

FACT FINDING REPORT

Additional Digest Material

CHILDREN AND YOUTH

AT THE MIDCENTURY

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The printed document entitled FACT FINDING REPORT, A Digest indicates, on page iv, that three additional pieces of material, which it was impossible to prepare in time for inclusion in that document, would be distributed at the time of the Conference.

The papers included in this pamphlet fulfill that promise. The material on pages i-iv and vi-viii in the printed document applies to the digests included here as well.

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LEISURE-TIME SERVICES

What shall we do? What can we do that's fun? These often-reiterated questions of children and youth have been answered by a great outpouring of goods and services by the entertainment industry (nearly the largest industry in the United States), by private philanthropy, and by various public bodies. Books and magazines (comics included), music, and art; radio, television, movies, and the theatre; dance halls and dance concerts and here and there some square dancing; places to swim and places to picnic; playgrounds and stadiums and all that's athletic; clubs and Y's and settlement houses; and so on and so on. The vastness of the enterprise testifies to the amount of our economic resources and the number of our leisure-time hours.

Because of the size of the endeavors we must be very selective in what we deal with in this brief review of the contribution that leisure-time facilities and services may make to the healthy development of personality. We shall pay chief attention to organized activities and give scant attention to the great opportunities for promoting health and happiness that libraries, children's museums, art centers, and so on afford. We can do no more than mention parks and bathing beaches and other facilities in which children can play in their own way, unsupervised by professional adults. Nevertheless, we cannot refrain from commenting, here at the outset, that organized recreation constitutes only a small segment of children's play (and no segment at all of the play of many children) and that the values to be derived from play are not at all confined to the activities with which this paper is chiefly concerned.

Recreation and Play

The possible contribution of recreational activities to the healthy development of personality is only beginning to be understood. The very word "recreation" is one of elusive meaning. In its connotation of re-creating it implies that it is a process of building up something that has been destroyed. Since its synonym is usually thought to be play and its opposite work, there is an implication that recreation is a constructive thing and work destructive. This gets us into trouble when children are under consideration. For work then becomes school work, which, by this definition, would not be play. Teachers, however, tell us that play is deliberately being used as one means of education, and that the line between work and play cannot be sharply drawn in the modern school room.

Psychologists have found that play is a very different thing for children from what is commonly supposed and that it is not the same thing for children as for adults. In play, the adult, as Erikson puts it, "steps sideward into another reality. The playing child advances forward to new stages of mastery." In this conception of the role of play there are profound implications for recreation workers and for all who would provide for children and youth constructive activities for leisure time.

A child's play begins with and centers on his own body, Erikson points out. It consists first of exploring, by repetition, sensual perceptions, kinesthetic sensations, and vocalizations. The child next moves on to available things and persons, touching, tasting, again exploring his narrow world.

Manageable toys become his next play objects. Through them he learns the hard lesson that the world of things has laws. They may resist management. They may break. Or they may be confiscated by superiors. These may be emotionally disastrous events if too

often repeated. For then the child is deprived of the pleasure of mastery and the prestige that accompanies it, of an opportunity to conquer, through imagined repetitions, his past injuries.

By the nursery school years playfulness reaches into the world shared with others. Here the child learns what kind of activities must be reserved for phantasy or solitary indulgence, what must be reserved for toys and small objects, and what can be shared with others or even forced upon them. As this is learned, each sphere is endowed with its own sense of reality and mastery. In later life, this provides the individual with diverse means of re-creation: through solitary play, through play with objects, and through play with other human beings. All are needed for a rounded life.

"The playing child advances to new stages of mastery." He masters toys and people and his own fears. He masters his feelings about some of life's inequalities by playing mother and doctor and school. As a four-year-old he tries out being a policeman, a driver of cars, a parent; as an adolescent, he tries out, in phantasy and in company with others, all the things he might be or do or own.

By school age he wants new and real worlds to conquer. What adults call work becomes important to him. He may even think of it as work as long as it is confined to school, but the aim is the same when he "plays" at home or with his Scout troop at building houses and furniture.

The various uses of play that appear in the developmental stages are continued throughout life as recreation. There is recreation that involves the pleasures of sensual perceptions, kinesthetic sensations, and vocalizations. There is recreation that is a means of learning that life has rules. There is recreation through which we give back the blows we received in real life or work out other aggressions. There is

recreation through which cooperation with others is learned and practiced, and recreation that permits us to go off alone. And there is recreation that is work, that carries with it the joys of real accomplishment.

All these things workers in recreation and informal education know, and so does the recreation industry. The task for the profession is to develop the implications of this knowledge more fully, so that it can be translated into principles of practice that can be taught and used.

Some Group-Work Principles

Recreation and informal education programs are based in part on the belief that the benefits that children and youth derive through play may be met in part and facilitated through group experiences. This belief assumes that an adult possessing certain qualities and equipped with certain knowledge and skills is able to work with a group of young people in such a way as to enrich the experience of each individual.

The theory and the professional method growing out of this belief have been developed chiefly by social group workers, although some leaders in recreation have also had much to say along this line. Since, however, group work has systematically organized some basic ideas about people and their feelings and has applied them to the conduct of its professional work, recreation, which parallels group work in some respects, may find in certain group-work principles some of the basic components of a professional method. A brief review of a few of the guiding ideas of social group work may suggest the significant contribution to healthy personality development organized recreation can make when conducted along these lines.

The group worker's basic principle is individualization. He knows that groups, like individuals,

differ in character and desires. So there is no single, set program of activities that he offers. Instead, he tries to help the group do its own planning and deciding, within the confine of his organization's purposes.

Three rules guide the group worker's efforts. "Love them and limit them and help them to achieve."

The group worker "loves them" in the sense of having considerate regard for the ideas and feelings of each boy or girl, and in the sense of not demanding love in return. His regard for each individual is stable and dependable. The youngsters can count on him to be understanding (or willing to be told) and interested and free of prejudice. "Unsolicited love," the psychiatrists call it, and a very helpful thing it is for healthy personality development.

To "limit them" is to define the boundaries of the permissible. Most limitations are inherent in the situation. The youngsters may not always like them (and they must have the right to say so and to consider ways of changing them) but they like to know what they are. To be left too free is likely to make young people uneasy and somewhat anxious. You never know when the blow will fall or for what reason. It is only within a framework of reasonable and dependable rules that children are free to grow.

"Help them to achieve." A sense of industry, a sense of achievement -- this is the personality component that under good conditions develops in the pre-adolescent years and underpins the adolescent's efforts to establish his identity. To the extent that this personality component does not develop or disappears, the sense of inferiority takes its place. In helping young people, through the medium of the group, to make plans and carry them out -- their own plans, their own creations -- is to further health of personality most significantly.

The three rules work together to enhance each other's benefits. Achievement is best accomplished in an atmosphere of love and in a situation that has limits to it. "Love" makes "limits" more acceptable. "Limits" lessen diffusion of attention and assist concentration on the objective to be accomplished. "Achievement" enhances self-esteem and hence regard for others.

This social group workers learned from psychiatrists as a theoretical formulation (in real-life terms, they had probably already discovered it for themselves), and they have worked out some of its implications for the kind of work they do. Recreation workers and those who specialize in informal education will probably also find the formulation valuable, as will all who work closely with children and young people.

Personality Components and Leisure-Time Service

Knowledge about the various components of the healthy personality and the critical periods in its development would also appear to be useful to workers in leisure-time services. Just what this knowledge implies is still not wholly clear. Each profession must adapt knowledge about human psychology to its own professional task, for each has a different job to do and so will put the knowledge to a different use. Only a beginning has been made in the leisure-time field. The following ideas are therefore presented very tentatively.

Most generally stated, the challenge to leisure-time workers is to recognize the outstanding strengths and weaknesses of each child in the group that is being served, and to know what to do with the understanding thus acquired. The sensitive and observing worker notes that one child is fearful and lacking in trust in himself and that another is self-confident. He

sees that this one is over-dependent or anxious about being dependent, and that that one stands square on his own feet and yet is not afraid to ask for help when he needs it. And so on. The evidence is clear in some cases and dubious in others. The difficulty of identifying individual characteristics is increased when the worker has a large, active group of changing membership rather than a small, intimate one that meets frequently and limits its membership. Throughout, however, overall diagnosis is not called for; rather, the worker must know how to respond to children's feelings and how to sense who is in trouble and, perhaps, why.

A few examples of the kinds of behavior that children may display in connection with leisure-time activities and some attitudes and devices that have been found useful by workers may serve to indicate the value of this sort of knowledge about children. Take first the sense of trust. Without a sense of trust a child is unsure of himself and may have little self-control. He will probably therefore have difficulty in playing with others. He may be a bully or one who tries to domineer or he may be one who withdraws at the slightest disappointment. He may be afraid of rough games, or he may refuse to play unless the worker is nearby. He may be the butt of the other children's jokes or be marked as unpopular in other ways. Workers have found that such children are sometimes helped by reassurance and support, and especially by such friendliness and warmth of interest that some of the more secure children can be helped to display toward them.

The sense of autonomy involves the ability and the right to make choices and also the recognition of limits to self-determination. Club work, recreational or informal educational, takes as perhaps its chief objective the development or enhancement of these traits. The worker must be able to permit youngsters to make their own decisions, even though failure may ensue (provided it is failure that is endurable), and

yet be firm in imposing limitations when the children's self-assertions are dangerous to themselves or too contrary to the mores.

Within any group children will vary in their ability to make choices easily and constructively and to accept limitations. Sometimes the difficulty stems from cultural sources, from differences in the degree and kind of choice that is permitted in the cultural group to which the child belongs, or from similar differences in the degree of control that is exercised by adults. Sometimes it is traceable to a child's desire to be liked by everybody, or to his inexperience in choosing or in being controlled, or to one or another psychological or social condition that keeps him from acting as maturely as might be expected on the basis of the worker's own cultural norms.

Much self-discipline is required of workers to be firm and yet respectful of a child's wishes and to convey disapproval of conduct without conveying disapproval of the person. Wisdom and flexibility are called for in not allowing one's own ideas about conduct standards to prevail at all times, and especially when conflicting ideas about proper conduct are at issue. A worker who insists that middle-class American customs be followed at all times may not only be headed for trouble but may miss out on an opportunity to gain greater understanding of the youngsters with whom he is working. The over-all rule is to remember that all behavior has meaning, that the meaning should be discovered before action is taken, and that solutions should be worked out with the group if at all possible.

The sense of initiative and the sense of accomplishment are other personality components that can be both utilized and enhanced through leisure-time activities. Children who have advanced only to the stage at which the first of these components has developed can be distinguished from the others by the

fact that they have less interest in finished products and well-executed plans and take more delight in the imaginative play that accompanies their activities. Professional workers must take into account that such children may feel guilty for having undertaken something that did not work out well. They need encouragement in exercising imagination and enterprise, and protection against engaging in tasks that are much beyond their capacity.

For children who are entering into the period in which accomplishment for its own sake is important, rules are of great interest, especially rules that they make for themselves. One of the first items of business in clubs of children seven to ten years old is the drawing up of rules of conduct. The very nature of the rules suggests the struggles the children are engaged in. There are usually rules about telling the truth, about not swearing, about being fair and being polite. Rules about how to play games and how to construct objects are also of great interest at this developmental period.

This desire of young children to be responsible for their own behavior and to be kept within bounds, as well as to know how to do things and do them well, makes club and group recreational activities both possible and useful. The worker, however, must be careful not to be too much taken in by this rule-making interest. Not to be able to live up to the rules, not to be able to do things well is a great threat to children's developing sense of accomplishment. A sense of inferiority can easily result if leisure-time workers utilize children's interest in accomplishment to stress competitive activities and arrange matters so that only a few children can fully succeed.

Much variety in activities is needed if all children are to have a chance to find some things they can do well. Organizations, accordingly, should offer many

kinds of programs: classes, interest groups, clubs, athletics, and so on, including an opportunity for children to go off by themselves and engage in solitary activities. Workers should also realize that, in their various capacities as teacher, coach, group adviser, and the like, they have different relations with the group members. They must instruct and lead when the activity calls for learning a skill, and they must stand to the side and work through group-appointed leaders when the activity calls for self-direction and democratic action. Activity, passivity on the worker's part: children need both, depending upon what is to be accomplished.

The sense of personal identity -- the clear idea of who you are and what you can do -- is the fortunate outcome of the struggles of adolescence. In this developmental period leisure-time activities are of especial importance. Many boys and girls seek their identity by banding together with others of their own age. By these groups, spontaneously formed or artificially created, adult sponsorship and guidance are sometimes welcomed. Workers with adolescents must remember, however, that each boy and girl is trying to discover himself, to establish his own uniqueness. Hence, despite his cliques and his patterned mannerisms, he needs to be known and treated as an individual.

Since adolescents require both group activities and personal attention, the usual community provision of mass recreational facilities is not sufficient. "Canteens," teen-age clubs, recreation halls, and so on are very useful, but if they are set up without accompanying facilities for small groups and, perhaps, for individual counselling they may only serve to aggravate the teen-age problems the community thought they would solve.

It is important, too, that recreation centers be under adult supervision that adolescents can trust. Adults who understand and like young people can serve the

cause of adolescent well-being in several ways. They can keep boys and girls from using unwisely the freedom that a club-house of their own provides and so can save the youngsters from their own anxiety and from adults' wrath. They can also help boys and girls to see that not all adults are their enemies and that adulthood itself is not something to be feared.

Currently, the idea that all adolescents should belong to clubs is very popular, and many kinds of organizations are offering club facilities. Schools, churches, women's clubs, political organizations, even magazines, newspapers, and radio stations are sponsoring club programs. Professional group workers are of the opinion that the sponsoring of clubs without professional guidance is a dubious undertaking, and that adolescents suffer from being too frequently the objects of recruitment. Adolescents, like adults, seek social status. Membership and office-holding in many clubs becomes to many boys and girls the way up. In consequence, interests become diffuse and artificial, energy is depleted, and the real benefits of club participation are lost. For healthy personality development, it is the quality rather than the quantity of group experience that counts.

Understanding of the psychology of adolescents suggests, then, that a wide range of leisure-time activities is required if youth is to be well served. The range of adolescent interest is wide, and any one individual finds pleasure and benefit in one kind of activity at one time and another at another. In the rush to provide group activities, the desire of youth for solitary pleasures must not be overlooked. And in the interest in meeting boys' and girls' natural desire for groups that separate them along lines of their own choosing, their idealism and their curiosity about ways that are different from their own must not be so disregarded that they have no opportunity to become acquainted with young people who live across the tracks or who come from other parts of the world. In short, not all adolescents are alike, and no one

kind of leisure-time program will advance the welfare of all of them.

Availability of Facilities and Services

Leisure-time facilities and services are far from equally available to all children. Generally speaking, children who live in the more prosperous areas of cities are more adequately served than are those who live in run-down, deteriorated sections. In rural areas the difference between economic levels may be even greater.

With important exceptions, of which settlement houses is one, privately financed youth-serving organizations tend to favor the middle class. One reason for this lies in the cost of service. For example, an unpublished study made by the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles in 1947 showed that the cost of service per child was three or four times as great in the low-income areas of the community as in the others. The increased cost was attributed to the greater difficulty in securing and retaining the services of volunteers, to the larger professional staff required for supervisory activities, and to the greater use of building-centered programs.

Minority groups, especially those of low economic status, are discriminated against in the provision of leisure-time facilities. Not only is there actual segregation by race in some sections of the country but there is widespread tacit exclusion in most communities. Then, too, girls are less adequately provided for than boys; adolescents, especially those in their late teens, have fewer facilities than do younger children; and out-of-school youths are less favored than those still in school.

The most disfavored groups, probably, are the share croppers' and the migratory workers' children. These children have few of the advantages that rural life is

thought to provide. With few, if any, community recreation services available to them, they are almost completely dependent upon their own resources or upon the cheap commercial amusements of nearby towns. The neglect of these submerged rural groups is the extreme example of uneven distribution of leisure-time services.

That rural youth want more recreational facilities is testified to by a public opinion poll of young people conducted in Minnesota recently.¹ The replies indicated that going to the movies in the village is the most frequent form of recreation, for farm youth, while village dances rank second. There was much criticism of town people's lack of interest in farm youth's recreation. The boys and girls who answered the questionnaire said they want public programs; specifically, youth centers, community centers, and planned recreation.

Both public and private sources can be looked to for the expansion of leisure-time facilities, urban and rural. The amount of money presently spent for such purposes in cities varies considerably, as does the relative proportion that comes from public and private sources. For example, the total per capita expenditure was \$2.00 in Los Angeles in 1946 and \$3.86 in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1947. More than half of the funds came from public sources in the first city and more than four-fifths from private funds in the second. Comparable studies for rural expenditures are lacking.

Interest in public-financed services in the recreation field has increased greatly in recent years. Only five years ago North Carolina pioneered in the creation of a state recreation commission. Several other states have followed suit since that time, and at present

1. Recreational Resources of the People of Minnesota, Report of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Recreation, St. Paul, 1950.

proposals for this sort of service are before many state legislatures. Leisure-time services, in general, and recreational services, in particular, will probably increase markedly in the near future. It is highly important, therefore, that close attention be given to developing the theory and working methods of this newest of professions and to training an adequate number of workers for, at least, leadership positions, for leisure-time activities, well conducted, are a great aid to the healthy personality development of children and youth.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AND PLACEMENT SERVICES:
CHILD LABOR AND YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

The relation between satisfactory accomplishment and sound personality has long been recognized. The interplay between factors in healthy personality development and the work life -- the satisfactions found in it, and the ability to perform adroitly -- have, however, seldom been explored, except, perhaps, in the case of individuals with personalities so badly impaired that they could no longer perform their vocational tasks.

Yet, from the considerations set forth here, it is obvious that a good work life grows out of the whole series of events underlying all healthy development. That satisfaction in both the processes and the outcomes of work rests upon a sense of trust -- of confidence in one's own capacities and of their acceptability in the eyes of the world -- stands to reason. In any modern economy, the importance of a sense of autonomy is similarly apparent: the individual must feel that he is an independent human being whose activities nonetheless intermesh with those of other human beings. Initiative is so highly prized, its absence so widely deplored, that the great significance of its development in the early years requires no comment here. Without a sense of accomplishment, of satisfaction in real tasks brought to completion, and of the knowledges and skills, concomitantly acquired, that make for good workmanship, any worker is clearly lost. Further, in the culture of the United States, the individual's sense of identity, of what he is as a person, and of the special role he plays, is perhaps most surely defined by his occupational skills, the work group of which he can properly and confidently count himself a member.

It is, perhaps, the very emphasis upon the vocational in the culture that has led to some confusion. On the one hand, an individual can scarcely count himself a respect-worthy adult unless he can and does perform work that is remunerative (this holds specially for males); social status is largely parcelled out on the basis of type of occupation; and success is generally measured by the rule of vocational achievement. On the other hand, the notion of work as harsh and an atonement for evil is still with us: "in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." The situation is further complicated by an economy that tempts to exploitation, and by the division of labor and the high degree of mechanization that have followed upon industrialization, so that much work is indeed dull, repetitive, and in itself meaningless.

Were it not for these factors, the continuity of the work life from the age of five, six, or seven, when the sense of accomplishment emerges (or the child falls into a sense of inadequacy and inferiority) to the end of the years of productivity would be clearer. Child labor would more often be seen as evil not only because it is exploitation in its most egregious form, but also because the nature of the child's labor and its circumstances rob him of the environment he requires for healthy development. No one objects to the child's responsible performance of useful tasks in school or household; this is an essential constituent of the activities through which healthy development is achieved. The problems of employment of young people, too, could be considerably clarified by an analysis of what can be done to offset the drab monotony of most jobs in an industrial civilization, and of the part the remunerativeness of work plays in young people's lives, not only as an economic necessity but as a psychological factor in a culture which equates economic self-support with independence and which holds nothing of much worth unless there is a money price upon it.

This is only part of the complicated scene in which workers in the vocational guidance and employment

field operate, trying to protect children and young people as a whole from the evils of exploitation and of work that encumbers, rather than facilitates, their healthy development, and trying to help them, as individuals, to find their way through the maze of modern vocational life to the work that is right and rewarding for each in accordance with his capacities and inclinations, his uniqueness as a person.

Child Labor

Happily, marked progress has been made in recent years in safeguarding against the hazards of child labor. In 1950 the employment of children under fourteen during school hours was probably at its lowest point in our history. A number of factors have contributed: the mechanization of industry and agriculture; State and Federal minimum wage laws and other legislation; an increasing tendency among employers to require a high school diploma of the young people they hire; union insistence on better labor standards. But though great and encouraging strides have been made in the gradual elimination of child labor, some sore spots remain, especially in street trades and agriculture.

The Federal Fair Labor Standards Act which became effective during 1938 forbids the employment of children under sixteen years of age in farm work during school hours; it applies to all those farms the products of which move across state lines. If enforced, this provision would protect many thousands of boys and girls all over the country, including children of migrant farm families. But this law is now being resisted in some rural sections by the simple device of closing down the schools when young harvest hands are needed. With no schools in session, a legal loophole is created which permits growers to employ children under sixteen with complete immunity. Constitutional considerations make the Federal government powerless, since enactment and enforcement of school attendance laws are reserved to the States alone.

Working and living conditions among the children of migratory farm workers warrant special attention here. With their parents, these children move from one State to another, following the crops that feed and clothe the Nation, helping to cultivate and harvest them. Sometimes local sentiment discourages their attending school. If and when they do attend, they are seldom warmly received, they find a curriculum ill-adapted to their needs, and they are almost invariably below the grade level appropriate to their age because of repeated moves and time lost in work. In addition, they not only feel their parents' insecurity and fear but also suffer the general social ostracism to which migratory workers are everywhere subjected. Here today and gone tomorrow, they are deprived of a stable home life, of continuity in play and school activities, and of the opportunity to form lasting friendships. All these factors create a climate hardly conducive to healthy personality development.

Youth Employment

Nearly seven and a half million of the almost thirteen million young people fourteen through nineteen years of age worked at some time during 1949, either full-time or part-time. Most of these young workers were in paid employment. A few were self-employed, and about one-sixth were unpaid family workers; for the most part these last were farm workers.

During an average school month, about two million boys and girls fourteen through seventeen years of age work either on part-time or full-time jobs. This figure is lower than the peak wartime level, but twice as high as the prewar figure a decade ago. Since 1946 it has remained fairly constant. In the summer, a million to a million and a half¹ additional boys and girls of these ages are at work.

1. "At work" means working for pay or working in the family business or on the family farm for at least fifteen hours a week.

Among the eighteen and nineteen year olds, from two to two and a quarter million are employed in an average month during the school year, about 20 percent more than before World War II. This two and a quarter million represents approximately 60 percent of the Nation's boys and 45 percent of the girls of these ages, some of whom have already married and assumed home responsibilities.

In 1940, for every eighteen boys and girls fourteen through nineteen years old enrolled in school, only one also had outside employment; by October 1949, the proportion had increased to one in five. In October 1949, Bureau of the Census estimates show that among fourteen and fifteen year old children 80 percent of those working had part-time work while continuing in school. Almost half of those sixteen and seventeen years of age with jobs at that time had part-time work while in school.

Employment can be a most constructive factor in the development of most young people in their teens, provided their work is capitalized upon for its implicit educational value, they are not economically exploited, and working conditions are not detrimental. The trend toward increased employment of young people, particularly on a part-time basis while they are still of school age, offers both an opportunity and a challenge to those interested in their welfare.

Young people, who are still growing and who need time and energy for broadening and cultivating their interests, require special protection from too long hours, substandard wages, and other undesirable working conditions. But achieving the working conditions that will keep employment in its proper place in their lives is difficult because young people lack knowledge of what to expect on a job, lack caution, and, in their eagerness to try anything, frequently accept jobs requiring work late at night and substandard wages or other substandard working conditions. Present legal enactments lag in prohibiting night work for young

people of sixteen and seventeen, in regulating and limiting working hours of all under eighteen, and in providing health protection through mandatory medical examinations.

Legal regulation of the employment of children and its complement, compulsory school attendance laws, are two sides of the same shield used to protect children and young people from work at ages and under conditions that are likely to be harmful. No State is now without a compulsory school attendance law; twenty-three States now prohibit the employment of children under sixteen during school hours. Progress has also been made in improving compulsory school attendance laws, eliminating exemptions, and lengthening the school term. But though keeping children from work before they are ready for it is surely important, it is, after all, only a negative program. Reduction in the number of early school leavers and increase in the number of children who stay in school because they like it and see some reason in it call for far more than compulsory school attendance laws and restrictive child labor legislation. They call, at a minimum, for conditions under which no child need be deprived of schooling because his family cannot afford it, and for enough schools, with enough properly qualified teachers, and programs of instruction designed to provide enticing experience for all pupils, regardless of their eventual vocational destination.

Before leaving the topic of youth employment, it is important to call attention to the fact that it is not only during depressions that young people are at a disadvantage in competition for jobs. Even in normal times, unemployment can be serious for young people. In the spring of 1947 a special study was made of 411 boys and girls sixteen through nineteen years of age who were out of school and working or wanted work in the busy city of Louisville, Kentucky. Eighteen percent of the eighteen and nineteen year olds and 30 percent of the sixteen and seventeen year olds were unemployed. Many of them had been idle for months.

The January 1950 figures of the Bureau of the Census indicate that young people seeking jobs in which to get started constituted a large and significant proportion of the Nation's unemployed.

In view of the international commitments the Nation has since assumed, production and employment are likely to remain at unusually high levels for some time to come. This situation should not, however, obscure the basic fact that young people just out of school are at a disadvantage in the labor market, and that protracted unemployment, insidiously harmful for all, is particularly hard on young people, unsure of themselves, their capacities, and their sure place in the adult world. In immediate connection, attention must be called in blazing letters to the plight of those discriminated against in employment because they are Negroes, Jews, or of recent southern European immigrant stock.

Vocational Education

Federal interest and funds under the Smith-Hughes and George Barden Vocational Education Acts have stimulated a vast increase in vocational education programs. Under these laws, the Federal government matches State and local funds for vocational education, dollar for dollar. Total expenditures under these programs more than doubled from \$55,000,000 in 1940 to \$115,000,000 in 1949. More than 3,000,000 students were enrolled during 1949 in such courses as agriculture, home economics, distributive trades, business subjects, and teacher training.

These programs meet, in part, a great need for training youth in specific kinds of work, but it must be remembered that most young people engage in work which calls for little, if any highly specialized skill. The program set forth a decade ago by the Educational Policies Commission suggests the part the schools can play: "Beginning with the elementary school, and particularly in the early years of secondary education, the foundations of economic understanding and pre-

liminary vocational orientation should be laid. This function is integrally related to general education. It should be clearly recognized in the curriculum and work of the school. All children should know the meaning of work, should come to have respect for all types of honest labor, should learn in school -- and if possible, to some extent out of school -- what it feels like to do real work, and should at adolescence begin tentatively to identify themselves with some general idea of future occupational life."

The aim is to educate for the whole of living, with the aspect of life that is called "work" related to all the rest. The various curriculum content areas, for example, correspond to occupational areas in adult life, and so to a degree constitute a kind of vocational orientation. Visits to local firms and plants designed to acquaint the pupil with the life of his community perform a similar function. Coming before a choice of work is imminent, such exploration leaves the pupil free to observe without premature self-questionings about his own fitness for a particular field. Yet, when vocational choice later becomes necessary, this experience serves him in good stead.

Many believe that the school should also provide try-out courses in various lines to give young people the "feel" of various kinds of work as a practical basis for vocational choice and preparation. Vocational training as such, however, at its best provides the pupil with useable skills, well enough mastered to enable him to start on his first job without loss of face or confidence, or getting off to a bad start. In addition, it should be sufficiently realistic to save young workers too difficult an adjustment to repetitive work, time pressure, competition, impersonal supervision, and other similar conditions of the employment world.

Guidance and Placement

Guidance programs in the schools have been expanded through funds made available under the George Barden

Act of 1946. Ten years ago, 1,300 schools had 2,400 vocational counsellors, most of them serving half-time or more. In 1948, about 4,000 schools were served by 8,000 counsellors who gave some guidance service. Vocational education funds, under certain legal restrictions, can now be used not only for supervision of counselling programs, as was the case prior to that year, but also for training counsellors and for necessary travel, salaries, supplies, and equipment. More than forty States now plan to provide for some or all of these services in the schools, and States are encouraged to undertake supervision, counsellor training, and research. While Federal funds are insufficient to reimburse local services in most cases, this pattern is having an impact on all local planning.

The problem of providing guidance services in many small high schools has not been satisfactorily solved. Rural young people, many of whom are not interested in farm employment, need vocational counselling services as much as any other group in the Nation. No group is up against more difficult decisions in planning and adjustment than the large numbers of rural youth who migrate to the cities in search of wider opportunities.

For most young people, the step from school to work is a step into the unknown. They know little about labor market conditions, about the kind of jobs they want and for which they are fitted. Asked what kind of jobs they want, they may say "a steady job." Asked what they can do, many of them say "anything" -- which often means "nothing." Their vagueness is understandable. It is becoming more and more difficult for young workers to find their way in the maze of the modern industrial world.

What the young person actually needs to find is work that is in line with his general interests and abilities; that presents some challenge and at the same time offers him a chance to succeed; that enables him to feel that his present experience, even if the work

is only routine, leads to adequately paid, congenial employment -- a means to an end, in which he can take some pride. Thus, the young person about to start his working career needs more from the counsellor than an analysis of the labor market, a survey of the community's economic resources, and information about seasonality of jobs. Good vocational counselling never loses sight of the many-sided and developing individual seeking help, his health, social and educational circumstances, personality, abilities, and interests.

The correction of a number of prevalent misconceptions would greatly facilitate the counselling process; for example:

That "you can get no place without a college education." There are excellent fields which do not require academic training.

That white-collar work is more desirable than a trade or technical work. Skilled work in any field is respect-worthy, and a trade is frequently more remunerative than a white-collar job.

That vocational guidance and vocational training should result in selection of a specific goal that will last throughout life. A young worker should not drift, it is true, but a shift along the way from one type of work to another may be advantageous and may utilize in a different way all his training and experience.

That aptitude testing is the answer to all vocational problems. Although aptitude tests represent a very important aid in counselling, aptitudes alone do not guarantee success. Most people have a variety of abilities -- sufficient to succeed in more than one occupation -- and the wise counsellor knows that great ability in a given area may not prove rewarding when supported by little interest, or at least not so rewarding as even mediocre ability reenforced by great interest. In using tests, he makes certain that they

are reliable and that they are properly interpreted, but he uses the interpretations only as one source of information about the young person he is counselling.

Assistance in finding appropriate jobs is given by many agencies, chief among which are the 1,800 state employment offices affiliated with the United States Employment Service, through which grants of Federal funds are made. Counselling services to youth are offered as a feature of the program and may include testing and other forms of appraising the young person's abilities and training, giving occupational information, and referral for additional training if necessary, as well as the usual placement interview.

In the employment offices, counselling service is directed primarily toward those who are about to leave school or are already out of school, but with present resources these services reach only about a third of the young people who enter the labor market each year. Services to youth in school have been concentrated chiefly on students seeking summer or part-time jobs. An expansion of the public employment service facilities and an increase in employment counselling, especially in the smaller employment offices, are desirable in order to help eliminate the wasted resources that result from mismatching worker and job.

The period of adjustment to a first job is difficult for many young people. One day they are students in the protected environment of the school, the next day they are on their own, part of the complicated machine of industrial enterprise which, unlike the school, is not operated for their particular benefit. A poor start can be a damaging experience for a young worker - getting fired soon after he begins, or finding himself in a job that is beyond his abilities or for which he is not prepared, or in one that neither utilizes his capacities nor offers him opportunity to develop them, or that presents problems of industrial or personal relations that he cannot understand.

In addition, first jobs are almost always routine. The satisfactions young people draw from them lie chiefly in the excitement of a new environment, new personal relationships, and the new status they gain through earning. Young workers often need assistance in seeing the possibilities in their present job and in selecting training for advancement, or, when their present field of work is unsatisfying, in helping them decide on a new vocational goal.

For these reasons, among others, counselling should be made more widely available to out-of-school youth by State employment services, schools, and community agencies. Employers, too, should be encouraged to help their beginning workers get a better understanding of the plant and of the training required for advancement, and to provide more apprenticeship opportunities. All this should help to keep the young worker from feeling himself a failure because he does not recognize that he is making the expected progress and is not just marking time, as he thought.

CHILDREN WITH PHYSICAL AND MENTAL LIMITATIONS

There are no basic differences between children and youth with disabilities that are recognized and those who are regarded as to all intents and purposes well or healthy. Any apparent differences are to be attributed to the additional stresses and strains their limitations impose upon the growth process. As a matter of fact, it is entirely likely that adequate understanding of the child with more obvious physical and psychological disabilities will come only when it is clearly understood that few if any individuals are without one or more limitations, whether or not they happen to be identified.

One of the most unfortunate elements in the usual approach to those who suffer from the results of disabling diseases and accidents is the almost universal assumption that these conditions and events radically alter the personality. In reality, such radical alteration almost never occurs except in those relatively rare instances in which severe brain damage may result in gross psychic change. Actually, children with orthopedic, visual, auditory, intellectual, or other limitations suffer, perhaps sometimes in exaggerated form, certain deprivations and problems that are more or less common among all children. They suffer from loss of social contacts, decrease in outlet for their pent-up emotions in physical activity, deprivation or serious decrease in opportunity to learn to live in child-life situations, and from problems of dependency and rejection -- self rejection, rejection by their peers, by their parents, and by the wider social community.

Dependency and Self-Realization

Too often, earnest efforts to help children with limitations adjust tend to overlook the importance of the kind of adjustment sought. There is a vast difference between passive, hopeless, and defeated acceptance, on the one hand, and the capacity to find peace of mind and satisfaction in life, on the other. Yet passive acceptance is all too often foisted upon those who have suffered deprivations resulting from physical or mental deficiencies, and a great deal of the "lack of motivation or drive" attributed to them is due to its slow infiltration. If these young people are to live adequate lives with attendant satisfactions, the single most important "stock-in-trade" they can have is their own capacity to master their environment. Without this, they necessarily feel themselves "victims," and must be expected ultimately either to give up the battle for satisfaction or to seek to punish the world with anti-social behavior.

One of the frequent correlates of maladjustment is the state of being dependent. Dependency is nothing more or less than a psychological limitation resulting from the feeling that one cannot control or deal with the environment and must rely upon someone else to do it for one. Among the children and adolescents with physical or psychological limitations, the dependency caused by their disability is superimposed upon the normal dependency of childhood.

If parents and others responsible for bringing up children succeed only partially in helping them to achieve independence when they are relatively free of physical or psychological impediments, it is likely that they will fail when these complications are superimposed. If, on the other hand, children, especially children with physical or psychological limitations, are provided with opportunity to test their own abilities, they are likely to achieve a realistic appraisal of what these abilities actually are, and

so eventually to measure their efforts to master their environment in realistic terms. When this occurs they are most likely to attain self-realization because they are striving for an attainable goal.

By active participation in the life of the homes and in play with contemporaries the disabled child discovers how to handle himself. Parents are not infrequently inclined to over-limit such a child's active participation because they fear he will not do well and will become discouraged. While this may occasionally occur, far more often the child is able to exceed his parents' expectations, and will try and try again with their encouragement and support.

The right to try is God-given, and no child should be discouraged from it even though he may fail. When he does fail and the adult sees that it is due to actual limitations, he can show the child that making two trips instead of one will enable him to do the job, or that he can accomplish some particular task by going about it in another way. But first and foremost the child should have ample opportunity to try his way and learn how to cut the task to the dimensions of his capacity. Only in this way can independence and initiative develop.

Over-protection of children with limitations is also likely to engender in them the feeling that their limitations excuse them from all responsibility. This leads to the development of individuals who look upon their disability as an alibi for not even attempting to participate in life. Attitudes like these are fostered by parents and sometimes by teachers who say, "Don't bother with it, Johnny, you know you can't walk that far or you can't carry such a load."

Still another matter that parents of all children often forget and which is of great importance to the physically or psychologically limited child is the understanding that each individual can make a contribution that is more or less unique to him. No one

can do everything he attempts. Someone may be better at one thing or another. The child with a limitation in the movement of his hands may be able to do things with his head or with his feet that someone else can not do as well. He will be able to make his contribution in his own way.

Parent-Child Relations

The disabled child's development is subject to the same influences that affect the development of any child. His physical or psychological limitations usually place additional difficulties in his way, but these difficulties are no different from those encountered by others. Some children with relatively minor physical limitations have more serious problems of adjustment than others who contend with major disabilities. Many adults who are not physically incapacitated exhibit the kinds of emotionally immature reactions often attributed to the disabled.

The key lies essentially in the sense of security the child attains as he faces the progressive steps in emotional growth and development. This is why it has been so often emphasized that the most important job parents have is to give their children the feeling that they are genuinely loved and wanted. All children need this assurance; children with physical or psychological limitations need it in especially high degree.

An incapacitated or chronically sick child has a deep effect on any parent, and so a strain is often imposed on the parent-child relationship. Acceptance of the disability on a realistic basis can be, and often is, achieved, and then the relationship between the parents and the disabled child is as healthy as with a physically normal child.

But parents do not always respond rationally to the painful fact of having a chronically sick or markedly limited child. Frequently they feel personally

injured and attacked by fate, or they feel as though the fact that they had a defective child revealed a shameful weakness in themselves; in either case they are inclined to reject the child. Other parents seek to deny the facts; they go from one physician to another, and from there to quacks, in search of support in their evasion, succeeding only in postponing treatment.

There is hardly a mother who does not respond with deep feelings of guilt to a child's congenital defect or birth injury, or even to a chronic disease, operation, or accident leading to invalidism. Some can hardly disguise their resentment, and act it out in punishing attitudes. Often they reveal their feelings through the rigidity with which they hold their children to a restricting diet or painful medical schedule. Others, in their attempt to cope with these tendencies, lean over backwards, sacrificing their lives completely, to the detriment of both the patient and other members of the family.

Studies show that parents with such attitudes toward their physically or psychologically limited children are either poorly informed about disease and the needs of children or emotionally unstable and immature, and stand sorely in need of help both for their own sake and for the sake of their beleaguered children.

The Child's Reactions

Whatever the reality of a disease and its cause may be, a child is usually inclined to link it up with inner apprehensions. He interprets it as punishment for whatever he has learned to call "bad" in his thoughts and deeds; as the result of lack of love from his parents; as a sign of being either an outcast or a chosen one; or as a never-ending claim upon his mother and the world.

Children who feel themselves the victims of injustice and attribute their condition to lack of devotion may

withdraw, expressing only hostility and aggression to the more fortunate world. The family of such a child feels helpless when friendliness is answered with disdainful hostility. Quiet equanimity and patience, with unobtrusive signs of friendliness and understanding, deprive the child of the arena for his battle and of the opponents whom he wants compulsively to punish.

Other children become increasingly dependent and demanding. Being helpless seems to assure them of getting the many signs of affection, care, and attention they require. They usually have not discovered that striving and achievement bring admiration and affection, and so rely upon helplessness to generate kindness. Their demands may become burdensome, provoking irritability and defensiveness. In these cases, it is wisest to combine a greater amount of attention and interest with a friendly but firm demand for increasing effort on the part of the child.

Some children, like some adults, feel that their illness is punishment for acts and thoughts they have been taught to regard as "bad." Their guilt feelings imbue their illness with disproportionate anxieties and threats. Resistance to new methods of treatment often results, and the necessity for an operation may cause great fear. In order to cope with such deep anxieties, special efforts have to be made to lend reassurance of surrounding protective strength: those the patient loves are standing behind him. Furthermore, it is advisable to introduce simple explanations and information about pending medical procedures in order to replace devious anxieties with reality.

Some patients feel like giving up altogether, and may refuse food and medication. Much attention, stimulation, and care from the nursing person, and from other persons as well, is usually necessary to reverse this condition and attach the child again to the people around him so that his interest in them is awakened and he accepts himself again.

Acceptance by Peers

A child with a crippled leg soon becomes aware of his inability to run and play with his agemates. If he is disfigured by a cleft palate and lip and "talks funny," he is apt to be taunted by other children and to be the butt of cruel pranks. There is little protection from episodes which give rise to great mental pain. Cross-eyed children may suffer the gibes of their schoolmates and either retreat within themselves or become swaggering bullies.

The education of non-disabled children to accept the disabled child is an area for investigation which has been uppermost in the minds of many. There is an excellent field for social psychological research in schools where the exceptional child is in close association with other children. Here the teacher can study and record what techniques yield the greatest degree of adjustment and beneficial relationships for both groups. Evidence as to what procedures tend to minimize rejecting attitudes could be made available for application in a wide variety of situations.

When the limitation is not severely disabling or disfiguring most children of preschool and school age are usually readily accepted and able to make a good adjustment. The young wearer of a leg brace often attracts the not unwelcome attention of other children; after the novelty wears off he is not regarded as unusual. Young children take to wearing hearing aids with considerable satisfaction as a new world of hearing is opened to them.

Physical limitation at adolescence has a somewhat different significance. The adolescent may react to it as though it were a threat to his prestige. He may, therefore, fear illness, deny its reality, and reject treatment. His considerable concern for his body may exaggerate the threat of even a minor illness. Surgery, in this period, particularly if mutilating, has a more tragic significance than at any other time.

Attractiveness is of great significance for the adolescent girl, and strength and independence for the adolescent boy. The wearing of a leg brace may not have bothered the eight year old girl, but deeply affects the adolescent. A study of the acceptance of hearing aids revealed that girls who used them satisfactorily in the school years began to refuse to wear them in adolescence, with resultant increase in problems due to difficulties in communication. Even though the earpiece can be concealed, the presence of the battery on the chest seems to increase their sensitivity regarding the developing breasts.

Interference with fulfillment of interests and realization of talents have a much greater effect upon the adolescent's feeling of security than upon that of the younger child. On the other hand, hospitalization, dietary measures, and restriction of motility have a much greater impact on the child.

There are, fortunately, physiological and psychological mechanisms which seem to make up for some deficiencies constructively. All of us are able to read lips to a limited extent, but this potentiality is much more fully realized by hard of hearing people who can often acquire remarkable proficiency in it. The sense of touch can be developed to an extraordinary degree in blind people in reading or identifying objects.

Such compensatory mechanisms are not available to help out in relation to all disabilities. Some people are helped by developing particular interests or occupations which lie within their capacities -- hobbies, such as reading, gardening, modeling, and painting. Others find considerable solace in religion and satisfaction in work with community organizations.

Reactions of the Wider Social Community

In all ages, the tendency to sort out and stigmatize the deviant has persisted, without evidence of

abatement in the Twentieth Century. Even the intellectually superior or those especially talented in an art form are tagged with labels like "genius" or "master," and not without derogation, for all "geniuses" and "masters" are often assumed to be "eccentric," and so in a sense inferior to "us ordinary mortals."

Prejudice of this kind is not just an accident, nor does it occur only in an occasional individual who lacks broad understanding of others. Rather, it is a device by which man in general seeks so to manipulate his social milieu as to make of himself a preferred individual; this he does in part by pointing out the real or imagined limitations of others. The blind, the lame, the halt are readily singled out for such purpose. This is a matter of much consequence, and adequate means must be found to cope with it if children who must live with limitations are to have a fair chance to develop sound personalities.

Several additional aspects of social reactions to physical and mental disabilities deserve attention. Curiosity is common and no more surprising than if it were directed toward a foreigner wearing unusual clothes. Over-solicitousness helps to appease the conscience of those who harbor deep rejection; basically it is an attempt to make up for unconscious hostility. Many feel "uneasy" in the presence of disabled persons -- whether because they fear the different and poorly understood, or because of uncertainty as to how to behave without seeming to patronize. Some are revolted by such disfigurements as cleft palate and lip, burn scars, and extensive facial hemangiomas.

Some physically limiting conditions are specially stigmatized. From antiquity, convulsive seizures have been associated with possession by devils. Few people continue to believe this, but seizures still seem to be deeply repellent to many. This situation is further complicated by a general belief that the

condition is evidence of a tainted family stock and that repeated convulsions inevitably lead to mental deterioration. Even though therapy is effective in about 80 percent of cases, the general public and professional groups continue not to be greatly concerned, and comparatively few epileptic children have been able to obtain treatment.

Everywhere shunned and rejected, the epileptic child often reacts with socially unacceptable behavior. He may become overly aggressive and domineering, or he may withdraw as far as possible from social contacts. Such behavior was formerly misconstrued as an "epileptic personality," specific to the disease and a part of it. But the reaction of the frustrated epileptic child is no different from that of any other severely frustrated child, and a steadily increasing number of children with treated epilepsy are making a good social adjustment.

Not the least of the reasons for neglect of cerebral palsy has been the widely held superstition that this affliction is evidence of a family taint. Often one side of a family blames a cerebral palsied child's condition on some taint in the strain of the other side, and the proportion of broken homes is unusually high. Parents frequently hide these children to avoid embarrassment -- in a back room with a caretaker if well-to-do; if not well-to-do, in an institution for the feeble-minded, regardless of the child's mental potentialities. The recent activities of public and private organizations and the work of parents themselves are helping to overcome all this.

It becomes clear that the attitude of the child's family and of the community to his disability are of extreme importance in his adjustment. Both the child and his family react in large measure according to community expectations. The child, his family, and the community need reorientation and education simultaneously. Thus services directed toward establishing healthy parental and community attitudes and toward

the social and emotional adjustment of the disabled individual deserve serious consideration, together with programs of medical care, education, and training if the disabled child is to accept his limitations, make full use of his assets, and relate to normal society in a mature and realistic way.