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INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY VIEWED AS A LABOUR PROBLEM

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Introduction

It is generally recognised today that juvenile delinquency has no single cause and that there is no single panacea for it. Social, economic and psychological factors are closely interwoven. This particular report has been inspired by the belief that while children and young persons tending towards delinquency generally require some treatment of a special kind, their needs are on the whole those of ordinary children, differing from them, if at all, only in degree and that the satisfaction of those ordinary needs may not only help to counterbalance their delinquent tendencies but may, in some cases, forestall their apparition.

The I.L.O. has for many years concerned itself with labour problems affecting children and young persons, seeking above all for remedies to abuses of their age and strength which may hinder their development into adults healthy in body and mind, and for positive ways in which they may be helped to develop their abilities to the full, to find a satisfying vocation and the opportunity to practise it in good conditions, and, in so doing, to achieve a happy social adjustment which is the antithesis of delinquency.

In many areas of the world some of the worst abuses of child labour are still current. In many others seemingly excellent vocational services for youth touch only a fringe of the juvenile population or fail to take account of their real vocational problems.

This situation is of importance in considering juvenile delinquency, for the prevention and treatment of delinquency has different implications according to whether the young person concerned is a ragged street urchin committing petty theft in a country where children are expected to contribute to their own maintenance almost as soon as they can walk or a well-fed, well-clad but unhappy, bored or rebellious school-boy, crashing a stolen automobile while under the influence of drink.

Throughout the world the tendency is increasing to attribute all juvenile delinquency to "maladjustment" without due attention being always paid to the specific and sometimes appalling situation to which adjustment is expected. One result of this is that those who are in the vanguard of the fight against juvenile delinquency, social workers, juvenile court judges, special teachers, psychiatrists, probation officers, etc., have every day, in dealing with the requirements

of particular cases, not only to make use of their own specialised skill and knowledge, but, by constant improvisation, to make good the non-existence or deficiencies of other services and, more particularly, of services in the labour field.

The contention in this report will be that proper attention to labour conditions affecting all youth will help to eradicate certain contributory causes of juvenile delinquency, that certain forms of vocational service, e.g. vocational guidance, vocational training and placement in employment, are becoming increasingly necessary for the social adjustment of all youth and that they must therefore, as a minimum, be made available for those groups of young people and individuals who can be singled out as predelinquent.

A further contention is that since the purpose of vocational services is to promote the social and economic integration of the individual, and since the degree of social integration achieved is the best test of the efficiency of these services, co-operation between authorities and personnel dealing with the predelinquents on the one hand and the services charged with labour and economic questions on the other hand, would be of the utmost benefit to both parties.

There can, of course, be no one form advisable for this co-operation, but an endeavour will be made in this report to suggest some useful lines of approach, drawn either from practical experience in various countries or from an examination of the defects of present practice.

Practical collaboration can be greatly facilitated by mutual understanding and community of purpose. There is in fact already quite a body of international pronouncements on specific labour problems scattered throughout the findings and reports of the many meetings and seminars which have devoted their attention to juvenile delinquency in the last few years. In the interests of co-operation, it would seem desirable to examine the subject matter of these pronouncements, based on the experience of those working in the delinquency field, study it as a particular complex and examine them against the general background of labour policy in these matters for the population in general. A study devoted to the labour questions involved in juvenile delinquency may, it is believed, help those coping with juvenile delinquency to complete their understanding of the factors involved and bring home to those concerned with labour questions the extreme urgency of fulfilling their responsibility to youth. The subject is of course too wide for full and systematic treatment

within the limits of the present report, but it is hoped that it will at least serve to stimulate discussion and indicate some fruitful lines of research and action.

In conformity with the general plan for the discussion of juvenile delinquency at this congress, it is the intention to confine this report to delinquency prevention and not to discuss the treatment of young offenders, save incidentally and as this may, by throwing light on the causes of delinquency, indicate factors to which importance must be attached in preventive work. Since prevention must deal with pre-delinquents and the distinction between pre-delinquency and actual delinquency rests often simply on the fact and the effect of having been "caught in the act", some attention will also be given to first offenders, who, having been presumed capable of going straight without penitentiary treatment, have been placed on probation or committed to the care of a child welfare organisation.

CHAPTER I

Situations involving acute labour problems conducive to delinquency

The solution of labour problems is in general complicated by the presence of many variables and never more so than at times when the whole community is involved in, or destroyed by, rapid evolution or catastrophe. The most serious of all the labour problems which accompany or are produced as an aftermath by rapid industrialisation, urbanisation of rural areas, the influx of rural workers into developing industrial cities and their consequent proletarianisation or detribalisation, and by the mass movements of population following on wars, revolution, change of political regime, is probably that of how to integrate uprooted youth into the disturbed economy; how to help them in effecting in abnormal circumstances the normal transition from childhood to adult life as workers. On the solution of this problem depends not only their own balance and happiness but indeed the future of society.

Industrialisation

While industrialisation may prove an ultimate good, the introduction of western civilisation in Africa, for example, has served to create new needs and migration for employment has seriously disturbed the structure of the native tribe and family. Men and youths in their prime leave the villages, less land is cultivated and crops are smaller, although both town and country dwellers must be fed, and for the immigrants themselves migration has disastrous social consequences. They are not treated as a stable labour force; they have no skills to sell and their very numbers deprive them of bargaining power; in consequence they have usually been ill-housed and ill-paid.¹

A further difficulty arising out of rapid economic development is the creation of unbalanced communities with an unduly high proportion of young people and little ballast of older settled residents. This problem is just as real in many ideal housing estates as in a haphazardly growing shanty town.

Unemployment and underemployment

Although maintenance of full employment is now generally recognised to be a way of safeguarding social, family and individual wellbeing, factors beyond the control of individual

¹ International Labour Review, Vol. LXIII, No. 5, May 1951, "Industrialisation and Social Problems in Central Africa" by P. de Briey.

countries can still precipitate extensive unemployment. Chronic unemployment and underemployment is widespread in the economically underdeveloped areas. The experience of the generalised unemployment of the early thirties showed clearly the dangers for youth not only in the drop in living standards and the resulting family difficulties, but also the dangers of demoralisation by idleness.¹

From the point of view of direct influence on juvenile delinquency, perhaps one of the most serious consequences of underemployment is the drift of young people from rural areas to the towns in search of problematic employment. The large city in any continent is not a favourable environment for a young person to come to alone and unprotected.

"Large towns" (to quote the International Child Welfare Review) "enjoy the doubtful privilege of being regarded as an agglomeration of socially maladjusted human beings living in the poorest social, economic and health conditions."

Where some areas of a country are more affected by unemployment or underemployment than others, there is a tendency to internal migration. In the main, young people who have not yet established homes and families can more easily leave their homes, but their youth and inexperience expose them to moral and, indeed, often physical risks when living away from their families. For this reason, employment services, the role of which includes promoting mobility of labour, hesitate as a rule to sponsor transfers of young people or to refer them to jobs at long distances from their homes. For example, the Belgian Employment Service has defined "suitable" employment for young people as employment which does not entail a total daily absence from home of more than 13 hours including travelling time.

Refugees

In our age, when refugees are counted not by hundreds but by hundreds of thousands and by millions, there is no need to enlarge on the gravity of this question. The general problems confronting refugees which constitute the backcloth of the life of the refugee children are well known: the elementary problem of subsistence, of minimum shelter and of clothing is often coupled with psychological problems - those involved in separation from normal environment and often from

² Cf. Unemployment Among Young Persons, Report III to the International Labour Conference, 19th Session, 1935.

families, life in camps, disabilities in a strange land, uncertainty as to future destination, fear of new violence or persecution, and economic problems. Enforced idleness is frequently the lot of even the able-bodied adult employable refugees and their hardships are by no means over when they finally reach countries of resettlement. Lack of papers, the typical legal disability of refugees involving a life on the margin of a society whose defence is officialdom, being in itself often tantamount to delinquency, is strongly conducive to it. In Western Germany for example a series of measures, including the provision of hostels and training facilities, have been rendered necessary by a problem of juvenile vagabonding, due to clandestine immigration of young persons.

Child War Victims

The aftermath of wars and disorder was well described by a speaker at a conference on "The War and Juvenile Delinquency", convened by the International Union for Child Welfare in 1947, who said: "... in normal times a delinquent was a maladjusted individual, usually conscious of the reprobation his evil doings brought upon him. Nowadays, a delinquent is apt to labour under the delusion of being approved by or tacitly backed up by many of his fellow citizens..."

In this generation Europe has become all too familiar with juvenile delinquency as a by-product of war, and has had to learn much about the recuperation of delinquents whose anti-social conduct is, in the main, the outcome of obedience to the laws of survival.

"From the ruins had emerged street urchins, adolescents quite alone in the world, orphans, cripples, homeless children, physically and formally abandoned. How to get hold of these ragamuffins so that they could be restored to normal life? How to reintegrate these asocial and anti-social beings into society as honest, industrious citizens?"

That was the basic problem faced by the adults who devoted themselves to the children's communities created in many European countries during or immediately after the war, but there were many other problems of equal import for the future working life of the child war victims.

There were problems arising out of their past: "These children were well on the way to becoming delinquents, they were accustomed to stealing from shops and lorries, and had been encouraged to do so by their parents. One of them had an apparatus for forging bread tickets." Some were "children

who had been abandoned and who, swept up in the maelstrom of violence and despair, had lived a hand to mouth existence in order to keep alive. They had been forced to engage in the most extraordinary occupations, many of them degrading and shameful."

In many cases their mental faculties had been affected by their experiences: "In these boys we particularly noticed defective powers of memory, concentration, sustained attention and abstract thought..." Often educational backwardness was combined with hard and shrewd judgment beyond their years: "Only three boys out of 66 are in classes corresponding to their age, but despite this most of them have normal intelligence, and some of them are above average. The explanation is that the exceptional circumstance in which they have lived and to which, if they were to survive, they had to adjust themselves, have developed in them precocious powers of reasoning and especially of criticism, the need to probe ideas and grasp them by concrete experiences in order to assimilate and retain them... It is obvious that their precocious experiences, the practical difficulties they have had to surmount and their intimate contact with vital problems of existence, have fostered in these boys a maturity of judgment, a severity of criticism and a need for reflection." In short, a supreme need for these child war victims was "to find the most effective methods to restore their intellectual powers and capacity for work".¹

It was reported, indeed, that in many cases the children themselves were quick to feel, to resent and to wish to overcome, their lack of education and quick to appreciate the value of vocational training. They themselves worried about their future and about security.

"One of their most pressing needs, it seemed, was to start to study again; almost immediately the children asked for teachers and lessons; their efforts to learn were untiring, and they had often to be persuaded to allow themselves a little leisure. Demands for some kind of training were insistent. To be able to earn one's living was, in their eyes, the beginning of freedom."

¹ Quoted from "Homeless Children", Report of the Proceedings of the Conference of Directors of Children's Communities, Tragen, Switzerland, by Dr. T. Brosse, U.N.E.S.C.O. Publication No. 573, 1950.

This problem of uprooted child war victims is still with us, for the Save the Children Fund has estimated that there were in 1954 some two million children homeless in Korea alone. In Seoul, "ten to 20 thousand orphans live in ruins, form gangs, beg, steal and shine shoes", states this report, but the author adds despondently "they might eke out a living if the people of Seoul still wore shoes and not just rags about their feet"; sometimes, too, they sell pencils.

It is, of course, easy enough to predict that situations such as those referred to above, involving the complete upheaval of children's environment, will produce a crop of juvenile delinquency. A point to be borne in mind, however, is that such delinquency is the result of the children's being prevented from developing normally and adjusting to a stable society and that even where and when society itself can be qualified as relatively stable, it often tolerates situations which render social adjustment perilously difficult for many groups of children.

Premature employment of children

It must, for example, be remembered in discussing juvenile delinquency that not a country in the world has as yet managed to stamp out the premature employment of children, and by premature is meant employment so early that growing bodies and minds can be permanently stunted by it.

In the economically less-developed areas, poverty and shortage of education facilities combine to make large numbers of children start work at a very early age, for their own and their parents' support. Precise figures are difficult to give by reason both of the inadequacy of labour statistics in the same areas and the frequent exclusion from statistics of young workers aged under 14 or 15 years. In Asia, for example, representative employment figures are indeed available only for Japan, the Philippines and Ceylon; but in the latter country, according to a 1946 census, 104,502 "children" were declared employed in all occupations including agriculture out of a total population of some six million. While agriculture is the largest single branch in which children are employed, they are also to be found in manufacturing, particularly in small-scale and handicraft industries, in light industry, in commerce, transport, domestic service, etc. In recent years, despite a general increase in the number of young workers in the population as a whole, the number of young persons employed in the larger undertakings in Asia has been declining gradually. This does not mean, however, that fewer children are on the labour market, but rather that various factors

including the introduction of child labour regulations, which are most easily enforced in these large undertakings, have resulted in their transfer to less well regulated employment or to work with other members of their family or on their own account (shoeshiners, street hawkers, etc.).

The difficulties of satisfactorily regulating entry into non-industrial employment are encountered with double force when the child is employed within his own family. Legislation still often excludes family undertakings from its scope, although the assumption that families will never exploit their own children has unfortunately been repeatedly proved to be unwarranted.

Domestic employment of children is fairly common throughout the world and is particularly widespread in Asia, the Middle East and Latin America. Indeed, in some areas, where certain sections of the population are extremely poor and the parents cannot feed an extra mouth, the custom still prevails of placing young children in another family to work in return for their maintenance. Sometimes this involves the handing over of the child and its practical adoption by the employer, but in most cases it is simply the employment of the child against remuneration in kind. Mui-tsai is tantamount to slavery, for parents transfer a child (usually a girl) by an actual deed of sale and of adoption or presentation, often on the payment of an indemnity in money, to a family in better circumstances, which makes use of her services. Pledging also occurs: parents pressed by poverty hand over their children to contractors for a period of several years of labour against payment of a certain sum. A frequent form of employment which lends itself to the exploitation of children is unregulated apprenticeship (without any written contract or official supervision), which often involves work for a protracted period for a master employer who may treat the young person more as a servant than as a pupil.

An early start in working life in almost all cases means at best a series of blind alley occupations and all too often exposure to temptation and opportunity to commit offences.

In many countries, even where the child labour problem is commonly thought of as practically vanquished, it persists for certain underprivileged groups to the extent of legal exemptions from school attendance on grounds such as poverty

and need to work for self-support¹, or inability to benefit from the schooling provided or, in a less obnoxious form, in the authorisation of children to work for a certain period per day or week outside the hours of obligatory school attendance. While such employment has often in the circumstances to be condoned as the lesser of two evils and is sometimes hedged round with controls and precautions, these working children are not only deprived of their normal opportunities for development through schooling but that they are also being exposed to situations and problems which can produce delinquency.

Sometimes migrant workers and their families constitute a deprived group within a relatively prosperous community. Not being of the community, not being the children of settled local taxpayers, the children of the migrant agricultural workers following the crops in the United States are sometimes not admitted to and more often do not attend the local schools. At the best their school life is subject to frequent interruptions. They account for a large proportion of the cases of violations of the legal minimum age for employment in agriculture. In Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany the children of the people who man the ships and barges of the inland waterways constitute a somewhat similar problem group.²

Gap between school leaving age and age of admission to employment

In some cases, the legal minimum age of entry into employment, and, more important still, its enforcement, might be considered adequate were it not that the obligatory school attendance regulations or the provision of schools and teachers lagged behind. When the child leaves school early, he cannot be admitted to satisfactory regulated employment or in some cases to any declared employment for a year or more, but may

¹ E.g. In the United States, where the normal school-leaving age is 16, the State legislations of California, South Dakota, Delaware and Washington permit employment of children from the age of 12 in such cases, while that of New York permits boys to work as shoeshines from the same age.

² I.L.O.: Inland Transport Committee: Protection of Young Workers on Inland Waterways, Report III to the Third Session, Brussels, 1949.

remain exposed to all the evils of idleness, vagabondage, illegal employment (with the concomitant dangers of exploitation), in short, to a typical predelinquent situation.¹

Occupations involving moral hazards

Certain types of employment have long been recognised as being by their very nature liable to exert a bad influence on the moral character of young people. Such types of employment are itinerant trading in the streets², work in places where liquor is sold, work in hotels (as bell-hops, lift boys, etc.), messengers employed for totalisator betting or by outside brokers on the stock exchange. The evils of such occupations, which give little opportunity for training for a future career, apart from a taste for tips and idle habits, for gambling and speculation, are generally recognised. Few countries, however, have as yet managed to exclude young workers completely from them. Indeed, since these occupations are more difficult to inspect and control, young people are frequently legally admissible to employment in them at an age even earlier than that at which their admission to the comparative safety of industry is tolerated. An exception is, however, the frequency of legal exclusion of young girls from places where liquor is sold, but an age of admission for boys higher than the normal is provided in the legislation of a few countries, e.g. the Netherlands (16), Norway (16-18 according to whether the work is incidental or the main occupation), Argentina and Italy (18), Finland, Mexico and some Australian and Canadian states and provinces (21). For hotel work it would seem that there are only some Swiss cantons which have fixed an age of entry above the general minimum. In many countries, children are admitted earlier to hotel work than to industry, so that a traveller may see young bell-hops waiting about in the hall of his hotel, often at an hour when his own children of the same age are safely in bed. Other undertakings which employ large numbers of young workers at late hours are retail delivery, messenger services or telegram agencies and the whole field of public recreation and entertainment. Night employment of children and adolescents in street trades, including the sale of newspapers, is an especially serious and widespread problem.

¹ For a full study of the problem of the relation between the school-leaving age and the age of admission to employment, see "Child Labour and Compulsory Education", U.N.E.S.C.O.: Compulsory Education Studies, No. 5, 1951.

² Cf. Pequeños comerciantes y pequeños trabajadores callejeros, por M. Thibert. Secretaría del Trabajo y Prevision social, Mexico 1942.

Domestic service is still frequently excluded from the scope of general protective legislation. It is, of course, extremely difficult to supervise conditions of employment in a private household, but in view of the serious abuses which do arise, it would be essential to provide such supervision, or failing that, to seek at least to exclude children from such employment.

Young workers' wages

The question of the wages of young workers is, in fact, inextricably bound up with that of their opportunities for progressive employment. Where young people can acquire skill in their job they also acquire value to their employers who, in the normal course of events, will then pay increased wages to retain them. Where, however, theirs is simply a blind alley job with no opportunity of progress, wages are often sufficient to look attractive to a beginner, but soon become insufficient as the young worker grows to adult needs.

When the young person is given vocational instruction in part return for his services, the money wages paid to him are generally particularly low. The apprenticeship system is, however, subject to abuse in some parts of the world where the young person concerned is treated merely as an ill-paid helper who, when he grows old enough to claim an ordinary adult wage, can be turned off and replaced by a fresh young "apprentice" helper or learner.

In most countries there prevails a policy of paying less to juveniles than to adult workers whether or not they are engaged on similar work, the underlying theory being that the young person is lacking in experience (and therefore not so valuable a worker) and is less likely to have dependants. In some cases, e.g. in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, the different rates of wages for young workers are fixed in accordance with scales based directly on age for various categories of employment. In others, e.g. the U.S., under Federal legislation and collective agreements, wage rates are based not directly on age but on length of experience, the rising scale of wages being supposed to reflect the acquisition of good working habits and skill.

There is considerable evidence to show that in some circumstances it is not low wages but relatively high wages paid to inexperienced young people which get them into difficulties.

The fact that an unskilled youngster is drawing a disproportionately high wage may raise a serious problem, for easy money and a lack of incentive to improve in skill or knowledge are factors which, if combined, may well predispose to delinquency. A New Zealand Special Committee reporting on "Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents" for example, stated categorically:

"The high wages paid to adolescents on leaving school are an important contributing factor especially when those youths have not been trained in the virtues of thrift and self-reliance."

A report from Ireland also stresses the possible unsettling effect of wages:

"With increasing wages and increases in the number of wage-earners in families, substantial sums of money are now the weekly income of many families whose members have had no training in the spending of money and no experience in the best methods of buying what is good, useful and practical."

An examination of the incidence of delinquency among certain groups of Glasgow boys¹ showed that although poverty and the combination of poor environmental circumstances and family circumstances associated therewith clearly have an influence on delinquency, yet there was, in relation to wages earned at the age of 17, a tendency for delinquency incidence to increase as wages rose, with a peak in the highest wage group. This again seems to illustrate the prevalence of confusion and bad management among young persons launching with inadequate preparation into a pseudo-adult life. It must also be remembered however that high wages in such an age group correspond to unskilled quick return jobs and not to skilled progressive work in apprenticeship where on the whole low but progressive wages are paid.

In the Netherlands textile industry the experiment has therefore been tried, apparently with some success, of paying equal wages to workers irrespective of age but introducing a savings scheme for workers under 20 having no family responsibilities. The savings accumulated are paid out to them on the occasion of their marriage or other assumption of financial responsibility.

¹ "The Young Delinquent in His Social Setting" by T. Ferguson, Nuffield Foundation and Oxford University Press, London 1952.

In general, however, it will be seen that the question of wages and incentives for young workers is not one to which a simple answer can be found, for it is closely linked with the prevailing wage systems in the different countries. Much research is still needed into the actual earnings of young workers and, in conducting that research, the moral implications for young workers of excessively low, unfair or too high wages will have to be taken into account.

Nature of continued education

For many excellent reasons, including reaction against premature child labour and the desire for equality of educational opportunity for all children, there has been an increasing tendency to raise the school leaving age. It is true that maintenance under school supervision during the later years of childhood and the early years of adolescence may decrease opportunities for getting into trouble until greater maturity of judgment decreases the danger. There is, however, danger that passive or overt resistance to continued education may become or may lead to delinquency. Unsuitable education which does not contribute to growth in maturity or responsibility may, in fact, be a very widespread cause of delinquency.

Unsuitability varies, of course, from person to person. Those who are academically intelligent may be well satisfied with a general school course throughout their period of compulsory education. They see or sense its value for their full educational development and future professional life. For the non-academic young person, however, care is needed to relate theoretical studies to their practical application in ordinary life to show how school (childhood) relates to job (manhood). Otherwise school can become a childish nuisance, a frustrating imposition, standing in the way of normal development. Even if the young person manages to stick it out, the period contributes little of value for his after life. Moreover, there is a likelihood that he will be so tired of formal restraints that he may, when finally released, hesitate to enter a course of vocational training, and will simply look for an easy job and easy money which all too often leads to drifting in employment.

In the United States, where the school leaving age is generally 16, this problem has been attracting attention of late. A symposium on "Discipline or Disorder" in the Journal of the American Federation of Teachers contains some very pertinent remarks concerning school and delinquency. For example:

"Our modern philosophy of education 'Education for All American Youth' has spawned much of our so-called disciplinary problems. We are today making a sincere effort to increase our holding power by passing 100 per cent. of our students. Many students are now remaining in school who in years past would have been dropped for poor scholarship. Such students present a terrific challenge to every teacher, particularly when class loads are too large... We have a certain number of boys and girls for whom the school can do little because they are just allergic to school. They resist attendance and they resist school work... There is the problem of non-verbal students in the regular junior and senior high schools. Obviously there is one thing that can be done to keep some of these students out of the classes they hinder and disturb... provide special classes and general shops in which teachers could have a small number of pupils who can be given more individual attention... A proposal was made as to the possibility of lowering the age of admission to the vocational schools from 16 to 14 to take care of slow learners, non-verbals and others who do not seem to fit into the regular junior high school."

The gravity of the situation seems to be borne out by the United States Commissioner of Education:

"I would say that some school conditions frustrate some pupils or set up situations causing delinquency. Others fail to supply an interest, a releasing of tension or a sense of security or satisfaction that children need. These failures can result in delinquency... Delinquents are not born but made."¹

This problem was, in fact, recognized early in the United States. As far back as 1919-20 the State Labor Board of Maryland was noting in its report that "although in sympathy with every legitimate attempt to conserve the child's welfare" (by keeping him in school) "the Board was constantly confronted with evidence that backward children were working illegally, avoiding school and developing delinquent tendencies". It did, however, also note that of the boys who were recommended for exemption from school for

¹ The American Teacher Magazine, February 1955, and Address of the U.S. Commissioner of Education, reproduced in School Life, January 1954, Vol. 36, No. 4, p. 52.

work on grounds of "inability to profit by the customary work of the classroom, sometimes to the extent of several years retardation", a considerable number could be classed as "bright but thoroughly incorrigible individuals, in whom school had been unable to arouse an interest sufficient for advancement".¹

Modern methods of education may have had some impact on these problems, but they have clearly not yet been entirely overcome.

The Chairman of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee, at present investigating juvenile delinquency, has stated succinctly the problem of youth employment as it is connected with delinquency:

"When a student is forced out of school for economic reasons or because he lacks interest in school, he is often thrown on a labour market for which he is inadequately trained and consequently does not find employment. These jobless and idle youngsters are particularly susceptible to the factors in a community which cause juvenile delinquency."

In New Zealand, another country where the school leaving age is high, a similar note of warning was sounded by a committee² investigating delinquency:

"The school leaving age is now 15 but there are obviously some pupils in the upper forms of primary schools and the lower in post-primary who, either through lack of ability or lack of interest, are not only not deriving appreciable benefit from their further education but are indeed unsettling and sometimes dangerous to other children."

The Committee realised that simply releasing these children from schools was not in itself a solution:

"the mere granting of an exemption certificate may transfer the problem from the school where there is at least formal oversight, to the community where this is not the case."

¹ Juvenile Labor, its biological factors and social features. By Francis Lee Dunham. Excerpt from Annual Report of Maryland State Board of Labor and Statistics, 1919-20.

² Report of the Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents. New Zealand, 1954.

Poor school attendance

The frequency of references to school absenteeism as a feature of the past career of juvenile delinquents would seem to indicate that there is agreement on absenteeism being a contributory cause, or at least a possible symptom of delinquency. Viewed from the point of the young person's future adjustment to work, it is a particularly grave evil, for it may deprive him of the educational groundwork necessary for training for skilled work; it may mean that the education being provided is unsuitable and that the child's capacities are not being fully developed; it may lead to a general inability to face up to difficulties or to accept the need for regular effort.

Truancy is often associated with failure in school. This failure may itself be caused in part by poor attendance, due to other reasons such as family circumstances, health reasons or occasional outside employment. Inability to keep up in class may, of course, also be associated with regular employment outside school hours. Delinquency rates were shown in Ferguson's study¹ to be higher during school life among boys who were employed outside school hours than amongst their classmates who were not so employed. After these groups had left school, however, the position was apparently reversed, incidence being highest among those who had not had such part-time employment when at school. This fact could be interpreted in various fashions, but would suggest, on the whole, that although the youngster delivering newspapers or milk or running messages outside school hours is more exposed than his fellows, it is during the period of first contact with outside life that young people are generally most vulnerable.

At any rate there seems to be no doubt of a close relationship between delinquency and poor school attendance. The French Institut public d'éducation surveillée reported, for example, that in October 1950 out of 800 juvenile delinquents, well over 500 could be classified as "practically uneducated". Lack of education is, of course, also attributable in some cases simply to low mental level. Indeed, the proportion of deficient or retarded children is particularly high amongst delinquents. However, mental dullness does not necessarily lead to delinquency and the very fact that many young people of low intelligence end up in the juvenile courts, argues rather that arrangements made to facilitate the social adjustment of these handicapped children are non-existent or

¹ Cf. p. 20.

inadequate. Some of these young persons have, of course, never come to the notice of authority until they are apprehended as delinquents. One may regret in such cases that the symptoms which were no doubt present earlier did not result in their being referred for preventive treatment or that no treatment facilities were available.

Institutionalised and handicapped children

It should be noted that among groups of children who have been in the care of public authorities or voluntary welfare institutions, be it in hospitals, orphanages, children's homes, industrial schools, delinquency is a relatively common phenomenon. The psychological explanation is, of course, not far to seek, but as always it is not sufficient in itself. Institutional life by its nature imposes vocational as well as affective handicaps. Thus the possibility of compensating affective difficulties in childhood by a satisfactory working life later on is reduced.

It is recognised that children whose field of experience is narrowed by any handicap - through crippling or prolonged or repeated illnesses or confinement in an institution - suffer a secondary handicapping in their vocational adjustment and that deliberate endeavour is needed to widen their experience. An expert on juvenile delinquency wrote of reformatories:

"Condemnation to privation of liberty is not in itself educative. It is even very dangerous for the future of the young person sentenced. That is why the legislators, while making provision for it as a possible penalty, have sought at least to render it less harmful and even to give it some educational value."¹

In the interest of delinquency prevention it would appear equally necessary to pay attention to improving the preparation for life of institutionalised children which at present leaves much to be desired.

For example, while the importance of vocational training for the severely handicapped is now generally recognised, there is some tendency for institutions providing care and general education to overlook the vocational problem regardless

¹ J.L. Costa: La Délinquance juvénile en Europe. U.N. Document SF/SCA/SD/1, Add. 1.

of whether other services or institutions are available to take over, because such training is normally begun only after the end of primary schooling, while treatment, be it of maladjustment or physical ills, is most effective if started much earlier. Difficult cases of severe handicap or maladjustment are in fact often not accepted in ordinary vocational training establishments and little has as yet been done to provide the special training they may need. Yet, without it, much of the earlier rehabilitation work undertaken will remain useless for lack of completion.

Some experts are opposed on principle to the early introduction of vocational courses into the curriculum for the handicapped:

"The same objectives for educating normal children hold for educating socially maladjusted children. The tendency to substitute specifically vocational training for courses in general education is no more justifiable for problem children than it is for normal children. Problem children differ from normal children more in degree than in kind",

writes the head of one special school in the U.S. It is interesting to note, however, that the same writer¹ calls for a more varied and practical curriculum for the special schools, indicating some nine workshop courses suitable for boys and six for girls. Perhaps still more important and constructive is his plea that "all such schools should make provision for vocational, educational and personal guidance". He adds: "The weakest point in most special school programmes is the lack of proper placement procedures and adequate follow-up of pupils after they leave school."

It must, of course, be remembered that arrival at the statutory school leaving age does not automatically awaken in children an aptitude and interest for a particular kind of job. The problem of immaturity at the time when outside circumstances impose a choice of occupation is a fairly general one. In the case of backward children, however, it is generally considered that education beyond the minimum age is essential and should be given in conjunction with some vocational.

¹ "The Schools and the Delinquency Problem" by E.H. Stullken, Principal of Montefiore Special School, Chicago, Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Policy Science, January 1953, (Vol. 53, No. 5).

training and gradual preparation for life in a normal society including, where possible, preparation for a normal rhythm of work.

There is a definite need to adapt vocational training to the mental level of pupils leaving the special classes for backward or mentally defective after obtaining a primary education. Otherwise these pupils too often relapse and lose the benefit of their special schooling.

"One finds these boys running messages and selling newspapers. One finds too many of the young girls out of work and running all the dangers of the streets. Many are heading straight for a wreck."

That situation does not make social or economic sense in a community which has gone to the trouble and expense of providing "special schools", but it must be admitted that this is unfortunately still the situation which generally prevails.

Not only the mentally dull but the highly intelligent can be fairly effectively helped along the road to delinquency by the lack of suitable opportunities, as the following case history of an orphan illustrates:

"The lad had lived with relatives for several years. These people had not allowed him to avail himself of a scholarship which he had won at his elementary school and, at the age of 14 he had found himself in a quite unsuitable warehouse job at a local mill. He had lost this as he had lost several others through trade depression and for nearly two-and-a-half years before the beginning of his Borstal training he had been unemployed. In an attempt to run away to London to get office work he stole, he was caught and put on probation, again he stole and again he was caught. On this occasion his sentence was one of Borstal detention."

Alec Rodger, the English industrial psychologist, who described this case in his account of a Borstal experiment in vocational guidance¹, pointed out that such institutions were catering for the most part for boys who were suitable

¹ "A Borstal Experiment in Vocational Guidance" by Alec Rodger, Report No. 78. Industrial Health Research Board of the Medical Research Council. London H.M.S.O. 1937.

for work of a manual sort.

"Little provision is made for those whose vocational assets are in the main intellectual (suitable, for example, as clerks) or social (suitable, for example, as salesmen)".

In this particular case test results made it clear that the boy had outstanding intellectual ability:

"Although he was only 16 1/2 at the time, he scored an intelligence test mark considerably above the average for university students. In a clerical test, too, he did exceptionally well. He had also good practical abilities. He would probably have made an excellent rating surveyor. Carpentry was recommended as a Borstal second best. He did fairly well at it but it was not surprising to find his instructor remarking 'routine palls'".

Conflict with family over choice of occupation

Surprise is occasionally expressed why not only deprived children, but some children and young persons who have had an apparently adequate home life or have been reared in relatively easy circumstances, are brought up on delinquency charges. When adolescents are approaching adult powers of reasoning and the age for economic independence and have not had sufficient outlets for expressing their individuality, they sometimes at this stage enter into direct conflict with their family's too fixed pattern of life. Even if the underlying conflict has been building up for years, the immediate occasion for the outbreak, or at any rate an important element in it, is not infrequently disagreement about choice of employment. As an experienced English probationer¹ officer has put it:

"There is in some families a real tyranny of tradition - the son must be a lawyer like his father or grandfather... In some families where the parents are partly dependent upon the wage of their children there is economic tyranny and the young people cannot leave home or follow their own bent without leaving their parents in financial stress."

A French psychiatrist, co-operating with a vocational guidance centre, also found frequent evidence of disturbed children

¹ Miss E. Glover in "Probation and Re-Education", Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London 1952.

having been subjected to extremely strong parental pressure in this regard.

"There are the parents who insist that the child must at all costs follow in his father's footsteps, those who overestimate him, saying 'he must do better than ourselves', and those who refuse to admit their child's intellectual superiority."¹

Employment of mothers outside their homes

Among the many other labour problems which, because they remain undealt with or unsolved, may be contributing to delinquency of young people, there is one which must be mentioned here as it is giving rise to much current discussion: the employment of mothers.

It is frequently stated that the employment of mothers outside their homes is responsible for much juvenile delinquency. For example, the New Zealand Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents reported in 1954 that nearly one-third of the delinquent children whose cases it considered "came from homes where the mothers, partly out of necessity, went out to work". At first sight this would appear probable: young people lacking their mother's care and supervision and running wild outside school hours might well turn into delinquents. On the other hand, in several cases investigation has disproved this contention. Ferguson's study of Glasgow boys², for example, tends to show that whether the mother of the family works outside the home or not does not appear to be of importance to juvenile delinquency, and a recent somewhat sweeping indictment of maternal gainful employment by an East London Juvenile Court magistrate apparently evoked a most wrathful reply from a leading woman trade unionist.

Alleging "public denigration" of women workers, Mrs. Margaret McKay, Chief Woman Officer of the Trades Union Congress, said it was easy to make the working mother responsible for the social evils of the day, but this was shoddy thinking, unjust, reactionary and

¹ P. Paumelle: "Examen Psychiatrique et Orientation Professionnelle" in Guide pratique du médecin d'orientation professionnelle, Masson and Co., Paris, 1955.

² Cf. p. 20.

unscientific, and unsupported by evidence. Mrs. McKay, herself a Lancashire woman, recalled that in the Lancashire cotton towns women traditionally went out to work, but mothers there were well able to look after their children. Juvenile delinquency in the cotton towns was less than anywhere else. Wigan, which probably had proportionately the highest female working population, was famous throughout the country for having no juvenile delinquency. A majority of the married working women were too old probably to have young children. If the female third of the working population gave up work it would, she suggested, create chaos. It would be better to find a social solution to a social problem, e.g. part-time work for mothers or late afternoon clubs for children.¹

This protest would seem to contain an implicit explanation of the apparent contradiction. In places where women have regularly been employed in an industry for several generations, there is some social adaptation. Of necessity, some arrangements - be they more or less satisfactory - have been worked out for the care of children.² It is possible also that the children themselves no longer consider and resent their mothers' absence as a form of abandonment or neglect. On the other hand, where society is still cherishing the illusion that the mothers who have to go out to work are an infinitesimal minority or where the possibility and the custom is still in its infancy, material and psychological provision made for the children is inadequate and they are probably more likely to fall victims to delinquency - a delinquency related again to a situation of social transition.

It would, however, be desirable to dispel some of the general uncertainty surrounding this question, an uncertainty amounting to anxiety among many women workers obliged to leave their children. This could be done by examining not simply the home situation of known delinquents but by making a general sampling of the children of women workers. Such a study could clear the air and, if taken in conjunction with already known facts concerning the incidence and conditions

¹ Condensed from the Daily Telegraph and Morning Post, Thursday, 17 March 1955, col. 7, p.7.

² Cf. International Labour Review, Vol. LXIX, No. 1, Jan. 1954, p. 47. "Problems of Women's Employment in Great Britain", by Dame Mary Smiston, Under-Secretary of the British Ministry of Labour.

of women's employment, it might serve as a basis for constructive social policy, e.g., for planning the necessary social arrangements, such as better nursery schools, youth clubs, etc., to care for children during any enforced absence of their mothers. In any such studies it would, of course, be necessary to examine the incidence of delinquency among the children of working mothers in relation to income level, nature of employment, hours of work, composition of family, type of district lived in, etc. Consideration would moreover, have to be given to the quality of family relations and degree of preparedness for and instruction in the bringing up of children. Indeed, incidence of delinquency might be simply one item in a very much needed piece of social psychological research into the effect of maternal employment on the mother-child relationship.

Chapter II

Labour policy and prevention of juvenile delinquency

The foregoing chapter deals exclusively with problems in order to give a realistic view of the situation. Yet a Youth Labour Code has been built up, both at the international level and within many countries, which would, if fully implemented, solve many of the problems of youth adjustment and protection.

International labour standards

The international standards themselves are worth examining since they have in fact been established on the basis of experience and after careful consideration of the difficulties and the implication of their application. When in 1945, with the war ending, preoccupation with youth and the future was general, the International Labour Conference adopted a lengthy resolution concerning children and young persons. This text summed up and supplemented the provisions concerning youth contained in previously adopted I.L.O. Conventions and Recommendations and aimed at ensuring a more co-ordinated approach to youth problems and showing the relation of general social protection (including maintenance, health and social protection), education opportunities (including general education and vocational guidance, technical and vocational training, economic assistance, apprenticeship and on-the-job training), admission to employment (including regulation of minimum age, authorisation for employment or work, juvenile placement, insurability and social security participation) and

protection of young workers (including hours of work, night work, rest periods and holidays, industrial safety and hygiene, moving of loads, wages, board and lodging, methods of supervision and right of association).

Subsequently, certain new Conventions and Recommendations brought up to date, e.g. as regards night work, or expanded, e.g. as regards medical examination for admission to employment, placement of juveniles and vocational guidance, the terms of this 1945 resolution. In 1953 the Asian Regional Conference of the Organisation adopted a resolution - a type of blue print for youth - in which a similar co-ordinated approach is adopted, but which takes more into account the special problems of the economically underdeveloped areas of Asia.

While it can easily be argued that every single section of the "1945 Youth Labour Charter" has a direct significance for the healthy adjustment of youth to life in society, two sections seem most relevant here. These are the sections on educational opportunities and on admission to employment.

In brief, what is there laid down is, first of all in regard to educational opportunities: all children should have free access to education permitting their adequate development, physically, intellectually and morally; compulsory schooling should be progressively prolonged until 16 and should not finish in any case before the general minimum age for admission to employment; schools and qualified teachers sufficient in number and adequate in quality should be provided, as should transport facilities and boarding schools, and high priority should always be given to the building of schools so that equal access to education can become a reality; not only the average child should be catered for, but each child's education should be suited to his age and aptitudes, which necessitates taking into account the special circumstances of various elements of the population and the needs for children who have fallen behind in their school work for one reason or another or who have physical or mental handicaps.

Since education is in this context, viewed as a prelude to employment, a step onwards to adult life and not an end in itself, the "educational opportunities" section deals also with the fostering of vocational interests and the provision of vocational guidance, with continued part-time general education for young workers or, for those capable of benefiting thereby, encouragement to undertake secondary studies. The passages on technical and vocational training, apprenticeship and in-plant training lay equal stress on equipping the

young worker to do well, and get on, in his chosen trade and on the maintenance of the needed supplies of trained workers. A further passage deals with some of the common obstacles to free and equal opportunity for education and calls for assistance, where appropriate, in the form of free text books or other school equipment, free or cheap meals and transportation and maintenance allowances.

As regards admission to employment, the resolution stresses the need to fix and enforce a general minimum age for admission not only "in the best interests of children" but also "in order to ensure an adequate preparation for their future". It points out the need to keep minimum age for employment in line with the school leaving age and the same for all the occupational fields, e.g. industry and non-industrial employment and domestic employment, so that children will not be excluded from the employments where they can be best protected.

It insists that no work, whether on his own account, for his family or for an employer, should be let stand between a child and his schooling, which is, of course, not just a matter of freeing him to appear at school, but of enabling him "full opportunity for study, recreation and rest." The aim must therefore be gradual elimination of all exemptions, and in the meanwhile strict control. The text goes into certain technicalities of age regulation, documentary or medical evidence of age, and the issue of work books or certificates. It lists certain types of occupation requiring a higher age of admission on health grounds and advises: adjusting "the minimum age for very hazardous occupations to the seriousness of the physical or moral risks for young workers in each occupation, so as to afford them adequate protection with an ultimate goal, of at least 18 years"; prohibiting or laying down "conditions safeguarding the entry of young persons below the age of 18 into occupations bringing them into contact with the public, such as certain of those in the hotel industry which may be blind alley occupations and may involve moral risks"; and considering carefully "the risks involved for children or young persons in the carrying on of certain types of itinerant trading and similar occupations in the streets or in places to which the public have access, in order to fix an appropriate minimum age of admission for these employments."

Stating that "the conditions under which a child or young person enters employment may have a lasting effect on his future", it outlines certain safeguards: requirement of parental consent for those under 16, in addition to a written official authorisation for all under 18, such

authorisation to be delivered only on production of evidence of required age and fulfilment of school obligations and after a (free) medical examination to ascertain physical fitness for the employment envisaged. It further proposes inscription in the permit of the work permitted and any special conditions required by reason of the young person's health or the nature of the employment, and its renewal periodically and on every change of employment. Pending the exclusion of young persons from itinerant street trading, it recommends, in order to facilitate supervision, that they be obliged to obtain a special permit and wear a corresponding special badge.

A passage on juvenile placement summarises the principles later developed into special sections on provision for youth in a Convention and Recommendation concerning organisation of the employment service adopted in 1948 and a Recommendation concerning vocational guidance adopted in 1949.

International standards concerning vocational guidance

The vocational guidance Recommendation is of great importance in connection with the prevention of delinquency in that it deals specifically with the preparation of young people for work and their adjustment to it. It will therefore be analysed more fully here.

The principles set forth and the methods advocated in this text, while not yet completely duplicated by the vocational guidance system of any one country, correspond to the best features of the most advanced systems. There is, however, no undue elaboration and the text both provides a common ground on which proponents of different highly developed types of vocational guidances can meet and a blue-print for improving relatively simple vocational guidance schemes within a local community.

The explicit and implicit suggestions contained in the recommendation include the following: Choice of occupation is an individual matter but involves matching the individual with an external situation - the labour market. Choice must be arrived at freely, but there can be no freedom of choice without information. The process of choice should therefore be started early (ideally already during schooldays) (1) by provision of opportunities to hear about and to see a wide variety of occupational fields and occupations, even to try one's hand at different types of work - in short, opportunities for interest to develop; (2) by encouragement to think about the importance of occupational choice and all the factors which enter into it (not in an abstract way but in relation to oneself and one's own future), for example when the need

to make a choice between courses or the approach of school leaving age renders it appropriate; (3) by opportunities for individual interviews with a vocational guidance counsellor who, being a person with an understanding of people and of jobs, is "on the side of" the counselee.

The counsellor, in helping the young person to choose, has to help him to see, to appreciate and face the facts regarding himself and his possibilities. The counsellor may have been able to assemble a whole dossier of personal facts: school record, medical report, psychological report, milieu, etc. or may, if lacking collaborators, simply have his own estimate of health, physique, intelligence, bent, interests etc. which he will try to make as objective as possible. These facts are of course expressed in occupational terms. (The child would probably not be told the exact medical findings regarding susceptibility to tuberculosis, "but the doctor thinks it would be as well to get you out into the open air" or "that job might be a bit too dusty for you".) The counsellor may use tests to obtain an objective assessment of specific aptitudes or to establish a profile, i.e. obtain a general picture of strong and weak points.

He may need to give the young person further information about occupations which may interest him; tell him more exactly what is involved; point up the features which might or might not prove agreeable or suitable; discuss methods of approach such as any training necessary, where and how it could be obtained, or where there is a job going or where one might be sought.

Above all these interviews are conversations, but directed and purposeful conversations, for although no undue pressure is brought to bear on the young person, beyond the pressure of sympathetically presented facts this does not mean that arriving at a decision can be indefinitely postponed.

Not only must a decision be reached but steps must be taken to give effect and which necessitates the prior establishment of contacts with other services or persons also concerned with placing young persons in training or employment. A clear understanding has also to be established that guidance is never over until one has ceased to need it, that one is expected and encouraged to come back on reaching any further cross-roads or meeting any further problem.

A fundamental tenet of vocational guidance emphasised in the text is the need for collaboration to ensure in so far as possible that all useful sources of information are tapped,

e.g. the employment service's information on trends in employment, developing and declining occupations, actual and probable vacancies in the area or further afield, the vocational education or training authorities' information on training schemes and institutions and grants and facilities and requirements, the schools' information on the individual records of the pupils. (Where all this is lacking the counsellor has of course to build up and keep up to date his own files on the basis of direct contacts or investigations). A further tenet is co-ordination - co-ordination of policy and co-ordination in practice, so that the various parties concerned with some aspect of vocational guidance, or simply with young persons in their transition from school to work, do not pull at cross-purposes to the child's detriment, but work together to provide him with coherent and consecutive advice and assistance.

Stage of development of vocational guidance facilities

Vocational guidance development throughout the world is extremely uneven. The proportion of young persons reaching school-leaving who actually come in contact with the vocational guidance services varies from an experimental fraction e.g. in some of the cities of India and Latin America, to a steady 60 per cent. or so in a country like Switzerland where, without being made obligatory, guidance has become well rooted in community life. In some regions e.g. the North American continent, it is extremely highly developed in certain areas while remaining almost completely unknown in other, and particularly rural, areas. Countries which like France, Austria and West Germany have adopted or experimented with a general obligation for young persons to have recourse to vocational guidance (not, it must be stressed, to follow the advice given) have been struggling hard to maintain and improve the quality of vocational guidance work as well as increase the number of cases handled. Some countries, Finland and Denmark for example, after operating successful municipal services for years have of late been building up nation-wide vocational guidance services. The development of vocational guidance has in many cases been characterised by duality arising out of the interest in it of both education and labour authorities of public and private services. In some cases the duality has evolved into a fairly satisfactory co-ordination of education and labour services at national and local levels, as in the U.K. or a modus vivendi between different confessional organisations and the public authority as in the Netherlands. And vocational guidance is now, taken all in all, generally considered to be an essential social service, the establishment of which enjoys a fairly high priority ranking, particularly in

areas where changes in economic activity and occupational structure (as in the case of industrialisation) are complicating problems of occupational choice.

Role of vocational counsellor with respect to some psychological problems relating to occupational choice

The average school-leaver, even in countries where vocational guidance services are relatively highly developed, has all too little knowledge of occupations and, if not completely undecided as to his vocational choice, often expresses a choice which is easily distinguishable as completely unrealistic and dictated by random suggestion or very superficial reasoning.¹ In some cases, moreover vocational illusions assume during adolescence a special significance. Most vocational guidance counsellors can talk at length of cases where expressed vocational choice is, in fact, only the expression of an inner conflict and not of any desire for the reality of a certain job, knowledge of this reality being often scanty or non-existent and the aptitudes necessary for success being entirely lacking. Typical of such choices are those where the job mentioned symbolises evasion, e.g. the timid introvert who wishes to be a sea captain or a pilot, or self-realisation, e.g. the plain and insignificant girl who wants to be a film star. These expressions of choice betoken, of course, a need for help in facing the not very entrancing real situation and coming to terms with it. In the process, illusions have to be dispelled, but the wise counsellor realises their possibly deep significance and avoids shattering them too brutally by a direct attack. He "treads

¹ An employment service official in Belgium writes "of ten 14 year old girl job-seekers, eight will declare they want to become manutentionnaires (jobs involving only the unskilled handling of goods). Most of them do not even know in what the job consists, but they have heard that it is a job requiring no qualifications or prior training. In fact, they can always find such a job, juvenile labour being sought after because of its cheapness. Of course once they are 19 or 20, these young women are dismissed by their employers to whom they have become a nuisance by reason of their entitlement to higher wages in accordance with the official scales. They hasten to replace them by a new batch of unskilled little girls just out of primary school. And so the unskilled 20 year old women workers enter the ranks of the women workers whom it is hard to place and who will go from factory to factory, their employment constantly interrupted by more or less long periods of unemployment. (Miss C. Agapieff "La Mission sociale du placeur" in the Revue du Travail (Brussels) Feb. 1955, pp. 194-201.)

softly for he treads on their dreams" and gives all the more attention to finding out what these young people can do, sometimes even contriving to work back from the "choice" to a job which can enter into consideration and which can provide genuine satisfaction to supplant the dream or the need for it.

This aspect of the vocational guidance counsellor's work for the mental health and social adjustment of his clients illustrates the psychological implications of job choice. Ambitions, frustrations, sense of failure, longing for recognition, desire to serve, desire for wealth or power - all these states of mind, which have a direct bearing on social adjustment, are among the everyday elements of vocational guidance work. "I'll run away to sea" may not be the expression of a vocational aspiration so much as evidence of a lump in the throat, but there is no doubt that running away to sea, or other impetuous break with home, has led many young people into unsuitable employment, unsuitable company and crime.

The stabilising influence of the right job, attitude to work and work habits and hence their importance for the prevention of delinquency can be proved with a good degree of certainty by examining their effect on boys actually convicted of delinquency.

A British study of the success or failure of 500 ex-inmates of Borstal lead the author to the conclusion that the chances were 5 to 1 against the reconviction of those who were good workers before entering Borstal and had 0, 1 or 2 previous convictions¹. He comments "whatever task one starts upon, work and conduct turn up as major factors or as playing a large part in the determination of other factors."

There are, however,

"social and economic situations which simply cannot be remedied; the child is up against obstacles which do him harm, but neither the psychiatrist nor the vocational guidance worker can help him. In certain districts and at certain levels of the social scale, conditions of housing and salaries are such that the child's emotional balance and future cannot be given the required attention:

¹ Five Hundred Borstal Boys by A.G. Rose, Basil Blackwell, 1954, pp. 199-211.

secondary studies cannot be pursued when living in a one-roomed lodging, housing six people including several young children; one cannot reproach parents whose own salary is insufficient for urging their children to work as soon as they can leave primary school and against their will."¹

It is now generally accepted that a child's experience within his family generally lies near the root of any delinquency. In view of the deep and complex emotional factors involved great importance is attached to the psychiatric and psychological handling of delinquency cases.

Where there is collaboration between a psychiatrist and a vocational guidance worker, the latter may in some cases refer young people involved in a real psychological conflict to his colleague for help. In others, it is the psychiatrist who, knowing the facts of the conflict, will appeal to the counsellor for a practical vocational solution.

Rightly, much stress is laid on the desirability of patching up the family situation to give the child the secure backing which he often lacks. The fact remains, however, that in some cases the home does not exist or is totally inadequate and that it is necessary to help children and young people in facing this situation and building a life of their own. In such cases the job chosen, the sense of belonging and having a purpose is, needless to say, of particular importance. It must be remembered however that vocational guidance implies not just mechanically matching the two elements - person and job, but helping the subject himself to make a free choice, this freedom being essential for job satisfaction and adjustment and working towards such a choice being in itself a valuable educational and therapeutic experience.

Much has been written from the purely psychological point of view about adolescence as a period when attempts to assert adult status are combined with momentary regressions to childish level. The inability to conform simultaneously to two regular patterns of behaviour does undoubtedly make this a time of particular stress. From the point of view of labour

¹ P. Faumelle: "Examen Psychiatrique et Orientation Professionnelle" in Guide pratique du médecin d'orientation professionnelle, Masson & Co., Paris, 1955.

policy, the obvious method of seeking to smooth this transition is by giving young people vocational guidance already while they are still in school to interest them in and set them thinking about their future life in a positive and constructive way, to help them not leap a gap and become, miraculously, well adjusted adults, but to progress gradually to their adult status.

The importance attached consciously or unconsciously to the first job as a landmark in life is due to the fact that it represents a young person's first official chance to test himself out in an adult world. Heretofore, he has been judged by childish standards in a sometimes artificially protective situation. After years of easily scored good marks, the school's bright pupil may feel "Now I am bound to be found out" and prepare to go into a tail-spin at the first discouragement; the poor pupil may feel "Before, failure didn't really matter, but now it really will". Their common apprehension may be outwardly manifested in cocksureness, terrific zeal or paralysed stupidity, but it does render the first period of employment a particularly important one in the formation of their general attitude to working life. It is quite possible that a rebuff during this first period lies at the root of the attitude of many who consider work as a necessary but undesirable grind. An opportune word of encouragement can result in enthusiasm, satisfaction and stability. Needless to say, the young person's natural aptitude and suitability for the job in question will influence his success and chance of adaptation during this critical period.

In many cases of course not so much the work as the attitude to work is at fault since the start. An English probation officer with long experience of the reclamation of delinquents writes:

"Some probationers seem never to have regarded work as an activity that might be enjoyed in itself. The fairly ordinary question "What kind of work would you really like to do best if you could choose?" is often met with an incredulous stare which seems to say "How can you be so silly? Who would like to do any work?" Work is just a necessary, an inevitable grind, a means of getting money".¹

¹ "Probation and Re-education" by E.R. Glover, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. London, 1949.

The same officer ascribes this reaction to the fact that in a highly industrialised country the unskilled monotonous jobs far outnumber the interesting ones:

"There is not enough skilled work to go round. Moreover the probationer's knowledge of all the available possibilities is usually extremely limited and the actual practical choice is restricted by circumstances. The deciding factor is in most cases the immediate earnings. Other considerations weigh very little if there is any choice of wages. But the choice is also limited by the industrial facilities of the immediate neighbourhood and the endowments of the probationer."

While realising that in the circumstances it is not possible to elicit a useful answer by direct questioning as to job preference, she by no means underestimates the importance of occupational choice. While the study of occupations can be pushed very far by a trained professional analyst, her remarks show what knowledge can be picked up by an observant layman who strives to assist people in choosing, finding and keeping jobs:

"Some jobs are definitely more companionable than others; light assembly work in electric engineering, for instance, may be done by groups working together; so is callender work in laundries and some work in wholesale tailoring firms. Youngsters dismissed for always talking should be directed to a sociable job such as one of those where chatting does not interfere with the work. Some jobs are definitely solitary, as in large machine work, the power press or the lathe, and those who are not sociably inclined and cannot stand the gossip and twitter of the workmates about them do much better in some of these. There are jobs that involve moving about, such as waiting, and motionless jobs such as that of a cashier. There are open-air jobs or indoor jobs. Some work calls for a considerable degree of dexterity or precision of eye and a worker not fitted for this is bound to do it badly and find it irksome."

Among children who appear to be heading for trouble there are at least two types with characteristics very relevant to vocational guidance, to wit the gang-leader and the passive follower. Although with resocialisation the leader's aggressivity may be abated and the follower made more critical about where he follows, the inherent traits will probably remain intact and valid for working life where undoubtedly both types are very necessary. Indeed if the "born-leader"

does not find in his work, however simple, some opportunities for using his gift of initiative and command he is likely to seek an outlet in some anti-social direction, and if the born follower, however able, is asked to assume a heavy personal responsibility unsupported, he may well crack beneath the strain.

Using vocational guidance to help predelinquents

There is then at least a strong probability that the regular vocational guidance services are of some real value in the campaign against delinquency, and, therefore, where such services are not yet generalised, it would be clearly desirable to make a special effort to obtain vocational guidance for, or provide it to children and adolescents who are particularly threatened.

How can vocational guidance be best fitted into programmes established for such young persons and what are the points to be borne in mind when doing so?

There is first of all the possibility of enlisting vocational guidance services among the diagnostic and treatment facilities used for wayward or difficult children, and making use of the information about these children obtained by psychological and other examinations when planning for their future. Many schemes for dealing with potential offenders developed are in fact based on the idea of knowing about and enlisting the aid of the services which may already be available, e.g. under the Liverpool Police Juvenile Liaison Officer Scheme specially selected officers interview in their homes young offenders who have been "cautioned and released" and call in the appropriate local services for assistance required.¹ Some countries have a wide range of services concerned with the mental health, educational and social adjustment of children and young persons. Belgium for example, has at least four distinct types of service: child guidance services, school psychology services, psycho-medico social services and vocational guidance services. (Of these, incidentally, the vocational guidance services are the senior.) In Paris information on causes and symptoms of maladjustment needed for the selection of the children for admission to special classes within the ordinary schools is

¹ Developments in Treatment and Study of Juvenile Delinquency, Howard Journal, Vol. IX No. 2, 1955, p. 154.

obtained indifferently from the school psychologists of the lycées, vocational guidance centres, educational guidance centres, or psycho-pedagogical centres. (French vocational guidance counsellors are frequently called upon to use their excellent training in psychology for a purpose other than that of vocational guidance proper.) It is to be hoped that the contact between vocational guidance service and special education thus established facilitates provision of timely advice on the preparation of these children for employment.¹

The social inquiry which is now conducted in many countries when cases of suspected, incipient or confirmed juvenile delinquency come to the notice of authority often follows a prescribed or at least a standard form and provides another source of information usable for vocational guidance purposes. The usual form of report covers housing, family, occupation, income, leisure and social attitude. In a standard inquiry form of report in use in Brussels in 1951 it is suggested that under occupation, information be given on vocational training, present job and any side lines, hours of leaving and returning home, means of transport, regularity of employment, frequent changes of job or employment, vocational preparation or school, successes or failures in undertakings. Although this form was originally intended for the investigation of the personality of adult offenders, it is clear that in work with adolescents these questions are basic for any proper understanding of their case and certainly for planning their future. Where such essential human facts have been ascertained it would be a great pity to rest content with abstract vocational guidance based only on test results.

Whether there should be specialised vocational guidance counsellors for maladjusted children is a matter for dispute. In general it would seem an academic question in view of the shortage of trained vocational guidance personnel. Where there is no

¹ Many other countries have come to recognise the need for such services since, as one Indian writer puts it:

"Most delinquency is preceded by symptoms discoverable by parents and teachers and others in intimate contact with children and they must be given facilities for referring problem children for guidance before it is too late."

(V.V. Shastri in Social Welfare (New Delhi), March 1955.)

general service to which recourse can be had, but a serious attempt is being made to provide complete rehabilitation for maladjusted young persons, the possibility ought to be considered however of improvising an ad hoc vocational guidance programme even with personnel untrained in this work.

Vocational guidance always includes two main elements, on the one hand the individual and on the other external situation: employment possibilities. It may be presumed that those who engage in work with this category of young people have at any rate a good grounding in the methods and techniques of observation - that they know in short, how to study the individual and that the knowledge they will lack relates to the external situation. It may therefore be useful to give an indication of what improvisation involves in this field.

"(i) The community decides that vocational guidance is necessary (one or more persons take the initiative of proving this by exposing the facts of certain cases).

(ii) A vocational guidance officer or counsellor is appointed (a teacher, a social worker, a well respected member of the community, a person who has been working with youth, etc.) and is given an official promise of support.

(iii) The counsellor begins collecting and recording facts - for example in a simple card index - on the jobs, undertakings and employers, the apprenticeship possibilities and desirabilities, access to higher schools and scholarships available.

(iv) The counsellor starts collecting facts about the future young workers in the village; how many children are attending the local school; what numbers will be leaving in each of the next few years; whether there are any special groups of young people such as handicapped children not attending school or children attending school only irregularly if at all, etc..

This preliminary investigation once underway, the counsellor can start his regular work. This includes first of all public relations, secondly, work in the schools in collaboration with the teacher, including, for example, organising the study of occupations, giving talks, getting the children to discuss their interests and ambitions, obtaining from the teacher a systematic record of his observation of the pupils. Then follows the individual case work: The counsellor assembles the

information available about each young person approaching the age of choice, be it choice of further schooling or employment, and has a talk with him to check and fill out the picture already obtained so as to form an idea of his type and level of ability, of his interests (including those which at first sight seem to bear little relation to vocation) and any aspirations which he may have. We must talk over with him appropriate possibilities, encourage him to voice his views, obtain those of his parents, obtain, as necessary, more detailed information about jobs, training courses on specific openings. Finally, he must give advice, helping the young person, in so far as possible, to reach his own conclusions and make his own decisions, but taking the responsibility of intervening where necessary.

He may at different stages be able to call in other people to help him with advice concerning, for instance, the state of health of a young person.

He may be able to arrange a trial in some local workshop to verify the existence of an aptitude for, or a real interest in, a particular type of work.

The counsellor's advice will be at once wide and specific: wide - because of the usual adaptability of human beings to a variety of jobs in a similar range or direction; and specific - because, of course, generalisations are of no help. "Where can I get trained for that job; what will the cost be; how long would it take; what school subjects are important; where do I apply, when and how?" It is to such questions as these that young people require an answer, even if it be only an indication as to how to set about finding the answer themselves."

In some countries observation and classification centres regularly help in determining the type of vocational training as well as treatment suitable for offenders or partial offenders. (An advantage noted in France has been that, on the basis of the results obtained, the various penitentiary establishments could be specialised, the real needs in this regard having become clear by degrees as the first classification work was done.¹

¹ Cf. The National Orientation Centre for Prisoners at Fresnes, by A. Bodevin in "Bulletin de l'Administration des Prisons", (Brussels) No. 11, November 1952, p. 285.

An example of the specialisation of approved schools in regard to vocational training is that of Belle-Isle (Brittany) which is specially equipped for the training of fishermen.

The most noteworthy advantage of an observation and classification centre catering for a wide area, e.g. a region or a state, is of course that the full range of training facilities is known and may be tapped according to the needs of the case, sometimes, of course, systematic observation is conducted only after a judicial decision has been made and a young person has arrived at an institution.

Where arrangements have been made for the scientific classification of offenders with a view inter alia to their committal to institutions providing vocational training courses for which they seem to be personally fitted, there may be a tendency to confuse this classification process with vocational guidance - a confusion often enhanced by the common confusion of vocational guidance and psychological testing. As the idea of teamwork being necessary for dealing with juvenile delinquents or pre-delinquents has steadily gained ground in recent years the team has in many cases been widened to include a psycho-technician or applied psychologist conversant with problems of aptitude testing. For example, the European Study Group on the Medical, Psychological and Social Examination of Offenders held in Brussels in 1951 in its proposals refers to the team which ideally should decide on the best form of treatment as consisting of "doctors, psychologists, psycho-technicians and educators". There is, however, a real danger that this will be considered sufficient provision for an understanding of, and hence proper decisions regarding, the young person's vocational rehabilitation. It must be remembered, however, that what is required is full vocational guidance and not simply the application of one method used in vocational guidance. The psycho-technician is a specialist and is not much better equipped per se than the psychiatrist to weigh up the relative merits of the careers and employment prospects for the individual, although he can, of course, verify whether he possesses the aptitudes required for successful completion of one or other of the training courses provided. In any case this type of vocational planning presents other serious defects from the point of view of the individual concerned. The two main defects in this regard are lack of continuity in the planning and lack of participation by the subject in the making of decisions.

It is essential in vocational guidance that the subject's mind should be working on the problem of his progress and future and any ultimate plan of campaign is most likely to succeed if based on suggestions thoughtfully made by the subject himself. If no suggestions are forthcoming it is, of course, up to the counsellor to make one and discuss it, watching the reaction of the subject carefully. To insist on a course

contrary to his feelings or judgment is to court rebellion or disappointment and time is in any case often necessary to accustom oneself to new and perhaps startling ideas, although one may work one's way round to them if they are sound.

Active participation of the subject in vocational guidance is in large part dependent on his "occupational information". While with ordinary children this may be supplied simply enough by organising some school classes, talks and visits to work places, the distribution of booklets or pamphlets listing and describing jobs, with the disturbed child or the child who has created a barrier between himself and "what goes on in school" or who is not getting any schooling some of the more active methods of occupational information may be necessary. One such method is "school-and-work" programmes - arrangements whereby, under the control of the school or some other authority young people are engaged part-time in employment of various types both in order to take occupations and try themselves out in working life and for those responsible for advising them. Another method is the provision of opportunities to practice handicrafts, obtain basic skills and try one's hand at different operations within a special workshop. Interesting experiments have been made with "classes de préorientation", and "ateliers de loisirs", in France with systems of "polyvalent pre-apprenticeship" in the U.S. with "school-and-work" schemes.

In the case of children who are in institutions for observation there is, of course, particular need for good "occupational information" as their horizons are particularly limited. In some cases, of course, manual work is a definite part of the programme of observation centres or institutions both for its therapeutic value and for the light it throws on the nature and capacities of the child.

Even when the purpose of manual work in institutions or classes for maladjusted backward or feeble-minded children is not directly vocational training, it is generally considered to be valuable for future work adjustment because it tends to reduce their feelings of inferiority, and helps in developing psycho-motor co-ordination and control.

A well-known French educational psychologist¹ has pointed out that it is necessary to consider three phases of manual training for the maladjusted:

¹ M.R.L. Gall addressing the Fifth Congress of the U.N.A.R. Union nationale des Associations régionales, October 1953 (Sauvegarde de l'enfance, January-March 1954, p. 411).

- " (a) In observation centres and boarding schools, there should be a handicraft workshop, not to give preparation for a job, but to provide indications as to the direction in which an occupation might be sought, and to contribute to psychological rehabilitation. All these children have various types of affective trauma which can be distinctly reduced by the intuition the child gets that all is not lost. His engaging in a practical task and possible successes he may obtain therein are regarded as most valuable.
- (b) As regards training with a view to placement, all children will not be capable of qualifying as skilled workers. In many cases sequelae of their maladjustment will remain, in particular insufficiencies of motor rhythms; adaptation to fragmented work and the normal rhythm of production is then out of the question. There remains however the possibility of giving such adolescents training for semi-skilled jobs or in handicrafts.
- (c) Finally if a skilled trade class seems possible, it has to be well chosen taking into account the vocational guidance diagnosis and the labour market situation. This caution in the choice of vocation is of capital importance both in order to answer the young person's future materially and because at the same time it answers psychological and social adjustment. It is a fact that rehabilitation is not just a matter of verbal and affective encouragement; it calls for a job which can give the formerly maladjusted person the means to live and a reason for living."

Although the value of practical work may be recognised difficulties may be encountered in awaking initial interest on the part of the children or young persons concerned.

It must be remembered that young people brought up in the poor circumstances which are those of a high proportion of delinquents usually have deeply ingrained in them the idea that the point of work is the monetary reward it brings. This economic realism must be borne in mind when organising special work schemes in such centres or for the young unemployed or indeed for any other group of potential delinquents.

In dealing with special schemes to cater for unemployed boys and girls an Irish Commission noted:

"The prime essential for success is that a scheme be sufficiently attractive to command the voluntary co-operation of the youth ... In our opinion this can be secured most readily by offering the prospect of earning. Indeed, having regard to the number of young persons technically idle who strive by various means, many of which are undesirable, to earn a few shillings, this incentive must be inherent in any scheme in order that the scheme may have a fair prospect of success."

Mr. J. Barrere, Director of an observation centre at Angers, France, calling attention to the absolute necessity of making the stay of maladjusted children in such a centre more meaningful for them, and pointing out that this is a major difficulty in the functioning of classification centres, also lays great stress on their realism.

"Some of our boys" he writes, "thought that they were coming to us to learn a trade and feel really disappointed when they realise that the centre does not set out to let them acquire vocational or school knowledge. It must not be forgotten that most of our lads over 14 were already earning before being remanded for observation, and it is therefore understandable that they see no point in working during the three or four months in the centre just for the sake of showing what they are able to do".

The solution which he introduced as an experiment was the introduction of a form of currency which took the place of school marks but out of which the young people were expected to "pay for their keep", paying for food, maintenance, laundry, social security, hairdresser, etc. The system which operated satisfactorily provided for a basic salary and certain bonuses. Mr. Barrere pointed out that this not only provided a needed incentive for the boys, but enabled those in charge to make particularly interesting observations on their behaviour, since it revealed thrifty, hard-working, lazy, economic, generous, prodigal, wasteful or dishonest traits clearly. Another advantage lay, of course, in the social training which budgeting for the use of their money gave the boys.¹ (This experience was paralleled by the use of an internal currency in some children's villages).

¹ Sauvegarde de l'enfance, (Paris) May 1951, p. 338.

Needless to say direct reward for effort is a relatively crude form of incentive and needs to be supplemented or replaced as soon as possible by the higher incentive of realising the purpose and ultimate usefulness of one's activities. Indeed, as in the case described above children may be actively disappointed in seemingly pointless "work" activities - play obviously falls into another category. This flattering expectation that those who have taken him in hand are going to teach him a trade so that he can work and earn is obviously not one which should be disappointed even if a child's age or abilities makes it more desirable to provide him first with more general education. Preliminary vocational guidance should be started as soon as feasible to help the child see the way that lies before him.

The problem of secondary handicapping of children whose field of experience is narrowed by some handicap, e.g. through crippling or prolonged or repeated illnesses, has already been mentioned. In connection with the need to "learn about" occupations, practically or otherwise, and plot one's course, reference must be made to their special need for such "work practice" or occupational information programmes to widen their experience in order to reduce this handicap. Since difficulty in vocational adjustment and indeed difficulty in finding employment, contributes to delinquency, it would be well to ensure that not only physically handicapped children, but all whose experience is narrowed by institutional life, be they orphans, the pupils of industrial schools or other social institutions, should receive education, guidance and training which set out deliberately to broaden their necessarily narrow horizons. Many of the principles adopted by the Joint Expert Committee on the Physically Handicapped Child set up under the auspices of the U.N. Ad Hoc Technical Working Party on the Rehabilitation of the Handicapped would seem to apply equally well to deficient or retarded children and to other institutionalised¹ children, in particular those

¹ Cf. W.H.O. Technical Report Series, No. 58. Joint Expert Committee on the Physically Handicapped Child convened by W.H.O. with the participation of U.N., I.L.O. and U.N.E.S.C.O. First Report, December 1952, pp. 15-18; see also W.H.O. Technical Report Series No. 75, The Mentally Subnormal Child, Report of a Joint Expert Committee convened by W.H.O. with the participation of U.N., I.L.O. and U.N.E.S.C.O. April 1954, pp. 25-32.

principles concerning the choice of an individually suitable post and the preparation of both employer and young worker before the beginning of employment.

It is in general, then, important not to take the part for the whole, to think that a young person has received vocational guidance because he has been referred for a psychological examination and taken a battery of aptitude tests or tried his hand at a few tasks at a workshop or an observation centre, or chosen to tailor rather than to cobble in the special school or reformatory, or been given a referral card by a placement officer.

Vocational guidance is, it must be stressed, a continuous process, not solely in the administrative sense, its successive stages being duly recorded in official files in this, that or the other office, but continuous from the all-important point of view of the young person himself. It would obviously be ideal for one person, knowing the total circumstances, to undertake with the young person himself all vocational planning through its various stages. This is, however, far from always feasible in practice. One official can hardly be expected to investigate thoroughly the young person's inherent or developed interests and abilities, the job openings, requirements, conditions and prospects available, employers' personalities and premises and at the same time to devote sufficient personal attention to the youngster. Moreover, it is important to avoid any divorce or contradiction between the vocational planning and the other aspects of rehabilitative treatment and to obtain the maximum therapeutic effect both from the planning and the training, the job finding and the adaptation, to work. Since the case work approach with a veritable division of responsibility seems to be desirable, what solution can be found for this problem? The solution appears to lie in the direction of having one official, closely and personally concerned with the young person, handle this vocational planning on case-work lines enlisting specialised help to the extent to which it is available, but retaining direct personal responsibility himself. Who should be chosen for this task? The person to choose is probably the one who, under the prevailing arrangements, is in possession of most of the facts of the case, who knows the youngster best and has been able to establish a friendly relationship with him. He may be, for example a social worker, a children's judge or a probation officer; he may even be a voluntary worker from some such organisation as the St. Vincent de Paul; he may be a leader in a youth movement. If he assumes responsibility, however, one of his first duties is to enlist the best aid available

and the first essential for fruitful co-operation with persons in other services is to have at least a summary understanding of the other parties' role and job.

The International Child Welfare Union's Advisory Committee, after discussing in 1949 the question of staff for reformatory institutions, suggested inter alia that staff training institutes provide educators for the delinquents with opportunities to specialise - "let the educator acquire the necessary educational techniques and develop more fully those amongst them to which he feels particularly attracted, or for which he is specially gifted". It is to be hoped that in some cases this may lead to specialisation in the vocational problems of adolescent delinquents. It is true that in many countries, such as France, the professional training of vocational guidance officers is of a very high standard and several years of study are required. In such cases educators could hardly be expected to take the full specialised training, but it should be possible to devise a course which would give them a good general understanding of the principles and organisational problems of vocational guidance so that he could both be of greater assistance to his charges and could collaborate fully with vocational guidance officers as need arose. French vocational guidance officers, as part of their training, undertake "stages" in various vocational guidance centres. It might be possible to devise a scheme whereby educators would also spend a period in these same centres as observers or non-technical assistants. Similarly, it would be desirable if some fully-trained vocational guidance officers were to spend a period with certain of the reformatory institutions to gain a fuller understanding of the problems of social readaptation.

This possibility of external specialisation might usefully be opened also to social workers in many other fields, for anyone, who assumes responsibility for a group of adolescents or even an individual adolescent, is bound to find that a considerable proportion of his time and attention is taken up by their vocational problems. The following description of the work of the director of a French institution gives some idea of the wide range and complexity:

"The greater part of his activity lies outside the home. He has to make very many inquiries to seek jobs for his boys, see to the drawing up of their contract, look for apprenticeship centres or vocational training centres to which they can be admitted, see to their registration in these centres, maintain relations with employers, with directors of technical centres, trade organisations, employers'

organisations, sports or cultural organisations, etc. He attends the hearings of the Children's Court and is in permanent touch with the magistrates, the probation officer and the vocational guidance council".¹

If it is not possible to relieve such a person of the vocational part of his work load without loss to his charges, he should at least be helped to carry out this part of his work more effectively by being given any special training required.

Vocational training

One of the virtues of vocational guidance is that it tends to bring into apprenticeship or vocational training young people who might otherwise waste their abilities in blind alley occupations. There are other cases, however, in which vocational training would be really necessary to ensure vocational adjustment and for which, unfortunately, appropriate training facilities are seldom available, namely, the feeble-minded.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, the benefit of special education given to such children is frequently lost when they leave school. Some interesting experiments have been carried out, however. In France, for example, some 30 special classes for vocational training had, by 1951, been established in the Seine Department, where these retarded children receive vocational training up to the age of 18. The teaching is mostly practical and is adapted to the young persons' tastes and aptitudes and, most important of all, to the local employment possibilities. For example, one boys' school has, in addition to two special classes, two special vocational classes in which boys are trained in packing-case making, cardboard and book-binding, show-making and basketwork. The headmaster, who is keenly interested in the work, is well acquainted with local resources and is on good terms with factory owners and tradesmen of the neighbourhood. As a result almost all the boys are reported to be found satisfactory jobs at the time they leave. A similar girls' class provides instruction in sewing, weaving or carpet-making and jobs in the same or similar branches are said to be found for all the pupils.²

¹ Rééducation, No. 16, July/August 1949, pp.24-37.

² Sauvegarde de l'enfance, Sept.-Oct. 1951, pp. 603-607: "Les classes de perfectionnement dans les écoles publiques de la Seine" by P. Chardon.

France, indeed, seems to be particularly conscious of this need, for in 1953 it was reported¹ that the Committee on Social Equipment set up within the Ministry for Public Health and Population, had decided that particular attention should be given to establishments for children over 14 no longer subject to compulsory school attendance who, by reason of various kinds of difficulties, were not suitable for placement in the normal vocational training establishments which demand a standard of intelligence too high for them and certificates which they were not capable of obtaining. Some of the official apprenticeship centres, including those at Strasbourg and Amiens, include classes for feeble-minded children. The Technical Education Division of the Ministry of Education has also "detached" sections of apprenticeship centres to certain establishments catering for juvenile delinquents.

There is fortunately an increasing realisation amongst social workers concerned with youth that the most critical age and at the same time the age for which least provision is made is that which follows immediately on the period of compulsory schooling. Doctors, psychologists and teachers, formerly content to devote all their energies and interests to the immediate problems of relief or treatment or at least too busy to do more, have in the last few years begun to ask themselves what happens to these children afterwards. Once that essential question is posed, a first step has been made towards development of adequate education, vocational guidance, vocational training, placement in employment and after-care, for the social and economic waste of caring for and educating children without bringing them to the stage of maximum self-support is quite unjustifiable.

While on the topic of vocational training, it must be mentioned that one of the difficulties in regard to its adequate provision is the length of time required. It is therefore in some countries provided for young persons committed to institutions for a long period and who are therefore presumably "serious cases", but is not for young persons serving a short sentence for slight offences, although the latter might logically be considered to be the most amenable to educative treatment and social rehabilitation. While this problem cannot be dealt with adequately without straying from the labour aspects of juvenile delinquency into

¹ Speech of the Minister before the Fifth Congress of the U.N.A.R., as reported in the Jan.-March 1954 number of Sauvegarde de l'enfance.

the whole question of administration of justice for juveniles, it may be useful to point out that a short period of detention can be put to good use if arrangements are made to provide some vocational guidance as part of the preparation for release and as groundwork for after-care.

Provision for vocational training of girls is in general more limited than that for boys and this creates special problems for those charged with their after-care. A French report states that the majority of girls arriving in the "semi-liberty homes" have not received, prior to their arrival, any real vocational training or, if they have, then only training in some branch for which there is little or no demand on the labour market. The absence of training combined with the fact that, for a girl in her late 'teens a job is not often in itself a sufficient stabilising factor, means that these young girls are often even more exposed than others to the instability in employment which is a major worry for those running these homes.¹

To confine the training of girls known to be in danger of delinquency to instruction in cooking, cleaning and sewing or at the most to instruction in a woman's trade such as embroidery, for which demand on the labour market is slight, is to incur a heavy responsibility for what may become of them after the end of their training. The laudable purpose of preparing them for eventual marriage and running a home may well be defeated if the girls get into difficulties through drifting out unprepared, to search for casual employment. In any case, it must be remembered that in many countries today a very large proportion of married women continue in employment for some time after marriage and return to employment when their children are grown.

Another avowed purpose of domestic training in girls' homes is, of course, preparation for paid domestic service. While being given a good home by a private family has undoubtedly proved the salvation of many girls, it must be borne in mind that, in general, the conditions of domestic service are still such that the delinquency hazard is considered high even for girls not already predisposed to delinquency.

¹ "Les homes et foyers de semi-liberté", by M. Roux, J. Marchal and J. Bourjade, Sauvegarde de l'enfance, No.1/2/3, 1954, pp. 326-364.

A probation officer, pointing out the need many delinquents have to make a fresh start in a new type of employment, takes domestic servants as the commonest example:

"One meets little servant girls or ward-maids who have had dozens of places and either walked out or have been dismissed from them all. It is abundantly clear that they are in no way cut out for this kind of work and have absolutely no interest in it. It would therefore seem fatuous to keep on finding them other posts of the same kind. Many social workers think girls much "safer" in residential employment under the employer's eye, where late night hours are likely to be detected and frowned upon. But the fact that it would be safer if it worked does not make a plan workable".¹

The safest way, it is suggested, is a totally new kind of life not associated in the girl's mind with failure, a life which she herself thinks is attractive and where she expects to be happy. Factory work, with its more regular hours and cheerful companionship with, if necessary, residence in approved lodgings so that evening supervision can be given, is, she suggests, a better solution in many cases.

While normally vocational training must be chosen to suit not the offence but the offender certain types of offender require specific consideration when it comes to finding work, and this writer's further remarks on jobs suitable for girls in danger of, or having already taken up prostitution merit reflection. She points out that prostitutes are usually "congenitally and temperamentally unfitted for heavy manual work" (a view borne out by the world-wide inquiry conducted by the League of Nations between the two wars which established that more often than not some innate physical weakness caused them to fail in respectable life and so to drift down the social scale) and therefore

"the laundry work so often provided in training homes for this kind of girl is quite unsuitable as well as unacceptable. Waitressing is similarly unsuitable by reason of the heavy lifting so frequently involved. Jobs as usherettes, receptionists, flower-shop assistants or mannequins, which require good appearance

¹ E.R. Glover, op.cit.p.21

and attractive manners but not a great deal of physical exertion are much more likely to appeal to them. Some of the more intelligent ones would probably do well if trained as hairdressers or manicurists. One hears it said that training such girls for these beauty trades is simply to train them to command a higher price in prostitution. This is not a valid argument. Any help given to any person may be abused. That is not a reason for giving no help. When educating delinquent boys you are simply training them to become more intelligent thieves: this is a parallel argument. A prostitute's life is not normally a happy one. It has no future and it is exhausting and devitalising. Many girls may approach the business in their search for a good time, but if their normal life and work brought them more legitimate satisfaction there would be less incentive to seek such desperate means. Respectability should be made as attractive as possible to these girls".

The classification of institutions and establishments according to the treatment needs of the young persons concerned had led to one French institution, that of Aniane, receiving in principle only the hard core of undisciplined boys from other institutions, recidivists and young criminals. By the staff's persistence and hard work and constant encouragement of the boys, it was transformed into a vocational school successfully preparing these particularly difficult boys for the regular trade examinations in some 30 different branches, overcoming many obstacles, including lack of basic education and apathy. "The bad lads", it is stated, "still exist and will continue to exist, but, thanks to the right sort of discipline and the influence of work, their presence is now less noticeable, and they no longer exercise the same ascendancy over the others".¹

In general, therefore, it is necessary to insist on the provision of vocational training in accordance with the needs of the labour market and of the young people to be trained and not, as still too often happens, simply in accordance with the convenience of organisation of the particular establishment. Attention should be paid also to the possibilities in the child's home area so that in the words of one French report: "One shall not find children from the industrial north in establishments devoted to the training of vine growers".

¹ Rééducation, July/August 1949, Third Year, No. 16, p. 38.

"The complete resocialisation of a young law-breaker or wayward youth cannot be achieved by institutional education alone. The time of reacceptance into the community and public industrial activity is a very important phase of his development".

Discharge into idleness and into the old environment would mean complete failure in a number of cases.¹ That is the opinion of the director of one highly successful Swiss institution (the "Education Institute" at Uitikon) which in consequence maintains its own placement service and allows discharge on probation only after the absolute guarantee of immediate appropriate employment has been obtained. This, incidentally, is usually not difficult to find as the training standards are high and official apprenticeship certificates are awarded.

It must be remembered by those charged with the formulation and implementation of juvenile delinquency programme that **in the vocational field it is not possible for them to act in isolation.** Although vocational guidance and vocational training have in themselves a therapeutic value, they are questions relating directly to the realities of the external situation and the way in which they are dealt with can make or unmake the whole process of social rehabilitation and integration. Even their therapeutic value can be lost if the subject himself senses during the process that they are unreal or fictitious in any way. The results can be absolutely disastrous if, after choosing his vocation and being duly trained, he can afterwards find no employment. Lapse into crime in such cases might almost be qualified as justified. There is need to apply the general principles governing vocational guidance and vocational training, even more strictly in the case of provision for young delinquents or potential delinquents than in the case of normally well-adjusted young people and to do this it is usually necessary to enlist all possible and available help from other authorities, as well as to enlighten the public regarding the need for adequate vocational service for young delinquents.

Placement

Vocational guidance may prove relatively useless unless there is some possibility of training, but vocational training

¹ "The Young Adult Offender" by G.O. Mueller in the Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, Vol. 43, pp. 578-591, 1952-1953.

may be considered almost entirely pointless if there is no possibility of its leading to employment. No amount of sound advice can make up for the lack of a job while obtaining the right job may prove the salvation even of a confirmed delinquent. A French children's judge has noted that

"the normalisation of a young delinquent, even a persistent back-slider through probation, is sometimes attributable to the simple fact of work corresponding to his aptitudes and tastes having been found for him by his probation officer who may lack any particular educational or psychological gifts, but is well placed to help him get started in working life and to enlist for him the kindly understanding of an employer".¹

Since we are here dealing with prevention, however, it is necessary to stress that satisfactory placement should if possible be one important stage in the process started almost as soon as the young person came to the notice of authority and not simply a mere stroke of luck. The person who has assumed responsibility for helping a young predelinquent to find employment must obviously have a wide range of knowledge of all the possibilities which the employment market holds or at least have access to such knowledge.

While stability in employment and delinquency do not often go together, it is of course not possible to say whether this is because the non-delinquent has a stable character making for regularity of employment, or whether the stability of his employment is exercising a stabilising influence on a potential delinquent.

When seeking to help a young person go straight, however, the obvious course is in any case to put all the chances on his side by helping him to get a job which is likely to last. "In order to bring about good social adjustment (based on financial independence, a prime factor in psychological liberation) a stable job must be sought for example in a branch where trained workers are in short supply."² That advice applies equally to the

¹ M. Puzin, Children's Judge at Nancy, writing in Sauvegarde de l'enfance, September/October 1951, p. 575.

² P. Roy: L'Orientation professionnelle des infirmes moteurs, journées d'Etudes des conseillers d'Orientation professionnelle de France, 1952.

handicapped or maladjusted and even where it may seem a counsel of perfection in a particular case, there is no excuse for not obtaining any available information or advice on trends in employment or the outlook for a job envisaged.

This involves several things. First, the person responsible needs to cultivate close and friendly contact with the officials at the employment exchange so that he can discuss the needs and temperaments of any one of his probationers individually with them and enlist their personal interest and effort in finding the most suitable job possible. He can also enlarge his own understanding and knowledge of the nature of various occupations during the course of his work by noting his various charges' reactions to types of employment they have entered. He may, unless he is very lucky, hear many explanations for subjects leaving jobs. While some excuses are far from explicit, occasionally something is said like "I got bored standing still all the time" or "the noise was awful, it got on my nerves" or "I didn't like being indoors so much", "it was awfully lonely, there was nobody to talk to", "we had to do a lot of lifting and it made my back ache". These and similar reasons throw some light on the difficulties of certain jobs for certain types of people and give some help in choosing more suitable work, not only for those concerned but for others. Perhaps one of the most important needs in connection with placement is learning to make good use of the public employment exchange, since it is desirable to have as wide a range of vacancies as possible from which to choose. A certain impatience with the possibly awkward cases which predelinquent youth represent may of course be shown by officials of the service when their aid is first enlisted but understanding of, and interest in, the socially important work of finding them suitable employment and so assisting in their rehabilitation is very soon forthcoming. Once again, however, it must be stressed that those who seek the help of such a service can best obtain it if they know at least in a general way the manner in which it functions. An important aspect of normal entry into regular employment is admission to trade union membership and it is important for the acceptance and adjustment of a young worker to ensure that he had a rough idea of the rôle of unions, and of the obligations and privileges of members. Where direct approach has been made to the trade unions by those concerned with ex-offenders' rehabilitation, any hesitancy to

accept the latter has usually been fairly quickly dispelled¹, but in any case an opposition of principle to the ex-maladjusted is far less likely than reluctance to accept a labelled ex-offender. Apart from the workers' organisations, importance should also be attached to securing where possible the interest of some reliable fellow workers, in a position to supply some individual friendship and support.

In Portugal the after-care of young people discharged from reformatory institutions is carried out by the Federation of Child Welfare organisations referred to earlier through its Social Service, for the first three years following release. Officers of the Service visit the young person regularly, make inquiries, help to find employment and provide the authorities with a record of the ward's behaviour used as data to assess the material or moral assistance that may be required.

While after-care of young persons placed in employment may be the responsibility of a social welfare worker or other public servant, much can be done by the employing undertakings themselves to help these young people go straight. Undertakings cannot of course be expected to accept responsibility for young people with strong anti-social or criminal tendencies, but they can help in the resocialisation of those who have stumbled on their way through bad environment, faulty education or similar external circumstances. Without being either educational or charitable institutions, the large undertaking today occupies a place in society which carries with it certain obligations and notably that of allowing those engaged in it to pursue social aims -

"the worker should not only collaborate through his work in the production of goods, but should at the same time have the possibility of attaining his own individual goals, purposes and hopes so that he can achieve the fullest possible enrichment of his own personal and social value. Viewed in this light - and everyone who follows developments must agree that the modern industrial undertaking is increasingly becoming a pillar of a new social order - the undertaking cannot shirk

¹ In the United Kingdom, one or two unions have now been asked to agree that discharged prisoners who have been taught a trade in prison may be given trade union tickets when they leave. The idea has been favourably received locally, and recommendations have been sent to the London Headquarters. The Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society plans to put the scheme forward to all unions. (The Welfare Office, Vol. IV, No. 2, April 1955, p. 8).

the task of contributing its share to the re-integration into working life and society of young people who have gone astray".¹

Practically speaking, what are the conditions necessary for success? The writer just quoted suggests that within the plant the incorporation and supervision of young workers be recognised as a useful function definitely assigned to some one person, if possible assisted by a representative of the young workers as a group, that the young person in question be placed in a position suited to his aptitudes and character - usually some position where he will have some backing and supervision.

Because of the need for a fresh start, to get away from undesirable conditions, or because no suitable job or training can be found in the home area, it is sometimes necessary to envisage a young person's living away from home.

In some countries efforts have been made to provide suitable lodging for young people who, although not delinquent or no longer classed as delinquent, stand in need of a modicum of home support not available from their own families. This provision frequently takes the form of a hostel, to which the young people return after their day's work and where they expect to pay or at least to contribute to their own living expenses by their earnings. In some cases, these hostels are attached to reformatory institutions and living there constitutes the final stage of progress towards full freedom and independence.

Hostels which have no connection with delinquency have also been set up to house young workers, apprentices or trainees, whose family home is at a distance from the centre where they are employed.

Can these hostels play a role in the prevention of juvenile delinquency? There can be no doubt that for a juvenile from the country coming alone into the city for training or to employment, a well-run hostel, where he can live reasonably cheaply and find companions of his own age and the possibility of obtaining the advice of a responsible adult, is an excellent solution.

¹ Wolfgang Schumann: "Ein Beitrag zur 'Resozialisierung jugendlicher Rechtsbrecher im Betrieb' von der Praxis her gesehen" in Recht der Jugend (Berlin), Heft 10, 3. Jahrgang, 2. Maiheft 1955.

Would it be possible to make full use of these hostels for young persons who are actually in moral danger and need to be removed from their home surroundings or brought within easy reach of a suitable place of employment? The demand for places in these hostels is, where they are well run, usually far in excess of supply. Moreover a condition of their success is that a good atmosphere be maintained and many directors may therefore rightly hesitate to introduce possibly disruptive elements, although admission may be gained for an individual case. For a young person who has not actually been convicted of delinquency to associate with the inmates of a special hostel for ex-delinquents is generally considered undesirable. In any case, for many young people hostel life may not be what is required.

There is fortunately an alternative, that of placing them in individual "approved lodgings" or "private foster homes". This system has many advantages and it would seem that it might well be extended to supplement the inadequate and more costly provision of young workers' hostels. Were a register of suitable private homes or lodgings available to social workers, youth placement officers, vocational guidance officers, who have been made responsible for the reception of young persons coming up to town or for the placement of young persons in moral danger, their task would be considerably facilitated. It must be remembered, however, that not only would good standards, e.g. of cleanliness and food preparation have to be set for inscription and maintenance on such a register, but that individual place would have to be chosen with careful attention to the needs of the young person (possibly initially on the basis of information supplied by an official from the home area) and after discussing the choice of home with him. Regard must be had not only to rent but also to social level, composition of family, age, occupation and character of family members, etc.

As pointed out by one juvenile court judge¹, who claimed to have placed 500 juvenile delinquents with entire success in private foster homes, if supervision is known to be adequate and helpful, foster parents are more likely to come forward. He claimed that "the children placed out by him were in great demand because it was known that they were

¹ International Child Welfare Review, Vol. I, 1947, No. 2 and 3, pp. 134-136 "Report of Mr. E. Marlier, Juvenile Court Judge of Charleroi".

supervised, regularly visited and carefully kept on the right path", probably thanks in his case to a large team of volunteer probation officers working under him.

Voluntary or charitable organisations or religious bodies, e.g., the Y.W.C.A., the J.O.C., and such as various orders of nuns, have provided hostels as well as clubs for young workers. Hostels for apprentices have been built in relatively large numbers in some countries since the war: for example, in Germany where they have been used to some extent for dealing with the problem of young refugees. In Britain, some large undertakings run hostels in connection with their apprentice schools. In Japan, the large textile mills, whose labour force usually consists of young girls recruited at some distance, have dormitories actually on the mill premises, a system which incidentally presents considerable disadvantages from a social point of view.

In general, in regard to hostels as in other respects, young persons under a formal contract of apprenticeship or employment are better catered for than young persons in unskilled employment, although the latter would seem to stand in greater need of care and protection.

In some countries, for example, Switzerland, where resident apprenticeship is both still fairly common and is well-organised, youth authorities can occasionally solve both the problem of training and of housing a juvenile in need of care and protection, by finding an apprenticeship place where he is lodged under the employer's own roof. This type of placement would, of course, not be generally recommendable in the absence of sufficient control and supervision of apprenticeship. The fact that the child is living at its place of work increases the danger of abuse of his strength by over long hours, or use of his services not in connection with his trade (the same danger exists in placement on farms in perhaps even a greater degree owing to isolation).

In finding "living in" apprenticeship places suited to the needs of individual cases, vocational services, such as employment services, youth placement, vocational guidance or apprenticeship, placement services can, in their turn, usually provide help to youth welfare officers.

Of course there is also danger not so much of exaggerating the importance of the job for an adolescent but of neglecting other factors. Some social work authorities or officials tend to select a foster home or hostel purely on the basis of

accessibility of a suitable employment, school or training centre, instead of bearing this factor in mind when weighing up the general suitability of the placement. Where the methods and general atmosphere are unsuitable, the placement has in fact no chance of succeeding.

"Too often children's courts and social services want to send us boys taking as sole criterion their vocations or their jobs. If we accept them, and if failure results, it is the boy who pays and the other boys in the home along with him".¹

In India, the Central Social Welfare Board (responsible for allotment of funds under the Five Year Plan) has appointed a Committee to study the whole problem of after-care, not for one, but for all groups, such as persons discharged from foundling homes, rescue homes, remand homes, certified schools, jails, reformatories, borstals, informaries, sanatoria, asylums, etc.

The chairman of this Committee, in a recent article², has pointed out that its appointment is the logical outcome of the shift of emphasis from relief or punishment to rehabilitation. After-care being only the final basis of a whole process of which the goal is rehabilitation. He stresses what while

"in a limited sense after-care stands for the services and programmes organised to help individuals go back to normal life after their discharge from institutions where they may have received care and attention suited to special needs, yet it cannot be considered a substitute for, but can only promote the fulfilment of pre-discharge services preparing 'physically, mentally and vocationally for a life of independence and responsibility outside the institutions.'"

While, as the writer says, the specific nature of after-care services depends on the kind of problems that a particular group faces, the question does arise as to whether after-care services for each group must always be distinct. In view of the way in which shortage of after-care staff hampers work in each particular branch, particularly in the

¹ Rééducation, No. 16, July/August 1949, pp. 24-37.

² Social Welfare, New Delhi, Vol. I. No. 2, March 1955.

economically less developed areas, this question would seem to deserve earnest examination. It is certain that there is certain common ground.

"In the case of physically handicapped individuals it may be a problem primarily of equipping the individual with skills by means of which he can overcome the limitations of his handicap. In the case of an ex-prisoner the problem is not only of changing his whole attitude and equipment, but also the attitude of others towards him. In both these cases it may also be a problem of finding a specific type of job which will be suited to the physical or psychological limitations that may characterise an individual. Thus the field of after-care calls for a multiple faceted approach. Vocational guidance, vocational training, attitudinal therapy, education, social reform and public education for all who play a part."

After-care programmes may include

"giving planned economic aid to individuals to help them become independent, organising after-care hostels, sheltered workshops, open production centres, etc. They may also consist of undertaking a drive for convincing the community that even the blind, the deaf mute and the cripple can be relied upon to give a good account of themselves in selected jobs in industry and business."

Those who are concerned with the prevention of juvenile delinquency fully realise that in many cases the labels, "handicapped", "homeless", "delinquent", "exploited", may all be equally applicable to one individual, and that no one service is sufficiently fully equipped to meet all his needs. It might therefore be possible to develop in a given community not only a common rehabilitation policy, but also in so far as is consistent with special needs of different groups, arrange for the pooling of staff and equipment. In France in some areas social workers attached to one or other administration, all contribute information on the cases they have dealt with to a central card index, and have recourse to this index to find out the previous administrative history, if any, of an individual or family they are called upon to deal with for the first time. This step towards coherence of official action might well be imitated where social workers are few and far between. The system could be carried further, a case once entered in the files of a polyvalent centre service, his complete rehabilitation would then become

the responsibility of that service and preferably of one worker within it who would enlist specialised aid in so far as available. Such co-operation might indeed make it more possible to obtain specialised aid. In one small town, for example it might be considered economic to provide a trained vocational guidance counsellor if he were expected to assist in the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped, pre-delinquents, youth, released prisoners and children from a local orphanage. Similarly, it might be possible to afford better equipment for training in a greater variety of trades if the vocational training workshops were to be used for members of different groups.

Needless to say the operation of any such scheme would necessitate genuine agreement and acceptance of a joint policy; training of social workers which would give them a sufficient understanding of the purpose and role of each separate service. It would be necessary to ensure also that there would still be sufficient vertical specialisation to make it possible to obtain expert advice, for example, on teaching methods and problems in the vocational training of difficult youth.

A prerequisite for planning any such reforms is of course a sufficiency of facts and experience. In this connection it is interesting to note the lines of inquiry adopted by the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency:

1. To look into the best ways to provide suitable part-time work experience under proper supervision for the school child who desires it.
2. To study proposed amendments to legislation in order to authorise the extension of the facilities of the U.S. Employment Service to young workers, including counselling and guidance facilities.
3. To consider proposals to alter the Federal Wage-Hour Law which limits the hours during which youngsters may be employed.
4. To examine the child labour laws in the several states, the laws dealing with school enrolment and school programmes affecting youth employment.

An interim Report already produced includes the following recommendations of the National Child Labour Committee:

1. The desirability of part-time employment for high school age children and the need for legislative standards to ensure its suitability.
2. The importance of maintaining the 16 year compulsory school attendance age and the value of supervised part-time school and work programmes for non-academically minded children in the high schools.
3. The need for extending employment counselling and placement services for high school graduates and drop-outs who are seeking work.¹

Other measures

Most attention has been given in this chapter to the three strictly "vocational" services: guidance, training and placement. What of the other problems mentioned in Chapter I? Certain interesting developments or experiments will be mentioned briefly here.

Young migrants: In the U.S.A., special inter-agency studies are now in progress with a view to providing more adequately for the education and welfare of children of workers following the crops.² In the Netherlands, under an officially sponsored youth migration scheme, local youth organisations assume responsibility for the welfare of the young transferee. Details are not yet available but this scheme seems to be giving particularly good results.

Admission of children and young persons to employment which may constitute a physical or moral danger: Although legal regulation is widespread the legislation in many countries provides for exemptions under licence in certain cases, e.g., in the case of public spectacles, the intention being that the licence shall be granted only in cases where it is reasonably certain that there is, in fact, no risk for the child, and provision for exemptions has always increased the risk of abuse and the difficulty of enforcing general legislation. There are now, however, many examples of child welfare organisations with labour inspection authorities

¹ Cf. The American Child, May 1955 (published by the National Child Labour Committee).

² Cf. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Social Security Bulletin, May 1954.

in the work of enforcement. For instance, in Portugal there is a working agreement between the National Federation of Child Welfare Institutions and the National Labour Institute responsible for the issue of licences. Under this, the Federation's officers have access to all theatre, music hall, radio or other spectacles in which children are engaged and report any apparent irregularity or infringement to the Children's Court. The Court can, if it sees fit in the child's interest, bring the matter to the notice of the Labour Institute, which can then withdraw its licence and institute proceedings to ensure the child adequate protection.¹

This Portuguese Federation has also undertaken the supervision of the application of a Decree² regulating the employment of newsboys. This involves seeing that the conditions of employment are not detrimental to the children's health and education, ensuring the co-operation of parents or guardians and seeing that employers comply with the regulations.

Truancy: While this is in many countries a punishable offence (for the parents if not the child), it is comparatively rare to find a judicial authority deliberately sponsoring remedial treatment of absentees. A notable exception is the children's court of Liège, Belgium, which deals with the majority of truancy cases, and regularly studies the probable causes, e.g. poor health of the child or his family, economic difficulties, parental neglect, fault of the child, disorganisation of the home, etc. and utilises varied means to bring about regularity of attendance, including enlisting the aid of many other services: child welfare workers, school inspectors, medical pedagogical or psychiatric clinics, dispensaries and the schools themselves. (While no specific mention is made of vocational guidance services, it is very probable that their help is also enlisted on occasion in the case of young people approaching the school leaving age.) Such timely intervention may well be effective in securing available help for the child or family menaced with delinquency.³

¹ Cf. International Child Welfare Review, Vol. XVI, 1952, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 216 (French edition).

² Decree No. 35,955 of 19 November 1946.

³ Cf. "Une visite d'étude au Tribunal des enfants à Liège by G. de Bock. Revue de Droit pénal et de Criminologie, 32me Année, 1951-1952, No. 6, March 1952, pp. 649-655.

While the provision of leisure time activities, clubs, etc. for young people aged under 18 who are engaged in unskilled work and have not the standard of education required by the technical schools, or any real urge to perfect themselves and advance to higher forms of employment, and who may slip from boredom to delinquency, is a social rather than a labour problem, it is indirectly being dealt with from the labour angle by vocational guidance which seeks to ensure that young people enter jobs corresponding to and utilising their capacities, and by young workers' movements seeking to give these young people healthy friendships in their workplaces and pastimes without and some understanding of their dignity and role as workers. In discussing welfare facilities for workers the 38th Session of the International Labour Conference meeting in Geneva in June 1955 considered favourably a proposal that:

"(1) Appropriate measures should be taken to encourage the provision of recreation facilities for the workers in or near the undertakings in which they are employed, where suitable facilities organised by special bodies or by community action are not already available and where there is a demand or need for recreation facilities in or near the undertakings concerned."

There is another social problem which is closely tied up with that of youth employment but which can hardly be dealt with from a purely "labour" angle, namely, instruction in the management of money and in thrift. While a desire to earn is common enough among children and young persons it is unfortunately true that few know how to spend. This problem which emerges, of course, not when extreme poverty is present, since that enforces a completely hand-to-mouth existence, but when new sources of income are tapped. Ill advised spending sometimes thus maintains a family in virtual poverty while another family with the same aggregate income manages to achieve a reasonable standard of living.

The preparation of young people to handle their own first earnings intelligently would probably contribute substantially to the prevention of delinquency. It may be that some added attention could be given in connection with vocational guidance to preparation for responsibility and wage-earning life, as well as in connection with the control of schoolchildren engaged in part-time work. But it is in the main a problem of social education which lies rather within the purview of the schools, youth movements and social organisations in so far as parents themselves do not or cannot fulfil their responsibilities in this regard.

Conclusion

It may be wondered, at the conclusion of this report on the labour aspects of juvenile delinquency, that so little direct reference has been made to the problems of poverty despite the fact that "studies have universally shown that juvenile delinquency is highly correlated with all indices of low income and with other social problems resulting from poverty."¹

An adequate minimum stable family income is "probably the most significant factor in the prevention of serious delinquency", and a stable income, "together with its consequences in the improvement of family life and neighbourhood conditions" a powerful influence in reducing juvenile delinquency.

Nevertheless, poverty in itself does not produce delinquency; it is bewilderment and revolt that do so. Poverty is an evil to eradicate but stability, the possibility of satisfying licit ambitions, of finding one's place in the world, these would seem to be the real prerequisites of any general reduction of juvenile delinquency. It is obviously not enough simply to seek to keep juveniles out of trouble, to take away opportunities of wrong doing. It is necessary to take positive steps to help them to do well, in short, to give them a chance to work out their own salvation.

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"The Economic Factor in Juvenile Delinquency", by E.W. Burgess, Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago, Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, Vol. 43, 1952/53, p. 29.

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