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Juvenile Delinquency - Can It Be Measured

Glenn Robert Jacobsen
Central Washington University

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JUVENILE DELINQUENCY - CAN IT BE MEASURED?

- - -

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the School of Education

Central Washington

College of Education

- - -

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Education

- - -

by

Glenn Robert Jacobsen

August, 1953

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Committee in Charge

Approved by _____

Assistant Professor M. L. Pettit, Chairman

Approved by _____

Assistant Professor Ralph C. Collins

Approved by _____

Anne Rockwell, Psychologist -

Seattle Public Schools

Friday, July 31, 1953

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

One of the most critical and challenging problems confronting teachers, administrators, educators and the American people as a whole is the maladjustment of so many thousands of children and adolescent youth. Whether there are more problem children in proportion to the population now than at any other period is debatable. More is known about children today because the law enforcement agencies, social agencies, and public bureaus dealing with youth are better organized than ever before. Because so little is known about the over-all picture of maladjustment and delinquency among children during the earlier eras, it is difficult to state arbitrarily that delinquency is an ever-increasing problem, except in terms of population increase.

Doctor Negley K. Teeters, Professor of Sociology at Temple University, has stated:

It is fairly well agreed that much of the serious delinquency committed by the older group of children stems from the frustration and insecurity they experienced during their early years when parents and school officials failed to diagnose or treat certain behavior patterns as pre-delinquent manifestations.

Those who are familiar with dissident youth are unanimous in stating that it is imperative to "save youth of today from becoming criminals of tomorrow." Although it is true that many persons do not commit crimes until they are adults, records of penal establishments clearly show that most of their inmates found themselves in difficulty with the police or guidance clinics either in adolescence or prior to the

onset of that explosive age.¹

An excessive amount of unfounded faith has existed in the assumption that delinquency could be checked merely by asking the public for money to support movements, agencies, causes and programs that would only incidentally deal with or affect delinquent children.

Many different leaders in all strata and phases of our society have advanced their favorite reasons for delinquent behavior. Undoubtedly research could amass upwards of a hundred alleged causes, each with its adherents today, and an equally large number advocated in the past but now abandoned. Coca-Cola, the cigarette, the pulp magazines and the radio in the early nineteen hundreds were vehemently denounced as leading youth to delinquency. Today the attack has been turned toward "movies" and television, to mention a few "causes," and has left a big, dark, awkward "question mark" in the thoughts of parents and educators, not to mention the "thoughts" of the people who control these two highly remunerative media.

Obviously there exists a number of erroneous theories of delinquency causation that are accepted by large numbers of superficially informed, though well meaning people. News articles reporting speeches of people, some of whom are distinguished in their own fields, give such causes of delinquency as (1) youth has forgotten God; or has strayed from the Church, or no longer goes to Sunday School;

¹ Negley K. Teeters and John Otto Reinemann, The Challenge of Delinquency (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 3.

(2) the family is breaking down and the children no longer respect parental authority; (3) the radios, movies, television, dance halls, taverns, and pool rooms exercise harmful effects; (4) a lack of moral discipline brought about in large measure by new ideas in education has developed.

It was of some interest to know what the proverbial "man on the street" thought were the causes of delinquency. A poll conducted in the state of New Jersey in 1948 gives the following results:²

	Per cent
Lack of home training, parental neglect, etc.	70
Lack of recreational facilities	12
Crime and gangster pictures	6
Children do not have enough to do	6
The aftermath of the war	3
Too many mothers working	3
Children on streets too much	2
Comic books	2
Radio programs, especially crime programs	2
Lack of discipline in the schools	2
Wrong ideas children have today	1
Various other reasons	12
Don't know	4

(Figures add to more than 100 per cent since many people named more than one reason.)

It was interesting to note that only 4 per cent of those polled answered with a substantiated opinion - "I don't know."

From this diversity of confusion, this quagmire of "pet-peeves" regarding causation of delinquency, there arose a sincere need, on

² n.n., Trenton Evening Times (Trenton, New Jersey: November 18, 1948), n.p., cited by Negley K. Teeters and John Otto Reinemann, The Challenge of Delinquency (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 7.

the part of the writer, for the increase and diffusion of knowledge of this provocative subject.

THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. This, then, has been the purpose of this thesis - to establish, if possible, some definite indications as to the degree, extent and character of delinquency in the Seattle Public Schools and King County in relation to the evidence found in research in other areas of the United States. Occasional references have been made to other countries.

Importance of the study. It has been stated that next to treatises on the Bible and Shakespeare more has been written on this subject than any other matter. No pretension has been exercised in this thesis to the effect that it satisfactorily deals with all facets of this highly controversial subject.

Special emphasis has been placed on the evaluation of certain of the more predominant prevailing attitudes of our adult culture and society in which the child grows up and in which his character and behavior are formed.

In this thesis the ultimate goal has been that, in the interpretations of its findings, teachers, administrators, educators and parents might find enlightenment in terms of possible approaches to the problems of eliminating or controlling causation factors in delinquency to the benefit of the students, the schools, and the community.

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Delinquent. Delinquent children are alleged to have violated the laws of the community. Classifying human beings is always dangerous, since, in the last analysis, every person is unique - biologically, socially, and economically. Every delinquent or maladjusted child or young adult is unique.

Doctor James S. Plant,³ an authority on problem children, thought of juvenile delinquents as young people who "habitually respond to serious and prolonged frustration in aggressive ways."

ORGANIZATION OF REMAINDER OF THE THESIS

In chapter two an attempt has been made to be selective in the formidable task of citing authorities and conclusions. The problem of repetition and that of overlooking excellent material has been a constant pilot in the accumulation of pertinent literature found in the review of previous related studies.

Chapter three has been a presentation of original research statistics on delinquency in the Seattle Public Schools and King County. A brief discussion of method and criteria in selecting statistics has preceded the critical research data. This material, comprised almost entirely of statistical analysis of delinquency, for convenience

³ James S. Plant, The Forty-seventh Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 9.

and facility, has been tabulated into comparative tables, charts and graphs. Significant comments were interspersed wherever necessary to clarify a particular illustration.

Chapter four has been a summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations, followed by an extensive bibliography.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Probably since the day man first took up an instrument to record his thoughts in some form of hieroglyphic writing we could find records of sincere concern for the delinquent behavior of children. The amount of material that has been written on the subject of delinquency since then is prodigious. At this point a degree of necessity prompted this repetition: no pretension has been exercised in this thesis to the effect that it satisfactorily deals with all facets of this highly controversial subject. Special emphasis has been placed on the evaluation of certain of the more predominant prevailing attitudes of our adult culture and society in which the child grows up and in which his character and behavior are formed.

Literature on causation, detection and amount of existing delinquency. James S. Wallerstein, of the Randen Foundation, submitted a questionnaire, to 258 men who had a criminal record and to 223 business and professional men, regarding the causes of delinquency and crime. His findings, as reported, were:

	Ex-Offenders Per cent	Businessmen Per cent
Movies	38	61
Radio	46	65
Press	58	71

Professional men were more critical of all these media than were the ex-offenders. Their chief complaint was that all were guilty of "playing up" crime and delinquency.

Let us see what the same groups thought of some of the social factors as causes of crime:

	Ex-Offenders Per cent	Businessmen Per cent
Bad housing	90	49
Lack of recreation	89	48
Lack of jobs	81	44

From these attitudes, it might be concluded that the professional group feels fairly certain that the social-economic order is not so bad as many authorities on crime and delinquency maintain.¹

Ostin H. MacCormick,² penologist, stated in a foreword to a book on the subject that delinquency had not gone up and up because of the lack of ideas on what to do about it, but rather because of the failure to act.

Much action has been recorded, some effective and some, perhaps much, totally ineffective. The fundamental problem has been what to do and how to do it.

Jesse F. Binford, in reply to a statement by a government official to the effect that the roots of delinquency lie in the homes, the schools, the neighborhood, and the churches of our nation, contended that this is not the total picture since the roots

. . . lie in business interests which exploit youth for a profit, and in every city, state, and national law enforcing

¹ James S. Wallerstein, "Testing Opinions on Causes of Crime," Focus (National Probation and Parole Association, July, 1949), p. 103.

² Ben Solomon, Juvenile Delinquency - Practical Prevention (Peekskill, New York: Youth Service, Inc., 1947), Foreword.

department which fails to enforce protective laws . . . and that . . . today, all children from good homes, schools, and churches, as well as those deprived of ALL children most need, are confused by the discrepancies between what they are taught and what they find exist in our city life and government. They have lost respect for integrity and government.³

The various White House Conferences⁴ held in 1909, 1919, 1930, 1940, and 1950 - which were dedicated to the essential needs of children - have done much in the preventive field.

Even more to the point was the National Conference on the Prevention and Control of Delinquency, held in Washington, D. C. in November, 1946. This National Conference was called by former Attorney General Tom Clark and was attended by hundreds of persons working in the delinquency field. This Conference, like those preceding it, was an attempt to cope with the various perplexing problems of childhood and youth. Out of the Conference came the publication of eighteen pamphlets which were reports covering all phases of the problem of delinquency. A continuing committee published a handbook on the prevention and control of delinquency entitled "First Steps in Organizing State and Local Conferences." The committee also issued periodically a small magazine called "Accent on Youth." The Conference labeled its various recommendations "Tools of Action."⁵

³ Jesse F. Binford, "Postwar Problems of Youth," Federal Probation, October-December, 1947, pp. 7-11.

⁴ Homer Folks, "Four Milestones of Progress," The Annals, November, 1940, pp. 12-17.

⁵ This material may be secured by writing to the United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

The field of Education produced an excellent treatise, "Juvenile Delinquency and the Schools."⁶ Due consideration was given to the traditional phases of the problem and special emphasis was placed on the need for adult understanding of the causes of delinquent behavior. The role of the school in detecting incipient delinquency also received emphasis.

Along this trend of thought Daniel P. Clark and Dorothy Gray have stated in their interesting studies, "School Surveys and Delinquency Prediction," that " . . . a good school can do much to compensate for a poor home."⁷ Finding the children who are most likely to resort to delinquent behavior implies the use of some sort of a survey technique.

Such a survey

. . . was attempted in 1946 when the New York City Youth Board Commission Staff worked with ten school systems in the Capitol district on a multiple-criteria study of 5,299 children in grades three to eight. The major purpose of this survey was the identification of children who were using undesirable behavior.

The assumption was that children who use maladjustive behavior are signaling the existence of frustrations which prevent their fulfilling their basic needs in a socially approved manner. At the same time, it was recognized that the specific source of frustration would not be revealed by the misbehavior.

⁶ Nelson B. Henry, "Juvenile Delinquency and the Schools," The Forty Seventh Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (University of Chicago Press, 1948).

⁷ Op. cit., The Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. XXIV, pp. 21-9.

No matter what frustration motivated behavior, it was felt that the use of undesirable behavior could be interpreted as the child's way of saying that something in his environment should be corrected fast or more serious behavior would be forthcoming. The survey sought two kinds of behavior: aggressive and withdrawn; and it drew on two sources of evidence: the child's teachers and his classmates.

The difficulty in predicting legal delinquency is illustrated by truancy. There were 266 children who were reported by their teachers as being truants, but only 28 of these reported truants were brought to Court on delinquency petitions within the three-year period and only 11 of the 28 appeared because of truancy. This finding demonstrated that the survey method was useful in identifying these violators of the Children's Court Act but that it was of little value for predicting that a complaint would be filed in Court.

The 266 reported truants appeared to constitute a reasonable group of "unofficial" delinquents who should have been brought to court.

When this group was compared with the 114 children who were brought to Court, no significant difference was found between percentages of deviation by any of the adjustment criteria. This finding is of extreme importance to any evaluation of the survey method for identifying pre-delinquent children. In terms of maladjustment the legal delinquent cannot be distinguished from the unofficial delinquent. The difference lies in the circumstances of apprehension and the filing of a delinquency petition - circumstances not amenable to prediction.⁸

Legally, the lowest age limit for considering the child as delinquent, that is, subject to official action, is seven years. This follows the Roman Law as well as the common law, which did not consider the child less than seven years of age as responsible for his acts. Such an age limit is arbitrary and is at best only a

⁸ Daniel P. Clark and Dorothy Gray, "School Surveys and Delinquency Predictions," The Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. XXIV, pp. 21-9.

convenient figure. The upper age limit varies from sixteen to twenty-one, depending on the state.

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck reported that after an intensive study of 510 prisoners in the Massachusetts Reformatory that 420 were between the ages of eleven and eighteen at the time of their first known delinquency.⁹ Another student of the problem, Maude A. Merrill, stated that " . . . nine times out of ten, he is an adolescent between the ages of thirteen and twenty-one."¹⁰

Healy and Bronner stated "From Juvenile Court statistics it would seem that the prime age for the onset of delinquency is the early adolescent at thirteen to fifteen years."¹¹

The National Education Association reported that "More than five times as many boys as girls are arrested for delinquent conduct."¹² This fact has been borne out by sample figures submitted by the Juvenile Courts of seventy-six cities for the past several years. The ratio of girls' cases to boys' cases runs from one to four to as high as

⁹ Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Later Criminal Careers (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1937), p. 270.

¹⁰ Maude A. Merrill, Problems of Child Delinquency, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), p. 111.

¹¹ William Healy and Augusta Bronner, "What Makes the Child Delinquent?" The Forty Seventh Year Book, Part I, p. 39.

¹² National Education Association, Research Division, Co-ordination of Youth Services to Prevent Juvenile Delinquency, Washington, D. C., 1947, p. 25.

one to nineteen.¹³

Just how prevalent, then, is delinquency at any given time? This question cannot be arbitrarily answered. First, it must be determined what has been meant by delinquent behavior. Teeters and Reinemann stated:

So far as criminal behavior is concerned, we are on reasonably safe ground. We have penal codes in each state, and any violation of the code represents criminal conduct. But even in this area we have difficulty in tabulating the extent of crime, since our statistics are so inadequate. Since 1930 the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been collecting criminal statistics but no one can claim that they are complete. The "uniform crime reports," issued semi-annually by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, record crimes known to the police, offenses cleared by arrests, persons held for prosecution, and persons released or found guilty. The Bureau must rely on police chiefs throughout the country to supply such data and even today many of these officials do not cooperate.¹⁴

In considering juvenile delinquency, even greater difficulty and confusion has been encountered. A large proportion of those children who may have been labeled delinquent have not violated any section of the penal code. Many have not committed an overt act considered unsocial. Incurability, for instance, has been considered delinquent but not criminal. Truancy has been considered delinquent but, again, not criminal. On the other hand, children may have on occasion violated the law, but such an overt act may not have been recorded by police or Juvenile Court.

¹³ Edward E. Schwartz, "Statistics of Juvenile Delinquency in the United States," The Annals, January, 1949, pp. 9-20.

¹⁴ Negley K. Teeters and John Otto Reinemann, The Challenge of Delinquency (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 15.

A study made some years ago by Murphy, Shirley and Witmer,¹⁵ members of the staff of the Cambridge-Somerville Project (Boston), showed that of some 6,416 infractions of the law by boys over a five-year period, only 95 became a matter of official complaint. In other words, officials took action in less than 1.5 per cent of the infractions. Approximately 1,400 were merely violations of city ordinances, none of which became a matter of official complaint; 4,400 were considered minor offenses and only 27 of them were prosecuted by the authorities; and of the 616 labeled serious, only 68 were prosecuted. Yet it is quite obvious that the vast majority of these offenses represented certain types of juvenile maladjustment and would be delinquent if they were finally and officially recorded.

The number of officially recorded delinquencies in a particular city may be estimated from the local Juvenile Court or criminal court. But many children's unsocial acts have not been recorded. For instance, the Third White House Conference on Child Health and Protection reported:

1. There exists no accurate statement as to the amount of delinquency in this country, nor whether it is increasing or decreasing.

2. There is no accurate conception as to what actually constitutes delinquency.

¹⁵ Fred J. Murphy, Mary M. Shirley, and Helen L. Witmer, "The Incidence of Hidden Delinquency," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. XVI, No. 4, 1946, pp. 686-96.

3. The approach has been so individual to different communities and to different leaders that there exists no general philosophy, no unified working hypothesis concerning the problem.¹⁶

For all practical purposes, these three statements of the Third White House Conference have been appropriate to the problem up to the present time.

Sophia Robison,¹⁷ a reputable student of delinquency, reported that there are approximately three thousand courts scattered throughout the country which handle juvenile cases, and in the past quarter-century only about one-sixth of them made reports. About one-half of the five hundred courts reporting are located in the East-North-Central geographic division of the country. She added that almost one-fourth of these reporting courts are located in one state - Connecticut. Miss Robison asks, "How can it then be claimed that such figures are a reliable basis for estimating either the extent or the character of juvenile delinquency in the United States?" The reasons advanced by Miss Robison on why Juvenile Court statistics have not in the past been a reliable measure of delinquency are:

1. The Juvenile Court plays a different role in different communities. In some it is an administrative social agency; in others, it operates according to the rules of evidence mitigated to be sure by mercy and understanding.

¹⁶ The Third White House Conference, The Delinquent Child, (New York: Century, 1932), p. 23.

¹⁷ Sophia Robison, "Wanted - An Index of Crime and Delinquency," Proceedings (American Prison Association, 1945), pp. 203-12.

2. The jurisdictions of Juvenile Courts differ considerably as to the age of the young people referred to them and the area of coverage in a community. The machinery of formal and informal hearings, dismissals, referrals, and so forth, vary with the court personnel as well as with the fashions in the local community.

3. The types of behavior brought to the attention of the court vary widely.

4. Communities differ in their alternate methods of care: i.e., in New York City, in the Borough of Richmond, the court is the only agency that records delinquent behavior, while in Manhattan the court competes for its customers with many agencies in which offenders can be and often are referred.

5. The mores in the various communities vary tremendously regarding delinquent behavior. For example, community attitudes toward offending girls vary. Generally five or six times as many boys are referred to the courts than are girls. Boys are seldom referred to the court for sex offenses other than homosexual acts; and girls are seldom referred for anything but sexual misconduct.¹⁸

Here is what I. R. Perlman, another student of this phase of the problem, has said:

Nation-wide data on the extent of juvenile delinquency are not available. The Juvenile Court statistics and the police arrest rate now being collected by federal agencies do furnish a crude indication of national trends in the number of children getting into difficulty with the law and as such give some insight into the delinquency trends.

Based on these data the number of children getting into trouble with law-enforcement and judicial agencies seems to have increased sharply during the war to a peak in 1945. . . . From the peak of 1945, children brought into court or arrested decreased sharply in 1946 and continued downward in 1947, following the end of wartime conditions. The decrease may reflect also the strengthening of existing services to

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 212.

children and efforts by local, state and federal agencies to prevent conditions that lead to juvenile delinquency.¹⁹

Edward E. Schwartz, who has accomplished the compiling and evaluation of extensive statistics of juvenile delinquency in the United States, has stated that:

During the year 1948, 94,236 children's cases were disposed of by 399 juvenile courts reporting from seventeen states. Two-thirds of these cases were delinquencies; one-third what we may call "care and protection cases." About one-half of the cases (51 per cent) were disposed of unofficially - that is, without formal judicial action. The United States Children's Bureau estimates that if the volume of delinquency continues at the 1948 level, 275,000 children may be expected each year to come before the Juvenile Courts of the nation.

The foregoing data, together with estimates by persons who are professionally interested in the juvenile field, indicate that about six in every one thousand children under 18 years of age in the country are involved in juvenile court delinquency cases.²⁰

Another difficult problem within this phase of delinquency has been how to estimate the number of children who are repeaters. Few if any records are available that would give any reliable answer to this question.

The Department of Welfare for the State of Ohio²¹ published statistics which have some bearing on this matter. Of 101,043 children

¹⁹ I. R. Perlman, "The Meaning of Juvenile Delinquency Statistics," Federal Probation, September, 1949, p. 67.

²⁰ Edward E. Schwartz, "Statistics of Juvenile Delinquency in the United States," The Annals, January, 1949, p. 12.

²¹ C. H. Growden, "A Group Study of Juvenile Homicide," State Bureau of Juvenile Research, Department of Welfare, Columbus, Ohio, October, 1949, n.p., cited by Negley K. Teeters and John Otto Reinemann, The Challenge of Delinquency (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 19.

dealt with by the Juvenile Courts in that state during the five-year period 1943-1947, inclusive, 57.3 per cent came before the court for the first time. How this figure would apply in other jurisdictions is not known.

Literature on types of delinquents. As stated in chapter one classifying human beings is always dangerous, since, in the last analysis, every person is unique - biologically, socially, and economically. Every delinquent or maladjusted child or young adult is unique.

David Abrahamsen, M. D., a psychiatrist devoting much of his time to the problems of delinquency, has stated:

Delinquency is not so much an infectious disease as it is one of deficiency. Just as we cannot tell why one person chooses to work with his hands while another uses his mental capacities, so we have trouble ascertaining why one individual becomes psychotic, neurotic or has symptoms of a psychosomatic disorder, while another individual commits a crime. We only know that in most instances it can be demonstrated that intense emotions, very often on an unconscious basis, underlie all four of these disturbances. Crimes seem to result when unconscious emotions are hidden for too long a period of time.

For an understanding of any offender's behavior we must consider six factors: (1) constitution, (2) predisposition, (3) emotional elements, (4) precipitating events, (5) physical factors, (6) traumatic factors. It is worthwhile noting that not all of these factors have to operate. One or two may be sufficient. In addition to these factors time and the situation itself are also determining influences. At the time the offense is committed the resistance against criminal activities is overcome.

The criminal's behavior is closely related to his childhood's experiences. It should be noted that criminal behavior is human behavior. Conflict emerges in the individual who is baffled by the demands of society in relation to his own problems. A neurotic conflict and a conflict leading to crime

differ only in the manner with which the individual handles his problem.

The overt difference in the criminal's behavior is outward aggression to the point where he may be locked up - whereas a man with mental illness turns his hostilities inward and locks himself up.

One important phenomenon needs emphasis: an offender may be a person suffering from a mental disturbance and a mentally disturbed person may be said to be a criminal. Intrinsically or psychiatrically they are practically interchangeable. Crime and mental illness both have multiple causes: predisposition, personality make-up, restrictive influences in childhood, loss of love or prestige. With both, a sudden temptation which is directly related to previous emotion, now unconscious, may bring about the actual crime or actual break from reality in severe mental illness.

Instead of generalized dealing with offenders our newly developed scientific conception requires individual treatment. It must be stressed that we will have to have prisons, particularly for those who are dangerous and a threat to society - for people who because of their fixed personality make-up cannot be changed. Psychiatry cannot cure everyone, just as medicine cannot yet cure all diseases. Perhaps 25 per cent of our offenders need to be isolated in prisons for the protection of society. But our present knowledge indicates that rehabilitation of 75 per cent of offenders is a possibility.²²

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, of the Harvard Law School, in an interesting and revealing extensive ten-year investigation of delinquency, reported:

Five hundred delinquent boys were compared to a carefully matched group of five hundred boys who had never been in trouble with the police. Both groups came from the same

²²David Abrahamsen, M. D., "Psychiatric Aspects of Delinquency," Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. XXIV, September, 1950, pp. 40-44.

kind of low income neighborhoods, with high rates of juvenile delinquency; they represented similar cultural and religious backgrounds; they were matched as to age, ranging from 11 to 17 years and as to general intelligence, their Intelligence Quotients ranging from 60 to 120. Each boy spent a minimum of three and one-half hours with investigators, undergoing a physical examination, a psychiatric interview and psychological tests (including the Rorschach "ink blot" test). Members of each boy's family, his teachers and social workers who had known him were interviewed; records of schools, Juvenile Courts and social agencies checked.

Each group of experts worked independently without knowing what the other had found out in their studies. Because they were interested in spotting potential lawbreakers early so such boys might be helped before they got into trouble, the Gluecks developed "prediction tables" from their findings that would separate probable future delinquents from the others.

What makes a future bad boy? There were dramatic differences between delinquents and non-delinquents on three major points: relations with father and mother, personality, temperamental and character type and ability to get along with people.

Family relations were important in four ways: discipline of the boy by his father, supervision by his mother, affection of the father and mother for the boy and cohesiveness of the family.

Factors that showed up most among the delinquents were a father whose discipline was lax or over-strict or erratic (not firm and kindly); a mother who left the boy to his own devices without provision for healthy use of leisure; a father or mother who rejected the boy emotionally; a family whose home was just "a place to hang your hat" - instead of (one where cooperation, family interests, pride in the home and mutual affection appeared).

If a boy's family scored well on all these points, the chances were only 3 in 100 he would turn out to be a delinquent. If the situation was poor in all four respects, the chances were 98 in 100.

Five character traits stood out: social assertion, defiance, suspicion, destructiveness and impulsiveness. If the boy was markedly willful and assertive, defiant of everything

and everyone, suspicious and hostile without reason, wanted to destroy others and himself, and "exploded" emotionally regardless of the consequences, there was every reason and chance that he would turn out to be delinquent. If he scored low on all these points, the chances were only 15 in 100 that he would become delinquent.

Personality traits listed were "adventurous, stubborn, and emotionally unstable." If a youngster was usually looking for a change, excitement or a risk; if he ordinarily did what he pleased; if he could be easily swayed by an appeal to his feelings, even against his better judgment; if he was usually resisting because he felt thwarted; if his feelings were in conflict and he had "inharmonious or inappropriate" feelings, the chances were 93 in 100 that he would become a delinquent. If he scored low on all counts, the chances were 5 in 100.

Differences among the three tests results may be significant in themselves. If a boy has a high chance of delinquency as determined by the factors of his social background, but a low chance as derived from the factors of his basic character structure or the dynamics of his personality, this would indicate that the chances of early preventive treatment are excellent, if the necessary attention is directed toward improving family inter-relations.

If the opposite is true it should indicate that the therapist may be dealing with a very recalcitrant individual, the prevention of whose delinquency career might involve nothing short of a basic reorganization of his character structure and temperamental constitution.

Other findings turned up by the study included the fact that "even in regions of adverse social conditions, most children do not commit legally prohibitive acts." Although those boys who did not get into trouble with the court came from the same kind of neighborhoods as the delinquent boys, 75 per cent of the non-delinquents had a clear record even on the kind of minor misbehavior parents could handle themselves. The other one-fourth had been guilty of the usual boyish pranks like smoking in their early years. The quality of a boy's home life is far more important than whether he lives in a slum area.

In general, the delinquents were of a muscular, tightly knit build, with well-proportioned bodies, while a larger

percentage of the non-delinquents were more of the linear fragile type.

While the two groups were matched as to general intelligence, the delinquents scored higher in certain parts of the test - they were better at concrete and direct ways of mental expression, but not so good at abstract reasoning or at approaching a problem methodically.

Factors that do not count in delinquency included ill health, conflict of cultures, large families, grandparents' schooling, serious physical ailments in the father's and mother's families, whether parents were native or foreign born, parents age at time of marriage, age differences of father and mother; housing, rent, home furnishings, size of household; marked dislike of certain school subjects or stress resulting from school difficulty; frequency and severity of contagious diseases, physical defects, allergies, glandular disturbances; feelings of not being taken seriously, of not being able to manage own life; attitude of over-competitiveness.²³

Another interesting classification has been proposed by Robert Lindner. The first, the "situational," would cover about two-thirds of our delinquent youth. These have crime thrust upon them. They are not delinquent no matter how many laws they break nor how serious their offenses. Their behavior is the result of socio-economic-moral atmosphere in which they have grown up. In contrast to this type he lists the "adventitious" or basic delinquent whose wrong doings are "symptoms of inner stresses or strains in the same way as pain is the symptom of organic disease." He finds basic delinquency to be caused "biologically or through mistakes and errors in

²³ Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor T. Glueck, "Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency," The Glueck Report, Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. 133, December, 1950, pp. 252-53.

child rearing."²⁴

Three British students of the problem, Bunbury, Ling, and Rudolf,²⁵ have presented another statement of classification. They listed three types: the mentally disordered, the mentally defective, and the "normal." The normal was characterized by the person who approves of criminality - who has no guilt feeling and whose ideal of himself as a criminal is assured. Other classifications emphasizing the psychiatric or medico-psychological approach may be found in the works by English and Pearson.²⁶

Another approach to the problem of classification has been in terms of the acts of children rather than in terms of their mental or emotional condition. Many children have been delinquent because they have violated a statute. These children have committed overt acts that are regarded as violations of the penal code or of some city ordinance. An arbitrary term of classification has been easy to apply to these children, since their behavior seems to have been so obvious. For example, the child stole some object, destroyed some property, created a disturbance, and so forth. The attention

²⁴ Robert Lindner, "Crime and the Child," Focus, N.P.P.A., September, 1948, pp. 143-46.

²⁵ E. Bunbury, T. M. Ling, and G. de M. Rudolf, Mental Hygiene, London, Vol. IV, 1938, p. 78, abstracted in Journal of Criminal Psychopathology, Vol. I, 1939, p. 73.

²⁶ O. Spurgeon English and Gerald H. J. Pearson, Neuroses of Children and Adults (New York: Norton Company, 1937), pp. 146-47, and Emotional Problems of Living (New York: Norton Company, 1945), p. 265.

has been focused on the specific act rather than on the reasons why the child committed the act.

Incorrigibility has often been referred to as a type of delinquency. This is a general term and has been variously defined. Many truants are incorrigible, but it has been preferred to list under the heading of incorrigibility the problem or emotionally maladjusted child, rather than the chronic truant and the child who commits an overt act. The incorrigible child has been considered a nonconformist. He has been the youngster who caused the teacher considerable trouble. He found it difficult to adjust to the conventional routine of the classroom. He has been a "trouble-maker" or, more accurately, an uncomfortable child to have around more amenable and docile children. Many incorrigible children, of course, do commit overt acts of delinquency.

Although there are many incorrigible children of tender age, it has been in the period of adolescence that an increase in their numbers takes place; and understandably so, since this age presents many serious difficulties to the boy or girl. Doctor William Healy had this to say about the adolescent:

It is the age of physical changes with all their concomitant needs and urges that develop between the early years of adolescence and young manhood. Psychologically considered, it is often the time of confused ideas, desires, and impulses. We may occasionally note a case in which the confused mental state suggests a mild psychosis. It is the period of vocational adjustments which unfortunately are frequently so difficult to make. These older adolescents often find themselves at sea in making their social contacts;

they have not the stabilized situations that have been experienced earlier or will be normally found later.²⁷

One of the most perplexing problems that has confronted educators is that of adolescent boys and girls who are regarded by teachers as problem cases. They cannot leave school until they reach the age set by law; they are socially maladjusted and cannot fit into the traditional curriculum. They harass the school authorities and often become a menace to the community because of their frustrations.

The only recourse many school administrators have had has been to fall back on the flogging technique or "busy work" after school. Some state laws permit corporeal punishment, and from such primitive recourse on the part of the principal, or teacher, it has not been difficult to understand incipient rebellion in the classroom. Often the Juvenile Court Judge has done nothing because such a boy's behavior did not come within the generally accepted notion of delinquency.

The truant has also been considered delinquent. Most authorities have agreed that truancy is symptomatic of some maladjustment that is more serious than the mere disinclination to attend school.

The extent of truancy has been debatable. Reckless and Smith contend that it is more widespread than any other form of delinquency.²⁸

²⁷ William Healy, "A New Program for Treatments of Youthful Offenders," American Sociological Review, August, 1940, pp. 610-617.

²⁸ Walter C. Reckless and Mapheus Smith, Juvenile Delinquency (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1932), p. 161.

Other authorities such as Healy and Bronner, the Gluecks, Sullenger, and Teeters and Reinemann, have discussed the dissatisfaction delinquents manifest regarding school when they are brought before the Juvenile Court or Clinic.

It has been generally accepted that most truants are boys. For example, Reckless and Smith refer to a study of 7,354 cases of truancy in Chicago. Of this number, only 769 were girls.²⁹

Another delinquency is linked with the sex problem. This problem has been primarily associated with adolescent girls. Although there have been numerous cases of emotionally maladjusted young boys and girls wherein the sex aspect is the crux of the situation, the highest incidence of sexual looseness has been found among adolescent girls. Most of the girls who have been sent to reform schools are there for sexual reasons. Naturally some male is an accessory in practically every case, but it is most frequently the older male who is involved rather than the boy of approximately the same age as the girl. With the awakening of the sex urge at the onset of adolescence, many girls who find school boring or beyond their mental capacity seek excitement elsewhere. They have little trouble in meeting older boys and men who are all too eager to take advantage of them. It is from this group of intellectually dull adolescent girls that most of our sex cases are drawn. Many are sex-starved as a result of lack of appreciation of their problem at home; others who are apprehended have used their wiles to merely gain attention or favors from men.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 161.

A puritanical morality has little to offer for most adolescents today. Even in these modern times most of our boys and girls must pick up their sex knowledge from the street corner or school yard. It is not surprising that thousands of young girls go astray in our prudish and apathetic culture.

Although the young male commits few sex offenses compared with other types of overt delinquency, some sexual maladjustment is often the basis of the other types. The more spectacular sex crimes make the headlines; many of them are serious and distressing and may end in brutal murder. In recent years much attention has been paid to the young "killer," whether it be boy or girl. Victor Kohn, in the Minneapolis Tribune, stated that in 1946, 808 boys and girls under twenty-one years of age were arrested for homicide - that figure represented twelve out of every one hundred murders. Of these 256 were under eighteen and 69 were fifteen and under. The trend continued in 1947: 415 boys and girls under twenty-one were arrested for homicide. Many of these killings involved sexual motivation.³⁰

Still another type of delinquent, which has often cut across one or more of the others previously mentioned, has been the highly processed young criminal or thug. He may have been suffering from

³⁰ Victor Kohn, (In a series of articles), The Minneapolis (Minnesota) Tribune, December, 1947, cited by Negley K. Teeters and John Otto Reinemann, The Challenge of Delinquency (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 24.

deep-seated emotionally maladjustment or he may have been normal in his responses but abnormal in his sense of civic responsibility. As a rule, he has been a dangerous person, and all the resources of law enforcing agencies have been unloosed to cope with his bravado and criminal skill. The only reason he has been considered delinquent is because he was delinquent. In his earlier years he may have been placed in one of the other categories. Later he became a potentially dangerous young thug who preyed on society without compunction. Doshay³¹ described this type, comprising about 10 per cent of those coming before the Juvenile Court, as the "vicious, hardened and aggressive habitually delinquent type who espouse antisocial behavior as a career and the gang as a medium of protection, comfort, and training for effective operation."

It has been difficult to group delinquents into distinct categories or types. What the students of delinquency have been dealing with actually has been the behavior of an individual - as detected or represented by his observable responses or activities in the process of social adjustment.

³¹ Lewis J. Doshay, "The Challenge and Solution of Juvenile Delinquency," Journal of Clinical Psychopathology and Psychotherapy, Vol. VI, 1944, pp. 335-54.

Literature on prevailing conditions and attitudes of our adult culture and society which tend to instigate delinquency. Much has been said regarding the environmental factor in causation of delinquency. The average layman has thought of the environment as merely the more apparent factors in the life of the individual, such as his neighborhood, the house he lives in, his family life, the church, the school, primary or secondary groups, and the like. These factors are, of course, part of the environment but the sociologist has thought of environment as every stimulus that impinges on the individual's structure from the moment of conception - the moment the new life begins. The environment is represented by every possible interaction between the individual and every other individual with whom he comes in contact - not only physically but through every cultural medium. Thus what the individual absorbs from his reading, from the motion picture, the radio, television, all are a potent part of his environment. Each interaction, regardless of intensity has its effect in forming character. The innuendo, the whisperings, the off-the-record remarks one hears, the adult repartee, the gossip, all must be accepted as environment.

In turn, the individual helps create the environment for every other person with whom he comes in contact. Developing the environment is a reciprocal process. Measurement of an environmental stimulus is difficult. Repetition of a stimulus has its effect, but the intensity of a specific stimulus upon a structure that is just ripe

for that stimulus determines the magnitude of the response. A whisper or a chance remark may have far more importance in determining behavior or forming character than a more apparently profound remark repeated over and over.

Attention has been called to several aspects of our social structure which present difficulties to all American youth during the growing up process. In some areas of our culture certain glaring paradoxes and inconsistencies confuse and frustrate many children and adolescents. In fact, they disturb many adults as well.

An overview of our economic philosophy is in order at this point. Teeters has stated:

Despite the apostles of thrift we are geared in the United States to spending and waste. On all sides we are bombarded with clever advertising urging us to buy a hundred different gadgets so that we may enjoy the "better life." It matters little whether the victim of the slick-paper magazine advertisement or radio soothing-syrup dispensers have the ready cash. On the next page of the magazine or the next radio soap opera other enticing advertisements tell us where we can obtain the money at only a slight interest rate. The victim is urged to use charge accounts, or to take advantage of installment buying, deferred payments, or some other cleverly devised "come on" so that the purchase may seem less painful financially. The "easy-money" complex is an integral part of our culture. That is the way we keep up the production of our factories. This situation is all for the good from many points of view. But the philosophy does get its victims. Millions of families take the easy way to live beyond their means, little realizing that a day of reckoning will confront them.

The small wage-earner and his children are constantly confronted by needs that only a few years earlier were considered luxuries. This was true of the automobile a generation ago. Today it is true of radio and television sets and all the electric contraptions found in the modern kitchen and laundry

to relieve the drudgery of housework. The movie habit might also be added to this category. Courses in advertising are prevalent in all our colleges. It is doubtful if there has ever been a course offered in sales resistance. According to capitalistic philosophy, it just isn't cricket to talk about sales resistance as a virtue.

When there isn't enough money to go around many older boys go out and look for opportunities of obtaining money the easiest way. Hard work is unattractive, especially if it does not include the wearing of a white collar. The easy-money complex, so prevalent in the days of "Robber Barons" - whose exploits all children learn in school - and also prevalent in the lush 1920's as well as during the last war, have discouraged millions of adolescents from learning a trade or working a full day for a small wage. What they want is a "connection" with short hours and a degree of status, such as that of a salesman or a front man for some shady operator. The route to delinquency is short and bedecked with primroses.

The theory of the leisure class exposed so devastatingly by the great economist, Thorstein Veglen, has unmistakably discouraged the thinking, shallow though it is, of millions of young people who want "something for nothing." These adolescents and young adults can point to the activities of high salaried businessmen who are engaged in shady pursuits, many of which are within the law but somewhat immoral nevertheless. A very fine line exists between what the law lays down and the transactions that are actually made. White collar activities, many of which were illegal and most of which were immoral, described so expertly by Professor E. H. Sutherland, need not be reviewed here. The financial activities of Samuel Insull, Ivar Kreuger, Stavisky, Whitney, the Van Sweringens, Sinclair, and others, all of which were front-page news prior to the late war, have been supplanted by the connivance of "white collar" war criminals like General Bennett Myers, the Garssons, Congressman Andrew May, the "Five Percenters," and many others who capitalized on all-out war production.³²

In 1943, for example, the Anaconda Wire and Cable Company and five of its top-flight executives were convicted of

³² Bruce Catton, The War Lords of Washington (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948), n.p.

faking tests and thus actually delivering defective cable to the Armed Forces overseas. Aside from callously exposing our soldiers to possible death, the activities of these morally defective big-business executives defrauded the government of some five million dollars. For this reprehensible crime a Federal judge fined the men \$31,000 with suspended sentences. John R. Ellingston, in his book, Protecting Our Children From Criminal Careers,³³ cites this incident and then adds that in the same year "a washer in a tank factory in Pennsylvania was found guilty of damaging an army tank by injecting water into its exhaust pipe. He caused the damage 'so he could go to lunch on time.'" This non-white-collar worker got three years in prison for disrupting the war effort.

Differential treatment of this sort does little to stabilize the nation's moral fiber. Thus it is not surprising to find that an occasional delinquent justifies his act by pointing to such glaring inconsistencies in our legal dispensation of justice. Gabriel Tarde, the great French sociologist, declared that social imitation spreads from the top downward. This concept might help to explain why many youths attempt to emulate the socially elite in manipulating people and productive goods for their own selfish gain regardless of laws or morality. In other words, the shrewd and shady practices engaged in by the moguls of big business in any era have permeated the lower middle class. Conspicuous spending and what Veblen called "pecuniary emulation" have become the goals of millions who simply cannot realize such extravagance without breaking the law.³⁴

This philosophy has been blamed on the war morality, but it has continued with and without war. The attitude "he gets his and I'm going to get mine" has been all too prevalent in our society.

³³ John R. Ellingston, Protecting Our Children From Criminal Careers (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), p. 8.

³⁴ Negley K. Teeters and John Otto Reinemann, The Challenge of Delinquency (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), pp. 29-31.

Ellingston has called attention to a series of articles in the Reader's Digest (July-September, 1941)³⁵ which described the results of a nationwide investigation of the business ethics of garages, radio repair shops, and watch repair shops. Two investigators, a man and a woman, spent three months getting service at a large number of repair shops. They found that 63 per cent of the garage men took them for suckers and charged them for unnecessary work; a hundred and ninety-five repairmen took advantage of them by "fixing" their radio even though there was nothing defective; and 49 per cent of the watch repairmen also fleeced them.

Of no little amount of influence has been the arrogance and fraud on the part of Congressman J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, who was convicted and sent to prison for forcing salary "kickbacks" from his office help. It has been this nonchalance and arrogance with which so many businessmen and elected officials have carried out their illegal acts that has disturbed the great bulk of the American people.

The black-market operations during the war and the grey-market traffic in scarce commodities immediately after the war contributed to the general ebb of public respect for integrity of business and government, and local citizens and neighbors who ignored rationing and control. In this same category have been the callous practices of many automobile salesmen and dealers in high-jacking buyers into purchasing

³⁵ John R. Ellingston, Protecting Our Children From Criminal Careers, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), pp. 20-21.

unwanted accessories as well as demanding large fees in making the sale. Also the disgusting practice of rent-gouging by landlords left its imprint on the minds of the large number of American people who do not own homes.

Such reprehensible practices have done much to condition youth to become parasites and disciples of the "something for nothing" philosophy.

Paralleling these causes of lack of respect for integrity in business and government has been the fact that the child grows up in a culture which, in its confusion of values, glibly accepts the double standard of morality. Children in the growing stages become confused when they find one set of standards employed by their parents and friends and another set suggested in school and church. Children have had to learn to develop a pattern of falsehoods to be used under certain conditions and a philosophy of truth-telling to be used in other connections. This confused set of standards has carried over into the field of honesty and dishonesty. The child is told to be scrupulously honest but hears his parents tell hilariously of a shady deal.³⁶

There has existed a world of double standards of morality in which distinctions between right and wrong have seldom been made, or,

³⁶ Alice and Lester D. Crow, Our Teen Age Boys and Girls (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Publishers, 1945), Chapter 9, "Teen Age Problems in Social Life."

if they were made, they were made with a sinister inconsistency. Social definitions of what is permitted and what is prohibited have been poorly drawn and thus have confused and even frustrated many children.

Martin H. Neumeyer, Professor of Sociology at the University of Southern California, had this to say:

Society is full of conflicts and contradictions that the young person fails to understand. Our customs, traditions, and laws tend to lag behind other phases of our environment. When no satisfactory definitions of situations are given, some juveniles are inclined to take the path that seems most likely to satisfy their interest.

There is rather a high correlation between the rates of adult crime and juvenile delinquency in urban areas, as has been pointed out by Shaw and McKay, Healy and Bronner, and others. Sometimes the rate of juvenile misconduct is almost identical with the rate of adult offenses.³⁷

Corruption in politics, especially in local areas, has had its own effective influence on youth. This topic in itself entails sufficient material to develop an extensive thesis. Alliances between the lawless elements and the police have been an integral part of the American pattern and need little comment. It has been stated that metropolitan political organizations cannot carry on without corruption and graft or, to varying degrees, without the criminal element. From the days of Lincoln Steffens, in his pioneer writing, The Shame of the Cities (1904), down to Robert S. Allen in his Our Fair City,³⁸

³⁷ Martin H. Neumeyer, Juvenile Delinquency in Modern Society (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1949), p. 151.

³⁸ Robert S. Allen, Our Fair City (New York: Vanguard Press, 1947).

the sordid story is the same.

The inroads of professional politics are countless as well as the individuals who have been led into them. The effect power politics has had on the trust in and loyalty to government by many of our youth, as well as adults, has been devastating. Recent election campaigns, both local and national, as well as the activities of certain of our Senators have left a very big doubt in the minds, a very nasty taste in the mouths, and a sinking feeling in the pit of the stomachs of millions of American citizens, including our awakening young citizenry - our juveniles.

The obligation of delinquency has not been so much in the commission of the act but in getting caught. The widespread incidence of certain occasional offenses has been reported by A. L. Porterfield in a comparative study of representative college students and Juvenile Court cases.³⁹ College students were given a list of fifty-five offenses and were asked to check those offenses they had committed prior to and after high school graduation. The results were interesting but not surprising. Of the 417 students who did the checking, all were guilty of committing at least one of the offenses; the average number of offenses committed by men prior to entering college was 17.6; after entering college, 11.2; and by the girls in pre-college days, 4.7.

³⁹ A. L. Porterfield, "Delinquency and Its Outcome in Court and College," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 49, 1943, pp. 199-204.

Porterfield believed that minor delinquencies were much more widespread than they are usually thought to be. He felt that whether or not a child became a confirmed delinquent depended upon a variety of social factors. Many minor violations of the penal code are committed by large segments of the population regardless of economic or social status, when and if they can "get away with it." Traffic violations are in this category. Certain types of offenses are "smart" to commit, providing the individual has a certain status or is relatively immune to discipline. Differential treatment by police officers or detention officials must be admitted. So far as college students are concerned, they belong to the "in-group," relatively free from any drastic action by the public authorities. Fraternity brawls during football season, property damage during class conflicts, breaking and entering girls' living quarters on "panty-raids" and the like, seldom move beyond the realm of the dean's office. On the other hand, the police are quite likely to crack down and arrest any delinquencies occurring in a labor-management dispute.

Figures compiled by Warner and Lundt⁴⁰ in their study of the number of arrests in Newburyport, Massachusetts, illustrated differential treatment. Seven years of arrests in that city were analyzed according to six classes into which the community was broken

⁴⁰ W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lundt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1941), Vol. I of the Yankee City Series, p. 376.

down according to economical and social status. The results, as reported, were:

<u>Class of the Community</u>	<u>Percentage of Population</u>	<u>Percentage of Arrests</u>	
Upper upper	1.44	0.43	
Lower upper	1.56	0.28	
Upper middle	10.22	1.84	
Lower middle	28.12	7.80	
Upper lower	32.60	24.96	
Lower lower	25.22	64.69	41

It is obvious from these figures that there existed differential treatment of the lower social and economic classes who lacked the ability or influence to avoid arrest.

There has been much discussion in early studies suggesting that there was something more than just a slight correlation between delinquency and mental ability. Some authors have been enthusiastic in their desire to demonstrate that delinquency was closely related to retarded intellectuality. But later investigation showed that many of the mentally deficient never became delinquent and that many delinquent children were normal or superior in intelligence. William H. Sheldon, M. D., expressed his attitude toward correlations between mental ability and delinquency saying:

The long and dismal story of the attempt to correlate single-dimension variables - such as structure, I.Q., and so on - with complex variables like delinquency and criminality has been often enough reviewed. Every generation partially forgets what the previous one learned and enthusiasts of our own day have sacrificed themselves to the

⁴¹ Warner and Lundt, loc. cit.

enterprise of trying to overcome by statistical transmogrification on initial failure of wisdom in the selection of variables. . . . When younger I paid liberal tribute to this common academic monkey-trap, but if energetic correlating of apples with elephants, so to speak, once looked like the road to a psychology it does not look that way now. Variables like stature, strength, I.Q., "mental traits," and so on are of the utmost importance in considering the history of any personality - so important, I should say, that to omit any of them from the story is to fail to come up with a psychology - but such variables do not yield useful product-moment correlations with complex criteria like delinquency unless the criteria are in the first place narrowly defined to fit just these variables.⁴²

Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor T. Glueck, in their extensive investigation of one thousand juvenile delinquents, reported their findings:

The psychological tests given our young delinquents⁴³ resulted in the distribution of intelligence presented in the table, which is there compared with that of Massachusetts school children.⁴⁴

⁴² William H. Sheldon, Ph.D., M.D., Varieties of Delinquent Youth (New York: Harper and Bros., Publishers, 1949), pp. 750-51.

⁴³ This information was obtainable in 979 cases. In most cases the tests used were the Stanford revision of the Binet-Simon scale; in a few cases the results of the Yerkes-Bridges tests were transposed into Terman revision classes.

⁴⁴ Unpublished study recently made by the Psycho-Educational Clinic of Harvard University of 3,638 children in three Massachusetts cities. The Terman revision of the Binet-Simon scale was used.

Comparison of Intelligence of Juvenile Delinquents
and Massachusetts School Children

<u>Class</u>	<u>Juvenile Delinquents</u>		<u>School Children</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Normal and Supernormal (I.Q. of 91 and over)	407	41.6	2,872	79.0
Dull (I.Q. of 81-90)	276	28.2	511	14.0
Borderline (I.Q. of 71-80)	168	17.1	199	5.5
Defective (Feeble-minded - I.Q. of 70 and below)	128	13.1	56	1.5

The school children used as a norm in this comparison are of all socio-economic and racial groups. Our delinquents doubtless came from a lower social and economic status than the general school population. Hence allowance must be made (though the extent of such allowance cannot be determined by available materials) for these complicating factors. But the difference in the intelligence of our delinquents and that of children of the general population is so marked that it can hardly be contributed to these complicating factors. Clearly, the juvenile delinquent group contains a considerable excess of dull, borderline, and defective individuals. This means that educational difficulties were greater in this group, from the standpoint not only of teaching of subject matter but of general habit-training and conduct.⁴⁵

These same authors apparently have reversed their implication on this particular phase of delinquency, considering their statements in a more recent publication. In their book Delinquents in the Making, they stated:

⁴⁵ Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor T. Glueck, One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934), pp. 101-102.

For a long time it was taken for granted that mental defect, especially outright feeble-mindedness, was a chief cause of juvenile delinquency. More recently, however, it has become apparent that deficiency of intellect is not among the more important characteristics of delinquents. The earlier emphasis on this factor of intellectual defect is a good illustration of what happens when it is concluded that a trait which seems to occur frequently among delinquents necessarily indicates that they deviate in that respect from non-delinquents. Only by resort to comparison of the group under scrutiny with a control group of true non-delinquents can valid conclusions be drawn.⁴⁶

In their more recent writing they have presented these interesting conclusions about intelligence and delinquency:

While the two groups resemble each other . . . (delinquents and non-delinquents) . . . in many of the more qualitative and creative expressions of intelligence (originality, intuition, phantasy, to review but a few), they differ in others which would seem to be closely associated with capacity or incapacity to make successful conventional adjustments to the demands of social life. Thus, we have seen that fewer delinquents have adequate powers of observation and fewer show a potential capacity for objective interests; and to a significantly greater extent than the control group the delinquents are unrealistic thinkers, lack common sense, and are unmethodical in their approach to problems.

Reflections upon these differences, especially the ones involving deeper intellectual tendencies of the two groups of boys, suggests that they are the ones which are especially interwoven with deep-rooted emotional stirrings. They are, therefore, the very mental tendencies likely to be involved not only in ability to cope with ordinary school tasks, but also in the general process of socialization and adjustment to realistic demands of life.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Delinquents in the Making (New York: Harper Bros., Publishers, 1952), p. 118.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 128.

Kvaraceus reported the Passaic Children's Bureau found in the noted Passaic Report that the I.Q.'s for all their delinquents were:

<u>I.Q.</u>	<u>100 Per cent</u>
Average or Better (90 plus)	50.3
Low-Average-Borderline (70-90)	39.3
Below Normal Range (69 minus)	10.4

There is still some disagreement among investigators as to the exact nature of the relationship which exists between intelligence as measured by available techniques and delinquency as a form of behavior. Surveys of intelligence of delinquents have revealed near-average ability, with heavy weighting in the direction of the dull-normal. In spite of this strong leaning toward the "dull" classification, we can hardly maintain that intellectual inferiority in and by itself causes delinquent behavior. Many dull and inferior children in the general school population never commit delinquencies.⁴⁸

For many years economic misery, lack of material goods, hunger and cold - in short, poverty - have been emphasized by the students of the problems of delinquency as the main cause of anti-social behavior. It would be a formidable task merely to mention all the studies in this field of the problem and a discussion of them all is certainly out of the question in a thesis of this type.

Many causes have contributed to poverty, but the most important cause has been political and economic conditions. The abolishment of greed, indifference, and selfishness of our captains of industry

⁴⁸ William C. Kvaraceus, Juvenile Delinquency and the School (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company, 1945) p. 123.

and our city and county political bosses could have gone a long way toward the elimination of such causes.

To go through life forced to submit to a substandard living is monotonous and even miserable. Yet millions of people in this country have known nothing better. Most of the time, even during years of maximum employment, - not to mention the depression years - millions of families attempt to live on incomes far below what experts claim is necessary to support a normal home with just the barest necessary items to maintain decent health and comfort.

An excerpt from the writings of Negley K. Teeters was found to be very appropriate to the situation:

Regardless of where they may live, children from poverty-stricken families constantly hover between delinquency and a life of moral rectitude. Every day, the poor contrast their economic lot with the good fortune of those who enjoy good food, comfortable clothes, an occasional movie, perhaps a car, and a "date" with a girl. When children constantly have few or none of the things that are usually taken for granted by many people as the "good way of life" their thoughts invariably turn to self-pity or envy. And such feelings are often to result in frustrations and bitterness, which, in turn, may lead to delinquency unless the children are lucky enough to be subjected to wholesome influences. Such influences do actually offset the potential delinquency of thousands of children subjected to poverty. It is the home of courage and high moral standards that thwarts much delinquency.⁴⁹

A summary of the findings of Ward Kramer on The Mental Health of 49 Economically Privileged Children reported:

⁴⁹ Negley K. Teeters and John Otto Reinemann, The Challenge of Delinquency (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 129.

A two-fold purpose instigated the investigation of economically privileged children. First, a comparison was made of children coming from the upper and upper middle strata with other "average" children, and second, it is hoped that such a study would in small measure assist teachers, parents, and other interested observers in obtaining a better understanding of the forces which contribute to, and perhaps in greater measure determine relative degrees of mental health. Perhaps this analysis will provide an operational method whereby some causes as may contribute to social and mental maladjustment may be alleviated, or completely eliminated.

Mental health is defined here as the mental attitudes and adjustment patterns of the individual in terms of culturally defined and socially acceptable behavior as derived through social interaction. The individuals framework of values, attitudes, and behavioral patterns condition the extent to which he functions efficiently in social situations. The task has been to discover whether or not 49 economically privileged children as a group, indicate higher or lower levels of mental health, than that indicated by a group of one thousand "average" children ranging in school grade 4 to 8, found in nine separate school districts, located in three states, upon which the California Test of Mental Health was validated.

"Economically privileged children" is interpreted to mean those children coming from families of the upper, and upper middle class levels of our social structure, from upper income families who serve in the executive and professional positions of a highly industrialized city.

An evaluation of the total mental health traits of this select group of children would indicate average achievement when their scores were compared with those derived from national standardized norms. In both freedom from liabilities and total assets, the children indicated average development respectively. In freedom from liabilities, it was found that the group was somewhat deficient in freedom from behavioral immaturity; were somewhat above average in freedom from emotional instability; were higher than average in freedom from inadequate feelings; superior in freedom from physical defects; and were below average in freedom from nervous manifestations.

In assets, the group fell within the 50th percentile in close personal relationships; indicated a superior level of interpersonal skills; a decidedly better than average level of social participation; and an average indication of satisfying work and recreation. A better than average of personal outlook and goals was indicated.

Some relationship appears to exist between mental ability and levels of mental health, although not too clearly defined.⁵⁰

Martin H. Neumeyer, in commenting on the effects of economic depressions, has stated that:

Why should a period of economic depression result in a reduction in the extent of delinquency as revealed by cases handled by Juvenile Courts, when it is generally conceded that poverty is one of the major causes of delinquency? These seem to be contradictory trends and conditions. Carr⁵¹ suggests that the reduction of delinquency during a depression may be due to changed attitudes, decreased deviation pressures, and increased out-of-court facilities. Many factors work together to produce the result, one of which is the effect of economic conditions on family discipline, unity, and coherence. Families have less money to spend on recreation; hence they cannot spend so much on commercial amusements and so must devise more of their own forms of recreation. Parents, spending more time at home, are more likely to supervise their children's behavior; and, being thrown more closely together, primary group influences and controls become more effective. Also, it may be that tradespeople and officials take a more lenient view of petty thieving by poor children. Philip M. Smith⁵² contends that the reluctance of complainants to press charges involving children from poverty-stricken

⁵⁰ Ward Kramer, "The Mental Health of 49 Economically Privileged Children," Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. 24, October, 1950, pp. 93-103.

⁵¹ Lowell J. Carr, Delinquency Control (New York: Harper & Bros., 1940), p. 57.

⁵² Philip M. Smith, "Criminality and the Economic Factor," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. XXII, January-February, 1948, p. 720.

families suspected of petty thefts affects the statistical decreases of delinquency during depression years. Likewise the reduction of police personnel and resources essential to effective law enforcement, the benefits of the CCC, the NYA, and the WPA programs, and the measure of security enjoyed by the recipients of relief during the depression, as well as the fact that parents, especially mothers, spent more time at home, had a bearing on the decline of delinquency rates during the depression.⁵³

Dirksen in his book Economic Factors of Delinquency,⁵⁴ concludes that ". . . the relationship between delinquency and poverty is not a direct relationship. Poverty does not directly cause delinquency. If it were a direct cause, we certainly would have to find a higher percentage of delinquents from the poverty-stricken group.

Paul W. Tappan, Professor of Sociology and Law, New York University, in commenting on poverty and unemployment has stated that:

Poverty is related to delinquency but chiefly because along with subnormal economic circumstances go other elements in the training and experience of the child that themselves are more important in determining character, values, and reactions to the law: domestic conflict, delinquent gangs, poor educational and recreational facilities, ready temptations to illegality, these are the more immediately operating elements. Poverty or unemployment may stimulate individuals to widely diverse varieties of behavior; the particular conduct in a given instance depends mainly on the conditioning circumstances of one's character through home and neighborhood. Very rarely does hunger or cold turn the individual to theft in any simple or direct way.⁵⁵

⁵³ Martin H. Neumeyer, Juvenile Delinquency in Modern Society (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1949), p. 44.

⁵⁴ Cletus Dirksen, Economic Factors of Delinquency (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1948), p. 71.

⁵⁵ Paul W. Tappan, Juvenile Delinquency (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949), p. 142.

The relation of juvenile delinquency to poverty was studied by an eminent British authority on delinquency, Doctor Cyril Burt.⁵⁶ His study reported that 19 per cent of the delinquents of London came from the homes of the "very poor," whereas only 8 per cent of the city's total population came from such a group: 37 per cent of the delinquents came from the next two classes, labeled "moderately poor," though the total population percentage in these two classes was only 22. Over half of the total mount of juvenile delinquency was from "poor" and "very poor" families. But here Burt added a factor that should always be recognized, but that seldom has been, in evaluating this alleged correlation between poverty and delinquency - that most of the delinquents from the comfortable groups succeed in avoiding "official inquiry and action." His final conclusion was that poverty alone does not produce crime. As he so appropriately put it: "If the majority of the delinquent are needy, the majority of the needy do not become delinquent."⁵⁷

Studies attempting to show that delinquency rises or falls during the periods of prosperity or depression are conflicting. A study of Michigan rural and urban areas by Paul Wiers⁵⁸ has shown that

⁵⁶ Cyril Burt, The Young Delinquent (London: University of London Press, 1938), pp. 68-69.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 92.

⁵⁸ Paul Wiers, Economic Factors in Michigan Delinquency (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), p. 8.

the manner in which income is spent develops either security or frustration in children. Although Wiers did not minimize poverty and its attendant evils, he pointed out that juvenile delinquency cannot be eliminated by merely raising the average income of a community. A British study of delinquency by Carr-Saunders, Mannheim and Rhodes,⁵⁹ also cautiously appraised economic income as a cause of maladjustment by arriving at substantially the same conclusion.

A study of delinquency in Philadelphia from 1923 to 1945, a period that witnessed high prosperity, depression, and a war boom, indicated:

- (a) 1923-29 - Reasonably high prosperity, average proportions of delinquency.
- (b) 1930-35 - Period of depression, high delinquency rate.
- (c) 1936-40 - "Normal" economic development, neither prosperity nor depression, delinquency rate low.
- (d) 1941-45 - War prosperity, delinquency rate very high.⁶⁰

Maud A. Merrill⁶¹ found marked differences in the economic status between a group of delinquent children and a controlled group

⁵⁹ A. M. Carr-Saunders, Hermann Mannheim, and E. C. Rhodes, Young Offenders (New York: Macmillan Company, 1944), p. 95.

⁶⁰ John Otto Reinemann, "Juvenile Delinquency in Philadelphia and Economic Trends," Temple Law Quarterly, Vol. XX, Number 4, April, 1947, pp. 576-583, cited by Reinemann, The Challenge of Delinquency (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 133.

⁶¹ Maud A. Merrill, Problems of Child Delinquency (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), pp. 77-78.

of non-delinquents in spite of the fact that they lived in the same neighborhood. Two thirds of the delinquents came from the economically marginal group, as against half of the non-delinquents.

Kvaraceus in his study of delinquency in Passaic,⁶² New Jersey, reported that out of 453 families from which boys and girls were referred on delinquency charges, 110 were classified as falling into the comfortable group, 181 into the marginal, 162 into the dependent group. Broken down as to sex, the girls tended to come from families of even lower economic status than did the boys. The same study revealed that slightly over 25 per cent of the delinquents had mothers who were employed at the time of their referral. The Negro group reported 44 per cent of the mothers as employed, while only 25 per cent of the mothers of the white children worked. Another study in Philadelphia, by Reinemann,⁶³ of 220 truants revealed that in 30 per cent of the cases the family income was so low that the mothers were compelled to secure part-time or full employment.

Inadequacy, frustration, and various forms of insecurity often flow from poverty, and, insofar as they do, poverty cannot be minimized as a potent cause of delinquency. Poverty-stricken homes are very drab places in which to inspire socially accepted behavior. And so are

⁶² William C. Kvaraceus, Juvenile Delinquency and the School (New York: World Book Company, 1945), pp. 87-90.

⁶³ John Otto Reinemann, "The Truant Before the Court," Federal Probation, September, 1948, pp. 8-12.

the surrounding neighborhoods, with their poor, frustrated residents who resent any display of wealth or influence. For example, the ostentatious display of wealth, as portrayed in the movies builds up resentment within certain individuals who feel they can never hope to obtain such comfort except by illegal means. It may be argued, then, that poverty alone does not force a person into delinquency, but it does produce the conditions most conducive to resentful, anti-social behavior. Perhaps the most that can be admitted is that a close relationship exists between poverty and delinquency, but that poverty cannot be classed as a direct cause.

Persons working in the field of delinquency have placed great emphasis on the broken home as a predisposing cause. The significance of the well integrated and socially mature home cannot be denied. But the ideal home is very rare in these confused days when the stresses and strains of modern life make it extremely difficult to attain "peace of mind." Of course, all confused homes do not produce delinquents, but neither are they especially healthful places in which to rear children. But what constitutes a "normal" home? Several years ago, Doctor Miriam Van Waters set down what she thought the home life should furnish for the child:

The home has primary tasks to fulfill for its young: to shelter and nourish infancy in comfort, without inflicting damage of premature anxiety, enable the child to win health, virility and social esteem; to educate it to meet behavior codes of the community; to respond effectively to human situations which produce the great emotions, love, fear and anger; to furnish practice in the art of living together on

a small scale where human relationships are kindly and simple; finally, the home has as its supreme task the weaning of youth, this time not from the breast of the mother, but from dependence, from relying too much on that kindness and simplicity of home, so that youth may not fail to become imbued with joy of struggle, work and service among sterner human relationships outside.⁶⁴

What Miss Van Waters wrote in 1925 cannot be improved on today. Juvenile maladjustment and, to some degree, delinquency, may be found in homes not usually labeled broken. Fundamentally, there are two types of the broken home: a psychologically broken home and a physically broken home. The former has been described by psychiatrists as a "tyranny ruled over by its meanest member." It is the home where both parents, and, perhaps, several children, reside physically, but where constant bickering occurs, where little respect is shown the rights of each individual, and where the child is "pushed around" or ridiculed. It is the authoritarian home in which the father assumes the old-fashioned patriarchal role; and the wife and children are relegated to a passive status; and the old bromide "children should be seen and not heard" is the rule. In such homes the child is too often rejected, never having the genuine experience of "belonging." As a result, he becomes desolate, anxious, restless, or even hostile. Our child-guidance clinics are full of such cases, and there is plenty of evidence that thousands of others unfortunately

⁶⁴ Miriam Van Waters, Youth in Conflict, The New Republic, 1925, p. 64, cited by Negley K. Teeters, The Challenge of Delinquency (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 150.

never get to the clinics. They are supposed to "outgrow" their peculiarities.⁶⁵

The second type of broken home is the one that is physically broken, the one in which one or both parents are missing, dead, divorced, or deserted. Is there a high correlation between the physically broken home and delinquency? Many studies have been made of this aspect of the problem, but as in other phases of the subject, there has not been complete agreement.

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck in their later investigations found that:

. . . there is no question that the delinquents, as a group, grew up in a far less stable family setting than did the non-delinquents, for a much higher proportion of them than the non-delinquents (half the former, as contrasted with a tenth of the latter) were exposed to one or more household changes.

In reviewing the life span of the boys, it was found that no fewer than six out of every ten of the homes of the delinquents, as compared with three in ten of the homes of the non-delinquents, had been broken by separation, divorce, death, or prolonged absence of one of the parents.

It is probably that the first definitive break in the organic structure of the family is crucial, because it is likely to deal the greatest emotional blow to a child's conception of the solidarity and reliability of the parental team and to disrupt his general sense of security as well as of family stability. In some cases a breach in

⁶⁵ Irene Kavin, "Family Dissention as a Factor in Delinquency," Yearbook, N.P.P.A., 1946, pp. 66-76.

the family pattern may seriously distort the process of emotional-intellectual identification of a boy with his father as a hero-ideal.⁶⁶

Kvaraceus, in his report of the Passaic Project, Juvenile Delinquency and the School, stated:

Since there is general agreement that child life is most wholesome in families where both parents are at home to provide guidance, direction, and affection for children with rapport between mother and father, it is logical to suspect that the reverse is true. A child is likely to have deficient parental care when the family is broken through the absence of one or both parents, especially if the breakdown in family life has occurred through divorce, separation, or desertion as an aftermath of conflict.

One third of the children dealt with in the Passaic Children's Bureau came from broken homes. Two thirds came from homes in which both parents were present. The proportion of girls who were members of broken families, 42.5 per cent, was significantly larger than the proportion of boys, 30 per cent. One highly significant further observation may be made concerning this table. Nearly 10 per cent of the delinquent girls have lost their mothers through death, as against only 4.5 per cent of the delinquent boys. The importance of the advice and guidance of the mother in directing the adolescent girl is indicated in reverse by this phase of the Passaic experience.

In differentiating between homes broken by death and those broken by divorce, desertion, and separation, significant differences have been observed in other research projects, suggesting that delinquency is found more often in homes broken by conflict than in those broken by death.

. . . it is impossible to offer any observations at this point. Indeed, it is not even clear that broken homes are encountered with any more frequency among the delinquent group than among the homes of Passaic children generally,

⁶⁶ Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Delinquents in the Making (New York: Harper Bros., 1952), pp. 59-60.

although it is believed they are.⁶⁷

It has appeared that most authors of recent writings on the topic of relationships between broken homes and delinquency are in general agreement and their statements closely parallel those of the Gluecks and Kvaraceus.

As previously stated, it has not been the intent or purpose of the writer to exploit every phase and ramification of the problem of delinquency. An attempt has been made to crystallize into some fundamental concepts those factors, found in the previous related studies, which are of primary significance to the student of delinquency.

⁶⁷ William C. Kvaraceus, Juvenile Delinquency and the Schools (New York: World Book Company, 1945), pp. 72-73.

CHAPTER III

SOURCES OF DATA AND METHOD OF PROCEDURE

It has been the intent of the writer to construct a significant statistical analysis, of the Seattle Public School population and delinquency in King County, to indicate the correlation, if any, to the findings of previous investigations conducted in other areas of the United States.

The files of the Guidance Department and the Statistician of the main office of the Seattle Public Schools were used to secure information pertinent to this study. The Director of the King County Juvenile Court was most cooperative in making available for inspection the complete facilities of the Juvenile Court. He presented the staff with instructions that nothing be refused, in the nature of pertinent information, that was requested, and he personally located specific case histories of various types and reviewed them orally, with the writer, pointing out significant factors which were of benefit in establishing the goals of this statistical analysis.

The findings have been compiled in rather complicated table form, which break down the totals into critical numbers. For clarification and ease of comparison those factors within the tables, that are highly significant, have been charted on easy-to-read graphs.

The tables and graphs are quite self-explanatory and additional comment as to their content was considered unnecessary. Diagnostic

references to the more important findings have been made in the summary chapter, based on the tables and graphs of this chapter.

"A Report Covering the Activities of the King County Juvenile Court
For the Years 1948-49-50"

There was a total of 3,670 cases referred in 1948, 3,978 in 1949, and 3,837 in 1950. In order to show the general trend the number of referrals each year for the last ten years have been listed.

1941	2,717
1942	2,792
1943	3,118
1944	3,175
1945	3,634
1946	3,581
1947	3,307
1948	3,670
1949	3,978
1950	3,837

The four highest reasons for referral were "Runaways," "Auto Theft," "Other Stealing" and "Carelessness and Mischief," while "Burglary," "Use of Liquor" and "Sex Offenses" accounted for many more of the referrals.

There were nearly twice as many juvenile traffic violations in 1949 as in 1948 and 31 less in 1950 than in 1949. These cases were handled by a Probation Officer of the Court, informally, and were not on the court calendar. In addition there were 13 cases in 1948, 23 cases in 1949, and 20 cases in 1950 which were formal cases before the Judge, and which do not appear in the delinquency count.

Offenses were counted for statistical purposes and the same child may have been counted more than once. The table following will

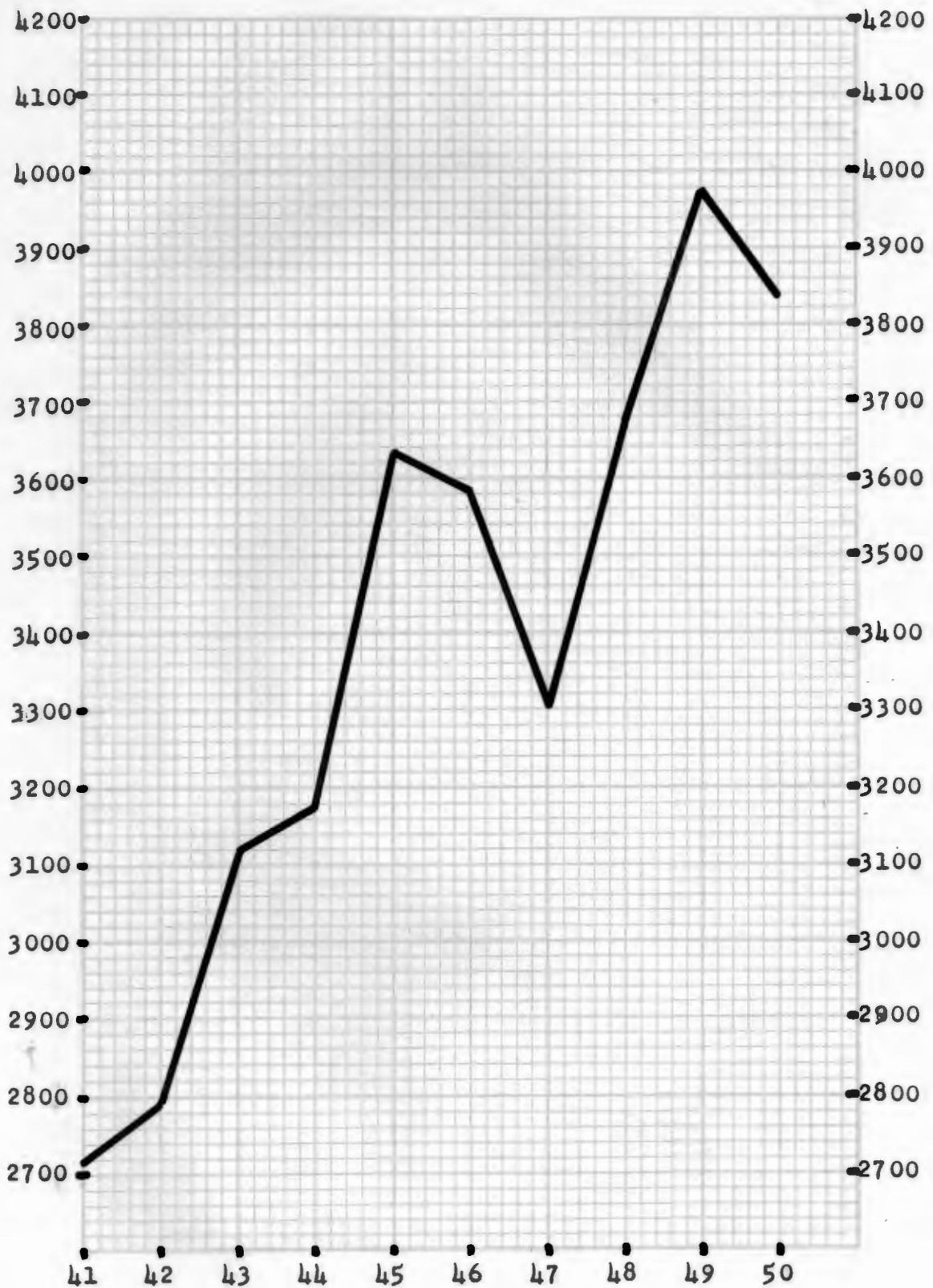
show the number of new, old, recurrent and reappearance cases.

- * A new case is one referred to the Court for the first time.

- * An old case is one known previous to the current year.

- * A recurrent case is one that has come to the Court's attention previously during the current year, and which has been adjusted or closed in the belief that a satisfactory plan has been worked out.

- * A reappearance is a new offense while the child is under the supervision of an officer of the Court.



NUMBER OF REFERRALS TO THE
KING COUNTY JUVENILE COURT
1941 - 1950

Figure 1

TABLE I
NUMBER OF CASES REFERRED TO THE JUVENILE COURT
DURING 1948, 1949, and 1950

1 9 4 8
DELINQUENCY

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Grand Total</u>
NEW	742	177	919	
OLD	199	52	251	
RECURRENT	155	52	207	
REAPPEARANCE	119	54	173	
	1,215	335	1,550	1,550

TRAFFIC 384

1 9 4 9
DELINQUENCY

NEW	666	197	863	
OLD	284	77	361	
RECURRENT	142	57	199	
REAPPEARANCE	156	77	233	
	1,248	408	1,656	1,656

TRAFFIC 603

1 9 5 0
DELINQUENCY

NEW	592	183	775	
OLD	301	77	378	
RECURRENT	136	45	181	
REAPPEARANCE	151	72	223	
	1,180	377	1,557	1,557

TRAFFIC 572

The tables in this report have endeavored to show the situation which brought the children into the Court. These children were alleged to have violated the laws of the community and were therefor considered "Delinquent."

TABLE II

COURT COMMITMENTS

	<u>1 9 4 8</u>		<u>1 9 4 9</u>		<u>1 9 5 0</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
STATE TRAINING SCHOOL	21	9	33	15	46	11
LUTHER BURBANK SCHOOL	84		77		74	
MARTHA WASHINGTON SCHOOL		26		31		50
HOUSE OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD		18		28		16
RUTH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS		10		12		14

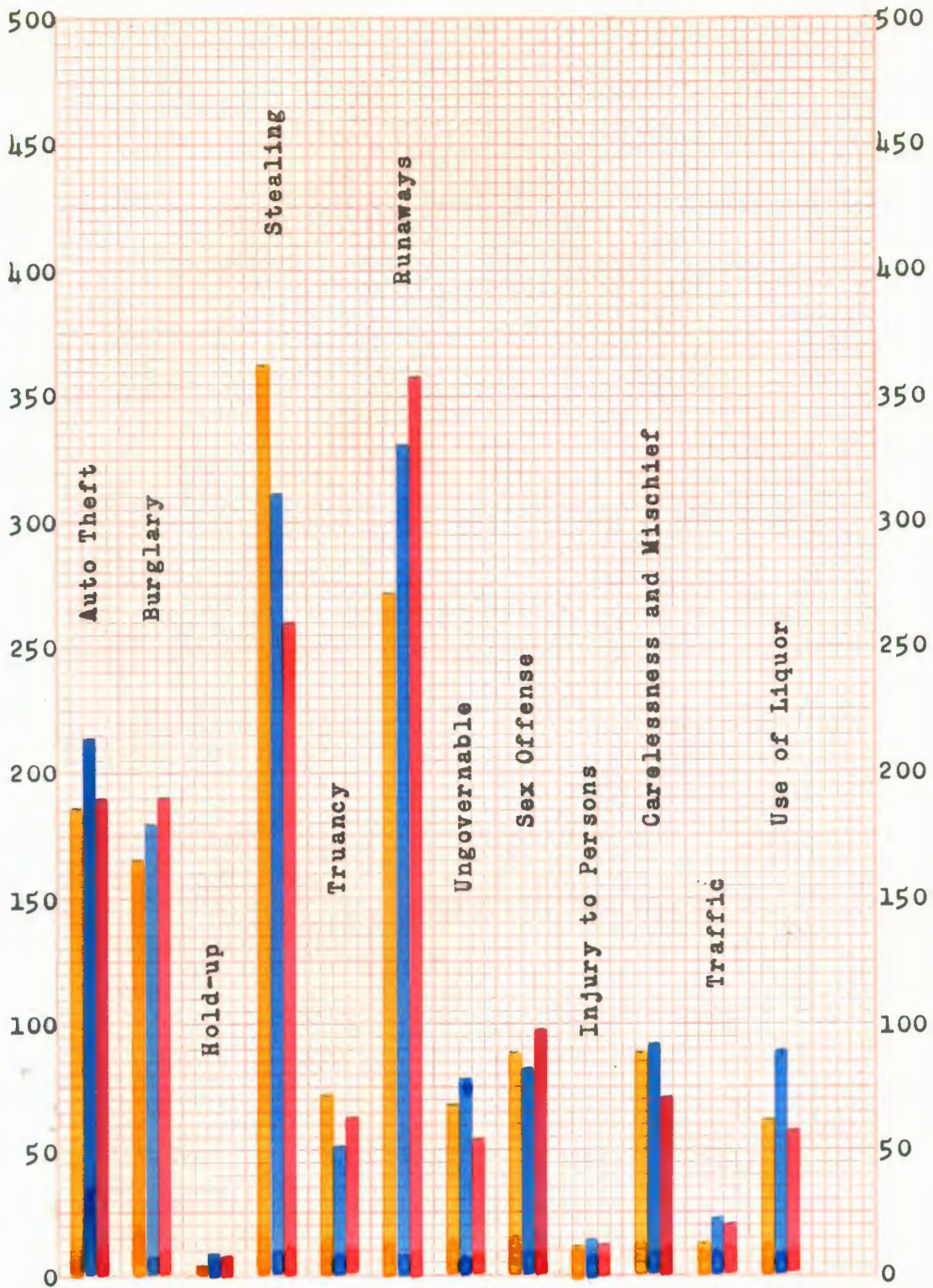
TABLE III

WHY WERE THE DELINQUENT CHILDREN REFERRED
TO THE JUVENILE COURT

	1948			1949			1950		
	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>
AUTO THEFT	178	3	181	211		211	186	3	189
BURGLARY	166	2	168	179		179	186	3	189
HOLDUP	2		2	6	3	9	7	1	8
STEALING	331	31	362	283	28	311	230	30	260
TRUANCY	54	17	71	35	18	53	43	20	63
RUNAWAYS	132	139	271	157	175	332	171	186	357
UNGOVERNABLE	34	32	66	36	38	74	29	23	52
SEX OFFENSE	47	40	87	35	48	83	59	43	102
INJURY TO PERSONS	10		10	11	1	12	9	3	12
CARELESSNESS MISCHIEF	160	29	189	156	36	192	140	31	171
TRAFFIC	13		13	23		23	20		20
USE OF LIQUOR	40	22	62	65	33	98	46	10	56
**OTHER REASONS	48	20	68	51	28	79	54	24	78
<hr/>									
TOTALS	BOYS		1215	1248		1180			
	GIRLS		335	408		377			
	TOTALS		1550	1656		1557			

***"Other Reasons" include cases reported for minor delinquencies and remandations from other agencies.

Many of these cases have been known to the Court previous to the current year, and many have been in the Court more than once during the year.



WHY WERE THE DELINQUENT CHILDREN
REFERRED TO THE JUVENILE COURT

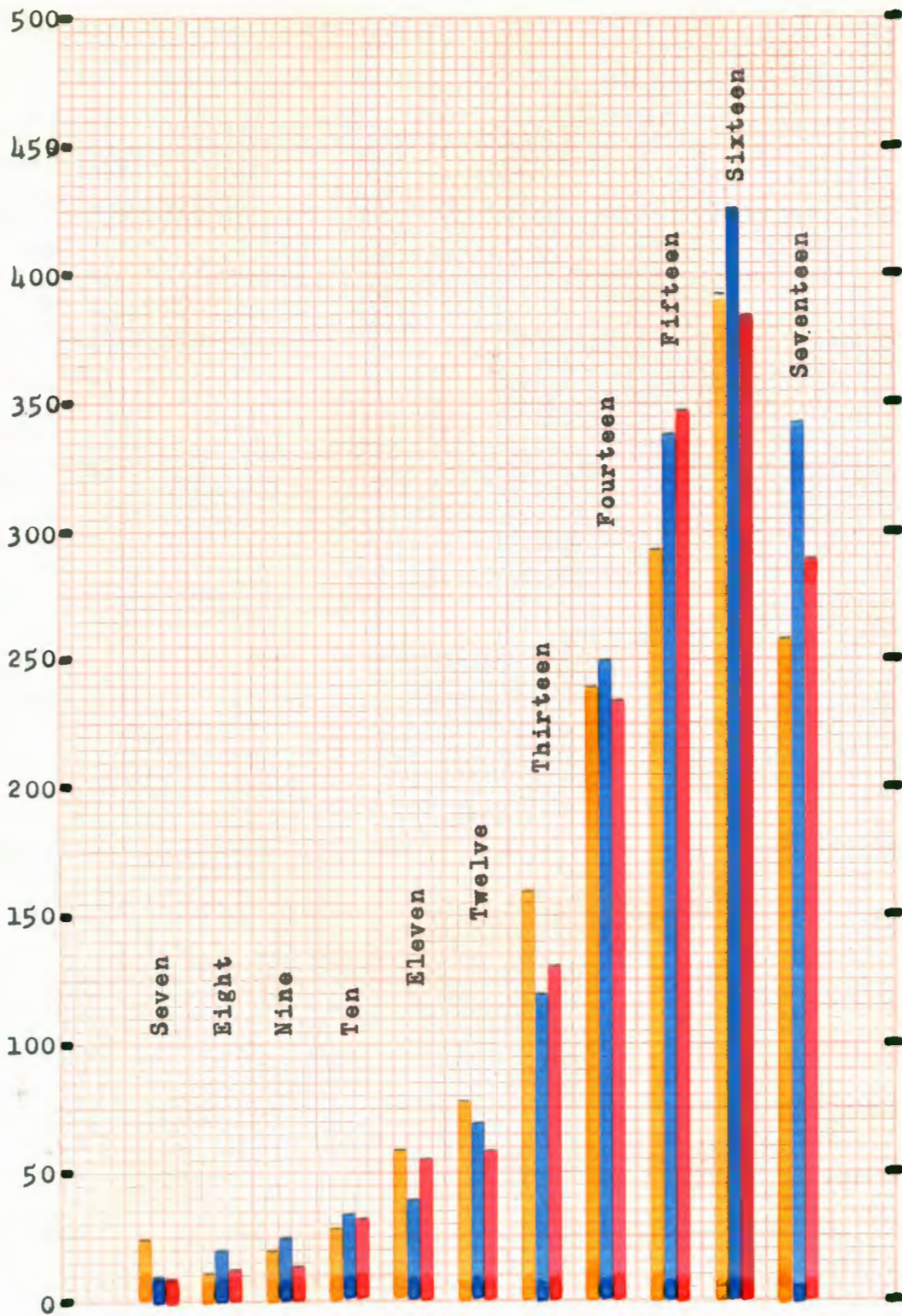
1948
1949
1950

Figure 2

TABLE IV

HOW OLD WERE THE DELINQUENT CHILDREN?

<u>YEARS OF AGE</u>	1948			1949			1950		
	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>
SEVEN	21	2	23	6		6	7		7
EIGHT	9	1	10	17	1	18	8	5	13
NINE	14	2	16	21	1	22	11	1	12
TEN	25	1	26	26	7	33	30	2	32
ELEVEN	51	5	56	35	4	39	47	5	52
TWELVE	72	7	79	50	16	66	47	11	58
THIRTEEN	136	24	160	90	29	119	99	32	131
FOURTEEN	187	52	239	184	66	250	178	55	233
FIFTEEN	216	76	292	235	102	337	254	90	344
SIXTEEN	294	97	<u>391</u>	316	108	424	274	112	<u>386</u>
SEVENTEEN	190	68	258	268	74	342	225	64	289
<hr/>									
TOTALS	BOYS		1215	1248			1180		
	GIRLS		335	408			377		
	TOTALS		1550	1656			1557		



HOW OLD WERE THE DELINQUENT CHILDREN

1948

1949

1950

Figure 3

TABLE V

FROM WHAT RACE DID THE DELINQUENT CHILDREN COME?

		1948			1949			1950		
		<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>
WHITE		1125	296	1421	1154	371	1525	1100	327	1427
NEGRO		55	12	67	70	12	82	45	19	64
ORIENTAL		12	2	14	5	1	6	4	5	9
INDIAN		19	25	44	14	23	37	26	22	48
OTHER		4		4	5	1	6	5	4	9
		<hr/>								
TOTALS	BOYS	1215			1248			1180		
	GIRLS		335			408			377	
	TOTALS		1550			1656			1557	

TABLE VI

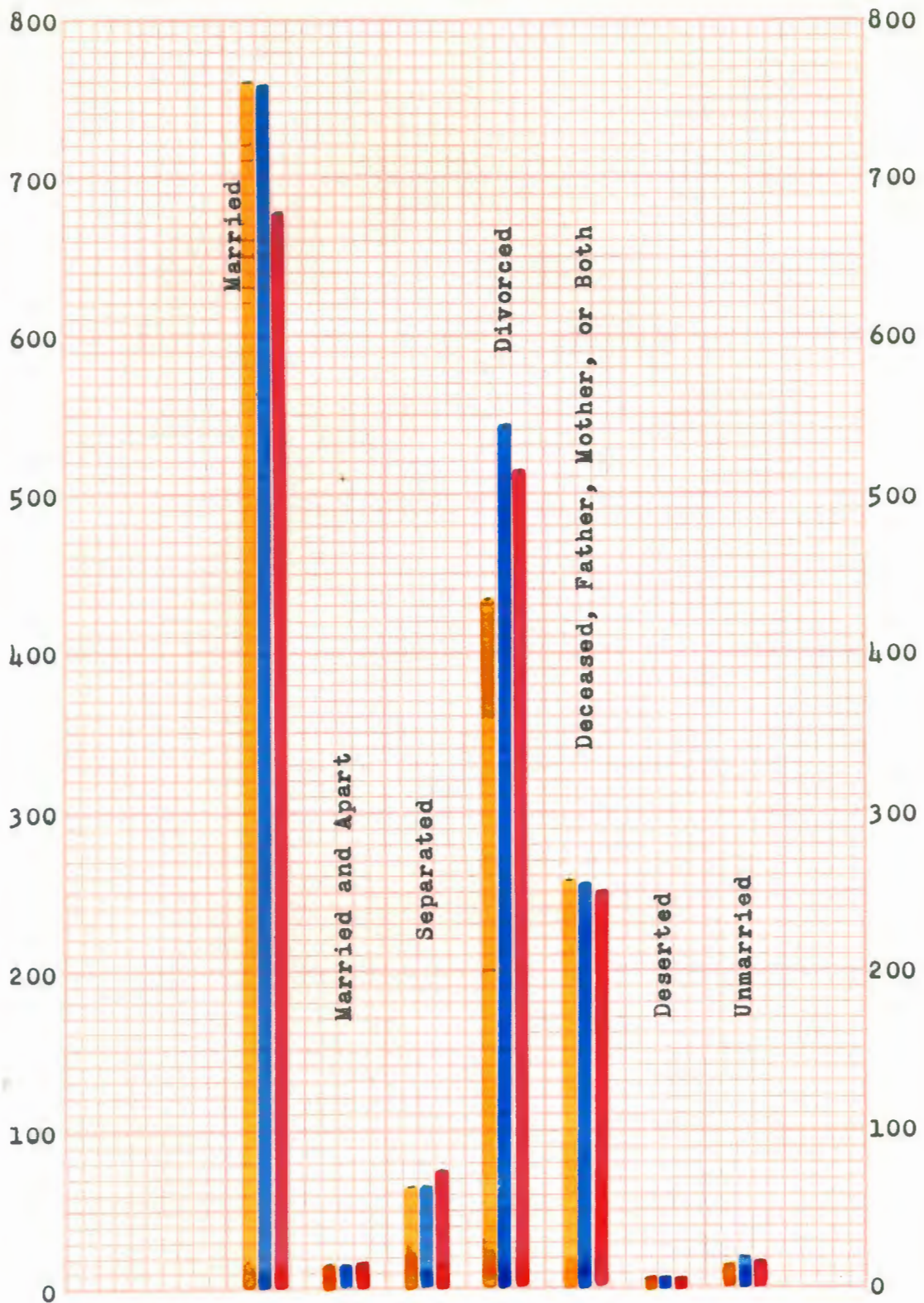
WHAT TYPE OF HOMES DID THE DELINQUENT CHILDREN COME FROM?

<u>PARENTS' STATUS</u>	1948			1949			1950		
	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>
MARRIED	634	125	759	619	137	756	557	121	678
MARRIED AND APART	14	1	15	10	4	14	13	2	15
SEPARATED	51	13	64	52	12	64	52	23	75
DIVORCED	317	115	432	388	153	541	363	151	514
DECEASED: FATHER, MOTHER, OR BOTH	188	69	257	165	90	255	178	72	250
DESERTED	2	4	6	5	1	6	4	1	5
UNMARRIED	7	8	15	9	11	20	11	7	18
NOT REPORTED-**	2		2				2		2
<hr/>									
TOTALS	Boys		1215	1248		1180			
	Girls		335	408		377			
	TOTALS		1550	1656		1557			

-** Unreported items concern cases where the contact with the Court was so slight or incidental that complete tabulation or information was not deemed essential.

Of the delinquent children in the Court in 1948, 48% came from homes where the parents were married and living together; in 1949 the percentage was 45.65, while in 1950 there were 47.2% of the children from complete homes.

In 1948, 27.87% came from homes broken by divorce; in 1949 the percentage was 32.6; and in 1950 there were 33% of the children whose parents were divorced.



THE TYPE OF HOMES THE
DELINQUENT CHILDREN CAME FROM

1948
1949
1950

Figure 4

TABLE VII

HOW LONG HAVE THE DELINQUENT CHILDREN LIVED IN KING COUNTY?

		1948			1949			1950		
		<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>
NON-RESIDENTS		82	60	142	118	60	178	88	59	147
LESS THAN ONE YEAR		32	16	48	35	14	49	43	12	55
ONE YEAR		51	14	65	44	10	54	27	7	34
TWO YEARS		41	9	50	34	15	49	26	11	37
THREE YEARS		38	14	52	55	11	66	37	15	52
FOUR YEARS		69	11	80	45	17	62	39	11	50
FIVE TO SEVENTEEN YEARS		902	211	1113	917	279	1196	920	261	1181
NOT REPORTED**					2	2		1	1	
TOTALS		1215			1248			1180		
	BOYS									
	GIRLS	335			408			377		
	TOTALS	1550			1656			1557		

TABLE VIII

WHO REFERRED THE DELINQUENT CASES TO THE JUVENILE COURT?

LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS	1948			1949			1950		
	B.	G.	TOT.	B.	G.	TOT.	B.	G.	TOT.
1. POLICE JUVENILE DIVISIONS	862	198	1060	816	251	1067	727	228	955
2. SHERIFF	200	49	249	263	54	317	300	54	354
3. STATE PATROL	24	1	25	21	7	28	8	1	9
4. PROSECUTING ATTORNEY				1		1			
5. POSTAL DEPARTMENT	16	1	17	16	5	21	8	3	11
6. COUNTY POLICE	6		6	20		20	29	10	39
7. FIRE MARSHALL				3		3	2		2
8. U.S. MARSHALL							2		2
SCHOOLS	47	10	57	29	27	56	46	24	70
PARENTS and-or RELATIVES	22	32	54	36	24	60	25	21	46
PROBATION OFFICERS	2	1	3	2	3	5	5	2	7
SOCIAL AGENCIES	5	25	30	5	15	20	10	14	24
OTHER COURTS	18	9	27	24	11	35	14	10	24
OWN REQUEST	4	5	9	6	10	16	4	8	12
INDIVIDUALS	7	4	11	6	1	7		2	2
STATE GAME DEPT.	2		2						
TOTALS	1215	335	1550	1248	408	1656	1180	377	1557

The greater number of cases in the Juvenile Court were referred by the Law Enforcement Agencies. The Police Department referred 68% in 1948; 64% in 1949; and 61% in 1950. The Juvenile Department of the Sheriff's Office referred 16% of the total cases in 1948; 19% in 1949; and 22.7% in 1950.

TABLE IX

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE DELINQUENT CASES?

	1948			1949			1950		
	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>	<u>B.</u>	<u>G.</u>	<u>TOT.</u>
ASSIGNED TO PROBATION OFFICERS	777	191	968	692	246	938	678	219	897
ADJUSTED AT INTAKE	276	71	347	330	74	404	311	75	386
PARENTS AND RELATIVES	1	5	6	5	2	7			
REFERRED TO OTHER COURTS	30	8	38	33	18	51	31	7	38
REFERRED TO SOCIAL AGENCIES	6	12	18	7	12	19	16	18	34
PARENTAL SCHOOL	17	3	20	37	3	40	29	8	37
TRAINING SCHOOL	8	5	13	12	2	14	15	3	18
RUNAWAYS RETURNED	39	27	66	55	21	76	42	27	69
MILITARY SERVICE	4		4	11		11	2		2
MENTAL HOSPITALS				3	1	4	3	1	4
CUSTODIAL SCHOOL					2	2			
HOME OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD		1	1		3	3		2	2
REAPPEARANCE	4	1	5		3	3			
INDIAN SERVICE				2		2			
RUNAWAYS AT LARGE	1	1	2						
PENDING	52	10	62	61	21	82	53	17	70
TOTALS	1215	335	1550	1248	408	1656	1180	377	1557

TABLE X (a)

SUSPENSION REPORTS

SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

FIRST SEMESTER, 1951-52

Totals: High School	69
Junior High School	26
Elementary	<u>11</u>

106

(Includes 3 boys suspended twice and one boy
suspended three times.)

Reasons:

Conduct	20
Truancy and Non-Attendance	73
Smoking	6
Theft.	1
Fighting	1
No Progress in School	2
Emotionally Disturbed	2
No Reason Given	<u>1</u>

106

Disposition:

Return to school	29
Transferred to another school	11
Transferred to school other than a Seattle Public School	4
Work part-time school program	5
Petitioned to Juvenile Court	19
Re-referral to Juvenile Court	6
In detention	1
Drop, Age.	4
Luther Burbank	1
Transferred to Edison	7
Moved, out of jurisdiction	3
Living outside of city	4
Pending.	<u>12</u>

106

TABLE X (b)

SUSPENSION REPORTS

SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

SECOND SEMESTER, 1951-52

Totals: High School	90
Junior High School.	42
Elementary	<u>19</u>

151

(Includes 7 students suspended twice
during the semester.)

Reasons:

Conduct.	33
Truancy and Non-Attendance	99
Run Away	3
Drinking	3
Smoking	2
Theft.	3
Fighting	1
No Progress in School	1
Emotionally Disturbed	1
Window Breakage	<u>5</u>

151

Disposition:

Return to school	32
Transferred to another school	18
Transferred to school other than a Seattle Public School	2
Work part-time school program	20
Petitioned and re-referral to Juvenile Court	31
Detention	1
Luther Burbank	2
Living outside of city	10
Drop, Age	10
Moved, out of jurisdiction	5
Pending	<u>20</u>

151

TABLE XI (a)

SUSPENSION REPORTS

SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

FIRST SEMESTER, 1950-51

Totals: High School	67
Junior High School	37
Elementary	<u>25</u>

129

(Includes 6 students who have been
suspended twice during the semester.)

Reasons:

Conduct.	31
Truancy and Non-Attendance	78
Smoking	4
Burglary and Theft	2
Fighting	1
No Progress in School	2
Involved in Auto Accident	5
Emotionally Disturbed	<u>5</u>

129

Disposition:

Return to school	38
Transferred to another school	14
Transferred to school other than a Seattle Public School	3
Work part-time school program	19
Petitioned to Juvenile Court	28
Re-referral to Juvenile Court	5
Luther Burbank	5
Detention	3
Drop, Age	4
Drop, Married	2
Excluded	2
Pending	<u>6</u>

129

TABLE XI (b)

SUSPENSION REPORTS

SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

SECOND SEMESTER, 1950-51

Totals: High School	88
Junior High School	46
Elementary	<u>10</u>

144

(Includes 8 students who have been
suspended twice during the semester.)

Reasons:

Conduct.	29
Truancy and Non-Attendance	79
Smoking and drinking	7
Fighting	7
Skipping	8
Tardiness	3
Leaving school grounds	2
No Progress	4
Emotionally Disturbed	<u>5</u>

144

Disposition:

Return to school	40
Transferred to another school	10
Work part-time school programs	19
Petitioned to Juvenile Court	25
Re-referral to Juvenile Court	11
No school program.	2
Tutor	2
Moved, out of jurisdiction	7
Drop, Age	6
Into Service	1
Pending.	<u>21</u>

144

TABLE XII
SUSPENSION REPORTS
SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

FIRST AND SECOND SEMESTERS, 1949-50

Totals:	High School	103
	Junior High School	86
	Elementary	<u>36</u>
		225

FIRST AND SECOND SEMESTERS, 1948-49

Totals:	High School	93
	Junior High School	64
	Elementary	<u>25</u>
		182

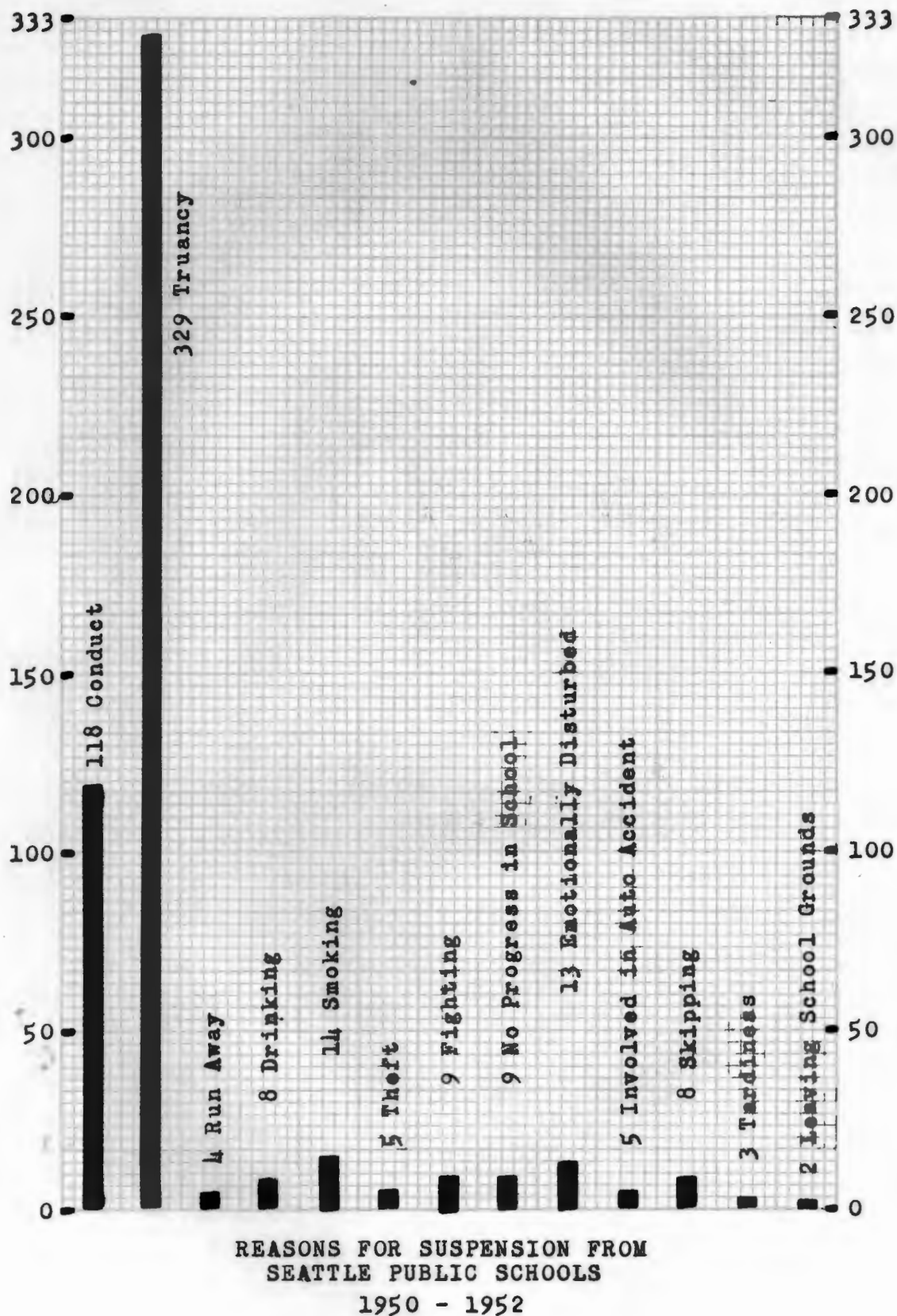


Figure 5

TABLE XIII

PETITIONS TO THE JUVENILE COURT
FROM THE SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

1948-49 Totals:

High School	36
Junior High School	19
Elementary	15
Part Time	2
No School	<u>2</u>
	74

1949-50 Totals:

High School	43
Junior High School	32
Elementary	20
Part Time	1
No School	<u>1</u>
	97

1950-51 Totals:

High School	64
Junior High School	32
Elementary	14
Part Time	<u>2</u>
	112

TABLE XIV

PETITIONS TO THE JUVENILE COURT

SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

FIRST SEMESTER, 1951-52

Totals:	High School	25
	Junior High School	14
	Elementary	<u>9</u>
		48

Reasons:

Truancy or Non-Attendance	30	
Truancy and Conduct	5	
Conduct	3	
Attendance and Home Conditions	1	
Emotionally Disturbed	1	
Home Conditions	7	
No Work Permit	<u>1</u>	
	48	48

SECOND SEMESTER, 1951-52

Totals:	High School	31
	Junior High School	15
	Elementary	14
	No School	<u>3</u>
		63

Reasons:

Truancy and Non-Attendance	42	
Conduct	15	
Home Conditions	1	
No Work Permit	2	
Refused to Attend Adjustment Class	1	
School Refused to Reinstate	1	
No Established Guardianship	<u>1</u>	
	63	<u>63</u>

Total for year 111

1948-49	74
1949-50	97
1950-51	112
1951-52	111

TABLE XV

SCHOOL POPULATION FIGURES, 1945 to 1952

SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Totals</u>
1945-46			
High School	7789	7874	
Edison Technical	3210	1593	
Broadway	435		
Junior High	2765	2706	
Elementary	<u>21910</u>	<u>20710</u>	
	36109	32883	68992
1946-47			
High School	6935	7445	
Edison Technical	5275	5048	
Junior High	3669	3592	
Elementary	18204	17507	
Adjustment Class	384	218	
Parental School	346	176	
Special	<u>393</u>	<u>348</u>	
	34860	34334	69194
1947-48			
High School	6802	7162	
Edison Technical	2665	1450	
Junior High	3810	3685	
Elementary	18739	17947	
Adjustment Class	378	378	
Parental School	321	265	
Special	<u>446</u>	<u>496</u>	
	33161	31383	64544
1948-49			
High School	6591	6958	
Edison Technical	2469	1588	
Junior High	3903	3779	
Elementary	19545	18706	
Adjustment Class	370	216	
Parental School	307	247	
Special	<u>353</u>	<u>407</u>	
	33538	31901	65439

TABLE XV (Continued)

SCHOOL POPULATION FIGURES

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Totals</u>
1949-50			
High School	6830	7049	
Edison Technical	2288	1717	
Junior High	3957	3890	
Elementary	20194	19429	
Adjustment Class	363	210	
Parental School	153	87	
Special	<u>581</u>	<u>619</u>	
	34366	33001	67367
1950-51			
High School	6580	6801	
Edison Technical	1978	2066	
Junior High	4591	4433	
Elementary	17690	16925	
Adjustment Class	400	229	
Parental School	174	102	
Special	543	636	
Kindergartens	<u>3509</u>	<u>3383</u>	
	35465	34575	70040
1951-52			
High School	6709	6995	
Edison Technical	1869	1853	
Junior High	4852	4593	
Elementary	18719	18022	
Adjustment Class	390	207	
Parental School	152	102	
Special	602	604	
Kindergartens	<u>3981</u>	<u>3803</u>	
	37274	36179	73453

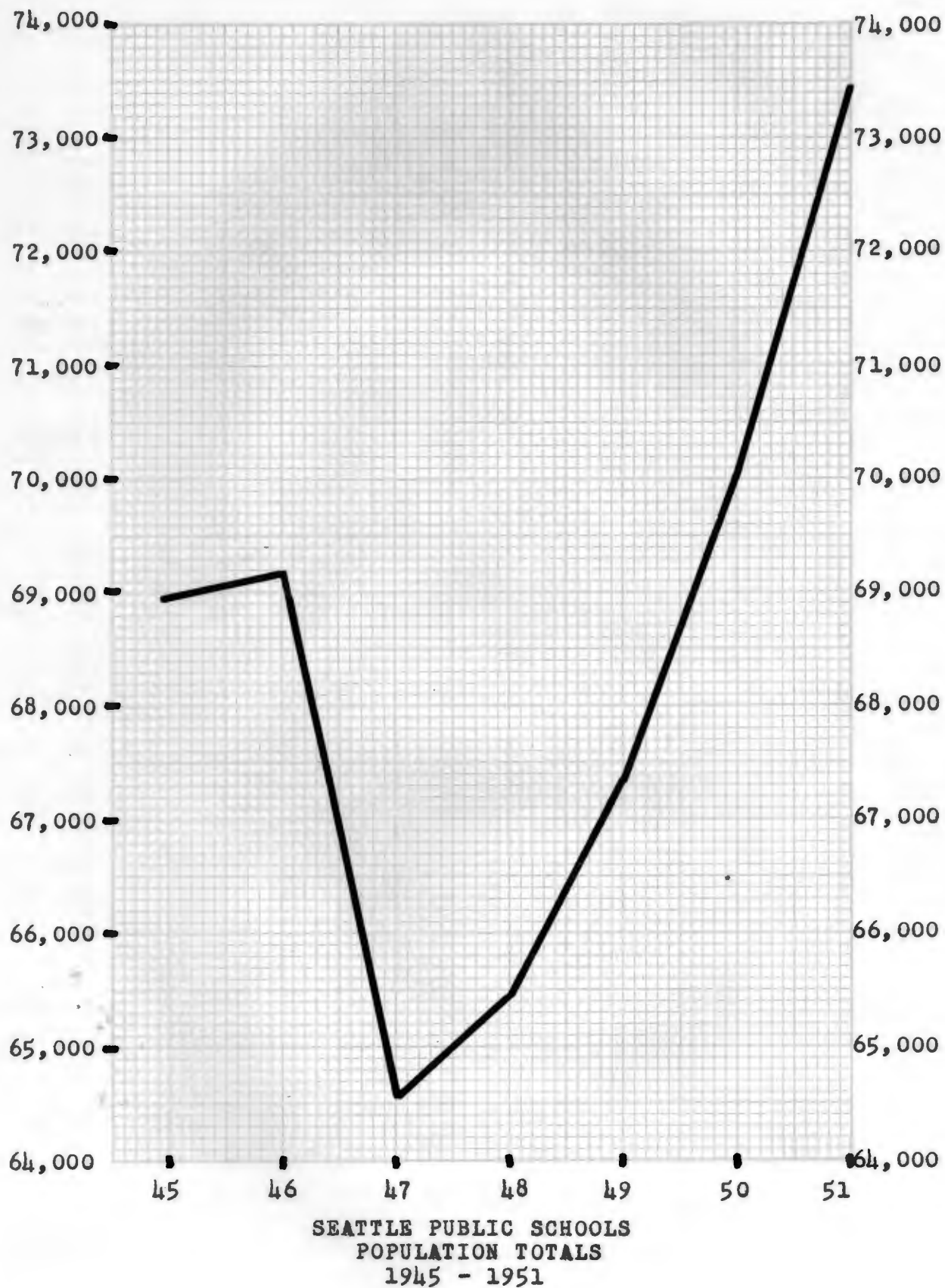


Figure 6

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Here is what Socrates said of the children of his day:

The children now love luxury. They have bad manners, contempt for authority, they show disrespect for elders and love chatter in place of exercise. They no longer rise when their elders enter the room. They contradict their parents, chatter before company, gobble up dainties at the table, cross their legs and tyrannize over their teachers.

Apparently adult concern for juvenile behavior is not a product of the twentieth century. What too many adults fail to recognize is that what they see in juveniles is a mirrored reflection of themselves; the child has to learn his behavioral patterns - he is not born with them - he has to be taught. And reference is not made to the school teacher in the use of the term "taught," it means "parental and adult environment." The saying - "the apple does not fall far from the tree" gives indication as to where the blame lies. As Neumeyer stated:

There is rather a high correlation between the rates of adult crime and juvenile delinquency in urban areas, as has been pointed out by Shaw and McKay, Healy and Bronner, and others. Sometimes the rate of juvenile misconduct is almost identical with the rate of adult offenses.¹

To identify the pre-delinquent, so that preventive therapy could be activated, has been the direct or indirect goal of much of the previous investigation by students of delinquency. Clark and Gray

¹ Martin H. Neumeyer, Juvenile Delinquency in Modern Society (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1949) , p. 151.

in their 1946 New York City investigation, aimed specifically at predicting and identifying the pre-delinquent, reported the conclusive fact that:

In terms of maladjustment the legal delinquent cannot be distinguished from the unofficial delinquent. The difference lies in the circumstances of apprehension and the filing of a delinquency petition - circumstances not amenable to prediction.²

William H. Sheldon has recorded a personal experience which is highly significant, appropriate and, the writer believes, typical of a factor in our society which conditions individuals to the susceptibility to delinquency. He reported:

In the Army during the last war I had for a time as a messmate an officer who expressed much curiosity over the study of delinquency, on which he had heard I was working. The subject was one that concerned him closely, he said, because he had inherited an interest in a very active manufacturing enterprise. As an employer of men and women he was deeply concerned in their welfare. It was important to maintain high morale in the business organization he helped direct. It was especially important to detect and eliminate delinquent individuals, to "find the rotten apples before they could spoil the whole barrel." "Preventive sociology," he called it. Punishment of delinquency was a matter to which this Major had given considerable thought. He was not old-fashioned. None of your eye-for-an-eye and tooth-for-a-tooth business for him. In fact he didn't really believe in punishment at all, he said. Having been to college and become a liberal he believed in reform-rehabilitation. The thing to do was find out what made a man tick. To study the man, analyze him, and then "give him a break."

² Daniel P. Clark and Dorothy Gray, "School Surveys and Delinquency Predictions," The Journal of Educational Sociology, Volume XXIV, pp. 21-9.

That was the sober or as it were the official statement of the matter. But the Major was not often sober and with alcohol his opinions about delinquency were different. Then there was nothing he hated so much as a thief. Reform and rehabilitation were now all very well - for those in "honest" need of it - but you can't cure a thief that way, or a liar. The only thing to do with that kind of a sonovabitch is nail him up on the barn door. We simply can't have that sort of thing and we've got to fight people like that, as we do the German bastards, with any weapon we can get hold of. "I hate a liar. When I find out that a man's a liar I'm through with the guy. The hell with him."

I knew the major for six months, probably talked with him fifty times. Perhaps I failed to make out his philosophy justly but in its essentials it seemed to be about this: Life is a sort of struggle for survival, and for the better automobiles and women and places in the sun, with no playing of favorites. What a man can get is rightfully his so long as he plays the game in accordance with certain rigidly fixed rules. Life is very much like an organized sport, with established rules of quite detailed nature. To succeed illustriously one must attack the opposition with vigor. Indeed one must override, knock out, maim, render prostrate, and in general annihilate the opposition. But it must all be done according to the rules. To break any of the rules, and be caught at it, is just a little worse than running up a low score (bank account).

We returned in our discussions now and again to the subject of delinquency. My friend developed a hypothesis. A cure for delinquency might be found, he suggested in universal athletics. Let every youngster learn to play competitive games. Substitute gymnasiums, sports programs, and directors of athletics for much of the police and social service machinery. Make the kids rule conscious. Indoc-trinate them with the idea of sportsmanship. Let them learn to obey the rules of the game by playing games. He pointed out that he had learned sportsmanship that way, in school and college, and that although he had had delinquent impulses, like all normal fellows, he had learned to curb them by playing the game. As time went on he warmed up on the subject.

The business in which the major's family exercises an interest is that of manufacturing and selling razor blades.

One day he gave me some packages of blades, explaining that these particular blades were unusual. They were made of specially treated steel which rendered the steel harder than that ordinarily used. The blades would shave better and would last much longer, I was informed, than even those regularly manufactured by the company. I accepted the blades with gratitude and found that in fact they did retain their edges remarkably. One day I asked my friend why his company didn't make all their blades that way. The answer was simple and to the point. To make them all that way would spoil the razor blade business. Blades of this particular kind of hardened steel are too good, would last too long. The company was spending vast sums advertising; educating people, by suggestion at least, to use a new blade every day and to throw away yesterday's blade. The resulting enormous volume of business had produced stabilized employment for hundreds, and stabilized profits too. The distributional aspect of the thing was also important. To make the blades last longer would slow down sales, thus working a hardship on retailers. Business in general would suffer. The value of the company's stock would fall.

The company had bought out a patent in connection with this hardening process, but that was just to prevent the process from being used by other manufacturers of lower ethical standards - there are always sonsabitches around, you know, who will take shortcuts even when obviously against the general welfare. Buying up the patent was one of those expenditures for public good that a big company has to make all the time. We never get credit for that sort of thing, of course, but it is part of life, like helping old ladies across the street, Vigilance is the price of survival, etc. You'd be surprised at how much the company spends every year just to keep things stable and right in the razor blade business.

Returning to the razor blades, their cost of manufacture is, or was in 1941, a little less than seven cents per hundred. After passing through a series of cost increments approximately similar to that which applied to the shaving cream, the blades finally cost the retail purchaser about \$2.50 per hundred. The user of the shaving cream pays sixty or seventy times the manufacturing cost for a unit of this vitally important product, while for his razor blade he gets off a little easier. That costs him only about forty times its manufacturing cost.

Not being either a cost accountant or in the razor blade business, I offer no guarantee of the accuracy of these figures. They are merely the figures that the major gave me in support of his defense of the public spiritedness and rigorous honest of his House. His presentation of the matter was punctuated by reiterations like these: You see, we play the game. It's living up to the rules of the game that matters. The company don't give a dam for profit - it's an ethical company. Sportsmanship wins. Everybody gets a break with us. We'd rather drop a million and be able to look the Referee up Yonder in the eye than make ten million by some dishonest dodge.

Now the nearly incredible point I want to make is that the major was sold not only on the nondelinquency of his razor blade racket but on the essential integrity of his own motivation and on the nobility of his objectives. In his own mind he was playing the game according to the rules and he was pretty sure of his rules. Yet the racket he expounded is fully as delinquent a racket, in its total effect on the human drama, as any other swindle. The worst effect of the swindle lies not in the fact that the public gets cheated, by forty to one, but that it gets mis-educated to like it and to regard such legalized cheating with complacency as "good economics."

On talking with the major it would be difficult to regard him as individually delinquent, by any definition of delinquency that would make sense. For he was perfectly adapted to his society, successful, and considered a good officer. But I did experience the feeling, poignantly, that the society to which he was adapted must be delinquent, by every definition that would make sense. Certainly it had to be delinquent economically. The razor blade story alone should be sufficient evidence of that. Sociopolitically it was delinquent. A good test of that delinquency would have been to ask one hundred officers of the American Army to explain just what were the objectives and causes of the war in which they were engaged. An analysis of the answers would perhaps have convinced the hardiest optimist of an approaching fact of sociopolitical chaos. In the sexual-reproductive field there could be little doubt of general delinquency. When a species suddenly quadruples its numbers, overrunning a plan as cockroaches uncontrolled may overrun a kitchen, and does this wildly, without any parallel development of measures for qualitative control of its reproduction, such a species is stampeding toward the status of a vermin. When that delinquency is complicated by

the development of measures tending to defeat nature's normal defense against the very contingency of over-population, the species is truly sowing the teeth of the dragon of war, and war is one price of just such delinquency.

My friend the razor blade major presents a healthy and perhaps a normal example of what used to be called the point of view of rugged individualism. To him life is not only an organized sport with specific and immutable rules but it is a sport at which he is in a sense well gifted and knows it. He radiates success and confidence. He is perfectly "adjusted" although to a society that is on a toboggan. In order to be meaningful the concept of delinquency would seem to need to embrace the behavior and all of the overt and covert commitments of such a man; that is to say, the patterns of institutions in which such a man is caught. There are minds among us to which the major's razor blade racket is disappointing as far beyond reasonable expectation as is the robbing of drunks. It is true, of course, that statistically there are no grounds on which the fraternity of delinquency can be extended to include the major but this may be the principal reason why statistics on delinquency have been so nearly worthless.³

Just how prevalent then is delinquency at any given time? This question cannot be arbitrarily answered. It must be determined first what is meant by delinquent behavior. Even legal delinquency cannot be accurately tabulated. A large proportion of those children who may have been labeled delinquent have not violated any section of the penal code. For example, truancy has been considered delinquent but not criminal.

The number of officially recorded delinquencies in a particular city may be estimated from the local Juvenile Court or Criminal Court

³ William H. Sheldon, Varieties of Delinquent Youth (New York: Harper and Bros., Publishers, 1949), pp. 822-27.

statistics. But many children's unsocial acts have not been recorded. For instance, the Third White House Conference on Child Health and Protection reported:

1. There exists no accurate statement as to the amount of delinquency in this country, nor whether it is increasing or decreasing.

2. There is no accurate conception as to what actually constitutes delinquency.

3. The approach has been so individual to different communities and to different leaders that there exists no general philosophy, no unified working hypothesis concerning the problem.⁴

Without exception, the findings found in earlier investigations, as noted in Chapter II, have placed emphasis on this factor or that factor implying correlation with delinquency. But by the very nature of the confused interpretations of what constitutes delinquency, such correlations are rather meaningless. Over and over in periodicals and professional journals enthusiastic authors "suggest" by their writings that this trait or that trait was obviously present in so many cases of delinquency - so what? How many of these very same traits are not also found in nondelinquents? There is no science in such presentations, they are merely good illustrations of what happens when it is concluded that a trait which seems to occur frequently among delinquents necessarily indicates that they deviate in that

⁴ The Third White House Conference, The Delinquent Child, (New York: Century, 1932), p. 23.

respect from nondelinquents. Only by resort to comparison of the group under scrutiny with a control group of "true nondelinquents" can valid conclusions be drawn.⁵

To paraphrase William Shakespeare - Ah, yes, there has been the rub! - "true nondelinquent" - what exactly constitutes a "true nondelinquent?" A satisfactory definition has not been presented, to the writer's knowledge, of this controversial entity. At first thought it might be said that those who have not violated any laws of the community are "nondelinquent," but previous investigations have indicated that merely because a youth has not been apprehended for violating a law of the community, he is not necessarily free from delinquency.⁶ Quite to the contrary - overt acts, which if observed by officials would be termed delinquent, are the rule rather than the exception among juveniles. Many minor violations of the penal code are committed by large segments of the population regardless of economic or social status, when and if they can "get away with it."

⁵ Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Delinquents in the Making (New York: Harper Bros. Publishers, 1952), p. 118.

⁶ Daniel P. Clark and Dorothy Gray, "School Surveys and Delinquency Predictions," The Journal of Educational Sociology, Volume XXIV, pp. 21-9. Fred J. Murphy, Mary M. Shirley, and Helen L. Witmer, "The Incidence of Hidden Delinquency," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. XVI, No. 4, 1946, pp. 686-96. A. L. Porterfield, "Delinquency and Its Outcome in Court and College," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 49, 1943, pp. 199-204.

Differential treatment by police officers and detention officials must be admitted. So, in reality, who actually are the "true delinquents" and the "true nondelinquents?" No one person is all good, just as no one person is all bad. If correlations are to be made we must have a constant standard by which variables can be measured and graded. Without such a standard, i. e. "true nondelinquent," how in the name of all that is intelligence can a science be claimed? Not one author, to the writer's knowledge, has been so pretentious as to come forth with an absolute definition of "delinquent" or "true nondelinquent" that has no loopholes: yet they freely speculate on causation factors and mental and physical traits in relation to delinquency, basing their speculations on observations of limited numbers of "delinquents" and "nondelinquents."

Implication has not been made to the effect that all previous investigation and literature has been useless - quite to the contrary. The findings are very significant in terms of what should be alleviated in the environment of juveniles as a step toward preventing delinquency. In this respect the previous work has been excellent. But the human element is too flexible to be typed and poured into a mold of classification according to mental ability, stature, socio-economic status, home situation, and all the other variables that sociologists and psychologists have tried to peg down in their relationship to delinquency.

Clark and Gray commented:

In terms of maladjustment the legal delinquent cannot be distinguished from the unofficial delinquent. The difference lies in the circumstances of apprehension and the filing of a delinquency petition - circumstances not amenable to prediction.⁷

The words of William H. Sheldon merit repetition at this point to corroborate the writer's statements:

The long and dismal story of the attempt to correlate single-dimension variables - such as structure, I. Q., and so on - with complex variables like delinquency and criminality has been often enough reviewed. Every generation partially forgets what the previous one learned and enthusiasts of our own day have sacrificed themselves to the enterprise of trying to overcome by statistical transmogrification on initial failure of wisdom in the selection of variables. . . . When younger I paid liberal tribute to this common academic monkey-trap, but if energetic correlating of apples with elephants, so to speak, once looked like the road to a psychology it does not look that way now. Variables like stature, strength, I. Q., "mental traits," and so on are of the utmost importance in considering the history of any personality - so important, I should say, that to omit any of them from the story is to fail to come up with a psychology - but such variables do not yield useful product-moment correlations with complex criteria like delinquency unless the criteria are in the first place narrowly defined to fit just these variables.⁸

In further corroboration Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck have stated:

"Cause" requires a totality of conditions necessary to the result. As a rule a cause is complex - it consists of a number of conditions each of which is only a part of the cause. It is very doubtful whether, standing alone, any

⁷ Daniel P. Clark and Dorothy Gray, "School Surveys and Delinquency Predictions," The Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. XXIV, p. 29.

⁸ William H. Sheldon, Ph.D., M. D., Varieties of Delinquent Youth (New York: Harper and Bros., Publishers, 1949), pp. 750-51.

single factor that we have disentangled in the preceding chapters would be sufficient to account for persistent delinquency. . . . Thus, a single factor (or even a small group of factors) may be involved, even frequently involved, in delinquent behavior and yet each one may not of itself be of sufficient weight or potency to tip the scales among boys who remain nondelinquent. In other words, the cause of a certain effect is that totality of conditions that is sufficient to produce it. . . . How, then, can we view the findings of marked differences between the persistently delinquent boys and the nondelinquent boys in terms of causation?

By making the reasonable inference that where so many factors preceding the fact of persistency of delinquent behavior are found in excess among the boys who became delinquents, there is a high probability of a functional, causal relationship between those factors and a tendency to persistent anti-social behavior even though there can as yet be no tracing of the "specific links in the chain of causation" in the way that clinicians attempt case by case. In other words, where a considerable number of factors that "make sense," from the point of view of common experience, are found to characterize delinquents far more than nondelinquents, it becomes highly probable that we are dealing with some sort of causal connection between the factors and the behavior, rather than with casual or accidental coincidence between them.

This of course does not mean that every boy possessing one or even several of these highly differentiative traits must inevitably become delinquent. Indeed, as we know from the fact that many nondelinquents possess some of these distinguishing traits, even a group of such factors derived from any single area of the inquiry is not, standing alone, too likely to result in delinquent behavior in a large proportion of instances.

. . . It may be that some day variations in the way people conduct themselves will be explainable in the more ultimate terms of differences in endocrine gland structure and function, or of microscopic physico-chemical reactions. However, we can in the meantime reasonably speak of cause-and-effect when we disentangle even the cruder forces at play in inclining persons to one course of behavior or another, just as chemistry and physics open the doors to the solution of many problems of nature even before the dawn of nuclear science. The question is whether such an explanation in the field of our concern brings

us closer to an understanding of delinquency and therefore to its control. If it does, then, even though we are dealing with forces which may some day be reduced to more subtle constituents, we have made a stride forward in the understanding and possible management of delinquent behavior.

. . . if it be true that in all relevant respects no two delinquents are alike, then a science of behavior is utterly impossible; each individual is a unique organism and the causes that make him delinquent are unique to him. While it is true that in certain as yet unmeasurable characteristics each individual is unique, it is also true that in a great many traits and attributes delinquents tend to resemble each other and to differ from nondelinquents.⁹

And this has been, and still is, the problem - "traits tend to resemble" - the question is are they actually the same, like two one-dollar bills from the same plates, or are there "slight" variations in traits, of individuals, that by and of themselves necessitates the very term "individuals?"

The original research recorded in this thesis has been of value in that it presented a clear statistical picture of delinquency in a local area which is of immediate concern. As such, delinquency in this area differs very little from delinquency reported in other areas in the United States. The implication to be considered, and thoughtfully studied, is that undoubtedly the same conditions of environment which tend to instigate delinquency are prevalent universally and that control and prevention cannot be considered a "local" problem, in the same manner that world peace cannot be

⁹ Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Delinquents in the Making (New York: Harper Bros., 1952), pp. 167-87.

established in and by America alone. An extensive elaboration on the findings in the original research reported in this thesis would be of little, if any, value. These findings, complete though they are, do not begin to show the true picture of delinquency in the area investigated. Of course they show court cases and suspensions that occurred but in no way can it be said that such statistics indicate extent of delinquency, rise or fall of rates of delinquency, causation factors or anything - save the specific number of cases that found their way into Juvenile Court or school suspension.

The age patterns of delinquency, as charted in Chapter III, are highly significant from this aspect - that as the child develops physically, socially and sexually, the more the child is aware of conflict and contradiction in the "cultural lag" of adult society. Smug adults like to fool themselves into believing that the adolescent doesn't understand many of the things he sees in adult activities and therefore is not concerned with what he sees or hears. Such ignorance is intolerable.

"You're not old enough to drink, to smoke, to neck, etc., etc.," or "when you are older you will see things differently." Adults seem to think that there is an unwritten law that forbids a person to sin or to take moral liberties until he becomes an adult. If that were true, there are certainly countless "assumed adults" who have jumped the gun even though they may be sixty. "Adult" is a

state of being of the mind - a state which, unfortunately, too many senior citizens find foreign. Most practices which adults deny the juvenile but participate freely in themselves, are not morally right simply because the participant is over twenty-one years of age. If something is morally wrong it is wrong to any age.

The double standard of morality rears its ugly head. The child is taught one set of standards in school and church and sometimes by parents, but lo and behold, when he tries to find some trace of such standards in practice in the world outside of school and church, he is looking for the proverbial "needle in the haystack." When he does find a group of people believing in and living by such standards, he finds the majority of the population ridiculing, smirking and even laughing at such groups. By its very practices and attitudes society and culture puts "the lie" to morals taught in school and church.

At just about the age when the child has been confronted with a fair sampling of all the types of problems of life, physical, social, and sexual, and has been thoroughly confused by what is right and what is practiced, he kicks over the fence of unmerited adult authority and we find him delinquent. Who is delinquent? The child - or the adult environment which has so poorly prepared itself for the development of youth? Though crime takes but a moment to commit, it requires a young lifetime to prepare.

There are several aspects of our culture which indirectly, or directly, prepare the soil and plant the seeds of delinquency. First, the confusion among large numbers of our population regarding our economic philosophy and structure which, through the glittering advertising of the makers of material gadgets, and of small loan companies and banks, give the impression that money can be borrowed easily and the "good life" can be attained painlessly. Second, the cynical morality and ethics of many businessmen and officials which seep down to the masses, develops a "something for nothing" concept of life, including the shopworn remark that "he got his, I'll get mine." This philosophy encourages a breakdown in controls, a breakdown in values and in concepts of what is right and wrong, moral or immoral, and a confusion in social definitions of what is permitted, what is prohibited, and what is winked at or even encouraged. Much of this frustration appears in the family, neighborhood, and community authority, with a subsequent weakening of respect for such institutions as the school, the church, and the family. Third, the alliances exposed to public view between police, politicians, and the criminal elements, especially in heavily populated areas of our large cities, have been apparent to anyone who reads a newspaper. Resulting in this situation, there has developed, just as in areas of white-collar criminality, such features as dishonesty, taking advantage of out-group people, sharp practices, reliance on influence and pull, and conniving to beat the law. All these acts constitute a type of

functioning ethic that easily becomes a central core of the social philosophy of young recruits to delinquency.

In pondering the question of the future and its delinquency problems, and whether or not delinquency will be alleviated or controlled, (elimination appears impossible at least for the next one hundred years) the thought of another questionable possibility presents itself: can zebras change their stripes, leopards their spots? Can adult culture and society recognize the errors of its ways and make a sincere attempt to change? For that matter, is it really seriously interested in changing? Any other approach to the problem would be like trying to dig a "Grand Canyon" with a teaspoon - it is futile. The elements of environment, weather in this parable, would wash in more dirt than one could spoon out.

Such is the case with juvenile delinquency. The Juvenile Courts, the clinics, the efforts of teachers and schools, and those of the limited numbers of parents who understand delinquency causation, appear to be rather hopeless as far as being a means to an end of delinquency. How can it be anything but passive resistance to the problem of delinquency when youth takes the attitude, and justly so, in reply to adult teachings, "what you do speaks so loudly that we are unable to hear what you say."

What can the schools do? Little, if anything, more than they have been doing - that is to teach philosophically the way things should be, and then brace the child for what he will find exists in

the "practical world."

Is it possible for a nation so entangled in its own economic philosophy to change that philosophy for its own salvation? Or is there no turning back? Are we a part of a great cosmic whirlpool that carries us from dark ages to enlightenment only to complete the cycle? To the last question the writer would like to answer: No, we must maintain our faith that man can and will do what he must to survive, what he sees that he ought to do to facilitate his own development. But this faith seems unwarranted in the light of man's behavior toward fellow man.

Sheldon has presented a clear picture of delinquency and the culture that fathers it. In summarizing he stated that:

Delinquency may be defined epigrammatically as a measure of the difference between what human beings are, biologically, and their prevailing notions of themselves. The field of delinquency, then, lies mainly in the realm of social rather than individual psychiatry, and the problems presented by delinquency are inseparable from the underlying defections of social institutions.

Since medical and social practices are in the long run no more than translations of prevailing beliefs into procedures, delinquency is in a practical sense a reflection of the shortcomings of men's institutionalized notions, and the most compact summary of delinquency would be the most compact summary of these institutionalized idea structures.¹⁰

Such a summary has been attempted by Sheldon. He proposed:

¹⁰ William H. Sheldon, Varieties of Delinquent Youth (New York: Harper and Bros., Publishers, 1949), p. 887.

Extract the teeth from the basic economic monkey trap. Perhaps if it were made illegal to transmit by inheritance more than enough wealth for an education, the motive to waste the best human energies on a struggle for surplus gettings would be destroyed. That might eliminate the desire for private surplus wealth, an arrogant desire stemming mainly from the institution of the family. Arrogance based on money might then dry up at its source, for then a man devoting his life to the business of getting would only be taking on an embarrassment - he himself would be faced with the job of unloading the gettings. Only in a society prohibiting hereditary transmission of wealth could the basic arguments in support of economic delinquency advanced by the brighter Hayden Goodwill Inn boys be answered honestly.

Look war in the face. Establishment of a central world government is now of such pressing importance that any further postponement could be fatal to the life wish of the species as a whole. We English-speaking people have long realized a vague intention of retaining this responsibility - have recently felt the intention strongly enough to muster up a stubborn catatonic-like resistance to efforts in that same direction from other quarters - yet we have not as a group brought the matter resolutely to full consciousness. We have to do so, and we have to decide whether to assume the full responsibility of world-wide military and police maintenance, or whether by our submission to encourage another agglutination of people to do it. If this decision cannot be made, the only alternative remaining to us may be the kind of treatment that catatonic individuals receive. That is to say, shock therapy, mutilation, imprisonment, continuous physical and mental frustration until the release of death.¹¹

What would the major and his razor blade company, and the countless hundreds of thousands of "big businessmen" like him, say to such suggestions? For anyone acquainted with persons controlling business, of any considerable size, the answer would not be difficult to imagine.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 887-88.

They would undoubtedly claim that "free enterprises," such as the major's, are the very foundation of the American way of life! How true such a statement would be even they would not realize. The "way of life" that in itself creates delinquency is certainly a false economy for a nation to follow.

To change that "way of life" seems impossible, and so the only recourse available to those sincerely interested in the problems of youth is to continue in the role of passive resistance. In teaching, stress moral philosophy but prepare youth for reality, and somehow try to explain the inconsistencies and contradictions between the two in such a manner as not to leave the child frustrated and confused. That is an art in itself, one in which few are adept.

There remains one last fortress in this seemingly insurmountable struggle. This stronghold, which is itself weakening in its foundations under the stress of that same economic philosophy which patterns our lives, is the home. It is not mere coincidence that a "broken home" by far outranks any other condition in the lives of legal juvenile delinquents. Statistics on marriage and divorce rates are a clear index to what is happening to the traditional concepts of "marriage" and "home."

Everyone carries throughout his life something he got from home, and the most important thing is the love he got from his mother, his father, his sisters, and his brothers. Love is the greatest essential. If understanding can be added to it, all the better. Then home will

not be only a place for happy growth but a safe place for the unhappy child when he finds that growing up has "growing pains." The child's emotional as well as physical growth is a family affair. Sometimes guidance can be based on understanding and moved by love and affection in such a way that the child's behavior can be helped to fit the pattern of society and still be individual.

A child sometimes lies, sometimes steals; he can be cruel and destructive. Sometimes he expresses his disturbance by being very shy and withdrawn. We have all heard of the "good child" who suddenly bursts forth in anti-social behavior. Even if he does not become conspicuous because of this behavior, he may need help badly. Part of a child's growing up is learning what truth is, what belongs to him, how to control feelings like anger and jealousy. When a child has someone to help and understand him, growing is not too difficult - although the degree of difficulty varies with each child's particular emotional and physical make-up. Some children need more help than others. When a child does not get the help he needs, instead of growing out of his childhood problems, he takes them along and they grow. Unless the so-called problem child gets help, he may become a delinquent. Someone, somewhere, has failed to help the child we call delinquent - his parents, his teachers, his church, or maybe even in a broader sense the community has failed to see to it that help has been provided when the child needed it. Even for adults, this world is increasingly bewildering, complicated, and productive of fears and

frustrations; the child's world has the same pattern.

A true insight into delinquency may be summed up simply in the recognition that in the eyes of science there are no "good boys" or "bad boys," but only children who need less help in growing up and those who need more.

Evidently it is up to the adults, whoever and wherever they are, to aid young people over the rough roads and to put up a good show of believing that the roads lead somewhere.

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