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Guidance histories of selected pupils of a minority group in the intermediate grades

Paul Gideon Berger
University of the Pacific

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GUIDANCE HISTORIES OF SELECTED PUPILS OF A  
MINORITY GROUP IN THE INTERMEDIATE GRADES  

A Thesis  
Presented to  
the Faculty of the Department of Education  
College of the Pacific  

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts  

by  
Paul Gideon Berger  
June 1958
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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM, THE PURPOSES, AND THE STATEMENT OF BACKGROUND

I. THE PROBLEM

What are the behaviors and actions of selected discipline problems among the colored children of the intermediate grades in the elementary school, and what methods and techniques are used by the staff of the elementary school in meeting and attempting to solve these problems?

II. PURPOSES

1. To make a study of discipline cases over a stated period of time.

2. To describe the development of counseling methods as related to the behavior patterns of the pupils studied.

3. To attempt to discover what are both the immediate and underlying causes of the behavior problems of the pupils studied.

4. To show in what ways the various school and community agencies are employed to give assistance with problem cases.

5. To record the various school-pupil, pupil-pupil, pupil-home and intra-school relationships that occur in the handling of the pupils studied.
6. To present suggested methods in the collecting and recording of data concerned with the pupils who were studied.

7. To provide a basis for further guidance and counseling planning by the teachers and administrators of the Roosevelt School, Stockton, California.

III. STATEMENT OF BACKGROUND

This study arose out of the expressed desires of the intermediate grade teachers of the Roosevelt Elementary School in Stockton, California, for a detailed study of problem cases among the colored students who were in their classes. The teachers and administrators of the school had felt a need to gain a better understanding of these children and to discover which methods and techniques in dealing with them might best be employed. At no time did the teachers or administrators imply or suggest that colored children should be considered in a discriminatory fashion or treated in any manner different from that used the other pupils. They did, however, feel that the teacher-pupil variance in economic, geographic, and social as well as racial areas served as a detriment to the constructive and helpful guidance a teacher might provide these pupils. Any furthering of the understanding of these discipline cases would be of great benefit to both pupil and teacher. The study, therefore, was
undertaken with the complete knowledge and cooperation of the intermediate teachers of the Roosevelt School.
CHAPTER II

A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF GUIDANCE IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Guidance in the elementary school is a field that offers wide opportunity and endless challenge. There has been, however, a noticeable lack of a clearly defined program for the elementary schools similar to that found for the secondary schools. School guidance has been considered primarily a function of the junior and senior high schools. On the elementary level it has been considered to be chiefly the responsibility of the classroom teacher. Even here there has existed only a nebulous program of guidance for the elementary pupil. In contrast to the elementary schools of America, the secondary schools are provided offices and, quite often, staff in the larger schools. Teachers and pupils in these schools are secure in the knowledge that certain persons are charged with the responsibilities of guidance, and both teacher and pupil can seek out this office for assistance in guidance matters.

Guidance in the elementary schools was also considered to be in the nature of a disciplinary measure. The administrator of the school was the disciplinarian who took over when the classroom teacher's measures failed. His chief responsibility was to cure by some method of punishment. His opportunity to establish a program of prevention, involving his staff in a comprehensive and integrated attack
Facing difficulties like the basic problems confronting elementary school pupils, was seriously handicapped by the ever-present shortage of administrative assistance, coupled with the ever-increasing load of administrative duties.

With the increased realization of both educators and the public that the elementary child is more than an immature mind; that he is human, and, therefore, that one must be human in dealing with him, interest is a defined program of guidance for elementary schools has come to be regarded as more of a necessity. Since that time there has been an ever-growing development of the elementary school guidance programs. However, these school systems find very little precedent or practice on which to base their own programs.

Those charged with developing such a program must proceed with caution in order to determine, step at a time, which is the more effective practice. Such problems as responsibility, maximum utilization of personnel, maximum utilization of tests and record, prevention program, and effective use of school and cooperating agencies are a few difficulties which confront school districts that are attempting to create an effective guidance and counseling program for their elementary schools.

Guidance is needed in all parts of the school system, but in some respects it is most necessary in the elementary school. The transition from home life to school life frequently causes maladjustments, undesirable attitudes toward
school and life, and emotional disturbances that profoundly affect the entire future of the individual. Many of these, if recognized early and given effective guidance, are prevented, and the later adjustment of the child to the school and to life in general becomes easier. When a child enters school either in the kindergarten or the first grade, the physical conditions of the school where light and heat are regulated, sanitary conditions are maintained, courtesy is emphasized and care of property is demanded, may be in contrast with those conditions that exist in the child's home. Serious problems arise from early childhood diseases or physical handicaps that impair the ability of the child to learn. Failure to be promoted or failure to achieve what is expected of him becomes more important as he progresses from grade to grade. The development of the realization of inequalities between himself and other pupils, whether he be inferior or superior, brings demands of adjustments that increase in magnitude and number, particularly in the elementary school grades. These and other problems often result in undesirable habits and attitudes. All of which makes guidance in the elementary school increasingly important. The logical beginning for organized guidance, therefore, is the point at which the child enters school. For many children it will be the first opportunity to secure the help they need for proper adjustment to life.
I. TYPES OF GUIDANCE PROBLEMS

The elementary school faces certain types of guidance problems. If the teacher's main concern is that the child develop rather than that order be kept in the classroom, he will regard the "problem child" as a "child with a problem." He will seek out the reason first, then he will attempt to find an effective answer to the child's need. Davis states that teachers will discover that children in the elementary school display certain classes of emotional behavior, which are:

1. Aggression - This may take the form of a show-off in class and on the school grounds. He seeks the attention and approval of others, and he does so aggressively. It may also manifest itself in a physical attack on another child, quarreling with the teacher, or a flat refusal to conform which is coupled with a defiant or sullen attitude.

2. Withdrawing - Here the child attempts to solve his problems by escaping from the reality of them. He retreats from his problems into a world of fantasy. Teachers often describe the child with words such as "daydreaming," "shy," or "sensitive." Constant withdrawal from the realm of reality can become a most serious psychological problem.

3. Fearful behavior - This child is almost constantly in a state of apprehension. He will fail to
complete assignments or carry out simple tasks because he is preoccupied with some real or fancied threat. These threats to his security may arise out of unstable home situations or a lack of ability in given areas. Fear is common to all children, but occasionally some child is fear-ridden.

4. Illness - Some children seek escape from the realities of the school experience by becoming "ill." It is no longer termed "feigning illness," because many of the pains and discomforts are as real as if they had had a physiological basis.

5. Nervousness - If everything else fails, the child may seek refuge in some nervous mannerism, such as a body tic, nail biting, and picking the nose.

The important thing about all of the emotional patterns is that they are the symptoms of a serious, unsolved problem; they are the child's attempt to make an adjustment. A simple acceptance, and nothing else that "all behavior is caused," is not enough for the proper adjustment of the elementary school child. It must be realized that all children will, in some degree, resort to an emotional pattern of adjustment that must be recognized by the school and handled through an organized program of guidance and counseling.

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II. RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE COUNSELOR

The counselor, or administrative assistant, is directly responsible to the principal. The Long Beach, California, City Schools have listed the legitimate services of an elementary school counselor to be:

A. General Services:

1. Testing program - ordering, administering, scoring and interpreting.
2. Pupil data - gathering, organizing, administering.
3. Registering and transferring pupils.
4. Aiding principal in selection of pupils who need individual attention.

B. Services with Children:

1. Assisting teachers in the understanding of problem children.
2. Coordinating the services of school personnel workers who contribute to the welfare of the child.
3. Cooperating with local agencies when they are concerned with the individual child who has a problem.
4. Assisting the principal in parent conferences, providing data and other services.
5. Directly counseling with the child when requested or whenever it appears advisable.
C. Services with Teachers:

1. Organizing a program of assisting teachers to develop better guidance techniques.
2. Assisting teachers in the carrying out of guidance techniques.
3. Showing genuine concern for the mental health of teacher, giving her all necessary support.  

III. SKILLS AND TECHNIQUES FOR THE GUIDANCE PROGRAM

For the individuals who are concerned directly with the guidance program certain skills and knowledge are basic equipment. In the school where the full burden of guidance falls directly on the teachers, or in the schools where administrative assistance is provided for the guidance program, these skills make it much easier to study a child systematically, and with greater positive results. The New York State Counselors Associate lists these skills as:

1. The ability to keep an accurate account of the child's behavior, free of subjective comment.
2. The ability to interpret test results in their proper perspective.
3. The ability to organize information gained through the use of skills into a coherent statement.

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4. The ability to relate information gathered concerning the child to some plausible plan of assistance for the child and his emotional problems.  

In addition to these skills, Hatch suggests the following guides as essential to the individual concerned with pupil guidance:

1. Establish a friendly relationship. It is a matter of convincing the child, and oneself, that he is sincerely liked, and in turn can find trust and confidence.

2. Obtain the child's reason for his behavior. This is possible only if the relationship is entirely free from threat or ridicule.

3. Look at the problem in terms of the child. Use his words and his language in discussing the problem with him.

4. Begin with the assumption that the child is doing his best he knows how to do with the situation as he sees it.

5. Build on the child's strength. Further attacks on his weak points can only lead to further defensive behavior. Discover the child's abilities and preferences and extend his activities into those areas.

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6. Establish limits of behavior. Friendliness does not imply the relaxation of established rules that govern the entire group.

7. Allow time for behavior. Changing basic patterns of behavior is not a quick process. Expect serious setbacks, but do not allow either the child or the counselor to give up.

8. Praise all genuine progress, but do not praise lavishly.

9. Get all help available. Use every source of assistance possible from the home, school, community.  

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CHAPTER III

GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING AT ROOSEVELT ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Administratively, the guidance and counseling program at Roosevelt School is shared by the principal and the vice-principal. Generally speaking, the vice-principal is the administrator to whom the great majority of pupils are first referred. The vice-principal's basic duty is to construct and determine a plausible guidance basis for each referral. The vice-principal counsels with the referred pupil in an effort to adjust the student to acceptable school behavior.

For more serious referrals and for pupils who require more serious disciplinary action the principal is involved.

To provide a basis of referral for the teacher, and to provide an underlying philosophy of the administration of the school for these referrals, the following referral policy of Roosevelt School has been arrived at cooperatively and with clear understanding as to its purpose:

1. The basic purposes for referring a student to the office are:

   a. To help the teacher towards more effective teaching.

   b. To help the student in becoming a better school citizen.

   c. To improve pupil-teacher, pupil-school, and pupil-pupil relationships.

   d. To utilize all available facilities in the assistance of the teacher towards the achievement of the above objectives.
2. Causes for referral would include:

a. Discipline - violating established room, school rules
   (1) Room
   (2) Yard
   (3) Hall

b. Attendance and tardiness

c. Welfare and health

d. Attitude

e. Violation of community laws
   (1) Stealing
   (2) Vandalism
   (3) Others

3. The fact that the teacher finds it necessary to refer a pupil does not imply failure on the part of the teacher.

4. The Principal or Vice-Principal are brought in when the teacher feels that the seriousness of the situation requires assistance and counseling.

5. Frequent referral to the Principal or Vice-Principal diminishes their effectiveness in the handling of a discipline case.

6. The Principal and the Vice-Principal will give full support to the teacher in the handling of discipline cases.

7. If either the Principal or the Vice-Principal feel that the teacher has been in error in the handling of a referral case, he shall consult privately with the teacher in regard to it.
8. If the teacher feels that the Principal or the Vice-Principal has been in error in the handling of a referral case, she should consult privately with him in regard to it.

9. The Principal or Vice-Principal should have full knowledge of the nature of the offense that caused the pupil to be referred.

10. The teacher will have employed a number of techniques with the pupil, and only after they have not proven successful should the pupil be referred to the office.

11. The teacher, Principal and Vice-Principal should cooperate in the disciplining of the referred pupil.

12. The Principal and Vice-Principal should be available at all times for consultation regarding problems of specific or general cases.

13. Teachers should share techniques for the handling of referral cases.

I. TYPES OF REFERRALS

A complete list of all the possibilities for referral to the office is not possible. The following list is intended to clarify in the minds of the teachers the areas that most often require further assistance. This does not mean that any time a pupil falls into a category for referral he is automatically sent to the office. The most effective counseling
is achieved in the classroom, and the more problems that can be resolved in the classroom, the stronger the teacher's position is.

A list of the types of referrals at Roosevelt School is as follows:

1. **Discipline**
   
a. **Classroom**
   
   (1) Willful and continual disobedience.
   
   (2) Insolence or disrespect in word or action.
   
   (3) Obscene words or actions.
   
   (4) Willful destruction defacing of school property.
   
   (5) Throwing of any object.
   
   (6) Serious and continual violation of classroom rules.
   
   (7) Fighting.

b. **Yard**

   (1) Throwing of rocks, sand or any harmful objects.
   
   (2) Continual and willful violation of playground rules.
   
   (3) Violations listed under Classroom.

c. **Halls**

   (1) Continual running, pushing, shoving, or loud and disturbing noise making.
   
   (2) Violations listed under Classroom and Yard.

2. **Attendance**

   a. Absence - at any time the teacher feels that referral is necessary either in terms of length of absence by the pupil or in the validity of excuses given by a pupil for an absence.

   b. Tardiness - when the teacher feels that tardiness is caused by either pupil indifference or by a home situation.
3. Health and Welfare
   a. Clothes
   b. Food
   c. Grooming - e.g. haircut
   d. Physical defects
      (1) Eyes
      (2) Ears
      (3) Others
   e. Apparent illness or infection
   f. Health habits - e.g. lack of sleep
   g. Cleanliness

II. ASSISTING AGENCIES AT ROOSEVELT SCHOOL

In the effective guidance program of an elementary school, full utilization of all assisting agencies, whether school or community, is imperative.

The home. The most desirable solution of any referral problem necessitates the inclusion of the home regardless of the area of referral. The home should be the first agency called in for conference and assistance. The parent should be urged to suggest solutions to the problems under discussion. The parents should also be urged to seek the aid of other assisting agencies. A number of problems arise in the Roosevelt area in terms of utilization of the home. They are:

1. The inability to get either parent in for a conference. This may be the result of both parents working, parental indifference, or reticence or suspicion or discomfort towards facing school staff.

2. A certain number of Mexican parents are unable to speak English. This eliminates any effective conference, even though another person might be brought in to interpret.
**Attendance and Welfare Office.** The Attendance and Welfare Office of the Stockton Unified School District can be of definite assistance in many problem cases. Care should be taken not to make too frequent use of this agency, or its effectiveness can be measurably diminished. When using the Welfare Officer many of the procedures set forth in the Referral Policy should be employed in order to obtain maximum benefit of the Officer's time. In particular, there should be a complete file of information available. In addition, any other person that might be called into the problem should be on hand to coincide with the visit of the Attendance and Welfare Officer.

**San Joaquin Health District.** Complete utilization of the Public Health Nurse who has been assigned to the Roosevelt School on a full time basis has far from been achieved. This has been largely due to the misunderstanding on the part of the teaching staff as to the role of the Public Health Nurse. She would be a most logical assistant in referrals for attendance, health, and welfare. To bring a more effective use of the Public Health Nurse, the following program has been put into effect:

1. A weekly conference period between the Vice-Principal and the Public Health Nurse. This conference serves both as a discussion of possible problem areas and as a follow-up for referrals already acted upon. Teachers are instructed to send applicable referrals into the office for use at these conferences.
2. A clarification of the nurse's referral form to the teachers. Proper instruction is given as to method and use of the referral form. This also serves to clarify the role of the nurse in relation to the school community.

3. A report returned to the teacher giving the action taken by the nurse containing results obtained.

4. Use of the nurse as a consultant on the school area health problems. Effective use of the nurse is made by the Guidance Council and school committees that deal with health and welfare problems of the pupils.

Stockton Recreation Department. The Stockton Metropolitan Recreation Department employs a full time director at Roosevelt School. Whereas the director of the playground is not directly involved with the handling of referral cases, yet after-school playground activities can be effectively employed in the handling of problem pupils. In the past, the directors have been very cooperative with school officials. A problem pupil with athletic aptitudes would be the type of child for which the school, in cooperation with the recreation department, might be able to work out an effective guidance program.

Roosevelt Parent-Teachers Association. The P. T. A. and its welfare committees are useful in solving certain referral problems. The clothes closet is very helpful in the type of economic area that Roosevelt School represents. The P. T. A. also has a large and effective school lunch program as well as a number of other projects that are of particular help to the school in handling welfare referrals.
Other agencies.

1. Roosevelt Student Body

Whereas the student body would not be directly concerned with problem pupils, still the Vice-Principal can effectively use the Student Council in the solution of general student behavior problems, e.g., yard deportment, respect of school property, cafeteria and assembly deportment.

2. County Juvenile Authorities

These officers would deal with specific cases concerning violations of the law and are given complete cooperation by the school administration.

3. The Custodial Staff

Complete cooperation from this group is of great assistance in the handling of certain problems. Mr. H., the school custodian, is also a proficient barber, and he has given haircuts when necessary.

4. The San Joaquin County Welfare Department

5. The Catholic Welfare Agency

6. The College of the Pacific - Clinics, and Testing Programs

7. Churches of the Roosevelt School Area

III. GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING TECHNIQUES OF THE VICE-PRINCIPAL

Counseling. This is the first and most commonly used technique of approaching a referred student. Therefore, good counseling practices, as those outlined in Chapter II, are employed. The physical set-up of the administrative suite of Roosevelt School is conducive to good counseling practices.

The Principal and Vice-Principal's offices adjoin, which
facilitates close cooperation between the two regarding the
counseling of a pupil. The Vice-Principal's office is
situated to provide a minimum of interference or "through
traffic."

Punishment. It would not be realistic to ignore the
fact that there must be some measure of punishment for those
cases referred for disciplinary reasons. Punishment is made
commensurate with the cause of referral as nearly as pos-
sible. A close understanding between the Principal and Vice-
Principal has been established as one of the first relation-
ships between the two administrators. Both administrators
take into account several factors: (1) background emotion
and personality of pupil, (2) frequency of violation of rules
and number of referrals, (3) pupil's attitude towards the
various methods of punishment, and (4) pupil's attitude
towards what he has done.

Corporal punishment is not an acceptable method of
punishment at Roosevelt School, notwithstanding the fact
that it also violates Stockton Unified School District
policy. Therefore, the following are some of the methods of
punishment that are employed:

1. Withdrawal of privileges or duties.
2. Withdrawal of right to participate in school
   activities.
3. Exclusion from class, completing assignments in
   the school office.
4. Detention

5. Special work assignments

6. Suspension from school

It must be pointed out that some of these might not be applicable in certain cases. Indeed, some of them may be actually what the pupil seeks.

The Guidance Council. A method of guidance and counseling that is coming more and more into use is the Guidance Council. The Guidance Council for Roosevelt School was established at the beginning of the 1954-55 school year.

1. Purposes
   a. To provide a concentrated focus on the more serious referral cases.
   b. To utilize the various assisting agencies in an efficient and practical manner.
   c. To provide a common approach for teachers, administrators and assisting agencies in the handling of and the developing of a philosophy for problem cases.
   d. To share methods and approaches for the handling of problem pupils.

2. Composition
   a. Permanent
      (1) Vice-Principal
      (2) Three teachers
      (3) Principal, as ex-officio
   b. Temporary - when applicable
      (1) Members of assisting agencies
      (2) Teacher of referred pupil
      (3) Parents of pupil
3. Procedure

a. A particular referral case is recommended to the council by the Principal, Vice-Principal, a teacher, or one of the assisting agencies.

b. The council meets, considers problems, then makes specific recommendations for action to be taken.

c. The recommendation for action is assigned to the Vice-Principal, who follows through with proper steps to put recommendations into effect.

d. The council may meet again to review the case and to hear reports of action taken on the recommendations and their results. Further recommendations can be made at this time. This process may be repeated as often as members of the council think it profitable.

Conference. Other than the Guidance Council and the counseling technique on the part of the Vice-Principal, there can be held a number of conferences with those persons involved. These conferences can be either formal or informal. A formal conference with the parent can be very effective when the parent is cooperative and anxious to assist the school in assisting the pupil. In many cases a parent conference is as far as a case might need to go. From the standpoint of public relations a parent-school conference is highly desirable. As far as it is practical the parent should always be a part of the counseling program. Informal conferences can be held with teachers, members of assisting agencies, and even with classmates of the referred pupil.

A counseling file. Judicious use of a file of information can prove very helpful in the counseling program. It
can provide immediately available information that is needed so many times on the spur of the moment. Many times it can reveal causes for a pupil's behavior. It can give a clearer picture of the problem confronting the school. However, unless carefully restricted the file can be an ogre in that it could require all the time of the Vice-Principal to maintain. The file of information is kept in a visual card file index for immediate and handy referral.
CHAPTER IV

RECORDING THE HISTORIES OF SELECTED PUPILS

I. SELECTION OF PUPILS

The children chosen for the histories that will follow were selected from the group of colored pupils who had had a history of discipline referrals previous to, and early in, the 1954-55 school year. The cases were chosen in consultation with the Principal of the school. Those pupils selected were considered by the Principal and the Vice-Principal to be capable of benefiting from extensive counseling, guidance and study by the Vice-Principal. No other definite criteria were employed in the selection of the cases studied.

II. PERIOD OF STUDY

The histories presented cover, approximately, the period between September 13, 1954 and March 1, 1955. It is not the intention of these histories, in any way, to take this six-months period of the pupil's referral histories and form from them any conclusions as to the final effectiveness of the techniques employed, nor to predict future behavior of the pupils, nor to generalize upon the behavior of colored pupils in the intermediate grades.
III. METHODS OF RECORDING DATA

The data presented in the histories were recorded on forms used in the Roosevelt School for referral, guidance and follow-up for all children counseled by the Vice-Principal. The forms used were:

1. Information File Cards

These cards included such information as: general background of family and school, health and test data, referral dates, reasons, disposition and recommendations.

2. Guidance Council Forms

These were two in number:

a. A referral form that provided background gained from the Information File Cards but in greater detail, and which was sent to each member of the Council several days before the discussion of the case was held.

b. An Action Taken and Recommendation Form for each case discussed by the Council, a copy of which was given to the teacher of the pupil being studied.

3. Observation Form

A form used by the Vice-Principal to record observations made on pupil concerning his activities both in the school and on the yard.

4. Interview Form

A form used by the Vice-Principal to record information in detail gathered from interviews with the referred pupil.

IV. ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations are used for teachers' names and for the Principal (P), and the Vice-Principal (V-P). The actual
names of the pupils studied are not used; and, therefore, the abbreviated names of the parents of these pupils are also fictitious.
CHAPTER V

THE CASE HISTORIES

I. HISTORY OF LEON GATES

Leon Gates was the third, and youngest, child of George and Delores Gates, and was born in Mesa, Arizona, on November 22, 1943. At the beginning of the 1954-55 school year Leon entered the sixth grade at Roosevelt School. At this time Leon's age was ten years and ten months. Leon had entered Roosevelt School in his kindergarten year, and he had always attended Roosevelt School except for eight months of the fourth grade, during which time he attended Fair Oaks School. At the beginning of the 1954-55 school year Leon was 4 feet, 4 inches tall and his weight was 73 pounds. Leon was smaller than nearly all of the sixth grade boys at that time. Leon was a fairly well-dressed boy, and would arrive at school usually neat and clean.

A Metropolitan Achievement Test administered to Leon at the beginning of the school year showed Reading 3.0, Arithmetic 4.2, Spelling 2.7, and English 2.9. A California Test of Mental Maturity, Form Elementary S-50, given September, 1950, showed Leon with an IQ of 106. Leon's general physical condition had always been reported as good; the only disability was noted in February, 1954, when the San Joaquin County Local Health District dental hygienist reported
Leon having poor teeth. As of the beginning of the 1954-55 school year no follow-up concerning the matter had been made.

As early as 1952 there was recorded in Leon's permanent record folder accounts of disciplinary action. In May, 1952, Leon was "suspended for one week." Since neither the teacher or the administrators that were at the school in 1952 were at the school in the 1954-55 school year, it was not possible to ascertain the cause of this expulsion. Leon again was suspended in November, 1952. This time he was transferred to Fair Oaks School, the neighboring school to Roosevelt, "because of personality maladjustments. Teacher given legal authority, if necessary, to spank child--use corporal punishment," according to the folder.

At the close of the fourth grade at Fair Oaks School, Leon's teacher recorded, "I am pleased with the improvement in Leon's behavior. He still has his 'difficult days,' but he has shown an erratic improvement that shows he is capable of 'normal' behavior."

For the fifth grade, or the 1953-54 school year, Leon was transferred back to Roosevelt School, at which time he was assigned to the V-P's room. During this year the V-P found it necessary to bring Leon to the office on several occasions because of obstinence in refusing to do what he was told. In each instance Leon would sit down on the floor, and consequently he would have to be dragged to the office, protesting, though not vociferously, all the way. He
appeared to respond to firm treatment, even though at the time he would show bitter resentment at being compelled to conform. During this year in the V-P's class, Leon also fought with the girls in his room. He was especially sensitive to their teasing, and it was very easy for the girls to make Leon angry. When he became angry he would strike out with his fists. The V-P felt that Leon was a disturbed child, and that he resented girls and women teachers. His greatest difficulty during the year was when he was under the supervision of women teachers. Therefore, at the close of the 1953-54 school year it was recommended that Leon be placed with a man teacher for the coming school year.

A superficial check made by the V-P while he had Leon in his classroom showed that Leon's father had died in 1949. Since that time Mrs. Gates had been on Welfare aid. She also had a number of sisters that assisted her in taking care of her children. Leon had several cousins in Roosevelt. One of them, Vera, was in the same grade as Leon. Leon lived in a small four-roomed house about a block from the school. The house was not in good repair, and it had a large section of the outside that was not even painted. The front yard was usually cluttered up with car parts and other 'junk.' There was no gutter or curb in front of the house, but, instead, there was a large ditch that ran along next to the street, and this ditch was usually filled with refuse. There was a television set, but other than that there was no other good
furniture in the house. The house was kept fairly neat, and on both visits to the home by the V-P it appeared that Mrs. Gates was doing her best to maintain a clean home for the children.

Leon also displayed excellent athletic ability during the 1953-54 year. During the noon hour, and several times before and after school, the V-P would play football, soccer and softball with Leon. During these times Leon was exceptionally cooperative and happy.

For the school year of 1954-55 Leon was placed in Mr. W.'s class. As a result of the school's policy of placing students in commensurate ability groups, Mr. W.'s class emerged with a preponderance of girls. All together there were 22 girls and nine boys at the beginning of the year. Mr. W. was teaching elementary school for the first time, and was teaching in Stockton schools for the first year, and was teaching colored pupils for the first time. He had transferred into the Stockton system from Los Alamos, New Mexico, school system. Mr. W. had an M.A. in Education, and at the present time was working on his doctorate. He had had an excellent background in science, and, therefore, was assigned to teach the sixth grade platoon period of Science. The V-P had gone over briefly with Mr. W. Leon's previous disciplinary history. Mr. W. also had a good background in testing and measurements, and for this reason had been asked to serve on Roosevelt School's Guidance Council, which was being formed for the first time during the 1954-55 school year.
Leon's first referral for discipline. On September 23 Leon was sent to the office. The referral slip merely stated "Insolence." The V-P checked with Mr. W., who told him that from the very first day of school Leon had refused to conform, and on several occasions he had been openly defiant. Mr. W. had attempted to counsel with Leon, but had found little, if any, response.

The V-P talked to Leon about the responsibilities of being a sixth grader. The V-P pointed to Leon that Leon was to set an example of how to act rather than how not to act. Leon talked freely to the V-P, and he agreed that he would try to do better. The V-P used the previous year's association with Leon as a basis for a 'friend to friend' relationship that might exist. The V-P pointed out to Leon that Leon wasn't fooling the V-P, that the V-P knew him well, and that the V-P was hoping that the two of them could get along just as well this year as they did the previous one.

During the next few weeks the V-P called for Leon when there were extra duties. Leon had always been anxious to be the one chosen to do these tasks the previous years. The V-P assigned Leon to work in the ball room, where he handed out and took in schoolground balls and equipment. The V-P also assigned Leon as the monitor to take down the punching bags at the end of the school day. Unfortunately, both Mr. W. and the V-P felt at times Leon displayed too much zeal for his job, extending his authority beyond the prescribed
limits. This not only caused trouble with some of the other students, but it kept Leon out of classroom beyond reasonable time limits. Therefore, after several unsuccessful warnings, Leon had to be restricted to taking down the punching bags after school.

Report of Leon's second referral. During these same few weeks, Mr. W. reported that Leon was often in difficulty with the girls in his room, hitting them and chasing them around the room and on the school yard. Several times when the V-P came to Mr. W.'s room, he would find Leon standing or sitting outside the door as punishment for misbehaving in the class. Mr. W. did not send Leon to the office on these occasions, preferring to handle the problem himself if possible, and reserving referral to the office for more serious actions. During this period of time the V-P observed that Mr. W. also was having certain problems in adjusting to the teaching environment, and Mr. W. stated on several occasions that he was dealing with a vastly different type of child than those with whom he ever had had experience.

On October 23, Mr. W. came to the V-P's office and told the V-P that Leon was in the hall outside the room and would not be moved. The V-P returned with Mr. W. and found Leon in a very belligerent mood, crouched in a corner of the hall. The V-P did not come very close to Leon, but merely beckoned with his hand and said in a matter-of-fact voice to
indicate to Leon that he would naturally respond, "O. K., Leon, come with me," and turned and went down the stairs. Leon got to his feet and followed the V-P slowly, shuffling down the stairs and along the corridor to the V-P's office. There was no overt sign of defiance or refusal to obey, other than the fact that he took his time. The V-P made no attempt to hurry Leon along as the V-P felt that it would serve only to further antagonize the boy. Once Leon had reached the office the V-P sat him down in a chair and left him there by himself. This was done with the express purpose of giving Leon a cooling off period.

After going in and out of the office for about half an hour, the V-P on one of these occasions while in the office asked, "Are you ready to talk about it now, Leon?"

Leon answered in a husky voice, "Yeah."

The V-P felt that Leon had actually calmed down enough to be rational about the incident, so he had Leon come over and stand by him, and then the V-P asked quietly, "Leon, do you know what was the worst thing you did?"

"Yeah," again with the husky, half voice.

"What was it, Leon?"

"Not coming to the office when Mr. W. told me to."

"That's right, Leon. Sounds a little bit like last year, doesn't it. But I'm glad you know when you've done something wrong, Leon. Why didn't you come when he told you?"

"I don't know," Leon replied.
"What had you done, Leon?" the V-P asked.

Leon told the V-P that he and one of the colored girls in the room had started fighting in the room, and that Mr. W. had blamed him and was going to send him to the office.

The V-P said, "And, of course, it wasn't one bit your fault, was it, Leon?"

"Well, it was her fault, too. Why didn't he send her to the office?"

The V-P then related the background to the incident that Mr. W. had given the V-P on the way up to the room to get Leon. According to Mr. W., there had been friction between Leon and the girl all day, and finally Leon had been provoked enough that he went over and struck the girl. Mr. W. tried to reprimand Leon, but Leon had answered back and had become sullen, and refused to do any work. When Mr. W. attempted to get some work from Leon, Leon became defiant. When Mr. W. took Leon outside the room to talk to him, Leon became insolent. Therefore, Mr. W. had attempted to take Leon to the office, but Leon jerked away and sat down in the corner.

Then the V-P asked, "Is that about the right story, Leon?"

"Yeah," admitted Leon. Then, "But Thelma didn't get sent to the office."

The V-P raised his voice and stated firmly, "Leon, you weren't sent to the office for your trouble with Thelma,
and you know it. Face the facts, boy. You were sent down here because of the way you acted with Mr. W. Mr. W. had not one intention of sending you to the office until you jerked away from him and sat on the floor. Don't hand me that stuff about being treated unfairly. Mr. W. gave you every chance in the world."

Leon turned his head, and said quietly, "I know it."

The V-P talked to Leon further concerning the basis for Mr. W.'s actions in the room. The V-P attempted to point out to Leon that Mr. W. was trying to keep Leon out of the office rather than put him in it. Even though Leon said he understood, the V-P still felt that Leon considered himself to have been treated unfairly. The V-P kept Leon in the office the rest of the day, and had some work sent in to him. In the afternoon the V-P had Leon walk around the building with him while he was performing some errands for the teachers. Leon stayed after school for a short time, and then he was told to come back into the office the next morning. About 9:30 the next day Leon asked if he could return to his class. The V-P hesitated a moment, then gave Leon permission to re-enter the class.

In spite of Leon's difficulty in the classroom during this time, he was no trouble of any kind on the playground. This was a decided improvement of the 1953-54 school year when he had been brought in off the school yard on numerous occasions for fighting. He excelled in all of the noon-time
and physical education sports and games. During the noon football league the V-P observed Leon's good sportsmanship on the field. Even when close decisions went against him, Leon did not lose his temper. Leon displayed the same fine sportsmanship even when his team was beaten, pointing out to the V-P, or P, or some other teacher, how his team might have won if they had used certain tactics on offense or defense.

Leon was not taken off of his duties in the ball room as he did them conscientiously once he had been restricted to the afternoon duty period. On occasion he would have to be reminded not to spend so much time out of the room.

Leon's attitude and behavior in class, however, did not improve, although he was not referred to the office. Mr. W. would mention to the V-P and the P that Leon was still having difficulties in the room. When told to refer him to the office Mr. W. replied, "Yes, but he enjoys going to the office. That's no punishment for him. At least it isn't punishment enough." The V-P and the P searched for occasions on which they could encourage better behavior in Leon. Both administrators went to lengths to be friendly with Leon on the yard, and to try to have Leon carry over his fine behavior on the schoolyard into the classroom.

Leon's third referral to the office. Leon was referred again to the office. This time it was on December 6. Mr. W. brought Leon to the office and explained to the V-P that Leon
had lost his temper and had struck another girl. Leon had also become defiant and insolent to Mr. W. The V-P talked with Leon, who was quite willing to talk without any cooling-off period.

The V-P said, "You like coming to the office, don't you?"

"No," Leon answered.

"Well, you sure try hard enough to get sent down here. I know the whole story. It's the same thing over and over again. You lose your temper, then one thing leads to another. You're put out of the room, but that isn't enough, so you eventually get yourself brought to the office."

The V-P continued, "You say and do things you would never do if you weren't mad. But that doesn't excuse you one single bit, Leon. You cannot decide one minute to be a good guy, a good school citizen, and then the next minute turn around and do just as you please because things don't go the way you would like them. I'm afraid you've made just one too many visits to the office, Leon. This little visit is going to cost you your job in the ball room. If you can keep out of trouble until Christmas vacation, you can have the job back when you come back to school in January.

The V-P felt that Leon's case should not be sent to the Guidance Council for several reasons. It appeared to the V-P that there might be a real emotional conflict between not only the large number of girls in Leon's room and Leon,
but between Leon and Mr. W. as well. Furthermore, Mr. W. was on the Guidance Council. As the council had discussed other cases similar to Leon in various aspects, Mr. W. had alluded to Leon, showing that Mr. W. was using this very resource to help him in meeting Leon's discipline problems. Therefore, the V-P turned the matter over to the P. The P was appraised of the background of the problem, and he concurred with the V-P in his conclusions up to that point.

Within a day or so, Mr. W., himself, came to the P concerning Leon's apparent incapability to adjust to the classroom. In the discussion that followed with the P, Mr. W. eventually made the suggestion that it would be better for both Leon and himself if Leon could be transferred to another room. The P agreed with Mr. W. on this conclusion. The P then decided that Leon's mother, Mrs. Gates, be brought in on the discussion of Leon's change of rooms.

Leon in the new classroom. After carefully considering Leon's background and needs as well as the social make-up of the other sixth grade classes, the P decided to place Leon in Mr. A.'s room. Mr. A. was the other man teacher in the sixth grade. Before transferring Leon, the P talked with him about the change. The P noted Leon's history and was particularly aware of the fact that almost every time that Leon had become too difficult to handle Leon had been switched to another room or another school. The P, therefore, pointed out to Leon that this was going to be Leon's
last move in school. The next one would be out of school. The P told Leon that Mr. A. was aware of this, Leon's mother was aware of it, the V-P was aware of it, and the welfare and attendance office was aware of it. The P impressed on Leon that whether he was going to avoid serious trouble with the juvenile authorities was strictly up to Leon.

Actually, Leon was not transferred until after the Christmas vacation. The day that Leon changed to Mr. A.'s room Mr. A. discussed the matter with the V-P. Several courses of action were discussed and decided upon. First, since Leon was intensely interested in sports, as was Mr. A., Mr. A. was to make a point to participate in games with Leon. Second, the entrance of Leon into the room should not change the daily routine one bit. Leon would naturally be expected to fit into the classroom routine. It was felt that Leon might actually be "left alone" the first time he appeared mentally or emotionally disturbed. Third, any insolence or defiance from Leon would be immediately brought to the attention of the P or the V-P; that Leon, therefore, would know that there would be definite and adhered-to limits outside of which he could not stray. Fourth, Mr. A. would ask that Leon be restored to duty in the ball room as an act of good faith on the part of Mr. A. Since there was a majority of boys in the room, it was also felt that Leon be seated in the midst of them.
Mr. A. reported frequently on Leon's adjustment in the room. As was suggested, Mr. A. played football, basketball and soccer with Leon and the other sixth grade boys during the physical education period and occasionally at noon. Mr. A. reported that Leon seemed to be happy in the room, and when Leon appeared to be under emotional tension, Mr. A. left him completely alone.

On January 20, just before school was out in the afternoon, Mr. A. appeared at the V-P's office with Leon. Mr. A. had Leon listen as Mr. A. reminded the V-P that there had been an agreement to the effect that the first time Leon defied Mr. A., or refused outright to do what he was told, or became sullen or defiant, Leon would be sent immediately to the office. During the day, Mr. A. stated that Leon had deliberately wasted his time during the spelling lesson. Mr. A. warned Leon at that time that if the lesson were not complete Leon would stay after school and finish it. Just before the school day was over, Mr. A. had asked to see Leon's spelling lesson. Leon said he didn't have it. Mr. A. then told Leon he would have to remain after school to finish it. Leon announced loudly that he would not stay after school. Thereupon, Mr. A. brought Leon to the V-P's office.

The V-P told Leon that he would have to sit down and finish the lesson, and the sooner he finished it the sooner he could go. The V-P further told Leon that if he still didn't wish to do his lesson, Leon could remain for a full
hour and then return the following night after school and stay. Leon was told that this would keep up until he finished the spelling lesson and any other lesson that wasn’t completed as a result of wasted time. The V-P placed Leon at a table in the V-P’s office, and then the V-P left. About fifteen minutes later Leon came to the V-P in the outer office and told him that he had finished his work. After checking the work, the V-P sent Leon back to give his work to Mr. A., who was still in his room.

Before Leon left the office, however, the V-P said to him, "Leon, it’s important to do your lessons in class. But what’s far more important to all of us here at Roosevelt is that you learn to do what you are asked to do without refusal or defiance. Just remember, you can do your work in here after school if you choose to spend your regular school hours goofing off. Hear?"

Leon nodded his assent.

Mr. A. reported that the following day an identical situation appeared to be developing during the arithmetic period. Immediately Mr. A. went over to Leon. Mr. A. told Leon that there was only one thing for him to do, and he told Leon to go finish his work in the office. Leon slowly started towards the door, then came back to Mr. A.

Leon said, "I don’t want to go to the office."

Mr. A. replied, "All right, then, Leon, let’s do the work that’s on the board."
Mr. A. reported that Leon then sat down and nearly completed the rather long assignment given him.

Leon's next referral to the office. Mr. A. reported that Leon's attitude in the class improved, and that during the weeks that followed Leon continued to show progress in his work and in his attitude. Mr. A. noticed also that Leon had his "bad days," but that they did not take on aspects of rebellion or defiance. During these days Leon would be "fight," but not openly belligerent, and the day usually passed without serious incident.

Leon was not brought to the office again until the morning of Monday, February 24. Mr. A. said that Leon had come to school with a chip on his shoulder that morning, and that he was already starting to cause serious difficulty in the room. Mr. A. felt that something should be done before an incident actually occurred. Leon appeared angry and sullen. The V-P then took Leon into the supply room where the V-P had been working. After having Leon help him for about five minutes, the V-P stopped to talk to Leon. The V-P told Leon that he could make up his mind either to do his work in class like all the other pupils, or he could move into the office and do his work there for a week or so, completely isolated from his classmates during the entire day. Leon said he would prefer to go back to the room.

"All right, Leon," the V-P said "that's fine with me, but don't go back up there with a chip on your shoulder."
What's wrong with you? Been out on an all night party or something, and didn't get enough sleep?"

"No," answered Leon, laughing.

"Well, don't come around here on Monday morning ready to take everybody apart, or we're just apt to do a little tearing apart ourselves."

"O. K.," Leon answered, smiling. He then turned and headed back towards his room.

The V-P went to the supply room door, and after Leon had gone a short way, the V-P called after him, "Don't forget, Leon, I'm serious about your either going up there and behaving yourself or coming right back down and working after school."

"I know," answered Leon.

Since it had been well over a month from the time of Leon's last referral, the V-P felt that extensive counseling and referral to the P was not warranted.

Mr. A. reported that Leon caused no more trouble during that day.

A week later, Mr. A. and the V-P discussed Leon's general behavior, and what changes or adjustments had taken place during the time Leon had been in Mr. A.'s room. As of that date it was agreed that:

1. Leon had made some definite improvement in his classroom behavior, but by no means were the "bad days" behind him.
2. Leon no longer had any great degree of trouble with the girls. This was due, most likely, to the fact that the three colored girls in Mr. A.'s room were good students and not of aggressive nature. The only incident involving a girl came about as a result of a love note that a girl in Mr. W.'s room had written to Leon. Since no issue of it was made by the girls or boys in Mr. A.'s room, the incident passed without serious repercussions.

3. Leon was still not ready for any further duties outside of the classroom other than his present assignment in the ball room. Leon still found numerous reasons to spend time out of the room even on this assignment, and that further duty as a monitor would only increase this tendency.

4. The relationship between Mr. A. and Leon was generally very good. Leon did not show the resentment towards Mr. A. as he had towards Mr. W. when being disciplined.

5. Leon's work in class still left much to be desired. However, Leon displayed less frequently a refusal to do assignments. Almost always Leon had made an effort to complete his work. This was an improvement over both Mr. W.'s room and Leon's 1953-54 work.
6. Both Mr. A. and the office could expect further work with Leon, but there was general feeling that efforts with Leon were now bringing positive results.

7. If Leon's problems were to be solved, the causes of these "bad days" should be sought out and examined. Two steps were decided upon. First, a parent-teacher conference with Mr. A. and Mrs. Gates that would deal only with possible causes of Leon's "bad days." Second, the V-P would make a closer study of Leon's activities in his hours outside of school to discover any possible reasons for his "bad days."
II. HISTORY OF JASPER MARTIN

Jasper Martin was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, on March 10, 1943. As of the beginning of the 1954-55 school year, Jasper was the second of seven children. During the previous school year Jasper had attended the Fair Oaks School, even though he still resided in the Roosevelt-School area. As a result of the over-crowded conditions at Roosevelt School during the 1953-54 school year, it was necessary to transport one full fifth grade class to the Fair Oaks School. This class was picked up at Roosevelt by bus every morning at 8:15 a.m., and was returned to the school each evening around 3:30 p.m. Jasper did not always take the morning bus, but usually took the return bus after school in order to play on the Roosevelt School yard and to participate in the Stockton Metropolitan Recreation Department activities. Since he was not at Roosevelt School during the 1953-54 school year, the school administration had little knowledge of Jasper's background. The only actual contact that the V-P had had with Jasper the previous year came about as a result of a fight between Jasper and another boy on the Roosevelt School yard one evening after school. During this incident Jasper was extremely defiant, stating that he did not have to obey Roosevelt School authorities since he didn't attend there. He had to be led into the building forcibly by the V-P, and only after talking over
the phone to Mr. P., the principal of the Fair Oaks School, did Jasper relax his belligerent attitude. Once that had been done, Jasper was receptive, and by the time he was dismissed by the V-P, he was agreeable to accepting the rules and authority of Roosevelt School while participating in activities on its grounds.

Jasper was assigned on the basis of both social and academic judgment to Mrs. N.'s sixth grade class. Fair Oaks School reported that Jasper's academic record was quite satisfactory even though, because of his refusal to take the test, there was no achievement test scores available until June, 1954, when a Metropolitan Achievement Test, Form Elementary S, was given. On this test Jasper recorded a Reading score of 4.1, and an Arithmetic score of 5.3. This reflected the fact that Jasper was working satisfactorily in terms of ability level, for the California Mental Test of Mental Maturity, administered in September, 1952, gave him an IQ of 98. At the beginning of the 1954-55 school year Jasper was eleven years and six months old. He was four feet, seven inches tall, and weighed 79 pounds. He was not dressed well, and often came to school dirty and unkempt.

During the 1953-54 school year Jasper's brother, Willie, and sister, Dorothy, attended Roosevelt School. Actually, the 1953-54 year was the only one that Jasper did not attend Roosevelt School. From the permanent record it was learned that Willie had been a serious discipline problem
during the 1952-53 year, and had to be transferred to another room in the middle of the school year. Several days after the beginning of the semester, Mrs. N. discussed Jasper with the P and V-P. This conference was the result of a conversation that Mrs. N. had with Jasper's Fair Oaks teacher, who had told Mrs. N. that Jasper had been a serious discipline problem. This statement had also been confirmed by the Fair Oaks principal.

It was, therefore, decided that Jasper be given some position of responsibility, without any great amount of authority, in the room. In this way Jasper would have the responsibility of good citizenship placed upon him right away. Consequently, Mrs. N. decided to make Jasper her "right hand man." Praise for Jasper's achievement whenever possible was also suggested.

From time to time, Mrs. N. reported on Jasper's progress, and further steps were discussed to meet emerging problems concerning Jasper. The most emergent problem, Mrs. N. felt, was Jasper's moodiness on a number of mornings, and especially Monday. Mrs. N. reported that "even cajoling or kidding" could not break these moods at times, and that she felt on these days the best thing to do was to "leave him alone." During the first weeks of school Jasper was a monitor in the room, and he was given tasks to do on the school yard and in the school building. He was amiable and friendly with the administration and school office staff, and responded quickly and warmly to their friendship.
Report of Jasper's first serious difficulty. On October 13 Mrs. N. injured her leg quite severely, and on the 14th had to have a substitute replace her. On October 15 the substitute teacher sent another student to get the V-P. When the V-P went to the room, the substitute was standing in the doorway with Jasper. She told the V-P that Jasper had disobeyed her and would not go to the office. Furthermore, Jasper had defied her, talked back to her, and "threatened to strike me." After assuring the substitute that the matter would be straightened out, the V-P beckoned Jasper to follow him down the hall a ways. Jasper followed slowly, and obviously against his will. A short way down the hall the V-P stopped and attempted to talk to Jasper, but he refused to even answer, and instead looked down at the floor. The V-P then told Jasper that he'd better go to the office, and to follow the V-P there. Jasper slowly complied, going downstairs to the office with much deliberation. The V-P placed him on a chair in the outer office, and then let him sit there until he had had a chance to quiet down. About twenty minutes later the V-P talked to Jasper again.

"What happened, Jasper, lose your temper?"

A mumbled, "Yeah."

"Why didn't you want to come to the office? Don't you like us down here anymore?"

Jasper smiled, "Sure, I like you."
"Well, I hope so," the V-P rejoined. "We'd hate not seeing your smiling face around here every day." Then to the school secretary, "Isn't that right, Mrs. V?"

Mrs. V. agreed, "Oh, absolutely. Jasper is one of our best friends."

The V-P then said, "Come in here, Jasper," and took him into the inner office. The V-P then explained to Jasper how a substitute teacher had a much harder time because boys and girls so often tried to take advantage of her, and, therefore, she had to be especially strict. The substitute had seen Jasper do something wrong that perhaps Mrs. N. would not have solded him for, but the substitute could not take that chance. The V-P further explained that Mrs. N. would not be at all happy to hear that her "right hand man" had caused the substitute trouble.

Since it was only five minutes before physical education, the V-P asked Jasper if he would like to go back to his room before the class went out to physical education. By this time Jasper was receptive to advice and apparently willing to make amends for his actions. The V-P suggested that the two of them go up and talk to the substitute and see if things couldn't be straightened out. The substitute teacher said she was glad to see Jasper back and that she knew things would be all right. Jasper made an effort to apologize, so the V-P had him stay at the room. Jasper was not sent to the office for trouble during the remaining three days that Mrs.
N. was out of school. The substitute reported that although Jasper did not make any more serious trouble in the room, he appeared resentful and sullen, and the amount of work he accomplished was practically negligible.

Mrs. N. reported a definite deterioration in Jasper's attitude during the next several weeks. She said it was becoming increasingly difficult to get school work from Jasper, and that he was showing more and more belligerence on the school grounds. At the beginning of the semester both Jasper and his brother Willie had been working in the cafeteria to earn their lunches, as investigation by the Attendance and Welfare Office disclosed the need for the boys to have lunches provided for them. During the weeks after the substitute teacher had gone Jasper became steadily more lax in his work in the cafeteria even to the point of his eating lunch and then not doing his assigned duty. After several warnings and probations, Jasper had to be taken off of cafeteria work.

From the beginning of the school year Jasper's constant companion had been Chester Hall. Chester was a colored boy who came from a similar economic background as Jasper's. Chester also worked in the cafeteria, and together with Jasper also became increasingly lax and undependable in his work. It was discovered that when one left work early, the other soon followed, and when one did not work at all, the other soon left work. Since at that time Chester's need
appeared greater than that of Jasper's, he was allowed to remain on cafeteria duty. However, shortly after Jasper had been taken off of duty, Chester became so irresponsible that he, too, had to be removed.

**Jasper's referral to the principal.** On November 22 both Jasper and Chester were sent to the office for antagonizing and starting a fight with two girls in their room. However, they had apparently received the worst of the fight, having chosen two very aggressive colored girls to fight with. On November 29 Mrs. N. brought Jasper to the office. She said that Jasper had been in continual trouble all during the day. Jasper had arrived late, had chased the girls into the girls' lavatory, and stayed out at recess to play punching bag, and had come into the classroom and disturbed it all during the day with his antics. The V-P felt that the nature and the increasing frequency of Jasper's misbehavior required the referral of Jasper to the P for action this time.

The P had kept informed on Jasper's record, and was brought up to date on the latest trouble. During the discussions earlier that year with Mr. P., principal of Fair Oaks, Mr. P. had related that on the occasion he had to call Jasper's mother in about Jasper's behavior the next morning Jasper appeared at school with visual evidence of having been beaten severely. On investigation he had discovered that it
had been administered at home as the result of the previous
day's trouble. The P felt that a similar experience should
be avoided if at all possible. He, therefore, called Jasper's
uncle, who earlier in the year had evidenced concern over
Jasper's behavior and welfare, and discussed the possibility
of the uncle's approaching Jasper about improving his school
attitudes and actions. The uncle promised to do this. The
P then counseled with Jasper a short time, detained him in
the office until after school was out, and then released him
to go home.

Jasper's second referral to the principal. On December
3 Jasper again was brought to the office, this time for strik-
ing two other girls in this room—the less belligerent type—
"around the breasts and body." The V-P brought Jasper into
the P's office. The P went over with Jasper the past behav-
ior Jasper had displayed, and asked him if he could give the
P any reason for acting so. The P told Jasper that it wasn't
just this incident that was being discussed, but the whole
series of misbehaviors, that the school was concerned about.

Jasper had nothing to say to this.
The P asked if Jasper had a phone.
He did.
Was his mother home?
He didn't know.
After securing the phone number from Jasper, who gave it very reluctantly, the P then asked Jasper if he wanted the P to phone for his mother to come in and discuss the problem.

Jasper obviously did not.

The P explained to Jasper that it seemed that the only way left that the P could see was to bring Jasper's mother to school and explain to her Jasper's past behavior. The P tried several times to get the mother on the phone, but he was unsuccessful. The principal then warned Jasper that if he was sent in again for disciplinary reasons that he would have to be sent home until his mother came to school with him. The P told Jasper that it had become apparent the P would be unable to reach her at this time.

After this episode the P suggested that an anecdotal record of Jasper's behavior be kept by Mrs. N., and that the V-P develop a complete background history of Jasper for possible referral to the Guidance Council and to the Attendance and Welfare Officer, whose assistance might be requested in working with Jasper.

In checking the family background of Jasper, the V-P found that Jasper's real father was a Mr. D. B., who was also the father of Willie and an older brother named Oliver. Mr. D. B. was a prominent colored minister in the community whose church services had attracted wide publicity. He was also a highly influential figure in the negro community. Even after
the divorce from him, Mrs. Martin had remained an extremely devout church woman, attending chapel services almost nightly. Mr. Martin, the second husband, had fathered four more children, but had deserted the family shortly after the birth of the last child in 1953. Mr. D. B.'s parents had continued to be interested in the three children--Oliver, Jasper and Willie--even after Mrs. Martin had divorced Mr. D. B. So when Mr. Martin had deserted the children, the grandparents became actively interested in the family. It was difficult, however, to gain very much specific information concerning the entire home situation as anyone concerned was reluctant to discuss it.

It was possible for the V-P to talk to two of Jasper's former teachers who were still at Roosevelt School. Both teachers affirmed similar disciplinary patterns of being a fairly apt pupil, but often a disturbance in the class and on the school grounds, and having to be disciplined at regular intervals by the principal. One stated, "But then what can you expect of the poor boy with the home situation being what it is. I'm surprised he does as well as he does." His second grade teacher felt that Jasper was actually the "rejected member of the family. The other children come to school quite nicely dressed and clean, but poor Jasper seems to always be wearing the cast-offs." Then she added, "And with one baby in the family after another, the older ones can't expect much attention once they reach a certain age."
Jasper's referral over stolen money. It was during the week following Jasper's last referral to the P's office that Mrs. N. reported that Jasper had suddenly appeared with "an unusually large assortment of money," and had "many times frequented the White Shack lunch stand," across the street from the school, and had eaten his lunch there. Mrs. N. had privately checked with the waitress, who affirmed the fact that Jasper had a "surprising" amount of money. The waitress also told Mrs. N. that previous to the appearance of the money, Jasper had often "mooched" food from other customers and pupils. A closer check revealed that this "mooching" had begun "probably a short time after he had been taken off of cafeteria duty," according to Mrs. N.

Then, on December 8 Mrs. N. reported her desk had been broken into and that two lunch tickets had been taken during the morning recess. In addition to the tickets, 70 cents had also disappeared from the purse of a girl who sat next to Jasper. During the noon hour one of the pupils reported that Jasper was spending money at the nearby variety store, as was also his friend Chester. The V-P immediately went to the variety store and found Jasper and Chester there. Each had 15 cents in money and two candy bars. The P also learned that Jasper had bought his lunch at the White Shack.

The V-P asked Jasper where he had gotten the money, and Jasper said he had found it. Jasper "admitted" that he
should have turned the money he had found in to the office, but absolutely denied any knowledge of the missing 70 cents or the two lunch tickets. The V-P brought the two boys back to the school. Then the V-P called Mrs. Martin and asked if she had given Jasper any money that morning which she had not. When informed of the situation, including past events at the lunch counter, Mrs. Martin agreed that Jasper would either bring a lunch or go home for it. Furthermore, if Jasper brought any sums of money to school, Mrs. Martin would inform the school by phone. Mrs. Martin promised further to speak to Jasper about the matter. The V-P talked for quite some time with Mrs. Martin, who appeared cooperative and willing to assist the school. The V-P felt that Mrs. Martin didn't display any amount of sympathy or deep concern for Jasper during the phone conversation.

During the week preceding Christmas vacation, and in the days that followed, Mrs. N. reported the first noticeable improvement in Jasper's behavior and attitude. He had almost ceased to be a source of trouble in the room, although he was still lax about punctuality and actions on the school grounds. Jasper's work continued to improve as well, although Mrs. N. reported that this part of his school life suffered the least during periods of serious disciplinary behavior. According to Mrs. N., "it is a matter of laziness when it comes to doing his assignments, and he can usually be prodded into doing them."
Jasper's next series of difficulties. The first trouble came on January 21 when he became involved in some difficulty with several girls in his class. They had "bothered me when I was playing my ball game," and Jasper had started chasing them, and at the same time he hurled a dart, which he had "found," at the girls. The dart had an inch-long nail on the end of it, and it had actually struck one of the girls. The P had been on the yard and had seen the last part of what had happened. The P brought Jasper into the office. The girls, when questioned about the incident, admitted having interfered with Jasper's game. The P told Jasper that the girls had admitted starting the trouble, but that did not excuse such a dangerous action. The P pointed out to Jasper the danger that had arisen because he couldn't hold his temper. There was no further disciplinary action taken, and Jasper was sent back to his room.

Nevertheless, there began to appear a deterioration of attitude reported by his teacher. It began to follow the same pattern as occurred following the trouble with the substitute teacher in the fall. Both he and Chester began arriving late to class. On January 26 Jasper was reported three separate times for tardiness. When he reported late the fourth time after physical education, having remained on the yard to play punching bag, the P sent him home at 3:00 to bring his mother back with him. After he had left, Mrs.
Martin was phoned and informed of the situation, and that she would wait and come "right back with him."

About forty minutes later Mrs. Martin arrived at school saying that Jasper had not arrived at home, and that she had come to see what had happened. The P called the V-P and Mrs. N. and another one of Jasper's teachers come to the office so they could discuss Jasper with Mrs. Martin. Mrs. Martin admitted she was at a lost as to what to do, that she had "whipped him, pleaded with him, loved him," but it didn't seem to do any good. She appeared willing to take suggestions and to get help. Several points were then decided upon as possible helps. First, it was suggested that she keep in close contact with Jasper's teacher as to any problem that might arise. She in turn would be informed as to any trouble in school. Second, it was suggested that she, herself, talk to Jasper frequently about school, what problems he might be facing, and give him moral support to do his work. Third, the P suggested that Mrs. Martin contact Mr. B., the school district's psychologist for further suggestions and help. After several other suggestions, Mrs. Martin thanked the group and left. The next morning Mrs. Martin phoned that Jasper had arrived home by the time she had returned from school. She also said that she had talked a long time with him, and she thought that he would "do better from now on."

Jasper's chief protagonist among the girls in his room was Minnie Hayes, with whom he had had several run-ins.
In the days that followed Mrs. Martin's visit Jasper had not become involved in any trouble, although Mrs. N. felt that there had been very little improvement in his attitude. Then on February 1 both Minnie and Jasper were sent to the office for fighting during their science platoon class. They both insisted that they were just "playing" around, and were really not mad at each other. Consequently, the P had both of them come to an agreement in which they recognized that "the horseplay and fooling around with each other can't go on," and, therefore, from now on, "the first one bothered would report to Mrs. N. or to me (the P) at once." The agreement was put down in writing and sent to Mrs. N. Mrs. Martin was informed of the entire episode and its solution.

Mrs. N. reported that during the next few days, Jasper's behavior was, "ideal, the best it has been all year." Therefore, when an opening as a regular on the Safety Patrol came up on February 7, Mrs. N. told Jasper he could have the spot if he wanted it. Jasper wanted it very much. Mrs. N. pointed out to Jasper that it had only been a short time before that he had been in trouble, but she was willing to give him a chance. Jasper's squad had 12:00 noon duty, and, therefore, the squad left the room to eat lunch in the cafeteria about 11:30. All the squad would sit around the table and eat their lunch, and usually have an enjoyable time together. Jasper was supposed to go home for lunch during this time, and then return in time for duty. On February 8 three lunch
tickets were missing, all of them belonging to a girl who sat two seats from Jasper. They were not discovered missing until the regular noon hour, when Mrs. N. reported them missing to the V-P. The V-P had remembered that Jasper had eaten in the cafeteria with a tray lunch, but not knowing that Jasper was to eat at home, had not thought anything about the fact that Jasper had taken a tray lunch.

The next noon hour Jasper again left "to go home for lunch," and went to the cafeteria. This time the V-P kept Jasper's ticket when he came through the lunch line, but without letting Jasper know this until he had checked with Mrs. N. When the V-P took the ticket to Mrs. N., it was discovered that the name of the girl whose tickets had been stolen was still faintly on the back of it. The V-P waited until Jasper had finished eating his lunch with the rest of the squad, and then took Jasper with him into his office. When the V-P asked where Jasper had gotten the ticket, he replied he bought it. When shown the girl's name faintly written on the back, Jasper said he had bought it from one of the boys in the room. When asked if the V-P should call the boy in and ask him if he had sold it to him, he had no reply.

Jasper finally admitted he had taken "just one," and after much more questioning, finally admitted having stolen all three. When asked why he had taken them, he replied, "I wanted to eat in the cafeteria with the other guys." Mrs.
Martin was notified, and she said she would replace the money for the tickets. It was agreed that Jasper be given his lunch so that he could eat with his squad, and whenever possible Jasper be given money for a ticket to buy a tray lunch.

According to both Mrs. N. and Mr. L., the teacher in charge of the Safety Patrol, Jasper's conduct and work as a Safety Patrol was outstanding from the day he went on duty. He was prompt, conscientious and even neat in appearance. Even though Mrs. N. felt that at times his behavior warranted his removal from the squad, she was reluctant to have it done since the one bright side to Jasper's behavior picture was his actions as a member of the Safety Patrol.

On February 17, however, Jasper became involved in another incident with Minnie Hayes. Jasper struck Minnie, who this time did not strike back, but reported the affair to Mrs. N. When brought to the V-P, Jasper admitted he had lost his temper unnecessarily and had struck Minnie. Minnie, too, admitted that she had poked fun at Jasper in a ball game. Jasper was reminded of his agreement which he had signed. For breaking this agreement, Jasper was given an afternoon's detention, which he accepted as being deserved.

**Analysis of Jasper's problem.** In spite of apparent understanding and agreement between Jasper and Mrs. N., and Jasper and the P and V-P, only sporadic improvement was noticed in Jasper's behavior. During the next several days
Jasper would display the complete range of moods he possessed. Mrs. N. felt that she was fighting a losing battle against factors over which the school had no control. Concurring with her in this opinion were both the P and V-P. The three felt that perhaps a conference with the school district's psychologist, Mr. B., together with members of the Guidance Council, would have value. Therefore, on February 28 these seven people met to discuss Jasper Martin. As a result of this conference several points were pointed up by Mr. B.

1. Jasper experiences a great insecurity because of the home situation. This situation is, first, that of divorce, then of a separation and desertion. The mother vacillates in her handling of Jasper, therefore, Jasper, himself, has no clear definition of the limits to which he must conform.

2. When the lack of material things becomes one of social importance, Jasper will revert to stealing the necessary things—money at Christmas or tickets "to eat with the boys" in the cafeteria.

3. The mother appears receptive, and she definitely needs assistance in the guidance of Jasper. She did not respond to an earlier suggestion that she seek help from Mr. B. The school administration cannot accept her "helplessness" indefinitely. She must be confronted with the alternative of correcting Jasper or being willing to accept
outside assistance. It was pointed out that during the previous year she had accepted help in the guidance of Willie, who in turn had improved immeasurably.

4. The only treatment Jasper will consistently respond to by the teacher and the school is one of firm handling. Jasper will not resent "stated lines" of conduct. He must not feel, however, as was pointed out by the P, that he is "getting it from both sides--the home and the school."

5. Mrs. N. pointed out that during Jasper's "bad days," he favors his right leg almost to the point of a real limp. This favoring appears unconscious, but during the "good days," it is not apparent at all.

As a result of these points, the following recommendations were arrived at:

1. The P would approach Mrs. Martin with the alternative of seeking help or attempting to solve the problem herself. It was strongly recommended that the former alternative be urged, and that it be pointed out to Mrs. Martin the value all concerned would receive from outside help. Mr. B. stated that he would be very willing to work with Mrs. Martin on the problem.

2. The public health nurse be asked to consult with Mrs. Martin about the proper dietary program for all of the children.
3. Mrs. N. and the school continue in their attempt to maintain a "firm but just" policy with Jasper. The importance of consistency in dealing with Jasper was further stressed by Mr. B.
III. HISTORY OF SAMMY JACKSON

During the school year 1953-54 Sammy Jackson did not attend Roosevelt School. Consequently, there had been no personal contact between him and the school administration at the start of the 1954-55 year. Therefore, there was no realization of several important facts that were pertinent to the understanding and guidance of Sammy. First, Sammy had attended Roosevelt School during the first, second and part of the third grades. Secondly, Sammy had had a history of difficulty with teachers as early as the third grade when he struck his teacher and had to be suspended from school. Third, Sammy had a very difficult home situation to which he had to adjust continuously.

Sammy entered Roosevelt School on the third day of the 1954-55 school year, and was assigned to Mrs. T.'s fifth grade class. The basis of assignment during the first week of school of those who entered that week was determined by the enrollment numbers of the various teachers on the particular grade level. Assignment for pupils who had been in Roosevelt School the previous spring term was based on several factors, including suitability to the pupil's social as well as academic needs. Sammy's age at the time of his entrance into Roosevelt School was nine years and seven months, having been born on February 3, 1945. He was neatly dressed and very pleasant in appearance. As he was originally
enrolled in neighboring Fair Oaks School, which he had attended the previous two years and the first three days of the 1954-55 year, it took a number of days before Sammy's permanent record folder arrived at Roosevelt. By this time he was situated in a classroom with no apparent difficulty in sight. At this time Sammy weighed 74 pounds, and he was 4 feet 6½ inches tall.

The first occasion on which Sammy was brought to the attention of the V-P was shortly after the arrival of the permanent record folder. Mrs. T., in checking previous test scores immediately noticed a wide discrepancy in Sammy's two previous intelligence tests scores. The first score, given in April, 1951, with the California Test of Mental Maturity, Form Primary S-50, disclosed an IQ of 118; while a second score from a California Test of Mental Maturity, Form Elementary S-50, given September, 1953, revealed an IQ of 69. The average achievement gain in all subjects was less than one year during the same period of time. This was considered basis enough for requesting a re-test for Sammy. A third intelligence test was administered by the V-P on October 5, 1954, with the California Test of Mental Maturity, Form Elementary S-53, with the resultant IQ of 99.

One of the reasons that Sammy's teacher requested a re-test of intelligence was that Sammy's behavior in the classroom indicated that either he could not or would not do the work assigned to him, and that he was becoming increasingly
belligerent and sullen. Mrs. T. also felt that if the 69 IQ was correct Sammy should definitely be referred for placement in a Special Education class. If the work was actually too difficult for Sammy, it would be an important cause for his attitude and actions.

First referral to office. Before the results of the intelligence tests were available from the central office of the school district, Sammy was brought to the office by Mrs. T. for disciplinary reasons. It occurred after school on October 11. Actually, Sammy stayed outside the office door refusing to go any further. Mrs. T. explained that Sammy had carved on his desk with a mirror, and then he had threatened that he would "beat up" any person who told her. One of the boys did tell Mrs. T., and Sammy had started a fight with him immediately after the class had left the school building. One of the other pupils had come back and had told Mrs. T. what was happening, and she had gone out and stopped the fight and had brought Sammy into the building. Even on the way into the building Sammy had acted in such a way that Mrs. T. stated she "was afraid he was going to hit me."

The V-P had Sammy come in and listen to what Mrs. T. related as to what had happened. He apparently had calmed down to some extent, for he did as he was asked when told to come into the office. The V-P asked Sammy if what had been said was correct. Sammy turned his head and refused to answer. The V-P assured Mrs. T. in Sammy's presence that
the school would not under any circumstances tolerate any one of the several things that Sammy had done, and that he was to be sent to the office immediately if any one of the incidents occurred again. Mrs. T. left, and Sammy was told to stay.

After Mrs. T. had gone, the V-P said, "Just who do you think you are, Sammy?"

There was no answer.

Again, the V-P, "Do you think rules around here are for you to break, and anybody who tells on you gets in trouble from you over it?"

A matter of fact and sullen, "No."

"You're darned right, they're not. That boy was absolutely right in going to Mrs. T., especially after you threatened the whole class. In fact, it was his duty to protect the whole class when he saw you marking your desk. The only reason you got so tough with him, though, was that you thought you could handle him, probably. If it had been Andy or George or Raymond I bet you would have thought twice about getting tough. By the way, did you get away with this sort of thing over at Fair Oaks?"

"No."

"No, and don't expect to get away with it over here, either. We don't take that kind of temper and meanness over here any more than they did over there. Tell me, Sammy, what made you mark up the desk in the first place?"
"I don't know," Sammy replied, still sullen and evasive.

It was necessary at this point for the V-P to leave the room to answer the phone. It was almost fifteen minutes before the V-P was able to return. By this time Sammy appeared in a more receptive mood, and was willing to talk much more easily about what had happened. By now he was willing to admit that he was wrong in all the things he had done. The V-P pointedly asked what Sammy thought was the worst thing that he had done. Sammy felt it was the way he had acted towards Mrs. T. The V-P emphasized the point in addition to Sammy's own statement. The V-P told Sammy that he might overlook the trouble in the room since it was the first time he had been sent to the office, but because of his actions and attitude towards his teacher he would have to lose some of his privileges. He was told he would have to make up detention for the remainder of the week. The V-P told Sammy that the V-P thought Sammy should apologize to Mrs. T., but that was going to be up to him. The V-P said that an apology had to come from a person who was sorry, not from a person who had been made to say he was sorry. If Sammy wasn't sorry, the V-P didn't want him to say that he was.

During the next several days the V-P visited Mrs. T.'s room and made obvious note of Sammy's behavior, observed his work, and even asked Sammy how things were coming. Mrs. T. informed the V-P that Sammy had come and apologized the
next day. Sammy also came to the office of his own accord each evening after school and stayed for his prescribed detention.

Report of Sammy's second referral. On the following Monday, October 18, Mrs. T. mentioned that Sam had appeared to come to school with a chip on his shoulder. She was told that at the first sign of any trouble she was to send for either the P or V-P. That afternoon the V-P was called to come to Mrs. T.'s room. She was outside the room with Sammy, talking to him, but he was obviously very angry. Mrs. T. said Sammy had lost his temper in the room, and had threatened Mrs. T. to "hit you like I hit the other teacher I hit at (Roosevelt) school."

The V-P took Sammy to his office, shut the door, and then said, "All right, if you're so anxious to hit someone, start hitting."

"I didn't say I'd hit her. I was talking about someone else."

"Oh? Well, then, who was this other teacher you said you hit?"

Sammy denied he had said he hit another teacher.

The V-P said emphatically, "Sam, either Mrs. T. or you is telling me a lie. Now I'll call Mrs. T. in here and several of the boys and girls around where you sit, and we'll find out the hard way who's telling the truth."
The V-P waited a moment, then drew Sammy closer to him and said quietly, "Sammy, did you say those things?"

"Yes."

The V-P asked, "Who was this other teacher that you hit, Sammy?"

Sammy then very sketchily related that he had become angry and struck his third grade teacher one day, for which he had been suspended from school.

The V-P then asked, "And you were getting ready to do the same to Mrs. T.?"

"No! Honest I wasn't, Mr. B."

"You got mad, Sammy, didn't you? So mad that you said something you didn't really mean, is that right?"

"Yes," replied Sammy very quietly.

The V-P continued, "And if you hadn't been stopped, you probably would have gotten so mad you would have tried to hit Mrs. T."

"No," Sammy still insisted.

The V-P then stated, "You like Mrs. T., don't you?"

"Yes," replied Sammy.

"Yes," said the V-P, "I really think you do, because I've seen the way you help her out in the class. That is, when you're not mad."

The V-P went on to talk about tempers and how they hurt other people, how things were said that were not meant. He continued to question Sammy to discover what was the
actual cause for Sammy to have lost his temper, but no one incident could be found.

Since there appeared no event at school which had placed Sammy in this state of mind, the V-P felt it might have been the result of something which had happened at home. Therefore, he filled out a Guidance Information card, which called for routine data concerning his home.

When asked about his father Sammy quickly replied, "My daddy lives in Texas."

The V-P followed this up quickly with, "When was the last time you saw your daddy?"

"Last summer I spent two weeks with him."

"Did your mother go with you?"

"Yes, but she didn't go see him."

"Who lives at your house now?"

"My brother and mother and another man."

"This man is your daddy now?"

"No! My daddy lives in Texas!" Sammy emphatically replied.

Sammy was not unwilling to talk about his home life, but he did appear confused as to what relation "the man" who was living at home at the time was to him. (In a talk with Mr. R., Sammy's teacher at Fair Oaks School, and Mr. P., the principal of Fair Oaks, it was discovered that Sammy's mother had married three times since divorcing, or leaving, Mr. Jackson, Sammy's "daddy." The first marriage, if there
actually had been a marriage, was to a man named Jameson, and after this marriage they had come to Stockton from Texas. At this time Mrs. Jameson gave birth to Sammy's brother Amos. The next "marriage" was to a Mr. Hamilton, and with that marriage she had moved into the Fair Oaks School district. She then left Mr. Hamilton and moved back into the Roosevelt district, and at the time was living with "the man," (a Mr. Casper). Sammy never referred to any of the step-fathers as his own father, and insisted several times during the interview and in later interviews that, "my daddy lives in Texas!"

Further interviewing at the time of this referral to the office revealed that Sammy had been born in Louisiana, but could not remember anything about that state since he had moved to Texas very early in life. Sammy answered all of the questions alertly and with excellent memory. By the time the interview was finished Sammy was sincerely penitent, anxious to return to class and try again, and willing to apologize to his teacher.

**Report of the third referral.** At this time in the school a Guidance Council was being formed. The V-P felt that Sammy's case might be one for the council to discuss, but because he was new in the school, and therefore adequate background was still lacking, his case was put off at first and another case was the subject of first meeting of the
Council. In the meantime, Sammy had been placed as a substitute for the Safety Patrol in order to give Sammy some opportunity at a definite responsibility and a certain amount of authority and self-assurance.

Two weeks later, November 1, Sammy again appeared at school on Monday morning in a belligerent mood. That night Sammy had to be kept after school for not finishing his work. He cried and said he would get a whipping for getting home late. When Mrs. T. still would not let him go, he threw his papers on the floor and would not work. When Mrs. T. did let him go she sent a note with Sammy telling his mother why he was kept after school and asking her to come to the school and talk about his behavior. Mrs. T. told Sammy that she wanted the note returned the next day signed by his mother.

The next morning Sammy came without the note, admitting he didn't give it to his mother and defiantly refusing to do anything he was told. Mrs. T. came to the V-P and explained the background of the incident and stated that she felt that Sammy was in a "striking out at somebody" attitude. She asked the V-P to come to the room and get him.

The V-P went to the door of the room and called Sammy outside. Sammy came without any show of reluctance, although he appeared to be in a defensive mood. His passing glance at Mrs. T. indicated to the V-P that she was perhaps the indirect object of his belligerent state of mind.
It was very much the same story as in previous referrals. After a short period of time, Sammy calmed down and was both receptive and apparently genuinely sorry for what he had done. However, the behavior pattern and the repeated referrals caused the V-P to confer with the P, who had been previously briefed on Sammy's behavior and actions, as to possible courses of actions.

The P and V-P decided that the parent should be brought in, and that Sammy not be allowed to return to class until there had been a consultation with the parent. The V-P took Sammy home, but his mother was not there. "Home" was a two-roomed cabin on the back part of a lot. The cabin was not in good repair. The neighbors informed the V-P that Mrs. Hamilton, Sammy's mother, had gone out on a job and wouldn't be back for three or four hours. One of the neighbors went into the cabin and came back to say that, "Mr. Casper will be right out."

About five minutes later, Mr. Casper appeared. He had been asleep when the V-P arrived. The V-P attempted to bring Mr. Casper up to date on Sammy's behavior, but there was little interest shown by Mr. Casper in Sammy or his actions at school. He kept saying, "Well, I'll tell his mother when she gets home." Sammy looked away during the entire conversation, attempting to ignore Mr. Casper. Sammy walked the V-P back to the car when he left. The V-P told Sammy he would have to bring his mother to school the next day. Sammy replied, "O.K."
Mrs. Hamilton came the next morning with Sammy. He waited in the outer office while the P and V-P talked with Mrs. Hamilton. There was little response on the part of Mrs. Hamilton. She wanted the boy to be "good, and do what he's told to do." She said the school should "just beat him good," when he didn't behave. Her speech was lifeless, and she appeared tired and listless. After a few minutes Sammy was called in, and then the P explained to Sammy that the school and his mother were going to work together to see that he behaved in class, and that any time he stepped out of line his mother would be informed.

Mrs. Hamilton then told Sammy that she had given the school permission to "beat you good," when he didn't behave. The P told Sammy that he felt that this wouldn't be necessary since he knew that Sammy wanted to do what was best, and that everyone was going to be on Sammy's side in helping him. Sammy said he understood, and appeared cooperative and willing. He was sent back to class after Mrs. Hamilton had left.

Sammy's referral to the Guidance Council. The P suggested that Sammy be referred to the Guidance Council for its next meeting. The Guidance Council met and discussed Sammy Jackson on November 10, 1955. As a result of one of the recommendations, and after consultation with Mrs. T., the P decided that if there was any further disturbance in the class, Sammy should be transferred to a room where there was
a man teacher. The basis for this suggestion came from the Guidance Council, which felt that Sammy "disapproved" of his mother. Therefore, he was striking out at women teachers as a manifestation of this resentment. It was related that there had never been any such threats the previous year when Sammy had had a man teacher.

The following Monday morning during the physical education period, Sammy lost his temper at Mrs. T., and again had to be brought to the office. The V-P did not question Sammy at all concerning the incident. Instead, he waited until Sammy had calmed down and then told Sammy that he no longer deserved to be in Mrs. T.'s class. The V-P told Sammy that Mrs. T. had given him every opportunity to be a good citizen, and he had not been willing to be either fair or cooperative. Sammy was told that he would not be allowed to return to that class. At this, Sammy started to cry, saying that he didn't want to leave his class, that he liked Mrs. T., and that he didn't mean to act the way he did.

The next afternoon, however, Sammy was transferred to Mr. D.'s class. Outside the door the V-P stopped Sammy and said to him, "Mr. D. is a good teacher and easy to get along with, but if I were you I'd just forget that temper stuff in here. Just try it once on Mr. D., and I have a hunch it will be the last time you try it on anyone. On the other hand, go ahead and try it--brother, it'll stop faster than it started!"
Sammy in the new classroom. Mr. D. reported during the following weeks on Sammy's behavior in class. According to Mr. D., Sammy was not a discipline problem, but he was accomplishing very little school work. During the week before Christmas vacation a vacancy appeared on the room's squad of the Safety Patrol. Mr. D. asked Sammy if he would like to go on for a trial period. Sammy appeared eager to do so, and so became a regular member of the patrol. Both Mr. D. and Mr. L., the teacher in charge of the Safety Patrol, reported that Sammy performed his duties very well. Mr. D. felt also that Sammy's quantity of work in class had definitely increased, which was one of the stipulations of Sammy's appointment to the patrol.

The V-P had received permission to form a YMCA Gray-Y Club among the fifth grade boys at Roosevelt School. The activities of the club would include a gym and swimming at the YMCA on Saturdays, club meetings during the week, and occasional trips to nearby points of interest. The V-P felt that Sammy could derive a great deal from this type of activity, since it would make him part of a definite group and at the same time give outlet for activity. When approached by the V-P about the club, Sammy appeared very enthusiastic and said he would ask his mother for permission to join. The V-P told Sammy that he would speak to his mother if Sammy wanted him to. Sammy reported back the next day that his mother had given him permission to become a member. The first meeting of the club was scheduled for January 8, 1955.
Referral for stealing money. On January 3, the Monday after Christmas vacation, Mr. D. came to the V-P and said that 55 cents had disappeared from the desk of one of the girls in the room. Mr. D. had noticed that Sammy's desk was the adjoining desk and, therefore, had searched Sammy's desk and had found the money. Sammy had absolutely denied taking the money, and so Mr. D. had called for the V-P. The V-P went to Mr. D.'s room. All of the pupils were gathered around, watching. The V-P called Sammy over to Mr. D. and himself and asked if he had taken the money. Sammy denied it. The V-P then took Sammy across the hall into an empty room. After a short questioning Sammy admitted that he took 15 cents of the money, and after further urging and prodding by the V-P, finally admitted taking all of it.

The V-P said, "Why did you admit just taking some of it at first, Sammy?"

"I was afraid you'd expel me."

"Do you think we'd expel you for taking 55 cents, and not expel you for taking 15 cents. What's the difference, Sammy, in how much you took? The thing is that you took the money in the first place."

The V-P continued on, trying to find out why Sammy took the money, but Sammy did not give any justification for it. During the original questioning the V-P had said that this had been the first time Sammy had been in trouble of this kind. Therefore, because of this, and if Sammy would
tell the whole truth, the V-P assured Sammy there would not be any serious trouble. As this promise was instrumental in getting Sammy to admit taking the money, the V-P told Sammy he would keep his word about not getting him into any trouble.

"But Sammy," the V-P said, "what's going to happen the next time you see money lying in the next desk, or near you, now that you got off so easy this time? You know as well as I do that the chance to take money is going to happen again and again. Just what are you going to do, Sammy?"

"Nothing," insisted Sammy.

"I wonder, Sammy. I just wonder. I'm afraid you might say to yourself, 'Boy, I sure got away with it last time, so I guess I'll try it again.'"

"No, I won't. Honest I won't," Sammy said.

"I hope not, Sammy," replied the V-P.

The next three days Sammy was absent from school. Upon inquiry from the school, it was reported that Sammy was not feeling well, that he "had a cold."

On January 15, Sammy again was apprehended with a stolen 15 cents. This time he was sent immediately to the office, where he readily admitted to the V-P that he had taken the money. During the questioning that followed, the V-P again asked why Sammy had taken the money. This time Sammy said he was going to buy his lunch at the lunch stand across the street from the school. When asked about lunch he said that his mother had not given him either money or a
bag lunch, and that she was not home to fix any food. By this time it was felt by both the P and V-P that Mr. B., the Welfare and Attendance psychologist, from the Stockton Unified School District, should be brought into the case. Both administrators felt that both the home life and the boy himself should be studied further by Mr. B. Meanwhile, Mr. H., also from the school district's Attendance and Welfare Office was requested to investigate the possibility of free lunches, if such were warranted by the result of the latest stealing episode.

Sammy remained in the office the entire day and for a detention period after school. Again, the next two days, Sammy was absent from school. When he returned, it was reported that the absence was for the same reason as before. In the meantime, Mr. H. reported that home conditions at that time definitely warranted free lunches for the boy and his younger brother at this time. The free lunches would be given for a three-week period at which time another check would be made. (At the end of this period, free lunches were again given to the boys for an additional month.)

Further incidents concerning Sammy's behavior. Sammy had never appeared for the "Y" Club, although the V-P had mentioned it to him several times. On January 31, Sammy came up to the V-P and asked whether he could still join the "Y" Club. The V-P told Sammy that he had gotten someone
else to take Sammy's place in the club, but, if he really wanted to join, to come the following Saturday with the group to the "Y", and then it would be determined what could be done. Sammy, however, did not appear that Saturday either. The following Monday, February 7, the V-P stopped Sammy and asked him why he hadn't come. Sammy replied that his mother thought that it was too cold to be swimming outdoors this time of year.

The V-P said, "But the "Y" pool is indoors, Sammy, and it's heated so you won't get cold." The V-P felt sure, however, that Sammy knew this, for Sammy had talked to several of the boys who were in the "Y" Club.

Sammy replied, "Oh, I'll tell my mother."

"By the way, Sammy," the V-P said, "would you like me to get a bathing suit for you in case the one you used last summer is too worn out?"

"Yes, I would," said Sammy.

Later on in the week Sammy came up to the V-P and said, "You won't have to get me a bathing suit, Mr. B., my father got me one."

The V-P did not question Sammy about which "father" it was, but that Saturday Sammy did go to the "Y". The next Monday he again asked if he could go to the "Y". The V-P said he could, and told him that if he wanted to join the club as well that would be possible also. Sammy was very pleased with this, and attended the next meeting of the club.
On Tuesday, February 15, Sammy's mother came to school about 4:15 p.m. looking for Mr. H., the Attendance Officer. The V-P asked her if it were important, and she said it was. The V-P then attempted to reach Mr. H. by phone, but his secretary said that he would not be in until at least 4:30. The V-P then asked Sammy's mother if she wanted to leave a message. She said, "Yes, tell him that Mrs. Casper called. (The V-P learned later that Mrs. Hamilton came to inquire about the extension of free lunches for the boys. In response to the V-P questions, Mr. H. stated that to his knowledge there actually had not been a marriage ceremony, but that she was now officially calling herself Mrs. Casper.)

Mr. D. reported that Sammy's behavior and attitude in class had been at its best during the month of February. His work had improved, and the amount of work accomplished had increased. Sammy had, furthermore, played for the room's basketball team as a substitute. The V-P also observed that during the month of February there had been no referrals to the office for Sammy, and during the same period he and Sammy had become much better acquainted. During the Safety Patrol assembly, Sammy was given recognition as one of the new officers, and Mr. L., teacher in charge, reported that Sammy's work as an officer was good.

Twice during the month Mr. D. came to the V-P and reported, however, that there were signs that Sammy was
beginning to slip again. Each time Mr. D. reported that Sammy's work was starting to decrease, that he was spending more time idling at his desk, and he appeared less interested in classroom activities. Asked if his behavior and attitude were also deteriorating, Mr. D., felt that it had not yet begun to do so. The V-P suggested that strict limits be placed on Sammy and that he not be allowed to go beyond them, especially in terms of doing his work.

On February 28, Mr. D. found it necessary to keep several pupils, including Sammy, after class. It was not until 4:15, nearly an hour after school was regularly dismissed, that Sammy and another boy were released to go home. The V-P saw both of the boys come running down the school steps and across the schoolyard.

As they approached the V-P, Sammy yelled out, "Hi, Mr. B."

The V-P replied, "Hey, what did you guys decide to do—stay for the night?"

Sammy laughed and said, "No, we just got out of the room. We were bad."

The V-P feigned severity, "Well, you sure sound sorry about it. Maybe you'd better come back with me and stay a little longer."

"No! No! We're sorry. Honest we are. Aren't we, Clarence?" Sammy said, half giggling.
"O. K. Go on home, but try and stay out of trouble at least that far."

"O. K., Mr. B.," Sammy replied, and ran on with his friend Clarence.

The V-P talked to Mr. D. a little later that day. Mr. D. said that Sammy and Clarence had recently struck up a friendship. Clarence was a colored boy who was a strong student, and one who very carefully attempted to obey the rules of the school. Both Mr. D. and the V-P felt that Sammy's friendship should be encouraged. Therefore, during the following days the two boys were given duty assignments together, and other such techniques were employed to provide opportunity to strengthen the friendship between the two boys.

It was felt by both Mr. D. and the V-P, that, as long as the present home situation existed for Sammy, he would continually be in trouble, not only with school authorities, but with the local police as he grew older. The school could in some degree combat the unstable home situation with a firm and defined classroom situation. Both Mr. D. and the V-P also believed that Sammy was actually attempting to be a good school citizen to the best of his knowledge; that he needed guidance as to proper and acceptable behavior. Therefore, the type of companions Sammy had would become increasingly important, since Sammy's standards were usually those with whom he associated. Although the school would be unable to choose
Sammy's friends for him, it could, nevertheless, place him into social situations and classroom environments that would demand a high standard of behavior.
IV. HISTORY OF MABEL SUE JONES

Mabel Sue Jones was the only child of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Jones. Mabel Sue was born June 28, 1944 in Rison, Arkansas. At the beginning of the 1954-55 school year Mabel Sue was assigned to the fourth-grade class of Miss I. Mabel Sue had attended Roosevelt School from the kindergarten year, although Mrs. G., Mabel Sue's third-grade teacher, was the only one of Mabel Sue's previous teachers still at Roosevelt School during the 1954-55 school year.

Shortly after Mabel Sue's birth, Mr. and Mrs. Jones separated and were divorced. For reasons unknown to the school administration, Mabel Sue went to live with an aunt, Mrs. Stella Bobson, and had stayed with her since that time. It was Mrs. Bobson who had registered Mabel Sue when she first enrolled in kindergarten. At that time Mrs. Bobson stated that the whereabouts of both parents was unknown, although she did present an affidavit signed by the parents concerning Mabel Sue's birth date.

At the beginning of the 1954-55 school year Mabel Sue was four feet, four inches tall and weighed 73 pounds. This made her the tallest pupil in her class, and one of the tallest children in the fourth grade. Mabel Sue's permanent record folder revealed no physical disabilities, although on two successive vision tests her left eye tested 20/30. A California Test of Mental Maturity, Form Primary 50-S, administered
in October, 1952, disclosed an IQ of 106. Another California Test of Mental Maturity, Form Primary 53-3, given September, 1954, revealed an IQ of 94. A Metropolitan Achievement Test, Form Elementary-S, given September, 1954, showed Mabel Sue with a score in Reading of 2.6, Arithmetic 2.9, English 2.2, and Spelling 2.5. During the school year Mabel Sue read in levels 10, 11 and part of 12. Level 12 brought Mabel Sue into third grade reading.

Even during the third grade Mabel Sue had been a discipline problem. Mrs. G., her third grade teacher, reported that Mabel Sue was often a behavior problem. Mrs. G. stated that Mabel Sue's greatest difficulty was that she was "spoiled and undisciplined at home." Mabel Sue threw several temper tantrums during the year and had to be brought to the office on several occasions. Mrs. G. further reported that Mabel Sue had to have her own way or would be completely uncooperative. Mabel Sue was also the largest girl in her class during this year, and she was often guilty of intimidating the other children who would not follow her lead.

First trouble of the school year. The first time Mabel Sue came to the attention of the V-P for misbehaving was on the Tuesday of the second week of school. The yard duty teacher assigned to the covered court area sent a pupil to the V-P with the message that several girls were screaming
"at the top of their lungs," in the girls lavatory. When the yard duty teacher had gone into the lavatory to investigate, the girls ran out the other side of the entrance, and refused to come back when she had blown her whistle. As soon as the yard teacher had disappeared the girls had returned and had started the yelling again, only this time had taken the paper towels out of the dispenser and had thrown them on the lavatory floor.

The V-P came to the covered courts and approached the girls' lavatory. Just at that time the girls, led by Mabel Sue, came screaming and running out of the lavatory. When Mabel Sue saw the V-P she veered to run the opposite way.

The V-P shouted, "Mabel Sue!"

Mabel Sue and the other girls stopped. The V-P beckoned them to come to him. The five girls walked over to the V-P. The V-P inquired what they were doing.

Mabel Sue replied, "We were just playing, Mr. B."

The V-P, "You call that playing—screaming and acting like animals."

Mabel Sue shrugged her shoulders, but said nothing.

The V-P questioned the other girls, all of whom admitted that they had been doing something that they shouldn't. Mabel Sue, however, could not see any fault in what she had done. She stoutly denied that she had scattered the paper towels. When the other girls said that Mabel Sue had done it, Mabel Sue said they had lied just to get her in trouble.
Nevertheless, the V-P had Mabel Sue and the other four girls completely clean up the girls' lavatory and also the area around the drinking fountains in the girls' courts. At first Mabel Sue protested, then acquiesced. By the time the task was finished, she was joking with the other girls and showed little sign of regret over the incident.

Mabel Sue's first referrals to the office. No other trouble was encountered from Mabel Sue for over a month. Miss I. made her the room monitor and messenger to the office, and from all reports from Miss I. Mabel Sue was cooperative and industrious.

On October 14 Miss I. brought Mabel Sue to the office. Miss I. stated that Mabel Sue had been troublesome all day long, and had struck one of the boys in the room hard enough to make him cry. Mabel Sue appeared sullen and angry. The V-P took her into his office and had her sit on a chair. The V-P left Mabel Sue there for nearly half an hour. When the V-P came into his office on one occasion, Mabel Sue said, "Can I go back to my room now, Mr. B."

"Do you think you can behave yourself now, Mabel Sue?" the V-P inquired.

Mabel Sue replied, "Yes, Mr. B., I won't cause any more trouble. Honest I won't." Mabel Sue appeared to have lost her anger and was friendly and cooperative. The V-P let Mabel Sue go back to her room about twenty minutes before school was out.
On the following Monday Miss I. again brought Mabel Sue to the office. This time Mabel Sue had tears in her eyes. Miss I. reported that Mabel Sue had been difficult all day. She had bothered other pupils, had refused to do any work of her own, and had just finished running around the room screaming. The V-P had Mabel Sue sit down. When Miss I. had left, Mabel Sue started to cry.

Mabel Sue sobbed, "I haven't done anything, Mr. B. Honest I didn't."

The V-P replied, "That's not what this yellow slip says, Mabel Sue." The V-P proceeded to read off the list of misbehaviors that Miss I. had listed.

Mabel Sue said disbelievingly, "When did I do that?" She started sobbing again, then said, "She's just picking on me."

"Oh, Mabel Sue, whom are you trying to kid?" replied the V-P. "The trouble is that she's let you have your way too much. Now she starts insisting that you behave yourself, and you just don't want to."

Mabel Sue did not reply, but started crying harder than ever. The V-P left her sitting in the outside office so that she might calm down.

About fifteen minutes later the V-P came back into the outside office. Mabel Sue immediately inquired, "Can I go back to my room now, Mr. B?"

"Of course you can't," replied the V-P.
"Oh, please, Mr. B.," begged Mabel Sue, starting to cry again. "I'll be good, honest I will, Mr. B."

"That's what you said last time, Mabel Sue," and that was just last week. No, I think you'd better stay here a little longer."

"I'm going back to my room," wailed Mabel Sue, and she stood up and started walking out of the office. The V-P reached out and seized her arm.

"Ow, ow, you hurt me! You hurt my arm!" Mabel Sue shouted and wailed. She started to throw herself on the floor, but the V-P caught both of her arms and held her up.

"Oooh," Mabel Sue screamed, "I want to go. Please let me go. Please, please!" Then Mabel Sue started to scream.

When he had succeeded in getting her into his office, the V-P attempted to put her on a chair, but Mabel Sue threw herself on the floor, screaming, kicking and yelling.

Mabel Sue intermittently screamed, cried, moaned and threatened for well over an hour. When she was told she could not leave the office, she would begin all over again. Both the V-P and, shortly afterwards, the P attempted to talk to her, but she would only say, "Let me go. Let me go."

After the hour had passed, the P attempted to get in touch with Mrs. Bobson, but she worked during the day and was unavailable. During the rest of the afternoon Mabel Sue refused to quiet down, and it was not until twenty minutes after school was out before she became suddenly quiet. The P walked into the V-P's office.
The P said, "Are you going to be quiet now?"

Mabel Sue replied as if nothing had ever happened, "Yes."

The P then said, "I want your aunt to come with you tomorrow morning to school."

Mabel Sue answered, "She works tomorrow, Mr. N., but she can come on Wednesday. That's her day off."

The P stated, "All right, but you'll have to sit in the office tomorrow and work down here. I want to talk to your aunt before you go back to class."

"All right," replied Mabel Sue quietly.

Mrs. Bobson's visit to the school. About ten minutes past nine on Wednesday, October 19, Mrs. Bobson and Mabel Sue came walking into the office arm in arm and laughing and joking with each other. The V-P was there and he had them both sit down while the V-P called the P. When the P had Mrs. Bobson come into the office, she left Mabel Sue with a wink and entered the room.

At first Mrs. Bobson was irreconcilable to the fact that Mabel Sue had done anything wrong. Her first statement was, "Now, of course, I don't believe what I'm going to tell you, but you ought to know what's being said around here about this school."

The P expressed the desire to hear these statements.

Mrs. Bobson replied, "Well, I've heard lots of the people around here say that when one of the colored children
gets into trouble they gets a lot worse treatment than when other children gets into trouble. They've stood over there and watched you punish the colored children and let the white ones go."

The P asked quietly, "Who stood over there and saw these things, Mrs. Bobson? We'd certainly like to know about these things if they're happening."

Mrs. Bobson replied, "Well, I really can't say right now, but it's going around everywhere."

The P carefully tried to explain the policy of the school in its attempt to be fair to all children. He pointed out to Mrs. Bobson the fact that there were three colored teachers on the staff at the school, and that there was no restriction of any kind on any child in terms of participation in school activities, seating in the room or cafeteria or auditorium, or in the handling of the child by the school authorities.

After the P had finished talking Mrs. Bobson said, "Well, I didn't say I believe it. I just said I heard it."

The P replied, "I know you don't believe it, Mrs. Bobson. And we would certainly appreciate it here at school if you'd let us know if you hear any more things like this. We want Roosevelt School to be the kind of school everyone in this neighborhood can be proud of. And if there is any truth in what is reported about these incidents, you can rest assured we'll not tolerate it."
The V-P had to leave the conference at that time. When he returned, Mabel Sue was leaving the office in the grip of Mrs. Bobson. Mrs. Bobson was saying, "I'm going to beat you, girl, if I hear anything else like this." She then gave her a hard shake, and Mabel Sue cried softly. Mrs. Bobson took Mabel Sue back to the room. Miss I. reported that Mrs. Bobson stayed for about twenty minutes, then left. Miss I. stated that Mrs. Bobson had promised to cooperate in any way she could.

The P told the V-P that, after the V-P had left, the P called Miss I. into the office. Miss I. related the number of things that Mabel Sue had done over the past week. Miss I. had complimented Mabel Sue on the things that she could, then went back to her room. The P stated that within a very few minutes of calm discussion Mrs. Bobson dropped her antagonism, and completely reversed her attitude. Mrs. Bobson had turned on Mabel Sue, and had been as severe on her as she had previously been on the school.

Mabel Sue's next referrals. Again, a month passed with no reported difficulty from Mabel Sue. Miss I. reported that she had not been a discipline problem, but that she was doing poorly in her work. Miss I. said that she had sent work home with Mabel Sue, but that it seldom came back completed even though Miss I. had Mrs. Bobson sign the work that was returned. During this period Mabel Sue again had been caught screaming and running through the
girls' lavatory. The teacher on yard duty had handled the situation, and it had been reported to the V-P only later on during the day.

On November 15 Mabel Sue became involved in a fight with Max Baker, a colored boy in Miss I.'s room. Actually, it was Max Baker who was referred to the office, but Max soon implicated several girls in his room. The leader of the girls was Mabel Sue, who immediately volunteered to list all the misdeeds of Max. The V-P secured a verbal agreement between the girls and Max whereas one would immediately report any aggressive action by the other.

For a period of time this agreement appeared to have put a stop to the conflict between Max and Mabel Sue. However, on the return from Thanksgiving vacation, Miss I. reported that tension was developing again between the two. Then on December 6 a fight between the two broke out in the room, with Mabel Sue being assisted by two other girls. Miss I. brought Mabel Sue and Max to the office. The P immediately tried to contact Mrs. Bobson, but was unable to until the next morning. Instead of asking her to come in and miss part of a day's work, the P discussed the incident over the phone with Mrs. Bobson. Mrs. Bobson stated that she would discipline Mabel Sue when Mabel Sue returned home, and that Mrs. Bobson would try to see that Mabel Sue wouldn't do such a thing again.

Mabel Sue was no further trouble the remainder of the days before Christmas vacation. Miss I. used Mabel Sue in
the chorus that sang for the school's Christmas program, and also for a group that recorded for a local radio station. Mabel Sue had a good singing voice, and Miss I. gave her a number of opportunities during the Christmas season at school to sing and perform.

Mabel Sue returned from the Christmas vacation in a cooperative frame of mind that lasted for about two weeks. During the week of January 16 Miss I. reported that Mabel Sue was becoming increasingly difficult in the room. During the week of January 23, Mabel Sue was sent to the office for disturbing the classroom. The first occasion the V-P counseled with Mabel Sue. This time she displayed little cockiness, and accepted the detention and work period in the office assigned by the V-P. The second occasion the V-P counseled with Mabel Sue. He told Mabel Sue that he didn't want to call Mrs. Bobson again, but if Mabel Sue's behavior did not improve, such would happen.

On February 1 Mabel Sue again was sent to the office, this time for screaming and throwing a book. The P was not in the school, so the V-P kept Mabel Sue in the office. At the end of the day Mabel Sue was sent home with a note telling Mrs. Bobson to come to the school the next day. Mabel Sue was told to bring her aunt. She could not return to class until Mrs. Bobson came to school.

The next morning Mrs. Bobson came to school. Again Mrs. Bobson began to attack the school. Again the P waited
until she had had her "say," and then the P countered with the long list of referrals of Mabel Sue. Again Miss I. came in and discussed the problem. And again Mrs. Bobson finally turned on Mabel Sue. However, it was noted by the P and the V-P that her actions had at no time been as extreme in either direction as they had been on the first visit.

Miss I. reported that Mabel Sue had again returned to her cooperative frame of mind after the visit of the aunt, and the promise of more dire punishment if Mabel Sue did not reform. Miss I. reported also that Mabel Sue was still doing very mediocre work in the school subjects. She was still working far below her ability level, and would become easily discouraged when she was unable to do her work.

During the month of February Mabel Sue was not referred to the office. However, Miss I. said that Mabel Sue was indifferent to school work and activities. Mabel Sue would not do things serious enough to cause her to be sent to the office, but she would still persist in a number of annoying actions that would disturb the class and Miss I.

In an attempt to assist Miss I. in meeting the problems of Mabel Sue, the V-P referred Mabel Sue's case to the Guidance Council. As a result, two meetings of the council were held. The first was on February 25, the second followed a week later because of the request by members of the council to observe Mabel Sue and to have a further chance to think about the matter. As a result of these two conferences, the following points were generally agreed upon by the group:
1. Mrs. Bobson is interested to the extent that Mabel Sue behaves herself in class and on the yard. Beyond that Mrs. Bobson apparently makes no further demands on Mabel Sue concerning her school life.

2. Mabel Sue has leadership ability, and when she is cooperative, Mabel Sue is Miss I.'s best helper. The problem, which the P and the V-P felt was becoming evident, was that Mabel Sue no longer respected the authority of Miss I., and therefore, it was becoming increasingly impossible to get Mabel Sue to maintain any consistent form of good behavior for a period of time. The P and the V-P suggested that Miss I. take measures to insure that Mabel Sue have some defined limits of behavior, beyond which she could not be permitted to deviate.

3. Mabel Sue should be required to accomplish a certain amount of work daily. If this was not completed, then Mabel Sue should remain after school until it was. The school administration would support Miss I. fully in this program.

4. Mabel Sue's advanced maturity must not be ignored by Miss I. Miss I. should approach Mabel Sue on a more mature level, and in turn should expect more mature behavior from Mabel Sue. Responsibility and appearance would be the two points stressed by Miss I.
5. Mabel Sue's temper tantrum did not occur again, which may suggest that a firm and consistent approach to Mabel Sue may find positive response. The fact that neither the P or V-P experience any resistance to their attempts to discipline, a resistance which they experienced in various forms earlier in the year, would also serve to substantiate this assumption.

6. Miss I. must assume that Mabel Sue really wants to conform and be a good pupil. There is enough evidence to suggest that this is true. Miss I. must not view every misbehavior of Mabel Sue as an expression of an attitude of deliberate non-conformity.
V. HISTORY OF ANDY PERKINS

Andy Perkins was born in Stockton on October 17, 1944. He entered the Roosevelt School on September 11, 1950, as a first grade pupil. Andy has remained at Roosevelt during his entire school life. He became a fifth grade pupil at the start of the 1954-55 school year. Andy had been in Roosevelt School during the 1953-54 school year, and was well known to both the P and the V-P. During the 1953-54 school year he had a first-year teacher from Arizona. For the 1954-55 school year he was assigned to Mrs. T., who was also a first-year teacher. At the beginning of the school year Andy was nine years and eleven months old. His height was four feet, four inches, and his weight was 67 pounds. Both of these measurements were slightly under the normal for a child of that age. His general health condition was good. In dress and appearance he was neat and well groomed. Andy was a nice-appearing boy with a winning smile.

Andy had entered the fifth grade with a history of discipline trouble in the fourth grade. Andy had been referred a number of times during previous school years, although no referral was sufficiently serious to suspend Andy from school. Only once during that year was it considered necessary to contact the parent. This, however, had not been successful as nobody was at home at the time. As a fourth grader he showed a real athletic aptitude, and he had been the leading athlete in his class. Scholastically,
he was also among the top pupils in his room. A Metropolitan Achievement Test, Form Elementary R, given May, 1954, showed Arithmetic 4.9, Spelling 3.9, and English 4.3. Another Metropolitan Achievement Test, Form Intermediate Partial S, given in October, 1954, showed a score in Reading of 4.0, Arithmetic 4.5, Spelling 4.4, and English 4.4. A California Test of Mental Maturity, Form Primary S-53, given October, 1953, showed Andy with an IQ of 96. The only physical defect noted on Andy's permanent record folder was a vision defect of 20/30--right, and 20/40--left, notated November, 1950. A later test, given October, 1954, showed a vision of 20/30--right, and 20/20--left.

Mrs. B., Andy's fourth grade teacher, notated in the permanent record folder that Andy was a capable pupil, but "pouty and sullen when he did not get his way." Because of his record in the fourth grade, Mrs. B. recommended that Andy be made a Safety Patrol officer during the following school year. This recommendation was carried out by Mrs. T., and Andy became a Safety Patrol sergeant at the beginning of the 1954-55 year. All of the 1953-54 pupils at Roosevelt School had been reassigned to new classes for the ensuing year in order that pupils might be able to work with pupils of more similar ability, with an additional consideration that troublesome combinations of pupils be assigned to different classes. This reassignment placed Andy in a class group where there were a number of other boy students who
worked on or about the ability and performance level of Andy. Andy still was in the highest group in his class.

During the first week of school Mrs. T. organized the student government in the room, and Andy was elected president of the class, almost unanimously, according to Mrs. T. At the beginning of the school year, Mrs. T.'s class consisted of 19 boys and 13 girls. From the very start of the school year Andy attempted to be the class leader, not only in the classroom, but on the school grounds and during physical education activities. However, as a result of the reassignment of pupils, another negro boy named Raymond Morris, who was the equal if not better than Andy in most sports activities, was in the class. Raymond was eight inches taller than Andy, which was of particular advantage during the football season. Raymond stood head and shoulders above all other fifth graders, and, according to Mrs. T., was chosen for football teams ahead of Percy.

Andy's trouble in the noon league. During the third week of school Mrs. T. reported to the V-P that Andy was having flare-ups in the class and on the schoolyard at more frequent intervals and of longer duration. At first, she said, they had passed fairly quickly, but the more recent ones were lasting longer. These flare-ups would cause Andy to sit and sulk, not do his work, and often refuse to participate in the physical education activities.
When a noon football league was formed for the fifth grades, Andy was chosen to be captain of Mrs. T.'s room team. On October 12 the team played its first game, and the V-P was the referee of the game. There had been no score in the game, but then a close decision by the V-P enabled the opposing team to score a touchdown. At this, Andy went into a rage, throwing down his football flags and muttering loudly how his team had been cheated.

On the ensuing kickoff Andy deliberately blocked an opposing player viciously from the back, knocking him to the ground. Andy then stood over the boy with clenched fists. The V-P had seen the entire incident, so consequently he penalized Andy's team because of Andy's unnecessary roughness. The V-P called both sides together and told them that if there were a close decision against them they were going to have to be like real football players and accept it. The V-P continued by telling them not to lose their tempers, and if there was any "dirty playing" such playing would cost their team a penalty. All the boys agreed that this was the right thing to do, but Andy merely stood and glared. As the V-P walked away, Andy muttered an obscene name that could be heard by all the players. The V-P turned and walked back to Andy and told him to leave the game. The V-P escorted Andy to the fence and told him to wait there until the game was over. On the way to the fence Andy muttered that he didn't want to play anyway.
Mrs. T.'s team went on to win the game on a last minute touchdown. After the game was over, the V-P told Andy to go and wait in the V-P's office. It was fully twenty minutes before the V-P was able to talk to Andy in the office. When the V-P came into the office, he stood and looked for a long time at Andy without saying a word.

Shortly, Andy hung his head and smiled sheepishly.

The V-P inquired of Andy if he were still upset. Andy replied in the negative, and again he smiled sheepishly.

The V-P inquired if Andy were still unhappy at the decision that had been made out on the football field.

Andy replied again in the negative, and again he responded with the same smile.

The V-P inquired if he wanted to quit the team for good, as he had threatened to do.

Andy again replied in the negative.

Then the V-P said, "Well, Andy, I'm still upset, I'm still unhappy, and I'm not so sure if you should play with the team again. And can you guess why, Andy?"

This time Andy replied in the affirmative.

"All right, then, Andy, why?"

Andy answered, "'Cause I called you a name."

"That's part of it, Andy," the V-P said, "but what else happened that wasn't the way a team captain acts."

"I got mad and pushed George," Andy replied,
"Let's say you knocked him down with a dirty block."

Andy did not reply to this. The V-P again just looked at Andy for several moments.

Then the V-P spoke, "Is that the kind of language you use, and is that the way you act at home when you get mad?"

"No."

"Well, then, what gives you the idea that you're going to get away with it here at school?"

There was no reply.

After waiting a few moments without saying anything, again, the V-P discussed the purpose of a referee, and what kinds of decisions a referee had to make, and what should happen when a player violates a rule as flagrantly as Andy did. Andy accepted the V-P's reprimands, and admitted he was wrong.

Then the V-P said, "Andy, do you know what the real cause of all of this trouble was?"

"No."

"It was that temper of yours, Andy," the V-P said. "I really don't think you would have acted like that if you hadn't gotten so mad. At least I hope you wouldn't have."

The V-P purposely left the room at this time to give Andy opportunity to consider the things that had been discussed.

When the V-P returned later, he said, "All right, Andy, have we decided what's going to happen the next time
Mr. N., or one of the sixth grade boys who's refereeing, or myself makes a decision you don't like?"

"Nothing, Mr. B."

"I wonder, Andy. I hope you're right, but I just wonder about that temper. Unless you try hard, you're going to go "boom" again, and "boom" again, you'll be right back in here."

The V-P pointed out to Andy that Andy's example was not what a captain's should have been. The captain was to not only tell the members of the team what plays to make, but he was also to show the members of the team the right attitude and good sportsmanship. The V-P told Andy that for the next two games Mrs. T.'s room would have to choose another captain, and then if Andy demonstrated that he was the kind of a person a captain should be, he would become eligible to be chosen again. Captains for room teams were chosen for each game, so Andy could become captain at that time without hard feelings among other boys who might have been chosen during Andy's 'trial' period.

During the remainder of the noon football league play Andy was never reported as a problem, or did he display any temper flares during the games. During the week previous to this episode, the Stockton Metropolitan Recreation Department supplied the Roosevelt School grounds with a director, who was on duty each afternoon until 5:30 and on Saturdays. The day of the trouble with Andy in the noon league the new director, Dave W., approached the V-P on the formation of
some flag football teams to participate in the city recreation leagues. The V-P expressed the cooperation of the school administration to the program. Dave asked if there were any boys from whom he might form a nucleus for each of the teams that would be entered in the leagues. The V-P gave Andy's name to Dave, strongly urging Dave to get Andy on to a team so that Andy might experience league play outside the school.

(The playground director contacted Andy about being on one of the school's flag football teams. Andy was most enthusiastic in his response, and became a member of the team. This team went through the entire league and playoff season undefeated. Although Andy was not one of the principal stars of the team, nevertheless, he played regularly. Dave reported that Andy never presented a problem, either during a game or during a practice session.)

**Andy's trouble in the classroom.** On October 14 Mrs. T. sent for the V-P. The V-P went to Mrs. T.'s room and found her outside in the hall with Andy. Mrs. T. explained that Andy had become defiant in the classroom, and was absolutely disregarding anything she tried to say to him.

The V-P asked, "What's the matter, Andy?"

"Nothing," Andy mumbled and turned away.

"Want to come to the office with me?"

Andy frowned and muttered, "No."
"O. K., then," the V-P said, "Go back in that room and behave like the others. If he can't, Mrs. T., let me know, and we'll let him do his work in the office for a day or so."

Mrs. T. said, "I hated to call you, Mr. B., because Andy is usually such a nice boy. He helps me out. He does his work. But when he gets like this I can't do a thing with him. Can I, Andy?"

The V-P said, "You don't have to do anything with him, Mrs. T. You don't have to put up with that sort of thing for a second. Andy knows that there are 32 other boys and girls in there that need you, and he just can't act like that. Hear, Andy?"

"Yes," Andy said quietly.

During the next week Mrs. T. reported that Andy seemed much better, and that his work and attitude had improved.

On Monday October 20, the V-P passed Mrs. T.'s room and saw that she had Andy in the hall outside the room. The V-P stopped, and Mrs. T. explained that she was afraid that she was going to have more trouble with Andy, as he was becoming sullen and refusing to do his work again. As the V-P was in a hurry, he admonished Andy quickly, and told Mrs. T. to send Andy to the office if it became a more serious problem.

On October 22 Mrs. T. brought Andy to the V-P's office, leading Andy by the arm. Andy appeared extremely angry and
defiant. Mrs. T. explained that Andy had been difficult all morning, and he had just now lost his temper, and threw down his work. He had, with gesture, threatened to hit her, had attempted to break away, and had resisted being brought to the office. The V-P felt that Andy was not in a rational frame of mind to discuss the trouble, so the V-P had Andy sit down while the V-P and Mrs. T. stepped outside to form a clearer picture as to what had happened.

When the V-P returned, he still felt that Andy was not ready to talk about the trouble in his room. Since the trouble appeared to be a growing thing, and a more frequent happening, the V-P decided that Andy should be referred to the Guidance Council, and, accordingly, filled out a referral sheet. This called for routine questions that had no relation to the incident in the room.

The V-P asked Andy his birth date.
Andy replied, "Last Friday."
"Oh! What did you do for it?"
"Went over to my mother's place," Andy answered.
This was the first time that the V-P realized that Andy was not living with his mother.
"Where does your mother live?" the V-P inquired.
"By Fair Oaks School."
"Did your mother have a party for you?"
"Yeah—we had a big party," Andy replied quickly and warmly. He then proceeded to relate all the details of the party.
After Andy had finished telling about the party, the V-P asked, "How long did you stay with your mother?"

"Until Sunday night. Then I had to go home."

"Who lives at home, Andy?" the V-P asked next.

"My father, my sister (age 15), my brother (age 14), and me."

Further questions about the family revealed that the sister took care of the house. Mr. Perkins worked for the Ralston Purina Company with a steady job. There was an older sister, age 19, who was married and lived in Los Angeles. Andy's mother had remarried, and her name now was Mrs. Small. Mrs. Small had a year-old girl, whom Andy called his step-sister, and towards whom he showed signs of affection.

When Andy appeared to be in a receptive mood to talk about the trouble in the room, the V-P quickly asked, "Why do you dislike Mrs. T. so much?"

Andy protested strongly, "I like her."

"You mean you like her, and yet you acted like this towards some one you say you like?"

No answer.

The V-P continued, "What you mean is that you lost your temper again, huh, Andy?"

"Yeah," Andy answered, smiling sheepishly.

"This is getting to sound familiar, Andy."

"Yeah, I know."
The V-P addressed Andy with a quiet, but intense, voice, "Andy! You just can't keep on doing this. You know it just as well as I do. Do you know what happened? You thought you had a bad decision against you, just like that football game where I was the referee. Didn't you? And so you decided to get even with someone, just like you decided to get even with me."

The V-P waited a few moments, then continued, "O.K., Andy, I want you to tell me exactly what happened."

Andy related the incident, which involved another girl in the room. Andy had been blamed for it, but from the telling of the tale Andy felt that the girl should have received the punishment, but Andy, however, had received most of it.

The V-P reminded Andy about the day before in the hallway. The V-P went on to try and show Andy that for several days Andy had been causing trouble in the classroom. Andy admitted he had done so.

Then the V-P said, "Don't you think Mrs. T. was getting pretty fed up with your giving her a bad time day in and day out. Mrs. T. wants to be fair. In fact, she probably leans over backwards to do it. You should know that as well as anyone. But, Andy, there is just so much one person can take from an ornery cuss, isn't there? And it appears that you've sort of been an ornery cuss these past three days, doesn't it?"
Andy smiled and answered, "Yeah."

The V-P told Andy that his type of actions wasn't the kind the school would accept in the classrooms, therefore, he would have to work in the office by himself for the rest of the day and all the next. When Andy went back, the V-P warned, he was either to display that type of citizenship he was capable of, and which the class president was expected to show, or the V-P would consider transferring him out of his class.

Andy's case before the Guidance Council. On November 4 Andy's case was discussed by the Guidance Council. All the members of the council had had information sheets on Andy several days before, and, consequently all of them had been able to observe Andy both in his classroom and on the yard. During the discussion, and after the relating of the event of the birthday party, Mrs. S., fourth grade teacher, said that she felt that this incident was a good example to show how a child of divorce was a "mad" child. She further pointed out that any incident that brought out the divorce situation would make him "mad," and in this state of an angered mind, Andy would lash out, quite often at another adult woman if the situation so presented itself.

As a part of the conference on Andy, Mrs. T. presented her own over-view of Andy's role in the classroom:

"Andy has to be kept busy at all times, therefore, I give him extra work to do in the room. He is very efficient in most of his work... and I call his
attention to the fact when I can. I keep reminding him of his good work, but that he also needs to improve his general classroom behavior. He has stayed after school for talking back to me. He often says, 'I don't have to,' or, 'I'm not going to do it.' He has apologized to me. He definitely must learn to take disciplining when it is given to him. He was elected class president, team captain, and everything else that calls for an election. I like him very much, and I feel that he likes me, that is why I have taken special steps to see what could be done about him. Andy has very good possibilities... but he must learn... to be obedient... and be given firm discipline. I suggest that he be taken off the Safety Patrol if any further serious behavior occurs."

As a result of the discussion, the following recommendations were made by the council:

1. To Mrs. T.: Since Andy is president of his class, does he conduct meetings, know his duties, and have the opportunity to do tasks for the teacher that will establish him in the eyes of his classmates?

2. Andy appears to like his class, nor does his trouble appear to stem from it. Therefore, it was recommended that Andy not be transferred. In his good periods Andy responds positively towards Mrs. T., and his outbursts are not directed personally at her as an individual.

3. It was not recommended that Andy be removed too hastily from the Safety Patrol, since it was again pointed out that there was no personal hostility towards or conflict with Mrs. T. Removing Andy from the Safety Patrol might create such an antipathy, and then the problem would be further complicated rather than solved.
4. From what observation that was possible, Andy had been spoiled at home, and had not been held in very close check in school during the past two years. Therefore, limits of behavior should be established and adhered to. These limits should be commensurate with his position in his class. He should be held strictly to these limits on the yard as well as in class.

5. The father might be brought in to school if it appeared that Andy was becoming a more serious problem. Since the father worked, and, therefore, it would mean a hardship on him, this could be held off for the present. The possibility of it, however, might be pointed out to Andy.

6. Since this was Mrs. T.'s first year as an elementary school teacher, and since it was her first real experience with colored children, it was suggested that she consult other teachers with a background of successful teaching experience in areas similar to Roosevelt School. From them she should gain many helpful ideas that would assist her in handling Andy and his problems.

In response to these suggestions Mrs. T. expressed her appreciation. She stated that she knew that this was her first year, and she knew she had made mistakes. She felt, however, that she had been able to detect most of them, and
that each succeeding time she met a discipline situation she could be more constructive in her handling of it. She also concurred with the suggestion about getting further help from experienced colleagues. Mr. W. remarked that new teachers can sometimes be too sensitive when handling colored pupils. It could reach a point, Mr. W. continued, that there might even become two sets of standards in the classroom when the teacher made an effort to "bend over backwards" to be fair. This situation, Mr. W. concluded, could be just as unwise as being prejudicial against the colored pupils.

**Andy and the YMCA Club.** The V-P was forming a YMCA Gray "Y" Club for fifth graders at Roosevelt School, and all members of the Guidance Council felt that this type of activity was just the thing for Andy. Therefore, on November 24 the V-P approached Andy about the possibility of becoming a member. Andy responded enthusiastically to the idea. However, Andy pointed out that the city recreation league games in football and basketball were held on Saturday mornings, the time schedule for the meetings of the club. Basketball had just started, and Andy had made the first string "F" team that was to represent the Roosevelt playground. The V-P told Andy that if he wanted to join the club and attend the Monday afternoon meetings, and then wait until after basketball league play was over before coming on Saturday mornings, that would be all right. Andy was very agreeable to this suggestion.
The "Y" Club did not become active until January 8, but Andy attended the regular Monday afternoon meetings. On January 22 the basketball league finished, and so on the following Saturday Andy came to the YMCA with the club. He appeared to have a wonderful time, and at the following Monday's meeting Andy was chosen to be captain of one of the intra-club teams. Since that Saturday Andy did not miss a single trip to the YMCA.

When the club took a trip to the top of Mt. Diablo, Andy attended with the group. He appeared at the meeting place without a lunch, since he said he was not sure if the group were going. The day before had been stormy, and there had been some doubt as to whether the trip would go on as scheduled. However, the other boys in the group offered to share their lunches if Andy would go, which offer Andy accepted. On the trip up the mountain Andy became car sick, but once the top was reached the sickness left. Andy told the V-P while the group was eating lunch that this was the farthest trip he had ever taken—80 miles. On the way back to Stockton Andy led the rest of the club in planning the next trip for the group.

Appraisal of Andy as of March 1. Andy had not been referred to the office since the end of November, and so the V-P asked Mrs. T. to have a conference to appraise Andy's behavior and adjustments as of March 1. Mrs. T. brought the following written statement to the conference:
"Andy has improved considerably since the beginning of school. He seems to know when he is at fault, and is now willing to take the blame. I know that I understand him better than I did last fall, thanks to the suggestions and help of other teachers and the P and the V-P. When he gets in a sulky mood, which is seldom now, I can manage him so that he snaps out of it quickly.

He has a habit of wanting to be the leader all the time. I have explained to the class that it was better for others to have a chance at being leaders, as it would prepare them for later years in school. The next time a leader was chosen, it was another person. He profited from this a great deal as he realized that others must have a chance also. His attitude towards me has changed. He seems to have more respect for me.

His main difficulty now is learning to show how to be a good sport in baseball. He needs to be reminded of this often. He should be able to make Little League this year, and this should be a good experience for him."

The V-P and Mrs. T. discussed at some length if there were some other course of action that needed to be taken with Andy, but both agreed that in view of Andy's marked improvement over the past three months, that the present method of handling of Andy was proving sufficient.
VI. HISTORY OF JIM BROWN

Jim Brown was born in Berkeley, California, on December 24, 1944. He entered Roosevelt School as a first grader after having spent his Kindergarten year at Fair Oaks School. He entered the fifth grade at the beginning of the 1954-55 school year. Jim was placed in Mr. L.'s class for the fifth grade term. Jim's class had been together during both the third and the fourth grades. However, with the 1954-55 year there was an attempt to place children with a similar academic group, and consequently, the class was divided up and placed with various fifth grade teachers. Placement of Jim in Mr. L.'s class was based on the May, 1954 Metropolitan Achievement Test, Primary II Form, with scores of Reading 2.7, Arithmetic 4.2, Spelling 3.6, and English 3.1. Actually, Jim had been scheduled to enter another fifth grade teacher's room. However, as the result of the recommendation of Jim's fourth grade teacher, Mrs. B., Jim was separated from his two closest friends, Chester C. and James T., with whom Jim had been in frequent trouble for general classroom misbehavior. Mr. L.'s class contained the fastest group academically, although there was also a group of Jim's academic achievement level in the room. Mrs. B., Jim's fourth grade teacher, also felt that Jim would do much better work with a man teacher, which was concurred by the P, the V-P and other former teachers of Jim at the close of the 1953-54 school year.
Jim was 4 feet 2 inches and weighed 60 pounds at the beginning of the school year, definitely under the recognized average height and weight of his age at that time, which was 9 years, 9 months. Previous school physical examinations disclosed no noteworthy deviations. A California Mental Maturity Test, Form Primary 50-S, given 4-9-51, showed an IQ of 99. The same Test was administered on 10-1-53, with the resultant score of 84. Although Intelligence Tests are not ordinarily administered during the fifth grade, Mr. L., requested that Jim be retested as a result of the 15-point spread between the two tests. Jim was absent the first time retests were given, but was eventually retested on 2-1-55 with the California Mental Maturity Test, Form Primary 53-S, and the resultant IQ of 101.

Jim was the oldest of three children. A twin brother and sister were born in 1946, and both were in fourth grade during the 1954-55 school year. The boy twin was named Arthur, and although Arthur was over a year younger, he was still two inches taller than Jim at the start of the year. Jim's mother had divorced Mr. Brown several years before and had remarried. Her name was now Mrs. Davidson. Her husband was employed as a night janitor at Stockton College at the start of the school year.

Jim's third- and fourth-grade teachers had reported that Jim had a "vicious temper", and usually "appeared mad at somebody." During the 1953-54 school year he had been
referred to the office several times for unwarranted attacks on other pupils on the playground. Mrs. B., the fourth-grade teacher, had reported that Jim's classroom attitude during the school year had not been good; that he would idle away a great portion of his school day. Over a year and a half period between the two achievement Tests of 1953 and 1954 Jim had shown a gain of .6 in Reading, .6 in Arithmetic, and .5 in Spelling. In checking with Jim's first- and second-grade teacher, who was the same person, she reported that he had progressed very well, although there were difficult "periods" when he would achieve little or nothing at all. Mrs. H., Jim's third-grade teacher reported that these "periods" also occurred quite frequently in her room. The Achievement Tests given at 10-54 showed a loss in achievement over the 5-54 results, but as was pointed out by the P, such losses are frequent over the summer holidays.

Jim's referral for defiance. Mr. L., at several times discussed Jim with the V-P, pointing out his aggressive behavior on the school grounds, and in particular his defiance and sullenness when reprimanded or disciplined. His work had been fair, but as yet Jim had not yet entered one of the "periods" about which the V-P had talked to Mrs. L. On October 29 Mr. L. brought Jim to the V-P. Jim was in an angry mood, and had to be led by Mr. L. The trouble had started with a fight on the schoolyard during the recess period. Mr. L. had reprimanded Jim for it. On returning to
the classroom, Jim refused to do any work, became sullen, and refused to follow Mr. L.'s instructions. Even though this was Jim's first referral to the office the V-P felt that the situation was serious enough to fill out a referral for the Guidance Council, which had been formed during the 1954-55 school year. Since Jim appeared too angry to discuss the trouble rationally, the V-P told Jim to sit and wait in the office while the V-P went about other duties.

After about 15 minutes the V-P came back to the office. He asked Jim some routine data questions. When it appeared that Jim was willing to talk about his troubles, the V-P attempted to ascertain Jim's version of what had happened. To all the questions as to whether he were in the wrong, whether he had been treated fairly, and whether Mr. L.'s report of the incident was correct, he answered in the affirmative. He appeared completely willing to admit he was wrong, nor did he blame anyone else for any of his trouble.

The V-P said, "You just got mad?"

Jim answered in a half voice, "Yes."

"And you just stayed mad for no good reason?"

"Yes," Jim said turning his head and looking out the window.

"Do you lose your temper—that is, get mad—like this at home?" the V-P inquired next.

"Yes," Jim said, still looking away, and in a half voice.
"What does your mother do about it?"

Turning back and hanging his head, "She whips me sometimes."

The V-P said, "Jim, Mr. L. says that when you don't get mad and go around hitting people, you're a pretty nice boy to have around. Mr. L. likes you, Jim, and he doesn't want to see you in trouble. I like you, Jim, and I hate to see you sent in here for something bad. That temper of yours makes you a different person."

Jim did not reply, and tears came into his eyes.

The V-P then spoke very confidentially and quietly to Jim regarding how much nicer it was for everyone when he did not lose his temper, how everyone at school wanted to be his friends, and how the V-P did not like to think that the only way he would behave for the school was to be "whipped" every time. Jim promised he would try and not hit back or lose his temper. He remained in the office for the remainder of the day and did his work, and worked very well.

Jim's referral for leaving the school grounds. On November 8 Jim was again referred to the office. This time it was for leaving the school ground at lunch without having written permission to do so. Ordinarily this is not an offense that is referred to the office on the first time, but it had been agreed that a closer rein should be kept on Jim. The first time Jim appeared to be "slipping" from good school behavior he would be sent to the office to give an explanation.
The V-P asked Jim why he went across the street to
eat when he knew it was against the school rules.
Jim replied that he didn't have a lunch, and his
mother didn't give him any money to eat in the cafeteria.
The V-P asked him where he got the money to eat at
the lunch counter, since he didn't have it to eat in the
cafeteria.
Jim replied that James T. and Chester C., his fourth
grade friends, had given him some of their food.
The V-P sent for James and Chester, and they verified
the fact that they each gave Jim some of their lunches. James
said he had even bought Jim a hamburger. The V-P asked the
boys how often this had happened. They said sometimes as
often as twice a week. When asked how long it had been going
on, they replied that it had been only about two weeks.
The V-P returned to Jim and said, "Why don't you come
to the office and ask permission to call and ask your mother
if you can come home when this happens?"
No answer.
"What does your mother say when you don't come home for
lunch when this happens?"
"Nothing."
"Does she tell you to come home or to stay here at
school?"
"She tells me to come home with my sister and brother."
The V-P then asked, "But you get more to eat across the street, is that it?"

"Yes."

"Does your dad, Mr. Davidson, work, Jim?"

"No."

"Is he home, then?"

"No."

"Is he out looking for work?"

"No."

"Where is he, Jim? I'm talking about Mr. Davidson, you understand. I know your first dad is in Oakland."

"Yes, I understand. He's in jail."

This was the first that either Mr. L. or the V-P had known this information. The V-P then asked, "How long has he been there?"

Jim replied, "About a month."

"How long will he be there?"

"I think he's going to get out around Thanksgiving or Christmas. He got in trouble with Welfare." (Jim was making reference to the fact that Mr. Davidson drew welfare checks illegally, and had been convicted for it. These facts were brought to light after investigating Jim's last statement.)

At no time did Jim show any reluctance to talk about his father in prison. The V-P then questioned Jim as to what source of income there was since the family was ineligible for Welfare. He said his mother worked occasionally--about two
days a week--doing housekeeping. From appearances there did not seem to be an adequate income.

The V-P asked, "Do you get enough to eat at home?"
"Yes."
"Do you get pretty hungry during the day, sometimes, though?"

Jim answered, "Sometimes, but more at night."

The V-P told Jim that they both knew that Jim was doing wrong by going across the street to eat, and that he would have to abide by the rules, to which he agreed. The V-P sent Jim back to his class, but told him to come in and see him after school.

The V-P then talked to Mr. L. about giving free lunches to Jim, after explaining the background of the situation. Mr. L. definitely felt that it was a good idea. He had suspected Jim of taking food from lunches during the past two weeks, but could not prove it. He also pointed out that if Jim were hungry it would certainly explain Jim's restlessness in the classroom and his short temper.

The V-P cleared the approval for free lunches with Mr. H. of the Welfare and Attendance Office of the School District. After school, Jim came in to the office and the V-P told him that he would be given free lunches until Christmas, and if his father were not released by that time, the school would consider extending the free lunches. Jim was told he now had.
no reason to leave the school grounds, and that he could help the school by being a good citizen.

The V-P sent a letter home with Jim explaining what he had done. The next day Mrs. Davidson called on the phone. She first asked if the tickets had been paid for by Mr. Brown, her first husband. The V-P explained that the school provided them, and would do so until Mr. Davidson came home. Mrs. Davidson was very appreciative, then, and said that she was afraid that the children weren't getting enough to eat. She had been afraid to even approach the school about help since she thought that she would not be able to get it.

Mr. L. reported a definite improvement in Jim's entire behavior during the next few weeks. Jim was still having trouble controlling his temper on the school grounds, but nothing serious had developed. During the noon hours he spent his time between playing football and parrying with the opposing players. He would often break the school rules and wrestle, but it was not out of meanness, so he was only warned.

School-parent conference with Jim's mother. On November 28 Mr. L. brought Jim into the office. He had been fighting with a third-grader on the grounds, and had hurt the other child. When approached by the yard teacher, he had been defiant, and would come into the office only after Mr. L. went out and got him. When appraised of the situation and the background by the V-P, the P phoned Mrs. Davidson
and asked her to come to the school. Mrs. Davidson arrived about half-an-hour later.

Mrs. Davidson was friendly, and she appeared to want to cooperate. She also appeared anxious to help, but she admitted that she had difficulty with Jim at home.

Mrs. Davidson said, "I've whipped him until he fell asleep some times, and then sometimes I've cried over him, but it don't seem to do no good."

In response to the P's questions, Mrs. Davidson said she wasn't always home when Jim came home. She said that Jim had certain chores to do each day, but some days he did them and some days he wouldn't do a thing. Jim was then brought in. The P told Jim that his mother was going to cooperate with the school in seeing that he, Jim, acted the way young boys were supposed to around school; that if he persisted in fighting boys and girls on the grounds and in school, and in disobeying teachers, he would have to be suspended from school. Mrs. Davidson affirmed each of the P's statements. It was further agreed that any time Jim was in trouble Mrs. Davidson would be notified.

Mrs. Davidson then turned to Jim and said, "Now, hear. I'm giving them permission to whip you any time you gets into trouble, and then I'll whips you good when you get home. Hear?!" She then turned to the P and V-P and said, "You just whip him good and as hard as you wants to—just so you don't kill him, and I have to bury him. That's the only way
Jim can be made to act good. You whip him, and he'll be good." There was no tone of cruelty or viciousness in Mrs. Davidson's advice, but it was the only method that had "worked" for her.

Mrs. Davidson left as did the P. The V-P called Jim over and put his arms about Jim's shoulder and said, "You mean to tell me, Jim that the only way you're going to be good here at school is for us to whip the daylights out of you. You mean that the only way you're going to be nice is to get whipped?"

Jim started to cry. "No," he said.

"Jim--don't you think Mr. L.'s way is better? You have your choice, Jim. Mr. L. hasn't ever touched you, has he? Can't you behave that way? It's right up to you, boy." The V-P spoke further about how the school liked to treat boys "if they would give us a chance." Then the V-P asked if Jim would like to try it again with Mr. L.

"Yes," he replied, still crying.

The V-P placed him in his office until he calmed down, and then returned to Mr. L.'s room with him. The V-P told Mr. L., with Jim there, that Mrs. Davidson had been in to see the P and V-P, and that Jim had decided he wanted to come back and try again to be a better citizen.

There was no further trouble from Jim from then until Christmas vacation. In fact, Mr. L. reported Jim's behavior and work in class as the best it had been all year. Mr. L.
reported further that the defiance that had always seemed a part of Jim's behavior had disappeared, and Jim actually had shown a friendly attitude towards Mr. L. and the V-P.

During the Christmas vacation Mr. Davidson was released from jail. He had not gone to work, however, when school took up again on January 3. The V-P inquired of Jim if his father had been released. When Jim affirmed this, the V-P asked if Mr. Davidson had gone to work. Jim replied that his father had not yet started working, but he expected to get his job back with the school district.

Jim's trouble following the Christmas vacation. On January 5 Mr. L. brought Jim to the V-P's office again. Mr. L.'s referral slip on Jim stated, "Jim is acting up again. He won't do his work in class. He keeps bothering people all the time instead of doing his work. Doubles up his fist when you tell him something." Mr. L. further informed the V-P that Jim had come back to school from vacation "on a tear," and it had just gone too far.

When Mr. L. left the office, the V-P walked over to Jim and grabbed him by his sweater and shirt and yanked him right up to the V-P. The V-P stooped down and looked Jim right in the eye.

After several seconds the V-P said, "So you want us to follow your mom's advice after all. You want to get batted around instead of being treated like a human being."

Jim started to cry.
"Aw, knock it off, will you?" The V-P countered, "You aren't one bit sorry. You run around the school like you owned it, and do just as you darned well please, and then all of a sudden you're sorry. It's just not going to work, Buster. It just isn't going to work." With the last sentence, the V-P pushed Jim away (with a good shove). Jim staggered back against the wall. The V-P waited a second. Jim was still crying quietly. The V-P crossed the room and took hold of both of Jim's shoulders in a firm grip.

Again looking Jim straight in the eyes, the V-P continued sternly, "Stop your crying, Jim. It's not doing you one bit of good. You're being treated just the way you've asked for it. Hear?" (And with that the V-P gave Jim a quick, hard shake.)

Jim sobbed, "Yes."

"Well, you had just better," the V-P answered still firmly holding Jim by the shoulders. Then in an even stern voice, the V-P said, "Because if you don't want to shape up right now, and for good, just get ready for a good dose of what your mother suggested. Hear?" Again the V-P gave Jim a firm shake.

Jim replied, "Yes," still half-crying.

The V-P marched Jim over to a chair and sat him in it. The V-P then sent for some work for Jim to do the rest of the day. Jim stayed in the V-P's office until nearly an hour after school.
Jim again appeared to settle down in his class. Mr. L. and the V-P conferred the next day. It was decided that a very strict rein should be kept on Jim. For the next week, it was decided, Jim should be taken off all duty and not be allowed to go out of the classroom, except to the lavatory. Jim should be told that he was on probation for this period, and if he could maintain a good record for this time he would be allowed to go on such duties that might be assigned to him. Jim had been a milk monitor every other week, and had been used by Mr. L. as one of the duty monitors.

Again Jim resumed his friendly and cooperative attitude. Occasionally, Jim would get into some minor trouble on the yard or in the classroom, but the difficulty was never of a serious nature, and he took what reprimand was given without signs of defiance or anger. Mr. L. reported that although Jim's work was still far from what was desired, Jim still showed periods of effort. What was more important was that Jim was not disturbing others in the class.

About the first week of the Spring semester Mr. L. reported that Jim again was showing signs of his former poor attitude and behavior. On February 7 the yard duty teacher reported trouble with Jim on the punching bags and had to order him off that play area. That noon one of the teachers in the upper hall reported that he had to escort Jim and two other boys out of the upper halls. The three had initiated a game of tag in the corridors, and they were noisily
enjoying themselves when the teacher came out of his room to investigate the source of the levity.

Jim still had not been referred to the office, but the V-P felt that it was only a matter of time. Therefore, the V-P went to Mr. L.'s room on the pretense of discussing some school business.

As he was about to leave, the V-P called back to Mr. L., "By the way, Mr. L., how is Jim doing these days?" The V-P looked at Jim and smiled. Jim half-smiled back.

Mr. L., replied, very seriously, "I don't know, Mr. B., I'm afraid things aren't doing so well with Jim. He's already been in trouble twice today. I'm afraid he may be coming in to see you."

The V-P dropped his smile, and, narrowing his eyes, walked straight to Jim's desk, all the while looking directly at Jim. Jim hung his head.

The V-P stood directly over Jim, looking down at him, and said softly, but very firmly, "Oh? I hardly think that that is a very wise way to be behaving, do you, Jim?"

Jim mumbled, "No."

The V-P leaned over and spoke insistently, "And it isn't going to continue, is it, Jim?"

Jim again mumbled, "No."

The V-P stood up and spoke aloud to Mr. L., "I want to know, Mr. L., the very next time Jim steps out of line. He's done real well the past few weeks, and we're going to make sure it continues. O.K., Mr. L.?"
"Fine, Mr. B.," Mr. L. replied.

As the V-P left the room, he heard Mr. L. saying to Jim, "You heard that, didn't you, Jim?"

As Mr. L. felt that this episode had a positive effect on bringing Jim back to a more acceptable classroom behavior, the V-P employed similar methods during the next few weeks. On the yard the V-P would very obviously watch Jim for several minutes at a time. In the hallway, as Mr. L.'s class would enter and leave the building, the V-P would stand and watch Jim all the way to or from his room. As the weeks went by, the V-P would smile or wink or nod during these times, and would often go over and pat Jim on the back or head when the V-P left.

**Evaluation of Jim as of March 1st.** By March 1 Mr. L. felt that Jim's behavior and attitude had reached the point that it was more positive than negative; that Jim's basic attitude was the desire to conform rather than rebel towards the school authority. Mr. L. summed up Jim as follows:

1. Jim is still the most difficult student in the room. However, the maliciousness and rebellion that seemed to underlie his previous actions is no longer prevalent.

2. Jim still does not wish to conform to the classroom rules in many instances, but whereas this attitude seemed to be a continuous thing several months ago, now it is only sporadic.
3. Jim's worst problem now is in actual schoolwork achievement. Jim still spends too great a portion of the school day wasting his time. He is not bothering the other children, however, to the extent that he has done.

4. Jim is intelligent and sensitive enough to recognize the inequalities he faces in life. Jim's home situation is poor, not only economically, but socially as well. Jim probably resents his step-father. His real father still sends him things, although secretively, while his step-father now has a jail record, and has had a difficult time providing for Jim and the other members of the family. Mr. Davidson, however, is now finally working regularly, so the home situation may be alleviated a little.

5. Jim prefers the school discipline to that he receives at home. Nevertheless, he has to be firmly reminded of this regularly. Jim responds to defined and closely adhered to limits of behavior.
VII. HISTORY OF MINNIE HAYES

Minnie Hayes was the oldest child of Mack and Pansy Hayes, and was born on December 25, 1943 at Browley, California. At the beginning of the 1954-55 school year Minnie had one sister, Betty Sue, who was born in 1951. Minnie was assigned to the sixth-grade class of Mrs. M. at Roosevelt School for the 1954-55 school year. At this time Mr. Hayes was unemployed and was on county welfare relief. The Hayes' home was less than a block from Roosevelt School. It was a three-room white house that had been one of about twenty similarly constructed houses built in 1952 in that area.

During the 1953-54 school year Minnie had been in Mr. L.'s class. In this class she had but one referral to the office as the result of disciplinary measures. Her disciplinary history had been comparatively good during this year, and her achievement had been remarkably high, according to Mr. L.

On November 1, 1954 Minnie was 4 feet, 9 inches in height, and weighed 127 pounds. This was a gain of 4 inches and 39 pounds in one year. Her size made her one of the largest pupils in Roosevelt School. Minnie's permanent record folder revealed several suggestions for referrals to the local health clinic. These were for eye testing, pediatrics, a recommended tonsillectomy and adenoidectomy, and for drainage of the ear. None of these appointments or suggested referrals were carried out by the parents. The latest vision and hearing test data, recorded March, 1955, revealed
no loss of hearing or sight whatsoever. As the result of a
home visit by the public health nurse in October, 1954, a
referral to the local clinic for a diet check-up was strongly
recommended, but to date had not been complied with by the
parents. The health record stated, "... mother states she
will go as soon as she has fare." In October, 1954, the
public health nurse also reported that Mrs. Hayes was preg-
nant again, and should deliver in the middle of February,
1955.

Minnie attended all of her elementary school grades
at the Roosevelt School, and four of her five previous
teachers were still at the school during the 1954-55 school
year, so it was possible to gather a rather detailed behavior
background of Minnie beginning with the first grade. Through
conferences with these teachers, the following general
appraisals of Minnie were found:

1. Minnie was a very apt pupil, and when she made a
real effort she was able to achieve ahead of most
of the other pupils in the class. She took pride
in being the best student, especially among the
colored children of the class.

2. Minnie was never a serious trouble maker, although
she would be the source of a number of small
irritations in the class. She was never malicious
in her misbehaving, and usually firm handling by
the teacher was sufficient to handle the situation.
3. Minnie was a leader in her room. In the fourth and fifth grades she emerged as the leader of all the colored girls in the school. She did not take this leadership as a signal to defy authority, however, and up until the sixth grade there had been little or no history of attempting to make a "gang" out of the girls that followed her. Minnie was fairly well liked by all the pupils in the room.

4. Minnie was always large for her age. She was also socially and physically more mature than the other children. Minnie's interest range was consistently ahead of or beyond that of the other children in the class.

A California Mental Maturity Test, administered in October, 1952, showed Minnie with an IQ of 111. Another CMM Test, Form Intermediate 8, given in January, 1955, disclosed an IQ of 113, with a Mental Age of 13-8. The last full battery of the Metropolitan Achievement Test, Form Elementary R, was given in October, 1953. On this test Minnie scored 5.8 in Reading, 4.8 in Arithmetic, 4.5 in Spelling, and 5.2 in English. A partial battery of the MAT, given in October, 1954, showed a score of 6.6 in Reading and 5.6 in Arithmetic.

Minnie in the classroom. Early in the school year, Mrs. N. reported that she was concerned about Minnie's behavior in class. She stated that Minnie was physically
much more mature than any pupil in the class. Mrs. N. felt that this factor combined with her mental maturity could cause Minnie to become a serious problem. Mrs. N. further reported that Minnie was becoming an agitator in the class, and had become a disturbing influence due to her uninhibited talking and singing. By this time Minnie had become pretty much the recognized leader of all of the colored children in school. Physically she was very strong, and because she was larger than any of the others, and more intelligent, it was a natural tendency for the others to accept her leadership.

In the discussion of the problem between the V-P and Mrs. N., it was decided that the wisest course of action was for the school to accept Minnie's leadership and attempt to channel it into constructive areas. It was thought that if Minnie could be made to feel responsible for the development of good attitudes among the colored children, her position among the pupils could be used very advantageously. It was further felt that Minnie should be given a great deal of responsibility in the classroom itself—responsibility with a certain amount of authority. Since previous history of Minnie showed that up to this point she was approachable and not malicious in her attitude, the wisest approach to Minnie would be through her potential help to the school.

In accordance with these suggestions, Mrs. N. made Minnie her personal assistant in the room. When Mrs. N. had to leave the room Minnie was put in charge of the class until
she returned. Mrs. N. used Minnie on the playground to help organize and conduct some of the games. Mrs. N. put Minnie in charge of some of the spelling, reading, and social studies groups and activities. Minnie responded in most instances very well to this responsibility. Mrs. N. reported that she still continued her coarse actions and talk, but she had become a more diligent student and had been cooperative in every way with Mrs. N.

The only person in the classroom who would not accept her leadership was Jasper Martin. He continued to agitate Minnie, and on more than one occasion Minnie would let a fist or foot fly in Jasper's direction. There were also several other non-colored girls and one or two colored girls in the sixth grade who resented Minnie and her leadership. On October 27 the V-P went onto the yard after school and discovered a large group of colored girls milling around the bottom of the steps.

"Waiting for somebody, girls?" the V-P casually asked.

The other girls looked at Minnie. After a moment she giggled a bit then said, "Naw." Then the others giggled a bit, too.

"Well," the V-P went on, "all the good-looking men teachers are in a meeting, and there's just me left. So you might as well go home."

The girls started laughing. Then Minnie said, "Aw, Mr. B., you aren't so bad looking." At this the rest of the girls broke into gales of laughter, and Minnie smiled broadly.
The V-P said, "Well, thanks, Minnie—even though I'm just, uh—shall we say, a little heavy."

This time the girls and Minnie both broke into screeches of laughter. Then Minnie answered, "Boy, if you think you're heavy, Mr. B., you should see my dad. Ooo—whooo!" This was too much for the rest of the girls. They howled with delight, pushed each other, broke up their group and headed away from the building.

The V-P watched them for a while, then seeing that they were definitely heading home, he went back into the building and upstairs to the sixth grade rooms. In the hallway he found one of the girls who had definitely not accepted Minnie—a large Mexican girl—and several of her friends. The V-P asked her what she was doing there.

"They're going to get me," she replied.

"I don't think so, Maria. They've gone home, now. What was the trouble, anyway?"

"Aw, she's always trying to boss people around. And if you don't do what she says, she says that she's going to get you," was Maria's reply.

"I understand, Maria. Minnie likes to tell people what to do. But you have a temper yourself, Maria, and you might have said something that made her mad. This is the first time she's actually waited for anyone, you know. Did you say something to her?"
Maria said, "I told her to mind her own business. That's all."

The V-P said, "I see. Well, you go along now, Maria, and all of you girls just stay away from Minnie for the next day or so. I'll talk with her tomorrow. Minnie really isn't mean, and I think we can straighten it out."

The next day the V-P approached Minnie casually and privately on the yard. "Maria make you mad yesterday, Minnie?" he asked.

"Yeah, but we weren't going to do anything to her. Honest, Mr. B." Minnie stated.

"I know you weren't, Minnie, but she thought you were. Suppose you just stay away from her for the next few days."

"Okay, Mr. B.," Minnie replied.

When the V-P related the incident to Mrs. N., she stated that Minnie was becoming increasingly "hitty", and when she hit somebody, even though it was in fun, she often hurt them. It was suggested that the P, V-P and Mrs. N. get together and talk about what the next steps should be. Mrs. N. stated that she had kept the P informed as to what steps were being taken, and that he was very interested in any serious deviation of attitudes or actions.

The P called Minnie in the next Monday and talked to her about not hitting the boys and girls, as she often quite unintentionally hurt them. He praised Minnie for the way she had helped both Mrs. N. and the school out by being a good
leader. He warned, however, that leaders had to be more careful about what they did, since so many people or children would follow them, and in this way, an innocent punch of some child might have serious results. Minnie was cooperative and understanding and promised the P that she would definitely try to improve at this point.

On November 15 Mrs. N. brought Minnie to the office. Minnie had lost her temper and had hit Jasper Martin very hard, and had definitely hurt the boy. Mrs. N. said it was the third time this week that Minnie had hit someone. She further stated that this was the only time that Minnie had done it in anger, and that Jasper had probably brought it on himself. Nevertheless, since the P had warned Minnie so strongly only three weeks before about hitting pupils, the P decided to ask Mrs. Hayes to come in, and talk over Minnie's situation. It was the next day before Mrs. Hayes could come, so Minnie waited in the office during the time.

Mrs. Hayes was a large woman, friendly and cooperative. She promised the P she would do her best to make Minnie behave in school. It was agreed that at any time Minnie caused trouble Mrs. Hayes would be notified. Mrs. Hayes then went upstairs to visit Mrs. N. and to observe Minnie in the class. Mrs. N. reported that Mrs. Hayes appeared interested and fully cooperative.

Mrs. N. reported over the next few weeks that although there had been slight actual improvement in Minnie's aggressiveness, "I believe the child is trying." Being aggressive
"appears to be second nature to Minnie." The room was "much more quiet than previous to mother's visit, ... however, ... (it is still) not good." After Mrs. Hayes' visit to the school the P had asked Mrs. N. to keep an anecdotal record of Minnie's behavior. The quotes above were excerpts from that record.

Problems of Minnie's aggressiveness. Minnie "blew" again on Friday, December 10. This time it was again Jasper Martin, plus Jasper's friend Chester. Earlier in the same day Minnie had punched another colored girl who was normally her friend. Both cases were out of anger on Minnie's part, but Mrs. N. had not reported the first incident since the two girls were close friends, and Mrs. N. felt that it could be handled effectively in the room.

Since Mrs. Hayes was now fairly well along in her pregnancy, the P decided to take Minnie home rather than have Mrs. Hayes come to school. Both the P and V-P walked over to the Hayes' house with Minnie, but neither Mr. nor Mrs. Hayes were there. They had gone to the San Joaquin General Hospital for a physical check-up for Mrs. Hayes. Minnie was brought back to the school, and she remained in the office the rest of the day.

The next Monday Minnie again reported to the office and did her work there. That afternoon the P and V-P went again to the Hayes' home, this time, however, without Minnie. Both Mr. and Mrs. Hayes were home. However, during the entire time
of the visit Mr. Hayes merely came in to say hello and good-bye. The remainder of the time he sat eating in the kitchen. The P asked Mrs. Hayes if she could give any reason why Minnie was so belligerent and aggressive.

Mrs. Hayes replied, "Well, you know she gets it around here, I guess. We fights all the time around here, just in fun. Her uncles have always teased her, and every now and then they hauls off and belts her a good one. So she just learned to hit back. Sometimes she comes in after school and sneaks up behinds me or her daddy and gives us a good one. Whooppee. I be black and blue for days, but she don't mean nothing by it. She probably does the same thing at school. She don't mean to hurt the children, but she's got so strong protecting herself around here that she hurts them without meaning to. She's not a mean girl, Mr. N. 'Course she don't hit me now, with me carryin' the baby, but she and her uncles fights all the time."

Again she promised to do something about Minnie's behavior. "When I could get around I'd slap her around good when she didn't mind you folks, but now she just runs outside when I starts after her. The other day she took off and didn't come back for two days. 'Course I knew she was at her cousins' place. Finally she comes wanderin' in. But I tells her she's got to be good or she won't get nothing to eat. That's the only way I can handle her now, me being like this."
All during the visit Mrs. Hayes was friendly, and when the P and V-P left, she invited both of them back anytime. The next day the V-P checked to see if Minnie was staying at home, but Minnie told the V-P she was staying "at my cousin's place until Pansy (the mother) starts feeling a little better."

The following day the P, V-P and Mrs. N. had a conference concerning a future course of action. At this point it was decided the following factors seemed evident:

1. Minnie's problem was probably the most potentially explosive one in the school. It had racial as well as social aspects that could be extremely serious.

2. Minnie was still approachable, and "on the side of the school." There was still good working relations between Minnie and Mrs. N.

3. At that time there could be little help expected from the home, even though the parents might be willing enough. The home, however, should still be the moving force in any course of action if at all possible.

4. Minnie appeared to be really wanting to do better; if approached right she would probably respond favorably.

5. There was a growing resentment of Minnie among all the pupils because of her belligerence.

An actual plan of action could not be decided upon at that time. The P felt that all three should be on the alert
to possibilities of approach, and, specifically, areas in which Minnie could develop that did not require aggressive action or authority.

**Minnie's problem of personal appearance.** Minnie appeared the first day after Christmas vacation with a brand new hair-do, and make-up. Her hair had a brown tinge with a red streak on the top in front. She was over-dressed, though her clothes were still not as clean as they should be. Although she was wearing make-up, it was not in excess. The school had a general policy against girls wearing make-up, although the matter had been placed on an individual teacher-pupil basis. Mrs. N. called the V-P up to the room to quietly show him Minnie, and earlier had reported it to the P. Mrs. N. felt that this could definitely be a turning point with Minnie, and that actually here was an area of approach which had not been fully tried with the girl. It was decided therefore that:

1. No issue be made of the change in appearance in terms of its being against the school rules.

2. No adverse comment should be made concerning the dyeing of Minnie's hair.

3. Mrs. N. would use this change in Minnie's appearance as a subtle suggestion to her that it would be also a good time to make a change in her actions. Since Minnie's efforts were to make
herself more of a lady in appearance, it would naturally follow that she would be a lady in her actions as well.

4. Future approach to Minnie by all concerned would be that "it was really ladylike." Mrs. N. would make helpful suggestions to Minnie on how she might improve her appearance without causing resentment. A compliment, followed by an added suggestion, might be used to help Minnie help herself.

5. Minnie could still be used as a leader in most areas, and here there might be employed a more mature approach to leadership. Mrs. N. should attempt to explain to Minnie the behavior of other children whom she had difficulty with, and in this way Minnie could feel she was still the leader yet be more understanding and less belligerent against attempts to defy or question her authority.

According to Mrs. N., Minnie responded in a positive manner to this method of treatment. Over a period of time her clothes became neater and cleaner. Soon she started coming to school with or without make-up. She "decided" that make-up was for the more special occasions, and not necessarily a matter of principle. She made a real effort to curb her aggressiveness, and during the month of January she was not referred to the office for any purpose. There
had been days that Minnie appeared to be "slipping", but they had all passed without serious incident.

With the day of Mrs. Hayes' delivery always coming nearer, Mrs. N. began stressing to Minnie the important responsibility that she would increasingly play at home, and the fact that she would have to be of help rather than a hindrance in the home. One day Mrs. N. kept several pupils, including Minnie, after school for disturbing the class and not completing their assignments. The next morning Mrs. N. reported that she found a piece of lined paper on her desk with the sentence, "I will do my lessons," written in double columns, filling both sides of the paper. At the top of the page was written, "Mother made me do this because I didn't do my work at school. Please send me home with today's assignment (assignment)." (Signed) Minnie.

On February 1, Mr. Wh., the science teacher, brought Minnie and Jasper to the office. They had just engaged in fisticuffs in the room and Minnie really attacked Jasper. After the two had an opportunity to quiet down, the P took both of them into his office. Since both of them had shown efforts to behave during the previous weeks, the P decided that severe punishment was not in order. They both insisted that they were fighting "in fun." Therefore, the P had each of them enter into an agreement with the school. "The first one bothered by the other will report to Mrs. N. or to me
(the P) at once without striking back or causing further trouble." Both Jasper and Minnie agreed to this.

On February 7, Jasper hit Minnie "with considerable force," according to Mrs. N.'s anecdotal record. Minnie did not hit back but showed "self-restraint and reported the incident to her teacher." When Mrs. N. questioned her as to what happened, she voluntarily admitted that she might have caused the trouble, though not intentionally. When she admitted this she began to cry. According to Mrs. N. this was the first time that Minnie had ever showed tears or sincere regret for what had happened. Not only did Mrs. N. compliment Minnie for the way she had acted, but the P also made it a point to come to Minnie and tell her how pleased he was with the "ladylike" manner in which she had behaved.

Both the P and the V-P made periodic checks with Mrs. N. concerning Minnie. Mrs. N. felt that Minnie was making definite, albeit "slow and sometimes painful" progress. She was not referred to the office for the remainder of the month. The greatest improvement during February was a decline in her belligerence. She did not get involved in any incidents with other pupils either on the yard or in the classroom during these weeks.

Analysis of Minnie as of March 1st. In a conference between Mrs. N. and the V-P on March 1, the following appraisal of Minnie was arrived at:
1. Minnie's advanced physical maturity would continue to be a major source of adjustment, not only for her but for Mrs. N. and the school personnel.

2. Minnie had made marked improvement in terms of behavior in class and on the school grounds. She had lost a noticeable portion of her aggressive attitude. However, Minnie still had to be the leader or the important person in the class. This might prove more serious than expected, for it was becoming more apparent that Minnie was not the accepted leader of the girls that she was four months before.

3. "Being ladylike," appealed to Minnie, and this "goal" should be the basis of any approach towards her. She continued to be interested in her appearance and her manners, which was a positive gain by the school during the year.
VIII. HISTORY OF CHESTER HALL

Chester Hall was the second child of Roberta and Peter Hall, and was born at the San Joaquin General Hospital on March 20, 1943. He entered Roosevelt School as a kindergarten pupil, and remained at the school during his entire elementary school education. At the beginning of the 1954-55 school year he entered the sixth-grade class of Mrs. N. At this time Chester was the oldest of six children. His older brother Ulysses had died in 1953 from sickle cell anemia. Of these six remaining children, four of them were in attendance at Roosevelt School at the start of the 1954-55 school year. Peter, born in 1945, was in Mr. L.'s fifth grade class. Marshall and Emma Pearl, twins, were in the third grade classes of Mrs. M. and Mrs. F. respectively. Since Chester had been in Roosevelt School continuously, fairly up-to-date records were available on him. In May, 1951 Chester scored 91 on the California Mental Maturity Test Form, Primary S. On the same test in October, 1952, Chester scored an I. Q. of 66. In February, 1955, Chester scored an I. Q. of 93 on the California Mental Maturity Test Form, Intermediate S. On the Metropolitan Achievement Test, Intermediate Partial, Form S, given in September, 1954, Chester scored 5.2 in Reading, 5.1 in Arithmetic.

At the start of the school year, Chester was 4 feet, 8 inches in height and weighed 74 pounds. As was mentioned
earlier, Chester's brother Ulysses had died the year before of anemia. As early as November, 1950, there appeared in Chester's permanent record the notation for referral to the Out-patient Clinic of San Joaquin General Hospital for the same organic disorder. As early as January, 1949, there appeared another referral for vision testing, the cause of which was cross-eyedness. Each year there appeared referral notations for the eyes, and when Chester was in the third grade he began wearing glasses. According to his teacher at that time, Chester wore his glasses only occasionally, and near the end of the school year he broke them. During the fourth grade Chester did not wear glasses at all, and it was not until after the start of the fifth grade that Chester was given a new pair of glasses. They were provided by the County Welfare Department, and, according to Chester's fifth grade teacher, were not attractive. Therefore, it was with great difficulty that the teacher kept Chester wearing his glasses. Again near the end of the school year Chester broke his glasses, and at the start of the sixth grade he was not wearing them. However, through pressure from the school and the Health Department, Mr. Hall bought Chester a new pair of glasses. They were attractive, and Mrs. N. reported that the calibre of Chester's work and his class attitude improved considerably after he started wearing them. All of Chester's teachers reported that he was a much improved pupil in all areas when he was wearing glasses,
even though he seemed to resent having to wear them. In June, 1952, a hearing test revealed a high tone loss in both ears, and the same test administered in February, 1955, disclosed a similar loss, although it was not considered serious by the tester.

Since Chester and his brothers and sister had all been at Roosevelt School during the 1953-54 school year, both the P and the V-P had had previous knowledge of the family and the economic background of the children. Mr. Hall was a part-time carpenter, and he also owned a number of small cabins in the area where he lived. Mrs. Hall was a chronic patient at the California State Mental Hospital since 1947. According to the school public health nurse, Mrs. Hall had to be committed to the Hospital during pregnancies. Even after the birth of the children, when she was allowed to return home, she showed absolutely no affection for any of the children, including the newborn child. She would consistently leave the house and be gone most of the day, and then return in the evening. Mr. Hall hired a Mrs. Davis to take care of the children during the day while Mrs. Hall would be gone. When the other children returned from school Mrs. Davis would go home. After the death of Ulysses, Chester assumed the responsibility of looking after the children. Not only did the younger brothers and sisters, but the other boys and girls in the neighborhood called Chester "Pops."
Chester's attitude towards first referral. Chester had not been a serious discipline problem in the fifth grade, although both Peter and Emma Pearl had been referred several times to the office during the previous year. About the end of the first month in school Mrs. N. reported to the P and V-P that she was afraid of the result of the friendship between Jasper Martin and Chester. Jasper was already getting into trouble, and Mrs. N. feared that Chester would follow right along. On October 30 Chester was sent to the office by Mrs. N. for general misbehavior in-class and on the school grounds. The V-P took Chester into his office. Chester did not appear to be the least bit upset because he had been sent to the office.

From the outset of the interview with Chester, the V-P discovered a complete casualness about Chester's behavior in class. When asked if he felt if he had done something wrong, Chester's reply was, "Mrs. N. says I did, so I guess I did."

"But you don't think you have done anything wrong?"

"Not worse than anybody else does in the room."

The V-P read from the referral slip that enumerated counts of Chester's referral, the last of which was playing punching bag after the bell had rung.

Chester said, "All I did was just tap the bag as I was getting in line."

"Mrs. N. says you were playing."
"Well, if that's playing, I just don't know. All the other children hit it after the bell rings, but I get sent to the office."

The V-P said, "That's only one among a number of things that you were sent here for. And Mrs. N. doesn't send pupils down here the first time they do things. I think this may have happened a number of times."

"When?" asked Chester.

"Well, I don't know when, I'm merely saying that no one is sent to the office for first offenses unless they're pretty serious."

The V-P continued to talk to Chester about the problem, but Chester repeatedly countered with the fact that he had been singled out for punishment. During the conversation Chester stated or implied that he believed the following:

1. He shouldn't have to go to school if he didn't want to; that school could no longer be of any assistance to him.

2. The school had it in for colored pupils; he didn't have to prove it, since it was fairly obvious; and that the school had discriminated against his father in firing him off a school job.

3. The school should pay for free lunches for all of his family, since his dad paid taxes, and pupils whose parents didn't pay taxes were given free lunches.
Chester was taking lessons on the violin through the school. He was proud of the fact that the violin belonged to him, and was not one that belonged to the school department. When he left the office to go home at the end of the school day he left his violin at school. Since it was Friday the V-P decided to take the violin to Chester at his home. The V-P had some difficulty in finding Chester, since at the address listed were several cabins, all belonging to Mr. Hall. After going around on the opposite side of the block from the address the V-P found Chester out in the yard helping his sister put up clothes on the line. Emma also had an ironing board outside and was doing some ironing as well as helping Chester hang clothes. The V-P brought the violin over to where Chester was working.

"Here's your violin, Chester. I thought you might be able to use it and practice over the week-end," the V-P said.

"Thanks a lot, Mr. B.," replied Chester, with a smile. I'll practice on it."

As the V-P was leaving Mr. Hall came to the door. He had obviously been drinking, and was only half-clothed.

The next Monday the V-P talked to Mrs. N. about some of the statements Chester had made. Mrs. N. was surprised in that he had never expressed any such sentiments in the class, or showed it in his attitude towards her. In contrast to Chester's friend, Jasper, Mrs. N. stated that since
Chester had his glasses he was a diligent worker, and always completed assignments. His trouble in the class, she felt, had stemmed from periods outside the classroom—on the playground and across the street—with his association with Jasper.

Trouble with Chester’s brother and sister. Shortly thereafter, both Peter, in the fifth grade, and Emma Pearl, in the third grade, began to be serious problems in their classes. Peter’s behavior, especially, took a bad turn. The P, V-P, and Mr. Hall had to be brought in before Peter’s behavior allowed him to return to the classroom. He had been defiant, sullen, angry, abusive to other children, and insolent to the school staff. After a threat of suspension and a conference with Mr. Hall, Peter returned to a normal behavior. During this problem Mr. Hall was cooperative, understanding, and viewed the problem with intelligent reasoning. It was during this trouble also that Mr. H., the Attendance and Welfare Officer had disclosed that Mr. Hall had been fired by the school department for being drunk on the job. The V-P felt that this explained the cause for Chester's statement during his first interview with the V-P.

Emma Pearl also had to be sent to the office for classroom misbehavior. In talking to the V-P she, too, appeared to take her misbehaving lightly. However, an ultimatum of good behavior or more serious discipline, together with a daily visit to Emma’s room to get a report
on her behavior, proved an adequate measure of returning Emma to more acceptable classroom actions.

Trouble resulting from Chester's friendship with Jasper Martin. During the three weeks that followed Chester's first referral to the office, he was sent again four or five times. None of the referrals were for serious misbehavior in the classroom. One was for crossing the street without permission. Another was for roaming the halls during lunch hour. A third was for crossing over onto the Primary play yard, and not returning to his side when asked by the teacher on yard duty. Twice he had been sent in for misbehaving in the courts. Each time the V-P or the P talked with Chester. In every case Chester agreed that he shouldn't have done it. For each offense he remained after school. None of the offenses were serious in themselves, but on the second referral for trouble in the courts the P called Mr. Hall into the school. He explained to Mr. Hall the various offenses for which Chester had been sent to the office. The P explained that none of them were of a serious nature, but that it indicated a general disregard for the rules of the school. Mr. Hall agreed whole-heartedly with the P, and asked to be notified when Chester broke any further rules. Mr. Hall further agreed to talk to Chester about the matter.

During the first weeks of school Chester had developed a close friendship with Jasper Martin. Jasper's home background was similar to that of Chester's, and they seemed to
enjoy each other's companionship. Both Chester and Jasper had been given work in the cafeteria as their home situation appeared to warrant it. Mrs. N. had observed early in the school year that although their friendship could serve a good purpose, it might also develop into something unfavorable. About the sixth week of school both boys' work in the cafeteria became lax and undependable. It was discovered that when one left work early the other soon followed, and when one did not report to work at all the other soon left work. Chester's case appeared to have the greater need, consequently he was allowed to remain working after Jasper had been relieved of his duty. However, within a short time Chester's work became so irresponsible that he too had to be taken off duty.

On November 22 both boys were sent to the office for starting a fight with two girls in their room. They had, however, apparently received the worse of the encounter, having chosen two aggressive colored girls with whom to fight. In talking with the V-P, Chester insisted that he was only an innocent bystander in the affair; that Jasper had deliberately antagonized the girls, and that the girls had hit him because he was with Jasper. The V-P suggested that, since Jasper seemed to get him in trouble, it would be wiser to find someone else to "pal around with" in Jasper's place. Chester replied that Jasper was the only boy that wanted to be his friend.
The V-P said, "You mean none of the other boys are friendly to you, Chester?"

Chester replied, "Yeah, they're friendly, but they just don't seem to want to be real friends."

"Have you tried to be a real friend to some of them?"

"No. Wouldn't do any good, anyway," was Chester's reply.

The V-P discussed Chester's statements with Mrs. N. the following day. She stated that Chester took no part in the physical education activities, and was tending to be an isolate in the classroom. She also stated, however, that Chester was still well liked by the others in the room. It was decided that Chester should be placed on Safety Patrol duty as soon as a vacancy arose, since his school work was still at a high standard, and Mrs. N. felt that he was working to capacity.

On December 1 Mrs. N. referred Chester to the office. It was the third day in a row that Chester had been more than 15 minutes late to school. Mrs. N. reported that Chester had said that the reason he was late was that he had to take care of the other children, and then had to feed himself, and therefore could not get to school on time. Mrs. N. wanted the story either verified or corrected. The P called Mr. Hall concerning Chester's story. Mr. Hall insisted that Chester should have been at school on time, and that he would talk to Chester about it when he came home.
On December 8 Chester was sent to the office again. This time it was with his friend Jasper. Seventy cents had disappeared from one of the girl's desks in Mrs. N.'s room. The desk was next to Jasper's, and during that noon period both Jasper and Chester had gone down to the nearby stores, and when found, they had 15 cents in money and two candy bars. Chester immediately accused Jasper of taking the money, but Jasper insisted that he had found it. The V-P talked to both boys separately and together. Chester insisted that he had gone to the stores because Jasper said he had the money, or else he wouldn't have gone. Chester later changed his story to protect Jasper, and said that Jasper had only said he had some money, and "allowed as if" Jasper never did say where he had actually obtained it.

After questioning by the P as well, the V-P and P agreed that according to the stories of both boys Chester appeared to be the more innocent of the two. However, the P felt that the frequency of Chester's referrals warranted a conference with Mr. Hall, and therefore the P contacted him to come to school. Mr. Hall responded the next day. As he came into the office, Mr. Hall took out his wallet, and from it took several large bills, including one $100 bill. He said he wanted to pay the children's lunches up until Christmas vacation. He offered the $100 bill, but when he was told that it could not be changed he paid for the lunches with a bill of a smaller denomination. In the
conference with the P, Mr. Hall appeared extremely cooperative, showed understanding of the school's problem and offered his complete assistance in helping to work out a solution.

For Christmas Chester received a new English racing bike. Also during Christmas vacation Chester broke his glasses while playing ball in the street. During the vacation it was discovered that Mrs. Hall was pregnant again. When Chester returned from vacation he was the center of attraction because of his new bicycle. In spite of not having his glasses, Chester made a real effort to complete his school work, according to Mrs. N. She stated that she would even have to get Chester to stop working at times when his eyes would start to water from doing his lessons. During this time Jasper's behavior had also been reported as improved. There had been a slight bit of trouble one morning between Jasper and Chester when Jasper had taken Chester's new bike after Chester had arrived at school, and had ridden it around the block several times arriving at school several minutes late. Chester accused Jasper of "stealing" it, but Jasper insisted he had given Chester some marbles for the use of it.

Chester sent to the hospital. During the last week of January Chester's behavior appeared to be taking another set-back. Mrs. N. reported that he was no longer joining in the activities, and that he was getting "hitty" in line. On January 27th and 28th Chester was sent to the office to lie
down, as he was not feeling well. On January 31, Chester was sent to the San Joaquin General Hospital. According to the public health nurse, Chester had been sent because of a recurrence of the illness which had been reported several years before, and which had also caused the death of Ulysses. Chester was absent over Valentine's day, and the entire class sent him a class valentine. He returned to school on Monday February 21.

It was discussed as to whether or not Chester should be returned to Mrs. N.'s room. It was felt that if Jasper and Chester had a disturbing effect upon each other, this would be the appropriate time to separate them. After a general discussion of the problem between Mrs. N., the P, and the V-P, it was decided to return Chester to the same room. Mrs. N. stated that there had been no appreciable difference in Jasper's behavior during Chester's absence; Chester had always worked well in the room, and Chester was anxious to return to the same room. Upon his return to school Chester was wearing a new pair of glasses which his father had bought him.

**Trouble over Chester's broken violin.** On Wednesday, March 2, Chester reported that his violin had been broken. Mr. Hall called Mrs. N. that evening and told her that Chester said that it had been broken at school and that he wanted Mrs. N. to find out about it. The next day both the P and Mrs. N. attempted to get the correct story of what
happened. Mrs. N. reported that Wednesday at 1:00 was the
time for Chester's lessons. Chester, however, did not go to
his violin lessons and did not appear at school until 1:35
with his violin in his hand. Chester said he did not dis-
cover it was broken until 3:30, out on the schoolyard. When
asked why he did not report it immediately, Chester could
not give an answer. While Chester was in the P's office,
Jasper told Mrs. N. that Chester had come to him and asked
him what he could tell his father about the violin.

The P felt that Chester should be taken home to Mr.
Hall so that the story could be straightened out. On the
way home Chester told the P that he might have shoved it
off the bench while he was showing it to another boy. After
they arrived home, both Mr. Hall and the P questioned Chester
as to the correct story, but Chester kept changing the ver-
sions of it. Then Mr. Hall started beating Chester until he
admitted breaking the violin himself.

The next morning Chester came to the P's office and
asked to see the boy to whom he had shown the violin. When
asked why, Chester said that he had been forced to say what
he said; Mrs. N. had gone around getting the boys and girls
in the room to make up stories about the violin, and that his
father felt now that the violin had been broken at school.
The P called Mr. Hall, who said that he felt that the boy to
whom Chester showed the violin had gone into Mrs. N.'s room
and had broken it. Both the V-P and the P checked all the
possibilities of the story, plus other possibilities as to what might have happened to the violin. Mr. Hall intimated that he felt that the school should repair the violin if it had been broken at school. Nothing could be found to prove either of Chester's stories, and Chester thereafter held firmly to his latest version.

Mr. C., the violin teacher at Roosevelt School, felt that Chester had definite ability, and liked his attitude and endeavor. He therefore arranged to have a school violin loaned to Chester while Chester's violin was being repaired. Upon hearing this, Mr. Hall agreed to get Chester's violin fixed.

On March 10 the public health nurse reported that Mrs. Hall had been returned to the California State Mental Hospital, as her pregnancy had developed to the point that she would have to be confined to prevent any possible violence.

**Appraisal of Chester's behavior.** Mrs. N., the P and the V-P reviewed Chester's situation shortly after the violin incident had been resolved. It was felt that:

1. Mr. Hall was antagonistic towards the school administration on racial grounds, and was imbuing the children with similar ideas and attitudes. The school could combat this only through the present policy it followed. Although the father felt this way, the school could not place the
Hall children outside the limits of behavior established for all of the children.

2. Chester was not a discipline problem unless being encouraged in it. Therefore, a policy of isolating Chester from those situations that provided opportunity for him to become involved in trouble should be observed. At first, it would appear that this would mean the separation of Chester and his friend Jasper Martin, his confederate in so much of his trouble, into different classes. But it was felt that this might only further serve to create a greater problem as the two would then seek companionship during the school hours away from the school.

3. Chester responded to praise. Therefore, as many situations as possible should be provided where Chester could excel. Because of his physical incapacities, these opportunities would have to come in the classroom. His experience with music should be encouraged and broadened.

4. Chester basically wants to conform and be good. Only when pushed into the situation would Chester rebel against the school authority. The primary "pushing" comes from the ideas his father has inculcated, but the school itself had been guilty of placing Chester in a position where he finds
it necessary for him to break established rules. If the school could give lie to Mr. Hall's statements, Chester could grow up, yet, able to conform and to adjust to his future community.
IX. HISTORY OF MAX BAKER

Max Baker was born in Oakland, California on May 18, 1945. He was the second of three children and the only boy in the family. Max's older sister was born in 1941, and his younger sister was born in 1949. Max did not enter Roosevelt School until 6 October 1954, and at that time was assigned to Miss I.'s fourth grade class. Max had finished his first three years of elementary school at the McKinley Elementary School in Stockton, and had spent a month in the fourth grade before transferring to Roosevelt. Since Max had spent his previous elementary years in another school, there was no discipline history available to the administrators at Roosevelt School. Upon entering Roosevelt School Max was 4 feet, 6 inches, and weighed 69 pounds. He was the largest boy in his class. A California Mental Maturity Test administered in October, 1952 showed Max with an I. Q. of 75. A Metropolitan Achievement Test, Form Primary II T, given May, 1954 showed Max with a Reading score of 2.3, an Arithmetic score of 2.8, and a Spelling score of 2.1. As a result of later and serious discipline problems in the classroom, Miss I. requested an individual I. Q. test for Max. A Wechsler Intelligence Test was administered to Max by the Stockton School District Psychological Services on January 12, 1954, and the resultant total I. Q. was 88. In the interpretation of the test, the psychometrist noted, "... his vocabulary, visual
discrimination and maturity of thinking are border-line. There is sufficient inter-test variation in the test pattern to indicate that the problem may be emotional. ... He is well above average in analytical ability and social intelligence. ...

Max's mother divorced Mr. Baker in 1953 and remarried shortly afterwards to Mr. Arthur Lee. Mr. Lee worked for a local scavenger company. On a visit the V-P found that the Lee home was a small, three-room house. The house was only partially painted, and the surrounding yard was cluttered with junk and parts of automobiles. There were no sidewalks nor lawn, and in the rainy season it was difficult to get to the house as the front part of the lot was a quagmire with only a single wooden board to cross it. The house itself had television but little other furniture. The rooms were not well kept; they were dirty and cluttered with a variety of junk. Mrs. Lee herself was unkempt and poorly clothed. Even when she visited the school in regard to Max's behavior, she was still untidy in her appearance. In fact, it appeared as if she came to school just as she was dressed at home when the school called for her.

Max's first tantrum. On October 15, 16, and 17 Miss I. reported that Max had been in fights with different members of the class, both in the classroom and out on the yard. She also reported that he was difficult to control in the classroom. She was told to send Max to the office the very next
occasion that he was disorderly. It was felt that, being new to the school, he was attempting to test how far the school would allow him to misbehave. On the morning of the 18th Miss I. sent a note down to the office with another pupil saying that Max was misbehaving in the classroom, but that she was unable to bring him to the office, as he was absolutely defiant.

The V-P went up to the room. He stood at the door and called to Max to come out. Max came to the door, and the V-P closed the door behind him. The V-P started down the ramp, and at the same time told Max to follow him.

"No!" muttered Max.

The V-P returned to Max and said quietly, "Come on, Max, let's go downstairs. Nothing is going to happen to you."

Max sat down on the hallway floor and said, "No!"

The V-P said firmly but quietly, "Come on, Max. Right now!!"

"No!" said Max and started to slide away towards the ramp.

"All right, Max. Either walk down to the office on your own, or I'll have to carry you down there."

"No!" Max shouted, "You get away from me." Max leaped up and started screaming and grasped the ramp railing.

The V-P took Max by the arm. Max screamed louder and sat back on the floor, still grasping the ramp railing. The V-P then grabbed Max around the waist, pulled him free from
the railing and carried him down the ramp to the office. All this time Max, screaming at the top of his voice, calling out obscene names, threatening the V-P and the school. Max attempted to hit the V-P as he was being carried through the halls, but the V-P had his arms pinned to his side. When they arrived at the V-P's office the V-P put Max onto a chair. Max immediately threw himself onto the floor and continued his tantrum. The V-P went outside and closed the door, watching Max from the corridor. When he saw that Max was content to confine his tantrum to screaming and calling epithets, the V-P worked next door in the P's office, keeping close check on Max's activity, yet at the same time letting him tire of his tantrum.

After about fifteen minutes Max quieted down, and the V-P returned to his office. Max was still very obviously sullen, and so the V-P merely told him to sit in the outer office. To this request Max complied without any resistance.

After another half an hour the V-P again attempted to talk to Max, but Max refused to speak anything at all by this time. The V-P waited another half an hour, and again tried to talk to Max, but again Max would turn his head and refuse to talk. Max remained in the office the rest of the day without saying anything. By the time school was dismissed, however, he appeared willing to talk, since he had talked to several other pupils who had come into the office during the day.
The V-P took Max into his office and asked Max if he thought he could go back to the room and behave himself. Max merely shrugged his shoulders. Then the V-P told Max that he wasn't going back into the class until he could become a part of it, and accept the authority of Miss I.; that he would be carried out of the room and into the office any time that he would not come on his own; that if he wanted to act like an animal he could be treated like an animal; that every child was expected to come to the office when sent, and that he had no special privileges about it; that, above all, he was going to obey the rules of the school as every other child was expected to do, and that he would be treated fairly to the extent he could act fairly; that the school could get just as "tough" as he could. Max listened to everything the V-P said without any sign of emotion.

The V-P sat him back in the outer office to stay after school. After about forty minutes, the V-P came through the office, stopped and asked Max if he thought he could talk now. Max said, "yes." The V-P asked whether he planned to act like the other children in the room, to which Max replied in the affirmative. The V-P asked whether or not he intended to throw a tantrum the next time he was sent to the office, to which Max replied in the negative. Although unconvinced by either answer, the V-P kept Max for about ten minutes more and then dismissed him.
During the next few days the V-P attempted to get better acquainted with Max on the playground. He tried to get Max into some of the group games, but the only sport that Max was very much interested in was tetherball, so the V-P would stand by and watch him play, commending him on his good play whenever possible. Max responded partially, and soon would say "hello" to the V-P whenever he passed him either in the hall or on the playground.

At the same time the V-P had a conference with Miss I. regarding Max. She raised the question of mental retardation since Max had difficulty doing the simplest work, and usually refused to do anything that was given him. It was decided to refer Max for special testing. It was also suggested by the V-P that Max be treated very firmly; that he be allowed no leniency; and that the slightest deviation in behavior should be reported to the office.

**Succeeding tantrums by Max.** On October 27 Miss I. again sent for the V-P. Again Max caused trouble in the room, deliberately hitting one of the girls in the stomach. Again the V-P called Max to the door. Again Max refused to go. The V-P quietly told Max that he could have his choice, Max could either walk down to the office like other pupils, or he could be carried down in the manner he had been brought before. Max chose the latter, again screaming, swearing, threatening, fighting all the way to the office. Again he finished his tantrum on the office floor. However, after
about half an hour, Max responded to the questions of the V-P. The V-P used this opportunity to get information about Max's background, rather than talk about the incident in the room. Since the V-P himself had at one time been at McKinley School, they talked about it for some time. Max said that he never had been in trouble over there. Although the answers were usually one word, it was the first time that Max had been willing to talk at all. Max remained in the office during that day, and the next day as well. By the middle of the following day, Max asked if he could return to his classroom. The V-P told Max that he knew he was in the wrong, and that it wouldn't do much good to talk about it, but that if he felt that he was now ready to behave he could return to class the next day.

On November 4 Max again had to be brought into the office by the V-P to the accompaniment of a tantrum. This time Max had to be taken from the yard where he had again hit several girls. The tantrum this time was of much shorter duration. Within ten minutes Max was able to talk and give a version as to what had happened on the yard. Max insisted he was being picked on; everyone was picking on him.

"Everyone, Max?" the V-P asked.

"All the kids."

"Then you think you were brought to the office unfairly?"

"Yeah," Max replied.

"Even though you were screaming and yelling."
Max made no reply.

"Max," the V-P continued, "tell me all about what happened on the yard, and what happens in the room that gets you sent to the office."

Max's reply was not very logical. The basis of it was that the girls in his room were out to "get him in trouble," and they would start trouble, and he would get the blame for it.

The V-P tried to point out that no girl in the room would deliberately "tangle" with him, since he was so big and rough. The V-P said, however, that if Max thought that this were really true the V-P would try to help him. The V-P told Max that the minute he felt that the girls were trying to get him in trouble he was to come to the office and let the V-P know. The V-P would then get the girls into the office and try to get to the bottom of the trouble. Max felt that this was an agreeable solution.

After several days, the V-P questioned Miss I. on Max's behavior in the classroom. She felt that there had been very little improvement, although he was not as defiant as he used to be. Upon further discussion Miss I. disclosed that she was letting Max largely determine the amount and the level of work he would do. She said that she was not pressing him to do anything that he did not want to do. She said that any time she did Max would just start to misbehave in the class.
Max's trouble with Mabel Sue Jones. On November 15 Miss I. came to the office and told the V-P that Max had run out of the room. When asked what she thought the reason for it was, Miss I. said that all she had done was to go over and see what a commotion was about which involved Max and the girls, and that Max had suddenly dashed across the room and out the door. The V-P went back to the room with Miss I. When they arrived at the room, they found Max standing outside the door. When the V-P asked Max where he had been, Max replied that he had gone after the V-P because the girls were bothering him.

After Miss I. went into the room the V-P said, "Max, when I told you to come to me, that didn't mean to take off and dash out of the room any time you thought you wanted to see me. I'm sure Miss I. would let you come and see me. In fact, we have an agreement that you can come when you ask."

The V-P got the other girls out of the room. The chief protagonist was Mabel Sue Jones, who immediately started telling the V-P the complete list of misdeeds that Max had committed during the past weeks. The V-P stopped Mabel Sue and reminded her that it was the present difficulty that was being discussed. After several completely conflicting stories as to what happened in the room, stories that involved incidents that occurred at least a week before, the V-P stopped all the storytelling. He told the girls and Max that it appeared that the trouble was something that had been going on for a
long time, but that it was going to come "to a screeching halt, right now." The V-P said that he held both of them equally guilty, and that both parties were going to be sent home to get their parents if there was any sign of trouble. Both the girls and Max agreed that if either started any trouble, the other was to come to either the P or the V-P and report it. The V-P strongly suggested that they stay away from each other in the classroom, on the playground, and after school. The other two girls with Mabel Sue had not been sent to the office nor had ever been in trouble before, so the V-P gave special warning to Mabel Sue that she would be especially held responsible if the girls were involved in any future trouble.

**Parent-school conference with Max's mother.** During all this period of time the V-P had kept the P informed as to what events were taking place, and what action was being taken. The P felt that at the first opportunity Mrs. Lee should be brought in about the matter. After further discussion it was felt that it would be wise to ask Mrs. Lee to come in anyway and discuss Max, since there had been more than sufficient history of trouble. Mrs. Lee was willing to come, and did so on November 18.

The P and the V-P held a conference with Mrs. Lee concerning Max's behavior. Both the P and V-P felt that Mrs. Lee showed little real concern for the behavior or
welfare of the boy. She told the two that the only way to handle Max was to beat him. That was the method she used. She said that he had always been a bad boy, and that he had caused a great deal of trouble at McKinley as well.

"You've just got to beat him to make him behave," she insisted.

Mrs. Lee said she would be willing to cooperate with the school, but both administrators felt that she was not sincere in this statement, and that there would be little help coming from the home. By her own admission, Mrs. Lee had said that he was impossible to manage at home, even by beating him.

Meanwhile Max's behavior on the yard appeared to improve. He was not as belligerent as he was formerly. One day during the noon hour he sought out the V-P and reported that two other boys were bothering him and causing him to make trouble. The V-P took special care to check the story, talk to the boys, and see that, if Max's grievance was legitimate, the boys would be reprimanded. The two boys admitted that they had begun to start trouble; therefore, they were told to go elsewhere and play. The V-P told Max he had done the right thing, and that as long as he had a real grievance, and not one that was made up to get somebody else in trouble, the V-P would stand behind him all the way. Max appeared to be quite satisfied with the handling of the trouble.
Max's further trouble with Mabel Sue. Miss I. reported that Max still had made little if any progress in the room. On December 6 Miss I. came to the office. This time Max was with her. It was the first time that Max had been sent to the office, and had come on his own volition, even though he was accompanied by the teacher. Again the trouble centered around Mabel Sue and another two girls. For this incident Mabel Sue's mother was called in for a conference. This time Max admitted he had started the trouble, but only because the other girls would not let him help them in the Christmas decorations and Mabel Sue had called him a "dirty nigger." He then had started hitting out at not only Mabel Sue but also the other two girls who were helping her. Mabel Sue denied that she had said this. When the other two girls were asked if Mabel Sue had said this, they neither confirmed nor denied it, but claimed ignorance of what had actually happened.

The V-P talked with Max and to Mabel Sue separately. He told Max that he was very pleased at the fact that Max had been willing to come to the office with Miss I. without causing any trouble. The V-P pointed out that unless Max wanted to get into more trouble he was going to have work at keeping his hands to himself. It was pointed out to Max that Mabel Sue was just egging him on, and that he had fallen for it. The V-P urged Max to try harder next time when trouble started to appear. The V-P felt that Max's actions
could not go unchallenged, however, and warned Max that he would lose his privilege to Christmas activities if any further disturbances occurred.

The V-P felt that both Max and Mabel Sue should be referred to the Guidance Council. The V-P wanted to await the result of the Wechsler Test on Max, however, before referring his case to the Council. If, as a result of the Test, Max would be recommended for the Special Education classes, there would be a different approach to Max's problem. The results of the Test, given on January 12, were not available until the last week in January. In the meantime, Max had not been referred to the office for nearly a month, and there had been a definite growth reported by Miss I. Miss I. had used Max in the Christmas pageant in the singing chorus. She had also used him in a small chorus that recorded for broadcasting during the Christmas holidays. His hitting had dropped considerably, although his sometimes irrational actions in the classroom and on the playground still continued. One morning he came to school, then disappeared, then returned about an hour later. He had decided to go home with one of the other boys in the class who had been sent home by Miss I. to bring back an important paper.

Max's trouble during February. During the first week of the second term Miss I. reported that Max was appearing to be reverting to his old self again. The V-P had Max called out of the room to help him with carrying supplies,
As the two worked, the V-P asked Max how he was getting along. Max said that everything was all right. The V-P talked with Max about Max's interests and what he did in his spare time. The V-P had Max get his friend to help him finish the work, and when he went back to his class, the V-P complimented Max on his work. However, during the month of February Max was referred the following times:

February 8 - hitting a girl who interfered with his tetherball game on the yard.

February 15 - hitting a boy in the class as a result of an argument over some marbles on the yard.

February 24 - hitting a girl with a belt after girl had taken his crayons by mistake.

February 28 - running out of the classroom after Miss I. had taken a belt away from him. Claimed he thought, "Miss I. was going to hit me with it."

On the first two referrals the V-P attempted to counsel with Max. In both cases Max insisted that he was provoked into the action he took. The V-P talked to Max about controlling his temper, not taking offense at anyone who by accident or intent had disturbed him, and of coming to the V-P when he, Max, felt he had been wronged. He showed more willingness to talk and less resistance to authority on these occasions. The V-P actually felt that Max really intended to try to improve each time Max left the V-P's office.
When Max was referred on the 24th, the V-P turned the matter over to the P, presenting the facts of the two previous referrals. The V-P told the P that it appeared that regardless of how Max really wished to act after being counseled, there were stronger forces working on Max that soon broke this intent down. Either Max's intelligence was unable to bring about any long period of good behavior, or there were such constant sources of irritation working on Max that he would soon succumb and react adversely to these frustrations. The P counseled for some time with Max, and then assigned him several days of detention.

As a result of the February 28 referral Mrs. Lee again was called to the school. The P and the V-P talked with Mrs. Lee. It was apparent that Mrs. Lee was incapable of handling Max at home, and that she had lost much interest in Max in comparison to the previous visit. The P informed Mrs. Lee that something definite would have to be done, for Max's behavior was reaching the point where he could not be allowed to stay in school and still continue his aggressive acts. Mrs. Lee promised to do something about the problem. The P strongly suggested to Mrs. Lee the possibility of securing help from the school district psychologist, but Mrs. Lee showed little interest in this avenue of approach.

On March 1, Max was brought to the office by Miss I. Max had viciously attacked one of the girls in his room. It had caused the girl to weep and to be brought to the office
to lie down. Without further attempt at counseling or punishment by the school authorities, the P suspended Max from school for a period of three days. At the end of those three days Max would have to go to the school district attendance and welfare office to gain readmittance into the school.

**Appraisal of Max's problems.** In a discussion of the action with the V-P, Miss I., the P, and two members of the Guidance Council attempted to gain an over-all picture of the year's guidance of Max. The following was decided to be generally true:

1. The one positive result that had been achieved was Max's willingness to come to the office when referred. Max was no longer defiant or insolent or sullen towards either the P or V-P. In contrast to earlier in the year, Max would follow the instructions of the P or V-P even though these instructions were in the form of some punishment.

2. Max's adjustment in the classroom had shown no improvement at all during the year. In fact, there had been a deterioration in the past month towards the respect of Miss I. as the classroom authority. It had reached the point where he had replied to Miss I.'s orders in the last referral with, "Make me." As a result of this, it was
felt that perhaps a change of room assignments might be advisable.

3. For some reason Max appeared incapable of sustaining an acceptable behavior pattern for any length of time. Forces both in school and out might be causing this. Max was easily goaded into violent behavior. In Max's room, Mabel Sue took delight in getting Max into trouble. Again a change of room assignments appeared as a possible helpful move. This, of course, would remove Mabel Sue as a source of irritation, but would not guarantee that another person might not assume this role in the new room. This possibility was not improbable, in view of Max's very quick and violent temper.

4. Little, if any, help could be expected from the home. From conversations with the principal of Max's former school, Mrs. Lee demonstrated the same pattern of interest in Max's behavior. At first she appeared cooperative and willing to help, but the more Max was in trouble, the less Mrs. Lee appeared cooperative.

5. It was felt that on Max's return both he and Mrs. Lee should be informed that upon the first serious behavior deviation Max would again be suspended. Mrs. Lee could no longer claim inability to handle Max as an excuse for doing nothing further about
disciplining him or requiring him to conform to school authority. Mrs. Lee and Max should be made aware of the full sequences of procedures that followed up to and including referral to juvenile court.

6. The school administration must admit that basically it had failed to find a solution to Max's difficulties, but it should not at any time give up in its efforts to provide for Max a situation most conducive to good behavior.
CHAPTER VI

REACTIONS OF THE TEACHERS TO THE TECHNIQUES AND METHODS USED

Since all of the teachers of the intermediate grades of the Roosevelt School were involved in some manner with the case studies as they were being recorded, they were fully familiar with the techniques and methods used for the recording of data and the counseling of pupils. Four questions were asked each of the teachers involved. These questions, together with a general consensus of answers, are as follows:

1. Did methods and techniques used in this project actually give you a better understanding of the colored children whom you are now handling in your own classroom? If "yes", how? If "no", why not?

There was an unanimous affirmative answer to this question. The reasons given were in two general categories. The first was the deepening of the understanding gained concerning colored children. The second was the place that the race of a child had in the total behavior of that child. It was felt that these behavior patterns were the result of social prejudices rather than any physiological difference.

Under the first reason given above was the unanimous "discovery" by the teachers that the behavior pattern of a colored child is, to quote one of the teachers, "that of a child—with no descriptive adjective." Another teacher stated in a different way when she commented after reading the
histories that, with but one exception, she had forgotten that these case histories were of colored children. It was the unanimous conclusion of the teachers, as a result of this first discovery, that each of them had an easier relationship with the colored children in the class; that there was a confidence on the part of the teacher that had not been there previously.

It was generally stated that the second reason, although similar to the first, nevertheless gave direction to the teachers in the understanding of parents of colored children as well. Several teachers stated very positively that future parent-teacher conferences were much more fruitful because of the realization that both teacher and parents desired the same results from the classroom experience; the home and school could work for positive results from basically the same approach.

2. What techniques and methods did you think had value?

Again there was unanimous opinion on one of the answers to this question. All of the teachers felt that the Guidance Council had practical and immediate benefit. The practical benefit, as stated by the teachers, came from the fact that they were dealing with specific cases, and those on the Council who were dealing with the problem were those who understood it and were prepared to make some definite and pertinent suggestions. The teachers stated that immediate
benefits arose from the fact that they were able to go
directly to their classrooms and put into use some of the
suggestions that were offered during the Guidance Council
meeting. One teacher stated that for the first time that
she had had one of the problem cases she was able to face
him in class with some degree of confidence. Another
teacher commented that she had been afraid to use certain
techniques until members of the Guidance Council had pro-
posed and discussed their use of this technique at a council
meeting. The two new teachers in the intermediate grades of
the school who had little or no practical experience with
colored children found the Guidance Council to be beneficial
because it had given them confidence by providing not only a
better understanding of the colored pupil but also a chance
to discuss discipline techniques with more experienced
teachers.

Two of the teachers questioned told of another value
received from the techniques and methods used in the case
studies. Both of them adapted similar methods of recording
data on problem children. They made their own adaptations
of gathering background data, but took almost identical
forms used in the case histories to record their own anec-
dotal histories of incidents and conferences involving
children in their individual classes.

In fact, as a result of this study, all but one of the
teachers developed a case history type of method in handling
discipline problems. The two teachers mentioned above had done so quite extensively. One of the other teachers had started a card file system in recording pertinent data. Another had started keeping anecdotal records on incidents involving the more serious problem children. All of the teachers felt that they had increased the amount of attention given to the scholastic, family, social, and other relevant areas of background of their problem children.

3. What techniques and methods did you think had little value?

No specific techniques were pointed out as having little value. However, there were some criticisms given that were of a general nature.

Mentioned most frequently was the fact that the studies could have been more effective if they could have been made over a period of greater length than done in the study. The general results of the counseling techniques used could not be fully evaluated in the amount of time given to the study.

Not using outside agencies to their fullest was also expressed. These would have included the community church ministers, the local Family Service Agency, the local Health District facilities, and others.

Another criticism was that the school-parent conference might have been more useful. They were often rushed, frequently interrupted, and, of necessity, had to be
terminated sometimes without a satisfactory continuing point reached. How this could be remedied was not suggested.

Several teachers suggested that the place for this study might have been in the primary grades, because patterns of behavior are not as set as they are in the intermediate grades. Furthermore, there would be more time to do follow-up study and counseling in the intermediate grades once a study of a child had suggested certain methods of working with that child.

4. What other general observations would you make?

A general observation made was the role the adults played in attempting to create discipline problems from the racial standpoint. Those parents of non-colored children had often created social attitudes of discrimination and fear that were harmful to classroom discipline. The parents of colored children had created social attitudes of resentment and distrust that also proved detrimental to classroom discipline. The teacher herself, in failing to obtain a more complete understanding and appreciation of the colored child, had often created an atmosphere of either over-lenience or over-strictness that would assist in undermining good classroom discipline.

There was also a general feeling that the presence of Mrs. S., a colored teacher, on the Guidance Council and on the intermediate grades staff of the school was helpful and important. The ease and naturalness in which she served in both capacities were of extreme value.
Concerning the actual recording of the case histories, one comment was made by several teachers. This was the desire to have seen even more conversation recorded, because, as one stated, "It showed me a new but very necessary approach to the counseling technique." A faithful recording of these conversations would be extremely helpful. The use of a tape machine was suggested only if it did not interfere in any way with the counselor-pupil relationship. In this way, it was pointed out, actual emotional reactions and vocal inflections could be obtained.
CHAPTER VII

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PUPIL HISTORIES
AND AN EVALUATION OF COUNSELING TECHNIQUES

I. ANALYSIS OF THE PUPIL HISTORIES

This summary was arrived at by the vice-principal of Roosevelt School in conjunction with conferences, review, and reactions and comments by the principal of the school. An analysis of the pupil histories presented in the preceding chapters reveals certain general principles regarding the behavior of the colored pupils in the intermediate grades and the factors affecting such behavior. They are as follows:

1. The behavior of the colored child in the intermediate grades appears to vary little, if any, from the behavior pattern of the children of other races. The disturbed colored child, however, will have the added sociological problem of race to compound an already complex emotional pattern. The additional problems of poverty and broken homes, which also occur among the colored children of this community, can result in even more serious ramifications.

2. Parental attitude towards the school authority is reflected in the attitude of the colored children towards the school authority. The school will encounter a certain amount of bitterness and resentment on the part of the parents. There is sometimes a prevalent attitude that the child is being discriminated against because of his racial background.
This is most generally a genuine attitude based on a history of unpleasant racial events in the parent's life. However, it is also sometimes feigned in order to gain the upper hand with the school administration. The school administrators must expect this situation to arise, and they should be prepared to handle it in a professional manner.

3. The basic teacher-pupil relationship established by the classroom teacher is the most important, single factor which affects the behavior of the colored pupil in the intermediate grades. Since the classroom teacher is the individual who, in the elementary school, has the most personal contact with the colored child, the teacher's attitude of tolerance and understanding, appreciation of the difficult home and economic background, and fairness in the handling of the individual pupil, determines, to a very great extent, the pupil's attitude towards school authority, his behavior in the classroom and on the yard, and his development as a helpful school citizen.

4. The attitudes of prejudice and indecision on the part of the classroom teacher become evident to the colored pupil even though the particular teacher demonstrates no overt actions to indicate these feelings.

5. As with any other child, the stability, or lack of it, in the home background of the colored child plays an extremely important part in the adjustment of the child in the classroom. Situations of divorce, of economic poverty,
and of lax parental discipline are some of the unstable home situations that appear in the background of the colored pupil who become discipline problems in the schoolroom.

6. As in other children there is usually an indication of an approaching serious deviation in behavior on the part of a colored pupil. This indication could be called a warning signal. This signal should also be an indication to school personnel to approach the problems at that stage of development, and the school guidance program should be prepared to handle and counsel the pupil at this early point.

7. The guidance program of the school is too often one that attacks discipline problems after they have developed to the serious stage. A program of prevention, which was not in evidence to any major degree in this study, would help to discover and assist in the prevention of a number of difficult behavior problems. A number of colored pupils who later became serious discipline problems showed the beginnings of such behavior as early as the first grade. A program of prevention that utilized the entire school personnel might have successfully prevented these problem cases from ever developing. Such a program could include:

a. A Guidance Council for primary grades in addition to the one for the intermediate grades.

b. Development of case histories of children in the primary grades as soon as they begin to emerge as discipline problems.
a. An early involvement of the parents and other community agencies that could be of assistance in a particular case to develop a program of guidance for the child that would include all areas of his life. The earlier in the school life of the child that this could occur, the more successful would be the probable results.

8. There is no set pattern of counseling that can be superimposed on and followed with every discipline case handled. Each referral case must be handled differently in the light of the over-all background of the child: family, economic, health, mental and school-pupil relationships. Indeed, the pattern of handling an individual discipline case can change and vary at different stages of the problem.

9. In the counseling of the referred colored children certain points seem to be evident. They were:

a. The counselor should not attempt any serious discussion of the incident while the child is emotionally upset. This could even mean not talking at all to the child for a period of time until child has become more calm.

b. Any counseling with the child might well start on a remote and unemotional subject.

c. The counselor assumes that the teacher or the individual who referred the child was right, and that the child must see the cause for his referral. Attempting to counsel a pupil who has fixed in his mind that he is being treated unfairly is a waste of time for both the pupil and the counselor.

d. The more background available to the counselor, the more effective will be the approach toward the solution of the child's problem.

e. Many so-called serious and emotional situations can be made to disappear by "kidding" the pupil out of his belligerent and defiant attitude.
Attention again should be drawn to the fact that these points in counseling appear to be pertinent in all other children as well as colored children.

II. EVALUATION OF COUNSELING TECHNIQUES

After examining the counseling techniques suggested in the introductory chapters as they were employed in the case histories that were presented, the following evaluation is made together with certain recommendations:

1. Counseling - In those cases where positive results seemed to have been attained, counseling appeared to have been one of the techniques that effected this improvement. Even in the cases where little, if any, improvement was noted, those positive results were obtained, in part, through the counseling technique. In many of the cases the discovery of the causes of the pupil's behavior were obtained during the counseling period with the child.

2. Conference -

a. Parent - In the cases discussed, conferences with parents proved to have only temporary effectiveness, and in at least two instances, the conference had no effect whatsoever. Because of the accepted value of parent-school conferences, it would appear that a more careful study of methods to improve this technique might be of definite value.

b. Teacher - This technique appeared to be rather effective, especially for obtaining background information for analyzing situations and for developing recommendations for the future handling of a discipline case.
o. Administrative - This appeared to be highly essential in the cooperative approach to the handling of a referred pupil. The establishment between the principal and the vice-principal of a quick interchange of information and suggestions appears imperative in the effective approach to pupils, parents, and teachers.

3. Punishment - It is difficult to measure the effectiveness of one form of punishment as compared with another. Indeed, it is difficult to measure the effectiveness of punishment itself. The withdrawal of privileges or special duties, or the withdrawal of the pupil from his social or classroom group seemed to be the most effective method of punishment.

4. Guidance Council - Its use was not general enough in the cases reported to make any definite statements. The general value of the Guidance Council appeared to be in the help it provided for the classroom teacher in understanding the particular child and in the opportunity it provided the vice-principal to evaluate his own techniques that he had employed. To be more effective, it would appear that the Guidance Council might be enlarged and made more independent of the school administration. The Council was chaired by the vice-principal, who also prepared the material and was secretary for the meetings. This meant that the operations of the Council were almost entirely dependent on the vice-principal.

5. School and Community Agencies - The most effective agency in these histories was the public health nurse who provided valuable background information, and who attempted
the follow-up program when requested by the school administration. The other agencies were not utilized to the extent that any definite conclusions could be drawn concerning them. Generally speaking, a greater use of these agencies should be made by the school in handling discipline cases. Since many of the cases presented involved problems handled specifically by community and school agencies, the school would have more effectively and more efficiently handled the problem cases by including these agencies.

6. Forms—Referral, Guidance Council, Guidance File

These forms proved to be most effective in the handling of the referral cases. Not only did they contain important background information on the individuals concerned, but they provided in addition, chronological and historical evidence that could be used in conferences with parents and outside agencies. The only criticism that might be given was that they were not used enough. In some instances the fact that an accurate account of these forms had not been kept, or that the forms themselves had not been completed in sufficient detail, prevented the efficient handling of particular referral cases.

Finally, the evaluation of any technique is considered only in terms of its effectiveness to improve the guidance program for the pupil for whom it is established. The fact that a technique does not prove effective in a given number of referral cases does not necessarily invalidate that
technique. Proper attention must be given at all times to the correct use of a technique so that it may accomplish the purpose for which it has been designed.
CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was developed on account of a need expressed by elementary teachers, and therefore the problem had a practical basis. Because the nature of the study made the selection very limited, any statistical evaluation of the case studies would not be valid. There was at no time, therefore, an attempt to prove or disprove the value of any of the techniques used.

There was ample material in the available literature concerning the general nature of guidance and counseling in the elementary school child. An extensive research failed, however, to reveal any specific literature dealing with the guidance and counseling techniques involving minority groups, and in particular, the colored children. To provide a better background for the case studies themselves, a general picture of the school community in which the children lived was given. This, of course, would be necessary to any study of any child, since certainly the various aspects of an environment in which a child lives are prime factors in the attitudes and actions of that child. Those aspects that would have the greatest influence on a child were the ones presented in the thesis.

The case studies involved a six months' period. Those chosen for the study were children who had previous records...
of referrals for discipline to the school office. The selection of cases was limited to colored children, again as a result of requests from teachers who were interested in providing the best classroom climate possible for children of this race. No special racial characteristics of discipline were implied or even expected to emerge from this study.

Each of the case studies was divided into two main sections: the pupil's background, and the anecdotal record of the six-months period of study. The principal sources of information for the background were from school accumulative records, health records and other pertinent information provided by the public health nurse, the local county welfare department, previous teachers, and the child and his parents. All background information was valid data, and heresay information was not included. The background information included the following areas: academic and mental, family and home, physical, and social.

The sources of information for the anecdotal portions of the case studies came largely from records kept by the classroom teacher and the vice-principal. Both of their records included observations of the pupil, a history of discipline referrals, and anecdotal accounts of counseling interviews. This last method was used almost exclusively by the vice-principal. Other sources for the anecdotal section came from the data of the Guidance Council of the school as it considered these children, the parent-school conferences
that included either teacher or administrator or both, and the conferences with the public health nurse, the attendance and welfare officer, and other school and community agencies. At no time did the pupils themselves know that they were under special study.

Again it should be pointed out that no definite conclusions could be reached after the studies had been recorded. Therefore, the evaluation of the studies was primarily the reactions of those involved in the study.

Teacher reactions were based upon four questions that dealt with possible value received from the studies and with criticism of the techniques used. Regarding the value received from the study, the teachers unanimously agreed they had gained a better understanding of the colored child, especially concerning the role the racial aspect played in classroom behavior. They felt that there had been much evidence given to show that the discipline problems presented could have been those of children of any other race; the racial aspect was one that was social in nature, not hereditary. Concerning criticism of the techniques used, there was general agreement again. All of them felt that there had been useful information gained about possible counseling techniques, and that they themselves had an increased realization of the value of keeping accurate and complete data on problem pupils as a way to better understanding a child, whether he is colored or not. There was a great deal of satisfaction expressed for the work and results achieved by the Guidance Council.
There were no general criticisms given, but various individual comments might be noted. These included: a longer period of study for more effective evaluation, the study to have been placed at a primary grade level for more effective follow-up, and a more extensive use of outside agencies, especially those agencies that existed in the Roosevelt School community.

The final evaluation of the studies was that done by the vice-principal in conjunction with the principal. In general, their reactions coincided with those of the teachers. They also felt, though, that these studies also pointed up the basic importance of the classroom teacher in terms of the discipline of colored children; their attitudes, alertness to situations, teacher-pupil relationships established, and the recording of classroom anecdotal records were the prime factors in the adjustment of colored children to the school experience. They felt that none of the techniques used had a large enough sampling to prove or disprove their efficiency. They expressed positive reactions, however, regarding the use of the Guidance Council, the counseling interview, and the anecdotal record methods. Their negative feelings were about the conference technique, both teacher conferences and parent conferences.

Both teachers and principal expressed interest in the development of the interview technique after reading the studies. All of them felt that the accurate recording of
these interviews gave a greater insight into the problems of
the pupils referred, and that this technique held a number
of positive possibilities.

As a result of these case studies there appeared a
number of other possible studies that might be done, especially
in the wider field of guidance and counseling in the element-
tary school and on a broader level to include the entire
school district.

I. RECOMMENDATIONS

As a result of this study and its evaluations and
analyses, certain areas for further study and development
become apparent. They are:

1. A study that would develop a more effective use
   of the Guidance Council. This study should
   include such points as:
   a. An efficient pattern of organization.
   b. The development of adequate referral, infor-
      mation and follow-up forms.
   c. The proper role of the school administration
      in the Council.
   d. Effective meeting procedures.
   e. Efficient use of school and community agencies
      as effective resources.

2. The development of an over-all school district
   program for guidance and counseling in the element-
tary schools. This should be a district-wide
effort that might follow one of the following patterns;

a. A program developed through committees that would include teachers and administrators.

b. A pilot-study program carried on in selected, representative schools in which the school staff would work cooperatively with school district consultants.

c. The employment of an outside person or persons to develop a program after study and consultation with school district personnel.

d. A combination of any or all of the three above.

3. A study that would show the effects of various factors on the school behavior of colored pupils in the intermediate grades. Such factors might be: home background, economic status, length of residence in the community, attitudes and practices of school staff and administrators, intelligence, health background, and others. This study would be even more effective if it were part of a larger survey that included children of all races.


