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Note by the Secretariat

The Secretariat has the honour to transmit herewith the text of a report on "School and Social Maladjustment of Youth" which was submitted as contribution for the Congress by the Secretariat of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

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UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

SCHOOL AND SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT OF YOUTH

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PREFACE

This document on School and Social Maladjustment of Youth is based primarily on the contributions and deliberations of a small group of experts, who met from 2 - 5 January 1960 at the Unesco Youth Institute, Gauting, near Munich.

The Secretariat of Unesco, which co-operated with the Unesco Youth Institute in the preparation of this meeting of experts, considers it part of the beginning of a wider study on the pregention of social maladjustment among youth to-day. New forms of social maladjustment and juvenile delinquency, as they appear to-day, require new studies on the educational aspects of prevention. Thus the Secretariat of Unesco is fully aware of the fact that in presenting this paper it offers the results of a working party representing a geographically limited area (Austria, Denmark, France, German Federal Republic, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom). The group confined itself to studying the complex phenomena of social maladjustment of youth and the preventative impact of school education in some highly industrialized European countries.

School principals and teachers, professors of teacher training and heads of vocational guidance services, psychiatrists and psychologists engaged both in practical and experimental work, M. Jean Guiton, Deputy Director of the Department of Education of Unesco, and Dr. Saul B. Robinsohn, Director of the Unesco Institute for Education in Hamburg, together with the staff of the Unesco Youth Institute, formed the working party, which was in a position to study not only the phenomenon but also the psychological and cultural factors causing maladjustment, and different means of prevention through school education.

It should be stated, however, that comparatively little scientific research has been undertaken in this field so far. Therefore, in their approach to the subject, members of the working party attempted to combine the results of some few experimental research projects with their own experience, observations, studies and ideas, which of necessity can only be considered as being representative of their own individual background.*

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* See also the report on this meeting, Unesco Youth Institute "School and Social Maladjustment of Youth," meeting of experts, 2-5 January 1960, Gauting/Munich, Unesco Youth Institute, April 1960.

I. MALADJUSTMENT IN YOUTH AND ITS CAUSES

a) Towards a Definition of Maladjustment

We think to-day of the problem of "youth in danger" as a problem of social maladjustment. It is an extremely complex phenomenon, which in most highly industrialized countries became a problem for the public as a whole and for parents and educators in particular when, in the post-war years, whole groups or gangs of young people became involved in sudden and striking outbursts of anti-social activity. What do these symptoms of social maladjustment mean? How can they be prevented· And, above all, how can they be identified early enough in individual adolescents - or even children - to make it possible to forestall wrong development?

It is of course essential to recognize the causal factors of maladjustment. These causal factors are manifested in completely different ways in different individuals and groups. In individual cases we must first establish the seriousness of the disturbance which causes the child or the adolescent to make difficulties for society.

It is, however, even more important for educators first to define what is meant by social maladjustment. It may be expressed in many different ways, from acts of petty theft, individually undertaken, through typical gang offences to criminality.

This cannot be done by examination merely of the difficulties as they are outwardly expressed: the essentially evolutionary nature of the problem itself must always be kept in view. Children who make disciplinary difficulties in school, or who steal, lie or play truant once, need by no means develop social maladjustments or become delinquent at a later stage. It is therefore absolutely necessary to differentiate between adjustment and ability to adjust. The potentiality or ability to adjust is by no means the same thing as submission to conditioning factors, but is a vital quality of the heart and intellect which permits the individual to integrate himself socially.

This clear differentiation or demarcation in concept between adjustment and every kind of conformism is also of decisive practical importance, for the idea of adjustment as used pedagogically might be misunderstood to mean that the goal of education is adaptation to a predetermined pattern and might leave out of account the fact that social life, itself full of contradiction, is an expression of man's mental state and, therefore, is full of tensions which find forms of violent expression particularly among the younger generation.

It cannot of course be the aim of education to bring about conformism by the elimination of maladjustment. Linguistically, perhaps, the English word adjustment comes closest to expressing its true aim - namely, the enabling of the individual to integrate himself socially. It is a question of helping the individual to attain a more healthy individual and social development, a constructive attitude and consciousness of responsibility which will allow him at a certain stage to assume social responsibility.

Perhaps it is not altogether wise to use the concepts of adjustment, lack of adjustment and maladjustment to define the problems concerned. They are very comprehensive and wholly subjective concepts and there is a constant danger that they will bring with them the idea that the social and general behaviour we expect of children and adolescents should conform to an immutable pattern. Everything creative must of necessity contain a large element of non-conformity. There are many people, both artists and eccentric outsiders, who do not adjust, and yet are by no means to be thought of as social problems.

Imbalance is a phenomenon accompanying the whole of life. Thus for instance in walking and stepping we are continually off balance, in a condition of constant maladjustment, and yet something positive results. So, then, we must differentiate between normal and abnormal maladjustment. In fact, youth is characteristically a period of continual change, and this necessarily involves a state of disharmony with the environment. But we do not call youth maladjusted merely on account of that. It seems that abnormal maladjustment is present if lack of adjustment does not tend towards adjustment. Such abnormal maladjustment is identifiable rather by the direction in which it is tending than by the state of affairs prevailing at any given moment. Such abnormal maladjustment could also be defined as refusal to take into account the principle of the

meaning of life. Freud says that the principle of reality sometimes compels the principle of libido to follow unusual courses in order to enable man to deal with reality and not have to endure the sanctions laid on him by that reality. Applied practically to our problem this means that abnormal imbalance presents a problem not only because it is itself social maladjustment, but chiefly because it means that the individual is badly adjusted to himself and to his own desires. A concrete example of this is the case of adolescents who cannot bear to be dependent on anyone and take every occasion to demonstrate their freedom, and in doing so go to such extremes that they are put into homes, oreven into gaol. Such adolescents are especially poorly adjusted to their own longings. They seek freedom and find captivity.

Our concern is with the illegitimate behaviour of individuals. It is of course often difficult to determine where illegality - activity indefensible in a human community - begins. But it is always essential to know the motives for the illegitimate acts of those who are not willing to fit into society. The motives are so diverse as to make possible only the loosest generalizations. Nevertheless, it seems that underlying the various motives there are certain characteristic phenomena with which we to-day are especially concerned. They all spring from a common source - namely, that our society is manifestly not in a position to set before people adequate spiritual prospects and (in close relation with that) it has become ever more difficult to explain it rationally. As a result of this there can be seen even in the more stable section of the younger generation phenomena very characteristic of inability to adapt socially - phenomena which, by reason of their seriousness must not be overlooked. In them, a specific positive impulse is left directionless and as a result may become negative. In other words, underlying the difficulties of adjustment which are differently expressed in different cases, there is always a quite positive, original willingness to adjust.

b) Kinds of Maladjustment

It seems fitting to divide the cases of real inability to adjust or abnormal maladjustment (with which alone we are concerned here) into two groups. On the one hand we have what we might call phenomena of social frustration. To this group belong the type of young man whom Professor Bondy has so vividly

portrayed in his book Jugendliche stören die Ordnung.* In this group are those young people who are looking for ways and opportunities of progressive self-expression, as well as the opportunity to advance their status, show their effectiveness, and be recognized and valued by society. They try ways of their own to bring their effectiveness to the notice of others, to develop it and come into the limelight. But these means are not the recognized rituals of society like those, for instance, employed by students, although they would be overlooked if those who performed them did not otherwise behave so like gangs of teddy-boys.

Particularly noteworthy is the generally normal behaviour of these adolescents. When they are arrested for their part in some teddy-boy row, it often appears that they were never punished before, or that their records of delinquency are no fuller than those of other young people. We are dealing here not with an individual problem of behaviour disturbance having reference to a general inability to adapt, but with a cultural phenomenon.

The second type is characterized by individual behaviour disturbance, and seems to arise essentially from a disturbance of motivation. A child's adaptation to the human situation in which he finds himself usually takes place instinctively. The child has an instinctive mechanism for making up to his parents, asking forgiveness when he has been naughty, ensuring his security within the family and satisfying his needs. It is when these instinctive mechanisms are disturbed or inhibited that we encounter the problem of individual maladjustment.

This differentiation between social frustration and deeper lying individual behaviour disturbances is particularly valid in the realm of adolescence. It would appear to be a mistake to try to do what certain schools of thought have tried to do, and to say (as some social scientists do) that delinquent behaviour is a part of normal growing up, and is a stage of adolescence through which, under present social conditions, and as a member of

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* Bondy, Curt, ed. Jugendliche stören die Ordnung. Bericht und Stellungnahme zu den Halbstarkenkrawallen, München, Inventa Verlag, 1957, 131 pp.

certain social classes, a young person must pass. In Glasgow, Dr. Stott and his colleagues have examined this hypothesis more closely. They took about five hundred children on probation for the first time, and a control group of five hundred children from the same school and of about the same age. Applying the Bristol Social Adjustment Test to them, they found that whilst seventy-one per cent of the non-delinquent boys showed themselves well adjusted in their school and personal relationships, only twenty-three per cent of the delinquent group showed satisfactory results in their school behaviour and personal relationships with other boys. Generally speaking, therefore, it appears that delinquent behaviour is part of a deeper seated, but often hidden, phenomenon of maladjustment.

Furthermore, they found that adjustment disturbances within the control group were proportional to the scale of delinquent behaviour within their own cultural group.

It is therefore clearly useful to postulate an interaction at many stages within the development of the child between sociological and cultural factors on the one hand and individual psychological development on the other. This theory finds strong support in the enormous increase in manifestations of delinquency among populations moved out of their traditional surroundings, from peasant or tribal communities into the cities.

The grounds for this interaction would appear to lie in the fact that within the small traditional community both the individual and the family rely on the discipline of the community as the standard for their behaviour. Parents tend to indulge children; they themselves are not independent and they have never learned to function as independent units so that, without the support of mutual obligations within the small community, they break down.

We find many forms of family inadequacy, besides the dissolution of the family by divorce, etc. - parents, for instance, who cannot manage their children, and become depressed, and cannot understand that they should perform certain disciplinary functions in the family unit - as a Glasgow probation officer found recently when he tried to persuade the mother of a delinquent boy to exercise more control over him. She turned to him and said, "But what do you think I pay rates for, Mister?" In other words she, as a mother, saw her

functions solely to be good to the child and give him food and warmth, but not to act as a controlling agent. That was for the community to do.

So we find that because of the inability of parents to adapt themselves to their new cultural environment, the children are deprived of their security within the family, and it is from this that there originates the false conditioning of the child's need to belong to a group. The child then tries to find security elsewhere, perhaps in his school - where he may be disappointed, and so develop feelings of hostility. As a last resort, then, he may turn to the gang.

It is possible to differentiate between different kinds of maladjustment in yet another way. On the one hand is the maladjusted child who suffers within himself; he is a type frequently to be found in school. He conforms completely with the others, seldom finds companions and often irritates the others. He is, of course, an example of social maladjustment - but one who probably does not suggest future delinquent behaviour, although it may be that one day he will explode. On the other hand, we have the type who does not himself suffer, but at whose hands society suffers - the type who joins a group, the members of which are not socially adjusted, and which attacks society. Here we have a group of individuals who cannot adjust themselves to the world created and shaped by adults. Yet this inclination to join a gang is itself a striving for social adjustment, for the gang is a community to which the child tries to adjust himself. The exertions of educationalists on behalf of such adolescents might well be directed towards this longing for a social life, and in this field too the school might play a part.

There is still another very difficult case namely, that of the passive type, who adapts himself completely, performs well scholastically and is a concern neither to his parents nor to his teachers, but who later in life is seen to present a case of complete maladjustment when he comes to play his part as a man and as a member of society. Psychoanalysts could diagnose his difficulties during his earliest years, but later the inconspicuous symptoms escape the notice of parents and teachers, especially as most of these difficulties are the result of neuroses in the parents, who therefore will not accept the advice of the doctor because they think all is well. On the other

hand, for the psychoanalyst, the symptoms which do rouse the anxiety of parents are frequently symptoms of real ability to adjust later in life.

c) Sociological and Cultural Aspects of the Causes of Maladjustment

From these contributions to this portrayal of the phenomenon of maladjustment it is already clear that the character and behaviour-pattern of individual adolescents is formed by a continual interaction between social and cultural influences and psychological reactions to them. It is important not to lose sight of this fact. It will make it easier for the educator to come closer to the realities of life as they appear to young people, and to understand the young person in his struggle with environment, in his development into adulthood within that environment and the conflicts that may arise.*

Just as the differentiation between social frustration and individual behaviour disturbance is essentially a methodological aid in bringing differentiation into the complex picture of adjustment disturbances in youth - so as to make them more clearly recognizable, whereas of course, in many cases, both causal factors work together and overlap - so the distinction suggested here between social and sociological aspects on the one hand, and psychological aspects on the other, should be understood to be principally methodological. Fundamentally, we are concerned with a continuous process of interactions. Man himself, as an individual, is shaped mainly by his relationships with other men and his environment.

Our special interest here being those groups of so-called teddy-boys or blouson-noirs, or whatever they may be called in different countries, our concern is with an actual sociological problem. But it is sociological because it is concerned with a family, with a father and a mother, or an absent father or absent mother, or without either. An example given by Dr. Guiton may support this working hypothesis.

It was that of a nineteen-year-old boy who, with a gang of other

* Kvaraceus, William C., ed. Delinquent Behaviour. Vol. I: Culture and the Individual. Vol. II: Principles and Practices. Washington, D.C. National Education Association of the United States, 1959 (with annotated bibliography).

youths, stole cars in Paris at the Gare St-Lazare and, without having used them much, left them at the Gare de Lyon. "The boy came from a rich middle-class family, both his parents were still living and the marriage seemed sound. And yet, after the father's first visit with the son to me in the medico-pedagogical centre, I, as a doctor, was not permitted to see the mother, who had already called me on the telephone perhaps ten times during the day. The father, who was in appearance a completely normal man, kept his eyes closed while speaking. I orientated my questions on the basis of this symptom and learned that the whole family was dependent on the maternal grandmother. She financed everything, the whole family was frightened of her, and the father was obviously completely passive, and dependent in everything on the women of the family. In stealing cars the son had sought and found a kind of dynamic masculinity, which he had missed in his father."

It is a fact that the child's stability develops only when it has a good chance of identifying itself with the picture it has of its mother and father. If the mother or father is actually or symbolically absent, the personality of a teacher or educator may provide this opportunity vicariously. Because of the child's unconscious picture of its father or mother, the teacher may, therefore, play a deciding role and influence fundamentally the psychological formation of the young person.

Perhaps comparison is impossible, but some people have the feeling that the situation as a whole is to-day very much more difficult and serious than it was formerly, for on the one hand society, or rather the social sphere in which the individual grows up, is sick; and on the other, the majority of individuals are sick. These same people consider, for example, that many children in school are to a large degree repressed and neurotic - on the average, ten to fifteen per cent of those in each class - so that a normal teacher can no longer cope because so many children need special treatment.

For others, the idea that the situation to-day is more serious because society is sick seems questionable. The ordering of society, in the countries under consideration here, was also sick in earlier times - for instance, when terrible poverty of the many existed side by side with the greatest luxury of the few. But perhaps to-day's sickness is especially

dangerous to youth, or perhaps we are more conscious of it. In general, young people to-day have occasions for more external satisfaction and more time for leisure. But they are less conscious of the fact that they belong to a society. Always, young people have found it difficult to adapt themselves to society. But in earlier times they had the feeling that their task was that of the pioneer. That is lacking to-day. And yet youth still feels the need to-day to be different from the older generation. The determining factor is whether, together with this longing to be different, they have a goal or not. With a goal, being different may result in being a pioneer; without a goal, they are in peril of becoming a teddy-boy. We might ask why it was possible to avert and avoid this danger after the first world war. It was not averted; it was just as great then.

Thus it seems that most youth problems to-day are not so much of an individual, psychological nature, as of a generally cultural and social kind. Ultimately they are connected with the cultural pattern of our modern civilization, the diversity of standards of values in our society, with the difficulty of introducing children into this diversity of norms and giving them some kind of standards. On the one hand, our culture is a markedly adult culture, and the children are far removed from it. On the other hand, the adolescent belongs neither with the adults nor with the children, he dangles between the two, and it is really a great achievement for him if he finds his way at all. Thus we observe his attempts to find his own methods and systems of adaptation and give expression to what he wants to have in common with adults.

In fact, the rate of real delinquency of youth does not seem to be greater to-day than in former times. But on the other hand, we are faced with the alarming problem of the teddy-boys, the roots of which we must look for on the sociological as well as on the psychological plane. All young people in the various countries of which we are speaking here live in similar cultural surroundings; yet it is always only a small number in each country who follow this new fashion. The conjunction of the two aspects is always affected through the medium of the family. This is a problem of our age, which appears especially to manifest itself in those countries in which social life is most highly organized. This over-organization is something common to all these lands. The

organization of society allots everyone his place more or less precisely. But can young people bear that? Is not youth a stage in development which naturally contains vitality and dynamism? We might say that the young people who bear it badly are not really rebelling against society but against its tendency to compel the individual to take over a certain function too early.

However, the special danger both for the individual and for society expresses itself in infringements, in unwillingness to accept norms. Essentially it is a question of lack of moral standard and an underlying fear of accepting responsibility. In addition, we find another motive for occasional anti-social behaviour in a certain longing for adventure, in a desire to experience and achieve something. In Israel, for example, we noticed the first cases of this conspicuous way of behaving only two or three years ago.* At Tel Aviv a by no means small group of high-school pupils began to occupy themselves with all kinds of mischief: they robbed an embassy (there were no political implications), drove too quickly, and did other things besides. These happenings stirred up great excitement among the public and, moreover, aroused discussion at more academic levels. There arose almost inferentially in the press a title for these young people that said a great deal about them; they were called "Children of good families." There was no sort of social pressure to cause their behaviour. When these adolescents were interviewed by juvenile magistrates and psychologists, some of the familiar difficulties and other motives were adduced but these could not be accepted as the real causes. Yet, after the pioneer-period, after the ending of the underground struggle against the British and their political restriction of immigration, which gave one or two generations a task to be performed and so brought them a certain measure of satisfaction, there then followed a comparatively tranquil time which afforded youth no real opportunity of satisfying its thirst for action. Some young people tried to supply this deficiency with their own kind of adventures. To this we may add another significant fact: Zionism was essentially an ideal. But these adolescents now use it almost as a term of abuse - or at least as a cynical word, saying such things as, "Oh, don't talk Zionism to me. It means nothing to me." This disappoints the older generation who try to revive the good old meaning of the word. The

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* Smilansky, Moshe, ed. Child and Youth Welfare in Israel. Jerusalem, The Henrietta Szold Institute for Child and Youth Welfare, 1960, 334 pp.

important question, of course, is: Where does this cynicism come from? It seems that it has its roots in the fact that these young people have no real duties and no real aims. And this is a problem of our times.

In general, it seems idle to want to decide whether the problem of the danger to youth was or was not greater in earlier times than it is to-day. We lack adequate statistical material for such a comparison. It is more important to realize that there has been a certain shift of accent in this question. In 1900, the distinguishing marks of danger to youth were unsatisfactory social and hygienic conditions, alcoholism, poor housing conditions, unemployment, etc., which we no longer see on so great a scale to-day. The rise in standards of living and of social standards has eliminated a certain proportion of such cases. But in addition to these traditional cases - if such they may be called - to-day there is another kind of danger to youth, a danger especially characteristic of our times. All that we call "the problem of the teddy-boy" has sprung up in surprising isolation from these old-style social problems. There is no question of it being an expression of a difficult social situation, for these symptoms appear wherever social and cultural development has proceeded furthest. This means that it is a question of dissatisfaction among young people in a world which offers them a maximum of social security. They apparently object to a society which does not afford sufficient opportunity for full realization of life; on the other hand, they are not able to spiritually intercept this opposition and to make it spiritually fruitful. Bertrand Russell once said that the cynicism of the younger generation is an expression of powerlessness, together with a longing for comfort. So we find on the one hand the attempt to adjust to the pressure and point of view of a society mainly governed by economics, and on the other, a helpless inability to live as men in such a society. In its most extreme form this state of affairs finds expression in the behaviour of those young people who overstep the bounds of criminality. This extreme form, which appears in unstable adolescents, must, however, be seen as a symptom which reflects the internal situation of a great number of young people. In most of them it is not expressed in this way, but it is psychologically present. Potentially the same danger exists under the surface among them as is manifested among the extreme cases.

d) Psychological Aspects of the Causes of Maladjustment

The question of our reactions to symptoms of faulty adaptation is always a very complex one. Let us consider these examples: a) a boy who steals a few pence from his mother; b) a boy who steals a fountain pen from his class-mate; c) a boy who steals a bicycle from the street. All three are real thefts, but the psychologist would say that they are not all the same kind of thief. If in case a) the mother relates the incident to the teacher, it will generally not trouble him much because it does not inconvenience him as it did not happen in his class. Case b) would affect him more strongly because it encroaches upon the particular province of the school. The third case would be very serious, for we would all be touched by it and, as guardians of public order, the police would have to be brought in. But for all that, case c) may be the least important from the psychological point of view.

As far as the school is concerned, further nuances are revealed when we take into consideration the various planes on which the thief might stand scholastically. For instance, the teacher tends not to take the matter so seriously in the case of a very good pupil, but when a weaker pupil steals the situation seems to be clear - the event fits into the pattern: this is a case of delinquency. The teacher tends to give preference to the intellectually proficient. But the different nuances - which we have only touched on here - conceal a reality of which the teacher is often not aware. It is therefore of the greatest importance to give the teacher an opportunity to take more fully into account the psychological side of things.

In the course of their development, children need the help of education from their earliest infancy until adolescent years. They must learn to trust their own decisions and feelings: they must acquire confidence. It is therefore especially important that the bond between the generations should not be broken. Some sort of democratic treatment must give the growing generation the feeling that they can feel part of a larger society and that they are respected as individuals. One fundamental cause of adjustment disturbance of young people seems to be the fact that they do not feel that they are accepted into the larger community. This is shown by the formation of gangs, which is unknown in primitive communities. They show a tendency to build for themselves

a private community within the larger community. By doing so, they are trying to gain equal rights among their equals and to be acceptdd in this society. They feel that they then belong and have found an anchor which obviously they could find neither in the school nor the family. Socio-psychologically speaking, both school and family are "belonging groups" for them, whereas clubs and gangs are really "reference groups." The problem of the school is, therefore, to make school and class communities also "reference groups" for them.

If one looks through the various psychological studies of the causal factors of maladjusted or delinquent behaviour, it is possible to draw up from them some sort of working hypothesis for education. In his great study of the psychiatric aspects of delinquency, Bovet* gives a synthetic overall view of the situation and suggests that fear, aggressiveness and feelings of guilt are fundamental causal factors in delinquent behaviour. Psychological studies have shown that a child lays the foundations of its character in the first years of its life. Therefore if a child manifests behaviour disturbances in school it is very difficult to induce changes in behaviour by simple educational means and techniques. For instance, in the case of a pathological fear, based on lack of confidence, the teacher must try to understand the inner nature of the child and give him something with which he can identify himself that offers him confidence and security; must liberate feelings of importance within him and so neutralize his underlying feelings of anxiety. If this is successfully done, it is almost a matter of indifference by what method or technique it is achieved.

Dr. Stott tried to summarize the psychological aspects of social adjustment as follows: "It seems to me that the functional adjustment mechanisms of man must have appeared during a stage in the development of humanity at which the human group was so small that every member of it could be known individually to every other. If a stranger was encountered, he was treated not only as someone from outside the group, but also as someone who was not a human being. In other words, adjustment mechanisms were first operative within a small group of people

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* Bovet, L. Psychiatric Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency. World Health Organization, Monograph Series No. 1, Geneva, 1951 (5th edition January 1957), 90 pp.

known to one another, among whom a fairly complicated pattern of relationships had been established. In primitive societies in which this situation still holds one finds a system of mutual obligations between the members of the group. The maintenance of this pattern is fundamentally important not only for the security of the individual but because it is also the source, as it were, of his "self-feeling" and his pride, so that his whole feeling of importance in life depends on satisfactory maintenance of these mutual obligations.

"I have a strong impression that an essential step in the degeneration of human relationships occurs when the members of a primitive group or a village community are transplanted to life in a city. The natural framework within which the individual's system of instincts functions automatically, and his essential relationships are secured, then no longer exists and he can no longer rely on them. For instance, it becomes impossible to regard a member of another group as someone towards whom one has no kind of moral obligations. When members of primitive groups come to the city without having time to build up a pattern of cultural relationships which takes into account life within a large group, their moral limitations become obvious. Their morally conscious contemporaries see this limitation as a permanent breakdown of moral standards, but in reality it represents a conflict between cultural patterns. The idea that one has obligations to every other person one meets is something which has to be developed by conscious education. We cannot rely on it to develop instinctively. We must then never forget that adjustment can only be effected on the instinctive plane if the individual can develop within a small group of people known to him, with whom throughout the whole of his life he can build up this mutual dependency, this sense of mutual obligations. It is only with the breakdown of these small communities that it becomes necessary for the individual himself consciously to broaden his concept of the in-group. We cannot depend on this happening by itself. It occurs through a learning process with the conscious help of instruction and education."

II. THE DETECTION OF SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE AT SCHOOL

In our society the school plays a prominent role in the process of instruction and learning for children and young people. We now have to look more closely at the question of whether the school as an institution of society for instruction and education is able to prevent faulty adjustments in young people. For it is beyond question that if we want to take any measure against the problem at all, prevention must be given priority in everything we do. Prevention does not mean suppressing the symptoms, but recognizing their causes and preventing the generation of the symptoms at their roots. Essential preliminaries to prevention are therefore identification and diagnosis of the symptoms. Is it possible now to identify and diagnose social maladjustment in the school? It seems reasonable to retain in the main the methodological differentiation of possible causal factors into individual behaviour disturbances and social frustration.

a) The School as a Testing Ground

The fact that all the children in the countries under discussion here go to school and spend a considerable part of their lives there, means that the school has a unique opportunity on the one hand to observe the children, and on the other to influence them educationally. Can the symptoms of social maladjustment really be generally recognized at school, so that they can be identified and diagnosed early enough, and, if the need arises, can they be adequately treated there?

There are various German and Swiss studies on the question of whether it is generally possible to discover social maladjustments which point to later delinquent behaviour. They generally advance the opinion that it is quite impossible before the fourteenth year of life. There are, on the other hand, investigations made in the American field which express the opinion that the child may already exhibit distinct symptoms at the age of six. This has also been the experience of members of this study group. Entry into school is the first great test of social maturity. Two kinds of reaction may make their appearance at this point: the first, excessive withdrawal behaviour, the other,

aggressive behaviour by the child. No delinquent behaviour need, however, grow from either of these.

The passing of the child from the sheltered situation of the family, where various modes of behaviour can be tolerated, into the larger social milieu of the school is indeed the first crucial change of surroundings requiring new adjustment. It is the school's task to help the child meet these new social demands. At the same time, this situation affords an opportunity of detecting adjustment difficulties, especially when they are caused by individual behaviour disturbances. It has in fact brought into being a series of institutions to lighten this process and enable it to offer various methods of treatment suitable for different cases.

But it seems that the new and widespread phenomenon of anti-social behaviour in adolescents, caused by social frustration, cannot be investigated primarily by the school, for its symptoms generally show themselves in spheres outside the school. This is not necessarily a question of those adolescents who attract attention in some way or other at school. In the school there is a fairly fixed pattern of values and behaviour to which the adolescent may show himself completely adjusted. Yet he may not be capable of developing a true consciousness of social responsibility. But this may first show itself in trials outside the school where a different system of values holds good. It seems that in these cases the role of the school lies not so much in identification of maladjustment as in the constructive development of a consciousness of social responsibility, and in bringing school life closer to the life of the community.

b) The Difficulties of the Contemporary School in the Detection of Adjustment Disturbances

If, as a testing ground of ability of children to adjust themselves socially, the school also has potentially the capability of detecting adjustment disturbances, it would seem fitting to look next at the difficulties that stand in the way of the exploitation of these potentialities. It would involve a new, additional, task for which the school and the teaching body are neither outwardly nor inwardly much prepared. But as a result of the noticeable

decline in the educational function of the family, more and more duties must of necessity fall to the school; tasks which should not, perhaps, in the natural course of things, be transferred to it but which it must undertake because no one else will undertake them adequately.

One of the most noticeable difficulties is indubitably the size of the classes, which are generally much too large, both in the primary school and in the secondary schools. The individual child risks being lost in them as an individual and the teacher is hardly given the opportunity to consider difficult children and deal with them as they need to be dealt with.

To this structural difficulty there is added another which, for example, experience in Munich has shown during the last ten years or so: disciplinary trouble, and the difficulties of concentration and learning linked with them, have increased considerably among the children. The position of the teacher often proves to be so extraordinarily difficult that he is inclined to see difficult children primarily as disturbing influences, to punish them summarily, under pressure of the need to maintain discipline, and to reject them emotionally, rather than deal with them in a special way.

As it was also observed elsewhere in Germany, this attitude finds a kind of theoretical foundation and support in a frequently deplorable deterministic attitude among teachers. It is too often the experience with regard to classes in which there are endangered adolescents, that their behaviour, their character and their chance in life are described by teachers as so much statistical and predetermined data: Nothing can be made of this boy, he has a bad streak, or a hereditary taint - in short, these young people are, as it were, written off. This attitude in teachers is generally based on a lack of real psychological knowledge or on an all too superficial acquaintance with psychology.

There are two principal difficulties that we must take into account if we would be just to the teachers in the present state of the schools. What the good teacher wants is for the work of the class to improve. He will naturally object to disturbing influences, especially, for example, if the adjustment disturbances of one child take an actively naughty and disturbing

form. He comes either to reject the child or to be discouraged by it when it prevents the others from learning, whether through inattention, lethargy, coming late, frequent absence or truancy, etc. The other difficulty is a more human one: Let us think of the child who expresses his maladjustment in hostile behaviour - a mode of reaction the roots of which lie in the fact that fundamental human relationships have been destroyed. At the basis of this lies a feeling of extreme anxiety with regard to family security and relationships with adults. The child's instinctive reaction against the situation he feels to be unreliable is to want to free himself from it. So, for instance, a teacher dealing with a child of this kind said, "He seems to wait until I am looking before he does something naughty." It was not then merely a case of insubordination or a longing to do something forbidden in itself, but of an act of provocation, which the teacher was intended to see. It is the unconscious purpose of such behaviour to provoke rejection and banishment, and the instinctive reaction of the teacher is what is expected of him: if, for example, the child is put outside the door, he is being publicly criticised and denounced, treated as an outsider whose example the others ought not to follow, etc. The result is that the child feels that he is being treated as he expects to be treated, for he believes one cannot rely on adults, and thus another step has been taken to confirm him in his hostile attitude. The best thing for the teacher, therefore, would be to treat such behaviour not in the traditional way, as naughtiness on the part of the child, but to recognize it as a sign of difficulty in adjustment, as an emotional handicap.

In Bristol some practical schedules have been developed to help the teacher more easily discover and observe adjustment difficulties springing from behaviour disturbances. These schedules will be discussed in more detail later. One aspect which was surprising should, however, be mentioned here: a change in the attitude of the teacher. While investigations were being made, a teacher came to the research team and complained that he had "a real little devil" in his class and did not know what he could do with him. Before any suggestion was made the team wanted some objective information about the child, so the teacher was given a schedule on which to mark on a long list of behaviour patterns those which he had observed to be typical of the child. When on the

next occasion the teacher was asked about the "little devil," he said, "Oh, he has improved enormously. I get on well with him." What had happened? When the whole range of cases of misbehaviour had been set out in front of the teacher as symptoms of maladjustment, he realized for the first time that he was dealing with a maladjusted child. Unconsciously he altered his attitude of rejection to one of acceptance; now he wanted to understand and help the child. On his part, the child found in his troubles, which were ultimately based on his anxiety to establish good relations with adults, someone who did not react immediately against his provocations but adequately stood the test of loyalty.

Teachers are generally trained to see it as their duty and their calling to teach and to give instruction, particularly in secondary schools. Thus the best intentions can come to grief if the insufficiently trained teacher tries to deal himself with the cases of behaviour disturbance that attract his attention. That is very alarming. The atmosphere of the school is indubitably a very favourable one for the initial detection of difficulties. With his well developed, sensitive shrewdness, the teacher generally notices fairly quickly when something is not right. This is especially true of the class teacher, who also has the opportunity to talk to the pupils themselves about the situation in the class, and to observe particular modes of reaction from the beginning. But often enough he is then not adequately trained to control his own reactions, and in difficult situations can do nothing else to help but give the traditional punishment.

c) Practical Starting Points for and Experimental Investigation in the Sphere of Prognostic Techniques of Delinquent Modes of Behaviour in the School

There have been various attempts to help the teacher in his difficult situation and to make it easier for him to recognize symptoms of serious maladjustment as such, and to decide whether he can free a child from his anxieties and difficulties within the framework of normal teaching, or whether he should get special treatment for the child.*

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* Canadian Welfare Council, Early Detection of Delinquency and Disturbance, Annual Meeting of the Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa, May 14, 1957.

We must now describe in somewhat more detail an experiment, the purpose of which was to give the teacher a diagnostic instrument which he could apply without much training or loss of time in the normal situation of the classroom. As a result of a years-long experiment, Dr. Stott developed the Bristol Social Adjustment Test.*

"I started from an investigation into patterns of delinquent behaviour, chiefly examining boys at a child welfare home. In doing so, I applied myself not only to getting life histories of every boy in my experimental sample but also as many data as possible about their behaviour, and character portraits of them. But when I asked the house-masters, teachers and instructors about the boys, I received very contradictory reports. In general one can say that the teacher's bias in his judgement of a boy will depend on whether he rejects or accepts him. The reports, therefore, are generally unreliable, as one can often confirm when, for example, a teacher gives evidence before a court. In order to get a clearer picture, I had to record in concrete terms how the boys behaved in various real-life situations, when they felt they were not being watched. I repeated this line of enquiry in various homes with other samples; and, on the basis of the typical patterns of delinquent behaviour in young people so revealed, I worked out a schedule for the diagnosis of maladjustment.

"In Bristol I then tried with a group of teachers to translate this schedule into the school situation. The teachers were asked to select from their classes those children who in their opinion were not developing altogether satisfactorily, and a control group of children developing satisfactorily. Every point in the behaviour of both groups was then precisely tested - indeed, so thoroughly that a symptom was only accepted into the school pro-forma as indicating maladjustment if it did not appear among normal children at all. To give one example: many teachers would say that some unsettled children always want to sit at the back. So at first, we put 'sitting at the back' on our list of symptoms showing behaviour disturbances. But it appeared from statistical analysis that many normal children like to sit at the back from quite other motives, so this point had to be deleted from

* Stott, D.H. The Bristol Social Adjustment Guides. London, University of London Press, Ltd.

the pro-forma.

"An advantage of the pro-forma is that it is drawn up wholly in the language of the teacher, and the teacher can read it through in ten to fifteen minutes and underline the items indicative of a child's behaviour.

"In any prediction instrument, the problem is that if one uses very severe criteria, one gets a small sample with very hardened cases - i.e., there is a high degree of selectivity within the sample; but from among the whole population only a relatively small number of delinquents will be detected.* Yet it seems important to me to detect a significant proportion of out potential delinquents from among the general population, even though in doing so we may draw into our net a few children who are indeed maladjusted, but who are not potentially delinquent. That is just as well because they too need treatment. By striking a balance between high selectivity and distribution in the population we can attain seventy per cent reliability in our prediction.

"We are now trying to apply the test experimentally in a group of Glasgow schools. It is of course clear that to have to spend even ten minutes with each of thirty to forty children would bring about a rebellion in the teaching body. So we have worked further on the pro-forma and have produced a simplified preliminary test with six questions which the teacher can complete in half a minute. With the help of these six questions we can pick out those children on whom further diagnostic treatment should be concentrated.

"It must be added that this test has only been proved practical among school children in Glasgow. Whether it can be applied in other lands must, of course, be seen by experimentation. It will certainly have to be adapted to conform with the social and cultural conditions. In any instrument for predicting delinquent behaviour, the time factor (the moment at which the child really come into danger) is of crucial importance. One must recognize, however, that the development of maladjusted attitudes in children is a continual process, which often goes back to early childhood. But, nevertheless, very clear symptoms signalize a definite stage, the break-down point: the point at which

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* Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor. Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency. New York City: The Commonwealth Fund, 1950, 400 pp.

the anxieties of trying to adjust in this way or that to a given situation bring break-down. From this point onward, the child begins to make attempts to avoid the situation. These attempts are of clearly characteristic type. The characteristics are described in the manual describing the use of the pro-forma.

"I must also point out that we are aware that in observing the behaviour of the child in the setting of the school, we see only a segment of the child's life. We therefore developed a parallel test and manual, 'The Child at Home,' which of course is not limited strictly to life in the family but reviews the whole of extra-scholastic life, insofar as the parents can report it.

"One of the chief aims in the developing of the school test was to avoid getting from the teacher an evaluation or interpretation of a child's behaviour, and obtain wholly concrete facts about how the child behaved in different situations in real life. The evaluation must be left to us, just as in court the interpretation of the evidence is left to the judges. Even the psychologist, of course, is not wholly free in his interpretations from the limitations put on him by his own system of reference. We have therefore tried to carry out the whole work of enquiry and interpretation as empirically as possible."

The whole question of methods and techniques of detecting potential maladjustment in children proves to be very important, though not at all easy to approach. One should never forget that what matters most is prevention. Generally, the two things are connected, but not of necessity. General action aimed at prevention may go quite independent of detection. The groups that need detection range from potential delinquents to recidivists. But if one tries to pick out the difficult cases in one way or another, there is a constant and uncomfortably real danger of typing the individual prematurely. In the technique worked out so carefully by Dr. Stott this danger is indubitably avoided. But if such experiments are made too general, one may by such branding push children into real delinquency.

As opposed to this, it seems important to recognize in the first

place the difficulties which might induce the child - if he receives no help - to become either delinquent or neurotic, or might endanger his character. It is not always easy to guess which of two or three ways out of his difficulty a child will choose. In cases of difficulty in adjustment, three elements in particular seem to show themselves at school: first, difficulty in relationships with schoolfellows; then, in relationships with teachers; and, finally, in relationship to work and general class activities. In connection with detection of difficulties in relation to class fellows, a professor of the University of Caen, France, employed the "sociogram" method to ascertain the "social profile" of the children in a class. Even when all that is wanted is the social profiles of only a few apparently imperilled children, the whole class is asked certain questions - such as with whom they would like to travel, with whom they would like to be friends, etc. - from the answers to which the level of sympathy and security within the group can be determined. This method has been used particularly successfully with readjustment classes because the results give a simple, easily read picture of the relations within the group.

The identification of disturbed relationships between teacher and class is from the methodological point of view very much more difficult, because the teacher often has difficulties of his own. A rather strange method, which certainly could not be universally employed, was used in a rather revolutionary school in England. The pupils' assessments of the teachers, and the teachers' of the pupils, were accepted by and published in the school newspaper. If pupils and teachers were in agreement over a judgement or criticism, it was accepted and taken as the basis for an attempt to reach a solution to the problem. If all the pupils complained about a teacher, it was taken that it was the teacher who needed dealing with. This may be an interesting experiment, but one which certainly could not be generally tried.

To judge the relationship of a pupil to work and class activities, it is necessary to observe the way in which he does or does not take part in them. In this the pedagogical methods which have been used may play a great part: group work, for example, has proved very valuable in the diagnosis of poor relationships. The significance of the personality of the teacher has already been mentioned, especially in connection with the possibility of the

children identifying themselves with him. It must also be emphasized here. His personal influence, together with a positive atmosphere in the class, works preventatively and at the same time therapeutically on the collective plane; this is a fact which is familiar to every experienced teacher.

d) Psychological Consultation*

Even with such practical techniques as that developed by Dr. Stott, it is still hardly possible for most teachers to-day to make significant - i.e., diagnostically and therapeutically significant - use of them. The teacher is faced with far too great a number of children in the class; he has to take steps against a growing number of disciplinary troubles; he has a presentiment of an enormous range of symptoms of adjustment difficulties; and, finally, it is his duty to teach at least twenty-four hours a week and teach the children something.

We can say that no modern school really gets on any longer without a psychological consultant or educational consultant. "In my school," said Dr. Robinsohn, Israel, "I had to be without them temporarily and learned painfully that no extra-mural advisory service can replace the special professional adviser in the school."

In France the system of psychological advice within the school has not yet developed on a larger scale. It is an important prerequisite of it that the consultants should be school-psychologists, i.e., that they themselves should have come from work in schools. Otherwise it becomes very difficult for teacher and consultant to work together. The medical advisers to the school seem, moreover, to become more and more social workers, and are becoming ever more valuable in the identification of difficulties in social adjustment. Teachers and schools are not prepared for the treatment of difficult cases, and for this they are referred to the Medico-pedagogical Institutes, although there are not yet enough of these.**

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* Wall, W.D., ed. Psychological Services for Schools. Hamburg, Unesco Institute for Education, 150 pp. bibl.

** Manco, George, ed. L'inadaptation scolaire et sociale et ses remèdes. L'action des centres psycho-pédagogiques des établissements d'enseignement. Paris. Cahiers de pédagogie moderne, Editions Bourrelier, 1959, 191 pp.

In Hamburg the position has been relatively favourable and it has been possible continually to pursue various ways of dealing more suitably with difficult children in school. What used to be called "attendance control," which had as its main task to see that children attended school regularly, has for some time now been called "aid to pupils." "Aid to pupils" is at the disposal of school authorities, principals and teachers whenever problems of a social or educational kind arise, especially when it becomes impossible for the school alone to deal with any particular problem any longer. Such cases include not only those of trouble-making and truancy, but also those of poor performance in certain subjects, the whole of the difficult problems of weakness in reading and writing, of loss of concentration, lack of responsibility, introversion, suicidal tendencies, and so on. Half a day can usually be given to the investigation of a single case. And herein lies the biggest problem, for the need for advice is so much greater than the opportunity to give it effectively.

A new problem - and one that has become ever more common recently - is presented by the fact that numbers of schoolgirls, even in the primary schools, already have children. In this connection, too, special advice is needed. Special classes for young mothers have now been introduced in Hamburg.

A second institutional course is that of training special teacher consultants to detect and identify difficulties among the children (in Bavaria, Professor Lückert has started the same thing on quite a large scale). Generally speaking, they do not act as professional psychologists or psychiatrists - i.e., they have to pass the treatment of more difficult cases over to the specialists.

There has also grown up a new group of school psychologists. They are teachers who after a period of practical work in the schools return to the university and take there an additional course in psychology. These school psychologists are intended to become supervisors of the teacher-consultants and help them in the various forms of their work as consultants.

There are besides in Hamburg a few child guidance clinics in which psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers work together. Two such centres have been established by the City Youth Department, and a third by the University's Institute of Psychology.

The application of the help of child guidance clinics in the school raises special problems above all for schools in small towns and in rural areas. It is of course right that the teacher should not try to deal with difficult cases himself, but that he should send them to specialists in psychotherapy. But in a small town school, for example in southern Germany, that means asking parents whether they are prepared to send their child to Munich for treatment. There then arises the question of the family's financial position with regard to treatment and fares - which means that the teacher cannot lightly suggest such a course to those of limited means.

In France, Social Security (Sécurité Sociale) is prepared to underwrite consultation and treatment of difficult cases among schoolchildren, at least that under the auspices of the psycho-pedagogical institutes, as long as the family belongs to Social Security. This solves the financial problem there. But there are still too few of these institutes, so that this solution is largely available only in Paris but attempts are being made to create similar institutes in other towns.

A method of helping the teacher recognize difficulties among pupils frequently employed is that of the record card for pupils. It is made out by the teacher, records child illnesses, extraordinary happenings, and the crises in the life of the child as a kind of memorandum. It accompanies the pupil throughout his school life and is very easily assessed, affording even a new teacher, if the child changes schools, a very rapid understanding of any difficulties arising.

These various approaches to and attempts at diagnosis and treatment of problems of adjustment and individual behaviour disturbances at school are of extraordinary importance and on consideration of them it is almost immediately apparent how completely inadequate they are, both methodologically and institutionally, to meet effectively the problem as it actually exists. In most countries there is a tendency now towards lengthening the period of compulsory schooling, if possible into the eighteenth year of life. But it seems that authorities are still not fully enough aware of the fact that in doing so the state has assumed an additional task - namely, that of giving an

adequate education to all those children and young people who cannot attend a normal school. From a purely mathematical point of view it is obvious that the change over from higher education at school for the few to schooling to the eighteenth year for the many will enormously magnify the problem of the detection, diagnosis and treatment of maladjusted young people by the school. Although in most countries to-day it goes without saying that every child is regularly medically examined and X-rayed, very little is done on the parallel front of psychology. People even tend to resist if techniques which might give clear leads to the teacher, doctor or psychologist are experimentally introduced.

III. CRISIS SITUATIONS IN THE SCHOOL

As a larger social group outside the family, and as a teaching institution and means of social advance, the school, on the one hand, generates within itself real problem-situations which make possible the discovery and diagnosis of maladjustment in children. But, on the other hand, these problem-situations are often felt and experienced as crisis situations by children and adolescents. Many are even inclined to see them as causal factors in faulty adjustment.*

But school life and the teaching body cannot generally be regarded as causes of maladjustment. They sometimes rather provide the critical breaking-points, at which a problem which exists apart from them altogether may grow worse, manifest itself and explode. None of these crisis situations needs inevitably present an actual crisis. An example may make this clear: Imagine a child from a non-intellectual background - perhaps from a working-class family - coming to the high school. The situation is critical for the child insofar as intellectually it is at a disadvantage as far as immediate results are concerned, and therefore is at a disadvantage as regards settling down emotionally. Add to this that relationships within the family are inevitably changed since the child has gained entry to something that is alien to the family atmosphere. This situation may be surmounted without difficulties, but it may also be the trigger for a whole series of adjustment problems which are often determined by deeper lying and frequently repressed causes.

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* Berge, André. Bon ou mauvais élève. Paris, Les Editions Sociales Françaises, 1957, 187 pp.

It is therefore important for the teacher to recognize such crisis situations and to know about the scope and gravity of the crisis situations which grow out of school life itself.

In speaking about critical situations which the child passes through during his school life, about which the teacher ought to know, we must differentiate between three types: school crises, family crises and crises in child and adolescent life itself.*

a) Entering School

Entering school of course brings many new demands and requires a certain degree of maturity. Yet in our school system the time of entering school is generally fixed according to age, and the level of maturity is only exceptionally taken into consideration. But when a child shows himself not ready for school and has to be put back, the experience of being sent back to kindergarten is often painful. In West Germany recently a special institution - the school-kindergarten - has been set up. It is a kind of intermediate institution and is intended to prepare the child not yet ready for school to go to school.

It seems, however, important to examine the psychological difficulties which entering school presents to the child somewhat more closely. Everyone knows the importance to the child in its earliest years of the mother's loving care. There are enough indications that the absence of maternal care for the child is more readily borne at the time when it has developed the ability to display personal activity and initiative, to play, to get about and move freely. From this it is possible to deduce the hypothesis that on entering the school, and specially later in the school, where it is impossible to continue the intimate, emotional family atmosphere, the child must be given by way of compensation the largest possible measure of personal activity, independence and initiative. This thesis is in keeping with two of the essential needs of children in general, namely, affection and action. Entry into school involves

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* Klein, Emanuel. Psychoanalytic Aspects of School Problems, in The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, Vol. III/IV. New York, International Universities Press, 1949, pp. 369-390.

weaning in the emotional sphere, which may itself be expressed in apparently very unimportant incidents. For instance, in France at least, the child loses his forename. Added to this is the fear of the child that, if he does not fulfil his parents' expectations of him as a pupil, he may also lose his parents' love. Parents often suffer under the contrast between their hopes and the actual scholastic attainments of their child. The family setting threatens to be less warm and secure when school reports begin to exert an influence on it.*

But the traditional school puts the child's need for activity to an equally hard test. Now it has to sit quiet and do mental work. Perhaps this apparently unnatural requirement is necessary, but it indubitably demands a considerable degree of maturity. And it is possible too to compensate for the lack of activity alien to the child's nature with active occupations and active teaching methods. Also the fostering of competition in these early years is a two-edged sword, for often the child feels that the pressure on him to succeed comes not so much from himself as from his parents. The child who perhaps would not at all mind being classed with the lowest in the form, feels his parents' unrest, and the fear of losing their love is more often the true motive for him working than his own drive.

b) Transfer to Higher Schools**

The transfer from the primary to higher schools is also often primarily a parental problem. It involves a problem of mental orientation of the child, which is frequently not recognized by the parents. With the change from one type of school to another there must also occur a change in pattern of thinking. Whereas in the primary school that which was asked for and was adequate was essentially that the children should memorize the material offered to them, the higher school demands a different kind of mental work, an increase in intellectual productivity. It is in this connection that there often arises the paradox of the

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* Berge, André. L'écolier difficile. Paris, Editions Bourrelier, 1954, 125 pp.

** Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg. Differentiation, Selection and Transfer; an international meeting of experts held at the Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg, 20-25 January 1958, edited by W.H. Benett, Hamburg, Unesco Institute for Education, 1959.

school advising parents against sending their children to a higher school, although they have always had good reports. The child would, however, fail in the new type of school because he could not make this structural change in his mind. Unfortunately this aspect is all too infrequently taken into account, on the one hand because the parents can understand it only with difficulty, and other forces - perhaps their own limited opportunities for education and professional training - are stronger, and on the other hand because many higher schools accept in the first instance as many pupils as possible in order to preserve the teacher's position. It is, however, a sad thing when, after six months' probation, perhaps a third of the children are sent back to their old schools.

There seem in fact to be some quite basic problems which at least encourage adjustment problems in the school as it is to-day and which lie in the organization of the school.

On the basis of his experiences in the Federal Republic of Germany, Professor Heydorn analyzed these problems based on the school structure particularly critically. This analysis must in no way be misunderstood to convey the opinion that the school should be an idyllic place in which all the rigours of adult life are avoided. The school must indubitably prepare young people to endure the hard battle of life which awaits them. But the hard struggle which accompanies the transition from primary school to secondary school presents some serious problems. Already some time before the selection tests, the teachers begin to leave aside all educational and psychological considerations and to drill the children for purely formal achievement alone. In these years, the weak and probably difficult children are neglected in favour of those who are thought to be talented enough for high or middle schools. These talented children are prepared one-sidedly without regard to their physical or spiritual condition, for the selection tests. And we can hardly blame the teachers for that. For a teacher conscious of his responsibilities cannot afford to barricade the way for children who perhaps may be capable later in life of taking an intermediate or high managerial position, as higher education has become nearly the only way to it. They must give them the chance. In these primary school years many teachers are in a state of bitter inner conflict, but they cannot ignore this point of view.

What is the position when children reach the higher schools? Somewhat overstating the case we may say that it often looks like an institution which concerns itself with a bitter struggle for knowledge, rejecting during the course of the years about seventy-five children out of a hundred. This great number of rejected children then stand there with an incomplete education, socially maladjusted in a very serious way, with their self-confidence affected, and very often with very great difficulty to find their way to another branch of employment. This problem of the many able but greatly injured children seems in many respects to be more severe than that of the gifted children who, because of some personal or social circumstance, are prevented from making the transition into the secondary school. Even those teachers who are conscious of their responsibility in education are not in a position to avoid the state of affairs sketched above. The system leaves them only very limited room for free action in education. Then to this must be added the parents' fear, which begins before the selection tests and continues throughout the whole of the child's school life, and puts a great strain on the children as well as on the teachers.

On the other hand, the primary school presents a no less puzzling picture. After the examinations, two classes are usually put together and what remains is a remnant of pupils who in the previous years have been unpardonably neglected. In the public mind the primary school has almost taken on the appearance of a kind of special school for backward children. The teacher tends to begin to think that these children are best thought of from a charitable point of view - it seems clear to him that they would never achieve anything important or specially useful in society.

The whole problem is fundamentally one of the structure of the school. If the school is to fulfil its function in the prevention of maladjustment and aims, as its educational goal, at producing balanced children with a positive attitude towards life, it has become imperative to establish smoother transitions and a selection system based on long observation, and on ability, not as something measured statistically but as something developing.

c) Transition to the World of Work

Another stage in life giving cause for great concern is the transition from school to the world of work, for it must be admitted that in general young people of fourteen to-day are not at all ready for professional work. This point was made clear again recently in a large-scale investigation made in Western Germany into the hopes of fourteen-year-olds, especially girls, as to their work. If this problem too is to be dealt with from the point of view of the structure of the school, the ninth and tenth years of compulsory schooling will have to be introduced universally. "In my opinion it is a crime against the process of maturing in adolescents to let them loose into the world of work at the age of fourteen," Professor Lückert, Germany, said.

There seem to be two reasons why the transition from school to professional life is much more difficult to-day than it was in earlier times. On the one hand there is the phenomenon of acceleration, the hastened onset of physical maturity, not always matched by adequate mental control. On the other hand, the society into which the young person comes is ever more difficult to master spiritually: it is ever more difficult for the individual adolescent to establish a reasonable relationship with the realities of life.

d) Examinations*

Quite generally one can say that examinations in connection with selection procedures can be very burdensome. Mention has been made of the importance of anxiety as a causal factor for maladjustment. In this connection it should be noticed that competition at too young an age may lead to allergy towards examinations and competitive situations later in life. There are many children who fall into deep depression if, for instance, at the age of ten they fail in the examination for higher schools.

If we accept the hypothesis that the basis of the problem of adjustment disturbances is lack of security, we may assume that many children

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* Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg. Evaluation in Education; report of an international meeting of experts held at the Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg, 17-22 March 1958, edited by F. Hotyat, Hamburg, Unesco Institute for Education, 1958.

with this need for security are probably seeking also in the school a haven where they can release themselves from their state of inner conflict. But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the whole school situation as it is to-day is likely to intensify such conflicts. When a child who is fundamentally insecure comes to school and, for reasons which need not lie in the school, one day seeks a way out in aggressive or even delinquent behaviour, the first care of the teacher and of the school is not to inform themselves about this underlying insecurity. They are much more likely to look only for the activities and actions in the school which directly could have occasioned the outburst. Fear of examinations and competition, is not taken into consideration, although it is so very typical of school life. The ghost of some such threat as "if you do this or that, something drastic will happen," is part of the whole school climate. Everything, therefore, that makes use of atmosphere of threat is likely to intensify the child's basic insecurity. If it were possible to eliminate from the life and climate of the school everything that tends to further already existing insecurity, a great step would have been taken in the struggle against social maladjustment.

IV. EDUCATION AND THE PREVENTION OF THE SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT OF YOUTH *

a) The Role of the Family

Difficulties in social adjustment among young people are frequently manifested in inability on their part to establish good relationships either with their companions or with adults. On investigating individual cases one finds that this kind of maladjustment is mainly caused by the fact that the young person has been undernourished emotionally in the family sphere. It seems that, in this fact too there lies the explanation of a phenomenon which to-day is causing a growing degree of concern among the public, namely, "Nobelverwahrlosung," social maladjustment among children and adolescents from families whose material position is good.

Reference is often made to-day to the declining power of the family in education. This phenomenon can of course be considered general only insofar as the family itself is also structurally subject to the processes of sociolo-

*-Wall, W.D. Educational Aspects of Delinquency, in International Review of Education, Vol. I, No. 4, 1955, pp. 413-427.
-Wall, W.D., ed. Education and Mental Health. Paris, Unesco, 1955, 347 pp.

gical change, and the small urban family, typical of to-day,has to rediscover and reshape its inner stability. Particularly in view of the present critical situation, however, there can be no doubt as to the significance of the family and its influence in the development of children, especially in the emotional and moral spheres.

In this situation of crisis, of course, it often happens that parents are unequal to their task, be it because they themselves are not mature people or because they are not sufficiently aware of the greatness of the significance to children of stability in relationships between members of families, in this era of change and mobility. They have not yet adjusted themselves to the changed role of the family in the educational process as a whole. In earlier times the family had to undertake the whole of education. To-day its role has become almost more important: it has to prepare the children and develop in them the ability to accept and build on all the education mediated to them by society and daily life. When it becomes apparent that a child or young person is not capable of making use of the education offered by society, people generally think that this offer has been made in the wrong way, and an attempt is made to change educational methods. But, whilst the prerequisites - the psychological abilities which should be developed by the family - are missing, this necessarily remains ineffectual.

Many parents perceive in some way that they are failing and are lacking in understanding vis-à-vis their children. They simply do not keep up with them in the whirlpool of change. This is especially true in new countries with immigration and settlement. It is often difficult for them to deal with the new situation themselves and sometimes they have the feeling that young people get on with it very much better.

Whether the lack of time on the part of many working mothers in fact also means a lack of affection, and hence plays the role often attributed to it as a cause of maladjustment among children, is rather questionable. A minimum of time is of course necessary; but even women with a great deal of time frequently fail to-day. The question of the mother's spiritual health is much more important, and many a woman will find in her place of employment an arrange-

ment important to her, enabling her, even with a minimum of time, to develop enough affection for her children. Part-time work is a good way out for mothers with somewhat older children. Many more opportunities for it should be made available.

b) The School's Opportunities of Strengthening Family Education

If one has recognized and taken into account the outstanding role of the family in the educational process, it becomes impossible to accept as unalterable the fact of the family's retirement as a pillar of education. By this of course we do not mean to deny the fact of this retirement or weakening in educational power on the part of the family - it is a widely spread phenomenon and is very closely connected with the problem of social maladjustment of youth to-day. It is therefore a question of helping the parents once more to give their full attention to their important task.

Co-operation between the teacher, the school and the parents is one way in which the school can again interest parents more strongly in educational matters. But can it be the duty of the school to act as it were as a school for parents as well?

It seems inevitable that the school should take on this additional task. There are perhaps other groups and institutions which take it on themselves to prepare parents for their "profession;" but none of them has to the extent that the school has the opportunity of working together directly with parents in the education of children and of teaching parents that discernment generally necessary in the educational process.

There are many points at which this can be begun, and experience shows that most parents are grateful to learn something about the psychological condition of their children. How often they have been heard to say, "We did not know," when a conflict explodes into the open and they are shown its background.

But it has also been known for the view that parents as parents have a profession to fulfil and learn to be rejected as laughable. It is held that

being a parent is a natural calling which one does not need to learn. This argument overlooks the fact that in a world that is changing so rapidly even such natural relationships as the relationship between parent and child, and their respective roles in it, are not unaffected by the changes. Many parents become quite uncertain because there is no longer a predetermined standard of upbringing. As a result the basis of trust of the parent-child relationship as a simple matter of course is also shaken.

The most significant example of this is perhaps the uncertainty of many parents with regard to the sexual difficulties of children and adolescents. But what can the school do here? Sex education is primarily a matter for parents. It is a wholly personal problem and can only be explained gradually. Children in a single class have often reached quite different levels of maturity and knowledge in this field so that collective education would meet with little response. But sex education is also a token of good confident relationships between parent and child; such conversations are an opportunity for parents to strengthen this confidence even further.

If the school is able to help those parents who do not have such good contact with their children, and who delay or keep silent altogether, to handle this problem more satisfactorily, this method is indubitably preferable to direct instruction by the school. It is a difficult additional task for the school, but there is a large body of evidence in its favour.

To take one example, from France: There was great excitement in a co-educational class of ten and eleven-year-old children: some children were talking about things which seemed to excite the others. They whispered confidentially and secretively among themselves and fell silent whenever an adult approached them. They exhibited aggressive behaviour towards teachers with whom they had previously been on good terms. The grounds for this seemed to be sexual curiosity and interest.

The school asked Dr. Berge of the Claude Bernard Institute of Educational Psychology to talk not to the class but to the parents, at a parents' meeting. He provoked a general discussion in the course of which it became apparent that some parents had talked to their children whilst others had

thought it impossible because they could find no form of words to use. This open discussion of ideas and methods bore obvious fruit, for after quite a short time the situation in the class returned to normal. It is not known whether all the parents talked to their children, but certainly some had done so. The children were obviously relieved from a burden. Before they had felt guilty at not having discussed mysterious things with their parents. It is this feeling of guilt which so often leads to anti-social behaviour. Their aggressiveness died down and school work returned to its normal course.

In this example it is also clear that the school was only an occasion - on the sphere for the release of conflicts caused by the disturbance of relationships between parents and children. But it was not unimportant that the parents talked it over on the school's ground, and the school afforded them the opportunity to come into the affair. The teachers who took part in the parents' evening showed tolerance, were scandalized by nothing, and dramatized nothing. By doing so, they helped through the parents in the restoration of the children's disturbed attitude towards adults. The school can, then, help parents; on a less emotional level than the family, it can give parents information scientifically, as it were, which they themselves often do not have at their disposal in an organized way at the right moment.

Naturally it is by no means simple for the school and the teacher to fulfil this additional task. Practical experience has shown that a fundamental stumbling block is the fact that precisely those parents whose children are in some way conspicuous at school do not generally attend parents' meetings. This is quite understandable when difficulties are occasioned by conflicts at home. But then the question is how shall those parents, who need counsel and help, be reached?

In almost every country it is usual for it to be left to the teacher to seek parents out on his own initiative, or to ask them to a consultation. This method is generally successful, especially if the teacher chooses times for his visits or consultations at which even working mothers are free for such conversations, i.e., times when they do not have to ask special leave to attend or accept other inconveniences. In England the experience has been that parents more readily accept the invitation to attend consultations if the child himself

delivers the invitation. Mothers in socially difficult situations then take the opportunity especially gladly of talking about their personal difficulties. This offers the teacher, school and social worker a starting point for family therapy. At such meetings, tact and capacity for sympathy on the part of the teacher are important in winning the trust and confidence of parents. He will, for example, not talk only about the child's difficulties, but will begin with his good points or try first to get the parents to talk about themselves.

An experiment of a completely different kind was tried at Hamburg. It did not emanate from the school, but laid the foundation for easier and better co-operation between the school and parents. The starting point was the fact that education in early childhood is of especially great importance in a child's character formation and emotional development, but that very few parents really know anything about it. The number of those one wants to reach, however, is so much greater than the number one can in fact reach through school parents' meetings and individual conversations. Thus for about a year the Child Guidance Clinic of the Psychological Institute of the University of Hamburg has been publishing an article weekly in the biggest daily newspaper on educational questions as they face parents and teachers every day. Then, again through press and radio, they invited parents to come to several parents' meetings. At first about fifty came, but then the number grew very quickly to over three hundred. The psychological consultants were speaking therefore to very large anonymous groups: they knew none of their names or personal histories and social origins. But in spite of that the parents came out of themselves to an astonishing degree, and talked in some measure about quite personal things, which were then discussed generally. Frequently in the course of this discussion terrible ideas and methods were revealed by some few parents - against which other parents then raised protests, so correcting them. On the whole the organizers felt that the parents had learned a great deal. Actually after they had tested the situation anonymously, as it were, many parents came to the Child Guidance Clinic, which had obviously won their confidence through these large meetings. Among these parents there were certainly some who, if no such chance had been offered them, would not have found their way to the Guidance Clinic.

In France, after the War, a fairly large-scale movement arose which showed the so-called retirement of the family to be something rather relative. It began from the interest of families in educational questions and was further displayed in the "Schools for Parents" (Ecoles de parents). Parents are instructed in psychological and educational matters by the medical faculty of the University of Paris. There is, too, a journal (Le groupe familial) in which clear advice and contributions are published, and which serves as a liaison between "Schools for Parents" in France and Belgium. At the same time generally understandable educational leaflets are brought out, and speeches are given in schools and at pupil and parent meetings.

This general instruction of parents on educational questions must, however, be supplemented by the closest possible co-operation between schools and parents, if positive education work is to be generally effective in the prevention of maladjustment of youth.

Contacts of the school with parents are especially important at the time of starting school and of transfer. One school in France, for example, invites the parents to the school on such occasions - but always only the parents of one class. They sit together in the class room, all the specialist teachers are present, and the class teacher usually introduces a special theme - perhaps children's books, or the use of television - and in the ensuing discussion the role of the parents is what is principally discussed.

In addition, in almost all French schools there are "Pupils' Parent Unions," which are not regulated by the school or the school directorate, but which invite teachers and school principals to their meetings. The annual meetings generally take place in the school buildings, and the headmaster or some other personality makes a speech on educational problems. Advice on careers plays a large part in these meetings.

A school in Vienna has undertaken various other experiments in the realization of the school's good opportunities for co-operation with parents. For example, the principal wrote a nice, personal letter to the parents of difficult children, asking them to visit her because she personally wanted their advice. This generally proved successful, because parents did not feel repulsed by reproaches and then generally themselves began to talk about some problems of

the child. A second way of making contact was by opening the doors of the school to parents. It was particularly interesting to notice in difficult classes that the parents came if the children themselves wrote the invitations: Mummy, you ought to see me work at least once. In order to get as many parents as possible, even those at first uninterested, to "parents' evenings," this Austrian school also employed little tricks. For instance, films were shown, and no "parents' evening" passed without the children having produced something. Educational questions were discussed afterwards. Parents then came gladly.

An experimental school in Denmark started from the assumption that in our era it is not only desirable, but imperative - especially with a view to the prevention of maladjustment of youth - to co-ordinate the efforts of school and parents. Class teachers are, for instance, chosen with a view to their having to be able to act as psychological and educational advisers to uncertain parents. For eight years the school has worked systematically to draw the parents actively into the life of the school. There is a parents' council with representatives of each class, which meets four or five times a year. At these meetings everyone has the opportunity to ask questions, offer criticism and make suggestions. The parents' council chooses a working party, which meets the headmaster at least once a month. In addition, it is the duty of every class teacher to visit every parental home at least every two years. In the months when there is no meeting of the parents' council, he must also hold a class "parents' evening," to which he can bring the specialist teachers.

It has become clear that not only in the first years at school, but also, and especially, in the years of puberty, this co-operation is very important. In principle, this school has always been open for parents. But as experience has shown, the teacher cannot be disturbed at any time. Therefore, it is planned from next year onwards to put down a compulsory hour for every teacher as a consultation hour in the timetable, as has been done in Israel for some time already. In this school all the children have one hour in the week together, when one class performs in some way: by singing, dancing, performing a play or a piece of music, etc. Parents, too, are welcomed. Frequently, a performance is repeated in the evening, for parents who work during the day. Parents are also encouraged to take part in excursions, visits to museums and

exhibitions, and the ten-day summer camp in the country attended by every class. In addition, there are for parents practical evening courses, gymnastics, and small group meetings on the problems of difficult children.

All these things are done in an experimental school, which of course can work differently from an ordinary school. Yet these experiences point out the direction in which the school must move in the future.

c) The Tasks of the School

The important role of parents and the family, especially with regard to the prevention of maladjustment of youth, to which we referred at the beginning of this section of Education and Prevention, so as to show its priority, also indicates that the school cannot work alone. Furthermore, the initiative of the school in the strengthening of family education can be effective only if the school understands its own role correctly. It never stands in isolation, in a world made for it, but rather has to take into account the fundamental requirements of two parties, namely, the child itself and society. It is a middleman between the starting-point and the goal, and can, therefore, never be an end in itself.

The starting-point is the children, with their individual, pre-school histories, their family relationships and the conscious and unconscious attitude of their parents. The school should be well informed about all this, for then it can co-operate with the parents in detecting faulty development of the children, and in developing and using various methods to help the child attain balanced adjustment.

The goal, social integration, is what gives point to all the various efforts of the school, its methods and educational techniques by which, step by step, children can and should be made conscious of reality.

It would, of course, be asking too much of the school to expect it to set forth social perspectives, which society in general does not provide. But it can, within its own field, within the sphere of school life, create perspectives which are of great significance for the life of young people. The school must be a place in which tasks are set which are comprehensible and interesting to young people, and which offer them an opportunity of achieving something worth

while - i.e., tasks with which a young person can identify himself, and which do not demand of him a merely receptive role.

This has, of course, all been said decades ago, yet it is still very far from being realized. Likewise, it has been stated over and over again that education and instruction are not two separate things, but that the process of education will be accomplished in learning, teaching and dealing with the material and in the atmosphere of school and classroom. But as lack of social responsibility and lack of moral standards and values are especially prominent factors in the endangering of youth to-day, the duty must fall in a much larger measure to the school of bringing instruction, especially in arts subjects, closer to the life of to-day, and relating it to modern life. This means implicitly that the teacher should not refrain from personal opinions and judgement.

d) The Structural Potentialities and Methods of the School

Can the school do all this? The problem of whether structural modifications to the school are not necessary if the school is to be able to fulfil the tasks that are being forced on it is a very real one. It is not surprizing that in almost every country plans for school reform are being discussed, for, apart from a few modifications, the school to-day follows the pattern which was established and fixed one hundred and fifty to two hundred years ago.* Certainly the demand for the lengthening of the period of compulsory school attendance is becoming irresistible.

But whatever form the structural provisions may take, the question of methods of instruction will have to be dealt with primarily from the point of view of the fact that modern life is becoming continually more incomprehensible and difficult to rationalize. Things can no longer follow the course that was developed in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, by carrying over the methods of scholarship as completely as possible into the school. "In many countries the pupil has to divide his attention among so many

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* Unesco Institute for Education. School Reform; international meeting of experts at the Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg, 9-14 January 1956; Report, edited by L. Verniers, Hamburg, Unesco Institute for Education, 1958.

different subjects that he acquires a number of superficial ideas at the expense of sound knowledge and real training of thinking."* Modern life can only be mastered intellectually by analysis focussed on selected subjects, which are really significant and which reveal the universal relationships within life as a whole. Wherever it is possible, this may be achieved with the children step by step. Only through the microcosm is it possible to understand the macrocosm. But this demands courage in omission, and courage in selection. About this, too, a great deal has been said, and little done. But meanwhile the amount of material the children are required to learn increases. Requirement and reality will tend to become still further apart, if we do not succeed in imposing a check on a school education which is about to lose its original meaning.

This is a problem both of the school curriculum and of teacher training. Both play prominent parts in discussions of school reform, so that to hope for a gradual solution of this problem - which is as pressing as it is difficult - no longer seems to be utopian.

There are numerous examples and experiences which show how the school of to-day is trying, by new or improved methods, to counteract the general endangerment of youth. But not in the long run are all the opportunities the school offers being used. One example of this is discussion, which can be the central point in instruction. But time after time it can be observed that the teacher is talking too much, and listening too little to what others - whether they be his pupils, or the parents at a parents' evening - want to say. A second principle also belongs in this connection - namely, that the teacher should never demand from the child any kind of promise suggesting, "You have done this or that; now promise me that you will never do it again." It is far too great an emotional burden for the child. Neither ought the teacher to give direct advice on his own account; he should try to make the child find answers for himself.

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* "Youth in the World-To-day," from a speech delivered by Mr. Vittorino Veronese, Director-General of Unesco, at the Sorbonne, Paris, on 19 March 1959, at the invitation of the Boy Scouts International Bureau and the International Association of Workers for Maladjusted Children.

The method of the "psycho-drama" can also be usefully employed in the resolution of situations of conflict in the school. But even when quite general problems are to be discussed, the class can act out the problem and live through the process of the development of consciousness. In addition, this method has the advantage that it amuses the children and satisfies their need for activity.

Active methods can permeate the whole course of instruction: for example, social survey of the school, the locality and the town; the use of audio-visual aids in language teaching, and exhibitions and excursions. However, as Mr. Veronese, Director-General of Unesco stated, "it raises the question whether the general use of audio-visual media - posters, illustrations, comics, films, radio and television - may not bring about a rather profound change in mental processes. Young people are becoming more and more used to seeing pictures instead of reading, and to absorbing general impressions instead of analyzing facts and ideas."* The school need not limit its activities to the timetable. Many schools offer opportunities for, and encourage, guided activities out of school hours, such as clubs (Unesco Clubs, film clubs, music groups, etc.), model making, hobbies and working in workshops, and sporting activities. All these offer opportunities for the development of the child's interest and give to what is taught - which is often of necessity abstract - a shape not quite so far removed from life.**

These experiments have been made in schools over a long period of time and have undoubtedly exerted an influence on many young people.

But it has also been noticed that guided activities hold no great attraction for many young people to-day, especially those with any kind of difficulty in adjustment. This is true both of out-of-school activities guided

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* "Youth inthe World To-day," from a speech delivered by Mr. Vittorino Veronese, Director-General of Unesco, at the Sorbonne, Paris, on 19 March 1959, at the invitation of the Boy Scouts International Bureau and the International Association of Workers for Maladjusted Children.

** Peller, Lili E. The School's Role in Promoting Sublimation, in The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, Vol. XI, New York, International Universities Press, 1956, pp. 437 - 449.

or organized by the school, and in the sphere of youth work. The phenomenon facing us is that a proportion of young people are refusing what is offered and are banding together in gangs with their own standards and their own activitids. Obviously, in spite of its active methods and activities, the school gives these young people no great pleasure.

These out-of-school activities, and group education, in a large measure took over the methods and forms of the Youth Movements which developed them thirty and forty years ago. But young people to-day, with their special difficulties, obviously react differently to them. It is also clear that young people in general do not like to stay longer on the school premises than is absolutely necessary. We might say that the atmosphere of the school has no power to counterbalance the romance of the gangs.

In Vienna a school made this experience the starting-point for an experiment and said that there was no reason why they should have to stay in the school, but they could work with organizations and groups suitable for young people. The school turned to an amateur photographic society in the neighbourhood and asked if the club was prepared to ask a class to join in a competition under the title, "Everyday life as seen photographically." The club sanctioned this course and it proved successful. Boys and girls who had seemed to have no interest in anything whatsoever, began to develop creative imagination, and it is noteworthy that they have not grown tired of the subject but still work with the Photographic Society to-day.

Similarly, the school went to a sports club to see what their attitude would be to challenging the school to a match. This too was successful. The pupils who played were rather wild boys, but now they have considerably better manners and are no longer constantly on the verge of exploding.

The real gangs, however, can hardly be touched by normal school activities, even with their extra-curricular programmes. Work with them must be begun on a different level - namely, with the gang itself. An example of how this may be done comes from Vienna: a gang made up mainly of middle school pupils and disposed to be really troublesome was behaving very badly in a middle-class district. But also in this district there were people living on pensions, old people aged sixty-five and

over, with wide experience as craftsmen, who were still skilful but no longer worked, and in the summer sat in the park and played cards. In the winter they had nowhere to go. Now they were offered a room and asked whether they were prepared to teach handicrafts to those boys and girls who wanted to learn. The old people were enthusiastic and, from the gang, the offer was accepted by a number of the pupils of the middle school. From this surprising consortium a club has grown up, calling itself the "Old-Young Society."

At this point we may ask whether it is the activity or whether it is something else that has attracted these young people. One day a boy with a terrible cold was asked why he had come to the club when he would infect the others. He said, "I can't leave old Mr. Smith in the lurch - he's relying on me to get the little table finished for his wife by Christmas." This boy has developed a feeling of responsibility - and had developed it, we must assume, on the basis of the human relationships he had established through his carpentry. Even here, activity is still a means to an end, and with these young people the end must be to help them to establish good human relationships.

There remains the question of whether it is enough that young people should be offered the opportunity to provethemselves in one direction, and be encouraged in it - as they were by the football match, or the photographic society. Is it certain that young people can carry their attitude over from this into other situations - or, to put it another way, are these experiments already a success educationally? In principle, one can say that all education must be accomplished in three stages. The first experience of proving oneself in some way can be considered to be the fundamental stage. The second step is that where consciousness has to develop: where the experience, the situation, the obstacles and the successes are consciously assimilated. At the third stage, certain claims must be made on the young person, against which he must learn to measure himself.

The school has numerous opportunities for all three steps. The third step, that of requirements, goals and tasks, is especially important for the social integration of young people.

There is plenty of evidence to show that success can come from giving

young people valuable social tasks through giving the pupils self-government in ths school. In a school in Israel, the pupils gave themselves as their principle task that of helping new immigrants (some of whom were coming from Oriental countries and could not speak Hebrew) to find their way in their new society. Some pupils gave language lessons, both to children and to adults. Others ran courses in housekeeping, and others again in handicrafts. In doing these things, the pupils had found themselves rewarding tasks, and it is interesting though not surprising to notice that even those pupils who themselves had adjustment difficulties showed great enthusiasm in the fulfilment of these tasks and performed constructive work. Both inside and outside its own sphere the school can set such tasks and train pupils to satisfy in a constructive way their need to prove themselves and gain the respect of society.

To a certain degree we can also rely on the fact that the natural powers of children and young people are, as it were, our allies. If a maladjusted child or young person once has the opportunity, for instance, to establish a good relationship of mutual confidence with someone, he can generally gain further confidence from this experience. If we then allow room for the elasticity of normal convalescence the child will be able to stabilize himself; rather as in a case of sickness the process of convalescence begins with rest in bed.

A completely different point of view from which the preventative potential of the school can be improved has also hitherto received too little attention in practice. This is the division between male and female staffs. From the psychological point of view, it is a matter of giving the child relationships which are as normal as they can be, even in the school. The starting-point is the family, with a mother and a father, that is, a man and a woman. There is, for instance, no reason why a girl should grow up for ten years, during the most important parts of her life, among girls alone, and under a female staff. It should certainly not be so difficult to establish a better division of teaching staff.

V. THE CENTRAL ROLE OF THE TEACHER

a) The Personality of the Teacher

It would seem almost superfluous to emphasize once again the outstanding importance of the personality of the teacher in direct relation to our subject. In every chapter of this report, whether it be the detection of faulty development, the overcoming of crisis situations in the school, co-operation with the parental home, or the use of the school potential through teaching methods and activities, in everything it is presupposed that the teacher plays an active role, both as a personality and as an executive agent.

In a ten-year experiment in a Danish experimental school interesting evidence has been collected already, after only eight years, about the importance of the teacher in the adjustment process in children throughout the whole of their time in school.

Attached to this school there is a kindergarten. Every year two new classes are taken into the school, the first a class of children from the kindergarten, the second a class of children who have never attended any kind of nursery school. At the time of their admittance, all the children are tested by the Uppsala School Readiness Test, and every year regularly further tests and socio-metrical investigations are undertaken.

The chief conclusion reached has been that the factor - immeasurable in itself - of the teacher's personality is of the greatest importance for the social attitude of children, for their introduction to the work of the school and for their scholastic progress. Naturally, other factors, such as home conditions, emotional balance and other personal matters, also play a role. Nevertheless, it was again and again obvious that, for instance, classes with children from the kindergarten who at the beginning were more ready for school in comparison with other classes, often flagged after a short time. This process was clearly dependent on which teacher taught in the class. It showed, too, that these differences in development were dependent not so much on whether the teacher was particularly clever as a teacher - which can to a certain degree be measured - but far more on those immeasurable human qualities, such as spiritual balance, the gift of sympathy, inner control, courage and initiative. These results are so conclusive that we can say that health is as infectious as sickness.

From other experiments at this school it appeared that the pupils quite generally tended to seek out teachers who were in this sense "healthy". In this school there are some specialist groups in practical fields of work (e.g. modelling, painting, drawing, wood and metal work, sewing, school cooking) from which pupils can make a choice. In addition, there are completely voluntary subjects, such as German, theoretical physics and astronomy. It is beyond question that many pupils make their selections not among subjects, or groups of subjects, but among teachers. And the greatest pressure is round teachers designated "healthy" above.

This evidence about the significance of the personality of the teacher in this experimental school led to the setting aside of two hours a week in the normal timetable for teachers' conferences. And it is clear that it would be quite impossible to overvalue these conferences, and that they are a good investment. The conferences are generally in the form of study circles, where educational and psychological problems are discussed. But their greatest value lies in that once a week teachers have an opportunity to exchange experiences, ask one another's advice or offer criticism. These conferences proved of outstanding help in the development of the personalities of teachers, and had advantageous effects on the work and life of the school.

In this experimental school - which of course is in an exceptional position - they were in a position to take into account the great importance of the personality of the teacher in the development of the childfen, and to utilize it in the work of the school. Most schools however feel the cold wind of everyday life and are fully exposed to the social pressures of the parental homes, authorities and world of work. The teacher finds himself involved in the structural pattern of the school and the surrounding world already described, and does so, indeed, to a degree that what we necessarily have to demand of him educationally sometimes makes an exhorbitant demand on him. In vindication of many teachers, we should notice for example how many firms submit apprentices to every possible test at the time they are taken into the firm, these tests often being judged by purely quantitative, measurable standards of knowledge. The teacher will try to give this knowledge to his pupils by any means during their last year at school, so as not to spoil their chance of a good apprenticeship.

Under the pressure of an all too inflexible fixed timetable, many teachers develop into scavengers, as it were, in their subjects. They try to maintain the curriculum at any price since they have to hold themselves ready for inspections which are often unannounced, and, above all, have to reckon on everything in the curriculum being set before the children in the examinations. The "courage of omission" which is in fact so necessary, is an illusory demand on the teacher, if he cannot rely on the school administration and authorities having a similar attitude to education.

It is important to make this distinction. The whole thing would be easy if, as happens so unjustly again and again, we were to attribute all blame for the school's unused potential on the teacher. But over against this there is always the outstanding work of those individual teachers who prove a match both for social pressure and the demands of education.

b) Teacher Training[x]

If we listen to Mr. Alkemade talking about his father, who is now seventy years of age, we suddenly realize to what degree even the teacher and the teaching profession are subject to the general process of social change. Mr. Alkemade, Senior, is a retired teacher, but he is now once more working at the school in a small town, Haarlem, in Holland. From his many years of experience, he brings with him a knowledge which seems to flow from sources other than those of academic learning. He "knows" what is to be done, how to deal with parents, what answers he should give to the many questioners who come to him or whom he visits. In this town, he is a personality, known to everyone and enjoying respect. He has his place in this small closed community.

Most teachers today work in social spheres of a completely different pattern. The knowledge that Mr. Alkemade sen. has gathered from his experience of life, his continual contact with children and parents, which he could constantly renew, must be given the teacher of today in a much more conscious way, in his training, both in his original professional training, and in his further training in the course of his professional work.

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x International Conference on the theme "The education and training of teachers for primary schools", Hambourg, UNESCO Institute for Education, Report, 1954.

In the milieu of the school and teaching, the teacher is the first who should be able to recognize difficulties in adjustment in children and the possible extreme forms that they might finally assume. The problems are those of individual psychology in the framework of collective life. In his training he therefore must receive a grounding in psychological and sociological relationships, which will allow him to understand children and young people and their affairs and, if the occasion arises, pass them over to other specialists.

It is impossible to deal here with the separate parts of the teacher's training in detail : all that can be done is to set out point by point a few principles on which training should be based from the point of view of the problem that concerns us here.

- The teacher should have an opportunity of learning, not only theoretically, but also from the study of actual cases, that concealed behind all maladjustment is the tragedy of the false orientation of a life. This principle is directed primarily against the static point of view which describes all behaviour in terms of character, and is still widespread, leading many teachers to ascribe bad behaviour among children to wickedness.

- The teacher must be taught that he must not react emotionally to maladjusted behaviour. This principle is directed against the moralizing and against the authoritarian attitudes. Both attitudes have been shown experimentally to be closely interrelated.

- The teacher must have learned in his training that the overcoming of maladjustment does not consist in the elimination of symptoms, i.e. of outward behavioural patterns, but that the fundamental disturbance must be identified and changed. The so-called treatment of symptoms is, however, still given prominence by many.

- The teacher must be prepared for the fact that relapses may always occur in the course of the process of psychological convalescence; he must not only be prepared for this, he must also know that relapses are a part of the process of maturation and convalescence. This principle is directed against the widespread expectation that our efforts in education should be quickly rewarded by the child.

- His training should give the conviction that no child is lost. This principle is directed against the idea that there is nothing to be done with some children; against superficial theories of heredity and other unverifiable theses; against determinism and anthropological scepticism.

- The teacher should learn in the course of his training that very much depends on his own personality. He should, therefore, not only learn to recognize difficulties in others and to help others, but he should be able to do a certain amount of self-analysis and elucidation. He should learn to understand his own rough places, so that he is more mature in his encounters with others.

All these questions depend largely on what kind of psychology is to be given to teachers. It is important to instruct teachers not in a merely academic psychology with which in practice they can do nothing, but in a psychology of real-life problems, a psychology of motivation, which will permit them to understand the complex background relationships between things.

The problem of how the teacher can learn to know himself and deal with his own difficulties, prejudices and uncertainties is of especially great importance. It could be dealt with in various ways.

The extreme way would be for the teacher himself to undergo analysis. But from the point of view of time alone this is impossible except in serious cases.

A less extreme possibility would seem more easily realizable. Teachers should be given some kind of supervisor, as has already been widely done in social work, with whom he can discuss the difficulties appearing among the children, and who can, at the same time, help him to see and overcome his own problems and difficulties. It is particularly important that this should be introduced during training, for the wholesale nature of training makes it difficult for professors and lecturers to give enough attention to the individual student.

Another way - which would at the same time relieve the teacher of the isolation which threatens him in his profession - would be an institution such as, for example, exists for doctors in France, namely, a kind of seminar of further education, spread over several years, in which not only doctors but also research workers and scientists in neighbouring fields take part. It is just as important for teachers as for doctors not to lose contact with the world around them and with people in other disciplines. In such courses, group work should be given great prominence and psychologists, physicians and psychiatrists, etc., should be drawn into it. The work of the groups should not concentrate too much on the psychology of children, but should rather make the teacher, and the teacher-child relationship, their focal point. This would be a more practical way to help teachers to solve their problems, see the importance of

their own personalities, and above all, to prevent them from isolating themselves in their own school surroundings.

In the training and the further training of the teacher it must be made quite clear that the teacher's chief educational task is performed not outside, but in the course of lessons. The teacher must learn in his subject training where the fields are which demand judgement and evaluation. He must be trained to approach problems and develop criteria of judgement in discussion and joint consideration of them with the children; he must not feel that he is above things, and hence above the children.

The situation of crisis represented by transfer from the primary school to a higher school is often as acute as it is for the children because the teacher in the higher school knows nothing about the primary school and the primary school teacher. It would not be very difficult to remedy this by making the higher school teacher practice now and then in the primary school. In Vienna, a first step in this direction has been taken. Teachers of the first class from the grammar school have to attend third and fourth year primary school classes for one week, so that they may know what kind of children and what preliminary education they will have to deal with in the higher school as a result of the selection examinations.

It would also be of extraordinary value in the prevention of maladjustment of youth if, during their training, teachers could also be given some acquaintanceship with other branches of socio-educational work. In many countries, six months' practice in various branches in social work, special schools, educational homes, welfare work, etc., are already included in the normal course of training. Students are usually very pleased to do these things. They give them more opportunity than any theoretical course of lectures could do, to gain an insight into psychological and sociological problems and build up their theoretical knowledge from practical experience. A much greater measure of use should be made of such practical experience. For what is at stake is the changing during the process of training of sometimes extraordinarily deeply-rooted prejudices and deterministic attitudes among the trainees. The limited effect of lectures must therefore be supplemented by more and better planned and conducted practical work in the social field. Practical work has hitherto been generally limited largely to merely practical attempts to teach.

Of course, with all these suggestions it must be kept in mind that the training of teachers is already extraordinarily burdened, both by subject matters and by various exercises. The general situation in the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, is that it is impossible to add any kind of additional task unless one is prepared to say firmly at the same time what is too much and where reductions can be made.

There is an almost encyclopaedic ideal, especially for the primary school teacher, for he has to teach in every field. The teacher should know something about every subject and every methodological theory, and is thus terribly burdened already from the point of view of time alone. This false encyclopaedism leads in consequence to a kind of sciolism which would be helpful neither for the teacher himself nor for the children.

Hence, some of the subjects can of necessity only be touched on. A good teacher can acquire a great amount of information at a later stage. It is also enough if he knows one or two methods well. In practice, that enables him to familiarize himself with other methods. To the one subject that should indeed be studied with scientific care, there should, however, be added an enlarged basic training in pedagogy, psychology and sociology. All three departments belong together, and a basic knowledge of them has become an indispensable prerequisite for teachers today.

Wholly similar problems are presented by any attempt to orientate the training of teachers of higher schools in a direction more in keeping with educational and socio-educational points of view. In France, experiments are now being made with regional educational institutes (Centres pédagogiques régionaux), the primary value of which is that they permit students' practice in the various types of school and methods of teaching. The general prejudice against all round orientation is however very great, even from the side of the universities. A professor of mathematics would be thunderstruck if he were told that his students must have a certificate in psycho-pedagogy and sociology before they could teach.

In addition, it is of very great importance to explain to future teachers whilst they are still in training that there are special problems that they cannot know about on the basis of their training and for which they will need help, and can claim help without doing injury to their professional self-confidence.

One of the determining factors in overcoming many a teacher's mistrust of psychologists is the manner in which the psychologist meets the teacher and his problems. Psychologists must support the teacher in the view that a certain measure of discipline is essential for effective teaching in the class. In doing so, they should, however, try to change the idea most teachers have about punishments in such forms as are generally available to them in schools, and about the effect of these punishments as regards the maintenance of discipline. To the maladjusted, or even the very gifted child, it is always worthwhile to expose himself to threatened punishment if only he can annoy the teacher, or play the hero. The only basis for discipline is the establishment by the teacher of a personal relationship with every child. Correctional punishment then becomes for the child not something unpleasant that must be endured, but a symbolic danger signal, a warning that good relations with the teacher may be in peril. The opinion shared by many teachers, that the teacher must be fair and treat all children alike, does not take into account the fact that children are always envious only of the good child who stands out from among them. They are not envious of the obviously maladjusted, unhappy child who is unable to learn self-control. The teacher can indeed only adopt this attitude of handling the children differently if he has complete confidence in himself and his influence, and is free from fear that the shocking behaviour of some of the children might infect the whole class.

All these suggestions for teacher training which all correspond to immediate requirements, have hitherto been fulfilled only in small ways. Their wider application presumes a change of orientation in general, the overcoming not only of institutional and structural obstacles, but also of many prejudices and common attitudes, and the making of comprehensive plans directed towards a re-shaping of teacher training.

In view of the situation of danger to youth in many countries to-day which demands urgent, immediate measures, an intensified and perhaps even compulsory system of further training for teachers seems to be a measure demanding priority. For because of the great number of pupils in the class and of his other burdens, the teacher is now in need of more effective help especially in the field of psychology and socio-pedagogy. More than ever, it is true today to say that the training of teachers cannot come to an end with the Education Department's examinations.

It is a matter of helping the teacher to play his role; his role on the stage of the classroom; his role as the one who, through the subjects he discusses with the children, transforms the mundane world of the classroom into the realm of ideas; his role as guide to the past, to distant lands, to the abstract world of mathematical thought. He must learn to have these roles consciously at his fingertips if he does not want to become the plaything of the class.

VI. CONCLUSION

As a social and educational body, the school can realize its potentialities only through close contact and co-operation with the parental home and other socio-educational workers. The fact that in the course of the present process of social change the family has forfeited some of its educative influence confronts the school with the additional task of taking the initiative and working with parents in bringing up children.

The school faces great and difficult tasks which it will be able to perform only if science and research make theoretical facts about the state of man in our times available on a larger scale for practical use, and this is particularly true in the case of research into the phenomenon of social maladjustment of youth today, and research in the sphere of family education and therapy.

Dr. Stott reports a research project with the aim of developing a kind of identification instrument for social workers with the aid of which they can reach a better understanding of specific families and family situations, through which children and young people are being drawn into social maladjustment. Together with a group of social workers, he arrived at a list of twelve typical family situations (i.e. disturbed parent-child relationships) which cover almost all occurring cases. Family situations of this kind are, of course, always dependent on the general cultural background in which they are embedded, and, therefore, without further research it cannot be said whether these same twelve situations would also be met with at the beginnings of neglect and social maladjustment in, for example, France or Germany. From this point, further comparative research should begin. For in the future it will not be enough to entrust teachers and social workers with the task of carrying on family education and therapy without first putting into their hands a serviceable methodology.

But the school also has on hand great, but in its present state, still partially unused potentialities. It could contrive the elimination of some structural danger points, such as, for instance, the uneasiness and stress put on the children by too early and hard competition and examinations, or the coincidence of important changes of school and crises in the life of the child.

The school is not only a learning situation : it is also a social situation. It can exploit this in a particularly influential way. In it, the young person can learn to associate himself with a group; group education can encourage a productive community life, and help in the establishment of durable human relationships. In the group, young people can learn to accept responsibilities and, through what is called in American sociology the "deferred gratification pattern", develop self-control, i.e. learn to forgo immediate gratification of emotions and needs in the light of rewarding but more distant goals. All this cannot be learned as an individual, but only in a community.

Great possibilities will be open to the school when it becomes universally possible to lengthen the period of compulsory school attendance by some years. In these final school years, the main point of teaching would then have to be to turn the interest of young people towards finding an orientation for their lives. This should not merely mean giving vocational guidance in the conventional sense, but should mean giving young people the opportunity of developing an independent spiritual orientation. In our society, change in work methods plays an ever greater role because production methods change very quickly with increasingly rapid technical improvements of production. The kind of unskilled worker who has a measure of mental agility, can perform different jobs and tasks, and can adapt himself to changes in his occupation, is becoming continually more important. But this demands of the young person more than mere adjustment to one type of work; it demands the ability orientate his mental outlook.

In the years of this transition at school, young people should be mainly engaged in carrying out independent projects, thus finding their various ways to an understanding of the real world.

In addition, some part of their practical professional training should take place in the school. The young person should be able to chose between various professional courses at school and to work seriously and thoroughly in one field for a certain time at the end of his course.[x]

[x] The UNESCO Institute for Education, Hamburg, conducted a meeting of experts from April 25th to 30th, 1960, to investigate the practical organisation of the ninth and tenth school years, with special reference to practical work-experience.

A few quotations from essays written by a class of girls at a Viennese secondary school on the theme "Where Has the School Failed?", set in the school final examination might reveal something of the emotions of young people as they look back over their school and stand at the gateway to life. This selection was made from the work of girls who had come from disturbed family backgrounds and who had displayed some difficulties during their development.

"The school is pleased if we fit into the patchwork, but it has not taught us to weave our own patchwork."

"The school has expected work from us without always being able to explain the purpose of the work. Therefore, we have not always liked the work."

"The school has told us a lot and has suggested too little : that is, we have not been able to work things out on our own. It has often told us to put full stops and has not allowed us often enough to put a question mark at the end."

"It has taught us its own values, without realizing that they might not be ours... so we are dissatisfied. Are we still generally capable of being happy?".

"After the training I had at home - which the school has not sufficiently corrected - I am really capable of living only in one situation; whilst a changing situation would probably upset me. Perhaps I shall fail... We are too often managed; too little loved, and therefore I am sometimes afraid that it may be that we are not capable of anything but either loving or guiding, but never both together The result is that I am frightened even of being loved."

This archiving project is a collaborative effort between United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and American Society of Criminology, Division of International Criminology. Any comments or questions should be directed to Cindy J. Smith at CJSmithphd@comcast.net or Emil Wandzilak at emil.wandzilak@unodc.org.