worker forced suddenly to terminate good relationships after the child's return home. This has required the expenditure of considerable time and effort as each agency gives such situations special supervision or serves as consultant as the case may warrant.

Another natural development has been that much emphasis has been placed on improving methods of selecting foster homes for adults, and at present the Children's Society, which provides all such homes for the Bureau, gives them more thorough preliminary study than was hitherto thought necessary. This service, which has recently increased in volume and intensity has much significance in relation to our case-work practices that still needs more analysis than we have been able to give it.

Problems of intake affect us both vitally and still remain a frequent cause of confusion and dissatisfaction. The children's workers believe that their more protected and concentrated experience gives them an acute perception of the significance of danger signs in children's behavior that the family workers have only recently been able to develop. Therefore they have been critical of situations referred at a time when the child's age and the seriously aggravated nature of his problems makes treatment either at home or in foster care of doubtful value. The traditional zeal of both agencies for preserving the family unit may also have been responsible for unwise delay in placement.

It is agreed that the children's agency should participate in the diagnostic process preliminary to removal, just as the family agency should participate in plans for uniting the family group. Efforts are made to initiate this joint activity before situations become crucial but this is not always possible and the preparation for placement does not always run smoothly when service responsibility is thus divided. We believe that both agencies have inherent values necessary to adequate diagnostic studies and are trying to learn how to utilize these values to the uttermost. Until we do, some confusion and dissatisfaction will probably remain.

Obviously we are confronted with many questions. We have already. stated we are not prepared with final answers nor can we make confident predictions as to the future. The very process of reviewing our experiences for THE QUARTERLY gives us perspectives that reveal how much we still have to overcome. shall continue to try to find answers and a recently formed committee of our Board members and members of the Associated Jewish Charities will study the situation for the purpose of future planning. Observations of our experiments lead us to believe that the basic content of our two fields is practically identical. It is true we have developed specializations but it is also true that these can be looked upon as tools to be used in the general process of service to families and children, and are based on good generic case work procedure. We have learned much about each other. We now face the task of learning how we can most effectively strengthen our respective services and harmonize them for the benefit of client and community.

RE-EDUCATIVE ACTIVITY FOR DELINQUENT YOUTH

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Individualization in Therapy

HE re-educational program of a ▲ modern progressive school for delinquent youth is based upon the accepted facts of modern psychiatry that a large number of personality difficulties arise from unconscious sources and that such disturbances are essentially individual in their nature. Because of the individual nature of the personality deviation, the treatment program must be individualized. Another consideration that enters in the construction of a re-educational and treatment program for delinquent youth is the reconditioning of attitudes toward group life and toward adults by friendly and satisfying living experiences with adults and peers.

Enlightened psychiatry and education recognize that the strivings, drives and conflicts which remain latent and serve to distort personality need expression through some medium. If this expression is constructive and leads to group recognition, self-esteem and satisfaction, the integrative process in the personality is aided and it is thereby helped to accept social and group restraint. This re-educative process is further aided by satisfying group life under the leadership of understanding and sympathetic adults who serve as parent substitutes.

In view of these basic elements of corrective education, the re-educational department of the Hawthorne-Cedar

Knolls School of the Jewish Board of Guardians made an analysis of its student population before proceeding with definite plans for its work.2 These studies revealed that the median of intelligence of the student body is about 90, approximately ten per cent being above an Intelligence Quotient of 100. The Mental Age scatter was very wide in relation to Chronological Age, which indicated both immaturity and considerable personality instability. The population was classified in terms of degree of socializability and influence boys had upon each other—destructive or constructive-in and out of their own cottages. Each boy's and girl's special talents and interests were ascertained from the psychologist's records and through a questionnaire submitted to all adults who knew or worked with the boy or girl. A similar study was made of each boy and girl as to his or her standing in academic subjects and vocational shops in the school. In a later stage of the educational department's work, cottage and other group attitudes were established as to boys' own attitudes and strivings toward adult status.

School and Life Groupings

On the basis of these and other studies, and on the basis of the psychiatric material and the psychologist's data available, the boys were classified for their school work under the following

In psycho-therapy this medium is language. In corrective education the medium is creative expression forms and human relations.

^{2.} The present article deals only with the educational program of the school. It does not describe the individualized psycho-therapy employed in the treatment of the more severe cases of personality deviations or its program of vocational training.

groupings: Academic Group; Half School and Half Manual Group; Activity Group; All-day Manual Group, and Ungraded Group.

Into the first group were allocated those boys and girls who because of interests, background and capacity were capable of pursuing regular academic school work. The second group, Half Academic and Half Manual, consists of boys whose intellectual capacities makes it possible for them to do academic work but who because of emotional instability, are unable to concentrate for long periods in the classroom and therefore require relief through physical, manual or vocational activity from the strain of concentrated effort. The Activity Group is composed of those boys who, because of intellectual limitations, are unable to gain from a program of symbolic and linguistic teaching. They can learn only through activity. Because of their age these boys are required to continue in school and it was found that "learning through activity" is the only method that could hold their interests. The Manual Group consists of boys above school age whose intelligence and interests rendered them entirely incapable of continuing with any type of school work and they were assigned to various occupational duties under the supervision of mechanics, for vocational experience. The Ungrade! Class consists of those boys and girls who. in accordance with the Board of Education by-laws, are required to be placed in such special classes.

The need for therapy and the influence of boys upon each other were employed also in classifying them for cottage life and for occupational and recreational groups. There are the

aggressive, the submissive, the aesthetic, the primitive types, the easily socializable and those who have only limited capacity for civilizability. These are being gradually regrouped with a view to attaining group balance and personality interactivity which would bring the group as closely to the normal as it is possible to obtain in practice. Similarly, on maintenance work, groupings are being re-arranged with an eye to native abilities and types of interest of the individual boys as well as their workability together as a group.

The Educational Scope

The present re-educational program of the school, therefore, is composed of: 1. The Public School; 2. Cottage Life; 3. The Work Group; 4. Creation of opportunities to normalize the boys and girls through contact with the outside world; 5. Creative expression for the release of the unconscious material (in addition to the work of the psychiatric department and supplementary to it): 6. The creation of a recreational program for leisure-time occupation and interest-finding and 7. Helping to establish decent human relationships among the pupils, especially between the adults of the school community and the boys and girls.

Changes in School Practice

The necessary physical and curricular changes are being made to meet the needs of the various school groups. Most of the class-rooms in the school are now devoid of stationary desks and chairs. In their stead are to be found either individual tables and chairs or large tables for group work.

The subject matter is also gradually being changed to include material of immediate interest to the pupils. The school community, the surrounding

country, interests such as airplanes, automobiles, and travel form a part of the curricular content. "Health Education" includes not only the rules of hygiene but also physiology generally, bio-chemistry, the study of personal attitudes and habits and discussion of personal problems with the teacher, particularly those with a psychological content. When these become laden with unconscious material, the boy or girl is referred to the psychiatric department for further discussion. While the classroom aims to teach the "minimum essentials" and the "tool subjects," it is at the same time gradually being incorporated into the treatment program of the school. The greatest success in the direction of learning the three R's is enjoyed by remedial teachers who teach them on an individual basis.

Clubs are being introduced as a part of and supplementary to the schoolwork. The first of these, the Model Airplane Club, is very popular. The present vocational and pre-vocational shops at the school are Woodwork, Arts and Crafts, Printing, Machine, Airplane, Automobile and Typewriting.

A recent addition is the Science room where scientific facts are being acquired empirically by a large number of boys and a few girls. Here househouse utensils, like electric percolators, flat irons, electric bells, etc., are being dismantled, analyzed and rebuilt. Pupils build miniature models after they have learned the governing principles of these devices through the investigatory method. Radio and telegraph sets are made in large numbers and the younger boys delight in making electro-magnets and in similar science-play occupations. Here, too, are an-

alyzed such essential fixtures in common use as faucets, electric sockets, electric bulbs. At the present time a chemical section is being built in one corner of the room by the boys themselves under the supervision of the science teacher.

Co-Education

The Hawthorne-Cedar Knolls School is a co-educational institution. At present it consists of seven boys' cottages and one girls' cottage which stands apart from the main campus. Until recently they were independent institutions with little or no cooperation. At present the academic school and some parts of the trade school are co-educational. This is an innovation in the treatment of delinquent youth and was inaugurated with some degree of misgiving. The results, however, were most gratifying. While in their initial stages the mixed classes have created disciplinary problems, the boys and girls have finally learned to take each other for granted and no special difficulties are experienced as a result of the new school practice.

In fact, so satisfying were the results that co-educational activities have been extended to the recreational program. Some of the leisure time activities like Choral Society, Movies, Festivals, Choir, Synagogue, Theatricals and all community entertainments are open to boys and girls together.

The Recreational Program

A most important single factor in normalizing the life of the community and reducing inner tension and hostility is the school's recreational program. This program (given below) has been evolved almost entirely on the suggestion of the boys themselves. In fact, the idea for such a program came from

one of them. Soon after the feeling was conveyed to the boys on the campus that they were an integral part of the communal life and could fully participate in it, they came forward with many ideas for improving and enriching the life of the community. More suggestions came than it was possible to put into effect. However, the following club and special interest program grew out of these suggestions:

Two or Three Period a Week Activities: Harmonica Club, Library, Chess Club, Printing Club, Arts and Crafts, Dramatics, Art, Choral Society, Clay Modeling.

One Period a Week Activities: Tap Dancing, Hawthornian (Magazine), Playwriters' Group, Ping-Pong Club, Varsity Club, Communal Singing.

Moving pictures are shown once a week, Saturday evenings. The gym and other group recreational activities which are held three times a week, are not listed here.

These creative and recreational activities not only occupy leisure time but have served quite definitely to ease the tension of institutional life. It is found that the attitude of the pupils toward the school and the staff has changed. One of the public school teachers described the situation as follows: "The boys are much more easily handled, freer, more amenable, and ever so much less pugnacious than they had been before. These boys used to be ready to fight with each other at the drop of a hat. Now there is never any fighting going on in the classrooms." The pupils find the school an instrument of release and satisfaction rather than one of repression and frustation. We feel that we have succeeded to a large measure in eliminating the retributional element common to corrective institutions.

The change in attitude was manifested at a number of points. The attitude in the public school, as already mentioned, had improved. The cottage life became more constructive and creative because of the content and interests that were brought from the recreational work into the home atmosphere. Because of the club program only small groups of boys remain in the cottages at one time. The entertainment program of the school, particularly, was greatly enriched. As the music groups developed and as boys and girls began to receive individual piano and vocal instruction, there came forth many entertainers at communal affairs. The Theatre Group also contributes greatly to this aspect of the school life. At present almost weekly entertainments are held in addition to the usual one movie night a week. The girls' rhythm band plays an important part in these affairs. Holiday festivals are enterprises in which cotages, as groups, participate and each boy or girl contributes to the total outcome.

An Illustrative Case

Music is proving to be an important therapeutic factor in the work of the school We shall set down here only one case in point in this connection:

L. 14, tall, stout, burly and large for her age, was so conscious of her size that she refused to go to elementary school because of her appearance. This and other characteristics of her personality brought her in conflict with her family in which there was a stepmother. She was especially hurt by her father who has intense hatred for her and completely rejects her. As a result, she became rebellious, took to

stealing and refused to cooperate in any way with adults or to participate in any form of communal life. So hostile was this girl that she even carried it over to her own personality. She seldom bathed; she dressed poorly and slovenly; she had no contact with the group, with the exception of one girl, and participated only in acts of vandalism and destruction. Most of these she set afoot without participating in them herself but acted rather as the hidden power. The first contact was made with her after many arduous weeks through very kindly and tender treatment. But in spite of all this she still treated the adults with distrust and refused to respond fully to them. Gradually and spasmodically her demeanor became friendlier and more responsive to the adults as well as to a larger number of the girls in the cottage. She continued, however, to refuse to participate in any of the recreational or creative activities which were set up in the cottage and she spent her time alone, just sitting, doing nothing.

For some years L. suffered from a negative tic which consisted of a violent forward shrug of the right shoulder, like a spasm, and a slight twist of the head in the opposite direction of the shrug. This tic occurred at intervals of a few minutes and particularly when she was addressed by an adult. The frequency of this tic, however, had greatly decreased as we treated her with friendliness and made every effort to reach her through our relation with her.

When a rhythm band was organized, she characteristically refused to participate for some weeks. However, later on she consented to sit in and only

mildly and sporadically took part in it. As an outcome of the rhythm band, and quite spontaneously, singing was introduced and, much to our surprise, L. was discovered to have an excellent voice and superior musical talent. This was grasped as a therapeutic possibility and she was encouraged to sing individually. At this time the tic completely disappeared and has never reoccurred, even under circumstances of great stress.

During one of the communal entertainments given by the boys and girls L. was prevailed upon to sing. She refused to appear on the stage but sang from the floor. She was very timid, nervous, pale and self-conscious. Her appearances before an audience, however, became more frequent and some months later, when the girls gave a musical performance of their own composition, L. acted as leader and mistress of ceremonies on the stage. She became entirely unconscious of her size. Her fear had gone and her shyness had disappeared; she developed ease and excellent stage presence.

It was after this performance that she came to the office and asked to be put on school rolls to finish grammar school, expressing her intention to study further and become a nurse. L. now is in most part a normal, cooperative person. L. has written the lyrics for a song and music which in the opinion of musicians is of remarkably high quality. This song is now being used as a concert piece by various performers during communal and amateur nights.

The Musical Department

A number of boys are now busily engaged in composing music on musical sheets which the educational depart-

ment supplies to them. The school's musical department now boasts a Harmonica Club, a Rhythm Band, a Choral Society, Communal Singing and a Choir. Plans are under way for a small orchestra and a musical therapy group for the express purpose of reaching the unconscious conflicts of those boys and girls who do not respond to other forms of treatment. A music appreciation group for a selected group is also under way.

The Group Theatre

The Hawthorne Group Theatre of about twenty boys and eight girls is also conducted for therapeutic ends. The director of this group is cognizant of the problems of individual boys and girls and of their psychological needs. She employs play productions not so much for the purpose of theatrical effect as for the corrective and therapeutic values that they offer.

The play-wrting group is an outgrowth of the Theatre Group. The boys of this group write plays, the content and subject of which reveal their unconscious conflicts and it is hoped that through this writing these conflicts will be resolved, to some extent at least. A rather interesting phenomenon in this respect has been observed. Some of the boys skirt their inner problems during the writing of these plays and reveal the same type of resistance as is experienced by a patient in psychotherapy treatment.

Creative Art

The school's Creative Art Department is also carried on with therapy in view. Only a few of the boys who are highly gifted and hold definite promise of becoming artists receive instruction. All other boys and girls are encouraged to draw in color, form and line, entire-

ly out of their unconscious. The pupils are encouraged here to paint freely and unrestrainedly. There are no models or forms to follow. The creative flow is given full gamut for its expression in these groups.

General Recreation

As a part of the rcreational plan, two evenings and Saturday afternoons are allotted to what is known as "general recreation." At these times the main building is open and the boy population divides itself into several groups on a voluntary basis. One of these remains in gymnasium for active play. Another group occupies the ping-pong room where two tables are in constant use. Still another group retires to the quiet game room where checkers, cards, and other quiet games are played. Interestingly enough, another fairly permanent group has arisen quite spontaneously. This is the quite permanent Library Group, of about sixteen to twenty boys. On the evenings indicated, these boys can be found studiously engaged in reading books and serious magazines, perusing encyclopedias and otherwise engaged in serious reading. A list of questions asked of the staff member in charge indicates the seriousness of the boys' interests. Their abstruse questions send the college graduate who supervises the library to advanced texts and encyclopedias in quest of answers.

Experience at the school indicates that the number of boys interested in purely athletic activities does not exceed the number who participate in quieter and more cultural occupations. The number of boys, for example, interested in creative art by far exceeds the number who join athletics. The number of adherents of the theatre group

equals that of the athletically minded, while the library group is not very much smaller than the gym group. This is particularly interesting if related to the comparatively low intelligence level of the school population. The explanation perhaps lies in the fact that athletic prowess, excellence in gymnasium and on the field, are not glorified above other achievements. In fact there exists a tendency on the part of the school to emphasize the more cultural forms of expression because of their value as permanent and sustaining interests in life.

Literary Expression

"The Hawthornian," a magazine of literary expression, essays, opinion, and communal news has been an absorbing project for the last six months to a group of thirteen boys. The poetry production is particularly abundant. The editorial meetings of this group are carried on in a serious, orderly manner by a chairman elected by the group itself. Very often the articles presented for editorial consideration elicit serious discussions of social and psychological problems as well as matters concerning the school. At one meeting, for example, a boy of sixteen attempted to prove that very little is known of psychology and psychological treatment of people. As he spoke, The produced a book on "behaviorism" and read pasages to prove his point. Conflicts between the individual and society are the theme of many discussions. At one time when the employment problem was the subject of an essay, the modern industrial system was thoroughly discussed by the group.

Every effort is being made to prevent rigidity in the recreational and freetime activities. Thus, with the permission of responsible adults, boys may either singly or in small groups type their poetry, essays, or plays at unscheduled times. They are allowed to go to the various shops for special work in which they happen to have a special interest, or they may go to the art or the theatre studios to pursue their predilections.

Social Education

In our effort to normalize the life of these boys and girls and to retain their contact with the outside world. we have extended the educational work beyond the campus. At the present time, off-campus hikes to the surrounding country are frequently held. Trips for small groups of boys and girls to New York and to nearby towns-to museums, theatres, concerts, radio studios, industrial plants are regular and frequent events. It is felt that while small community life away from the larger world is necessary for the more severe cases of personality disturbances and social maladjustment, occasional contact with it aids in the process of social rehabilitation.

Officials of a community center of a nearby town have become sufficiently interested in our work to offer the use of their facilities to our school. Groups of twenty boys avail themselves of its advantages fortnightly. They have the free use of a modern gymnasium, swimming pool, and various game rooms. They meet with the local teams in the various sports and games on a competitive basis. In our school, sports and gymnasium are conducted with no competition and with no teams. We have, however, a varsity basketball and a baseball team.

Large communal festivals are held on special occasions such as Jewish and seasonal holidays. To these, each cottage makes its special contribution. The ideas, conceptions, and inventions as well as the carrying out of details are entirely the work of the boys and girls. As far as it is possible, adults refrain from directly carrying out plans. For the most part, adults function as a directive and cohesive force only. They help the group, whenever their help is needed, to function as a unit. The creative aspects of these enterprises, however, are left to the boys themselves. As a result, festivals and amateur nights are highly original and not infrequently of fine aesthetic quality. The quality of responsiveness to finer music and drama is quite noticeable.

Perhaps we might quote a member of the staff in this connection. worker is not in any way concerned with the educational or cottage life of the boys. She plays a mandolin quite expertly. Having given a concert at one of the communal entertainments recently, she remarked how much the aesthetic sense and control of the boys and girls had improved. "A year ago," she said, "when I attempted to give a similar concert, the boys would not listen to better music. All they wanted was jazz, and they misbehaved so badly that I did not care to play for them again. This time, however, the boys and girls were very quiet and attentive and they seemed to enjoy the better pieces. They were so orderly and quiet, too."

Jewish Education

The project for awakening of ethical and racial loyalties is at present in its initial stages. This aspect of the reeducative program of the school is being carried out in complete consonance with the tenets of progressive educa-

tion. While the content is that of Jewish history, traditions and religion, the methods employed are those of pupilparticipation and pupil-initiation. Boys participate actively in the Sabbath services. They read the prayers from the pulpit, conduct parts of the services and lead in the responsive reading. Responsive reading, choir and congregational singing add greatly to the feeling of group participation.

The community is now being organized on a congregational plan with definite but voluntary membership. This group will have complete responsibility for the maintenance, physical appearance, decoration, and order in the synagogue. Elected officers will lead the group in meeting these responsibilities.

It is planned to have boys deliver sermons and to present to the community historical Jewish events and biographies of Jewish leaders and seers. This will motivate learning of Jewish history. It will stimulate racial conscience and develop an historical perspective. At the same time, serious study will be made available to the boys and girls of the school which also offers possibilities for dramatic, aesthetic and manual activity. In keeping with the general policy of the school, further developments of the program of Jewish education will be a natural outcome of the creative and inquisitive drives of the pupils.

Student Government

At the present time student government is being developed at the Hawthorne-Cedar Knolls School. Student government, however, is not being introduced by adults. It is rather a growth from the sense of belonging to the school. For some months, since

the introduction of the progressive point of view in education and social living, boys have come to members of the administrative staff with various suggestions for improvement of the school. The feeling that the boys can participate in the life of the community has grown sufficiently in them to crystallize it into some action. When this was felt to be the case, it was suggested that cottage representatives be elected to meet with the Director of Re-education for discussion of some of these problems.

It is felt that social participation on this level must be an outgrowth of social consciousness, an interest in social environment, and a consciousness of capacity to affect that environment. We have indications that student government will grow out of isolated experiences in social living from a sense of harmony with adults, and from an appreciation of the opportunities for wholesome, constructive growth and development offered by the total environment.

It is recognized that the pivotal and the most effective re-educative situation lies in free and friendly relations between adults and children. No program of activities is itself sufficient

to effect emotional reorientation of the dissocial personality. This feeling of satisfaction and the release of tension that arise from adequate creative and group functioning must be backed by satisfying parent-child relations, even if these come from parent-surrogates. It is well known that the destructive impulses toward society of the delinquent youth are an extension of his hostility toward adults who figured in his early life. This hostility can be lessened, and, in many cases even eradicated, through a feeling of trust which adults must inspire in youth.

Staff and child relations are therefore a special concern of the re-educational as well as the psychiatric departments of the Hawthorne-Cedar Knolls School. Conferences are constantly held with cottage parents and other staff members in reference to problems of boys and girls. In addition, two seminars weekly are held with the staff by the re-educational department. In these, general concepts of personality deviation, its causes and cures as well as specific problems and case studies are discussed. In all of these contacts with staff members the boys' and girls' need for sympathy, understanding and respect as personalities are emphasized.