improve their methods.

Most of the State institutions have considerable farm land as a part of their training resources, and agriculture is emphasized. The extent to which agricultural operations have kept abreast of modern developments depends partly on the amount of money which the schools have been able to obtain for the purchase of modern machinery and for improvements in the treatment of their soil and the development of their live stock.

A number of State agencies offer services that probably could be utilized in the trade-training field, as well as in academic lines, to greater extent than is realized by some institution workers. Among these are the extension courses of State universities and the State colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts, State departments of agriculture, State libraries, and State museums. The publications, slides, and films prepared by many of these can be obtained free or can be borrowed. Federal agencies also have services that might be useful to institutions, such as some of the bureaus in the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Interior, and Labor.

#### Meeting the problems

There is wide variation among State institutions in the matter of how a boy is assigned to a trade-training group. In some it is done merely by having some member of the administrative staff interview him, find out his personal choice, and—if the needs of the institution warrant it—place him where he says he would like to be. Unfortunately, if the shop or place of his choice already has enough boys to do the maintenance or production work for which it is responsible, and if some other shop doing another sort of production or maintenance work needs boys, the newcomer must be assigned to this latter shop in order that the essential work of the institution may be done.

<sup>11</sup> *Id.*



It is encouraging to note that many institutional administrators are making every effort to get away from this necessity and to treat the needs of the boy as of paramount importance. In institutions with that kind of attitude, more and more effort is being made to study the particular individual with special reference to his abilities, any special aptitudes he may have, and his personal interests. They recognize that it is important from the therapeutic angle that no boy be assigned to work which is beyond his capacity. Every boy needs to be placed in projects in which he can achieve success with a reasonable amount of effort and application. If a boy is slow, dull, and awkward, it is all the more important to take care that he succeed in his first tasks and that his every achievement be given cordial recognition by the instructor. A growing sense of usefulness can be a potent factor in bringing about an entire change of social attitude.

In this trade-training field the findings of psychological and psychiatric clinics are exceedingly useful. By means of various special tests the clinicians often discover special abilities of which the boy himself had not been aware, the development of which can be of inestimable benefit and satisfaction to him. In the absence of the professional service of the clinic, much can still be done by vocational personnel in connection with the study of an individual boy in relation to a choice of placement for him.

Some institutions have made use of what is known as a "general shop" or a "multiple-experience shop" to explore a boy's interests and possibilities. Such a shop includes small units of several different trades. In these the new boy has a sampling experience and he is carefully observed during the experimental period. Such a try-out serves two purposes. It gives the boy a chance to discover in which one of several trades he is most interested, and it gives the instructor an opportunity to observe in which he shows the greatest aptitude.

Observation of many State institutions indicates that they lag considerably behind some of the more progressive city school systems in their vocational-guidance work. Specialists in vocational guidance seem not yet to have found a place on institutional staffs. Such specialists should be able to give to these boys, who have found themselves more or less baffled in their approach to responsible living, a great deal of information about the occupations the modern world offers to young people seeking a way of self-support. This would include a discussion of the principal professions, the principal occupations in the commercial world, and the primary trades in the industrial field. The boys would learn something about the conditions under which they would be likely to work if they chose any one of these occupations. They would learn something about the usual hours, wages, hazards, and placement opportunities. They would also learn something about the effect on their social life; that is, they would be taught to think about the difference between working in an agricultural occupation and living in rural surroundings, and living the life of a skilled mechanic employed in a great factory in an urban environment. Most of the boys in these State institutions have reached an age at which they are ready to think about such things. The vocational-guidance worker who is skilled in his field can do much to bring about a thoughtful attitude on the part of many boys toward the question of what they really want in life. The effect on the boy of this approach to the question of his trade assignment would undoubtedly be highly tonic. If he is convinced that the members of the

staff are sincerely and honestly concerned about his future career, and that they desire to help him to make it as successful and as happy as possible, this will inevitably have a beneficial effect upon his own attitude toward this training period and toward his later life. On the other hand, if he feels that his trade assignment is not based on a genuine desire to help him, but is due to the need to get certain institutional work done or to make him work as a sort of punishment for his former misdeeds, then the effect may be quite the reverse of beneficial.

It would seem that vocational guidance by people particularly trained for such service might very properly have a place in these institutions. Such service might appropriately begin with the group of new boys during their period in the receiving cottage and the first month at the institution. A second period of close contact between the vocational-guidance worker and the boys might well come during the month preceding release. This would be particularly true of the older boys, who in most cases are going out to job placements.

This brings to the fore the question of the institution's need of practical acquaintance with the placement opportunities in the communities to which its boys are to be released. Unfortunately this is a line of inquiry that has been relatively ignored. Parole officers usually have a more or less general—but sometimes rather vague—knowledge of the work opportunities in the communities in the districts in which they work. Such knowledge is likely to be spotty and incomplete. It depends to a great extent, of course, on the energy and the vision of the various parole officers. Usually they are so busy with a multiplicity of duties that they have no time to give to a genuine canvass of work opportunities in their districts. So far as was observed, no systematic study in this field was being made. With the development of an adequate employment service in all the States, much information could be made available to institutions.

It is advisable that institutions frequently, seriously, and honestly analyze their own programs in an attempt to discover to what extent they are equipped to give genuine trade training. In the words of the institution superintendent to whose remarks previous reference has been made, "Trade or vocational training offered by most of our training schools for delinquents has been a misnomer."<sup>12</sup> In his opinion what has been offered has been to a large extent merely training in habits of industry and learning to do certain simple processes in particular trades in connection with performing maintenance duties or meeting production requirements for the institution. However, a number of the more progressive, better-supported institutions are gradually developing well-rounded, well-planned trade-training courses for the principal trades which they are listing. In such courses the boys are given opportunity to become acquainted with the tools and the most modern machinery in use in that particular field. They learn about the wide variety of materials and their physical properties and relative merits and uses. In some trades they have mechanical drawing in connection with their shop work as a part of this study of the trade as a whole. They do actual practice work appropriate to the particular subject which they are studying in the general course. In institutions as at present operated there is a gradation from such well-organized courses, designed to give a boy

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

a rather general acquaintance with the whole trade, down to the shops which are operated primarily for the benefit of the institution but in which the boys are taught to perform specific work processes. Apparently in many institutions the trend is toward a genuine emphasis on the training aspects, even in some of the routine duties that are performed, and attention is being focused more and more on the benefits to be derived by the boys rather than on the benefits accruing to the budget through the economic production of articles for institutional consumption through the use of unpaid boy labor. There is certainly room for a great deal more such interest and emphasis in a great many State institutions.

A problem that is occupying the attention of the entire educational personnel at many institutions is that of correlating the academic work with trade instruction. Different institutions are experimenting with different methods of doing this. In some places, particularly where a contract system is used in the academic school program, the individual daily lessons which each boy has are made up so as to present facts and problems that are directly related to the particular trade in which he is interested. In other institutions courses known as "related subjects" are given, in which boys in certain trades take academic courses that present subject matter and problems directly associated with the work they are doing in the vocational course. In one school that was visited a new scheme was being devised by which boys taking certain well-organized trade courses did not attend academic school but had courses known as applied mathematics, applied science, also English and hygiene and social science in the vocational school. In such courses the tie-up between subject matter in these courses and in the trade and shop was very close.

As these efforts are still in the experimental stage, it would be unwise to venture to predict what may prove to be the best solution for the problem. One thing only stands out: Those who are enthusiastically working on these trade-course developments are certain that a close correlation is essential and that out of all the experimentation will come successful methods of instruction which will accomplish the desired correlation.

No discussion of the way in which institutions are meeting the vocational problems of their boys would be complete without reference to the place occupied by agriculture in the training program. Most institutions conduct large farming operations, and the reports of many State institutions reveal an emphasis on and a pride in farm production that is almost distressing in that it overshadows the report as to progress made in guidance of the boys. In many States the majority of boys sent to State institutions for delinquents do not come from rural areas. They come from industrial centers. Although no thoroughgoing study has been made which would show, on a large scale, to what extent boys trained in these institutions make use of the agricultural training which they have obtained, the general opinion seems to be that not very many urban boys turn to rural occupations as a result of their training, and that, consequently, skill in farm work which they may have acquired proves of no further use to them on release. This does not mean that they have gotten no benefits at all from their farm work. They may or may not have been greatly aided physically and mentally by their outdoor work and their contact with nature. This would be largely dependent on the type of leadership and direction which was supplied by the staff members under whom they

performed their various farm duties. If the spirit that pervades the farm-work groups is such as to give them a sense of usefulness through making a definite and practical contribution to the institutional community life, then they probably derive some benefit from the experience. It is difficult to determine how much emphasis is given to making the boys understand how very much the fresh farm products from the dairy, the vegetable gardens, the berry patches, and the orchards really contribute to the health and happiness of the whole school population. It would seem that some effort to supply this as a compensating motive for boys who are not interested in making a future career in farm life would be worth while. It could make a valuable contribution to the building up of desirable social attitudes and of a sense of responsibility.

In some institutions it was found that a recognition of the unsatisfactory character of the vocational work being done in the traditional shop and farm organization had resulted in a request for vocational surveys by persons from other State agencies or other educational systems. The purpose was to obtain a careful analysis of what was being done and what needs and opportunities existed in such an institution, with definite recommendations as to what might be done to develop a more effective vocational-training organization. Such surveys, if made by persons properly qualified and possessing imagination coupled with practical sense, should bring to the institution many suggestions that would make for more effective treatment.

In general, then, it may be said that a trend has been noticed toward the setting up of planned vocational courses. This is believed to be highly desirable. Of course, it is recognized that there is a certain amount of value in the performance of any kind of work under careful supervision. Habits of industry, reliability, responsibility, and appreciation of fine workmanship and satisfaction in a job well done are all contributory to that reeducation which is one of the institutional objectives. But there seems to be beyond doubt some special value in giving boys with good natural endowment a start toward becoming really skilled workmen. It is admitted that no boy can be turned into a skilled tradesman in the year or year and a half, or at most 2 years, that he is likely to remain in training. But he can be given a live interest in some particular line of work and an elementary knowledge of its materials, tools, and processes so that he can get work in that line much more easily than if he had no knowledge of it whatever. Moreover, he may become so interested as to receive a definite objective which will be extremely helpful in his reestablishment in community life. In any case, most of the boys, on leaving the institution, probably will be employed in mass production for which little or no skill is required. An acquaintance with several occupations should then be helpful to them when they seek employment.

## 12. PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND ATHLETICS

### General values

A well-organized, properly supervised program of physical education and athletics has a definite place in institutional treatment. Boys come to these institutions in all stages of physical development and in all sorts of physical condition. Some are underdeveloped and some are overdeveloped for their ages. Many of them have never

been inside a gymnasium, and many have never had opportunity to take part in organized play. It is not unusual to find boys who actually have never taken part in group play of any kind and who do not know how to play. The program of gymnastic work and general athletics and sports should contribute notably to the physical development of all the boys. The sports programs especially furnish a healthy emotional outlet for boys who have a great deal of physical energy and a liking for violent exercise and for games. Many athletic directors in these institutions and many superintendents feel that teamwork and competition between teams offer exceptionally fine opportunities to develop cooperative attitudes and to teach principles of good sportsmanship which will carry over into later life outside the institution. They report that many boys to whom the principles of sportsmanship are quite new nevertheless respond enthusiastically. Their response of course is dependent largely on the type of leadership that is offered and the consequent spirit and morale of the teams and of the institution as a whole.

#### **Facilities**

Most State institutions for delinquents now have some provision for gymnasium work and for outdoor athletics. The facilities in the different States cover a wide range. It is safe to say that, with proper planning and with the right kind of personnel, every such institution derives great benefit from the use of a well-equipped gymnasium, an athletic field, and outdoor playgrounds sufficient to permit the free or organized play of all boys simultaneously.

These activities in an institution of any size at all require supervision by adequately trained personnel. A high-grade athletic director who is interested not primarily in developing winning teams but in seeing that every boy has an opportunity to participate in healthy athletic activities suited to his physical condition and his desires, is an important member of the staff.

#### **Physical education**

The provision for regular gymnasium classes in which all boys participate and the character of the work done by such classes both were found to vary widely in different institutions. In some places formal calisthenics were a regular part of the program. In others some formal gymnastic group drill was accompanied by apparatus work and special instruction in tumbling, boxing, and similar activities. In the more progressive institutions, in which individualization is emphasized in all phases of the treatment program, this idea permeates even the gymnasium. The instructors pay particular attention to every individual boy with a view to determining what kind of activities will benefit him most. It is their desire to take the new, awkward boy who feels lost and strange in such work and help him gradually to overcome his difficulties and take his place in the class work and the group play with distinct satisfaction and pleasure.

In some institutions the physical-education department kept regular records showing the physical development and growth of each boy. It was reported that the boys became very much interested in their physical development and gained an appreciation of what health and strength could mean to them and what things they needed to do or to avoid in order to maintain healthy, strong bodies. Usually the gymnasium is too inadequately staffed and the daily program of boys

is too full to make possible individual work for correction of specific physical defects. One director who was much interested in this problem said he found it impossible to undertake that kind of work because if it were to be effective he would have to have such boys at regular hours every day and the institution program could not be so arranged as to permit this.

Talks on personal hygiene, both to groups and to individuals, were sometimes made a responsibility of the physical-education department, though specialized work of this kind does not seem to be so generally developed as might be desirable.

#### **Sports program**

Practically all modern institutions for boys have fairly well organized programs in the different sports at the appropriate seasons. Many of the larger ones have elaborately organized intramural competition, especially in such sports as baseball and basketball, sometimes in football also. Very often there is one team composed of the best players in the institution, which plays games with outside organizations.

One of the athletic directors expressed a belief that around team membership should be built some definite character standards. That is, he did not believe that athletic prowess alone should enable a boy to win a place on a team that was to represent the school. He thought this would have a very bad effect on other boys, since physically strong and skillful individuals whom the other boys knew to be of undesirable character might win coveted places on the team. Therefore he had set up certain standards of character and ethics which team members must meet. This same director was strongly of the opinion that in the development of an athletic program there was grave danger that most of the attention would be devoted to the more successful boys, who really needed help least. His idea of an institutional sports program was one in which every boy who desired to do so might find his appropriate place.

Track events were popular summer activities in most places, and certain track meets were regularly scheduled, usually of an intramural character only.

A few schools had well-constructed swimming pools which could be used the year round. Others had only outdoor pools or pools without facilities for warming the water, which consequently could be used only during the warm season. Swimming is popular with most boys, and it would seem that a pool in which all might have a chance to learn to swim and might swim regularly would be a valuable adjunct in any institution for training boys.

#### **Military training**

Military training was given in two of the institutions included in this study. It is also a regular part of the training program in a number of other State institutions for delinquents. There is much disagreement among institution authorities and among others interested in correctional work as to its value. The trend seems to be away from the rigidity and regimentation which military training implies. This is a rather natural accompaniment of the growth of interest in individualized as opposed to mass treatment. There seems to be a very legitimate doubt as to how much benefit from their institutional military training the boys will carry over into community life that is free from military rules and regulations.

### 13. OTHER RECREATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

#### General values

Recognition of the therapeutic values in diversified recreational activities was noted in a number of institutions. The boy was seen in relation to all his needs, and the part that so-called recreational activities could play in his wholesome and healthy emotional and ethical growth and development was clearly apparent to thoughtful staff members.

Boys with special musical or artistic abilities of which they may not have been conscious, but the thwarting of which may have had a definite effect on their character, were said to have responded amazingly to opportunities for musical or artistic expression that won their attention. Through some of these activities boys were introduced to an utterly new appreciation of sound, form, color, and rhythm. They were given a new sense of values and new standards as to what things might be worth working for in life. When their interest was thoroughly aroused in some particular line in which they desired intensely to become proficient, the question of their use of free time was largely solved and dangers inherent in an excess of energy and the absence of a wholesome objective were obviated.

#### Musical training and activities

Music was brought to the boys in most institutions through two or more channels. The radio provided an opportunity to bring them good music as well as to keep them in touch with popular airs. Regulation of the radio differed in different places, being centrally controlled in some institutions and left entirely to cottage officers in others. Its contribution to the boys' development obviously depends on the way in which interests and tastes are unobtrusively but skillfully cultivated through the kind of programs to which the boys were encouraged to listen.

One of the other principal channels through which music comes to boys in an institution is the maintenance of their own bands and orchestras. Of course the number of boys that can participate in these two groups or that have the talent and the desire to do so is limited. Some institutions have, in addition to the band and orchestra work, individual instruction for boys with talent in voice, piano, or other musical instrument. Some also have glee clubs or choruses, and in many of them group singing takes place at various assemblies and is popular.

#### Dramatics

Dramatics and pageantry have a place in institutional programs. In some this work is more or less occasional, and no particular emphasis is given to it. In others special personnel devote full time to creating opportunities for needed self-expression for boys who have a talent for dramatics or some interest in dramatic work. One such staff member was enthusiastic about the therapeutic values of this particular line of activity. Practically all the boys under his direction had an opportunity during the school year to take part in a "show" if they wished, doing anything from taking a leading or a minor part to helping build and plan the scenery or make the costumes. His aim was not to produce a finished theatrical number but to give a needed emotional outlet to the boys who participated.

### Motion pictures

Few State institutions were entirely without apparatus for showing motion pictures. Periodic showing of feature and short-subject films was usually a part of the recreation program. Some schools were handicapped by not yet having funds for the purchase of equipment for showing talking pictures. It is increasingly difficult to get silent pictures that have any popular appeal. Responsibility for selection of the films was usually delegated to some staff member, who presumably obtained as much information as possible about the available films and chose those most likely to interest the boys and least likely to contain objectionable subject matter or scenes. This form of entertainment was reported to be very popular with the boys. Usually the entire population of the institution attended the motion-picture show, except those who were denied the privilege as a disciplinary measure.

### Reading

In some of these five institutions, and in many other State institutions that have been visited, greater efforts to develop better library service might be worth while. It has been pointed out that in both academic and vocational work it is highly desirable that a sufficient number of good up-to-date reference books be available. At this point, however, attention is directed especially toward the opportunities for developing an interest in reading as an enjoyable free-time activity, through the provision of books and magazines of suitable character. It was observed that very few institutions were able to afford the services of a well-trained librarian who could devote full time to building up library service and stimulating library use. Since funds for the purchase of books are almost invariably quite limited, it is vitally important that the money be made to go as far as possible in obtaining the kind of books that will be constantly in demand.

When the library has been well stocked, it is necessary that a simple but effective system for circulating the volumes and the periodicals be devised and maintained. Books may look well on shelves, but they serve their true purpose only when in circulation.

In institution life there is opportunity to create an interest in reading which, once awakened, may grow into a habit that will be of great benefit throughout the boy's life. Many of the boys who come to these institutions are found to have had little or no interest in reading as a satisfying, pleasing experience. Many of them know little or nothing of the possibilities for intellectual and emotional satisfaction to be derived from reading. Responsibility for definite attention to this kind of service should be placed on some member or members of the staff. If it cannot be assumed by a full-time trained librarian, then some other staff member should be delegated to carry it as a part-time duty. The best results probably will be obtained if an effort is made to enlist the aid of other staff members, especially teachers, trade instructors, and cottage personnel. Teachers have an opportunity to open a new world to their pupils by revealing how they can enrich their school study through supplementary reading. Both teachers and cottage officers can do much for individual boys through studying their interests and discovering for or with them avenues of exploration which may arouse their curiosity in such a way as to bring a completely new form of recreation into their lives. Individualized guidance in the matter of reading may lay the foundation



for future personal development of considerable significance. Acquaintance with fiction of wholesome character can give great satisfaction to the boy who is unable to bring into his own life the adventure that he craves. Outside the field of fiction there is a wealth of reading matter for the boy who may find some hobby to claim his eager interest and to keep both mind and body active during some of his free time. The library-extension services in such States as have them can give a great deal of help to institution libraries and librarians.

#### **Boy Scout work**

In three of these institutions Boy Scout work was well developed, each institution having a number of troops with very active programs. One of the remaining institutions had only one troop, and the other had none. In those institutions in which there was an extensive Boy Scout program, staff members expressed a belief in the very considerable benefits to individual boys from their participation in Scout training. The appeal is to the younger boys, as is true outside of institutions.

The Scout organization within the institution provided a great deal of activity for a boy's free time. In many cottages, especially during winter months, the Boy Scouts spent many of their evening hours studying and practicing for Scout tests. The Scout activities offer a channel through which boys may lose some of their feeling of being set apart and cut off from the outside world. These institutional troops were accepted as part of the national Boy Scout organization. Those in some of the institutions participated in various events with outside troops. District Scout officers visited the institutions and took part in their councils, so that the boys got a definite sense of relationship and of belonging to the great boy group that constitutes the entire movement.

This very sense of belonging is one of the things that requires very tactful and delicate handling when a boy is ready to leave the institution. If he leaves it at an age when he is still keenly interested in Scout work, then it becomes desirable, if possible, to have him affiliated with a Scout troop in the community to which he goes. In some cases this constituted a serious problem when Scout work in institutions was first begun. It still presents many difficulties in connection with certain cases. A parole officer who is making the plan for such a boy when he is to be released investigates the opportunities for Scout affiliation in the community to which the boy is going, and if he can find a troop in which the boy will be accepted wholeheartedly the problem is solved. Unfortunately, social attitudes being what they are, there is often reluctance on the part of a Scout troop to accept a boy with an institutional commitment behind him. The boys themselves may not object, but the scoutmaster may know that parents will, and that even if they outwardly accept him, situations will arise in the troop which will make the boy unhappy. In some ways it would seem that such an experience following upon the happiness which he had found in Scout work at the institution might tend to create a sense of disillusionment and a bitterness that would be highly destructive to the boy's morale and to his consequent social adjustment.

If the Boy Scout work within the institution has the enthusiastic leadership of men of integrity of character and warm human under-

standing, and if the transition from institution troop to community troop can be made without any disturbing incidents, participation in the program certainly will be of very great benefit to these boys.

#### **Other organizations or clubs**

Some schools have developed units of other boys' organizations, such as Sea Scouts, Rangers, and similar organizations. Some have very special clubs peculiar to their own institution and not affiliated with any outside groups. For most boys of these ages there is a natural satisfaction in this club life. The tendency of boys to form "gangs" everywhere is evidence of this common social craving, particularly during the adolescent period. Any grouping of boys who already have, or in whom there can be developed, mutual interests in specific activities toward wholesome objectives, is undoubtedly a useful part of the treatment program. These group loyalties supply something that satisfies one of the boys' emotional needs during this period of development.

#### **Hobbies and handcrafts**

During the months when outdoor play is relatively limited, there is need for indoor activity of diverse kinds. Some institutions have sought to meet the boys' needs in this respect through the development of interest in many different kinds of hobbies and a certain amount of handcraft work. Cottage personnel supply direction and stimulation in these fields. Much help can be given to them in their efforts to develop this type of activity by some one staff member who either is already thoroughly familiar with the field or who makes it his business to become acquainted with its many possibilities and with successful enterprises of this kind in other institutions or in other types of educational or recreational organizations. In such work much eager, restless energy can be directed into channels that not only will render it harmless but will definitely contribute to the building up of certain strengths in each boy's personality. Overabundance of such natural energy, when it does not find permissible outlets, is likely to result in broken rules and regulations and lowered morale; this intensifies in the individual boy the antisocial rebellious attitude which institutional treatment is presumably trying to help him conquer.

#### **Outings**

Some of the more progressive institutions have been developing more and more opportunities for outings away from the routine institutional life for the boys who are suitable for such privileges. In some cases these have taken the form of Scout camps to which the various Scout troops go for a summer outing. Such attempts were not limited in all cases to Boy Scout members but were open to cottage groups and other unit organizations within the institution. Sometimes all-day hikes or other types of excursion formed a part of the institutional program. It is believed that recreational activities of this kind that tend to break down the boy's shut-in feeling, occasioned by complete restriction to the institutional community, are valuable. Sooner or later he is going to be expected to resume his place in the community as a responsible individual. Therefore any activity that gives him some responsibility for his conduct, that takes him away from the institutional routine, and that permits occasionally even a limited amount of self-direction should contribute to his final adjustment.

**Supervision and leadership in the recreational field**

In many communities there is growing recognition of the contribution that is made to community life, particularly to the normal development of its children and young people, by community provision for supervision and leadership in connection with the use of free time. A similar appreciation is noted in some institutions. It is beginning to be recognized that what a boy does during his non-school and nonwork time is of vital importance to the growth of his personality. Consequently there is a growing tendency to provide friendly guidance and leadership in this field instead of leaving all recreation more or less unplanned, haphazard, and without any particular objective.

In this connection it should be noted that there is a real problem involved in the matter of recreational supervision and planning. Some thoughtful executives feel that there is a tendency toward too much planning, too much supervision, too much standardization. They believe that there is danger in not leaving enough freedom for individual preferences or original ideas and initiative. They believe that compelling all children to participate in specific games or activities may be just as harmful to certain individuals as would be complete failure to participate in any play.

The ideal institutional program would probably center in some one person, preferably a trained recreation worker, responsible for the development of a diversified program of recreational activity. Until it is possible to employ a trained person for this work better results probably can be obtained in many institutions by delegating responsibility for the development of leisure-time activities to some one staff member, or perhaps to a staff committee. The best program will be one that will not compel participation of individual boys but will offer to them opportunities which will enlist their interest and make eager and voluntary participation universal. There should be ample opportunity for choice in leisure-time pursuits if the boys are to gain experience that will influence their selection of wholesome interests after they have returned to community life.

Such a program presupposes the giving of considerable individual attention to all boys, especially to those who obviously have had no opportunity to discover or satisfy their particular recreational interests or needs. Such a program would also maintain a nice balance between forms of recreation that are almost purely passive and those that involve active participation. The object would be to get every boy into some activity in which he could achieve enough success to give him that sense of accomplishment and to win him that social approval that contribute to wholesome growth and development.

The inevitable increase of leisure time through the shortening of work hours in the industrial and commercial world makes this part of the training program in institutions for delinquent boys of much greater relative importance than it has been in the past. Always it has been in this free time, when the boy was not in school or at work, that he was most likely to drift into activities that got him into difficulty. Therefore, help in making a wise choice as to the way in which he would spend that free time was always important. Present-day developments in relation to employment and working hours merely make such training of relatively greater significance. Institutions that are attempting to keep abreast of the times and to face

squarely the problems their boys are to meet on release will give more and more attention to this problem of building up within each boy certain habits and interests that will safeguard his use of free time when he returns to his own community.

#### 14. RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

In all five State institutions especially studied, definite provision was made for holding religious services and for giving a certain amount of religious instruction to all the boys. This is also true in all other State institutions for delinquents that have been visited by representatives of the Children's Bureau. Religious instruction is generally held to be a necessary part of the reeducational process.

This usually means that an institution employs full-time or part-time chaplains for their Catholic and Protestant boys. Obviously it is not possible to provide chaplains for each of the Protestant denominations. Therefore, the Protestant services were for the most part undenominational. Some special arrangements are often made so that Jewish boys may receive instruction from members of their own faith and may observe their prescribed fasts and feasts.

Sunday services for both Catholic and Protestant boys were almost always a part of the institutional program. These usually included both Sunday school and church services. Some were supplemented by special young people's meetings, in which case young people's societies from adjacent communities sometimes participated.

In some institutions, particularly where full-time chaplains were employed, religious instruction included courses in Bible study at certain hours during the week, either in connection with the regular school program or wholly independent of it. In some institutions chaplains undertook a great deal of individual work with the boys, especially with the newcomers. These efforts seemed to be directed toward the creation of a genuine friendly relationship between the boy and the chaplain, in the expectation that the boy would turn to him for advice and for social as well as spiritual guidance.

So far as could be discovered, there has not been any clear-cut analysis of the place that religious workers should occupy in an institutional program. Neither was there observed any indication that the positions have been filled by persons who have had any special training for work of this description. Successful workers seem more or less to have worked out their own programs independent of training for the job. A careful study of the work of chaplains in such institutions as these and of the range of opportunities for service might result in some suggestions that would be highly beneficial. In addition to setting forth a clear analysis of what chaplains in the institution are doing, or could do, such a study might seek to determine whether or not special courses of training for such services should be offered in theological seminaries, and, if offered, of what they should consist.

A wish for something of this kind was voiced by a reformatory chaplain in these words:

I think that this work should properly begin with our seminarians \* \* \*. Of course if we desire to become preachers, at the end of our college or university career there comes the three years of seminary work, and I have often wished since I got out into the work that another year might be added to that, particularly to give us day after day regular clinics in how to do this kind of work. They send us out full of ideas, or with a head full of knowledge, but so often they fail

to tell us how to apply it. We come up against situations and troublesome things, and we do not know because we have never been up against such a thing before.<sup>13</sup>

Another reformatory chaplain has made the following statement: "Our service to them must be more than a gesture to satisfy our sense of decency and to make them think we have something they have not. We cannot create hunger in them for what we have unless what we have satisfies us. Some definite, constructive program must be undertaken which will kindle hope and ambition in human hearts."<sup>14</sup> This chaplain was voicing his recognition of the fact that in these boys, particularly those who are sent to institutions during the adolescent period, a real hunger exists that is not a physical hunger and that has in it elements beyond those ordinarily characterized as mental.

A modern psychologist pays tribute to this need in these words:

It is sometimes implied in discussions of adolescence that the modern youth has no religious problems, but those with a wide acquaintance with boys and girls will scarcely agree. It is true that many of the old religious problems no longer have a meaning for the average adolescent, but he is just as much under the necessity of coming to terms with life as he ever was, and that, after all, is the essence of religion. He is not so much concerned with heaven and hell as with his place in the universe; the meaning and purpose of life, whence we all came, and whither we are bound are still questions of paramount importance to the adolescent boy, even though he may not phrase them in this manner. The religious attitudes of devotion to a person or a cause, though they may not so often express themselves through church activities, are just as frequent as they ever were; and the yearning for higher things—the longing for something only vaguely sensed, for experiences which lie outside his grasp—is probably present in every adolescent at some time or other.

We are living in an extroverted society, and even in the churches the religious training that we give our youths today is more apt to put the emphasis upon the extroverted side. Guilds, leagues, and societies, activities of all sorts, fill up the program until the inner needs are often crowded quite out of sight. But it is just these inner needs that are very strong at this period. The load of guilt, conscious or not, that practically every boy carries; the need for reconciliation, for setting himself right with life, which he feels in the way of unrest and dissatisfaction with himself, the longing for sympathy and understanding, for contact with a power greater than himself that is "mighty to save"—these are the things for which the older religious experiences offered an outlet. The necessity for coming to some sort of terms with these inner attitudes is just as urgent as it ever was; modern youth may try to drown the recognition of them by more and more activities, by gay parties, by noisy talk, or by an attitude of cynicism; all too often he grows into maturity with these inner needs still unrecognized, with the feeling that in some way or other life is cheating him, that he has missed some experience that was his due. In the noise and confusion of modern life, in its emphasis upon more and ever more activity, are we not in danger of robbing youth of some of its most vital experiences? In our scientific zeal and our emphasis upon the factual side of life, are we not in danger of forgetting that the emotional life of adolescence is its most important feature and that it needs other outlets than baseball games, jazz, and the movies? The boy himself is apt to be impatient with religious forms and ceremonies, with set rules of conduct and theories of life. He knows instinctively that religion means something more than this.<sup>15</sup>

An institutional program that neglects to take account of these needs can hardly be considered to be completely fulfilling its obligations. Religious work is believed by many persons to be one of the ways in which the unhappy, discontented delinquent may be helped toward the establishment of such ideals of personal conduct as will enable him to avoid further social conflict and to achieve a

<sup>13</sup> Osterling, Rev. J. B.: Value of Ethical and Religious Training in the Process of the Rehabilitation of the Juvenile Delinquent. Proceedings of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies, 1931, p. 53.

<sup>14</sup> Haley, Rev. O. E.: Value of Religious Instruction in Stabilization of the Delinquent. Proceedings of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies, 1932, p. 128.

<sup>15</sup> Richmond, Winifred V.: The Adolescent Boy, pp. 206-208. Farrar & Rinehart, New York, 1933.

mode of life that will bring him an enriched experience and a measure of content. Through religious instruction, many sincere workers believe, boys can be given a sense of spiritual values and an appreciation of certain ethical principles that will be of inestimable value to them. Insofar as the object of religious instruction is this sound building of inner strengths in relation to responsible social living and is not primarily the stimulation of an ecstatic emotional experience, almost certain to be temporary in character, it undoubtedly makes a considerable contribution to the reeducational process.

Very rarely in institutions has there been found a systematic approach, through the efforts of the institution chaplains, to the problem of the boy's religious life after release. It would seem that if a point is made of creating in the boy an interest in religious rituals or affiliations and a dependence on them, then it is quite necessary that steps be taken to make sure he will have the benefit of similar aids in the community to which he goes. Some institutions have a formal requirement that boys attend church while on parole and that they send in reports signed by their pastors testifying to their attendance. But any amount of external conformance to regulations of that kind will do little to help the boy with the real problems of everyday life. Parole officers sometimes try to see that an effective relation is created between a pastor or some church lay worker and the boy. The parole officer, however, has such a multiplicity of other duties that it is impossible for him to devote a great deal of time and attention to this particular matter. It is quite likely that a well-qualified chaplain who has known the boy well during his institutional stay could do more toward perfecting a helpful church affiliation by making the right kind of contact with the community pastor and the family. This has been attempted in some places and is said to bring very good results. Often, it is said, the community pastor has little conception of the returned boy's problems and needs. The institution chaplain may give real help in interpreting the need and making sure that the church connection will be a warmly human, helpful one.

## 15. CREDIT SYSTEMS AND DISCIPLINARY MEASURES

### Credit systems

The whole subject of credit systems seems to be one on which there is much difference of opinion. In many State institutions that have been visited by representatives of the Children's Bureau at one time or another, no two exactly similar credit systems have been found. In many institutions no credit system is in operation. In the five particularly considered in this study only one had a credit system in the complete sense of that term. Three others had certain systems of grading the boys in their different activities in such a way as to indicate progress toward adjustment, but there was no fixed system for awarding credits and no set credit goal to be achieved. The fifth institution operated under a system that more nearly approached a penal program. The terminology used referred to time to be served and instead of credits awarded or taken away boys were given "additional days" or "days off."

There are certainly some grave problems involved in devising a satisfactory credit system. The objective of institutional treatment is, as has been repeatedly stated, to prepare a boy for self-direction on

return to community life. It is not an easy matter to set up a measuring rod in terms of credits which will really reveal the progress a boy is making toward strengthening those personal qualifications essential to successful adjustment in his community. On the other hand, there is surely some connection between his ability to conduct himself acceptably in the institutional group life and his ability to live without conflict in the more difficult social situations into which he will be plunged in his life after release. Therefore, within limits, it is proper to consider credits awarded for response to different phases of institutional treatment as something of a measure of progress toward social adjustment. Some observers, however, feel that in the operation of a credit system the boy's attention may have a tendency to focus on the acquisition of credits rather than on the satisfactions inherent in building up good habits and achieving certain goals of activity. These persons believe that some of the very smart but "bad" boys can and do set themselves to work to earn the necessary credits for release in a minimum time, but that the whole process is superficial and works no inner changes which will continue to operate after release is won. Likewise they believe that it is unduly hard for some of the duller boys to comply with all rules and regulations and so achieve the credit goal within a short period, although they may actually be making greater progress toward successful adjustment than boys of the other type.

In the credit system which has been developed in New Jersey many of these difficulties seem to have been successfully met through a great flexibility in the system. (See p. 118.) There the clinic fixed the credit goal individually for the boys, so that the difference between the brighter and the less well endowed boys was recognized and the requirement in credits to be earned was modified accordingly. This setting of a credit goal on an individual basis seems a highly desirable procedure when a credit system is used. Otherwise there is grave danger of developing so mechanized a system that it is incapable of providing the measure for which it is designed.

Another point that is raised, not only with respect to credit systems but with respect to all grading, is the subjective element involved. There is no escape from this personal equation. Certainly no purely objective measurement of the qualities that determine the probability of social adjustment has been devised. Thoughtful institution workers point out that it is almost impossible, even with the closest supervision and the most serious attempts at leadership, to make sure that all persons doing the grading have approximately the same standards for judgment. Behavior which in one cottage would be rated high might be rated several points lower in another group on the same campus. Yet, so far as adjustment outside the institution is concerned, both examples would mean the same. There is the further difficulty of making sure that all staff members maintain as objective a point of view as possible and that they do not permit their own emotional reactions toward any boys to color their grading either favorably or adversely. To some extent these problems can be met by insistence on a high type of personnel throughout and by frequent discussion of these problems, designed to keep the individual staff member alert in regard to his own prejudices for or against individuals, so that he may guard against them in giving grades or awarding credits.

Probably one of the principal advantages in the use of the credit system is that it gives the boys something tangible at which to aim. If through constant individual and group discussion the boys can be kept conscious of the fact that a credit is merely a symbol for their own development in a desirable or an undesirable direction and is not an end in itself, nor to be sought with the sole purpose of obtaining release, then probably such a system could constitute a genuine aid. But a purely mechanical credit system would seem to have great disadvantages and to be an obstacle in the path of attaining institutional objectives.

#### Disciplinary measures

The general policy with respect to the maintenance of discipline was usually fixed by the superintendent of the institution and approved by his superior officers or a managing board. Responsibility for the specific application of such disciplinary measures as were permitted by the general policy was usually vested in some one staff member, who might delegate to other members of the staff some of his responsibilities, particularly in connection with lesser infractions.

In the five institutions studied, considerable power for dealing with the breaking of minor rules and regulations, or for dealing with mischievous or troublesome but not vicious behavior, was left to cottage officers, teachers, instructors, and others to whom boys were detailed for various purposes. The responsibility for dealing with more serious cases was vested in some one member of the staff. In two of the institutions this duty fell to the lot of the supervisor of cottage life and cottage personnel. In a third the superintendent kept it largely in his own hands. In the fourth it rested on the assistant superintendent, and in the fifth it was delegated to a staff officer known as disciplinarian, or court officer. The latter, as the title indicates, held "court" every day for boys reported for formal discipline. In some institutions the clinical personnel frequently served in an advisory capacity, particularly in relation to certain types of misconduct.

At this place a word must be said about a point that came up frequently in discussions with institutional personnel; that is, the evils inherent in the use of boy monitors or cadet officers in maintaining order and discipline. Without exception, thoughtful institution workers expressed dissatisfaction with the monitor and cadet-officer system. They believe that it is practically impossible to operate such a system without abuses, sometimes of very grave character. However, even the most progressive schools with relatively large staffs found it very difficult to abolish monitors entirely. In some of the institutions which were very poorly staffed, it was said to be absolutely necessary to use boys as aids to the overworked staff members. It was also said to be an almost irresistible temptation, especially in connection with cottage management, for officers to delegate authority to boys whom they considered worthy of it, in order that the officers themselves might have some respite from their eternal vigilance. Nevertheless the monitor and cadet-officer system is believed to deserve unqualified condemnation. Even if serious abuses can be kept to a minimum, this system always makes many boys feel that officers have favorites and that there is no chance for fair play. Such attitudes destroy trust and confidence in officers who may, as a matter of fact, be trying very hard to help every one of the



boys. That trust and confidence is one of the principal foundation stones upon which service to the maladjusted boy must be built.

Observations in many State institutions for delinquents indicate that there is great variation in the manner of rating different types of offenses as to seriousness. In some institutions an attempt to escape is regarded as a very grave offense. In others it is regarded as a natural incident, and its seriousness is rated wholly on the basis of the boy's reason for making the attempt. With recently admitted homesick boys, escape was considered to be a very different matter from the same offense committed by boys obviously motivated by a desire to escape the irksome work or control of the institution. In the latter case it was the rebellious attitude that was considered in need of treatment—not its outward symptom, the running away.

An institutional superintendent has declared that the child in an institution should be given an environment as nearly as possible like that of a normal home and a good community; that there should be no walls or barriers, no locked doors, no night watchmen to prevent escapes. His attitude toward these control measures is clearly set forth in the following remarks:

All these things are fatal to the best interest of the child. There will be escapes and frequently in considerable numbers. Homesickness is a powerful incentive. In the first few days or weeks of the child in the institution, when all is new and strange around him, when he is subjected to a course of routine that is regular and systematic, when he eats and sleeps and works and goes to school exactly on the minute, when his mother and father no longer greet him in the morning—do you wonder that he grows homesick and runs away? In my judgment, for the benefit of the child, I think it is infinitely better that the doors be open and the way made clear for him to run away rather than forcibly detain him. If the matters are anticipated properly and the cases handled sympathetically, many that are tempted to go will not go. Those who have refrained from going will build up within themselves the feeling that they have won, and will have a conscious victory over their weaker natures. Those who go will often soon return themselves, or can easily be picked up, and they are much easier to handle afterwards than if they had been forcibly detained in the first place. In the course of a few weeks, if institution life is made interesting and attractive, the child will soon get acquainted and adjusted, and the temptation to run away will largely disappear. However, if information comes to him that some member of the family is sick or in trouble, and the rules of the institution are too rigid about visiting home, the child will probably run away again. If the discipline of the institution is too severe, the child will frequently run away after having gotten into some minor difficulty. However, with proper spirit in the administration of discipline, the number of these will not be great. Those unduly emotional, suffering under a fancied or real indignity at the hand of other children or adults, may run away while under great stress. Of course the feeble-minded and the defective run away from time to time, but with tolerant, wise, and careful supervision, the number of these should not be disturbing.<sup>16</sup>

Other behavior rated as objectionable and deserving formal disciplinary action included such acts as sex offenses, stealing, open insubordination, and, in many places, smoking. There was considerable variation in attitude toward the last offense. At some institutions the boys were given to understand that smoking had to be forbidden, even for the older boys who were already accustomed to the use of tobacco, because of the fire hazards involved. In others smoking in itself was regarded as "bad" behavior, calling for the imposition of a penalty if detected.

When institutional workers assemble to discuss vexatious problems, this question whether or not smoking should be permitted often arises.

<sup>16</sup> Bastin, H. V.: *City and County Versus State Institutions for Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Children*. Proceedings of the National Conference on Juvenile Agencies, 1930, p. 147.

In every such gathering will usually be found advocates for both policies. Some contend that the older boys, very many of whom have used tobacco regularly before commitment, should be allowed to continue its use within reasonable limits. They believe that indulgence in clandestine smoking, from which admittedly no institution is free, has a far more harmful effect on a boy's character than the temperate use of tobacco could possibly have on his body. Others are convinced that tobacco so seriously retards physical growth and development and so lowers physical and mental efficiency that to sanction its use is to betray their charges' welfare. Unlike the other group, they seem to feel no grave apprehension as to the effect on a boy's character of the practice of deceit involved in clandestine smoking, or as to the danger involved in his cultivation of the habit of "getting away with" an act adjudged an offense within the social unit in which he is living.<sup>17</sup> With this great difference of opinion, and as long as no authoritative data are available on the relative advantages or dangers in permissive or prohibitive policies, the question will continue to be determined on the basis of the personal opinions of the administrators currently in control.

Disciplinary measures observed covered a rather wide range. Cottage officers, teachers, and other group supervisors were usually permitted to impose for punitive purposes certain deprivations of privilege, such as requiring a boy to stay out of games on the playgrounds or in the cottage living room for a while. In many institutions these officers were also permitted to place a boy "on line" for a limited period. All the superintendents stated that no officers were permitted to require fixed postures involving physical strain while boys were on line. The boys merely had to stand in a designated place on the side lines while the other boys worked or played.

When an officer felt that he could not control a boy, the minor disciplinary measures used so far having proved ineffective, or when he thought the offense committed was too serious for such punishment as he was permitted to administer, he reported the boy to the staff officer charged with responsibility for dealing with problems of major discipline. This officer depended on certain disciplinary measures to bring about the control which was deemed necessary. All such officers reported using deprivation of privileges to a considerable extent. That meant withdrawing the privilege of attending motion-picture shows and entertainments of all kinds, including basketball, baseball, or other games, and forbidding participation in any school activity which was classed as a social privilege. All the officers stated that they did not use withholding of food or curtailment of food as a disciplinary measure, with the possible exception that some cottage matron might take away a boy's dessert for a certain period, though even that was frowned upon. All declared that limitation of meals to bread and water was never permitted.

In some institutions misconduct brought in its wake the addition of a specified amount of time to be served. The records of one institution contained many notations of numbers of days added to the periods that boys had to remain at the institution.

At only one of the institutions visited was corporal punishment permitted. Its use was said to be safeguarded by specific regulations. In none of the institutions were individual officers permitted to strike

<sup>17</sup> See discussion, Proceedings of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies, 1932, p. 46.

boys or use physical force against them. Whether or not this regulation was scrupulously observed by all officers could not be determined by a visitor from outside. The institutions which used no corporal punishment at all were emphatic in their belief that it was not only unnecessary but that it had a distinctly brutalizing and harmful effect and that it had no place in a modern program of social treatment.

Corporal punishment has been found to be still in use in a number of other State institutions for delinquent boys visited by representatives of the Children's Bureau.

Many institutions use as their most severe disciplinary measure removal to a special cottage group, known by some such term as "segregation unit." In some institutions the segregation cottage was not noticeably different from the regular cottages, but much less freedom was enjoyed by the boys thus segregated from their usual cottage units, as very much closer supervision was exercised and there were usually more locked doors. In other institutions the segregation cottage was much less attractive than the regular residence units and the life in it was not only much more restricted but the boys from that unit were required to do the more difficult and unpleasant manual labor for the institution.

Some institutions had within the segregation unit or elsewhere segregation cells for the confinement of boys in isolation from all their companions. These cells have the full flavor of prison atmosphere. Many people are firmly convinced that this penal treatment exemplified by confinement in isolated prisonlike cells has no place whatever in an institution for juvenile delinquents and that its effect on the boy who is subjected to it can be nothing but destructive. This does not necessarily mean that it may not sometimes be desirable or necessary to remove a boy for a little while from companionship with other boys. Such segregation, however, need not be in a prison cell or a cagelike place. A boy can be restricted to a comfortable bedroom with probably much better effect, provided great care is taken to make sure that he understands the reason for thus segregating him, and also the purpose of this quiet period all alone as designed to give him opportunity to do some real thinking about himself in relation to the other boys and the institution. Some staff member who knows how to set boys to thinking in this way should talk with him at fairly frequent intervals. The sole purpose of such segregation should be to bring about a change in the boy's attitude. As soon as that is accomplished, segregation should be terminated.

Occasionally it is necessary to isolate a boy who is in an abnormal mental state, but such cases are subjects for the medical director, not the disciplinary officer.

In general it seems possible to say that a definite tendency has been noted in the direction of abandoning the idea of punishment and of developing measures that seek to motivate desirable conduct through some controlling factor other than fear. Fear is generally regarded as anything but an admirable trait. One of the most admired qualities is the direct opposite of fear, namely, courage. In some ways it seems a tribute to youth that it can so seldom be completely cowed. Fear of punishment may keep a boy temporarily from repeating his offense, but it may in addition create within him a driving impulse to get even eventually with that society which sanctioned his hurt or his public humiliation. This certainly is no way in which to aid a boy to avoid further social conflict.

Back of the idea of punishment lies the revenge motive. Anger, hate, and revenge call forth like responses. There might be some excuse for so-called punishment if it could always be administered in such a way as completely to convince the boy that there was no personal emotional drive against him on the part of the person who was bringing about his punishment, but that the person was honestly interested in the boy's future welfare and considered it dependent on his not repeating the offense for which he was being punished. But rare indeed is the instance in which the victim of punitive action could be thus convinced. As a matter of fact it may safely be asserted that back of every punishment lies an emotional response to the breaking of sacred rules, an affront to some officer's dignity, or some like situation.

The newer philosophy underlying disciplinary work in the more progressive institutions is that the pleasures and satisfactions to be derived from social living must be earned through some contribution of the individual to the welfare of the group and through his avoidance of conduct that may disturb or hinder the progress of the group or injure any of its members, also that social privileges are sacrificed by the individual who follows his own impulses and desires without consideration for his associates. Built on this foundation, disciplinary measures become positive in their effect. In order for them to have the best possible results it is essential that the boy who is being disciplined understand this philosophy and realize why he must undergo certain more or less unpleasant consequences for something he had done or failed to do. Such a philosophy renders corporal punishment obsolete. It comes to its best fruitage in an institutional program that is rich in privileges and social satisfactions, where there is much to be earned or sacrificed. It seems far more reasonable to expect that the effect of this type of discipline will carry over into later life in a normal community than that of any amount of punishment inflicted at the institutions.

The newer approach to discipline requires that every case be considered individually and that attention be focused on the boy and on whatever drove him to the specific act, rather than on the offense itself. In this the psychologist and the psychiatrist can give aid of inestimable value. There are many troublesome types of behavior for which boys have been punished consistently and repeatedly but without satisfactory results. Research in behavior problems has shown how little effect punishment is ever likely to have on some of these young offenders, such as sex delinquents of certain types or boys suffering from enuresis. The psychiatrist may find surprising reasons underlying the specific misbehavior in many disciplinable cases. If that which lies behind the boy's behavior, the reason why he acted as he did at that particular time, can be determined, either through the help and advice of a clinic or through careful inquiry by other staff members who possess sympathy and insight, then some intelligent treatment of a disciplinary character may be devised and applied.

#### 16. INSTITUTION RECORDS

A great variety of record forms were found at the different institutions, but comments on records will be limited chiefly to forms for recording information obtained relating to the individual boy and to his progress while under care and to his adjustment while on parole.

No special attention was given to those institutional forms which had to do with administrative processes. A careful and intensive study of records with a view to making certain suggestions as to the most practical types probably would be welcomed by many institutional administrators. However, that would be a study in itself. It is proposed here merely to refer to the general plan of recording data concerning boys under treatment and to reproduce certain sample forms which may be of interest to other workers in this field. These forms are reproduced in appendix C, page 302 (so far as is mechanically possible on pages the size of this report), not because they are considered ideal but because they show how some institutions are attempting to build up case records and how through the use of certain forms they are seeking to present information effectively for utilization in determining what treatment the boy shall have while in the institution and what is likely to be the most successful placement on his release.

Somewhere in each institution, in addition to the card file which lists all boys committed, there was usually a case folder for each boy. The various institutions put widely different types of material in this case folder. In some institutions there was usually not much more in this folder than the commitment papers, perhaps a grade card or two, a miscellaneous lot of discipline record slips, letters to and from the institution while the boy was there and after his parole, and some few reports from his parole officer. Others kept a fairly complete summary of the boy's case, including preinstitutional history, history of progress in his various assignments while in the institution, records of all the various examinations given him while there, reports on the preparole investigations, on the parole placement, and on the supervisory activities after parole. The forms used in the New Jersey and New York institutions for obtaining the social history of the boy prior to commitment and for obtaining a report preparatory to parole are reproduced in appendix C, pages 302-312. In a boy's case folder at Michigan, was found a form which is reproduced in appendix C, page 313. This was used to record the observations made by the officer in charge of the receiving cottage. At that school, which did not have clinical facilities to assist in determining assignments, great emphasis was placed on observation of the boy's responses during the month he was in the receiving cottage, and this was the form used for recording these observations.

In some of the institutions each case folder contained a summary of the principal findings of the various examinations taken by each boy during his first few weeks. This included a summary of the medical-examination report, the psychological and psychiatric reports, if these services were available, the school principal's interview, and the observations of cottage personnel under whose charge the boy had been. The detailed records of these examinations by various specialists were usually filed in the different departments. Pages 315-316 of appendix C reproduce the form used for the psychometric report in the clinic of the New York institution studied, which contains spaces for recording a considerable variety of tests.

At the California institution were found two rather interesting forms, which are reproduced in appendix C, pages 317 and 318. One is a report to be made by the cottage supervisor to the research department in cases in which a transfer is recommended; the cottage super-

visor checks the items on this form that describe the principal attitudes and characteristics of the boy. The other form is a report to be made every month by each boy's counselor. If carefully prepared on the basis of close observation of the boys by counselors of good judgment, such monthly reports should give a good picture of the boy's progress or failure to progress in certain ways.

School records and progress in vocational-training courses are recorded in various ways at the different institutions. The school record card at the New Jersey school is reproduced on page 319 and the trade-shop rating card in use in New York on page 320 of appendix C. Similar cards contained the boys' scholastic, house, and behavior records. The latter two are reproduced on pages 321-324 of appendix C, each followed by the instructions for persons who were to keep these records. In addition to the specific directions telling how to fill in each space, these instructions urged great care in making judgments and arriving at the ratings, as the cards were expected to be used freely by the assignment and parole committees. Staff members were warned that they must be ready to appear before the committee at any time to explain the ratings given. At this institution these cards were confidential between the officer and the administration, not to be handled by the boys nor to be inspected by them. Each officer was expected to make his own estimate of the boy without being influenced by other officers; and the ratings were to be the result of serious, honest, and fair consideration by each officer.

At the Ohio institution a report slip was placed in the boy's folder each time he was disciplined. Each cottage-family officer made a weekly report to the disciplinarian, on which he listed the boys who had been placed on line, giving the date when they were placed on line, the date when they were taken off line, and the offenses for which they had been thus disciplined. The disciplinarian made a daily report of the "cases in court" and furnished a list of the boys "receiving corporal punishment" that day. This report included the "specific nature of the offense" and the times the boy had been in court the last 30 days.

The conclusion reached after visits to many State institutions for delinquents is that there is room for much improvement in devising and keeping a case record on each boy that will bring together within one folder, in as brief form as possible, all the essential information relating to his history before commitment, his progress while at the institution, and his adjustment while on parole. Supplementary data might be kept in the various departments giving the contacts of those departments with the boys in considerable detail. In individualized treatment, records play an important part, for in a well-built case record each boy's problems stand out clearly, and the success or failure of institutional treatment to meet some of those problems should become apparent if his institutional career is adequately and honestly recorded.

This brings up the question as to the scope and uses of institutional statistics based upon individual case records. The proper kind of statistics compiled from adequate case records should provide the basis for administrative analysis of such things as the following:

1. *Intake*.—It would be useful for an institutional administrator to know something about the following points on the basis of evidence gathered from each year's admissions.

(a) The amount of information concerning committed boys made available to the institution at the time of admission; information of such character as to be helpful in determining types of treatment to be given during their institutional stay.

(b) Attempts at adjustment or treatment applied in each case in the community before resorting to commitment.

(c) The types of adjustment problems presented by a year's admissions to the school.

The statistical basis for such analytical compilations would probably take the form of an individual card for each new admission. This card would contain certain statistical items relating to family history, the boy himself, his age, physical and mental condition, school achievement, behavior problems leading to commitment, types of treatment already tried (probation, foster-home placement, or care in other institution).

2. *Institutional treatment.*—Certain data on the treatment to which the boy was subjected at the institution would be most useful in studying the work of the institution in relation to individualization of treatment, with particular reference to social adjustment, physical and mental health, and academic and vocational education. The statistical basis for this analysis would be in the form of a card filled out for each boy at the time of his first release. This card would show such facts as his length of stay; the results of physical examination at the school; defects discovered, if any; corrective work done; acute illnesses or injuries; findings of psychological and psychiatric examinations and program recommendations; educational assignment and progress, both academic and vocational; assignments to maintenance work outside the bona fide trade-training courses; social adjustment during institutional life (indicating how the boy fitted into cottage and class groups, what recreational activities he participated in, and so forth); behavior while at the institution, including the character of misbehavior for which he was disciplined and the type of discipline administered; preparole-investigation findings as to home conditions; to whom he was paroled; and what plans had been made for schooling, employment, and the use of free time.

3. *History from first release to final discharge.*—This material would enable an institution to study the results of the treatment that had been accorded each boy. Its statistical basis would be a card for each individual filled out at the time of final discharge from the institution's care or supervision.

This card would include such items as the reason for discharge; the length of time since first parole or release; the amount of supervision exercised during the parole period (number of written reports required and received, number of times the boy's home was visited, and number of times the boy was seen); the number of times the boy was returned to the institution with the reasons for each return; the total time spent in the institution since first parole and the time spent outside; school progress since his first release; employment record between release and discharge; the number and types of new offenses committed during the period, and convictions or commitments to other institutions; where he was living and with whom at the time of discharge; his economic status; his home and neighborhood conditions; and where and with whom he spent his leisure time.

## 17. PAROLE AND DISCHARGE

**Parole**

Commitment to institutions for juvenile delinquents is usually for the period of minority or until some other specific age, not for a definite number of days, months, or years. All five of the institutions studied had some provision for release of boys on certain conditions. Such release was known as parole in four and as placement in the fifth. Usually the superintendent has the power to recommend or to grant parole, subject to the approval of some local board or State department or agency. In one of the institutions included in this study the power to parole was vested in the local board of managers. In practice, however, the board depended on the superintendent and the institutional staff to make recommendations for their consideration.

The methods of determining fitness for release were found to vary greatly. In the Ohio institution release was rather automatic in that it seemed to be wholly dependent on "serving" a fixed period at the institution, this period being shortened or lengthened by days off for good conduct or days added for misconduct. In New Jersey the credit system with its credit goal determined the time when a boy was eligible for release. This was not so automatic a procedure as it sounds because the classification committee set an individual credit goal for each boy on the basis of very careful study of the boy and his problems. In another institution the grading system took the place of the credit goal in singling out boys for consideration for release, boys being eligible for consideration when they had made six consecutive "B's." In the California institution the secretary kept constant watch of the progress records of the boys and sent to the placement committee each month a list of those whose grades indicated that they had made a fairly good adjustment in the institution. That committee then reviewed their cases thoroughly and passed upon their readiness for placement. In New York the assignment committee reviewed each boy's case at the end of 6 months and on the basis of progress toward adjustment made by that time set a probable date for parole. On that date the parole committee reviewed the case carefully and decided whether or not sufficient progress had been made to warrant release.

In three of the institutions the institution itself had parole or placement officers. In one all parole work was done by a central State parole office, and in another the parole work was done through a system of county welfare agents, locally appointed but doing their work under the general direction of supervisors from the State welfare department.

The standards of personnel engaged in parole service varied widely. There was also considerable difference in the size of the case loads of parole officers in the four States having parole officers, ranging from 114 in one (California) to 287 in another (Ohio). All loads were much heavier than any approved maximum case load standard.

The amount of work undertaken in preparation for parole was in some instances almost negligible and in others fairly definite and extensive. One institution depended almost wholly on a report requested from the original committing court as to whether or not the boy should be returned to his own home. In the institution which had no parole, reliance had to be placed on whatever report could be obtained from the county agent in the boy's home county.



Neither of these methods seemed to be producing reports that were adequate or that would be genuinely helpful in making a wise decision. In the other States attempts were made to obtain a considerable amount of information on conditions in the boy's home. These institutions sought immediately after the boy's admission to obtain information about his home and the community influences that had surrounded him. These data were used not only to arrive at a better understanding of the boy and his attitude but also to guide in considering the problems that would have to be faced when he was released. One institution had a director of preparole activities whose function was not only to watch the boy's progress in the institution, but to make an effort to have some work done in the boy's own home and community in preparation for his return.

In three of the institutions a specific treatment plan was made in preparation for a boy's release. A placement or parole committee went over the summary of the boy's history before commitment, the record of his treatment while under the institution's care and his responses to it, and the descriptive report outlining the conditions which would surround him in the home and the community to which he was to go if released. The committee considered these and made recommendations with respect to such things as home placement, school adjustment, employment, and social and recreational activities.

It was not easy to get, on so brief a visit and without extensive field work, an adequate picture of the amount and the character of the help and the supervision given to boys who had been released and of the degree of completeness with which treatment plans made at the institution were carried out. The impression gained from the conversations with persons in charge of parole service and from reading records was that in some institutions this was one of the weakest points in the whole treatment program. In other institutions a great effort clearly was being made to raise the standards of personnel and to do as much intensive case work of high quality as could be done under the load which the officers were required to carry. In some States it seemed that the contact with boys on parole was so slight that very little help was being extended and there was almost no likelihood that the first steps toward further difficulty would be known in time to help the boy avoid such conduct as would make it necessary to return him for violation of his parole or to have him committed to some other correctional institution. With the amount and character of the supervision varying so greatly, it is certain that the number of boys returned for violation of parole is not in any sense comparable as between institutions. That is, a low number of returns—instead of indicating success on the part of the parolees—may mean merely that their difficulties were not known to their parole officers, whereas a high rate of returns might mean that parole officers in close touch with their charges were advising return to the institution for further treatment when first symptoms of failure to adjust began to be evident.

In connection with this brief résumé of the parole regulations in effect in these five institutions, it is probably appropriate to comment that the general impression obtained from reading the reports prepared by field representatives of the Children's Bureau who have visited other similar State institutions is that the weakest spot in institutional treatment of delinquent boys appears in connection with their release for return to community life. Parole services are entirely lacking in

some States. In such States the boys are simply turned out after a period of training, with no community preparation for their reception and no special aid to them when they must again face the very same conditions that had brought about their former conflict. In other States the number of parole officers provided is extremely inadequate, the qualification standards for parole officer are low or practically non-existent, and their work is often done without proper supervision and leadership.

Certain standards and procedures of parole work are essential, whether the work is to be done by parole officers on the staff of the institution and directed by a leader who is responsible to the superintendent, or whether it is to be done by parole officers working as a State unit and under a State director of parole not responsible to the institution superintendent. The personnel should be chosen entirely on the basis of qualifications in education, experience, and personal characteristics. Appointments and dismissals should be entirely free from political influence. Persons who have a good educational background with training and experience in social case work are highly desirable. The parole officer needs to have a thorough understanding of the social resources likely to be found in the communities in which he is to serve. He must know what kinds of services the various agencies may be expected to offer on behalf of the boys whom he will place in their communities. His parolees should have, through the contacts he makes, the benefit of every available social service which can be secured and of which they stand in need when they return to community life. A parole unit, even if composed of men with a measure of training and experience, will undoubtedly function more effectively if directed by a trained and experienced person who can give full time to supervision of the work, to consultation with individual officers on particular problems, to planning for continual growth and improvement in the amount and character of service rendered, and to assisting in interpreting parole work to other social agencies and to the general public.

Another point to be made is that the parole service can function best if it is brought into contact with the boy shortly after his admission to the institution and if it remains in contact with him and his problems throughout the institutional period. This early acquaintance with the case is probably arranged most easily when the parole officers are members of the institution staff with headquarters on the campus. If the parole service is given by a central parole office for the State, there is no reason why procedures cannot be adopted which will bring about this introduction of the parole officer to his future case. New Jersey has been developing methods designed to effect this close working relation between the institution and the independent State parole office.

Parole work is in reality community case work. The boy has come to the institution because something in his home or his community has done something to him or failed to do something for him, as a result of which he has come into conflict with social standards and laws. It is most unreasonable and absurd to expect this young and inexperienced boy, even after good response to training in the protected life in the institution, to return to an uncorrected home or community condition and to succeed in resisting the destructive influences there. Yet that is exactly what many State institutions

are expecting. They accept boys for treatment, but they make little if any effort to make sure that corrective treatment is being applied at the same time to the boy's home and community. This is a phase of the treatment program that must be developed if the results of institutional treatment are not to be rapidly nullified in a regrettable number of individual cases. If parole officers could devote more time to securing the cooperation of social agencies in carrying on this corrective work in home and community while the boy is in the institution, there would be far less need for intensive supervision when he returns, and much of the watch-dog character of present parole work would be eliminated.

Many experienced parole workers have expressed doubt as to the desirability of trying to develop to any great extent the use of boarding- or foster-home care for parolees. In some cases such placement worked very happily; but boys who had lived in homes of their own to the age at which boys were usually committed had developed an affection and a loyalty for that home, no matter how poor it might be according to ordinary community standards, and there was usually an unbreakable bond of affection between the boy and some member or members of his family. If, because nothing had been accomplished toward improving the character of the home during his stay at the institution, the boy was placed elsewhere, he might stay in the foster home a while, but almost invariably the temptation to run away and to return to his own home eventually outweighed the advice and admonitions of his parole adviser. This does not mean that foster-home care is never to be considered. It does mean that it should be used with nice discrimination both as to the types of cases for which it is used and the care taken to fit the personalities of the boys to those of the people in the homes in which they are to be placed. Above all it means that more attention must be given to correcting home and community conditions from which boys have had to be removed.

When the parole authority decides that a boy's institutional adjustment and his progress in training warrant his return to community life, a highly crucial point in that boy's career has been reached. Too much care cannot be taken in effecting his return. Institutions that are using the clinic or committee method of preparing a plan for adjustment on parole believe it to be by far the best approach to the problem. Its success is dependent on a great many factors. Such a committee, or clinic, must have at its command a very careful summary of accurate information upon which to base its decisions and recommendations. It must know as much as possible about the boy himself. It should have a thorough knowledge of the home to which he wishes to return—not only its physical attributes and surroundings but the persons who live there, and their attitudes toward the boy and his toward them. The committee should know exactly what educational opportunities are available, whether they are suited to the boy's abilities and interests, and whether it is going to be easy, difficult, or almost impossible to effect an educational adjustment in a freindly school atmosphere, devoid of distrust or antagonism. If the boy is to work, the committee needs to know what employment opportunities are available, and what the hours, wages, and working conditions and hazards will be. Last, but by no means least, it should know what connections can be made in order to provide satisfactory

activities and associations during the boy's free time. How, where, and with whom he spends his free time will have an important bearing on his entire social adjustment.

It is imperative that the meetings of this clinic or committee be attended by the parole officers who will be responsible for carrying out any treatment plans that may be devised. The parole officer needs to hear the discussions in order that he may understand why certain recommendations have been made, and how important it is that they be carried out. The committee, in turn, needs the practical point of view of the parole officer, and his opinion as to the feasibility of their plans and the necessity of modifying them because of unchangeable conditions that must be faced.

In the last analysis the degree of success attending placement depends to a very considerable extent on the skill of the parole officer. Some cases, to be sure, tax that skill but slightly. Others tax it to the utmost. No treatment plan, however carefully and expertly arrived at, works automatically. Success or failure is largely conditioned by the personality and the skill of the parole officer, his capacity for influencing boys, and his ability to interpret their problems and needs, and to win the wholehearted interest and cooperation of parents, teachers, employers, and fellow-workers in health, recreation, and welfare agencies, both public and private. Regrettably, many of these officers have little sympathy and no genuine liking for boys whom they consider "bad." The successful parole officer will have such sympathy and liking so broad, so deep, and so articulate as to be infectious.

#### Discharge

In one of the institutions studied discharge was automatic when the boy reached his seventeenth or eighteenth birthday, depending on the age specified in the court commitment. In the others commitment was for the period of minority, but the authorities granting parole also had power to give a final discharge short of the twenty-first birthday in three of these four States. In one of them advantage was taken of this regulation in a rather automatic procedure by means of which boys who remained on parole one year without violation and without being returned to the institution were automatically recommended for discharge. A new commitment was thereafter required for their return. In another of the four institutions a boy was usually released or discharged on recommendation of his placement officer after about 2 years without violation or return. In the other two institutions, although active supervision might be very greatly relaxed or entirely discontinued, boys remained under legal control of the institutions until they were automatically discharged by attaining their majority. The only exceptions were in cases in which they were committed to other correctional institutions before they were 21 years of age, or, in one institution, if they married or enlisted in the Army or the Navy.

### 18. CONCLUDING STATEMENT

No attempt is made in this report to suggest a complete set of minimum standards for institutions for delinquent boys. It would be very difficult to agree on minimum standards that would be applicable in all the States. A standard reasonable to expect in one might be so far beyond early attainment in another as to discourage effort, whereas in still another it might represent an absurdly low level. Far

more important than the achievement of fixed minimum standards are clear recognition of the fundamental objectives of such institutions and maintenance of an open mind as to the means by which those objectives are to be achieved. The best standards are flexible ones, which continually absorb into themselves new goals set by the constantly changing concepts of what institutional treatment should be, as experience shows certain methods to be ineffective and others to hold promise of greater usefulness.

Fixed standards may well be regarded with distrust even though they be labeled minimum. It might be possible to set fairly satisfactory standards for the institutional plant and its equipment; but the most perfect plant fails disastrously in redirecting boys' lives unless manned by exactly the right kind of personnel. No doubt an agreement could be reached as to the training and experience believed to be essential, or at least highly desirable, as preparation for performing different types of institutional work; and the development of standards of this sort here as in other fields of social work is highly desirable. It might even be possible to set up certain general requirements as to character and personality traits. But as yet scientific method has produced no tests by which the presence or absence of certain personal capacities may be determined. Anyone with a wide acquaintance with delinquent boys and with persons who work among them knows that individuals differ enormously in their capacity for winning the liking, loyalty, respect, and confidence of such boys and consequently differ in their ability to influence individual boys in directions considered desirable. This capacity is one of those for which no measure has yet been found.

In other words, an institution with a plant rated poor may do an excellent job by virtue of the quality of its personnel. On the other hand, an institution with an excellent plant may largely fail in its objectives because of the poor quality of its human relationships. That institution approaches the ideal which manages to combine excellence of plant and equipment with a preponderance of personnel richly endowed with this capacity to influence boys.

Given a good plant and high-grade personnel, that institution will probably travel farthest along the road to success which utilizes to the fullest extent such materials and methods as educators possessed of vision and courage and mental hygienists endowed with insight and practical wisdom are devising and recommending as promising a more effective approach to the problems of maladjustment in children and youth. All too little is known as yet about the mental and emotional life of children and the motivation of conduct in the individual. One thing seems to have emerged clearly out of the study and research of the past decade, in relation to conduct problems. That is the great variety of mental and emotional experiences and attitudes which may lie behind almost identical behavior incidents, such as instances of minor theft. Treatment, if it is to be genuinely corrective, obviously must be directed toward the removal or realignment of these impelling forces. Since these differ from case to case, treatment must differ in similar fashion. This is one of the things that has given such impetus to the trend toward individualization of treatment in work with juvenile delinquents and that has occasioned the growing mistrust of the efficacy of mass treatment, of repressive measures, and of "punishment to fit the offense."

This newer approach to the problem tends to bring about a multitude of changes within the institutional program and to reveal the necessity for much closer integration of the institution's activities with those of the communities whose boys it serves. Learning to live together is a continuous process. All attempts to guide, help, or direct that process need to be correlated if conflict is to be avoided. The time is ripe for experimentation along the line of bringing the institution into closer continuous working relation with local agencies—the juvenile court, the police, the health centers, the guidance clinics, the schools, and all recreational and child and family welfare organizations. This integration would mean more intelligent service for the individual and it would help to expose those basic causes of maladjustment which are making criminals of some children and unhappy, inefficient adults of many more.

Isolation, either geographical or social, but especially the latter, is one of the severest handicaps from which an institution may suffer. A boy may become adjusted to institution life very satisfactorily, but that would be no guarantee that he would be able to make adjustment to community life with a similar degree of success. His ability to meet the problems of social living outside the institution would depend largely upon two things: First, whether the institution had in fact helped him to meet daily life as he found it, making for himself those choices that are essential for harmony in group life; and, second, whether the return to the community was effected easily and without severe handicap in the form of unfriendly or antagonistic attitudes on the part of the community toward the boy and the institution, or on the part of the boy toward the institution and the community. This latter requirement cannot be fulfilled if an institution releases boys whose institutional experience has failed to eradicate bitterness aroused by treatment prior to commitment, or whose institutional treatment has inspired in them deep-seated feelings of resentment and hostility. Nor can it be fulfilled if the institution has failed to interpret its work to the communities from which its boys came and to take its place in close working relation to all other agencies functioning in the interest of children and young persons.

In part 2 of this report, which will attempt to analyze the problems of boys after they were released from these five State institutions, it is hoped that some additional light may be thrown on the subject of services the institution should perform.

## Appendix A.—SAMPLE MENUS<sup>1</sup>

### BOYS' MENU FOR THE WEEK ENDED SEPTEMBER 28, 1931

WHITTIER STATE SCHOOL, WHITTIER, CALIF.

Day	Breakfast	Dinner	Supper
Sunday	Stewed fruit Corn mush, milk and sugar Boiled egg Bread and butter, cocoa	Veal stew with vegetables Mashed potatoes Beet salad Doughnuts and jam Milk	Split-pea soup Buttered carrots Cabbage salad Fresh fruit Bread and butter Sugar cookies, milk
Monday	Stewed fruit Rolled oats Milk and sugar Fried bacon Bread and butter, cocoa	Red Mexican beans Chili, with meat Vegetable salad Boiled custard Milk	Rice and lamb with onions Boiled cabbage Vegetable salad Fresh fruit Currant cake, milk
Tuesday	Stewed fruit Hominy grits, milk and sugar Bread and butter Boiled egg Coffee cake, cocoa	Macaroni and cheese Combination salad Bread and butter Short cake Milk	Wieners, potato salad Buttered beets Sliced tomatoes Fresh fruit Gingerbread, butter, milk
Wednesday	Stewed fruit Hot cakes, sirup Bread and butter Fried bacon Sweet rolls, cocoa	Baked beans Cabbage salad Rusks Milk	Baked hash Summer squash Sliced cucumbers Fresh fruit Vanilla cake, milk
Thursday	Stewed fruit Corn mush, milk and sugar Bread and butter Boiled egg Coffee cake, cocoa	Potato chowder Vegetable salad Sugar cookies Milk	Spaghetti with bacon and tomatoes Creamed onions Carrot and cabbage salad Fresh fruit Lemon cake, butter, milk
Friday	Stewed fruit French toast, sirup Bread and butter Boiled egg Rolls, cocoa	Lima beans Combination salad Rice pudding Milk	Codfish cakes Buttered carrots Coleslaw Fresh fruit Gingerbread, milk
Saturday	Stewed fruit Corn flakes Milk and sugar Bread and butter Coffee cake, cocoa	Vegetable soup Lettuce salad Corn bread Milk	Meat loaf, tomato sauce Mashed potatoes Boiled cabbage Fresh fruit Raisin cake, butter, milk

<sup>1</sup> Furnished by 4 of the 5 institutions included in the study. There was no uniform menu for all colonies in the New York State Agricultural and Industrial School; supplies were issued uniformly and each colony matron was permitted to make such use of them as she thought best. See p. 148.

## BOYS' MENU FOR THE WEEK ENDED MARCH 27, 1932

BOYS' VOCATIONAL SCHOOL, LANSING, MICH.

Day	Breakfast	Dinner	Supper
Sunday	Corn flakes, milk Muffins, bread and butter Boiled eggs Coffee, sugar	Baked ham, brown gravy Mashed potatoes Creamed peas Bread and butter Apple pie Coffee, ice cream	Bread and butter Cottage cheese Fruited gelatine Chocolate milk Cookies, apples
Monday	Cream of wheat Bread and butter Milk, cocoa, sugar	Steamed bologna Steamed potatoes Lima beans Bread and butter Bread pudding	Macaroni and cheese Cherry sauce Bread and butter Cocoa, coffee cake
Tuesday	Shredded wheat Stewed prunes Bread and butter Milk, coffee, sugar	Beef stew Browned potatoes Wax beans Bread and butter Chocolate pudding	Vegetable soup, crackers Plum sauce Bread and butter Tea, cookies, apples
Wednesday	Oatmeal and milk Bread and butter Cocoa, sugar	Beef hash, potatoes Spinach Bread and butter Coffee, pudding	Spanish rice Strawberry sauce Bread and butter Cheese Cocoa, cookies, apples
Thursday	Bran flakes Bread and butter Cocoa, milk, sugar	Spanish stew Steamed potatoes Creamed peas Bread and butter Cocoanut pudding	Chili con carne Crackers Blackberry sauce Bread and butter Tea, cookies, apples
Friday	Corn-meal gruel Stewed apricots Bread and butter Milk, cocoa, sugar	Fried haddock Baked potatoes Tomatoes Bread and butter Coffee, rice pudding	Italian spaghetti Tomato sauce Bread and butter Cocoa, cookies, apples
Saturday	Puffed wheat, milk Bread and butter Coffee, sugar	Frankfurters Fried potatoes Creamed carrots Bread and butter Tapioca pudding	Pork and beans Peach sauce Bread and butter Cocoa, apples



## BOYS' MENU FOR THE WEEK ENDED MARCH 6, 1932

NEW JERSEY STATE HOME FOR BOYS, JAMESBURG, N.J.

Day	Breakfast	Dinner	Supper
Sunday	Shredded wheat, milk, sugar Bread, butter Cocoa, milk	Frankfurters Baked beans with pork Bread, butter, catsup Fruit gelatine, milk	Cheese, potato salad Dressing Bread and butter Milk, sugar cake
Monday	Stewed prunes Steamed rice, milk, sugar Milk	Creamed beef Steamed potatoes Buttered string beans Bread, milk	Vegetable soup with stock Peanut butter, bread Milk, apples
Tuesday	Apple butter Oatmeal, milk, sugar Bread, cocoa	Beef stew with pota- toes, onions, carrots, peas, beans, celery, tomatoes, turnips Bread, milk, jelly	Sliced bologna Steamed potatoes Bread and butter, molasses Cookies, milk
Wednesday	Stewed raisins Farina, milk, sugar Bread, cocoa	Boiled eggs Sweet potatoes, car- rots Salad with pineapple Bread, butter, milk	Baked macaroni, cheese Tomatoes Bread, fruit jelly Milk, apples
Thursday	Grape jam Corn-meal mush, milk, sugar Bread, milk	Sausage meat, onions Gravy, mashed pota- toes Bread, milk	Split-pea soup with stock Peanut butter, bread Stewed raisins Milk
Friday	Apple sauce Boiled rice, milk, sugar Bread, cocoa	Codfish, mashed pota- toes Stewed tomatoes Bread, milk Apple pie	Boiled eggs Sweet potatoes Bread and butter Milk, apples
Saturday	Peach butter Oatmeal, milk, sugar Bread, cocoa	Browned pork stew with potatoes and onions String beans Bread, milk	Sliced bologna Pickled beets with onions Bread and butter Milk, apples

## BOYS' MENU FOR THE WEEK ENDED MARCH 26, 1932

BOYS' INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, LANCASTER, OHIO

Day	Breakfast	Dinner	Supper
Sunday	Bran flakes, sugar Milk, bread, apple butter Coffee substitute	Pot-roast ham Potatoes and corn Pickles, bread Apple pie, milk	Stewed kidney beans Sliced bologna Bread, butter Apples, milk
Monday	Rolled oats, sugar Milk, bread Apple sauce Coffee substitute	Boiled pork and kraut Chocolate pudding Bread, butter Milk	Macaroni and tomatoes Jacket potatoes Bread, butter Apples, tea
Tuesday	Corn flakes, sugar Milk, bread Butter, sirup Coffee substitute	Pot-roast beef and onions Creamed rice Bread Apples, milk	Creamed dried peas Tomato relish Bread, butter Apples, cookies, tea
Wednesday	Corn-meal mush, sugar Milk, bread Apple sauce Coffee substitute	Vegetable soup, crack- ers Raw kraut Bread, butter Peach pie, milk	Hot wieners Jacket potatoes Catsup, bread Apples, cookies, tea
Thursday	Bran flakes, sugar Milk, bread Apple sauce Coffee substitute	Stewed navy beans and pork Bread, butter, pickles Apples, cookies, tea	Baked hash Buttered beets Bread Apples, cookies, tea
Friday	Rolled oats, sugar Milk, bread Apple butter Coffee substitute	Boiled pork and kraut Buttered potatoes Bread Apples, cookies, tea	Creamed dried corn Tomato relish Bread, butter Buns, tea
Saturday	Corn flakes, sugar Milk, bread Apple sauce Coffee substitute	Potato soup, crackers Bread, pickled beets Apples, cookies, tea	Cold sliced beef Creamed rice Bread, catsup Apples, cookies, tea

## Appendix B.—OUTLINE OF TRADE COURSE, SHOP INSTRUCTOR'S REPORT, AND SAMPLE LESSONS

### OUTLINE OF COURSE IN AUTOMOBILE MECHANICS, NEW JERSEY STATE HOME FOR BOYS<sup>1</sup>

- I. WASHING AND GREASING
  - A. Automobiles.
  - B. Tractors.
  - C. Farm implements.
- II. AUTOMOBILE REPAIR
  - A. Front axle and steering gear.
    - 1. Straightening axle.
    - 2. Straightening knuckle arm.
    - 3. Replacing bolt and bushings.
    - 4. Adjusting steering gear.
    - 5. Overhauling radius rod (if Ford)
  - B. Engine work:
    - 1. Grinding and adjusting valves.
    - 2. Reseating and refacing valves.
    - 3. Replacing valve-lifter guides.
    - 4. Adjusting main bearings.
    - 5. Adjusting connecting-rod bearings.
    - 6. Fitting new connecting-rod bearings.
    - 7. Fitting new main bearings.
    - 8. Fitting new piston rings.
    - 9. Fitting new wrist pins and bushings.
    - 10. Replacing cam-shaft bushing.
    - 11. Scraping carbon.
    - 12. Cutting and fitting gaskets.
    - 13. Replacing manifold gaskets.
    - 14. Scraping main engine bearings.
    - 15. Timing engine.
    - 16. Silent chain care.
    - 17. Removing cylinder head.
    - 18. Replacing cylinder head.
    - 19. Shellacking cylinder head to prevent compression leaks.
    - 20. Fitting new pistons.
  - C. Clutch transmission and universals:
    - 1. Removing transmission bands.
    - 2. Relining transmission bands.
    - 3. Replacing gear and bearing.
    - 4. Adjusting clutch on all cars.
    - 5. Relining a disk or plate clutch.
    - 6. Installing new clutch springs.
    - 7. Installing new clutch bearings.
    - 8. Repairing a spinning clutch.
    - 9. Repairing a grabbing clutch.
    - 10. Repairing a slipping clutch.
    - 11. Refacing disk clutches and installing new cork insert.
  - D. Rear axle and brakes:
    - 1. Installing new gears in the differential.
    - 2. Installing new ring gear and pinion.
    - 3. Installing new bearings in rear-axle housing.
    - 4. Installing new key in drive pinion.
    - 5. Replacing broken axle.
    - 6. Overhauling split axle housing.
    - 7. Pulling rear wheels.
    - 8. Adjusting rear-axle level and pinion gears.
    - 9. Removing universal from car.
    - 10. Disassembling rear axle.
    - 11. Inspecting and reassembling.
    - 12. Adjusting external brake bands.
    - 13. Adjusting internal expanding brakes.
    - 14. Removing grease and oil from brakes.
    - 15. Relining brakes.
    - 16. Repairing squeaking brakes.
  - E. Oiling system:
    - 1. Cleaning valve stems, guides, and piston rings.
    - 2. General instruction for draining, flushing, and refilling engine crank case.
    - 3. Repairing and inspecting oiling system.
  - F. Cooling system:
    - 1. Caring for radiator hose.
    - 2. Removing radiator.
    - 3. Repairing radiator with liquid compound.
    - 4. Overhauling water pump.
    - 5. Packing water pump.
    - 6. Replacing or repairing fan belt.
  - G. Fuel system:
    - 1. Adjusting carburetor.
    - 2. Installing carburetor.
    - 3. Installing vacuum tank.
    - 4. Overhauling vacuum tank.
    - 5. Overhauling all carburetors.

<sup>1</sup> See Educational Program; plan of organization and description of activities (New Jersey State Home for Boys, 1930), p. 67. In regard to the methods of instruction see chap. IV of this report, p. 110.

## II. AUTOMOBILE REPAIR—Con.

## H. Ignition:

1. Testing coils.
2. Repairing all ignition systems.
3. Cleaning spark plugs.
4. Repairing distributor.
5. Repairing magneto.
6. Repairing magneto switch.

## I. Generators and starting motors:

1. Cleaning commutator and brushes on motor or generator.
2. Adjusting generator charge.
3. Adjusting Wagner starting motor.
4. Adjusting Buick Delco-motor generator.
5. Adjusting Remy Oldsmobile system.

## II. AUTOMOBILE REPAIR—Con.

## I. Generators and starting motors—Continued.

6. Fitting brushes and sanding commutator.

## J. Wiring and lighting:

1. Replacing fuse.
2. Adjusting and cleaning lamps.
3. Replacing light bulbs.
4. Replacing and cleaning lighting switch.
5. Repairing old wire troubles.
6. Splicing lighting cable.
7. Attaching wire to lamp sockets.
8. Installing and wiring ammeter.
9. Test for locating lighting troubles.

**SHOP INSTRUCTOR'S REPORT ON CONDUCT AND PROGRESS OF  
BOYS ENROLLED IN TRADE-TRAINING COURSES, NEW YORK STATE  
AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL <sup>2</sup>**

BOY'S NAME ----- TRADE—ELECTRIC SHOP

INSTRUCTOR PREPARING REPORT ----- DATE -----

**ELECTRICIAN'S TRADE-TRAINING REPORT**

	Number of hours	Rating		Number of hours	Rating
<i>I. Care of shop equipment</i>			<i>III. House wiring using flexible cable on shop practice house</i>		
Care of tools.....	-----	-----	1. Wire two lights in cellar with pilot light in kitchen on single pole flush switch.....	-----	-----
To learn the principles of the lever and their application to the use of tools and tightening wire.....	-----	-----	2. Wire lights in upper and lower halls controlled by two three-ways and one four-way.....	-----	-----
Proper use of materials.....	-----	-----	3. Wire one light in closet using a door switch.....	-----	-----
Safety precautions.....	-----	-----	4. Wire one light in entrance controlled by single pole switch under three-gang plate.....	-----	-----
Making soldering and taping joints.....	-----	-----	5. Wire outlet in living room controlled by three-point electrolier switch.....	-----	-----
Splicing wire from size 18 to 500,000 cm.....	-----	-----	6. Wire two side lights at medicine chest both controlled by two three-ways.....	-----	-----
Sleeve twisting solid wire from size 18 to no. 0.....	-----	-----	7. Install 12 base plugs with special attention to not overloading circuits.....	-----	-----
Sweating sleeves on large and small cables.....	-----	-----	8. Wire store window with direct and indirect lighting.....	-----	-----
Sweating on lugs and connectors.....	-----	-----	9. Assemble and wire a five-letter sign with connections to a 50-point flasher making seven combinations.....	-----	-----
Installing solderless type connectors.....	-----	-----	10. Change switches and wiring of entire house to a master switch control in bedroom.....	-----	-----
Knowledge of wire sizes and capacities.....	-----	-----	11. Estimating wiring jobs.....	-----	-----
<i>II. Shop preparatory work</i>			12. Install a four-drop annunciator with buttons at front door, bedroom, living room and a floor switch.....	-----	-----
Wire one bell controlled from three points.....	-----	-----	<i>IV. Shop jobs</i>		
Series and parallel battery connections.....	-----	-----	Small jobs in metal moulding.....	-----	-----
Installing bell transformer.....	-----	-----	Install a combination open and closed circuit burglar alarm with an annunciator in the shop on the 26 windows, one sliding door and two swinging doors with relay on closed circuit for constant ringing.....	-----	-----
Wire two bells connected from three points.....	-----	-----	Install a two-wire service for a two-family flat with grounded secondary, connecting watt-hour meters and testing.....	-----	-----
Wire a return call bell system.....	-----	-----	Install a three-wire single-phase service with grounded neutral.....	-----	-----
Wire a combination bell and buzzer controlled from two points.....	-----	-----	Install both open and closed R.R. crossing signal including bells and lamps.....	-----	-----
Wire and install a four-drop electrical reset annunciator.....	-----	-----	<i>V. Conduit wiring</i>		
Use of D.C. voltmeter.....	-----	-----	Cutting conduit.....	-----	-----
Use of D.C. ammeter.....	-----	-----	Set up and cut threads on a threading machine.....	-----	-----
Wire and test a group of lights controlled by a field rheostat used as a dimmer using cleat receptacles.....	-----	-----			
Make a study of conductors.....	-----	-----			
Make a study of insulating materials.....	-----	-----			
Problems related to the combination of resistances.....	-----	-----			
Heating effects of current in a conductor.....	-----	-----			
Use of hand books.....	-----	-----			
Circular mil calculation.....	-----	-----			
Resistance per mil foot.....	-----	-----			
Drop along a conductor.....	-----	-----			
Estimating wire sizes for different efficiency.....	-----	-----			
Transformation of electrical energy to heat.....	-----	-----			
Power in watts and kilowatts.....	-----	-----			
Use of voltmeter A.C.....	-----	-----			
Use of ammeter with current transformer.....	-----	-----			
Calculating cost of power, light, and heat.....	-----	-----			
Action and use of fuses and circuit breakers.....	-----	-----			

<sup>2</sup> For discussion of the method of work and use of this form see chapter V of this report, p. 160.

[Shop instructor's report—Reverse]

	Number of hours	Rating		Number of hours	Rating
<i>V. Conduit wiring—Continued</i>			<i>VII. Telephony—Continued</i>		
Threading.....	.....	.....	Knowledge of line circuits.....	.....	.....
Reaming.....	.....	.....	Knowledge of cord circuits.....	.....	.....
Bending box offsets.....	.....	.....	Knowledge of operators' circuits.....	.....	.....
Bending elbows.....	.....	.....	Knowledge and care of battery and ringing circuits.....	.....	.....
Cutting running threads and their uses.....	.....	.....	Construction of aerial and underground lead cables.....	.....	.....
Strapping.....	.....	.....	Construction of telephone-pole line, including drops (see pole-line construction under power).....	.....	.....
Length and degree of bends allowed.....	.....	.....	<i>VIII. Power-line construction</i>		
Type of materials used in conduits, rigid and underground.....	.....	.....	Laying out.....	.....	.....
Types of conduit fittings and their uses.....	.....	.....	Digging holes.....	.....	.....
Types of boxes: Outlet, junction and distribution, large and small and their application to light and power wiring.....	.....	.....	Cutting gains.....	.....	.....
Pulling in wires and cables, rigid conduit and underground.....	.....	.....	Boring holes.....	.....	.....
Wiring types of fixtures for different purposes.....	.....	.....	Setting poles.....	.....	.....
Types of grounds and why and what they are used for.....	.....	.....	Framing poles for power and telephone arms.....	.....	.....
Install a three-wire three-phase service.....	.....	.....	Installing attachments.....	.....	.....
Install a three-wire three-phase service using flexible conductors.....	.....	.....	Hanging wire.....	.....	.....
Meter connections of a three-wire three-phase service.....	.....	.....	Pulling lines.....	.....	.....
Meter connections of a two-wire single-phase service.....	.....	.....	Installing types of guys.....	.....	.....
Meter reading and inspection of meters installed.....	.....	.....	Installing and connecting transformers.....	.....	.....
Study of effects of water, heat, and acids on conduit.....	.....	.....	Installing and connecting lightning arresters.....	.....	.....
Safety precautions while working in regard to upturned nails.....	.....	.....	Installing and connecting primary and secondary circuits.....	.....	.....
Plaster ceiling.....	.....	.....	Installing and connecting disconnecting switches.....	.....	.....
Fire.....	.....	.....	Expulsion fuse type.....	.....	.....
Proper fixture installation.....	.....	.....	Installing and connecting grounds.....	.....	.....
Grounding all conduit systems.....	.....	.....	Testing for grounds and shorts.....	.....	.....
Proper precautions while working with live wires (always use test lamp).....	.....	.....	<i>IX. Motor work</i>		
Proper care of cuts and punctures of the hands.....	.....	.....	Building small motors to learn fundamentals.....	.....	.....
Use of power saw.....	.....	.....	Building an A.C. fractional horsepower motor from unfinished castings to finished product.....	.....	.....
<i>VI. Stock-room and office work</i>			Study electrical and mechanical principles involved in motor building and repair.....	.....	.....
Care of materials.....	.....	.....	How to set up and turn armature in an engine lathe.....	.....	.....
Knowledge of tools, equipment, and materials.....	.....	.....	Build a 5-amp. battery charger tube type.....	.....	.....
Inventory of entire shop.....	.....	.....	Build a bell-ringing transformer.....	.....	.....
Job lot selling to the consumer.....	.....	.....	Build a 1 K.V. A. distribution transformer dry type.....	.....	.....
Discount and freight.....	.....	.....	Study and make A.C. transformer connections.....	.....	.....
Shop records.....	.....	.....	Study and make A.C. motor connections.....	.....	.....
Appliance repair work.....	.....	.....	Install by underwriter code a 15-horsepower A.C. motor and auto starter with remote control.....	.....	.....
<i>VII. Telephony</i>			Install by underwriter code a 15-horsepower A.C. motor using a compensator.....	.....	.....
New construction and maintenance on a 120-station common battery and conference system.....	.....	.....	Study the action of a repulsion start motor.....	.....	.....
Study of induction and impedance.....	.....	.....	Obtain output of small motors by pony-brake method.....	.....	.....
Repair desk sets.....	.....	.....	Inspection and oil of motors from 1-4 H.P. to 50 H.P. on plant.....	.....	.....
Repair wall sets.....	.....	.....	Connect and run test on three distinct types of D.C. motors and starters.....	.....	.....
Acting wire chief.....	.....	.....	Read loads and other characteristics of A.C. and D.C. motors by use of meters.....	.....	.....
Tests for continuity shorts, grounds, tests for crosses with other telephone or power lines.....	.....	.....			
Clearing trouble in domestic and office buildings.....	.....	.....			
Clearing trouble on pole-line construction.....	.....	.....			
Knowledge of common battery switchboards.....	.....	.....			

SAMPLE LESSONS, NEW YORK STATE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL<sup>3</sup>

## APPLIED MATHEMATICS—ELECTRICAL SHOP

Lesson ----

-----  
Instructor.

## OHM'S LAW

- I. *Objective.*—To learn how to find the ohms in a circuit by using Ohm's Law.
- II. *Introductory information.*—Refer to the information you have written up on Ohm's Law.
- III. *Rule 3 of Ohm's Law.*—The resistance of a conductor is found by dividing the potential difference between the terminals of the conductor by the current flowing through the conductor—

$$\text{Ohms} = \frac{\text{Volts}}{\text{Amps.}} \text{ or } R = \frac{E}{I}$$

For example: If it takes 5 volts to force 0.4 amps. through a telegraph sounder, what is the resistance of the sounder?

$$\text{Solution: } R = \frac{E}{I} = \frac{5}{.4} = 12.5 \text{ ohms. Ans.}$$

- IV. 1. A wet cell (bichromate) has a potential difference of 2 volts across its terminal on open circuit. When the terminals are shortened 8 amperes flow through the short-circuiting wire, what is the internal resistance of the cell?
2. An electric heater is operating on 110 volts. If 10 amperes are passing through the coils when hot, what is the hot resistance of the heater?
3. An electromagnet used for lifting purposes uses 7 amperes at 100 volts. Find the resistance of the magnet coil.
4. A 220-volt motor is using 2.75 amperes. What is the apparent resistance of the motor?
5. A rheostat with all its coils in operation is connected into a 120-volt circuit. What is the combined hot resistance of the coils if the current in the coils is 2 amperes?

Copy the above rule for resistance in Ohm's Law data.

<sup>3</sup> For discussion of the trade training in which lessons of the type shown were used see chap. V of this report, p. 160.

## APPLIED SCIENCE—ELECTRICAL SHOP

Information sheet

-----  
Instructor.

Lesson ----

I. *Objectives.*—To study kinds of currents.

- (a) Mechanical method, mechanical energy such as power given off from a steam engine or water wheel connected to an electric generator is then converted into electrical energy. As an example we may give the electric generator in which the machine is ordinarily energized by steam power or water power.
- (b) Chemical method. Fixed chemical energy is converted in electrical energy; as an example, we have the battery cell in which certain chemical reactions occur, changing the unavailable chemical energy of the materials into available electrical energy.
1. *Continuous current.*—A continuous current is one in which the direction is constant and in which the amount of the flow does not vary. If the external resistance is sufficiently large, a storage battery will give a continuous current for some time.
  2. *Pulsating current.*—A pulsating current is one in which the current is constant in direction, but in which the current strength rises and falls. (Strictly speaking.) A direct-current generator delivers a pulsating current.
  3. *Direct current.*—A direct current is one in which the direction of current is constant, but in which the current strength rises and falls slightly. In speaking of a direct current we generally mean a current delivered by a direct-current generator. A direct current is really a pulsating current whose flow varies so little that we have the equivalent of a continuous current.
  4. *Alternating current.*—An alternating current is one in which the flow reverses its direction at fixed intervals. During the period between reversals it increases from zero to maximum, then diminishes from maximum to zero. An alternating current is readily transformed and can be transmitted to distant points more cheaply than a direct current.
  5. *Oscillatory current.*—An oscillatory current is one in which the current reverses in direction a great many times a second, but in which the current diminishes from maximum until all flow stops. The discharge of a condenser is oscillatory. The frequency of an oscillatory current is sometimes almost inconceivably high, often running into millions of complete oscillations per second.
  6. *Interrupted currents.*—An interrupted current is one in which the current is made and broken at fixed intervals. The sign flasher employs such a current.

II. *Assignment.*—Copy and memorize the above statements as they will be asked for on examination.



MECHANICAL DRAWING—ELECTRICAL DRAWING SYMBOLS

PLATE 41A—36 B

I. *The problem—*

1. To lay out and draw the plate of electrical symbols below, and to learn how to recognize their meanings.

II. *Suggestions for procedure—*

1. Divide the working space of your plate into 20 equal squares, using the dividers.
2. Be sure to use guide lines when doing the lettering connected with each symbol.





















GENERAL INFORMATION

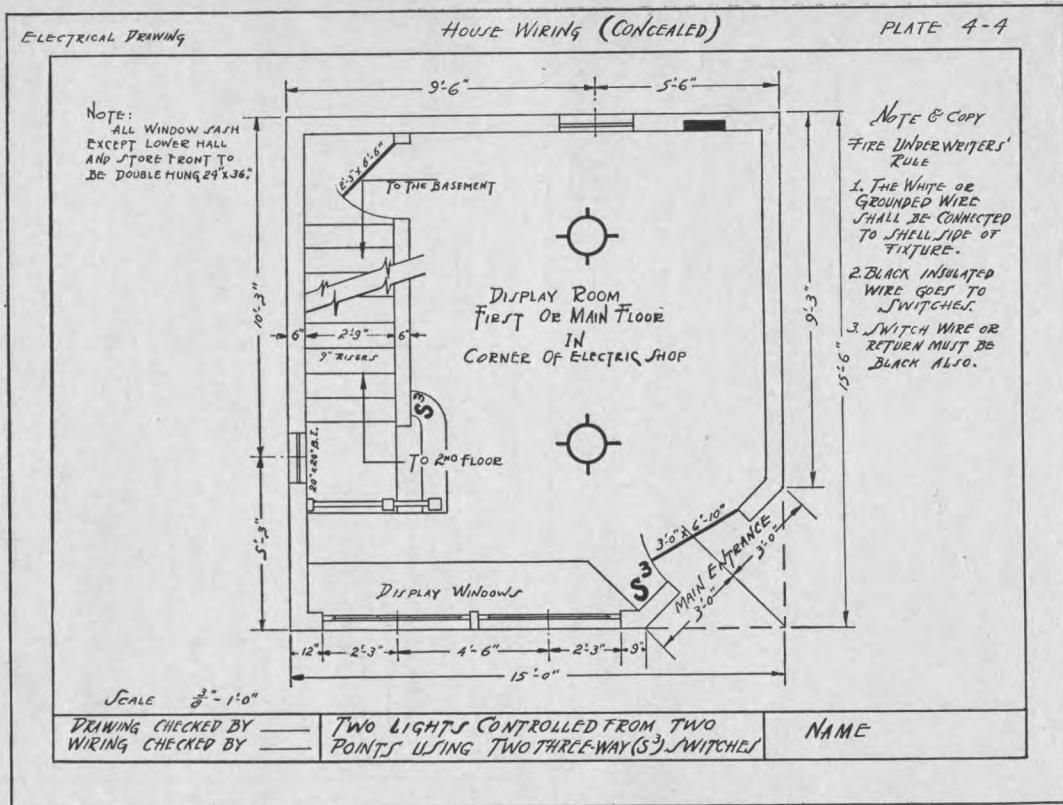
**ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING:** It is the job of the electrical engineer to apply all his knowledge to practical use. For example, he designs and supervises the building of hydroelectric power plants, he designs electrical machines, he plans and supervises the construction of transmission lines, he designs electrical devices, such as switches, transformers, and the like, he supervises the installation of electrical equipment, and so on. Like other engineers, he must be able to express his designs by means of mechanical drawings.

Electrical engineering is one of the most interesting of the technical professions. Because of this fact, it is becoming a field in which there is a great deal of competition. Young men are rushing into the work in large numbers. This of course means that only the most capable students can hope for success. Before entering upon a course of training, a young man should assure himself that he has a real interest in science and mechanics and that he has more than ordinary ability in mathematics.

**SOURCE FOR FURTHER STUDY:** Wade: *Everyday Electricity.*  
 Jones: *Essentials of Applied Electricity.*

*PLATE 36B-41A*

				
CEILING OUTLET	WALL BRACKET	EXIT LIGHT	LIGHTING PANEL	BELL
				
CEILING FAN OUTLET	WALL LAMP RECEPTACLE	FLOOR OUTLET	LOCAL SWITCH (SINGLE POLE)	BUZZER
				
DROP CORD	JUNCTION BOX	MOTOR	BRANCH CIRCUIT (RUN EXPOSED)	POWER PANEL
				
PUSH BUTTON	BATTERY	PUBLIC TELEPHONE	BRANCH CIRCUIT (RUN CONCEALED)	TRANSFORMER
ELECTRIC SYMBOLS				NAME

MECHANICAL DRAWING—ELECTRICAL DRAWING  
SYMBOLS, page 2

## MOTOR INFORMATION (INDUCTION TYPE)

## CARE

Instructor

To insure the best operation, make a systematic inspection at least once a week. Give the following points special attention:

*Cleaning.*—Treat a motor as you would any other high-grade apparatus. Dirt, dust, and oil should not be allowed to accumulate in the motor. Compressed air or a hand bellows should be used frequently to blow all dirt and dust out of the motor. Any oil which may overflow from the bearings should be wiped from the motor. A little attention in this regard will result in continued satisfactory operating results and enable the motor to give the best service for many years.

*Bearings.*—Prevent excessive heating and wear of all bearings by proper lubrication, belt tension, and alinement. Where the air gap has become close on one side, replace the bearings. Wear of the bearings will cause a closing up of the air gap on one side and may allow the rotor iron to strike the stator iron, resulting in trouble.

*Oil wells.*—Before starting the motor, wash out the bearings with kerosene or gasoline to remove any dirt or cinders which may have accumulated after motor has left the factory; then replace the drainage plugs, after dipping them in a mixture of red lead and shellac to prevent leakage. Tighten plugs securely. Fill the oil wells through the oil holes at the top with a good grade of light mineral oil (not heavy cylinder oil, animal fat, or vegetable oil). Fill bearing with enough oil to cause oil to appear at the overflow at the side of the bearing. To avoid incorrect oil level, never oil the motor when running. Do not use oil so thin that it splatters or is thrown off of the oil ring. Refill the oil wells at regular intervals, the frequency depending upon local conditions, such as severity or continuity of service, cleanliness, etc. If the oil rings rattle, it is a sure indication that there is not sufficient oil in the wells.

*Heating.*—Do not depend on the hand to determine the temperature of the motor. Use a thermometer. If there is any doubt about a safe operating temperature, take the temperature of the windings and confer with the nearest office of the company. Give complete details.

## OPERATION

Certain precautions are necessary before starting the motor for the first time.

- (1) See that the voltage on the name plate corresponds with the line voltage.
- (2) Make sure that the oil plugs are tight and that the oil wells are filled with a good grade of light mineral oil to the top of the overflows at the side of bearings.
- (3) Remove all external load if possible and turn the rotor by hand to see that it rotates freely.
- (4) Before putting the motor in service it is desirable to run it without load for a short time to determine that there is no unusual heating in bearings or windings.

*Starting.*—When motor is started without a compensator, simply close the line switch. This method applies to type AA and AAH motors.

When starting with hand-operated compensators, move the compensator switch lever to the starting position, and when the motor comes up to speed (in about 5 to 20 seconds) throw the lever quickly to the running position.

*Stopping.*—Motors without compensators can be stopped simply by opening the starting switch. Motors with hand-operated compensators should be stopped by pressing the no-voltage release lever down and the compensator lever will return to "off" position.

## SUPPLIES

When ordering parts, give description and state quantity of parts desired, together with the name plate rating and serial number of motor. This serial number is stamped both on the name plate and end of shaft of the motor. Additional copies of this instruction care or further information will be furnished on application to the company's nearest office.

## Appendix C.—SAMPLE RECORD FORMS

[Original size of each form approximately 8 by 11 inches]

### PREINSTITUTIONAL INVESTIGATIONS

NEW JERSEY STATE HOME FOR BOYS, JAMESBURG

Investigated by \_\_\_\_\_  
Sent to \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ Due \_\_\_\_\_ Rec'd \_\_\_\_\_

NAME	No.	Age	Col.	Religion
Born	Place	Nat'l.		
Rec'd	Offense	County		Judge

MEMBERS OF FAMILY	Address	Age	Nat'l.	Occupation
-------------------	---------	-----	--------	------------

Subject:

Father:

Mother:

Guardian:

Siblings:

School last attended	Address	Principal
----------------------	---------	-----------

Church	Name and address of pastor	Religious denomination
--------	----------------------------	------------------------

WORK RECORD		Age began	Reason
-------------	--	-----------	--------

Occupation	Employer	Address	Duration	Wages	Reason left
------------	----------	---------	----------	-------	-------------

SPECIAL REMARKS:

Investigators must follow instructions furnished by central office and make report on reverse side of this sheet, using additional sheets of same size if necessary. Please type report on upper part of reverse side of this sheet, under heading "Report."

## PREINSTITUTIONAL INVESTIGATIONS, page 2

In making preinstitutional investigations, investigator will use the following outline as given below. Investigations to be signed and dated by the investigator.

## PREVIOUS COURT RECORD

Character of offenses	Date	Place
Judgment	Sentence	

## OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF PRESENT OFFENSE

## FAMILY ACCOUNT OF PRESENT OFFENSE

## HOME CONDITIONS AND ENVIRONMENT (physical)

**FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS:** Financial status of the family; type of training and supervision; religious and moral training, etc.

**RELIGION:** Church attendance prior to commitment; offender's and family's attitude toward religious duties.

**SUBJECT'S CHARACTER:** Habits; reputation; companions; church attendance; cause for delinquencies; health record.

**EDUCATION:** Name and address of school last attended; age started school; age left; reason; highest grade reached; grades repeated; conduct; mental age; etc.

**OCCUPATIONAL OUTLETS:** What are occupational outlets in home district?

**SPECIAL REMARKS:** Are home conditions and family relationships such that this subject would have a reasonable chance of succeeding if paroled home?

PREPAROLE REPORT

NEW JERSEY STATE HOME FOR BOYS, JAMESBURG

Principal informations { ----- Date requested -----  
 ----- Date due -----  
 ----- Date received -----

Investigated by ----- Date -----

Full name ----- No. ----- Years in New Jersey -----

County committed from -----

Date of birth ----- How verified ----- Age -----

Nat. ----- Color -----

Birth place ----- Address -----

Rec'd ----- Charge ----- Religion -----

Number of times on parole -----

HOME INVESTIGATION made by ----- Date -----

Do you recommend that this subject be paroled to home? -----

To placement? -----

[Parole report—Reverse]

## INSTITUTIONAL RECORD OF SUBJECT --

Trade knowledge ----- Months ----- Good ----- Fair ----- Poor -----

Industrial training -----

School accomplishment -----

Type of school to attend if paroled -----

Kind of work wanted if paroled -----

Working papers needed -----

Special information desired -----

Scout training -----

Height ----- Weight -----

Special physical defects -----

If subject is paroled are parents able and willing to pay for railroad fare? -----

Supply clothes? -----

Explain -----

Will some one call for subject if paroled? ----- Who? -----

Name and address of pastor -----

Type of work secured ----- Wages ----- Hours -----

Name and address of employer -----

Name of sponsor or person interested -----

Describe school facilities -----

Is there a Scout troop nearby ----- Name -----

Give amount of family's weekly income -----

NOTE: All comments should be put on this report and not on communications.

## NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

## DIVISION OF PAROLE

In making preparole investigations investigator will use the following outline as given below. Investigations to be signed and dated by the investigator.

HOME CONDITION:

NEIGHBORHOOD:

FAMILY:

TYPE OF SUPERVISION:

PLANS FOR WARD:

SPECIAL REMARKS:





[Preliminary investigation and case history—Reverse]

## SCHOOL RECORD

Public or private ----- City ----- Previous schools ----- Present grade  
 ----- Grades repeated ----- Effects of nonpromotion -----  
 Special interests ----- Special dislikes -----  
 Please note any special behavior problems and what you have found successful  
 in solving them; e.g., re cooperation, interest, attention, initiative, leadership,  
 participation in class and play, persistence (any outstanding features and those  
 only).  
 NAME OF PRINCIPAL ----- ABSENCES last 12 months -----

Please answer (on the following pages) the following questions in the order given, writing the corresponding number before each answer. Be concise but give fully any essential details. Omit numbers where there is nothing outstanding which would help our clinic.

1. Institutional record. Name and location of. Why sent. Record there. Dates.
2. Clinical (psychiatric) record. When and by whom made. Nature and contents of.
3. Why or why not the boy should be paroled to his own home.
4. Why or why not the boy should be paroled to same neighborhood.
5. What disposition should be made of boy on parole?
6. What changes should be made before parole and who will care for this?
7. Special interests of boy; e.g., mechanical, drawing, athletics. Explain fully.
8. Associates: age and sex of, large or small groups, caliber of, reputation of, influence on boy.
9. Leadership and initiative of boy—in what respect; retains friends?
10. How controlled at home. Types of punishment used. Parents strict, lax, repressive, interfere with each other, punishment certain? What punishment appeals to boy?
11. Medical history of boy, such as T.B., meningitis convulsions, other diseases leaving permanent results.
12. Stealing—how long, nature and amount of theft, reaction when caught, what is done with articles stolen, why he steals?
13. Lying—protective, for sympathy, reactions when found out.
14. Sex habits.
15. Truancy, from home or school, frequency of, how long, reactions when caught?
16. Temper displays, nature of, how manifested and why, reactions afterward?
17. Sleep habits, such as night terrors, grinding of teeth in sleep?
18. Peculiar habits such as biting nails, which might be indicative of mental disturbances.
19. EMPLOYMENT RECORD: Mention previous employers, kind of employment, wages received, reasons for leaving.

## STATE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, INDUSTRY, N. Y.

....., Superintendent Parole Department

....., Assistant Superintendent, Director of Parole

## AGENT'S HOME INVESTIGATION—PRELIMINARY

Boy's name .....	What assistance did you receive from the court during this investigation?
Date of birth .....	
Home address .....	
Date of admission .....	
Why committed .....	

1. Information concerning parents. Report separately for father and mother including each of the following points in each case: real or step-relation, address, relationship with each other, own or rent property, number of rooms, rent paid, condition of home, weekly income, number in home, reasons for or against recommending home of father or mother. In case home of parents unfit and holds no promise of improvement report also similar information regarding relatives who might care for boy.

2. What are the present prospects for the boy's employment when paroled?
3. What prospects has he of joining the scouts, the "Y", the K. of C., or some other club?
4. What type of home reconstruction is advisable and possible?

## STATE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, INDUSTRY, N. Y.

-----, Superintendent, PAROLE DEPARTMENT

-----, Assistant Superintendent, Director of Parole

## AGENT'S HOME INVESTIGATION PENDING PAROLE

Boy's name -----	Date for parole consideration -----
Date of birth -----	To attend school? -----
Home address -----	Trade here -----
Date of admission -----	Religion? -----
Why committed -----	Scout -----
-----	-----
-----	-----

1. Will the judge forward his recommendations on time?
2. What assistance did you receive from the court during this investigation?

3. Information concerning parents. Report separately for father and mother including each of the following points in each case: Real or step-relation, address, relationship with each other, own or rent property, number of rooms, rent paid, condition of home, weekly income, number in home, reasons for or against recommending home of father or mother. This report should be a comparison or a contrast with report sent when boy was committed, including any changes in residence or of home conditions.

[Agent's home investigation—Reverse]

4. In case home of either parent is unsatisfactory, report here the same information concerning any relative satisfactory to judge and you who can and will care for the boy free. 5. If boy is under 16 and cannot be recommended for a return to home or relatives, what arrangements will the judge and you make for his case at expense of his city or county? This must be done and this question answered accordingly. The type of home may await your reception of the summary. 6. What prospects has the boy of employment, especially in trade studied here? 7. What prospects has he of joining the Scouts, the Y.M.C.A., the K. of C., or some other club?

[STATE SEAL]

STATE OF NEW YORK

STATE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, INDUSTRY, NEW YORK

....., Superintendent

....., Assistant Superintendent, Director of Parole

SUMMARY AND FINAL REPORT

Name .....

Date of birth .....

Admitted .....

Committed from ..... County

Religion.....

Race .....

NOTE.—These summaries are most strictly confidential. They are for the guidance of our field agents, judges and by those social agents *already familiar* with the family and social background of the boy. They are also open to school superintendents. They are not intended consequently to include a complete social history of the boys. Clinic, school, and shop records are attached.

RELATIVES—WITH ADDRESS AND COMMENTS

Father .....

.....

Mother .....

.....

Other relatives who might care for boy .....

.....

.....

.....

List of agencies interested—

312 FIVE STATE INSTITUTIONS FOR DELINQUENT BOYS

[Summary and Final Report, Page 2]

COLONY REPORT

MEDICAL REPORT

RECOMMENDATIONS as gathered from case history, judge's report, supervisor's report, and clinic's report

## REPORT OF RECEIVING-COTTAGE OFFICER

BOYS' VOCATIONAL SCHOOL, LANSING, MICHIGAN

Number -----

City -----

INFORMATION RE ----- Entered -----  
(Last name) (First name)Born ----- In ----- Of ----- Parentage -----  
(Date) (State) (County) (Race)

General appearance:

---

Family history as related by the boy:

---

Previous personal habits as stated by the boy:

---

Likes to read

---

Habitual delinquencies as acknowledged by the boy:

Spent his evenings until

Associated with a gang known as

Has been in a detention home ----- times for reasons ascribed herein leading to present commitment:

---

Has been before a judge ----- times.

## REPORT OF RECEIVING-COTTAGE OFFICER—Reverse

## DEGREES OF RESPONSE TO TRAINING THE FIRST MONTH

To rules of conduct: \_\_\_\_\_

To methods of correction: \_\_\_\_\_

To rules of courtesy: \_\_\_\_\_

To request to study: \_\_\_\_\_

His personal appearance bespeaks: \_\_\_\_\_

His attitude toward officials of the school invites: \_\_\_\_\_

His attitude toward other members of the group invites: \_\_\_\_\_

His ability to retain corrective instruction is: \_\_\_\_\_

In applying this instruction, he is: \_\_\_\_\_

His mental status as compared with other members of this group appears to be: \_\_\_\_\_

He performs the tasks assigned to him: \_\_\_\_\_

Other prominent characteristics are: \_\_\_\_\_

His previous musical training consists of: \_\_\_\_\_

His musical desires incline toward: \_\_\_\_\_

His vocational experience includes: \_\_\_\_\_

His choice of a vocation would be: \_\_\_\_\_

The reason advanced for this choice is: \_\_\_\_\_

Possible hindrances to assignment of his choice: \_\_\_\_\_

Physical condition: \_\_\_\_\_

Enuresis: \_\_\_\_\_

Stage of genital development: \_\_\_\_\_

Height \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_

Weight \_\_\_\_\_

Grade \_\_\_\_\_

Comprehension \_\_\_\_\_

Former associates in misdemeanor, now inmates of this school are: \_\_\_\_\_

Conduct mark for the month thus far is: \_\_\_\_\_

Other exceptional conditions or behavior not covered by the above: \_\_\_\_\_



PSYCHOMETRIC REPORT

NEW YORK STATE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

Ind.:  
School:

Name ----- Date -----  
 Nativity ----- Nativity parents ----- Racial extraction -----  
 Former school placement ----- Language spoken in home -----  
 School ----- Language spoken in school -----  
 Physical disabilities -----

Chronological age:

Mental age (abstr.) ----- I.Q. -----  
 Mental age (perform.) ----- I.Q. -----  
 Mental age (compos.) ----- I.Q. (compos.) -----

I.Q.	Abstract intelligence	Language abilities	Nonlan. test	Psychological profile		Form board	Mechanical aptitude	Educational
				Porteus maze	Healy P.C. II			
150								
140								
130								
120								
110								
100								
90								
80								
70								
60								
50								
40								
30								

TESTS INCLUDED

Date      Examiner      Test (language)      M.A.      I.Q.      %ile

Test (nonlanguage)      M.A.      I.Q.      %ile

Date      Examiner      Test (special abilities)      M.A.      I.Q.      %ile

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PSYCHOMETRIC REPORT, page 2

Name

Ind.:  
School:

EDUCATIONAL TESTS

Date	Examiner	Test (form)	E.A.	E.Q.	Gr. Equiv.
		Reading			
		Spelling			
		Language usage			
		Literature			
		History and civics			
		Geography			
		Physiology and hygiene			
		Arithmetic reasoning			
		Arithmetic computation			

FORMER TESTS

Date	Examiner	Clinic	Test	M.A.	I.Q.

---

SUMMARY OF PSYCHOMETRIC STUDY

## REPORT FOR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

WHITTIER STATE SCHOOL

Date -----

Name ----- Age ----- Date boy rec'd -----

Transfer recommended -----

*Please underline items after each heading that describe the boy. Explain or add other items after the word "Remarks."*

Average conduct rating: 1 2 3 4 5

*Conduct toward supervisor:* Willing, obedient, friendly, easily handled, respectful, responds to praise, overanxious to win favor, unwilling, disobedient, disrespectful, defiant, difficult to control.*Remarks:**Attitude toward other boys:* Friendly, good mixer, leader, kind, is a good influence, unfriendly, quarrelsome, shy, seclusive, bully, cruel, incites others to do wrong.*Remarks:**Attitude of other boys toward him:* Friendly, they look up to him, seek his companionship, he is popular, they are indifferent to him, avoid him, tease him, consider him queer or goofy, impose on him.*Remarks:**Personality:* Cheerful, calm, frank, intelligent, has initiative, takes responsibility well, dependable, industrious, honest, melancholy, excitable, worries, deceptive, dull, stupid, lazy, cannot be trusted, lies, steals, immoral, cowardly, cries, is a sissy, uses indecent language, swears, has temper outbreaks, daydreams, has noticeable mannerisms.*Remarks:**Habits:* Clean, dirty, neat, untidy, wets bed, masturbates, other habits:*Remarks:**Takes part in sports:* Not at all, very little, average, much, excessively.*Reads:* Not at all, very little, excessively.*Remarks:**Has he planned to run away?* Yes No*Remarks:**Do you think he is likely to try to run away?* Yes No*His school spirit is:* Excellent, good, fair, inferior, poor.*Remarks:**What do you consider his worst trait?**What do you consider his best trait?**Mention desirable friendships and companionships:**Mention undesirable associations or companionships:**Other comments:* (Please note here any further information which may be of use in understanding the boy. Use back of page if necessary.)

(Signed) -----

Cottage supervisor

## COUNSELOR'S REPORT

WHITTIER STATE SCHOOL

Name of boy ----- Counselor ----- Date -----

Cottage ----- Trade -----

List contacts with boy:

Date	Conference sought By boy By counselor	Chief problem discussed
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----

Physical condition: (Please underline) Good Fair Poor

Has boy been in hospital? No Yes How long? ----- Why -----  
 Does he complain of ailments? No Yes What? -----  
 Does he feel inferior physically? No Yes Why? -----  
 Does he need glasses replaced, orthopedic shoes, etc.?

Social adjustment:

To boys in cottage: (underline) Poor Fair Good

To supervisor: Poor Fair Good

Recommend transfer: No Yes Why? -----

To tradesman: Poor Fair Good

Recommend transfer: No Yes Why? -----

To teachers: Poor Fair Good

Recreation:

Do you consider his recreational activities adequate? Yes No

Does the boy consider them so? Yes No

Recommendations:

Family relationship:

How often does boy have visits? ----- Do they disturb him? -----  
 Do they correspond regularly? ----- Does he worry about conditions at home? -----  
 Any significant changes at home, such as divorce, death, births, marriage, change of address, etc.?

In your opinion is the boy making progress here? -----  
 Is he failing to profit by the school program? ----- Why? -----

Suggestions and remarks as to possible ways to improve boy's adjustment:

(Please fill out and return to research office)



## TRADE SHOP RATING CARD

STATE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, INDUSTRY, N.Y.

Name ..... Age ..... Date of birth .....

Date	Colony placement	Shop a.m., p.m., or a.d. School a.m. or p.m.		Instructor's initials	Shop	Month														
		5	4			3	2	1												
Cooperation: Willingness to work with others in a helpful way. To be a good member of the team.		Highly cooperative	Average	Difficult to handle																
Application: Consider his application to his work day in and day out.		Very energetic	Average	Lazy																
Neatness and accuracy of work: Consider his ability to maintain a high standard.		Very high quality	Average	Careless																
Reliability: Promptness and regularity. Can he be trusted to carry through whatever he starts? Is he honest and trustworthy?		Very reliable	Average	Very unreliable																
Initiative: Consider his success in going ahead with his work without being told every detail.		Exceptional	Average	Needs repeated instruction																
Aptitude: Consider the ease with which he is able to learn new methods and interpret directions.		Extremely intelligent	Average	Dull																

Three cards are to be marked for each boy at the end of each month. On the first of each month two cards are returned to the Vocational Director's office. One card is retained by the instructor. All cards are returned to the instructor for his marks at the end of each month. These cards follow the boy from one shop to another in case of transfer. When a boy is transferred the last instructor will mark the boy for such part of the month as he has had him. Then the shop instructor transfers his shop cards to the new instructor. At the end of that month the new instructor also marks the boy in the next space for the remainder of the month. Thus a boy receives two sets of marks from two different instructors in case of a transfer. Consider carefully the meaning of each mark. Use the back of the card for any comments such as will help in determining the progress of the boy.









