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A Study of Truancy in the Chicago Schools: An Abstract of a Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Loyola University, 1931

Richard Jeffrey French
Loyola University Chicago

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VITA

B. A., 1917.

St. Viator College,
Bourbonnais, Illinois

M. A., 1921.

The Catholic University of
America,
Washington, D. C.

LOVELL
UNIVERSITY

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Preface

This work is the outgrowth of a teacher's interest in the present trend of thought that seeks to base school organization upon the needs of the individual student. It was undertaken more particularly for the problem child with truancy as a major element. It is hoped that the facts discussed will be of significance to all interested in problem children especially truants and will contribute their iota towards directing the mind of educators to the consideration in what seems to be the more rational way.

The writer wishes to express his sincere gratitude particularly to the following persons for their co-operation:

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Chicago, Illinois
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R. J. F.

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INTRODUCTION

The objectives of this study are in the first place to present a picture of problem cases in which truancy is a major element; secondly, to form an estimate of the truancy situation as it is today in Chicago; and thirdly, to form an estimate also of the manner in which these problem truant cases are being handled in the light of modern views.

Procedure

To visualize in a proper way the truant problem child and the truancy situation in the City of Chicago as well as the manner of its solution, the writer, in the first place, presents as background certain data gathered from the current literature in the field. With this the reader is put in touch with the truancy situation as a whole in some of the larger cities of the country, and a standard of comparison is evolved, which prepares him to evaluate the condition of truancy in Chicago and to have some interest in the picture of the truant that will be drawn out for him.

This delineation of the truant child is what the writer proposes to do in the second place through his investigation of problem cases in the Chicago schools. The data upon which this second procedure is based are drawn from two main sources--the schools of Chicago and the Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago.

The truancy problems in the schools of Chicago are divided by the writer into two main divisions--grave cases and mild cases. The mild cases cover the big group of truants who are classified as "repeater" on the records at the Chicago Bureau of Attendance. They number 3,144 in 1929-30. (11: 8). A sampling of these was taken for the first half of the scholastic year of 1930-31. The grave cases are those placed in the Montefiore Special School, the only one of its kind in Chicago in 1929-30, and a stepping stone towards the Juvenile Court and the Parental School, should these further steps be considered necessary. The data cover the 438 truant boys in this school for that particular year and are taken from the records of the expert examination and history of each individual case. These cover the truant from several angles--mental, physical, environmental. The truant girls are not considered, as data on a fairly sized group were lacking.

The straight truancy cases at the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago are divided into four main groups--white boys, white girls, colored boys, colored girls. The records that are written up and available go back to January, 1923, and finish with August, 1927. They contain the findings of the staff upon the expert examination of each truant as well as all available information that can be gathered about him. There are 588 cases of white boys; 125, of

white girls; 67, of negro boys; and 21, of negro girls. The writer limited his investigation to 100 cases of white boys and 25 cases of white girls which cover approximately the year 1927. The picture of the truant is completed with some correlations of truancy with other failings in character and conduct of these and other problem cases at the Institute for Juvenile Research.

In the last place, the writer presents the more recent and prominent views of educators and welfare workers in this country in regards to the ways and means of rehabilitating the truant child. The mode and procedure of the Chicago School System is considered from this point of view and an estimate is formed of its policies.

Limitations

From the very start of his investigation the writer was brought to realize the little that was to be found in the field of literature as regards truancy in this country. Of recent years the Board of Education of New York City has undertaken a limited study of the problem of truancy within the city confines and expressed some of its views in the Thirtieth and Thirty-first Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Schools for the years 1927-28 and 1928-29. The work of Abbott and Breckinridge on "Truancy and Non-Attendance in the Chicago Schools" published in 1917 is

perhaps the most important. The book is divided into two parts—one dealing with the history of compulsory education in Illinois from the legal point of view, and the second with present conditions and methods of treatment in the city of Chicago and in the suburban districts of Cook County. The work is quite thorough in its treatment of the problem of truancy. The lapse of fourteen years and the consequent changes of the times, perhaps, render the book somewhat less valuable in our day.

Reference was made to the First Annual Report mentioned above and the work of Abbott and Breckinridge, by W. Healy and Augusta F. Bronner in the Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies when they write in reference to the literature on truancy in 1928. They say: "Aside from the two publications mentioned above there exists in the literature very little, aside from magazine articles a few pages in length, that bears on the subject of truancy. Two exceptions are the following: Elizabeth A. Irwin has written a pamphlet: "Truancy, A Study of the Mental, Physical, and Social Factors and the Problem of Non-Attendance at School," based on the study of 150 cases. It deals with conditions found in two districts in New York City and is not concerned primarily with the relationship of truancy to other delinquency. A study of a hundred cases of truancy was undertaken in Philadelphia by James S. Hiatt and published by the United

States Bureau of Education, Bulletin 29, "The Truant Problem and the Parental School." The study is of the hundred most flagrant and persistent offenders, chosen from ten school districts. There is also a summary of the facts concerning thirteen parental schools in as many cities, including both day and residence parental schools" (19: Casell, P. 72).

The two studies just mentioned both go back to 1915, which made them of little value to the writer. As a matter of fact, the only literature in the field that proved helpful to a marked degree was the current annual reports of the Department of Education of several large cities, the reports of the studies and investigations in New York City, the few letters received from various superintendents and heads of institutions, the particular research work of these educators, and the reports from the Committees at the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection held in Washington D. C., in 1930.

The work on truancy undertaken in New York City during the past two or three years is given in the opening chapter.

CHAPTER I

TRUANCY IN NEW YORK CITY

The annual Report of the Bureau of Compulsory Education of the City of New York for 1927-28 states that since this particular bureau was established in 1914, 9,020 children have been committed to truant or parental schools, and that probably not more than 20 were committed as insubordinate or disorderly children—the remaining 9,000 as truants. Little has been known of the later adult life of these children (38:8).

The Crime Commission, however, made a study of 251 truant boys who left the truant school before October, 1921, and brought out facts somewhat startling in their character. It appears that of these 251 boys, 51% were charged with delinquency, 30% became adult offenders, and 14% became professional criminals (19:8). Should these figures be characteristic of the entire 9,000, which is considered but a fraction of the truant boys, the problem of the truant child deserves serious attention.

1. The Farrell Study and Analysis of
Truancy.

An attempt to cope seriously with the situation was initiated under the direction of Miss Elizabeth Farrell, Inspector of Ungraded Classes. A behavior clinic was conducted in connection with the weekly hearings of the Thirteenth Attendance District, and later on, one with the Twelfth Attendance Dis-

strict. Each clinic is staffed by a psychiatrist and a psychologist and a picked attendance officer as a social worker. Miss Farrell summarized her findings in a report covering 32 cases for 1927-8. Among the significant statements made by her are the following:

School Progress:

6 pupils are in the grades proper for their ages;
 1 pupil is accelerated one term;
 25 pupils are retarded by one to seven terms.

Table I shows the age-grade progress of this group of truants. Normal progress from grade to grade is represented in the space between the heavy black lines. Slow progress is shown in the lower left hand section. The upper right hand section shows rapid progress.

Chronological Age:

14 pupils are in the 11 and 12 year age group;
 9 pupils are in the 7 and 8 year age group.

The age distribution for the group is shown in Figure 1.

Mental Age:

28 pupils have mental ages of 10 years or below. This constitutes 87% of the group. Figure 2 shows the mental age distribution (22: 2).

Intelligence Quotients:

The range of I. Q's is from 65 to 115; (22:5)
 4 pupils had I. Q's from 60-69;
 8 pupils had I. Q's from 70-79;
 7 pupils had I. Q's from 80-89;
 10 pupils had I. Q's from 90-99;
 1 pupil had I. Q's from 100-109;
 1 pupil had I. Q's from 110-115.

Figure 3 shows the I. Q. Distribution for the group.

Educational Attainments.

In 73% of the cases the reading ability of the truant was 2 or more terms below their official school grade.

In 30% of the cases, the reading ability of the truant is 4 or more terms below their official school grade.

Yet 35% of the group are working in grades 2 to 5 terms below their mental capacity as measured by reading capacity.

Grade Placement.

The grade distribution of the group is shown in Figure 4. The distribution is from I A to 8 A. Thirteen, or 41 per cent, of the pupils are in grades 4 and 5. Ten or 31 per cent are in grades 1 and 2 (22: 4).

The discrepancy between grade ability and grade placement is from 1 to 6 terms;

Thirty-four per cent have grade ability two or more terms below their grade placement;

Sixteen per cent have grade ability two or more terms above their grade placement (22: 9, 10).

Social Problems:

In 17 cases, that is, 53 per cent of those examined, there was either a "broken home" or "bad home conditions." In 8 cases there were unfortunate factors in the home, such as dissension, sickness of parents, alcoholism of father. In all these cases there was more or less inadequate supervision at home and in some cases practically none (22:12, 13).

Physical Defects:

Two children did not need correction of physical defects;

Three were in need of dental care only;

In 13 cases the physical defects were so serious that they might be considered active contributing factors to the child truancy.

Table II shows the number of physical defects in this group.

Sixty-six per cent of all the truants examined were suffering from psychic disorders, either organic or functional, of sufficient seriousness to be detected in the brief time available.

Table III shows the number of children in this group suffering from functional and organic psychic disorders.

Adjustments Needed:

The educational adjustments recommended were:

1. Reclassification in ungraded classes;
2. Reclassification in grades suited to the ability of the child;
3. Institutional care;
4. Transfer to other schools;
5. Special coaching in vocabulary building and in reading.

2. The McElwee Study of Truancy in Brooklyn

The special research study undertaken in the Thirty-second Attendance District in Brooklyn in 1929-30 was reported by Miss Edna W. McElwee, M.A. The truants were selected from those present at the hearings of the Thirty-second Attendance District held on Wednesday mornings of each week. Only children between the ages of 7 and 13 inclusively were examined, but as there were not always enough children in this age group, other children to the number of 37 were included in the study.

The following more important data were reported:

Chronological Age:

The chronological age range was from 7 years to 13 years and 9 months.

Counting $10\frac{1}{2}$ years as the point of division there were 45 children in the younger group and 68 children in the older group (30: 3).

Figure 4 gives this C. A. Distribution.

Intelligence Quotient and Mental Age:

The I. Q. range was from 53 to 103 with a median I. Q. of 73. There were 49 children in the borderline group with an I. Q. between 65 and 75 (30:3).

Figure 5 shows the I. Q. Distribution.

The M. A. range was from 5 years to 12 years and 8 months with a median mental age of 8 years and 6 months (30:3).

Grade Placement;

The grade placement was from I A through 7 B. There were 72 children in grades 3, 4, 5. This is seen in Figure 6.

In Table IV the age-grade retardation of the truant is shown. The space between the heavy black lines represents normal school progress. The space below the heavy black lines shows retardation. The grade placement of 73 truants shows a retardation of 1 to 7 terms, while 37 had been promoted regularly (30: 4).

Reading Grade:

In Table V a comparison is made between the reading grade and the grade in school. Those below the heavy black lines are not reading up to grade. Only 15 of the truants are reading up to grade (30: 4).

In Table VI a comparison is likewise made between the mental age and the reading grade of the truants. The squares between the heavy lines show normal reading attainment for their mental age. Ninety-one are reading above expectation. All but twelve of the truants are reading as well or better than was to be expected.

3. The Manhattan Report on Truancy.

The study of truancy was continued in 1928, 1929 and 1930.

The field was limited to two typical school districts of New York City—the Thirty-Second Attendance District in Brooklyn and the Thirteenth District in Manhattan. The object was to study the mental, physical and environmental conditions of truants in order to determine the factors involved and the possible remedies that might assist in the solution of the problem.

During this three-year period ninety-seven cases were studied in the Manhattan District.

The children were examined to determine the mental, physical, educational and social conditions of each individual. The more significant findings are the following (40:2,3,4):

School Progress:

22 pupils (or 23% are in the grades proper for their age;

72 pupils (or 74%) were retarded from one to nine terms.

Chronological Age:

64 pupils (or 67%) are in the $10\frac{1}{2}$ to 13 year group;

31 pupils (or 30%) are in the 7 to $10\frac{1}{2}$ year group.

The chronological age range was from seven years and five months to fourteen years and seven months.

Intelligence Quotients and M. A.

The mental age range was from three years and four months to seventeen years and two months.

The per cent with mental age below 10 years was 85%.

The per cent with I. Q.'s between 60 to 79 was 50%.

Grade Placement:

19 pupils (or 18%) were in grades 1 and 2;
 43 pupils (or 45%) were in grades 3, 4, and 5;
 30 pupils (or 26%) were in grades 6, 7, and 8.

Table VII shows the chronological ages of 37 truants examined in 1929-30 in Manhattan and the grades in which they are placed. Those within the heavy lines are considered as progressing normally for their age. Thirty-two per cent (32%) are located in their proper grades while 57% are retarded one or more terms. Only 11% are accelerated from 1 to 3 terms.

Approximately 67% of all the cases studied were above 10 years and 6 months. (The table was in the Report but the data were not filled in. A summary of the data, however, was in the Report.)

Table VIII shows the relationship between actual attainment and grade placement in reading. It is significant to note that 79% of the truants are retarded 2 terms or more. Only 4 pupils (11%) are included within the lines which mark off the cases in which the reading ability is equal to the grade in which they have been placed.

Table IX shows the mental age and grade placement for 37 truants in 1929-30. It is to be noted there is a marked discrepancy between grade ability and grade placement. Sixty-two percent (62%) of the pupils are placed 2 or more terms above the grade in which they could actually maintain themselves if they work to capacity. Only 9 cases are within the lines that indicate the mental age normal for the grade. (The table is not given as the data were omitted in the original manuscript copy and only a summary given in the body of the report).

4. The Hirsdansky Report

Doctor Hirsdansky summarizes the psychiatric and physical defects found in two groups of truants examined in 1929-30. One group of 37 children was in Manhattan; a second group of 98, in Brooklyn—135 in all.

The psychiatric defects are listed in Table X. It is to be noted that 55 or 40% showed personality disorders either organic or functional (25:1).

The more important physical defects are listed in Table XI. Doctor Hirsdansky remarks that some of the children have had previous truancy records and that in the course of their various examinations many of their physical defects had been cared for, so that the percentage of defects found may not be as high as the percentage of similar groups (25 :3).

Dr. Hirsdansky says: "Truancy is a phase of social

maladjustment, which, if allowed to go on untreated, may result in criminal conduct. It is an evidence of anti-social attitudes and a symptom of wrong development" (25: 3).

SUMMARY

The following facts stand out among the data of the foregoing reports and deserve attention:

1. The mental disability under which the truants are attacking the school curricula can be seen from an analytical consideration of the intelligence quotients, mental ages, grade placements and subject disabilities of the different groups under consideration.

In the Farrell study of 32 cases there are only two pupils with an I. Q. over 100, while the group median is 76. The M. A. of 28 pupils (or 7% of the group) is 10 years or below. In 73% of the cases the reading ability was two or more terms below their official gradings. Twenty-five pupils are retarded from one to seven terms, yet over one-third of the group have grade ability two or more terms below their grade placement.

In the McElwee study of 100 truants there was only one pupil with an I. Q. over 100, with a median I. Q. of 73 for the group. The median M. A. was 8 years and 6 months. Only 15 of the truants were reading up to grade. The grade placement shows 73 truants retarded from 1 to 7 terms.

In the Manhattan study of 98 cases, eighty-five per cent

of the group had a M. A. below 10 years, while 50% have an I. Q. between 60 and 80. Of 37 truants examined in 1929-30, 62% are placed two or more terms above the grade they could actually maintain themselves if they worked to capacity.

These figures indicate that mental disability is probably an important factor in the problem of truancy and that greater consideration should be given to a reorganization of the school curriculum to suit the needs of these problem children.

2. The truant child also labors under a considerable physical handicap. The data are not so convincing as those for the mental handicap, yet they are nevertheless weighty.

The Farrell reports shows two-thirds of the truants suffering from psychic disorders of sufficient seriousness to be easily detected. The average number of defects is not striking, yet we are informed that 13 of the 32 have physical defects so serious that they might be considered active contributing factors to the child truancy.

The Hirsdansky Study reports 40% of 135 pupils examined as suffering from psychic disorders. No statement is made as to the probability of any of the physical defects contributing to truancy.

3. To a seemingly large extent the truant child is handicapped by his environment. The Farrell Report, however,

is the only one of these mentioned that touches on this factor. She states that in 17 cases, which is 53% of those examined, there was either a "broken home" or "bad home conditions."

These studies covered only small groups of truants, yet they showed that it is only by careful examination—educational, psychological, psychiatric and social in character that the problem of truancy can be understood and managed. In practically all of these cases the picture of the truant was a complex one. The examination revealed a picture of faulty mental or personality development, poor environment, serious physical defects, forced promotions, and wrong classification in school.

Chapter II.

Truancy in Several Other Cities.

The cities that appear in this study have not been chosen because of any special prerogatives apart from size in population (1930 Census) and availability of data put out by their boards of education. In considering the data, the writer found it impractical to take the cities collectively and study them in a comparative way because of the lack of a common approach in compiling and organizing the different facts of their respective school organizations. The cities, therefore, are taken up successively and a résumé of the truancy situation is given in each case in so far as the data are available. The summary at the end of the chapter does, however, attempt to bring out the salient points of all the cities and even in a comparative way as far as this can be done. The truancy situation in Chicago and the attitude of the Board of Education in regards to truancy are viewed from the background established by this chapter.

1. Baltimore City.
(Population 804,874)

According to the Census Report taken by the Police in 1929 there were 157,881 children in this city. The total enrollment in all schools, public, private and parochial was 139,896 (3: 207).

The cases of absence reported are as follows:

Public Schools	78,792
Parochial Schools	4,645
	<u>83,437</u>

Of these, the number of unlawful absences was 25,145 (3:206).

The analysis of the causes was as follows:

Truants	6,307
Indifference in Home.....	5,927
Discipline	724
Other causes	10,397
Lateness	<u>1,790</u>

The truancy summary is as follows:

Number of truants reported by schools	6,307
Actual number of children involved	2,371
Number of repeaters	1,279
Number taken to Juvenile Court and School Court.	1,491
Number taken to magistrate	7
Number sent to White Parental School.....	104
Number sent elsewhere (white)	69
Number sent to Colored Parental School.....	84
Number sent elsewhere (colored)	14

In 1930 the officer -pupil ratio for the public schools was 1:4802 (3: 170).

2. Boston (Population, 787,271)

The Annual Report of the Attendance Department for 1929-30 presents statistics dealing with the number of investigations, the Boston Disciplinary Day School, the Court Cases, the Evening Schools, and the Social Service Activities. The total number of investigations was 70,454 and are distributed over twelve groups. The main ones are: Investigations in the day intermediate and day elementary schools, 35,816; investigations in the Latin, day high, and industrial schools, 12,043; investigations in the parochial schools, 3,387; investigations in the continuation schools, 4,644; investigations in the evening schools 3,356 (4: 1-3):

The number of individual truants in the day intermediate and day elementary schools is 1875 and in the Latin, day high and industrial schools, 298 (4: 5-6). The distribution as to ages, grades and causes of truancy for individual truants in the day intermediate and day elementary schools is shown in Table XII.

3. Chicago, Illinois
Population, 3,375,329)

In the report of the Director of Attendance for 1929-30, the total number of individual truants reported from public and private schools, elementary, junior and senior high, continuation schools, prevocational schools, and special centers was 6,388. Eight hundred and fifty of the truants, however, were eighth grade graduates—hitherto immune from compulsory attendance. Of the 6,388 individual truants, 5,656 were boys and 732 were girls (11: 7). The total number of repeaters was 3,144—boys, 2,994 and girls, 150. Three thousand two hundred forty-four (3,244) did not repeat the offense after they were referred to the attention of the truant officers (11: 8).

The number of truant officers in field service for the year 1929-30 was 123. They cover 348 elementary, junior high and senior public high schools and branches, special centers, prevocational schools and 130 of the private schools (11: 3).

4. Detroit
(Population, 1,373, 985)

The total school enrollment for the year 1929-30 was 289,046. This includes public, private, and parochial schools. During this year 196,662 reports were received by the Bureau of Attendance from the different schools. Of these 13,787 were truant cases. The summary of these cases can be seen in Table XIII.

3. Los Angeles, California
(Population, 1,233,561)

The City of Los Angeles has a total school enrollment of 316,351. The total number of cases reported to the Division of Attendance during the first semester of 1929-30 was 16,720. The cause of absence was attributed to 38 different factors, of which truancy was one.

The total number of pupils reported truants this semester was 1011. These were distributed as follows: 612 elementary, 241 junior high, 155 senior high and 3 in private schools. The summary appears in Table XIV.

The disposition of these 16,729 cases was affected in 39 diverse ways. The number of times truants were returned to school was 3,531 times, distributed among the different races, white, Negro, Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, Russian, Hebrew and others (29: 1, 2).

6. Milwaukee
(Population, 572,557)

The number of persons of school age residing in Milwaukee on June 30, 1929, was 132,692. Of these, 70,839 attended public schools for 32 weeks or more, and 33,390 attended private schools for the same length of time. The writer could get no further data of any purport as regards attendance or non-attendance (35: 98).

7. Minneapolis
(Population, 464,753)

In 1928-9 the total enrollment was 86,537, which includes high school pupils and others to the number of 19,669 (36: 111). The total number of reports received by the Bureau of Attendance from the Elementary Schools was 5,394, of which 4,703 were from public and 691 from private and parochial schools. Of these the unlawful absences were 2,527.

The reasons for the latter as found by the school social workers were as follows (36: 133):

Truancy	1,206
Indifferent parents	821
Economic pressure	114
Illegally employed	30
Trouble in School	7
Runaway	57
Moving 3 days or more	102
Excluded	37
Miscellaneous	153
	<u>2,527</u>

The Department has 65 nurses and 7 school social workers who do the work of attendance officers (36: 54). The policy of the Department is to exhaust all other resources before court action. During the past year only one case of indifferent parents was brought into the Municipal court and that was withdrawn by the Department and further work put upon it (36: 133). Of the children, 65 were taken into the Juvenile Court. Forty-nine of these were given an informal hearing and later eleven of them were brought directly into the Court with 16 others.

These 27 cases were disposed of as follows:

Probation	5
County Home School	15
State Training School	2
Custody of Children's	
Protection Society	1
Stay of Sentence	<u>4</u>
	27

The 2041 reports of truancy in both schools were adjusted as follows:

Returned to High School	1,617
Left City	221
Over Compulsory Age	114
Correctional Institutions	17
Schools Outside Minnesota	38
Employment Certificates	4
Home Permits	30
	<u>2,041</u>

8. New York City
(Population, 6,981, 927)

The enrollment in the public day schools in November, 1930, was 1, 131,170 and in the parochial schools in October, 1930 was 183,012 (Chatfield: letter).

In 1929-30 the number of attendance officers and supervisors was as follows:

Attendance officers	275
Assistant officers	30 (census)
District Supervisors	29
Division Supervisors	8
Chief Attendance Officer	1
Total	<u>343</u>

The number of individual truants for 1929-30 was 8,082.

These were distributed as follows:

1 A to 8 B, inclusive	4,615
Ungraded	201
Graduates	23
9 A or 1 A High to 4 B High School inclusive	891
Continuation	1,912
Other Grades	23
Grades not stated	417
Total	<u>8,082</u>

9. Newark, New Jersey
(Population, 442,842)

The Department of Attendance in Newark is composed of a Director, Assistant-Director, School Census Officer, Special Officer, twenty male attendance officers, eleven female attendance officers, four bus attendants, six clerks (42: 1). This department has investigated and adjusted a total of 37,563 cases of absence, truancy and attendance in 1929-30. Of these cases, 36,110 were reported by principals of public schools and 1,453 were reported by principals and teachers of private and parochial schools. The annual report deals statistically with the cases handled during the year.

The city has held parents to strict accountability. In 1929-30 there were 70 parents prosecuted and convicted for violations of the Compulsory Education Law and 1,496 parents were summoned to court to be warned by the Assistant Director of the Bureau (42: 5).

10. Philadelphia
(Population, 1,964,430)

The number of pupils enrolled in the public schools at the close of the school year June 30, 1929 was 251,860 (45: 17).

"The Pennsylvania State Department of Public Instruction requires at the close of each school year a report of unlawful

and unexcused absence analyzed by grade groups and according to the three principal causes of such absence--indifference on the part of the parent, illegal employment, and truancy"

(45: 20). Such reports have been presented for three consecutive years and show but slight variation from one another.

In the report of 1928-29 it is to be noted that the percentage of absence due to parental neglect was 1.01 per cent, to illegal employment .01 per cent, and to truancy .24 per cent. (45: 21) Parental neglect is, therefore, responsible for four times as much absence as truancy and illegal employment.

Likewise unexcused absence among boys is half again as great as that of girls. Boys lose twice as much time as girls by illegal employment and seven times as much through truancy (45: 21).

The total number of truancy cases reported to the attendance officers of public and parochial schools was 29,047. The number of individual truants was 8,582--7,396 boys; 1,186 girls. Of these, 7,020 were occasional, 1,246 were frequent, and 316 were habitual (45: 27).

"The grouping by age brings out the interesting fact that truancy of boys and girls began at the age of six and increased in each age group to the fifteenth year. The grouping by grades showed that truancy began with boys and girls in the first grade and increased thereafter in each grade until the

The Report points out two important conclusions:

(1) That these children require individual study and treatment on a social case work basis, and (2) That this study should begin early in the child's truancy, if possible before they become involved in other serious trouble which brings them into court (45: 32).

(11) Rochester, N. Y.
(Population, 325,019)

The enrollment in the Rochester public schools as of June 1, 1928 was 48,558—of which 40,162 were in the elementary grades, and 8,396 in the secondary and higher schools (49: 569).

The attendance officers number ten (49: 552).

During 1926-67 approximately 18,000 were reported to and investigated by the Attendance Department (49: 554). At the present time illegal absence constitutes less than one-half of one percent of the total amount of absence (49: 554).

The writer could discover no further data as regards truancy.

SUMMARY:

- A. Extent of Truancy;
- B. Attitudes towards Truancy;
- C. Chicago and Its Truants.

A. Extent of Truancy.

In covering the reports either of the Director of Attendance or of the Superintendent of Schools of these different cities, the writer finds it impossible to make any comparison as to the extent of truancy in the various cities. The reason for such a situation is not lacking. The concept of truancy varies from city to city. The City of Newark, for example, will not classify pupils as truants but simply as problems of academic maladjustment or the result of parental neglect and indifference. Philadelphia, following the State law of Pennsylvania, must classify unlawful and unexcused absences into three groups: indifference on the part of the parent, illegal employment, and truancy. A clear distinction is thus made between truancy as a cause and indifference in the parents as a cause. In the City of Boston, however, the number of individual truants is given and the contributing causes are stated. In the elementary schools these causes run to the number of 20 and some read: indifference in the home, both parents work, domestic trouble. The pupils coming under these last headings are classified as truants in Boston but would not be so classified in Philadelphia. The same is true of the city of Los Angeles whose absences are grouped under

causes. Many of these overlap such as "reported truants," "irregular attendance," "found at home," "not enrolled," "found on street," "found in place of amusement," and so on. In Los Angeles these different causes stand on a par; in Philadelphia, they would be grouped under truancy and parental indifference; in Boston, they would come under truancy alone. The City of New York held 86,170 investigations of unlawful absence in 1929 and classifies 38,727 as "truancy" with 8,082 individual truants (Chatfield: letter); the city of Los Angeles for the first semester of 1929-30 has only 1,101 who are reported "truants" (29: 1). The same can be said of the cities of Baltimore and Minneapolis. Facts such as these indicate differences in the concept of truancy among the heads of these educational systems and thus nullify any attempt to determine with exactitude the extent of truancy.

4. Attitudes towards Truancy:

1. Rochester, N. Y.;
2. New York City;
3. Philadelphia;
4. Newark, N. J.;
5. Baltimore, Md.;
6. Other Cities.

1. Rochester, N. Y.

In its latest report, the Board of Education states that prior to 1924, the process of dealing with truants

one "of scaring the child rather than of placing the responsibility where it belongs, on the parent" (49: 551). The reason why the parent is held responsible for absence from school is well expressed by a former director of the Attendance Division of their State Department of Education. "Students of compulsory education in America, as well as students of the more progressive and advanced nations of Europe, recognize the fact that school attendance laws should and must be directed against the responsible party, the head of the family, rather than the child, if the purpose to be accomplished by the beneficent laws is to have any proper chance of realization" (49: 553).

"In every nation under a constitutional government, where the rights of the child to education are inherently and lawfully recognized, laws enacted for the child's protection are executed against the parent or one in parental relation and to the extent that this procedure is carried forward, so-called truancy—which is a misnomer as there is but actually one truant in a hundred so-called truants, and we make this statement upon the authority of a quarter of a century's study of the problem—becomes almost negligible as to fact" (49: 553).

From the academic point of view, Rochester gives particular attention to any kind of personal handicap on the part of the child. When such children are located, adjust-

ments are made in environment, curriculum and teaching processes to help them to become happy, healthy and normally self-confident members of the social group (49: 469).

Truancy, then, is hardly recognized. It becomes a matter either of adjusting the pupil along academic lines or laying the responsibility upon the parents. The procedure appears to be working. The Rochester report of 1928 states that illegal absence constitute less than one half of one per cent of the total amount of absence (49: 554).

2. New York City

The City of New York is adopting the philosophy of diagnosing the needs of the truant child. It states that "no thoroughly, considered, articulation plan for the elimination of truancy has yet been worked out or even considered" (38: 19). It realizes that the "problem of the truant has by no means been solved by the prescription of confinement in the Parental School for a short space of time." It advocates "the expert examination of each boy, and the collection of all personal and environmental information which may throw light on his actions," and says "as rapidly as possible it should come to pass that no child should be committed to the Parental School until it has been definitely shown that he will not respond to thoroughly planned remedial work based upon a careful diagnosis

of his needs--mental, physical, and environmental" (38:20, 22).

The recommendation of twenty probationary schools for each 250 truants to be established throughout the city was made several years ago by the Director of Attendance to Association Superintendent Edson (38: 23). In 1927-28 nearly 7,000 were placed on probation for truancy, yet no adequate program to meet the situation has been undertaken even up to 1930 (38: 23). Dr. O'Shea deplors the situation and says: "The great difficulty heretofore has been to have such schools in view of the still unsatisfied demands for elementary schools and high schools. The time has not yet arrived when school building needs are provided for on the basis of the kind of educational facilities require for varying types of personality" (38 :24).

3. Philadelphia, Pa.

As the reader has already seen, the regulations of the State Department of Public Instructors require that unexcused absences be classified under the following headings:

(a) parental neglect; (b) illegal employment; (c) truancy (45:24).

"The term 'truancy' is used to designate the willful absence of a child from school without his parents' consent and usually without their knowledge" (45: 27).

The number of truant cases in 1929-30 was 8,582 and of these, 316, were rated as habitual truants (45:27). A careful

study of 270 of these was made and facts brought out to make it clear that habitual truancy from school is not only an educational problem but also a social problem. The report says: "Two important conclusions seem to follow; (1) that these children require individual study and treatment on a social case work basis, and (2) that this study should begin early in the child's truancy, if possible before they become involved in other serious trouble which brings them into court."

These conclusions indicate the changing attitude toward truants as such. Yet even now for the most part, "truants", to quote, Dr. O'Shea, Superintendent of the New York City schools, "are regarded generally as deservedly objects of repression or compulsion, for whom the Parental School is the proper place since it removes from the full time day school of a rebellious, unconfoming individual" (38: 19).

The writer wonders whether the "special classes" of Philadelphia are organized along the new line of thought. The report says: "The number of truants in special classes exceeded those in every single grade including the seventh. This is to be expected because in recent years principals of schools have been considering truant children as disciplinary cases and recommending their transfer to special classes" (45: 27). These facts run counter to some special classes in

other cities organized to suit personally children who may be handicapped mentally, physically, socially or otherwise. The average per cent of attendance for 1929-30 was 87.5 in the Montefiore Special School, Chicago (52: 14). In the Arlington Avenue Special School of Newark, New Jersey, the percentage of attendance for the school year 1929-30 was close to 99, with a city average of 92.2 (41: letter).

4. Newark, New Jersey

The city does not maintain any school for truants and does not seem to recognize truancy as such for no pupils are classified in reports as truants. "truancy" according to them, "is due primarily to maladjustment in the academic type of school" (41: letter). The Newark school system ranges from the traditional to the platoon type of school and maintains some academic schools on all-year basis in addition to some special schools and has reduced to a minimum those away from school. "In purely truancy cases the attitude of Newark has always been that the parents are directly responsible and that the law intended that they should share the responsibility of securing regular attendance" (41: letter).

5. Baltimore, Maryland

The city of Baltimore has practically nothing to say about truants in its annual report of 1929-30. It does,

however, indirectly manifest its attitude towards these problem cases in dealing with the aim of the Department of Education. This is "to provide for each child a type of educational program that is best suited to his individual needs, and to do this economically and at reasonable cost" (46: 17).

During this year one of the significant steps taken in the direction of a fuller realization of this aim was the creation of a new department, the Division of Special Education, to have charge of the organization and administration of special curricula for mentally, physically, and educationally handicapped children (46: 17 and 19).

The scope of the work with which this division is concerned and the record of major accomplishments during the year will be considered in the last chapter of this work.

6. Other Cities

The reports received from the cities of Boston, Detroit, and Los Angeles were of a statistical nature and give little information as to the policies back of them. The data have been compiled in a detailed and thorough way and indicate remarkable efficiency in the organization and operation of the attendance departments. The diagnosis of important problem cases in this way is rather complete and points

out the remedial work that is to be done.

3. Chicago and Its Truants

In closing this chapter, the writer wishes to state here the attitude of the Chicago Board of Education towards truancy and the extent of truancy in this city in so far as it may be known.

Realizing the divergence of opinion as to the concept of truancy as mentioned in this chapter, the writer, nevertheless believes he can use the figures on truancy in different cities as quoted in this study to show that the extent of truancy in Chicago is not out of the ordinary. The summary is as follows:

City	Population (1930 census)	Number of Individual Truants
Baltimore	804,874	6,307
Boston	787,271	2,173
Detroit	1,573,985	13,787
Los Angeles	464,753	1,206 ($\frac{1}{2}$ year)
New York City	6,981,927	8,082
Philadelphia	1,964,430	8,582
Chicago	3,375,329	6,388

In proportion to the population it is to be noted that Chicago ranks low among the cities mentioned.⁽¹⁾

(1) -- On a percentile basis these cities would rank as follows: Detroit, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, Los Angeles, Chicago, New York.

The attitude of the Board of Education inasmuch as it may be known is in keeping with the views of the leading cities of the country. There is the growing tendency towards expert examination of the truant child to find out just what are his problems and to solve them as well as can be done by proper academic adjustment in attempting to fit school work and school activities to the special needs of problem children. The evidence of this movement is seen in the establishment of the Montefiore Special School in 1929 and of the Mosely School in 1930.

The attitude towards the parents of these children is expressed yearly by William L. Bodine, Superintendent of Compulsory Education. In his report of 1929-30, he states in speaking of the prosecution of the parents of truants by his department: "If other social agencies prosecuted parents more and children less, juvenile delinquency would soon be reduced to the minimum in Chicago. In reaching the basic cause of so many tragedies of childhood, namely, lax parent-hood, and the home that qualifies children for corrective institutions—the administrative policy of the Bureau is to temper law enforcement with humanistic concept of economic conditions existing in Chicago during seasonal unemployment among fathers, improvident widowhood, wife desertion and depressive poverty" (11: 2).

CHAPTER III

Truancy Problem Cases in Chicago

- I. Grave Cases of Truancy among Boys;
- II. Mild Cases of Truancy among Boys;
- III. Truancy Cases at the Institute for Juvenile Research;
- IV. Truancy among Girls.

The individual truancy cases on record at the Bureau of Compulsory Education, Chicago, numbered 7,388 in public and private schools for the scholastic year of 1929-30. The year was not exceptional in any way. Of the 6,388 truants there were 3,244 who did not repeat the offense after once being referred to the truant officers and 3,144 who ran the total number of trancies up to 10,046. The number of truant boys was 5,656 and girls 732. (11: 3, 7, 8).

The writer studied the group of repeaters only. The grave cases were considered to be those transferred to special truant rooms in different schools or to the Montefiore Special Center for boys. The policy of the Bureau is to have all problem cases, apart from emergency ones, pass through this process with the hope of rendering court action unnecessary. Most cases then are recorded, studied, diagnosed and given corrective treatment with the means available. The writer confined his study of grave cases to the big main group of boys at the Montefiore Special Center.

The mild cases were considered to be the main group of repeaters who numbered 3144 in 1929-30. The records of these were not available, so the writer took the same group for the first semester of 1930-31. He took every tenth one and sought what data there were to be had from the principal of the school of such problem cases.

The cases at the Institute of Juvenile Research have been referred there for special study either by the parents or guardians of the child or else some social agency or court or school. The records have been written up from the year 1923 to 1927. There are on file 588 cases of straight truancy of white boys; 125 of white girls; 67 of negro boys, and 21 of negro girls. The writer limited himself to a study of 100 white boys and 25 white girls covering a little more than the year 1927. The writer does not consider these as representative of any group of boys or girls or of any place unless it be truants in general. The diagnosis done is by experts and as thorough as our limited knowledge will allow.

1. Grave Cases among Boys

The findings in these cases have all been gathered, as already stated, from the files of the Montefiore Special Center for the school year 1929-30. The enrollment for the year was

718 (52: 11). Of these, 438 were truant cases. The data available have been grouped under the following captions with their respective subdivisions:

A. Mental Status:

1. Chronological Age and Grade Placement;
2. Intelligence Quotient;
3. Scholarship.

B. Social Status:

1. Economic Status of Home;
2. Parental Status;
3. Nationality;
4. Religion.

C. Physical Status.

A. Mental Status

I. Chronological Age and Grade Placement.

The grade placement is from second grade up to and including eighth grade. The chronological age runs from eight to sixteen years. The distribution is shown in Table XV. The figures between the heavy black lines indicate the pupils of normal age in each grade. Any figures above the upper heavy line would indicate underage pupils, while those below the heavy line indicate overage pupils. Eighteen pupils only are in the grades for their chronological age--the rest, 420 (or 95%), are retarded from one to seven years. The average amount of retardation in school work is approximately three years.

The distribution of retardations is as follows:

Number of Pupils	Years of Retardation
18	0
86	1
122	2
114	3
48	4
20	5
2	6
1	7
27	Subnormal
<u>438</u>	

The first element in the makeup of these problem cases seems to be one of mental retardation.

2. Intelligence Quotient, (I. Q.)

The I. Q.'s of the pupils were determined on the entrance to the Montefiore Special by the Kuhlmann-Anderson Group Intelligence Test and the Kuhlmann-Binet Individual Intelligence Test.

The I. Q. range is from the 50's to 120 and over with a median I. Q. of 78.8. The distribution can be seen in Figure 7. It is to be noted that only 19 have an I. Q. over 100, while over two-thirds (or 57.6%) are found in the 70 and 80 groups. These findings seem to offer some understanding of retardation in the grades. The correlation between the two smack of connivance, yet the grade placement was that of the respective schools whence the pupils came, while the I. Q. was determined at the Special School. The following findings on scholarship throw still more light on the general mental makeup of this truant group.

3. Scholarship.

The grouping of the pupils under the five headings excellent, good, average, poor, failure—is the one used in rating pupils in the public schools of Chicago. The attestation is the one that comes from the contributing and not the special school. The summary is as follows:

Scholarship.	Number of Truants.
Excellent	1
Good	16
Average	58
Poor	274
Failure	89
	Total 438

The number that are ranked "poor" and "failure" make up 82.9% of the entire group. This corresponds with 86.1% of the same group who have an I. Q. below 90; and also of 95.7% of the group who retarded in school from one to seven year. The divers findings seem to be in keeping one with another and indicate individuals in the first place with a considerable mental handicap in the scholastic forum.

B. Social Status.

1. Economic Status of Home.

The homes of these truant boys have been classified under four distinct headings: very poor, poor, comfortable, and very comfortable.

A very poor home was considered to be one that was not as a rule self-sustaining but required the help of some char-

itable organization. A poor home was held to be one that was self-sustaining as a rule and did not need the assistance of any charity organization. A comfortable home was considered to be one well above any fear of want and with a certain amount of cheer in it. A very comfortable home was held to be one considerably above the general standing of living in the neighborhood.

Under such headings the families were classified as follows:

Very poor	175
Poor	185
Comfortable	71
Very comfortable	<u>4</u>
	435

These figures show that 82.7% of the boys come from homes that are classified as poor and very poor.

2. Parental Status

The following data give some conception of home situations as regards the parents themselves, but no information as to failings such as viciousness and drunkenness.

Father dead	75
Mother dead	40
Both dead	7
Separated	25
Divorced	14
Father deserted	20
One insane	14
Blind	3
Crippled	9

Mother works	34
Both work	24
Both out of work	16
Father unemployed	<u>44</u>

3. Nationality

The nationality of pupils in the Montefiore School has been determined from the place of nativity of the father.

The findings are shown in Figure 8. Mr. Stullken, Principal of the Montefiore School, writes of all the pupils: "While over 60% of the boys in school are either Polish, Italian or Negro, there is no indication that it is because of the child's race or nationality that he has been a problem in the regular schools of Chicago" (52: 13). The above-mentioned national groups of boys maintain together approximately the same percentage among the truant cases.

4. Religion

A study of the nominal religion affiliations of pupils enrolled in the Montefiore School reveals the following results:

Catholic	285
Protestant	76
Jewish	40
Affiliation not known.	37

C. Physical Status

The boys of the Montefiore School are examined by the school physician and the nurse furnished by the Department of Health. A summary of the physical defects found in the 438 truant boys of 1929-30 is as follows:

Malnutrition and Anemia	200
Enlarged Lymph Glands	241
Enlarged Thyroid	50
Nervous Diseases	43
Cardiac Diseases	30
Defective Speech	6
Suspect Tuberculosis	7
Respiratory Disease	15
Skin Disease	15
Rachitic Type	4
Other orthopedic Defects	3
Abdominal Defects	2
Defects of Vision	131
Other Diseases of Eye	3
Defect of Hearing	35
Ear Disease	2
Defective Nasal Breathing	10
Defects of Palate	1
Hypertrophied Tonsils	248
Adenoids	164
	<u>1210</u>

II. Mild Cases of Truancy among Boys

The data from these cases have been gathered from a sampling of the habitual truant repeaters (boys) on file at the Bureau of Compulsory Education for the first semester of the school year of 1930-31. The name of every tenth pupil was taken and a letter requesting information was sent to the principal of the school he attended. An exception was made when the pupil was enrolled at the Montefiore or Mosely School.

as these are special schools. Such cases were considered with reference to the boys at the Montefiore School under the grave cases. Such a pupil's name, therefore, was passed over and the next one in order taken up.

The principal was asked to fill out an enclosed card that requested the following information:

Chronological Age	Mental Age (with date)
Intelligent Quotient	Grade
Nationality of father and mother	Religion
Scholastic Standing	Parental Status
Economic Status of Home	Physical Defects

The scholastic standing, parental status, and economic status was determined by underlining a qualifying word or phrase below the respective captions.

In all, the names of 137 boys were taken from the files and letters sent to their respective principals asking for the above data. Replies were received covering 133 of the cases.

The returns could be summarized as follows:

No. of Cases.	Results.
12	No data at all available;
5	Principal did not have time to give data;
79	Data rather meagre especially with the absence of the I. Q. or M. A.;
37	Data sufficiently complete apart from physical defects.

The data from these cases have been drawn up, as for the grave cases, under the following groupings:

A. Mental Status:

1. Chronological Age and Grade Placement;
2. Intelligence Quotient;
3. Scholarship.

B. Social Status:

1. Economic Status of Home;
2. Parental Status;
3. Nationality;
4. Religion.

C. Physical Status.

A. Mental Status

1. Chronological Age and Grade Placement.

The Chronological age range was from 8 years up to and including 16 years and the grade placement from Grade I A up to and including Grade 9 B. Data were available in 114 cases. The distribution for both chronological age and grade placement is shown in Table XVI. The figures between the heavy black lines indicate the pupils of normal age in each grade according to the age-grade norm in use in the Chicago public schools in 1930-31. The figures above the heavy line indicate overage pupils. Of the 114 pupils there is only one underage and 18 who are in the grades proper for their chronological age. The remainder —83 1/3 per cent— are retarded

from one to 17 semesters. The average amount of retardation in school work is approximately 4.4 semesters. The distribution of retardation is shown in Table XVII.

2. Intelligence Quotient (I.Q.).

Data on the I. Q. were available only in 39 cases. The range is from the 40's to 110 with a median I. Q. of 73.1.

The distribution was as follows:

I. Q.	Number of Truants
100-109	5
90-99	9
80-89	8
70-79	11
60-69	3
50-59	2
40-49	<u>1</u>
	39

The findings indicate that approximately 34 of these could be classified, to say the least, as dull normals.

3. Scholarship.

The pupils are grouped according to the five-fold category of the Chicago public school system, namely, excellent, good, average, poor, failure. The rating was given in the cases of 110 pupils and was distributed as follows:

Scholarship	Number of Truants
Excellent	1
Good	4
Average	32
Poor	49
Failure	<u>24</u>
	110

The number of those ranking "poor" and "failure" constitute over 66% of the entire group.

The ranking of 39 pupils whose I. Q. was given in the preceding section is as follows:

Scholarship	Number of Truants
Excellent	0
Good	1
Average	13
Poor	14
Failure	11
	<u>39</u>

These data apparently denote that approximately two out of three truants are classified either as poor or failure.

B. Social Status

1. Economic Status of Home.

The same classification of homes was used as for the grave cases with the same understanding as to appellations. These are: very poor, poor, comfortable and very comfortable.

The homes of 109 pupils were thus classified:

Very poor	21
Poor	46
Comfortable	41
Very comfortable	1
	<u>109</u>

These data show that over 63% of the pupils come from homes that are considered poor and very poor.

2. Parental Status.

These findings were taken from the returns in 114 cases and give some idea of the broken home conditions of some of these problem cases. They are as follows:

Parental Status	Number
Father dead	26
Mother dead	16
Both dead	4
Stepfathers	5
Stepmothers	3
Father deserted	11
Mother deserted	1
Separated or divorced	9
Insane	1
One parent crippled	<u>4</u>

3. Nationality.

The nationality of the pupils is determined here by information as to the nationality of the father of the pupil. The national groups over ten were as follows:

Poles	36
Italians	14
Colored	14
Irish	<u>11</u>
	<u>75</u>

No information was forthcoming on 9 pupils. The remaining 30 pupils were scattered among ten other national groups. The complete results are shown in Figure 9.

4. Religion.

The religious affiliations of the truant pupils were as follows:

Catholic	63
Protestant	19
Jewish	5
Not Given	<u>27</u>
	<u>114</u>

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III. Truancy Cases at the Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago

The primary purpose of the Institute is to render service to the children and parents and teachers of the state. Each year children in the hundreds come to the Institute to be examined by experts in the art and science of child guidance. They are brought by parents, teachers, or friends who wish them to undergo this examination.

"The problems which bring children to the Institute range in seriousness from the worrying of an over-conscientious but teachable parent to genuine mental disease in the child; they are as varied as the children are numerous, and everyone of them presents material interesting to all students of human nature, whether they call themselves scientific investigators or not" (50: 3). The records of these problem cases have accumulated in the nineteen years of the history of the Institute of Juvenile Research and present a rich field for exploration by trained research workers.

The records on straight truancy cases have been written up as has been already stated in this paper from the year 1923 to 1927 inclusive. There are on file 588 cases of white boys; 125 of white girls; 67 of negro boys and 21 of negro girls. The records of each case generally contain the complete social history of the child, featuring what can be known about his background and development; a thorough medical examination; an in-

telligence test; and a psychiatric interview. This psychiatric interview is given to find out what can be known about the emotional life of the child and what he really thinks about his problems. The boy's problem is discussed at a staff meeting and recommendations made for its solution.

The writer limited himself to a study of 100 cases of white boys and 25 white girls covering approximately the year 1927. The cases themselves were all listed as straight truancy ones by the statistician of the Institute, Dr. Ackerson. The writer therefore used this specially prepared list, starting with the latest ones recorded, number 10,337 for the white boys, and number 10,318 for the white girls, and worked backwards, studying each case consecutively. The data are grouped under the same captions as were used for the grave and the mild cases of truancy, namely:

- A. Mental Status.
- B. Social Status.
- C. Physical Status.

A. Mental Status

1. Chronological Age and Grade Placement.

The chronological age runs from 6 years and 9 months to 18 years and the grade placement from Grade I A to the second year in high school inclusive. The distribution is shown in Table XVIII. The figures between the heavy black lines indicate the pupils of normal age in each grade according to the age-grade norm in use in the Chicago public schools in

1930-31. The figures above the upper heavy line indicate under-age pupils and those below the heavy line indicate overage pupils. There are 28 pupils in the grades for their chronological age with three that are underage. The rest to the number of 69 are retarded from one to 17 semesters. The average amount of retardation in school work is 4.7-semesters. The distribution is shown in Table XIX.

2. Mental Age and Grade Placement.

In Table XX the mental age and grade placement of the 100 problem cases are shown. It is to be noted that only 35% are within the lines that indicate the mental age norm for the grade. Thirty-two (32%) are placed two or more semesters above the grade in which they could actually maintain themselves if they work to capacity. Seventeen (17%) are placed two or more semesters below the grade in which they could possibly maintain themselves.

3. Intelligence Quotient.

The I. Q. range is from below the fifties up to 120 and over, with a median I. Q. of 78.9. The distribution is shown in Figure 16.

4. Scholarship.

The cases have been grouped under the five classifications used in the Chicago public schools at this time, namely, excel-

lent, good, average, poor, failure. The writer could not always find any definite statements coming from the school authorities themselves and had to base his judgments on other objective evidence in the files but not that of the Institute itself. The summary is as follows:

Scholarship	Number of Truants
Excellent	2
Good	14
Average	21
Poor	15
Failure	<u>48</u>
	100

These numbers that are ranked "poor" and "failure" make up 62% of the entire group. There is a certain correspondence between the rankings and the intelligence quotients of this same group. This can be noted from the following resume:

I. Q.	Scholarship
18 truants with I. Q.'s over 100.	16 truants ranked as good and excellent.
16 truants with I. Q.'s from 90 to 99.	21 truants who are ranked as average.
66 truants with I. Q.'s below 90.	62 truants ranked as "poor and failure"

B. Social Status

1. Economic Status of Home and Parental Status.

(a) Economic Status of Home.

From the economic point of view the homes of these problem cases were classified either as dependent or non-dependent.

The summary is as follows:

Number	Status
87	Non-dependent
10	Dependent
<u>3</u>	Not specified
100	

These figures merely indicate that the families were for the most part self-supporting and not, therefore, in need of the help of any charity. They do not mean that the homes were desirable from all other points of view, as, for example, the moral and social. These latter were very poor in some cases.

(B) Parental Status.

The data that follow show the number of homes that are broken and the underlying cause that brought this about. They are as follows:

Father dead	12
Mother dead	14
Divorced	9
Separated	4
Insane	1
In prison	<u>1</u>
	41

In 9 cases there were step-parents.

2. Nationality.

The writer has drawn up the data showing the birthplaces of the fathers and mothers, as over 90% of the boys were born in the United States. They are as follows:

	Father	Mother
United States	31	29
Poland	17	18
Italy	9	9
Austria	5	6
Russia	6	5
Lithuania	6	3
Germany	4	3
Hungary	2	2
Czecko-Slavakia	2	2
England & Ireland	2	2
Norway & Sweden	0	2
Turkey	1	1
Latvia	1	1
Denmark	0	1
Bohemia	0	1
Greece	0	1
Unknown	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100

3. Religion.

A résumé of the nominal religious affiliations of the 100 truant problem cases on file ~~are~~^{is} as follows:

Catholic	54
Protestant	28
Jewish	11
Greek	1
Not Given	<u>6</u>
	100

C. Physical Status

The boys were all examined with the exception of one in a very thorough manner by a doctor on the staff of the Institute. A summary of the defects found in 99 boys is as follows:

Number of Truants

Carious teeth	65
Overweight	6
Underweight	30
Vaso-motor disturb- ance	45

	Number of Truants
Diseased tonsils	34
Visual defects	38
Enlarged Thyroid	20
Adenoids	8
Auditory defects ..	7
Nasal Infection	8
Nasal Obstruction	4
Evidence of old rickets	28
Organic heart disease	15
Lung findings	4
Cervical adenopathy	17
Skin disease	6
Fatigue posture	11
High palate	8
Coarse Tremor of Hands	6
Fine Tremor of Hands	7
Twenty-three other kinds of defects	34
	439

401

IV. Truancy among Girls

The total number of individual girls truant for 1929-30 was 665 in all the public schools and 67 at the few private schools covered by the truant officers. The number of repeaters for the whole city was 150.

The grave cases are generally assigned to special truant rooms before court action is taken. These rooms are in the following schools:

Richards Prevocational,
Colman,
Von Humboldt,
Medill Prevocational,
Keith Branch.

The writer sought data in the grave cases of truancy at these rooms for the first semester of the school year of 1930-31.

	Number of Truants
Diseased tonsils	34
Visual defects	38
Enlarged Thyroid	20
Adenoids	8
Auditory defects ..	7
Nasal Infection	8
Nasal Obstruction	4
Evidence of old rickets	28
Organic heart disease	15
Lung findings	4
Cervical adenopathy	17
Skin disease	6
Fatigue posture	11
High palate	8
Coarse Tremor of Hands	6
Fine Tremor of Hands	7
Twenty-three other kinds of defects	<u>34</u> 439

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Richards Prevocational,
Colman,
Von Humboldt,
Medill Prevocational,
Keith Branch.

The writer sought data in the grave cases of truancy at these rooms for the first semester of the school year of 1930-31.

There were 21 cases of white girls and 17 cases of colored girls. As the data in regard to mental tests among other things were missing in regard to 10 colored girls and 5 white girls the writer does not consider he had a sufficient number of cases with which to do any reliable work.

The data on the white girl straight truancy cases at the Institute for Juvenile Research built up about the same kind of truant picture as that of the boys. These data were taken from the files starting with the last complete case, number 10,318, which is dated August 31, 1927, and going back to case number 9,472, which is dated November 14, 1926. This list of straight truancy cases was drawn up as for the boys by the courtesy of Dr. Ackerson. Twenty-five cases in all were considered. The data are summarised under the following sections:

- I. Mental Status;
- II. Social Status;
- III. Physical Status.

, I. Mental Status

1. Chronological Age and Grade Placement;
2. Mental Age and Grade Placement;
3. Intelligence Quotient;
4. Scholarship.

1. Chronological Age and Grade Placement.

The chronological age range runs from 8 years and 9 months to 18 years, and the grade placement from Grade I B to Grade 8 A inclusive. The distribution is shown in Table XXI. The figures between the heavy, black lines indicate the pupils

of normal age in each grade. The figures below the heavy line indicate overage pupils. It will be noted that only 5 pupils are in the grades for their age, while 20 are retarded from 2 to 10 semesters. The average amount of retardation is 5.2 semesters, shown in Table XXII.

2. Mental Age and Grade Placement.

The mental age range runs from 6 years and 5 months to 15 years. The distribution of mental age and grade placement is shown in Table XXIII. It is to be noted that 12, or 48%, are placed two or more semesters above the grade in which they could possibly maintain themselves if they worked to capacity.

3. Intelligence Quotient.

The I. Q. range runs from 50 to 110. It is to be noted that only one girl has an I. Q. over 100, while 14 are below 70. The median I. Q. is 68.64. The distribution is seen in Figure 11.

4. Scholarship.

The truant pupils are grouped into the usual categories according to the Chicago school system and were distributed as follows:

Scholarship	Number of Pupils
Excellent	0
Good	0
Average	6
Poor	4
Failure	15
	<u>25</u>

II. Social Status

1. Economic Status of Home.

The homes of these truant girls have been classified as follows:

	Number
Non-dependent	14
Dependent	7
Not Stated	<u>4</u>
	25

These figures refer only to the economic side and not to any other point of view.

2. Parental Status.

In 12 cases broken homes have resulted from the following factors:

	Father	Mother
Dead	4	4
Deserted	2	.....
Separated	1	.....
In prison	1	.....

In two of the above cases there were step-parents and in two other cases the mother was unmarried.

3. Nationality.

Twenty-one of the girls were born in Chicago and the others within the confines of the United States. The parents of these girls came from the following countries:

Country	Father	Mother
Poland	5	5
United States	4	4
Italy	3	3
Russia	2	3
Hungary	2	2
Bohemia	2	1

Country	Father	Mother
Germany	1	1
Lithuania	1	1
Syria	1	1
Not stated	4	4
	<u>25</u>	<u>25</u>

4. Religion.

A summary of the nominal religious affiliations of these 25 truant girls is as follows:

Catholics	13
Greek Catholics	2
Jews	4
Protestants ,, ,	3
Not stated	3
	<u>25</u>

III. Physical Status

Twenty-four of these girls truants were given a thorough physical examination by a doctor on the staff at the Institute. The defects are summarized as follows:

	Number of Individuals
Carious teeth	16
Malnutrition	4
Visual Defects	10
Enlarged Thyroid	8
Auditory Defect	2
Infected Tonsils	7
Vasomotor Disturbance .	16
Cervical Adenopathy ...	2
Evidence of old rickets	8
Positive D'Espine	2
Overweight(over 10 lbs)	4
Other single defects .	7
	<u>80</u>

These findings average 3 1/3 defects per girl.

SUMMARY

As the data from this chapter are to form the ground-work a truant's portraiture, the writer dedicates the following ~~chapter to the accomplishment of this attempt instead of summarizing the present chapter here and now.~~

CHAPTER IV

The Truant

In the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection held in 1930, the Report of the Committee in Delinquency opens with this paragraph as the keynote of the whole report: "That delinquent acts are but a symptom of deeper stresses and difficulties and it is as futile to make these acts the center of interest as it would be to treat primarily what is merely the symptom in any physical disorder. We cannot understand the deeper trouble and arrive at a sound method of dealing with it, unless we understand the child himself. We must know why the delinquency happened. Much of our present mode of handling these problems is but the endless task of sweeping up the debris of life," (57: 1).

The Report thus makes clear the growing sentiment towards handling problems of delinquency. We are not to center our interest on the "problem child" but rather on "the problems of the child". The problems of the truant child will be brought out in this chapter.

In the first place, truancy, next to theft, is the commonest of all juvenile offenses (9: Burt, 435). Yet it appears "truancy is little thought of." In actual fact, according to Cyril Burt, it is usually "the first step on the downward stair to crime" (9; 435). The findings of the New York Crime Com-

mission emphasize these statements with their findings in a study of 251 truant boys. It appears that of these 251 boys, 51% were charged with delinquency, 30% became adult offenders, and 14% became professional criminals (19: 8). Should these figures be characteristic of the large group of truant boys in the country, the problem of the truant child deserves serious attention.

Dr. William O'Shea speaks of the truant child as one who is usually a handicapped child, handicapped in respect to body, mind, home conditions or external environment" (38: 20). An understanding of these handicaps will give us an understanding of the problems of the truant child.

1. The Mental Handicap

It seems logical to investigate any handicap in regard to mind first of all. This is the faculty that is perhaps most needed in our present school organization. The child has to go to school and must be considered from the point of view of his equipment. The White House Conference states quite clearly in one of its reports that "matters of compulsory education attendance, school failure, and the hazards involved in truancy are merely surface phenomena which challenge us to consider why children must go to school and whether the school is meeting the needs of the child" (57: 4). Should the child, then, tend to become a problem case the educator must interest himself less and less in what the child did and more and more in why he did it.

With the advance of psychology during the past generation or so, the mind of man can be measured roughly, to say the least, and some estimate set as to his ability to maintain himself in the ordinary classroom of today. Any such knowledge of the mind of a child, then, informs us of his mental equipment, and of what can be expected of him in academic work. Using these ways of measuring the mind of truant children, we discover in most cases handicaps of a mental nature that tend to make them misfits in the ordinary classroom.

In the general opinion of educational psychologists an I. Q. averaging around 90 is considered to be that of a dull normal.

The findings of this study in regard to the I. Q. as well as other factors, delineate rather an impressive picture of the truant burdened with a mental handicap.

The following facts have been brought out in the preceding pages:

1. In the Farrell study of truancy only 2 pupils had I. Q.'s over 100. There were 10 between 90 and 99, and the remaining 20 distributed between 65 and 90;
2. The McElwee report gives a median I. Q. of 73. Out of 113 truants there were only 7 over 90, with 1 of these over 100.
3. Among the 438 grave cases of truancy investigated by the writer for this study, it is shown that only 19 have I. Q.'s over 100. There are 41 between 90 and 99 and the rest distributed

down to 50. The median I. Q. is 78.8.

4. There are only 5 pupils with an I. Q. above 100 among the 39 mild cases of truancy, with 9 others above 90. The rest are all below 90. The median I. Q. is 73.1.

5. At the Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, there were 16 cases with an I. Q. over 100 among the 100 white boys investigated. Sixteen others were from 90 to 99, and the rest below 90 with 3 below 50. The median I. Q. is 78.9.

6. The 25 white girl truants investigated at the Institute for Juvenile Research have a median I. Q. of 68.6. Only one of these is over 100 with 3 between 90 and 99.

These calculations in the field of I. Q.'s seem to be confirmed in the findings as regards grade placement and scholarship. The child that has not the mental equipment necessary to keep up with his normal fellow mates becomes a problem more and more serious. The generally low I. Q.'s of the above groups of pupils are probably the main cause of the following retardations:

1. In the Farrell study there are 25 pupils retarded from the first to seven terms. There were 20 pupils with an I. Q. below 90.

2. In the McElwee report the grade placement of 73 truants shows a retardation of 1 to 7 terms, while 37 had been promoted regularly. There were 106 truants with an I. Q. below 90 in the study.

3. In the writer's study of 438 grave cases of truancy in

Chicago, there are only 18 pupils in the grades for their chronological age. The rest, 420, are retarded from 1 to 7 years. The average retardation is approximately 3 years. The I. Q. distribution shows 19 over 100.

4. Among 114 mild cases of truancy studied by the writer there are only 19 in the grades proper for their chronological age. The rest--over 83 per cent--are retarded from 1 to 17 semesters. The average retardation is approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$ semesters.

5. At the Institute for Juvenile Research there are 28 truant boys in the grades proper for their age with 3 who were under age. The rest, 69 in all, are retarded from 1 to 17 semesters. There are 66 boys with an I. Q. below 90. The average retardation is over $4\frac{1}{2}$ semesters.

6. There are only 5 girls in the grades proper for their chronological age while 20 others are retarded from 2 to 10 semesters. The average retardation is over 5 semesters. Only 4 girls had an I. Q. over 90.

This large group of truant cases with low I. Q.'s and decided grade retardation present also another aspect of comparative failure along strict academic lines in the rating that is given them as to their scholarship.

In the group of 438 grave cases of truancy in Chicago, there are approximately 83% who rank as "poor" and "failure," this is keeping with the I. Q. grouping where we have 86% with an I. Q. below 90 and the age-grade retardation of 95% of the same group.

Among 110 mild cases of truancy, there are 66% who are classified as "poor" and "failure." Of the 39 cases in this group whose I. Q.'s were available, it is to be noted that 25 are below 90, while at the same time 25 are grouped as "poor" and "failure." Nine others have I. Q.'s between 90 and 99 and 5 over 100, while 13 are ranked as "average" and 1 as "good."

The findings at the Institute for Juvenile Research bring out about the same tidings. The number that rank "poor" and "failure" make up 62% of the group, while 66% of the same group have an I. Q. below 90. At the same time there are 16 truants with an I. Q. between 90 and 99, and 21 of the same group who are ranked as average.

As to the girls, there are 19 who are classified as "poor" and "failure" and 21 of the same group with an I. Q. below 90.

To aggravate all of these findings, discrepancies between grade ability and grade placement are also to be considered.

Miss Farrell finds in her investigations a discrepancy of up to 6 terms between grade ability and grade placement. She also finds that 34% of the cases she investigated have grade ability 2 or more terms below their grade placement, while 16% have grade ability 2 or more terms above their grade placement.

These figures of Miss Farrell approximate very closely those coming from the Institute for Juvenile Research. Among boys, 32% are placed two or more semesters above the grade

in which they could possibly maintain themselves by working to capacity, while 17% are placed two or more semesters below the grade in which they could possibly maintain themselves.

2. The Environment Handicap.

In the Report on the Socially Handicapped at the White House Conference coming from Judge Frederick R. Cabot we read that "the so-called 'broken-home' appears in something like one-third of all of the delinquency cases which come before the juvenile court. Poverty and economic stress are of the gravest importance in apprehended delinquency. Beyond depriving the child of essential physical necessities there is the deeper, more lasting and more hardening effect of constant financial stress and strain. Also we read that "Family unity and integrity are necessary--the presence and mode of living of both parents are to the child the keenest and most certain symbols of these. Behavior is caught, not taught" (57: 2).

The data investigated show the large number of truants handicapped in home, home conditions, or external environment that could well be potent factors of truancy.

In the Farrell report, it is to be noted that in 53% of the cases examined there is either a broken home or "bad home conditions." In all of these cases there was more or less inadequate supervision at home and in some cases practically none.

In the writer's investigation of 438 grave cases of truancy, he finds that approximately 83% of the boys come from homes classified as "poor" and "very poor." In 45% of the cases there were "broken home" conditions on account of death or separation of parents for one cause or another. There were other factors also in the way of unemployment, the mother working, dissension, sickness of parents, alcoholism, immorality, tyranny, stupidity and neglect of parents—all of which the writer did not draw up.

Among the mild cases of truancy 67 homes or 63% of those classified were ranked as "poor" and "very poor." Of 114 cases, 60% were "broken homes" on account of the death or separation of the parents. Little more could be learned of these homes by the writer.

At the Institute for Juvenile Research the homes of only 10 of the 100 boys investigated were classified as dependent. This does not mean that the other homes were not "poor" and "very poor." There were 41 cases of death or separation of parents. In 9 of these cases there were step-parents.

The figures on the 25 girls do not show much divergence from the group of boys. The dependent families are 7, while 4 are not classified. In twelve cases of the 25 there were "broken home" conditions due to death or separation of parents.

The writer did not make any study of truancy areas.

Mr. Bodine, Superintendent of Compulsory Education in the City of Chicago, states, however, that the territorial abodes of truant habitants remain practically the same as in 1928 when Dr. Shaw made a survey of Juvenile Court records showing residential addresses of 5159 truants from 1917 to 1918 inclusive (11: 8).

Another finding of Dr. Shaw's seems to eliminate the national element. He points out that many of the areas in Chicago have been characterized by high rates of truancy, delinquency, and crime for thirty odd years, and that these rates have persisted in certain areas notwithstanding the fact that the composition of population has changed markedly (51: 203). The determining factor, according to him, is usually the area in which a particular nationality lives.

3. The Physical Handicap

The connection, if there be any, between truancy and physical deficiency is difficult to determine.

The Farrell Report simply states and lists the number of physical defects and leaves the problem unsolved. There are 83 defects in this group of 32 truants. In 13 cases, the Report states, the physical defects were so serious that they might be considered active contributing factors to the child's truancy. Besides, 66% of all the truants examined were suffering from psychic disorders, both organic and functional, that were serious enough to be detected in the brief time available.

The 438 grave cases of truancy in Chicago present about the same average as to physical defects. There is a total of 1210. A list of physical defects was drawn up by Mr. Stullken, Principal of the Montefiore Special School in Chicago, showing in a comparative way the kinds of defects and their frequency among 589 boys at the Montefiore School and 589 other boys at a regular school in about the same type of neighborhood from which most of the problem children came. The writer reduced to percentages frequencies in physical defects among grave cases in truancy and the pupils of the regular school. The more outstanding differences were as follows:

Percentages.

	Truants	Regular
Malnutrition and Anemia .....	.454	.283
Enlarged Lymph Glands .....	.550	.790
Nervous Diseases .....	.098	.046
Cardiac Disease .....	.068	.045
Rachitic Type .....	.009	.071
Defective Vision .....	.030	.025
Enlarged Thyroid .....	.114	.044
Defective Hearing .....	.080	.010

In these findings, apart from malnutrition and anemia, the truant boy does not seem to the writer to be under any extraordinary handicap.

The data in physical defects from the boys and girls at the Institute of Juvenile Research do not seem to the writer to throw any further light on the question.

Other Possible Contributing Factors

In "Delinquency Areas", Dr. Shaw quotes from Healy's study of several thousand cases of repeated offenders. An extract from this quotation reads: "We ourselves have had few chances to study cases simply of truancy. Nearly all instances, even of those who are classified as merely truants and who are complained of as such, prove upon study to have complicated forms of misdoing, begging, thieving, gambling, indulgence in much smoking or bad sex habits, staying away from home at night, etc., many of which delinquencies have been contributing causes to the truancy itself. Going over our own statistics we find that of our two series, each of 1000 young repeated offenders in Boston, only 9 boys and 2 girls, and 4 boys and 2 girls, respectively, were instances of uncomplicated truancy." (51: 34)

At the Institute for Juvenile Research, the statistician Dr. Ackerson, has drawn up some interesting correlations as regards the presence of certain traits in the conduct and personality makeup of 2,113 white boys. The writer was graciously given permission by Dr. Ackerson to take a copy of the correlations for truants. These are shown in Table XXIV.

The higher correlations for truants are the following:

Stealing .....	.62
Truancy from home .....	.61
Staying out late at night .....	.50
Loitering .....	.49
Bad companions .....	.48
Gang .....	.46
Refusal to attend school .....	.44
Lying .....	.42
Smoking .....	.40
Incorrigible .....	.37
Leading others into bad conduct .....	.35

These findings would seem to corroborate those of Dr. Healy. The writer, however, did not find any instances of uncomplicated truancy.

While considering all these possible causes and contributory factors at work, we must not overlook instinctive promptings of tendencies. Burt writes: "In not a few of my truant cases--in 3.3 per cent among the boys, and in 1.4 per cent among the girls--the sheer strength of this innate tendency to wander seems to operate as the sole or principal stimulus" (9: 347).

The Report of the School Committee of the City of Boston in its Allignment of the Causes of Truancy has 362 cases of boy truants (or 22% of the total number of boy truants) attributed to "wanderlust" as a cause. The truancy of 10% of the girls is alleged to be due to the same factor, "wanderlust". (See Table XIIB.)

The study of Miss McElwee on truancy in the Red Hook District of Brooklyn reports that the cause of truancy in 14 cases, or 20% of the number investigated, could be attributed to "play instincts," such as going to the movies, the parks, swimming (30: 10).

It would seem essential to discriminate between simple and straightforward cases, where the impulse arises from some normal instinct, and those that are deeper and more involved, with factors of abnormal personality traits and delinquencies. This factor of instinct, it seems, needs further investigation. Dr. Healy's figures are quite low for cases of uncomplicated truancy—17 cases among 2,000 truants; Dr. Burt finds 3.3 per cent among the boys and 1.4 per cent among the girls; the Boston and Mc Elwee reports both show figures in the 20 per cent.

CHAPTER VThe Rehabilitation of the Truant

The Committee on Special Classes at the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection held in Washington, D. C., in 1930, report among other significant findings that 675,000 pupils, which is at least 3% of the elementary school enrollment, present behavior problems. Of these, less than 10,000 are enrolled in parental schools, special classes and schools (56: 3).

Truancy seems to be one of the major elements in most behavior problem cases in the elementary school. It is so to the extent of over 60% in the cities of Chicago, New York and Cleveland (52: 10; 54: 16). Little is done apparently in the large cities of the country to look after these cases adequately. There is a movement on foot, however, in the right direction. A Committee of the ~~White~~ White House Conference states emphatically that "there has been growing realization that the school is quite as responsible for formation as for information" (57: 4). The movement is seen in the schools' changing their emphasis from the thing taught to the person taught, realizing that the person taught cannot be isolated from all those factors in his family, his neighborhood, and the burdens involved in the earning of life for himself and his family which go to make up his individuality (57: 4).

The truant child must, therefore, be considered in his own individual makeup and in the light of his environmental background. He is a handicapped child, handicapped in respect to body, mind, home conditions or external environment (38: 20). The formation he requires must be given in a special way as to a handicapped child. This special education is not charity, but sound public policy, and is demanded by the experts on the Committee on Special Classes at the White House Conference (56: 5).

The Superintendent of Schools of the City of New York seems to have this view, for as far back as 1927 he writes: "No thoroughly considered, articulated plan for the elimination of truancy has yet been worked out or even considered. A few so-called probationary schools caring for less than a thousand children all told, have been organized. As yet these boys....are regarded as deservedly objects of repression or compulsion, for whom the Parental School is the proper place, since it removes from the full-time day school a rebellious, unconfoming individual. A common observation concerning the action taken by the court or others in the case of boys who have committed delinquent deeds is that they don't do anything to them. Sending or putting these boys away is an acceptable way of doing something to the juvenile delinquent, and committing the truant to a

Parental School receives a like approval. Something is thus done to the offender; he is punished. Yet almost inevitably after a short period of time the truant boy returns to some public school, or is released old enough to go to work and ceases to disturb the school routine. Although if the Crime Commission be correct, every other such truant continues to contend with society and its agents, and one of every seven preys upon it for a livelihood" (38: 19).

A step in this way of considering things is seen in the Special Day Schools or Classes for truants. The purpose is to have a Parental School. In such schools he will be given an opportunity to respond to thoroughly planned remedial work based upon a careful diagnosis of his needs-- mental, physical and environmental. These can be determined by experts. Should the child fail to respond to this treatment, he can be committed to the Parental School, where further re-examinations should be provided and his regimen modified after consultation with the principal (38: 22). This policy is being followed out in some cities.

Before turning to the work done by certain special schools, the writer wishes to present briefly the status of the Parental School in some of the larger cities of the country.

Parental Schools are conducted in the larger cities

as follows: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Cleveland, Newark (N. J.), Baltimore, Houston (Texas), Cincinnati, and Detroit. There are none in Boston and Los Angeles.

Superintendent Frank Cody of Detroit in a comparative study of those schools in 1928 submits several points about them. The following are the more important:

1. The general purpose in all of these cities is to take the children out of an unfavorable home environment;
2. An important question in each city is the avoidance of the institutional type of organization;
3. In most cities the actual type of organization is a compromise between the institutional and the home unit plan. This is accomplished through a group of cottages under a central management;
4. Eight of the schools are located on farms;
5. The farm is useful in affording opportunities for outdoor work. It does not contribute much to financial support. In Philadelphia, the farm land is not worked, or is worked very little;
6. Some cities have a plan of supervision of the children after they are returned to their homes. This seems necessary, if the benefits of the stay in the schoolhomes are not to be lost;
7. A developed tendency in some cities is to work with

the home to improve it, during the time the child is kept in the Parental School. The transfer of children to an approved and supervised private home rather than to a school-home supported by the public is recommended when it is impossible to improve the home;

8. The annual per capita cost in the homes visited is about \$700 (18A: 3, 4).

The work offered is along academic and vocational lines. In five schools the hours were divided equally between academic and vocational work; in five others one-third of the time only was given to vocational work. In six of the schools there was physical and dental inspection monthly. The others were inspected more or less regularly.

The commitment of truants to such schools, however good, merely parallels the accepted procedure for violation of the criminal law. It is based on punishment of one kind or another as the means of cure and the means of prevention. The facts available show that, two-thirds or more of the truants are regular in attendance after release, but facts also show that a very large number of truants become adult delinquents. The problem of the truant boy has not been solved by the prescription of confinement in the Parental School (38: 20; 19; 8 and 11).

The needs of the child must be met. This is the growing realization among educators. The rise of the special

school and special classes for truants in particular is an attempt to fit the school work and the school activities to the special needs of its problem boys.

The special schools at the present time are not numerous. The outstanding ones of the country are to be found in Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York City, Newark (New Jersey), and Philadelphia. The more illuminating annual reports come from the Thomas Edison School in Cleveland, Ohio, and the Montefiore Special School in Chicago, Illinois.

It is, however, perhaps worthy of note that Boston abolished its Parental School in 1914 and established the Disciplinary Day School, to which habitual truants, absentees, and other school offenders are sent. These boys, except the hopelessly incorrigible, escape all institutional taint, live at home, and attend school five days a week.

Each boy receives special attention. An intensive study is made of him to ascertain the cause of his habitual truancy and school offenses. A mental test is given also a thorough physical examination. The minimum requirements of the course of study are the objectives of all classes with domestic science and a diversified shop. Those who fail to respond to this treatment are taken to the Roxbury Juvenile Court and may eventually be committed to the Middlesex County

Training School for Boys (6A: Letter).

The Thomas A. Edison School of Cleveland, Ohio, is one that is attracting much attention because of its success. It was established in 1921 and from rather nebulous fundamental policies gradually evolved definite convictions which have since become basic policies of the school. They have frequently been stated as follows:

1. Every child should like to go to school, and should find his activities both interesting and satisfying.
2. School tasks and methods of instruction should be adapted to the child. Success should be the usual expected thing.
3. Compulsion will hold a child's body in school, but his mind must be kept there by interest.
4. There are stronger forces within than without a child to impel him to right behavior.
5. The problem of child control is chiefly one of helping him to discover values he has not seen before.
6. Rewards are better than punishments. Punishments may stop a child who is going in the wrong direction. They have no value in leading him in the right direction.

"The correct answers to the questions stated in the foregoing paragraphs are rather definitely agreed upon now, and these answers have been embodied in the present building, equipment, curriculum and practice" (54: 3).

The purpose of the school is wholly educational. Its curriculum is specially adapted to motor-minded boys, and has a strong vocational emphasis. As soon as a boy comes to the school, he is placed in the "Receiving Room", where all new boys are gathered. There, he is studied, oriented, and placed where he belongs. This is done only when all the information possible has been collected about him. The school in this way attempts to provide the type of education believed to be best suited to the boy (54: 3, 5).

The Montefiore Special School of Chicago was established in 1929. It is for all behavior problem boys and especially those whose interests and aptitude need to be discovered, encouraged, and developed. It attempts to fit the school and the school activities to the special needs of its problem boys. The school studies the problem of the problem child through its laboratory situation, doctors, nurse, dentist, psychologist, truant officers, and selected teachers, and in this way attempts to learn all it can in order to meet the needs of the problem child in the best possible manner (52: 2).

The work of the school is roughly divided into two parts. The boys spend about one-half of their time in academic work and the other half in activities of various kinds. There is an electric and metal shop, a wood shop, a general science laboratory, a drawing room, a reed and rug weaving

laboratory, a library and reading room, a small auditorium, a cafeteria, and lunch room. The number of boys there for truancy amounts to 61.5 per cent of the enrollment for 1929-30 (52: 5, 6).

The solution of the problem of the truant child through special classes evidently has the approbation of at least the Crime Commission of New York State. After studying 201 truants the Sub-Commission on Causes summarized its findings and recommendations. The principal ones are the following:

1. The expert examination of the truants from several angles. When this has been done, the school program should be adapted to meet his needs.

2. Mental hygiene clinics are needed in the school systems of the State of New York. These should be in the schools preferably and not in separate agencies.

3. The trend of thought in the Board of Education of New York City at the present time is towards providing probationary schools where the problem child may be segregated and given various clinical examinations and treatments. The Sub-Commission on Causes feels, however, that more effective work will be done by clinical treatment under normal every day school conditions rather than under institutional conditions developing from a process of the segregation of children presenting problems (57: 15).

The Crime Commission of New York State in its recom-

mendations advocates among other things:

1. The establishment within the school system of clinics for medical, psychological, and psychiatric study of children presenting behavior problems.

2. A revision of the school curriculum to meet the needs of a large group of children who have not the capacity for ordinary academic training due to defective mentality or emotional instability.

3. The Bureau of Attendance should be provided with trained case workers for supervision of the problem child (19:15).

In the light of our present knowledge, then, it would seem that this problem of truancy must be approached from the remedial and not from the disciplinary point of view. This is quite important--not only in fairness to the individual, but in determining whether these children are to become dependents or delinquents, or are to be brought up to their best possible degree of mental and physical development with a fair chance of becoming socially efficient (22: 10).

The picture of the truant as portrayed in this study is more or less a complex one. It generally shows a child that is handicapped mentally, physically, emotionally, and socially and in this way presenting a problem that requires careful examination. This is usually educational, psychological, physical, psychiatric, and social in character and requires the services of trained men and women. It seems in the light of modern opin-

ion that the problem of truancy can only be understood and managed in this way.

The organization required for such expert examinations of truants presents another problem. The trend of thought in the Board of Education of New York City has been towards having the problem child segregated in probationary schools and given these various examinations, while the Crime Commission of New York State wants the problem child kept in the home school but examined in clinics established within the school system.

The solution then seems to resolve itself down to a proper academic adjustment for the truant, as the expert examination is simply a means to find out just what equipment the child has and what school curriculum is best suited to his needs and abilities. Such a policy is unreservedly advocated by cities such as Rochester (New York) and Newark (New Jersey). These cities hardly recognize truancy at all—for them it is primarily maladjustment in school or negligence on the part of parents. The problem of truancy is solved along these lines and apparently with success.

The policies of the Chicago Board of Education seem to be in keeping with the policies and trend of thought of other cities as mentioned in this study. These are found in the annual reports of the Superintendent of Compulsory Education. The Department shows itself to be active in its campaign against negligent parents of truants. Cases, however, are only taken into court as a last

resort when warnings were not heeded and moral suasion failed (11: 1). The academic adjustment of truants is sought in special truant rooms, in the Montefiore and Mosely Special Schools. These schools provide the expert clinical examination and the academic curricula that most problem children require. The Board, like the boards of other cities, is apparently seeking to solve its own problems in its own particular way while taking into consideration the work that has been accomplished in other city systems of education. Prior to the opening of the Montefiore School in 1929, the principal designated to take charge was commissioned to study like schools in other cities throughout the country. The excellent results of this school has led to the opening of a second school of the same type. Possibly the City of Chicago will seek the expert examination of its problem children and their proper academic adjustment in a sufficient number of such types of schools. The policy can deservedly be watched with much interest.

CONCLUSIONS

The first objective of this study is to present a picture of the truant child. The data show this picture to be quite complex. He is seen to be usually a handicapped child--handicapped as to body, mind, home, home conditions and external environment.

With over two-thirds of the groups considered, mental deficiency seems to be rather closely connected with truancy. In the investigation of 438 grave cases of truancy by the writer in the Chicago elementary schools, a median I. Q. of 88.8 is found. Only 4.3% of these have an I. Q. over 100 while 86.4% have one less than 90.

As to the other truant groups, the Farrell study of 32 pupils shows 2 pupils with I. Q.'s over 100; 10 between 90 and 99; and 20 below 90. The McElwee Report on 113 truants gives a median I. Q. of 73. Of these only 7 had an I. Q. over 90. In the writer's report of 39 cases, the median I. Q. is 73.1 with 14 above 90.

Of the 100 cases investigated at the Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, the median I. Q. is 78.9. Of these, 68 had an I. Q. below 90.

The frequency of physical defects among truants is considerable but it must be remembered that children in like homes and neighborhoods are more subject to such ailments than chil-

dren from more healthful districts and better homes. In the comparative study of physical defects made by Mr. Stullken, principal of the Montefiore Special School, Chicago, between 589 pupils of the Special School and 589 of a Regular School in a similar neighborhood, there was an average of 3.80 defects per problem child and 2.75 defects per child in the Regular School. Of the 438 grave cases of truancy investigated in this study, there was an average of 2.76 defects per child. The differences in distribution of pupils among the specific kinds of physical defects are not considerable and do not seem indicative of any element of importance.

Home conditions and external environment are probably factors of great importance in truancy. In the writer's investigation of 438 grave cases of truancy, he finds that approximately 83% of the boys come from homes classified as "poor" and "very poor". In 45% of the cases these were "broken home" conditions on account of the death or the separation of parents. These high percentages indicate a close relationship between poverty and truancy.

The second objective is to form an estimate of the truancy situation as it is today in Chicago. The data indicate the difficulty in forming an estimate of the extent of truancy in other cities due to different concepts of truancy itself. From the data available, however, it can be seen that

the extent of truancy in Chicago is not alarming. As a matter of fact, it seems to be proportionately lower than most of the other cities considered.

The summary and ranking ^{are} ~~is~~ as follows:

City	Population (1930 census)	Number of Individual Truants
1. Detroit	1,573,985	13,787
2. Baltimore	804,874	6,307
3. Philadelphia	1,964,430	8,582
4. Boston	787,271	2,173
5. Los Angeles	464,753	1,206 ($\frac{1}{2}$ year)
6. Chicago	3,375,329	6,388
7. New York City	6,981,927	8,082

The attitude of Chicago towards truancy has been and is in keeping with the better views current in the cities considered. The tendency is towards proper academic adjustment and the prosecution of negligent parents.

Lastly, the third objective is to judge of the way in which truants are being handled in the light of modern views. These views as the data indicate, are the consideration of the "problems of the child" rather than the "problem child" and proper academic adjustment. The establishment of the Montefiore School with its clinic and organization and staff point to the fact that Chicago is well abreast of the times and in

line with similar movements in other cities.

In the deliniation of the truant, it is realized that elements along the emotional, instinctive and personality trait lines are scanty or missing. Such data were generally absent and when present could not be organized due chiefly to lack of means of measuring such elements.

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