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U. S. NATIONAL COMMISSION  
ON LAW OBSERVANCE AND ENFORCEMENT

REPORT  
ON  
THE CAUSES OF CRIME

VOLUME I



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

JUNE 26, 1931.

Mr. PRESIDENT: I beg to transmit herewith a thirteenth report of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, treating of the Causes of Crime.

I have the honor to be,

Very truly yours,

GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM,  
*Chairman.*

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

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### VOLUME II

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and Henry D. McKay.

## THE CAUSES OF CRIME

We find it impossible comprehensively to discuss the causes of crime or factors in nonobservance of law. Criminology is remaking, the social sciences are in transition, and the foundations of behavior are in dispute. It would serve no useful purpose to put forth theories as to criminality or nonobservance of law, either generally or in America, on the basis of some one current psychology or social philosophy, with the certainty that it represents but one phase of the thought of the time and will not long hold the ground. For the same reasons it would be quite as useless to develop the potentialities of each of the current theories.

Nor has it been possible, in the relatively brief life of the commission, to carry out detailed studies sufficing for a comprehensive report on the basis of independent investigations. The most that was feasible was to conduct a certain number of studies of limited scope but with possibilities of general application, and bring together, in a critical review, what has been done thus far in the way of theories of criminality. Some of these studies are transmitted herewith.

The materials which our funds and the time at our disposal do not enable us to publish will be deposited where they may be accessible for any further studies under the auspices of others, and we hope that the published materials may contribute in some measure to stimulate interest in the basic problems upon which social treatment of criminality must depend and add something to the store of knowledge upon which our answers to those problems must proceed.

### 1. RESEARCH REPORTS AND DATA PRINTED WITH THE REPORT

(a) A critical examination of the literature on the causes of crime by Morris Ploscowe, Esq. Mr. Ploscowe as Sheldon fellow of Harvard University had recently spent two

years in research in European criminological institutes and thus brought to the work a background of knowledge and experience. His report entitled "Some Causative Factors in Criminality" is annexed hereto.

(b) An inquiry into the relationship between unemployment and crime was directed by Miss Mary van Kleeck, director of the Department of Industrial Studies of the Russell Sage Foundation, which was kind enough to lend her services and provide office facilities for this purpose, for which the commission makes grateful acknowledgment. Miss van Kleeck was assisted by Dr. Emma A. Winslow, who has had wide experience in similar research projects; by Mr. Ira deA. Reid, director of research for the National Urban League, and by other persons mentioned in her report on Work and Law Observance hereto annexed. In the preparation of this report Miss van Kleeck made a special study of the "Histories of Men in Sing Sing Prison," the results of which are embodied in Part II of her report. Doctor Winslow made an analysis of the "Relationships Between Employment and Crime Fluctuations, as Shown by Massachusetts Statistics," the results of which are embodied in Part IV of the report. Mr. Reid made an investigation in the special problem of the Negro as related both to work and to crime, the results of which investigation are embodied in Part III of the report. There are also included as Part V certain notes on fluctuations in employment and crime in New York State; and in Part VI, the summary and conclusions upon the whole work, by Miss van Kleeck.

(c) An inquiry into the social influences that account for the formation of the habit of crime and the beginning of careers of delinquency made for the commission by Mr. Clifford R. Shaw, head of the Department of Research Sociology, and Mr. Henry D. McKay, associate research criminologist of the Institute of Juvenile Research and the Behavior Research Foundation of Chicago. Mr. Shaw has had wide experience in and made notable contributions to the study of juvenile delinquents and their community backgrounds and has issued a number of interesting publications on this subject. Mr. McKay, who collaborated with Mr.

Shaw in this work, was prior to his appointment with the Institute of Juvenile Research an instructor at the Universities of Illinois and Chicago. The report of Mr. Shaw and Mr. McKay, entitled "Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency," is presented as Volume II of this report.

The commission is of the opinion that these reports represent research of a high order of excellence and will constitute an outstanding contribution to the study of crime.

## 2. REPORTS AND MEMORANDA FURNISHED TO THE COMMISSION BUT NOT PRINTED WITH THE REPORT

The commission has received a number of valuable reports and memoranda from other sources which it has been unable to print as a part of the report. Among these are the following:

A report by Dr. William Moseley Brown, giving a Brief History of Criminal Sociology. Doctor Brown was formerly professor of education and psychology at Washington and Lee University, is now president of Atlantic University, and is the author of a number of books on social subjects.

A report entitled "Some Observations on Organized Crime," by Col. Henry Barrett Chamberlin, operating director of the Chicago Crime Commission.

While the commission desired to have an analytical study of conditions in rural districts in their bearing upon crime, it was not able to do so, but it was able to secure a report from Dr. Henry W. McLaughlin, director of the country church department of the Presbyterian Church of the United States on Underprivileged Rural Communities.

Memoranda by Dr. Stewart Paton, formerly associate in psychiatry, Johns Hopkins University, lecturer in psychiatry at Yale, Princeton, and Columbia Universities.

Memorandum from Adolf Meyer, professor of psychiatry, Johns Hopkins University.

Memorandum from Dr. Benjamin Karpman, psychiatrist, St. Elizabeth's Hospital.

Memoranda accompanied by a number of pamphlets dealing with personality factors in human conduct from Dr.

Lewellys F. Barker, professor emeritus of medicine, Johns Hopkins University.

Memoranda as to causative factors in crime from Dr. E. W. Burgess, professor of sociology, University of Chicago; Dr. Paul L. Schroeder, director of the Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago; Mr. John C. Weigel, administrator of the Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago.

Memorandum from Dr. Ralph Arthur Reynolds, San Francisco, formerly president of the American Medical Association of Vienna.

GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM, *Chairman.*

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PAUL J. McCORMICK.

ROSCOE POUND.

JUNE 26, 1931.

SEPARATE REPORT

OF

HENRY W. ANDERSON

# SEPARATE REPORT OF HENRY W. ANDERSON

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## INTRODUCTION

I am unable to concur in the disposition made by the commission of the important branch of our inquiry dealing with the Causes of Crime.

In broad outline the purpose of the commission was to make a study of the problem of "crime" in the United States and to suggest measures looking to a more general observance and more effective enforcement of the laws. The study naturally divides into a consideration of the causes of crime and the remedies.

At the time that the commission began its work the President expressed the hope that it would make accurate determinations of "fact and cause," and follow these with "constructive, courageous conclusions which will bring public understanding and command public support of its solutions." I am constrained to take the view that the report of the commission does not meet these specifications. Nor am I able to see how, without some consideration of the broad underlying causes for existing attitudes and conduct, it is possible to understand the problem or to devise or suggest appropriate and effective remedies.

At the outset of its work the commission seemed to take this view. It appointed a committee on the Causes of Crime, of which I was chairman, to make a thorough study of the subject and to submit a report thereon for the consideration of the commission. This committee arranged for research studies of some aspects of the problem, and numerous conferences were held with various leading students and thinkers in this field. Some of the reports so obtained are submitted with the report of the commission; others of great value are not. But much of the most valuable information on the subject was derived from conferences and correspondence, as well as

personal study by and knowledge of members of the commission. This is not reflected in the research reports submitted or in the brief report of the commission.

I recognize the great value of detailed research and statistics for the purposes for which they are intended but feel that so great a human problem as the causes of crime can not be adequately expressed in statistical terms. Nor can I escape the feeling that the views and conclusions of the commission itself, founded not only upon special and limited studies but also upon other sources of information and upon the knowledge and experience of its members and their own interpretation of the facts, should be given in a report upon a question of such vital interest to the country as the causes of the existing condition of widespread crime.

The vastness of the problem, the variety and complexity of the factors involved, and the imperfect state of knowledge on these subjects are all fully appreciated. But we have assumed a responsibility which must be met. Even if our views and conclusions should, as a result of these difficulties, be wanting in finality as to some aspects of the problem, yet they should at least be given as a contribution to the thought on the subject. As such they could not fail to lead to beneficial results. I also feel that we should give an interpretation of the research reports and our conclusions therefrom, and should undertake to suggest some measures looking to a better understanding of this problem and the ultimate relief of the present disturbing conditions.

For these reasons, among others, I have felt constrained to submit this separate report, with the hope that it may at least be suggestive and helpful.

#### I. THE PRINCIPLES AND STRUCTURE OF AMERICAN SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS AS AFFECTING CRIMINAL ATTITUDES AND CONDUCT

Human conduct, normal or abnormal, is largely a product of the interaction of the forces of personality and environment. "The human organization can never exist without its setting in the world. All that we are and do is of the world and in the world. The great mistake of an overam-

bitious science has been the desire to study man altogether as a mere sum of parts, a parcel of atoms, or now of electrons, and as a machine detached, by itself, because at least some points in the simpler sciences could be studied to best advantage with this method of the so-called elementalists. It was a long time before a willingness to see the larger group of facts in their broad relations as well as in their inner-structure finally gave us the concept and vision of integration which now features man as a live unit, a transformer of energy in the world of fact, and makes him frankly a consciously integrated psychobiological individual, a member of a social group."<sup>1</sup>

It may be doubted, however, if a complete understanding of the motivating forces in human conduct can be had from a study of the individual in his relation to the group of which he may be a part. It seems necessary also to study the character and organization of the group. The social attitudes and conduct of the mass or group which are largely influenced by the spirit and character of the institutions within which that group is contained, as well as by habits, traditions, and social concepts derived from the past, can not fail to influence in varying degrees the attitudes and conduct of each individual in his relation to the social organization.

It is conceived, therefore, that a study of the causative factors affecting the attitudes and conduct of the individual members of any State or social organization in relation to the government and laws should begin with a consideration of some of the more important factors in the structure and character of that organization. This is necessary not only to understand the attitude of the people as a community toward government and laws but it is also necessary in order to find whether the structure and character of government, and of the social organization as a whole, as well as the social principles upon which they are based, are adapted to the existing social needs and aspirations of the people. To the extent that these factors are so adapted and possess the flexibility necessary to admit of their ready

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Adolf Meyer, address at Bloomingdale Hospital, 1921.

readjustment to changing social and economic conditions, they tend to promote the development of social attitudes and a sense of social comfort and contentment which induce respect for government and observance of law. If, on the other hand, the principles or structure of the social organization and of the laws and the agencies through which they operate are so controlled by past concepts or traditions, or so wanting in flexibility, as to impose undue and irritating restraints upon normal social and economic activities; if they fail to yield to those readjustments which are necessary in social progress; they produce discomfort, irritation, and unrest which find natural expression in disrespect for government and in disregard for or resistance to law.

The general attitudes so induced first manifest themselves in acts of individual or group lawlessness on the part of those elements of the community which are by nature least law-abiding or amenable to social control, or upon whom these artificial or outgrown social and economic conditions bear most harshly. Where such conditions have been too long or forcibly maintained, where an outgrown social or economic structure has failed to yield to the necessities of social and economic growth, the increasing discomfort and irritation resulting therefrom has often found expression in widespread social disorders or in organized resistance to government and law which is called revolution. It would seem, therefore, that a consideration of these general factors affecting the attitudes of the community as a whole toward government and law is essential as a background for the study of the causative factors in lawless or criminal conduct.

#### 1. AMERICAN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Any correct understanding of the principles and structures of the American social and political organizations and the influences thereof upon human conduct will be impossible unless we know something of the sources from which they have been derived, and the environmental influences under which they have been developed. Only the barest

outline of some of the more important of these factors is possible in this report.

The general form and structure of the political organizations in the United States are in many respects peculiar to our dual system of State and Federal governments, created and limited by written constitutions, but the principles upon which these institutions are based, which have largely influenced their development, especially during the formative period of the Government, were in large measure derived from earlier English civilization.

This was due to facts and conditions inherent in the situation. The original colonists were chiefly of British origin and brought with them the political concepts, traditions, and organizations of the country from which they came. The prevailing language and literature was and is English. The common law of England was adopted as the law of most of the States. The social and political organizations established before the Revolution, modeled upon those of England, were generally continued after the separation in those States which then existed, and were naturally adopted to a certain extent in others which later came into existence through the settlement of virgin territory. These and other factors which are familiar could not fail to impress themselves upon American thought and institutions. The influence of these original factors has become progressively less manifest with the growing effects of a different environment and the introduction of different racial and other forces into modern American life, but many of the more important elements of our present social and political organizations are directly traceable to these earlier sources. They can be best understood when studied in the larger perspective of their origin and development.

For nearly four centuries after the Norman conquest the feudal system prevailed in England. The basis of this system was the limited ownership or use of land, in return for service by the people to the feudal lords, and by the latter to the Crown. The political allegiance of the masses of the people was primarily to the feudal lords, while they in turn owed allegiance to the King. The fundamental social princi-

ple underlying the system was that of duties as distinguished from rights. The people owed the duty of service to the feudal lords, and they to the King, while in return for this service was the recognized duty of protection. It was an interrelational social system in which the functions of society were regarded as duties incident to service.

The feudal system was the first step in the welding together of small, self-contained social and political units in preparation for the larger organization of nationality. It was adapted to the primitive needs of rural communities. With the growth of cities and the development of trade it became inadequate. These urban communities demanded a stronger central government for the protection of their commerce and the expression of their larger social interests. This conflict of social and economic interests between the rural and urban communities culminated in the Wars of the Roses, which though dynastic in form were social and economic in origin. These wars resulted in the destruction of the feudal system, established the supremacy of the Crown with the right to the primary allegiance of the people, and opened the way for the development of a more flexible and cohesive national organization.

The period from the Wars of the Roses to the revolution of 1688 was one of transition. Although the feudal organization had been destroyed, its laws and traditions remained as restraints upon the necessary readjustments of an expanding social and political life. The people of rural England clung with characteristic tenacity to the old order, but the power of the Crown and of the commercial interests of the country were in the ascendant. Local customs and traditions slowly yielded before the influences of political and commercial expansion and the accompanying intellectual revival.

The period of transition, of the substitution of old ideals for new, of commercial and political expansion, intellectual activity and religious reformation, demanding extensive individual and social readjustments, was also one of social insecurity and unrest. It was marked by widespread lawlessness. Piracy prevailed upon the high seas; smuggling was

general; insurrections were frequent; while banditry and robbery acquired a romantic status<sup>2</sup> and were encouraged and protected by the people. The virtual breakdown of local authority which had formerly been maintained in large measure by the feudal barons, as well as the necessity for protection of the growing political and commercial interests, led to a steady increase in the power of the Crown, until it reached its limits in the absolutism of the Stuarts.

Changes were also taking place in the social and political concepts of the people, and in their attitudes toward government which were of far-reaching and lasting consequence. Following the Reformation there was developed the theory of the natural and inherent rights of man as limitations upon social organization and the powers of government. This was a complete abandonment of the social concepts of the feudal system which was based upon inter-related duties of service and protection. It was also a challenge to the claims of absolutism then maintained by the Stuart kings. The revolutions of 1649 and 1688 brought out the irreconcilable conflict between this social concept of natural and inherent rights and the claims of absolute power by the Crown; but they also constituted the last steps in the long struggle to break down, and free the social and economic organization from, the limitations of the outgrown structure of the Middle Ages. As results of these upheavals the laws of feudal service were repealed; the powers of the Crown were limited; the independence of the judiciary was recognized; the supremacy of the people through parliament was established; and the foundations were laid for the gradual development, through the processes of orderly evolution, of the cohesive and highly flexible national organization of modern England.

The original Colonies were established in America during this period of transition, of social unrest and conflict which culminated in the revolutions of 1649 and 1688. The colonists brought with them the varied and often conflicting social and political views of the groups to which they be-

<sup>2</sup> The story of Robin Hood furnishes a romantic picture of the attitude of the people toward law, not without its counterparts to-day.

longed. On the one hand, the rationalism of the Reformation and the spirit of distrust of government and resentment of social control which had been engendered by the long struggle with the Stuarts, and, on the other hand, the anti-secularism of those groups which sought to establish their own commonwealths in the New World, were accentuated and developed under the isolation of colonial life and the effects of pioneer existence. Thus the divergencies of view, the individual and social attitudes toward government and law, which had been developed among the people of England by long-continued social, political, economic, and religious controversies, were transferred to America to be woven into its social and political structure under widely variant climatic and environmental conditions. The situation was further complicated by the existence of other social elements such as the Dutch in New York, the Huguenot émigrés of South Carolina, and the Scotch-Irish along the frontiers.

But the most important influence in American colonial life in its bearing upon social attitudes and institutions was the dominance of the social and political idea of rights instead of duties; of the natural and inherent rights of man as limitations upon social action and political power and, therefore, upon individual obligations to government and law. This social, or antisocial, theory is a distinct product of the individualistic and revolutionary attitudes of the seventeenth century; of the reaction against feudal obligations of service; of the religious reformation, and of the intense struggle against the claims of absolute power by the Stuart kings. As applied to the conditions of that time, as a sanction for revolution, it may have possessed merit, but as a basis for a social and political organization founded upon the theory of the capacity of the people for self-government, and as applied to the complex and rapidly changing social and economic conditions of modern times, its soundness in principle and beneficence in operation may be questioned. This theory has exercised such a potent influence upon the past institutional development and present attitudes of the American people toward government and law, and toward social control through the agencies of law, that it requires further consideration.

The so-called natural and inherent rights of man have never been clearly defined. They are referred to in the Declaration of Independence as "inalienable rights" and included among them are the rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." No one of these rights is, or ever has been, in fact "inalienable" in theory or under accepted social practice. Man may alienate or forfeit his right to life by violation of the rights of others, or the rules of the social organization. He may forfeit his right to liberty by anti-social conduct. The exercise of the rights of the individual as a member of a social organization in the pursuit of happiness is limited by the social rights of others and of the social organization. These rights could not thus be disposed of or controlled by the social organization if they were inalienable, if the right to enjoy or exercise them had not, at least by implication, been subjected to social control.

Whatever may be the natural rights of man in his primitive state where he supplies his own needs and provides his own protection, those rights are necessarily limited to a constantly increasing degree by the rights of others when he becomes a member of a social organization. He can not accept the cooperative advantages and benefits of such organization and avoid its duties and obligations. It seems that in the last analysis, therefore, the question becomes one of transcending both claims of individual and social paramountcy by a synthesis which includes individual and organized activity in a common direction, founded upon a concept of interrelated duties as between the individual and society.

If the so-called natural or "inalienable" rights of the individual are not, or can not be, subject to social control, then they are outside of, superior to, and operate as limitations upon, the social organization. This leads inevitably to the view that the individual may determine for himself the point at which these rights are so invaded as to justify him in refusing to accept or obey the law. Since these so-called natural rights are undefined, this in effect leaves each individual vested with the right to decide what laws he will or will not obey. The doctrine is thus highly antisocial, and if carried to its ultimate conclusion means anarchy.

It seems essential as a basis for any effective social organization that the supremacy of the social judgment, as expressed in the law, over individual rights and judgment shall be recognized. The individual as a member of a social organization yields control of his personal rights and interests to the extent that their exercise or enjoyment by him may be adverse or injurious to the rights or interests of the community. This relationship is never fixed. It is a matter of constant readjustment with the growth and complexity of society. The social organization owes to the individual protection from interference, except where his conduct may be antisocial, or where social interference or social control may be required by the demands of the social welfare. But the final right and power to determine the extent to which social limitations and control must be imposed upon the individual in the social interests, and the methods by which such control shall be exercised, must of necessity rest with the social organization acting through its appropriate agencies. If the social organization or the State undertakes to regulate or to control individual conduct which in principle or effect is not antisocial, or to an extent not required in the social interests, or by methods which are oppressive, the remedy lies not in the assertion of natural or individual rights and individual judgment based thereon as superior to the social order, but in an effort through orderly social processes to readjust these relations and to bring the social organization within the limitation of reasonable and just social action. If this fails, then the ultimate remedy is to be found either in submission or in withdrawal from the social organization, or in individual or organized resistance.

It must be recognized, however, that overt resistance, individual or organized, is not an exercise of any higher right; that it is antisocial and lawless; that it is undertaken at the risk of those engaged therein and subjects them to the penalties prescribed by the social organization for such conduct. If it succeeds, it is revolution and is based upon the sanction of force. The social organization is then reformed to meet the dominant view. But whatever the form of government

or the agencies through which it acts, it seems obvious that the superiority of social over individual right as to all matters of social, political, or economic interest to be determined by and expressed in law, must be recognized if organized society is to exist. The somewhat primitive and undefined doctrine of natural rights was born of fear of absolutism and continued as a limitation upon popular action. In its direct and indirect effects it has probably been, and still is, the most potent single principle affecting the development of the law and of social and political institutions of America.

This doctrine of natural rights found a fruitful soil when transplanted in colonial America. There was only a loose social organization of widely separated communities. There was but little law with few and primitive agencies for its enforcement, while the unlimited forest beyond the frontiers stood as an inviting asylum for those lawless and adventurous individuals who resented social control. The highly individualistic attitudes thus engendered were further accentuated by constant and irritating restraints imposed upon colonial life and economic expansion by the British Government. The efforts to limit colonial growth by treaties with the Indians establishing their rights to the western lands; to protect the forest by the creation of reserves; to limit and restrain commerce by the navigation acts; and, finally, to levy taxes—in brief, to extend the legal restraints and burdens of a more highly organized English civilization to the forests of America—all tended to bring into the open the latent concepts of local and individual right against government and led to an almost universal attitude of evasion or violation of law. It may be said with truth that the American social organization came into existence animated by a spirit of revolution and characterized by acts of lawlessness.

Upon the separation from England and the organization of the Colonies into States, the principle of natural rights was incorporated in various forms in their respective bills of rights or constitutions as fundamental limitations upon the powers of government. The same general theories were

subsequently embodied in the first 10 amendments to the Federal Constitution. Since the growing civilizations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries obviously could not and can not be controlled by the social and political concepts of the seventeenth, these rigid limitations have had the effect of maintaining or developing artificial rules of law and procedure; of restraining and unbalancing normal social and economic development; and have tended to produce methods of evasion on the part of the people and agencies of government, in order to meet the demands of social and economic necessity, which could not fail to impair respect for government and encourage disobedience to law. Manifestly, a principle successfully invoked as a sanction for revolution can not be effectively applied as a basis for a stable social order.

During the Revolution and for a short time thereafter the States were organized into a loose union under the Articles of Confederation. In political theory and plan of organization this confederation bore a strong analogy to that of the feudal system. It furnishes striking evidence of the extent to which the spirit of localism and the jealousy of effective social control had developed under the influence of traditional concepts, accentuated by pioneer life in America. It was tragically inadequate in war, and even more ineffective against the assertion of selfish local interests in time of peace. The resulting political disintegration and social and economic disorders, combined with the dangers of aggression from without and the necessity for the protection of commercial interests from within, led under the influence of a few revolutionary statesmen to the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

In the theory, structure, and general character of this instrument and of the government created thereby there may be found many evidences of the influence of social and political ideals of the past, some of which have been discussed. The structure and powers of the government were stated in general terms which permitted reasonable adaptation to changing social conditions, but it was based upon the idea of a federation of independent and self-contained

communities, analogous in political relations to the feudal system, rather than upon the concept of cohesive nationality. Its powers were derived in some aspects directly from the people, and in others from the several States as political entities. The direct relationship of citizenship of the United States was not established, but the social and political rights of this important relationship were left to be derived primarily from, and to be in large measure controlled and regulated by, the several States.

Even with these and other manifest deficiencies from the standpoint of national organization, resulting from essential concessions to individual and local feeling, the acceptance of the Constitution was promptly followed by the adoption of the first 10 amendments based upon the concept of natural rights as further limitations upon the powers and flexibility of the Government.

The period from the adoption of the Federal Constitution to the Civil War was characterized by intense controversy as to the respective rights and powers of the State and Federal Governments, between the ideals of localism on the one hand and a growing spirit of nationalism on the other. It is indicative of the extent to which the individualistic concepts of the seventeenth century and the influence of pioneer life still dominated the public mind that these controversies generally turned upon rights as distinguished from duties, upon negative theories instead of affirmative social obligations. As in the period preceding the Wars of the Roses in England these controversies were greatly intensified by the growing diversity of social views and economic interests between the urban or industrial and the rural or agricultural sections of the country. The differences thus engendered were increased by the localization of the institution of slavery, its influence upon social economic life where it prevailed, and the highly emotional controversies to which it gave rise. The cumulative influence of these forces led to conditions of widespread lawlessness and ultimately to civil war.

As the Wars of the Roses broke down the structure of feudalism with its principles of local organization and

political allegiance and substituted a national organization with direct allegiance to the Crown, so the Civil War in America ended the original idea of a voluntary federation of independent States and substituted that of nationality.

The supremacy of the national principle was definitely established. The anomalous condition of a government without direct citizenship was ended. The political relationship of citizenship of the United States was created with the resulting obligation of direct allegiance to, and the right of direct protection from, the National Government, even as against the States, as to matters within the scope of its functions. The way was thus opened for the ultimate development of a cohesive and effective social and political system based upon the broader and more flexible concepts of nationality.

But this goal was and yet is far from attainment. The period from the Civil War to the present time has been, and is, one of slow and difficult transition from the rigid and outgrown social organizations dominated by local and pioneer ideals to the more cohesive national organization demanded by modern social and economic life. This process has been retarded and its success has seemed at times to be endangered by rigid legal limitations and institutional obstructions, some of which are matters of inheritance and tradition, others of which are the products of peculiar American conditions.

The soil out of which many of these limitations and obstructions, with the resulting social discomforts and resentments, have developed has been the centrifugal principle of natural or individual rights derived from the revolutionary movements of the seventeenth century and embodied in our rigid constitutional system as limitations upon governmental powers and upon essential social adjustments. These principles are flattering to human vanity and tend to magnify individual importance as against the social interests. They, and the political formulas in which it has been sought to give them expression, have in many instances become political fetishes, to be accepted without inquiry either as to their soundness as social principles or their adaptability to new conditions.

The effect of these ancient and outgrown social and political concepts upon social and individual psychology has been to emphasize and magnify the negative idea of rights as against the affirmative idea of duties and obligations to the social organization. This has been manifest not only in individual attitudes and conduct in relation to the social organization, but also in tenacious assertion of the doctrine of States rights and of local control within the States as to matters which have obviously grown beyond the point of complete and effective local or State regulation and in whole or in part into the domain of national action. As the rights of the individual are subject to constant readjustment with the growth and complexity of the social organization, so the rights of the local and State agencies and the measure of their control must be subject to constant change to meet the necessities of social and economic development. Since the purposes of all social and governmental agencies is to serve and to protect the social, economic, and political interests of the people, they should be readily and constantly readjusted in their relations to the social organization and to the subjects of social and economic activity so as best to accomplish this purpose.

These necessary readjustments of our social and political structure have not only been restrained and obstructed by adherence to the traditional antisocial concepts above mentioned—by the emphasis of individual and local rights instead of duties—and the operation thereof as rigid limitations upon the growth and development of our constitutional system, but the attitudes thus engendered have been accentuated by conditions peculiar to American life.

The social and political life and institutions of England were developed from primitive local organizations into cohesive and flexible nationality by the gradual welding together of the social and economic interests of a comparatively homogeneous people in a comparatively small and fully occupied territory; but the difficulties arising from the existence of different racial elements, and diverse or conflicting social concepts, have been manifested in the efforts to merge Scotland, Wales, and Ireland into the national

organization. These developments have been chiefly accomplished in periods of slow and gradual social and economic changes, permitting time for the essential readjustments. Even under these favorable conditions tenacious adherence to different views and divergence of social and economic interests have required periodic upheavals or revolutions as means of breaking down the restraints of the older structure and opening the way for the new.

The conditions surrounding the development of American organization and institutions have been far more complex. Here the effort has been and is being made to throw together into effective social, economic, and political organization a large and rapidly expanding population of various racial groups, with varied and often conflicting social concepts and backgrounds, in an immense territory, presenting highly different physical and climatic conditions, and to do this while the settlement of this territory was in progress, thus presenting many varied and conflicting elements resulting from different degrees of development, and of social and economic interests and status. The perennial conflicts in social concept and economic interests between rural or agricultural and urban or industrial communities and sections have existed at every stage of our history as sources of dissension and obstacles to cooperative social effort. The constantly widening but ever present frontier, with the unorganized social conditions which such communities always present, has tended to keep alive the individualistic attitudes of pioneer life and resulting resentments of social control. The frontier has only disappeared during the present century. The antisocial influences of the frontier life and of pioneer existence have been potent in every stage of American development and are still manifest in our social attitudes and organization. The constant flow of immigration has served to further complicate an already difficult situation by the introduction of large foreign groups often of other races and languages, who brought with them the social ideals and conceptions of their inheritance, often widely variant from or in conflict with those of our original civilization. They tended to form compact groups or communities which had

to be worn down by attrition and absorbed through the slow and difficult processes of assimilation.

These and other similar influences which are familiar, have tended to greatly increase the complexities of American social organization and to obstruct its orderly growth. They have operated to strengthen and maintain local and sectional resistance to the spirit of national cohesion and to unbalance our institutional development. As a consequence there have always existed and still exist the discordant elements of social and political sectionalism not only within the Nation, but to a less degree within the several States. The evils of this condition are not only evidenced by the disorganizing and unbalancing effects upon the development of a cohesive national organization, but they are also manifested in efforts of the several sections to use the National Government as an agency through which the social and economic concepts and policies of one section or group may be imposed upon others to whom they may not be adapted or acceptable.

In the last analysis these attitudes and conditions are the inevitable consequences of an effort to build a modern social organization upon negative individualist principles instead of the affirmative principle of individual duties and social obligations; to maintain the claims of the individual as superior to those of the social organization of which he is a part. To the extent that the supremacy of this principle is maintained it will continue to produce social confusion, to encourage localism, and to obstruct and unbalance the development of social and political institutions. By impairing the efficiency of the social organization and its adaptability to changing conditions it tends in its ultimate results to defeat its own ends by depriving the individual of that protection which it is the purpose of the social organization to afford.

## 2. LEGAL CONCEPTS AND AGENCIES

Nowhere have the effects of these antisocial principles and the limitations imposed in response thereto been more manifest than in the development of the law and the agencies for its enforcement.

Of the many illustrations of this fact, two may be noted. Among the controversies which arose during the period of transition between the Wars of the Roses and the revolution of 1688 were those as to tenure and power of the judges. Prior to 1688 the judges received their appointment from and held office at the pleasure of the Crown. In the difficult task of bringing order out of the chaos induced by the long struggle of the Wars of the Roses, and welding together the local units of the old feudal system into some semblance of nationality, the Tudor sovereigns not only used their political power but often made relentless use of the powers of the magistrates and judges. This was also true as to the Stuarts in their long struggle with parliament, and especially in the punishment of political offenses in the period which intervened between the revolutions of 1649 and 1688. On the one hand it was contended that parliament as the direct representative of the people was supreme, while on the other it was claimed that the judges, who derived their offices from the king and held them at his pleasure, had the power to declare invalid any act of parliament which in their view was in conflict with the essential principles of the common law. The arbitrary conduct of, and what was conceived to be abuse of power by, some of the judges, particularly in the trials of political offenses, also led the people to look upon the juries as their special representatives, and means of protection against political and judicial oppression. This tended to magnify the importance of the jury both from a political standpoint and as an agency in the administration of justice.

Following the revolution of 1688 the independence of the judiciary in its relations to the Crown was established by life tenure in office, and as a result of the definite recognition of the supremacy of parliament, the claim of the right of the judges to declare an act of parliament invalid as being in contravention of the common law was abandoned. The opposite view was adopted in America after the separation from England. Without regard to the soundness of the abstract principle involved, this view seems inevitable in practice under our theory of government as an agency with

powers limited by the popular will as expressed in written constitutions. Under our system if an act of any agency of government exceeds or is outside of the constitutional limitations imposed by the people, it is necessarily void for want of power. The determination of the question of whether and to what extent the act is beyond the powers conferred by the constitution involves a construction of that instrument which is a judicial function. If the act exceeds the powers conferred or is in violation of the limitations imposed it is invalid, not as a result of any power or control of the judicial over the executive or legislative branches of government but by virtue of the limitations upon the powers of those agencies imposed by the people themselves. Although the exercise of this clearly judicial function was vested in the courts by our constitutional system in order to maintain the popular will, it has nevertheless been the subject of bitter controversy and of much opposition or resistance. This power, which should be exercised with great reserve, has undoubtedly been abused at times, especially during the nineteenth century. It has then operated to impose undue restraints upon that expansion of, and those changes in, our social and economic system which were essential to meet the conditions of social and economic life. The resulting discontent led to demands for limitation of the powers of the judiciary, the popular election of judges for short terms, and other similar measures which have tended to destroy judicial independence and to weaken and confuse the administration of the law.

Even more noticeable have been the effects of seventeenth-century conditions and theories, strengthened by pioneer experience, upon our attitude toward the jury system. The social and political concept of natural rights of man, developed as an intellectual sanction for revolution, naturally created a negative and antagonistic attitude toward government and social control. The subjection of the judges to the control of the Crown and their harsh action, especially as to political offenders at a time when the defendant in criminal cases was not allowed counsel, intensified this feeling and led the people to look upon the jury as the only protection

against executive and judicial tyranny. The spirit of the pioneer welcomed any technicality by which the power of the courts could be restrained and social control through the law might be defeated. When, therefore, the original State constitutions were framed rigorous provisions were inserted requiring trial by jury in both criminal and civil cases. Similar provisions were carried into amendments to the Federal Constitution. In some instances this overemphasis of the importance of the jury as an agency in the administration of justice has been carried so far as to make the jury the judges of both the facts and the law, and the practice has prevailed in some States of forbidding the judge to assist the jury in arriving at sound conclusions by proper comments upon the evidence, while the law is stated to the jury in a series of abstract and often conflicting propositions. The injurious effects of these limitations and the practices resulting therefrom upon the prompt and efficient administration of justice, have been discussed in the reports of this commission on Prosecutions and Criminal Procedure and need not here be repeated.<sup>3</sup> It is sufficient for the present purpose to observe that they have operated to build a large and highly technical body of law as to evidence and procedure, which may be availed of to delay and defeat justice by those of wealth or influence, while they have seriously interfered with prompt and effective administration of justice and so increased the cost as to be highly prejudicial to the people at large.

The constitutional limitations named were natural reactions to the judicial tyranny of the time of the Stuarts, and the conditions of pioneer life. It is difficult, however, to see how such rigid limitations are essential under modern conditions as applied to a government created and controlled by the people themselves. They give to our constitutional and legal system a rigidity which renders it extremely difficult to adapt them to rapidly changing conditions. At least it seems that these and other similar mat-

<sup>3</sup> For full discussion of the subject see Criminal Justice in America, by Roscoe Pound, Ch. III and IV.

ters might be left to legislation which could readily be changed to meet the rapidly shifting social conditions.

The illustrations given are sufficient to indicate the present effect of traditional concepts and pioneer attitudes upon the law and its administration. Others might be cited, for these ancient concepts and attitudes permeate our substantive law and every branch of the legal organization. Much of the confusion in the law and its administration results from artificial limitations of this character. In response to the just criticism of the failure of the law and the agencies and methods of its administration to adapt themselves to modern conditions, laws are often passed imposing further restraints which only tend to increase the existing complexities, and to offer more opportunities for evasion. The remedy lies not in more laws but in freeing the law and the agencies for its administration from the constitutional and traditional limitations imposed in response to outgrown social concepts, by adapting them to present social and economic needs, and making them so flexible as to be readily adapted to social changes. To be effective the law must be living, not dead; to be respected it must be worthy of respect in the eyes of the people both in its theory and in its results.

### 3. SOME ASPECTS OF OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The effects of these antisocial factors upon social attitudes are also manifest when considered in their relation to the economic system. What we shall eat and wherewithal we shall be clothed is still a dominant problem in individual and community life and in large measure controls social and political development.<sup>4</sup>

It has already been observed that the economic basis of the feudal system was the limited ownership or right of use of land in consideration of service to the feudal lords or by them to the king, while they in turn owed to the people the duty of protection. The ownership or enjoyment of prop-

<sup>4</sup> This commission is not concerned with the respective merits or demerits of various social and economic theories. This discussion relates only to the hearing of economic conditions on social attitudes.

erty was therefore predicated upon the fundamental concept of service and of mutual or interrelated duties and obligations as between the people and public authority or the state. With the abolition of the feudal system this basic principle, as related to property ownership, gradually disappeared. Limited feudal ownership was changed to absolute ownership with the right of transmission or inheritance. The laws of feudal service were repealed and in lieu thereof taxation or money tribute was established. Thus the individual right of property was developed from limited to absolute, but the duties of personal service to the state which had formerly been an essential incident of the ownership or use of land were no longer imposed.

The effects of this fundamental change can hardly be measured. It introduced the individualistic competitive principle as the basis of economic organization instead of the social and cooperative principle of interrelated duties. As the doctrine of natural rights sought to place the social and political rights of the individual above and in opposition to those of the social organization, so this competitive system tended to put the economic claims of the individual in opposition to those of the community.

Under this system protection of the community against extortion rested upon the theory not of social duty but of conflict or war of competitive interest, which it was assumed would give to the community the products of industry at reasonable prices. The weakness of this principle as a means of protection became manifest with the growth of commerce and communication and the natural tendency on the part of competitors to combine their interests and efforts. This tendency was met by laws seeking to limit such combinations, but these laws have proved ineffective in the past and under modern conditions. In fact the development of nation-wide industrial organizations, with modern means of transportation and communication, has tended more and more to eliminate effective competition and with it effective social control over the economic activities.

The purpose of the economic organization is to serve the ultimate consumers, and the right of each individual in the organization to compensation or reward is in propor-

tion to the extent or value of his service; but the competitive principle accords to each individual the right to all he can lawfully get without any direct relation to the service and to absolute ownership as against the social organization of all that he can so acquire.

This highly individualistic principle was a product of the rationalistic thinking of the period following the Reformation and during the Revolutionary activities of the seventeenth century. It was, therefore, brought by the colonists to America, where it has reached its highest stage of development. Some of its natural operations are to be seen in the treatment of the Indians and the seizure of their lands; in the destruction of the forest and other public resources for private gain; in the somewhat reckless granting of colonial lands and later of the public domain, with mineral and other rights, resulting, when these sources of wealth were afterwards discovered, in the creation of enormous fortunes, not as rewards for any service to the social organization, but as results of the fortuitous circumstances of ownership; in the realization of large fortunes through the mere ownership of lands in rapidly growing communities, where increased values were created by community effort and growth, and not through any effort or as a result of any service of the owner.

With the development of commerce and of means of transportation and communication the ideal of individual competitive effort was forced to yield to the social principle of cooperation; but this was done not primarily in the interest of the social organization but of private interests. As a means to this end corporations were created as agencies of cooperative effort. These agencies and the control which they exercise have grown to nation-wide and even world-wide extent. By virtue of their size and power and of complicated financial interrelations, they tend in large degree to eliminate effective competition as a source of protection to the consumer. They have operated to separate ownership from the power and responsibilities of management in violation of sound principles of social organization. By their size, impersonal character, and measures of economy, they have to a large extent eliminated personal relations, and ef-

fectually dehumanized industry; provided in many instances large reserves for the protection of ownership and little if any for the benefit of those who labor; and by an overemphasis of economic instead of human considerations have seriously impaired the social and economic security of the individual which is essential to human contentment and happiness. In defense of the "sacred right of property" they have frequently used their immense financial powers and influence to control or to debauch the agencies of government, thus undermining the foundations of all security not only to persons but to property itself.

This brief summary of some of the more obvious results of this system, of the ownership of property free from definite personal obligations, when carried to the extremes which now prevail in America, is sufficient to demonstrate some of its dangers and the natural reactions upon the attitudes of the people with respect to government and law.

It may be observed that the remedies for these conditions are not to be found in ill-considered laws which aggravate the trouble without removing the causes, or in destructive action or in swinging to the other extremes. They must be found in gradual and constructive changes in social and economic concepts and in the adjustment of social and economic practices to these concepts; in recognition of the principle that the ownership of property and the enjoyment of its benefits carry with them proportionate duties and obligations; that there is no real conflict of interests between the individual and society, but that these interests are interrelated, founded upon their mutual duties of service and protection, and subject to constant readjustment; that the compensations and rewards of private resources and efforts must have some proper relation to the extent or value of the service rendered to society, or to those of whom it is composed; that there shall be a just apportionment on this basis of the products or rewards of industry among those by whose resources and efforts they are produced; and that industry shall make adequate provision for the economic security of those engaged in its service, not only as a matter of individual justice, but as an essential safeguard of social

order and progress. Those who complain of the extension of government control over and regulation of individual social and economic activity might well recognize that to the extent that individuals and private organizations fail to show their capacity for self-control through respect for the rights of others and the discharge of their duties and obligations to society, to that extent the social organization, acting through the agencies of government, must and will step in and exercise social and economic control if human society is to endure.

By due regard to these elementary social principles and discharge of these essential social duties and obligations all that is valuable in the present economic system may be preserved, and its evils may be in large measure eliminated. But the prevailing conditions and tendencies with the increasing strain and stress which result therefrom, can not fail to affect adversely the attitudes of the people toward government and law.

#### 4. THE GENERAL RESULTS OF THESE PRINCIPLES AND CONDITIONS

It thus appears that in the midst of bewildering social and economic changes, which admit of little time or opportunity for adjustment, the American people are living under the most complex and rigid governmental and legal system of which western civilization furnishes any record.

They have local organizations within the several States, many of which were formed under and adapted to social conditions long past, with local laws and practices, some of which belong to another age.<sup>5</sup> They have State governments in 48 States in varying stages of social and economic development, each with innumerable and often conflicting laws, with governmental organizations and practices often based upon theories which belong to the past, and bound by concepts and constitutional limitations born of the revolutionary or antisocial conditions of the seventeenth century in England and the pioneer age of America.

<sup>5</sup>As an illustration, there are several States in which the turnkey's fee established in the days of Elizabeth still prevails. Other similar anachronisms are common.

Over all of this they have the National Government, with its highly complex organization and institutions, with its constantly growing body of laws and agencies, and its capacity for readjustment to changing conditions subject to the rigid restraints of constitutional amendments based upon the social concepts of the seventeenth century.

Under modern conditions, an individual may be forced to adjust himself to many different systems of law in one day, and to do business constantly under varied and often conflicting systems of State laws or of local regulations within the same State.

Superimposed upon this complex, rigid and unbalanced social and political structure, with its varied and conflicting laws, ideals, and interests, and numerous racial elements, they have what is perhaps the most highly organized economic system in the world, which in turn is based upon an extreme development of the seventeenth century competitive principle of private rights of property without corresponding social duties and obligations.

It can not be a source of surprise that these conditions produce among even the most social and law-abiding elements of the people an attitude of bewilderment as to the law, and hopelessness as to government; among the less law-abiding an attitude of antagonism to law, and contempt for government; and a reckless disregard of social and legal restraints among youth who are least controlled by habit, or influenced by social routine. It is equally true that these complex and confused conditions, arising in large measure from the causes which have been reviewed, when few, if any, know what the law really is, afford opportunities for evasion of the law by the lawless, and the lawless enforcement of the law by officials; for favoritism and discrimination; and sometimes for the use of the law as an instrument of oppression and blackmail; all of which tends progressively to break down the law and to undermine confidence in and respect for its agencies.

Offsetting the many admirable qualities and achievements of American civilization are certain general facts of which the student of present social conditions must take cogni-

zance. The American people acquired in its virgin state what is in many respects the most favored and fruitful area of the world's surface. They have existed as an independent people for only the short period of 150 years. Within this time they have destroyed the original occupants of the soil or driven them from their lands with little regard for their rights. They have converted substantially all of this great area, with its immense natural resources, from public into private ownership. They have exploited these resources for private gain to an extent which, in some instances at least, already threatens exhaustion. They have created the widest spread between the extremes of wealth and poverty existing in the western world. They have developed degrading slums in the cities, and ignorant underprivileged areas in the rural districts which stand as menaces to social health and dangers to social order. They have conquered many of the forces of nature and made them the servants of man, but have so organized and developed their industrial system that it tends to make of man himself a cog in a relentless machine, without the inspiration of personal achievement, or the contentment which springs from social and economic security. They have created the largest body of laws and the most complex system of government now in existence as restraints and controls upon individual and social conduct, but every stage in their development has been characterized by a large and ever increasing degree of lawlessness and crime. They have engaged in at least one war in every generation. *No candid investigation can ignore these facts, or the conclusions which they naturally suggest.*

The psychological basis of the limitations and restraints imposed upon our social, political and economic institutions, which have so vexed and unbalanced their development, has been and is fear—the most devastating of all influences upon individual or social progress. The social and political concepts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which have so largely affected our institutions were born of the fear of political or religious oppression. The pioneer attitudes were responses to the fear of social and economic control. The debates of the several conventions clearly show that the rigid

constitutional limitations imposed upon our legal and political organizations, which have made difficult their adjustment to changing conditions, were due to fear of the people; while those who dominate our economic, and sometimes our political, life are thrown into a panic of fear at any suggestion or indication of reasonably free popular action. Even the people are so afraid of themselves that they place their most intimate social affairs under the control of laws which they then resent, and their personal morals into the keeping of the police. *Human experience demonstrates that they who are subject to fear may not know freedom, for fear is the mother of repression and repression is the breeding ground of lawlessness and crime.*

The operations of the principles and factors which have been outlined are to be seen in every phase of our social, political, legal and economic systems. At every point there is an overemphasis of the negative concept of individual or local rights, and a corresponding disregard of the affirmative social principle of duties; a reliance upon restrictive and prohibitive laws instead of the development of that confidence and self-control which are the bases of any system of free popular government; the existence of rigid constitutional and legal limitations upon every phase of social action with corresponding restraints upon the necessary readjustments to the rapid changes in social and economic life; the tendency to substitute fear for faith, of legal repression for reasonable social freedom. As the human being of to-day could not be comfortable or discharge the functions of modern life if clothed in the steel armour of the Middle Ages, so the social organization can not be effective or expand to meet changing social needs when bound by the rigid limitations of outgrown concepts or unnecessary and conflicting laws. These things inevitably produce social discomfort, unrest and irritation, which find their natural expression in disrespect for government and disregard for law. In the operation of these principles and limitations, and in the resulting conditions must be found the more general and fundamental causes for the growing menace of lawlessness and crime in America.

## II. FACTORS AFFECTING THE ATTITUDES AND CONDUCT OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN HIS RELATION TO THE COMMUNITY<sup>6</sup>

Having considered the more general factors of community organizations in their relation to the attitudes and conduct of the members of the social organization as a whole toward government and law, it becomes necessary to examine some of the more personal factors by which the attitudes and conduct of the individual in his relations to society may be influenced or controlled.

Human life involves a constant process of adjustment of individual personality to the everchanging elements of environment. When it is considered that each individual personality varies from every other; that no two environments are identical in all particulars; that the factors of both personality and environment are constantly changing as to each individual and are subject to widely varying influences, the complexity of the problem is manifest. The difficulties inherent in the nature of the subject are increased by the prevailing tendency toward specialization in study. This naturally results in an overemphasis upon the particular aspect of personality or environment under investigation and a disposition to relate all observed phenomena to one particular source to the practical exclusion of other factors. Human personality is too complex, the characteristics of the individuals composing the social organization are too varied, and the influences of different environments too far-reaching, to permit of arbitrary classification or the assignment of human conduct to any one factor. It is only possible to take the factors of human personality so far as they are known and by relating them to the elements of environment, so far as these can be ascertained, and observing the resulting reactions upon social attitudes and conduct, that we may hope to arrive at conclusions of value as to the controlling influences in the shaping of individual action.

<sup>6</sup> For the information and data upon which this section of this report is largely based, as well as detailed discussion thereof, with citations of authorities, reference is made to the several research reports printed herewith.

### 1. FACTORS OF PERSONALITY AS AFFECTING INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDES AND CONDUCT

It is probably true that in no essential line of scientific investigation has less definite progress been made than in the study of man himself. This is due to many causes: To the inherent difficulties of the subject, the influence of traditions and superstitions, the attraction of more material aspects of human endeavor, and other circumstances which have tended to divert attention into other lines of inquiry. But it is now being realized that the solution of many of the problems of an increasingly complex social and economic life, and the intelligent use and application of knowledge acquired, demands a more complete and accurate knowledge of man himself and of the factors of personality which control his reactions to various influences and conditions. This is especially true with respect to abnormal or criminal conduct.

Such an inquiry to be of value requires not only a study of each of the various factors of human personality, but an understanding of their relations to each other in the order of their importance and in the light of their reactions, to the end that the individual may be seen not as a sum of numerous segregated parts but as an integrated whole, a vital organism with all its parts reacting to each other and to the various forces of the environment in which it exists.

The following tentative outline of the sciences which might make a contribution to an understanding of the problem of human behavior, prepared some years since by Dr. Herman M. Adler and furnished to the commission by the Behavior Research Fund of Chicago, may give some idea of the numerous factors involved in and the far-reaching character of such an inquiry:

*Tentative outline of sciences involved in the scientific study of human behavior—*

#### a. Mental:

##### Psychology—

Comparative psychology.  
Abnormal psychology.  
Educational psychology.  
Vocational psychology.  
Psychometrics.

##### Psychiatry—

Clinical psychiatry.  
Psychopathology.  
Psychotherapeutics.

#### b. Physical:

##### Physiology—

Biochemistry-biophysics.  
Endocrinology.  
Nerve physiology.  
Heredity.  
Anthropometry.

##### Medicine—

Pathology.  
Clinical medicine.  
Neurology.  
Pediatrics.  
Orthopedics.

##### Human ecology—

Cultural anthropology.  
Sociology.  
History and government.  
Economics.

#### c. Social:

##### Social treatment—

Law.  
Pedagogy.  
Social work.

#### d. General:

##### Statistics—

Biometry.  
Statistical tabulations.

Strong claims have been advanced for the view that most criminals can be distinguished from law-abiding persons by virtue of certain physical, chemical, or mental abnormalities, and that criminal action may be attributed directly to these conditions as controlling factors.

Modern attempts to thus differentiate the criminal from the noncriminal by something other than the criminal act begins with Lombroso in 1876. A determinist himself, working at a time when his fellow Italian thinkers were attacking the philosophy of the freedom of the will, Lombroso developed the theory of the born criminal recognizable by certain physical stigmata and predestined to commit crime. He ascribed these abnormalities to arrested embryological development, which in turn was due to two causes—to atavism, the reappearance of characteristics present in man in the early stages of evolution; and to degeneration and diseased conditions of the human organism. It was claimed that these individuals were characterized by a complete lack of higher feelings and sense; that they were highly impulsive, cruel, and insensitive to the suffering of their victims. Persons of this class were also claimed to be marked by a high degree of vanity and by an exaggerated sense of their own importance.

For a time the views of Lombroso obtained a large following. But this view has been challenged by other investigators, such as Baer in Germany and Goring in England, who have shown the existence of similar physical stigmata in a considerable proportion of persons who did not commit crimes. The extreme theory of Lombroso as to the born criminal type is no longer accepted.

A more recent attempt at a physical differentiation of the criminal from the law-abiding individual and consequent explanation of his behavior is based upon the functioning of the endocrine or ductless glands. It is claimed by endocrinologists that the glands of internal secretion determine the physical features of the individual, and are the real governors and arbiters of instincts and dispositions, emotions and reactions, character and temperament. Just as certain patterns in the body are said to be formed by a particular

arrangement or functioning of the ductless glands, so it is suggested, the mind receives its pattern from the same sources. Thus a man's nature is chemically his endocrine nature. The investigations of endocrinologists, which are reviewed in detail in Mr. Ploscowe's report attached hereto, are proving highly illuminating as to the biochemical bases of behavior, and seem to present possibilities of important future developments. But the science of endocrinology is young and knowledge upon the subject is limited. In the present state of this knowledge it does not furnish any satisfactory basis for a classification of individuals as definitely criminal or noncriminal.

Probably no theory of differentiation of the criminal from the law-abiding citizen has a wider acceptance, in this country at least, than that based on mental deviation. Efforts to determine the intelligence of large numbers of inmates of penal and correctional institutions with various kinds of tests resulted in a diagnosis of feeble-mindedness for a large but varying percentage of the criminals. The claim was therefore made that defective intelligence lay at the root of the crime problem. The inadequacy of some of these tests, and of the methods employed is generally recognized. How radically these estimates as to the effect of feeble-mindedness upon crime have to be scaled down by similar tests of noncriminals, greater perfection of the method of devising and giving the tests, and the more critical evaluation of the results is shown in detail in Chapter III of the report of Mr. Ploscowe.

The psychiatrists have also advanced claims of differentiation of the criminal from the noncriminal type. They have examined inmates of institutions, especially in connection with the surveys in many States under the auspices of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, and have found, in addition to large numbers of mentally deficient persons, significant percentages suffering from other kinds of mental abnormality. On the basis of evidence of this character, it has frequently been asserted that one-half of the criminal population are subject to mental abnormalities. The psychiatrists, however, seem to shift emphasis from one type of

mental abnormality to another; that is, from mentally deficient to mentally diseased. The crux of the claim is the manner in which the diagnosis of the mental disease is reached. It appears that so responsible an authority as the American Medical Association states that the behavior shown by persons who follow a career of crime may be labeled mental disease, even when the criminal has shown no evidence of mental disease other than his criminal behavior. This view assumes that mental disease is a cause of crime and seeks to prove the assumption by the claim that crime is an evidence of mental disease. This clearly offers no insight as to causation. Psychiatrists have particularly emphasized the criminality of the psychopath, but not only is a psychopath a vaguely differentiated criminal type but one of the elements entering into the diagnosis of psychopathy is the fact of criminal behavior.

There are undoubtedly many cases of criminality arising out of pathology, either physical, chemical or mental, and the researches into the mechanism of these cases are of great importance. Apart from the question of pathology, the importance of the contribution of medical science and of psychology and psychiatry in stressing the rôle of the personality of the individual in criminal investigation can not be overestimated.

While the claims of a distinct criminal type do not seem to be established, it does not follow that the factors of inheritance and of personality do not play an important part in connection with the influences of environment in determining social attitudes which are reflected in human conduct in its relation to the law.<sup>7</sup>

The existence of physical deficiencies or abnormalities such as those cited by Lombroso, while not appearing to furnish a sound basis for the classification of definite criminal or noncriminal types, may be important factors in the development of individual attitudes which under the stress of environment may be reflected in conduct. These abnormalities may be evidence of other and more fundamental

<sup>7</sup> For an unusually interesting discussion of factors of inheritance and personality and their influences upon human conduct see "The Biological Basis of Human Nature" by Prof. H. T. Termings, of Johns Hopkins University.

weakness or unbalance in the persons in whom they are found. They may operate to create a sense of inferiority, often subconscious, which may find compensation in attitudes of antagonism to society or prejudice, which under influence of environment favorable for their development, lead to criminal acts. They may tend either directly or indirectly to weaken powers of resistance or control and thus increase the probability that persons suffering from these limitations will become criminal. But this will not necessarily be the result. Under favorable environment such a person may be a law-abiding citizen, but he will probably be less able to withstand the strain of social or economic life and of adverse environmental conditions than one not subject to these deficiencies.

The same is true as to the influence of the endocrine glands upon human conduct, legal or illegal. Medical science regards these glands as organs for the control of the chemical processes of the human body. The human being as a living organism is a transformer of energy which finds outlets or is consumed in physical, mental, or emotional action. This energy is generated through chemical processes by the consumption or transformation of products supplied to the body. If, therefore, these processes of generation or control are deficient or unbalanced the attitudes and conduct of the individual must of necessity be powerfully affected thereby. Any individual can test the accuracy of this view by the simple expedient of comparing his own physical energy, emotional and mental attitudes, as well as his powers of resistance to the influences of environment, when he is ill or his chemical functions are out of order, to those when he is in good condition. The science of endocrinology is in its infancy, but what is known of the effects of glandular deficiencies or unbalance and the studies which have been made as to the influence of these factors upon personal and criminal conduct go far to demonstrate the importance of these factors in the direct or indirect causation of crime. This does not mean that these factors are in themselves, and standing alone, necessarily a cause of crime. It does appear, however, that personality conditions and attitudes may result

therefrom which when subjected to social or economic strain or stress tend to induce, or may lead to, criminal action.

What has been said as to physical and emotional factors also applies to mental. Human mentality ranges from the substantially perfect mind to complete imbecility. The variations in the scale between these extremes are almost infinite, and the line of demarcation between responsible and irresponsible mentality is difficult to draw. It may vary as to the same individual at different times and under different conditions. Since the mind is the force by which emotional urges are to some extent controlled, it necessarily plays a large part in the direction and control of human conduct. A weak mentality yields more readily to the influences of suggestion or environment than one which is strong. It is less able to withstand the stress and strain of a social and economic life and to make the necessary adjustments. Its indirect effect is generally to develop a sense of inferiority, which often finds its compensations in efforts to establish leadership in abnormal or antisocial activities.

While mental deficiency by reducing the power of control and impairing the capacity of the individual to resist or withstand the strain of social and economic life, or of emotional urges and by developing antisocial attitudes, increases the probability that the individual will commit criminal acts when subjected to adverse conditions, yet there are too many people of low mentality who are not criminal, and too many of strong mentality who are, to permit of any definite classification as to criminality on the basis of mentality alone. It can only be considered as one of the more important factors of individual personality as influencing human action and conduct.

It seems clear that these and other factors of personality are of immense importance in their relation to the crime problem and must be carefully studied in order to understand the cause of crime, as well as the proper methods of prevention or treatment both generally and in each individual case, yet no single factor of personality, nor all of them together can generally be assigned as the direct or

controlling cause of crime. These forces and their influences upon attitude and conduct must be examined in their proper relations to each other and to the influences of the environment of the individual and of the conditions within the social and economic organization to which he belongs. Human conduct, normal or abnormal, is socially conditioned. The one fact that emerges clearly from our studies of this problem is that the major responsibility for crime is a social, as distinguished from an individual, responsibility.

## 2. FACTORS OF ENVIRONMENT AS AFFECTING INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDES AND CONDUCT

In human life the processes of adjustment of the individual personality to environment begins before birth and continues during every moment until death.<sup>8</sup> While all of the primary potentialities of the individual may be derived from his parents through inheritance, the question as to which of these potentialities shall become actual or dominant in life seems to depend upon a long series of reactions to successive environmental influences. There also seems to be a definite relation between the age of an individual and his powers of self-control or his reactions to the stimuli of environment. This is particularly manifest as to criminal activity. It seems to be established that as to habitual as distinguished from occasional offenders, the habits of delinquency or tendencies toward antisocial conduct generally begin in childhood, youth, or adolescence. The curve of frequency of delinquency or crime, as indicated by the percentage of delinquents to the total population, seems to rise rapidly from the age of puberty or early adolescence, to around the age of 25. The time to deal effectively with the problem of prevention of crime is clearly in the period of youth.

The study of the effects of factors of environment upon conduct, and as causative factors in crime, must therefore begin with childhood. As to this aspect of the problem the commission is fortunate in having a critical analysis of the

<sup>8</sup> An interesting discussion of the problem of adjustment may be found in a letter from Dr. Lewellys F. Barker to the commission dated Jan. 14, 1930.

more authoritative literature on the subject, and of the conclusions to be drawn therefrom, in Chapter IV of Mr. Ploscowe's report; and an original research report by Messrs. Shaw and McKay on Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency, printed as Volume II of this report, which is certainly one of the most comprehensive and illuminating investigations which has yet been made.

Taken together, these reports present a picture of a progressive breakdown in the social functions of the principal agencies by which the behavior of the child must inevitably be influenced—the family, the community, and the play group. If it is granted, for the moment—what is by no means always true—that the standards of behavior of the adult members are socially acceptable, the family influence upon the children may be weakened by certain objective disadvantages such as poor economic status and poor housing, by such personal misfortune as the loss or absence of one or both parents, by more intangible influences within the home, such as discord between parents or an unfortunate attitude on their part toward the children; or by conflicts with attitudes and values in the surrounding community. The Shaw and McKay study indicates that the influence of the broken home has been overestimated as a contributory factor in crime, that its positive influence toward criminality is not as great as other studies had suggested. Here again is a case where the individual personality of the offender must be kept in mind. It may be true that statistically the broken home occurs almost as frequently among nondelinquents as among delinquents. But unfortunate conditions and discord within the home may be quite as disastrous upon the child as a broken home. Criminality may be the child's reaction to an unsatisfactory family situation, whether it arises from a broken home or from other causes.

Of the significant relationships within the family, the way in which its failure to satisfy the normal desires of a child may lead him to seek and find satisfaction elsewhere and in ways inimical to the formation of conventional habits of thought and modes of action, is presented quite clearly in the case study which is Chapter X of the Shaw and McKay

report. There can be no doubt of the importance of the family situation from the point of view of delinquency. Such investigators as Dr. William Healy and Dr. Augusta Bronner, and Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck, note that delinquents seem to be particularly handicapped in their family relationships. There is much support for the view that the characteristics and tendencies which are manifested in the later life of the individual are established at an early stage in childhood. The home is therefore a vital agency in the formation of those factors in personality and outlook which go far to determine the patterns of future conduct. It is believed that if the importance of this period was fully appreciated; if society as a measure of protection provided and insisted upon such medical or other attention to the child from its birth as would reasonably insure the detection of physical, emotional, and mental deficiency or unbalance, and the causes therefor, and would see that appropriate remedies were applied at a time when these conditions could in large degree be corrected, a long step would have been taken in the prevention of crime, to say nothing of the salvage of human material and of happiness which would result from such action.

There is much discussion of the breakdown of the home in modern life and its effects upon social conduct. This decrease of home influence seems to be an inevitable consequence of the change from a local and parochial society to the more complex conditions of modern social organization. Under conditions of rural life which prevailed in large measure in America even within the memory of the present generation, with the comparatively primitive means of transportation and communication, the home was the center of the social life and activity of the family until the children grew to maturity. In this quasi patriarchal condition the social interests of the parents of necessity centered in each other and in the family life, while the attitudes of respect for the authority of the parent which these conditions of localized mutual interests tended to induce, afterwards found its expression in respect for the authority of government and law. The life of America has now become dominantly

urban, and with the introduction of modern means of transportation and communication, country life in its true sense has substantially disappeared. The social interests of both parents and children are now to an increasing extent outside of the home. The modern agencies of transportation and communication have suddenly enlarged the social possibilities and contacts, with the resulting influences and potentialities to an amazing degree. With the readjustments in outlook and environment which these conditions make necessary, the home is often no longer an effective center of social interests or activities, and its influence upon family life in all its relations is correspondingly impaired.

These conditions are the inevitable results of social and economic development, of the intellectual and social expansion which results therefrom. But as the influence and social control of the home is decreased that of the social organization must be expanded to meet the deficiency. If social organization is to exist there must be no hiatus between the agencies by which discipline and reasonable control are to be effected. Instead of deploring the breakdown of the home, it would seem that the inevitable nature of these developments should be recognized; that the social organization should anticipate these conditions and progressively assume the responsibilities which they entail, and should seek by proper social action to substitute other influences which would reduce to a minimum the dangers, and direct to beneficent ends the influences, which inevitably result from rapid and fundamental social and economic change.<sup>9</sup>

If the first important influence upon the child's behavior is the family, the family itself can not be considered in isolation from the community. Attitudes and actions of the older members of the family have some relation to those prevailing in the community. If the family attitudes and values are opposed to those existing in the community and if the family does not have a sufficiently strong hold upon

<sup>9</sup> In this discussion no specific reference to the factor of religious training and influence is made. This omission is not due to any want of appreciation of its importance but to the fact that it is outside of governmental cognizance or control.

the child to create a similar opposition in the child, as soon as the child himself feels the direct contact of the community through his neighbors and his playmates, he is forced to make decisive choices as to conduct. This results in confusion and conflicting patterns of behavior during the period in which social attitudes are developed. If the attitudes existing in the community were always socially acceptable, the situation would be less serious. But in many cases, while the parents realize the needs of and are anxious for the welfare of their children, they frequently are powerless in the face of stronger demoralizing influences from the outside community.

There are unfortunately communities in which antisocial influences and traditions exist to a significant degree. Upon this point the study of Shaw and McKay brings new and more extensive evidence. It is a point which Shaw himself established several years ago in an investigation of Chicago, which Breckenridge and Abbott had suggested previously, and which the New York Crime Commission later confirmed for Manhattan. Various parts of a city do not contribute equally to crime. Areas exist in which the incidence of adult criminality and juvenile delinquency are very high. Shaw and McKay in their investigation for the commission have now definitely ascertained that such areas exist not only in Chicago, but also in Philadelphia, Richmond, Cleveland, Birmingham, Denver and Seattle. Despite the differences in character of these cities, their delinquency areas display similar characteristics—poor housing conditions; shifting and decreasing populations; great poverty and dependence; a marked absence of the home-owning class; a largely foreign population of inferior social status; unwholesome types of recreation; inadequate open-air play facilities. These are characteristics which appear to arise through the operation of fundamental processes of economic growth, and social and industrial change. The responsibility of the social organization for the existence of these conditions is manifest.

Within a structure of such unfavorable external conditions, Shaw and McKay find that certain traditions and in-

fluences develop which either fail to discourage delinquency on the part of the children of the neighborhood or tend actively to promote it. For an extremely able interpretation of how the community influence works in such cases, a careful consideration of Chapter IV of the Shaw and McKay report, *The Spirit of Delinquency Areas*, is recommended.

In the better type of community, with a fairly well settled, homogeneous population, a consistent set of acceptable standards are present to which the child can easily adapt himself. But in the delinquency areas, not only is there no such consistent set of community standards, because of the conflict between racial cultures, and because the constantly shifting population is an obstacle to any stable standards, but there are many influences to make the child discount the value to him of those socially acceptable types of behavior with which he may be in contact. If he compares the rewards of the honest, hard-working elders in such areas, with those of the known or admittedly criminal, as to possession of material enjoyments, prestige, and power, the comparison is almost invariably unfavorable to honesty. There is also more likely to be in these areas an admiration, at least tacit, of the criminal and his exploits in the place of an outright disapproval of criminality. Nor is the impression which the youngster in these areas sometimes acquires that the processes of government and justice may be corruptly influenced, likely to strengthen his respect for or desire to emulate the conventional members of society. He develops, therefore, no inner repugnance to illegal activity, especially since he frequently decides that crime is the only chance he has of attaining the material rewards of life.

While our study of similar environmental conditions in rural areas is not so complete as that of Shaw and McKay with respect to urban communities, yet the report of Dr. Henry W. McLaughlin on *Underprivileged Rural Communities*<sup>10</sup> fully sustains these conclusions as applied to rural communities. The conditions disclosed as to home life and environmental influences in some of these sections

<sup>10</sup> This report is filed with the commission but not printed.

should challenge the thoughtful attention of every American. Aside from the humane aspects of the problem, the existence of these areas of infection in the midst of the highly organized social and industrial life of America into which the human products of these areas are constantly being absorbed can not fail to be especially prejudicial to the interests of law and order.

The findings of Shaw and McKay as to the large percentages of immigrants and Negroes living in the areas of high delinquency are in harmony with the statements contained in the report of Dr. Edith Abbott in a study made for the commission on Crime and Criminal Justice in Relation to the Foreign Born, already submitted with another report, and with those of Ira DeA. Reid in his report on *The Negro's Relation to Law Observance*, submitted as a part of Miss van Kleeck's report herewith. These reports all take note of the fact that the delinquency areas, the underprivileged sections in which even the native is at a disadvantage, are the very areas in which because of the low rents, proximity to industry, and other conditions the immigrant must settle and attempt the difficult adjustment to the social and legal requirements of a strange land. Similar conditions, accentuated in some instances by race discrimination, operate as to the Negro.

It is significant that Shaw and McKay have found that high delinquency rates adhere to the affected urban areas and do not move with shifting racial groups. On this point they say:

The relative rates of delinquents in these high-rate areas remained more or less constant over a period of 20 years; the nationality composition of the population changed almost completely in this interval. As the older national groups moved out of these areas of first immigrant settlement, the percentage of juvenile delinquents in these groups showed a consistent decrease.

Here we find additional evidence to support the conclusion that in general delinquency results not from any racial disposition toward crime but from the influence of the social environment.

An instrument for perpetuating and transmitting the demoralizing tendencies of the delinquency area is the boy's

gang. From the reports above referred to, the gang appears as engaging in delinquent activities itself, setting up as its idols professional criminals, and as its enemies the police; offering the boy of the area what is frequently the only available, and often the most attractive, means of satisfying his normal desire for play, for adventure, for friendship, for recognition of his prowess. Shaw and McKay hold the gang responsible for initiating and promoting delinquent behavior:

It is clear from the study of case histories that very frequently the boy's contact with the play group or gang marks the beginning of his career in delinquency. These groups with their fund of delinquent traditions and knowledge often become the chief source from which the boy gains familiarity with delinquent practices and acquires the techniques that are essential in delinquency.

The school is second only to the home in its influence upon the child and in the development of the social attitudes. General public education is essential in America in order to prepare the individual for the most elementary duties of citizenship and for the requirements of modern social and economic life. But, like all advantageous institutions, it also has its elements of danger which must not be ignored.

The child is sent to school at its most impressionable age, when the mind and emotions are in their early stages of inquiry and adjustment, when the appeal of adventure is strong, when the standards of social conduct have not been established, and the inhibitions or powers of resistance to suggestion or objective appeal are undeveloped. In these circumstances he is put under the discipline and guidance of teachers to whom his personal disposition and problems are unknown and often a matter of no interest, so long as he outwardly conforms to the rules. Thus at a time when his untrained nature is reaching out for sympathy, when emotional impulses are demanding expression, when he most needs understanding and sympathetic guidance, he is given rules to observe, and the dry fodder of a fixed curriculum of instruction upon which to feed his mental and emotional nature. The dangers of this situation are greatly accentuated by the modern system of enormous schools with classes so large that the teachers hardly know the names of the

pupils, yet engage in the effort to standardize the personalities and minds of this mass of living human beings. It is not unnatural that children subjected to such conditions sometimes turn for relief to delinquent acts or community gangs and to the demoralizing leadership of the most outstanding truants and delinquents among their school associates. If the difficult experiment of general public education is to succeed, if the school is to supplement the home in the training of youth, as it is doing to an increasing degree, then it seems essential that means be devised by which more attention may be given to the training of the individual with some regard to his personal qualities and needs, to the understanding and the intelligent improvement and direction of factors of individual personality, and to the choice of associations and social contacts. The effort to compress all human beings into the one standard mold of the average never has been and, it is hoped, never will be successful; but the potentialities of efforts to that end for harm to the individual and the community are beyond measure. With all the advantages of popular education, there are many indications that no inconsiderable portion of modern criminal activity may be traced to associations made, and attitudes developed, in school life.

Social responsibility for the conditions mentioned, which are developed more in detail in the appended reports, is obvious, but that responsibility is even greater if the institutions which the community establishes for the correction and reform of child delinquents either fail of their purpose or actually contribute to further demoralization. At the outset of any criticism of juvenile and reformatory institutions, the extreme difficulty of the problems with which they are called upon to deal must be granted. Among the inmates are children and adolescents whose behavior all other constructive social agencies have failed to direct into socially acceptable channels. The wisest officials, the most enlightened methods, would be necessary to bring about a change in them. But the science of redirecting human behavior is none too well developed, and the personnel of institutions are too frequently unaware of the few rudimentary principles which have been established. It is

therefore not surprising that the institution frequently fails in its mission; and the boy returns to the community from which he came, to the same gang, and to the same activities.

Even more significant than the failure to effect any positive changes for the better in many inmates is the evidence, in some instances, of a sheer subversion of the aims for which these institutions are maintained. A hostile attitude toward institution officials, a feeling of loyalty to the other inmates, and the not unnatural preoccupation with the one common interest the boys had before coming to the institution, that of crime, combine to strengthen already existing criminal tendencies. The actual transmission of criminal techniques from the more experienced delinquents to the less experienced often turns the institution, according to competent observers, into a mere school of crime. *It is evident that there is room for a thorough reexamination of the methods and aims of institutional and correctional treatment.* That they are failing is amply demonstrated by the figures from the study by the Gluecks which Mr. Ploscowe quotes. A large percentage of prisoners in the Massachusetts State Reformatory, whom the Gluecks studied, had served sentences in institutions before the age of 18, and about 80 per cent of them again committed criminal acts after leaving the Massachusetts reformatory.

In addition to the appended reports, a full discussion of this difficult problem of institutional treatment is to be found in the report of this commission on Penal Institutions, Probation and Parole, and in the report on The Child Offender in the Federal System of Justice containing an admirable study by Dr. Miriam Van Waters. All of these reports and the data therein contained seem to emphasize again the truth so often demonstrated in history that human conduct can not be successfully controlled or corrected by repressive measures; that the ultimate remedy lies in prevention through the removal of causes rather than in efforts at cure.

From the accompanying reports emerges a conception of the professional criminal as the product of a long series of demoralizing influences and experiences. These have given

him certain attitudes and modes of regarding his own life and his activities which make his criminal conduct as normal as that of the law-abiding individual who has been subjected to a different set of influences. It is the professional criminal who constitutes the major problem of criminality. Neither the occasional criminal who succumbs to temptation nor the criminal from passion is so serious a cause of concern. Crime here is but an occasional episode in the life of these individuals. But the professional criminal makes of crime a mode of livelihood and a way of life, and is therefore a continual menace to the community and a source of contagion for its younger members.

In the studies Work and Law Observance by Miss van Kleck and her associates, and in Chapter V of Mr. Ploscowe's report vital relationships between economic conditions and crime are discussed. In the light of the evidence there presented it appears to be definitely established that the volume of crimes against property increases in periods of business depression. Dr. Winslow's sound analysis of The Relationships Between Employment and Crime Fluctuations as Shown by Massachusetts Statistics, brings proof for this contention from a study of conditions in one of the great industrial States. Her inquiry leads her to the following conclusion:

Unemployment is revealed as an important causative factor in vagrancy and in crimes against property. Its influence upon other offenses, however, is comparatively slight and but occasionally seen. Other causes than the ebb and flow of the business tide must therefore be sought for the explanation of these crimes. But the relative importance of offenses against property in the total of criminality is such as to establish industrial stabilization as a significant element in any program of crime prevention. The conclusion seems inescapable that the assurance of economic security might be expected to bring with it an appreciable reduction in the volume of crime.

Mr. Ploscowe's review of researches, made both here and abroad, further supports the view that crimes against property increase during periods of industrial depression. This increase probably is due to a growth in the numbers of first offenders. That conclusion is supported by the evidence obtained in Germany and Austria during the

serious economic crises in those countries immediately following the war. The initial offenses arising possibly out of need, may, in view of the demoralizing effects of prison experience, become merely the first in a long and increasingly serious line of delinquencies.

Miss van Kleeck's examination of the records of Sing Sing Prison has led her to the conclusion that "the ranks of the unemployed yield more material in proportion to their numbers for penal institutions than do the ranks of the employed." Her study of the cases of 300 inmates of this institution has convinced her that while the majority of them possess talents which might make them useful employees, the occupational opportunities afforded them by their environment have been unfavorable or mediocre. These findings establish the significance for crime prevention of proper employment placement for probationers and parolees; the development of an adequate system of public employment offices and the provision of reserve funds in industry to carry employees through periods of depression. With Miss van Kleeck's conclusions on this score I am in thorough accord.

There are many other social influences that should be considered in a study and proper integration of environmental factors in the causation of crime. The unwieldy organization, inefficient methods, and antiquated procedure of many of the agencies of law enforcement have been discussed in Part I hereof and in other reports of the commission. It seems certain that these shortcomings must operate to encourage the professional criminal to continue in his lawless career, and affect adversely the attitude of the individual toward law and its agencies. Collusion between organized lawbreakers and public officials, where it exists, is one of the most potent influences in destroying confidence in the law and its administration, stimulates criminal activity, and appreciably enhances the volume of crime. Statistical studies of these aspects of the problem have not been found possible by this commission. Such evidences as there are have grown out of legislative investigations and criminal prosecutions. This literature, in so far as it is trustworthy, is discussed by Mr. Ploscowe in Chapter VI of his report.

The extent of political corruption is not known. Its influence as a cause of crime can not therefore be definitely measured. That it is an appreciable factor contributing to this end there can be little doubt.

The very thorough and complete studies presented in the appended reports, generally confined to specific areas or to a limited number of persons, confirm conclusions which would seem to flow naturally from a consideration of the general factors in our social and economic life. Some of these factors have been discussed in Part I of this report in their relation to the attitudes of the community as a whole, but they can not be too strongly emphasized in their relation to the individual as well as to the community.

In the last 30 years bewildering changes have been taking place in the methods of transportation and communication in the United States. The introduction and general use of the automobile has emancipated the individual from the influences not only of the home but of the local community. The motion picture has brought, in most realistic form, the influences of romantic adventure, and even crime itself, and of other world-wide interests, into direct contact with substantially every individual life. These and other similar factors in modern social organization have extended to an enormous degree the potentialities of the individual as well as his social and economic contacts, and have thus increased to an almost inconceivable extent the complexities of social and economic relations.

The organization of economic life into large corporate units, in which the management is generally separate from ownership and those actively engaged in the business from the highest to the lowest hold their positions at the will of persons to whom they are often unknown, and subject to the hazards of constant mergers and consolidations, has tended to eliminate the beneficent influence of personal contact and association which prevailed in smaller units and to deprive the individual of that security which is essential to his social well-being. These conditions of economic insecurity have been further increased by the constant introduction of new mechanical appliances and inventions in substitution for

personal effort. The immense industrial organizations of modern life in combination with mechanical appliances have tended to make of modern man only an unimportant and almost mechanical unit in the great machines of production and distribution, and have thus deprived him of the inspiration which is derived from individual achievement. However necessary these and other changes may be in the development of our social and industrial life, they have inevitably resulted in mental and emotional confusion and have immeasurably increased the difficulties of individual adjustment to the requirements of social and economic organization.

The time element is an important factor in this connection. In the past social and economic changes have taken place so slowly that they were comparatively imperceptible and gave the human organism time and opportunity for adequate readjustment. But radical changes in social and economic conditions which in the past required generations or even centuries for their accomplishment, are now achieved not only within the lifetime of the individual, but often within a period of a few years or a few months.

The necessity for this almost instantaneous readjustment to radically different conditions, in the face of the mental and emotional stress induced by want of security and uncertainty as to the economic future, can not fail to have a profound influence upon individual attitudes toward the social organization and the government and laws through which that organization finds expression. Most business men realize the terrible effect upon individual morale and social and economic attitudes of being unable to meet financial obligations. How much more devastating must be the effects upon the individual of economic insecurity or loss of that employment for which he is trained; the want of assurance of the ability to care for his family or to educate his children in the years to come; and the complete intellectual and emotional demoralization which flows from the necessity of daily readjustment to radical changes in the life about him and uncertainty as to what may take place in the future. A case cited in the report of Miss van Kleeck of a man educated for one class of work and unable to obtain employment, seeking

positions from time to time in whatever line of endeavor he might find a job, and finally forced by hunger to an act of robbery is but an illustration of thousands of similar cases which permeate our social and economic organization to-day.

It requires no very exhaustive study of these conditions to understand the social unrest and discontent which now prevails, or to appreciate their relation to and influence upon the increase of crime.

### 3. PERSONALITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS COMBINED

The preceding discussion serves to demonstrate the view that no single factor, either of personality or environment, may be generally accepted as a decisive cause of crime.

There are undoubtedly many cases in which some deficiency or unbalance in the physical, emotional or mental personality of the individual has been the direct or decisive influence which induced the criminal act. But in general it seems that the factors of personality and those of environment all contribute to the result; that they must all be studied and properly related to each other in order to understand the sources of human conduct or the causes of a criminal act; that the individual must be considered as an integrated organism, living in and responding to the influences and stimuli of his environment. The weight to be given to these several factors, whether of personality or environment, varies with each individual case and often as to the same individual at different periods in his life. The factors of personality may operate to affect the individual attitude toward the environment, and in their influence upon the individual may so stimulate antisocial impulses, or so weaken resistance to the stimuli of adverse environmental conditions, as to lead to criminal acts. On the other hand, the stress and strain of a demoralizing or unsuitable environment, the inability of the individual to adjust himself to social and economic changes, worry and uneasiness as to the present or future, may all operate to produce conditions of deficiency or unbalance within the individual personality, which in turn lead to criminal attitudes and conduct. It is thus apparent that the

sources of human conduct and the causes of crime can not be understood except by study of the personality of the individual in relation to his environment, not only at the time but before the commission of the offense, and the proper evaluation of these various factors in their relation to the individual attitude and conduct.

It is clear that in the larger sense responsibility for crime rests upon society. Under modern conditions the social organization has taken substantially complete control over the person of the individual and the factors of his environment. It can not assume this power without also assuming the responsibilities which attach thereto. The removal of the individual and environmental factors which tend to induce antisocial attitudes and conduct is a task which society must assume and discharge not only as a duty to the individual but for its own safety and protection. Until other and more effective methods of prevention and control are devised society, as a matter of protection, must continue to segregate, and, if necessary, to punish those who are guilty of violations of its laws. But the history of mankind has demonstrated that this method of treatment, however vigorously it may be employed, will in the end fail to accomplish its aims. It is a significant fact that punishment more or less severe has been employed by the nations of all past civilizations, but has never been effective in the repression or prevention of crime. There is much evidence in history to sustain the view that such measures have often operated to increase the evil. It seems that if the problem is to be solved the attack must be made at the sources of the trouble and the remedy must be found in the removal of the causes. This involves the discovery and removal, so far as possible, of those defects of human personality which produce physical, emotional and mental deficiencies and unbalance, and in the improvement of the social and economic environment so as to make these influences sources of inspiration and satisfaction, instead of discouragement and demoralization. The achievement of these ends requires patient and scientific study, with intelligent and courageous social action, but the results in economic saving, in the prevention of the present

cruel waste of human material and in increased human happiness, will far more than justify the cost. As the introduction of preventive medicine marks the real beginning of medical science, and has already led to astonishing results in the elimination of those conditions of personality and environment which produced illness and diseases, so the intelligent study of the factors of individual personality and environment in their proper relations to each other, and to social attitudes and conduct, may mark the beginning of a real social science, and ultimately lead to the substantial elimination of crime.

A number of special factors in our social and economic life, such as the publicity given to crime in the press and moving pictures, political expenditures and corruption, costs and delays in the administration of the law, and other similar matters have been urged upon the commission as causes of crime. Some of these subjects are dealt with in other reports of the commission. Others are only special aspects of a larger problem. That there are sometimes abuses of the privileges of the press, moving pictures and other educational agencies is obvious, but if we will undertake to deal with the deeper causes of delinquency and crime these occasional abuses may well be left to the influence of public opinion and the increasing sense of social responsibility on the part of those who control and direct these agencies with their immense potentialities for good or for evil. Attention should not be diverted from the deeper and more essential elements, by an overemphasis of these more superficial aspects of the problem.

### III. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Some of the conclusions as to specific aspects of the crime problem are stated in the foregoing discussion or in the appended reports. From a broader view of the whole subject the following general conclusions seem to be justified.

1. The essential elements of the crime problem lie much deeper, and are of more vital importance to the social welfare, than the criminal acts themselves, or the immediate

consequences thereof. Like eruptions on the human body these criminal acts or conditions are symptoms of more fundamental conditions of personal or social deficiency or unbalance which, unless corrected, have led in the past and may lead in future to far-reaching and disastrous consequences.

2. The approach to the study and proper understanding of the crime problem must, therefore, be through an effort to ascertain the factors of personality and environment both individual and general by which human attitudes and conduct in relation to the social organization and the law are influenced and controlled, and the proper integration of these factors in their relation to each other, to the individual, and to the social organization as a whole.

3. The ultimate remedy is to be found not in repressive laws or in efforts to suppress normal physical, emotional, or mental expression; but in the study of the deeper causes for abnormal or antisocial attitudes or conduct; in seeking to remedy or to remove these causes both as to personality and environment, and thus to substitute normal or social for abnormal or criminal attitudes.

4. This requires that the social organization shall assume and discharge the responsibilities which modern conditions impose; that acting through its appropriate agencies it should in justice to the individual and as essential measures of social protection:

(a) Take adequate steps as early as may be practicable in the life of the individual to discover and to remedy or remove, so far as this can be done, conditions of physical, chemical, or mental deficiency or unbalance which tend to produce abnormalities in attitudes and conduct or to impair the capacity of the individual for adjustment under the stress of modern social and economic life.

(b) Take prompt and effective action to remove slums in our cities and underprivileged areas in the rural sections which are clearly shown to be breeding places of delinquency and crime; to so improve the living and environmental conditions as to reduce to a minimum the stress and strain of social and economic adjustment—to make environment a

source of inspiration and encouragement instead of irritation against and antagonism to the social organization. This can not be achieved through charitable effort. Men do not want charity. They do want reasonable opportunities for development through their own efforts under decent living conditions. Modern society must see that these opportunities are afforded or pay the penalties for its neglect.

(c) There should be a thorough and courageous reexamination of the principles and structure of our social, political, legal, and economic systems with a view to their orderly adaptation to the rapidly changing conditions of social, political, and economic life. With this object in view those limitations, constitutional or legal, which are no longer adapted to our social conditions should be removed, and the structure of these organizations should be given the maximum of flexibility consistent with social order. While the difficulties of this task are manifest, yet it is essential to social justice and must be done if the conditions of unrest, of which the general prevalence of crime is but a symptom, are to be relieved and the risks of violent social upheavals which have characterized the development of other nations are to be avoided.

These things can not be done in a day or by the thoughtless enactment of laws which often serve to increase the evil. They can not be achieved by sporadic investigations. They demand thorough, consistent, and scientific study, followed by courageous and constructive social action in the application of the knowledge so acquired. It can hardly be claimed, however, that the human race which has done so much to solve the mysteries of nature and subject its forces to the control of man; which through the employment of scientific research and knowledge has gone so far in the elimination of some of the most terrible diseases which have scourged mankind by the discovery and removal of their causes; can not by similar investigation and intelligent application of knowledge eliminate those deficiencies in human personality and in our social and economic systems which are the essential causes of crime.

As a means to this end it is recommended that there be established in the appropriate department of the Federal

Government, an *Institute of Human Research* under a director who should be a scientist of unquestioned ability, with adequate scientific and other assistance, which institute shall be charged with the following duties, among others:

1. To make thorough and scientific studies and investigations in this and other countries of the factors of human personality and environment in their relations to each other, the influence of these factors upon individual and social attitudes and conduct, with special reference to the crime problem, and to suggest appropriate remedies in the light of these investigations.

2. To coordinate, so far as may be practicable, the work of the various agencies, private and public, now engaged in such studies or undertaking to deal with these problems.

3. To collect, classify, and from time to time to publish and distribute to and through appropriate agencies the information so collected in the form of scientific and authoritative data.

4. When so requested, to advise the State and local agencies dealing with these problems as to any of the various aspects of the subject as to which the institute may have knowledge or experience.

5. The general purpose of the institute should be scientific investigation, the coordination of the studies and efforts of existing agencies, and the dissemination, in simple, but scientific form, of the available knowledge in relation to these questions. It should be confined to study and instruction. Matters of administration or control should be left to other appropriate agencies.

"Nine-tenths of wisdom is in being wise in time; and, if a country lets the time for wise action pass, it may bitterly repent when a generation later it strives under disheartening difficulties to do what could have been done so easily if attempted at the right moment."<sup>11</sup> This expression from a statesman of great foresight and of large human sympathies is fully sustained by the records of history which show one nation after another arising to play its short part in the great drama, seeking to expand its influence by power and to

<sup>11</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, letter to Sir Edward Grey, Nov. 15, 1912.

maintain domestic order by repressive laws, only to crumble in the end as a result of social disease and internal weakness.

The general and increasing prevalence of crime gives adequate warning that America should be "wise in time" in devising effective measures to meet this problem by removing the deeper causes to which it is due. The economic results will more than justify the expenditure and effort, but the results in social security and human happiness will be far more important in their bearing upon the future of American civilization.

HENRY W. ANDERSON.

JUNE 26, 1931.

**SOME CAUSATIVE FACTORS IN  
CRIMINALITY**

**A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LITERATURE  
ON THE CAUSES OF CRIME**

**FOR  
NATIONAL COMMISSION ON  
LAW OBSERVANCE AND  
ENFORCEMENT**

**BY  
MORRIS PLOSCOWE**

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# CHAPTER I

## CRIME AND CAUSATION

### THE CONCEPT OF CRIME

A study of the causes of crime presupposes clear conceptions of the nature of the phenomenon whose causes are sought. Crime is defined legally as any act or omission to act which is prohibited by law and which entails a penalty. Crime from this point of view is but a violation of the will of the State which commands that designated human acts shall not take place and threatens the application of a particular type of statal reaction, the penalty, if the prohibition is ignored.

The legal definition gives no indication of why particular acts are designated crimes; why two such dissimilar acts as parking 35 minutes where a city ordinance makes 30 minutes the limit, and a brutal murder, are both crimes; why it is necessary to prohibit particular types of conduct and prescribe a penalty, why some acts are left to individual action by means of the civil branch of the law, while other acts evoke the application of all the machinery and all the processes of State authority. A sociological study of crime must begin with a concept which provides a basis for answering these questions and for indicating the different significance of various crimes to the social organism.

The value of much criminological writing is impaired either because it proceeds without an accurate concept of "crime," the "criminal," or "the delinquent," or because it gives definitions which are inadequate or misleading. Lombroso, for example, in his *Crime: Its Causes and Remedies*, presents considerable material on the social, physical, and climatic causes of crime without anywhere stating what he means by the concept of crime.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Neither does Havelock Ellis tell us what a criminal is, although he describes at length his physical or psychical anomalies in his book, *The Criminal*. Ernest

Brasol defines "crime as a social phenomenon," as being "a destructive antisocial force, harmfully affecting the individual, society, and the State, or all these elements combined."<sup>2</sup> His statement is too broad, as a breach of contract may fulfill all the requirements laid down by his definition, yet breach of contract is not a crime. Parsons's<sup>3</sup> definition and Gillin's<sup>4</sup> are subject to similar criticisms.

Parmelee's definition is more comprehensive. "A crime is an act forbidden and punished by the law, which is almost always immoral according to the prevailing ethical standard, which is usually harmful to society, which it is ordinarily feasible to repress by penal measures, and whose repression is necessary or is supposed to be necessary to the preservation of the existing social order."<sup>5</sup> He, too, emphasizes the fact that an act to be a crime must be one which injures a social interest. He also points out that the distin-

B. Hoag and Edward H. Williams, in *Crime, Abnormal Minds, and the Law*, confuse violations of established social customs with crimes and call the individuals who commit both abnormal. William Healy, in *The Individual Delinquent*, states (footnote, p. 100): "We can not get away from the feeling, which has grown by our continuous study of cases, that this constant use of the word criminal in a generic sense is one of the most curious features of criminological literature. We might just as well speak in this way of the 'hunter.' All sorts of people are hunters and criminals and they hunt many sorts of creatures and commit many sorts of crimes, and all sorts of reasons are back of their hunting and their committing of crime." But Healy himself has hardly any clear idea of what a delinquent is when one considers that the following offenses are to be found in the list committed by "delinquents" studied in his book: "Group I. Offenses of 1,000 young repeated offenders. (Not only as charged in court but as obtained from the story of parents and others.) a. Of 694 male offenders: Loafing, runaway, sleeping out at night, bad temper, 'flipping' moving trains. b. Of 306 female offenders: Masturbation, lying, bad temper, smoking." (Pp. 140-143.)

A similar criticism may be made of 500 *Criminal Careers*, by Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck. On p. 142 they state that "the reformatory is called upon to rehabilitate a group of men practically every one of whom has already had experience in serious antisocial conduct." Yet are such offenses as drunkenness, vagrancy, and violations of automobile regulations, which constitute a substantial portion of the 1,944 offenses of the men studied and on the basis of which this statement is made, "serious antisocial conduct"?

<sup>2</sup> Boris Brasol, *Elements of Crime*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Phillip A. Parsons, *Crime and the Criminal*, p. 136. "A crime, then, is that action or lack of action which in some way violates not only the moral code or the individual rights but in addition to them or independent of them violates the code which safeguards the interest of the whole social group."

<sup>4</sup> John Lewis Gillin, *Criminology and Penology*, p. 13. Crime "is an act which is *believed* to be socially harmful by a group of people which has the power to enforce its beliefs."

<sup>5</sup> Maurice Parmelee, *Criminology*, p. 32.

guishing element of crime is that it is an act punishable by law. However, the saving words in this definition, "almost always," "usually," "ordinarily" show how difficult it is to write a clear-cut definition of crime.

Instead of attempting to bring all the elements of crime into one definition it is better to show their social significance. Most of the definitions at least agree that crime is an injury to a collective interest. To understand the nature of such collective interests and why attacks upon them are dealt with by the peculiar instrument of the criminal law, the nature and purpose of social organization must be understood.

Whatever may be the conflicting judgments as to the origin of primitive social organization, it is quite probable that the primitive individual found definite advantages in group living. Surrounded by enemies—human, animal, and natural—primitive man found strength against his dangers in the support of the other members of the group. Contact with other individuals must also have been a source of many other satisfactions apart from the preservation of physical existence in the face of external perils.

To-day anything more than mere preservation of physical existence is hardly conceivable outside social organization. Human control of nature for human purposes and the creation of a culture presuppose and have developed through social organization and human cooperation. However imperfectly any social order reaches its goal, its purpose is "the development of the powers of humanity to their highest point."<sup>6</sup>

It is a commonplace observation that the increase in material and cultural satisfactions which has come about through the tremendous growth in human cooperation has not kept pace with the increase in individual desires. All social organization is therefore faced with the problem of curbing the individual in order to preserve the benefits of group living. In the words of Dean Pound, society faces "a condition of overlapping or conflicting claims in which the goods of human existence would be lost or wasted or at

<sup>6</sup> Roscoe Pound, *Interpretations of Legal History*, p. 148.

least the satisfactions derived from them would be small if individual application of them to individual claims and demands were not ordered."<sup>7</sup>

Social cooperation also generates collective interests as distinguished from these individual interests. Certain goods, such as public lands, for example, must be preserved for the use of all the members of the group, and an attempt by one member to usurp such an interest must be defeated by the entire group.

The field of collective interests, of individual claims, and of individual interests must therefore be delimited. Here arises the function of law.<sup>8</sup> Ideally, its task is one of satisfying claims or demands with the least amount of friction and the least amount of waste, so that the means of satisfaction may be made to go as far as possible.<sup>9</sup>

The functions of the civil branch of the law and of criminal law must be differentiated in the attainment of these purposes. The civil branch of the law fixes and defines certain individual and collective interests and provides a particular form of procedure whereby such interests may be maintained. In the criminal law, however, the social organism announces that it has a definite claim in the interests defined therein and will maintain them not only by protective measures but also by the infliction of an evil (the penalty) upon any violator.

An illustration of how a collective interest develops and how its increasing social importance changes the social reaction to an attack upon it is found in the historical attitude toward the protection of life.

One of the earliest social reactions to an attack upon life is blood revenge. If a member of one clan is killed by a member of another, it becomes the duty of the kin of the victim to avenge this injury upon the offending clan. This phenomenon appears at certain stages in the development

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>8</sup> A classification of interests to be secured by law is found in *Headings on the History and System of the Common Law*, by Roscoe Pound and Theodore F. T. Plucknett, p. 465.

<sup>9</sup> See Pound, *Interpretations of Legal History*, p. 157.

of every social organization.<sup>10</sup> The blood feud is a similar manifestation.

In a later stage of social development it becomes necessary to limit the exercise of blood revenge. Here arises the system of the talion—a retribution of an injury by a like injury, and therefore a limitation upon the vengeance that may be taken.<sup>11</sup> Social interest in human life is more clearly recognized when money payment comes to be accepted in lieu of an eye for an eye, and when the social organism, as represented by its chief or its king, shares in the amount paid the victim or his family.<sup>12</sup> When, however, the modern state is organized the value of human life becomes much more apparent and human life and physical integrity become interests protected by the power of the state and become no longer matters for individual adjustment.

Students of criminal law, confused by the varying acts designated crimes in the different stages of development of a particular society, or in different societies, have sought to find some acts which are designated crimes at all times and in all places. Garofalo has said that this method of inquiry was fruitless and that those acts which no society can refuse to recognize as crimes can not be determined by actual investigation of the specific acts that have been considered crimes in different societies.<sup>13</sup> Natural crimes, according to him, are violations of either of the two altruistic sentiments of pity and probity.<sup>14</sup>

However, factual analysis has yielded the finding that one act is punishable in all places at all times and in all stages of social organization. This act is treason.<sup>15</sup> This finding

<sup>10</sup> See Albert du Boys, *Histoire du droit criminel*, Vol. I, p. 12 et seq. For blood vengeance among the Greeks, see Ottokar Tesar, *Staatsidee und Strafrecht*; in the primitive Germanic and in Scandinavian law, Carl Ludwig von Bar, *History of Continental Criminal Law* (Continental Legal History Series), pp. 57, 119; Robert von Hippel, *Deutsches Strafrecht*, p. 40.

<sup>11</sup> Julius Mackarewicz, *Einführung in die Philosophie des Strafrechts*, p. 247.

<sup>12</sup> Mackarewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 233; see also von Bar, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61, and note 14.

<sup>13</sup> Raffaele Garofalo, *Criminology*, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>15</sup> Mackarewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

throws considerable light upon the function of criminal law in the social organism. The reason why treason may be said to be the one natural crime is quite evident. Treason carries with it the danger that the group may be completely destroyed. The consciousness of that danger causes the group as a whole to react against any individual who commits this act. The criminal law is essentially, then, a means of insuring and furthering the collective existence of a particular group by repressing those acts which are believed to hold danger for group life.

Nobody disagrees with the proposition that group life can not go on if treason is tolerated. However, if one studies the criminal law historically one can not find agreement as to what other acts are considered distinct threats to the interest of the group at different times. Even an examination of present-day countries yields evidence of disagreement on what acts are to be termed crimes. Differing levels of culture, different economic systems, differing degrees of identification of religion and state have had their effects upon what any specific group will designate crime. The political organization is especially decisive in the decision as to what is criminal. A tyrant or feudal class identifies its interest with that of the social interest, and uses the criminal law to obtain the highest measure of protection.

The most striking example of how political and social organization determines the interests which the criminal law protects is furnished by Russia and Italy at the present day. Both countries have passed through a revolution and they are seeking to impose upon their people new forms of social organization. The maintenance of the new social system is held to be of vital importance to the Russian and Italian peoples. Political and economic crimes which threaten their existence are therefore repressed with much greater severity than the ordinary crimes against the person. These countries have therefore departed from one of the principles of the European penal law which established that the crimes most severely punished should be those against person and property, rather than political crimes. But the soviet and fascist policy illustrates quite clearly

the purposes for which the criminal law is used. New conceptions of social interests cause changes in what acts are called crimes. Each country therefore determines for itself what interests are most vital to the development and security of its people and uses the criminal law as an instrument in their furtherance and protection.

How different conceptions of social interests result in different penal provisions for the same act is strikingly illustrated by the difference in the treatment of adultery in Anglo-Saxon and Germanic countries on the one hand and in Romance countries on the other. In the northern countries, due to a belief that the act is morally reprehensible and may entail serious social consequences whether committed by the man or the woman, adultery is punishable as to both. In Latin countries, however, adultery is punishable only as to the woman. Their theory is that adultery on the part of the woman may have much more serious social consequences because of the threat it offers to the family, while adultery in the man is less serious from the social point of view. Adultery on the part of the man, therefore, is punishable in France only under certain conditions, as for example if he brings his concubine into the conjugal home.

Even where countries agree that a certain act carries with it harmful social consequences, they do not always agree that the criminal law is the best instrument for eradicating the resulting evil. The pernicious effects of prostitution, for example, its threat to the social health through the spread of venereal disease, is as clearly understood in France as it is in America. Yet the French do not make the fact of prostitution a criminal offense, as is done by the American criminal law. The French, having found by experience that prostitution will continue whether it is prohibited by law or not, seek to protect society from its evil effects by regulating the conditions of its practice. They have placed prostitutes under the control of the police; periodic health inspection is made compulsory; the areas in which prostitutes may operate is limited, etc. While regulating already existing prostitution, the French seek to prevent the spread of the

practice by making participation in the white-slave traffic a criminal offense or by prohibiting the form of activity known as pimping.

A similar problem, that is, recognition of a particular act and regulation or prohibition, must be faced wherever a particular form of activity is a wide source of satisfaction to human desires and may at the same time be a source of social injury. Many other forms of activity besides prostitution present this question and it is differently answered in different countries. Gambling, for instance, is prohibited in America, while Italy operates a State lottery every week. America prohibits the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors, but other countries, while recognizing the deleterious social effects of alcohol, try to control them through other means, such as State monopoly in the sale of liquor, high license, education in temperance, etc.

The difference in treatment of these problems is due to a different conception of the relation between law and morals. Of America it has been said, "We are, of all people, not excepting the Germans, preeminently addicted to the habit of standardizing by law, the lives and morals of our citizens \* \* \*. We like to pass laws compelling the individual to do what we think he ought to do for his own good."<sup>16</sup> In contrast to American practice, Continental Europe makes little attempt to eliminate by law acts which are prohibited in America primarily because they are morally reprehensible. "Indeed, according to the testimony of police officials all over Europe it is not enough that laws relating to public morality shall have the support of some elements in the community. They must have the substantial support of the entire community."<sup>17</sup>

In America it has not been sufficiently understood that the criminal law is but one of the many instruments of social control and means for the furtherance of social ends. Questions of morality are properly the concern of family, school, church, and community. Even if certain kinds of personal conduct have harmful social consequences, it still

<sup>16</sup> Raymond B. Fosdick, *American Police Systems*, p. 48.

<sup>17</sup> Fosdick, *European Police Systems*, p. 381.

remains a question whether the criminal law is the appropriate instrument for dealing with such behavior. Family, school, church, and other communal institutions are in a better position to attack the basic causes of the evils. Even if such institutions fail, to some extent, the question arises how far the State may go in interfering with personal conduct on the grounds of furthering the general security. In view of the difficulty of eradicating such evils, since they spring from human desires, must they not be borne as part of the risks of living in a complex society?

Some interests, however, can not be left to the persuasive control of extralegal institutions. Such interests are so vital to the existence of society, and the possibilities that they will not be respected so great, that the coercive power of the State through the criminal law is necessary to insure their protection. These are individual interests in life and physical integrity, in property, and certain interests of the State. Their protection is the primary function of the criminal law and the principal concern of law enforcement.

From the standpoint of causation a concept of crime that does not meet with unified community approval has great significance. Aside from the obvious fact that resultant legislation will be followed by more criminal acts, a burden is placed upon enforcement agencies which can not be efficiently handled. As will be seen from Chapter VI of this report, the demoralization of more than one police department and to some extent other law-enforcing agencies is due to the attempt to enforce laws not completely sanctioned by community opinion. The agencies of enforcement become not alone inefficient in dealing with cases under these controversial laws but also in dealing with violations of laws protecting more vital interests.

The use of the criminal law as an instrument of social control must then be considered in the light of the interests which must be protected by society at all costs and also in the light of how much can properly be expected of the officials charged with the enforcement of the law. The emphasis of law enforcement must be placed upon repressing those acts whose prohibition is vitally necessary to the

existence of the present social order. If that were accomplished, a step would have been taken toward eliminating the present confusion in the activities of law enforcement.

This investigation into the literature on the causes of crime, will be concerned principally with that category of acts whose repression has been deemed most fundamental to the existence of the present social order, namely, attacks on person and property. Social opinion is much more unified that these acts can not be tolerated. The behavior involved in their commission is therefore much more abnormal from a social point of view, and distinctive causative factors are more apt to be present.

Society provides for most individuals sufficient incentives and sufficient satisfactions so that they do not commit the acts herein considered. Some, however, do not accept these limitations upon their behavior. Why they do not find satisfactions within limitations laid down by the necessities of the present social order must be determined. It may be because of certain social conditions. It may be because of certain peculiar personality factors contained in the offending individuals. It may be a combination of both these factors.

If the causation of behavior of this kind can be determined we shall be able to take much more intelligent steps toward its elimination. The literature bearing on the causation of crime will therefore be examined to see how far it has brought to light the causative factors at work in the production of this kind of behavior. Beyond a critical examination of data already presented in the literature, this investigation will attempt to make a determination as to where further study and further research is necessary before definite evidence as to the nature and importance and mechanics of particular causative factors can be obtained.

#### THE CONCEPT OF CAUSATION

The older literature on criminology not infrequently proceeds from vague or inaccurate conceptions of causation. "Writers in criminology have sometimes been careless in their use of the word 'cause,'" comments Winthrop D. Lane

in his revision of Wines' *Punishment and Reformation*. "They have not always employed it in ways that shed light on the real origin of crime and criminals. This has accounted for much loose thinking and failure to understand the problems involved. \* \* \*

"Sociologists, backed by statisticians, have found causal relations between nearly every kind of social condition and crime. Poverty, insanitary housing, overcrowding, ignorance, idleness, density of population, unemployment—these and a host of others have been set down as causes of crime because the commission of criminal acts has been shown to be in some way related to them. \* \* \*

"A cause, if it is to have any meaning for the criminologist, must bear a fairly close and inexorable relation to the act it produces. Yet those who have reasoned in the above way have felt no inconveniences from the fact that the opposites of many of the conditions enumerated may, with equal truthfulness, be held to be causes of crime."<sup>18</sup>

That this criticism is justified is evident from a glance at Lombroso's *Crime, Its Causes and Remedies*, where "causes" are sought in a series of opposites—the effect of heat on crime, the effect of cold on crime, civilization and crime, barbarism and crime, education and crime, illiteracy and crime, etc. There is here a confusion, as Goring points out, between the notion of cause and that of association.<sup>19</sup> Crime may be associated with or related to any number of chance conditions, but none of these is necessarily a "cause" of crime, nor do any of these necessarily influence crime.

To be sure, the same definiteness, certainty, and inevitableness present in the operation of causative factors in the physical sciences can not be expected in the social sciences. The most that can be expected in dealing with social situations is that given certain types of phenomena, a particular result will probably occur. In a search for the causes of

<sup>18</sup> Frederick Howard Wines, *Punishment and Reformation* (1919 edition), p. 413. Mr. Lane's comments are especially significant in view of the fact that Charles Goring criticized the earlier edition of Wines' book for precisely the sort of misuse of the term "cause" discussed here. See *The English Convict* (abridged edition), p. 185 et seq.

<sup>19</sup> Goring, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187.

crime, the problem is to determine the phenomena which help to bring about the fact of crime.

A number of methods have been pursued to determine "causes" of crime. The older writers, and to some extent those of the present day also, correlate crime as measured by arrests or convictions with some external phenomena. Chapter IV of this report gives many examples in which writers, attempting to find the influence of economic conditions on crime, correlate the volume and fluctuations of crime and some index such as the price of grain, the number of unemployed, etc., used to measure the economic situation. The difficulties with this method are that the crimes recorded statistically (arrests or convictions) are not accurate indices of the total amount of crime committed. This is especially true of American criminal statistics. Moreover, as Professor Sutherland points out, "this method merely locates the causes in a very general way. It may determine, for instance, that more crimes are committed against the person in hot weather than in cold weather but it does not tell whether it is due to the effect of temperature on temper or to a greater frequency of contacts between people in hot weather, or to a greater frequency of intoxication in hot weather, or to something else. \* \* \* In general, though this method does have some values, it can not locate causes with sufficient precision to be adequate as a method of determining the causes of crime."<sup>20</sup>

A second method for determining causes is to study statistically the incidence of certain traits and conditions in criminals. Extensive researches have been made to discover what physical and mental traits in criminals help to explain their crimes. The results of these researches are considered in the two following chapters. This method is also subject to many limitations. Most studies are made upon prisoners who are a selected group of criminals and are not necessarily representative of criminals generally. Traits in criminals are assumed to deviate from some standard of normality, but such standards are woefully lacking. In order to have significance the findings as regards crimi-

<sup>20</sup> Edwin H. Sutherland, *Criminology*, pp. 77-78.

nals must be compared with similar data in the law-abiding population. But such data have not been available. The lack of standards of normality and data on the general population has caused causal significance to be attributed to many so-called "abnormalities" which, later research showed, either were not abnormal at all, or if abnormal, were almost as frequently found among the nondelinquent population as among delinquents.

In this method the particular trait is considered in isolation from the total personality of the individual and the social situation in which he has lived and acted. But, up to now, research has discovered no mental or physical trait which if present in an individual need necessarily lead to crime.

A criminal trait can not therefore be considered in isolation from all the others that go to make up the personality of the criminal. Nor can the environmental influences to which he was subjected and which conditioned the reactions of his personality, be ignored.

The soundest approach to the problem of the causation of crime therefore lies through a study of the individual criminal in relation to all the social and environmental factors which have an influence upon his personality. Such study considers the delinquent or criminal as an individual, but also as a member of many social groups, the family, the community, his play group, etc., each of which has provided him with the attitudes and values with which he faces the outside world. This type of study may be made through the usual objective case history, supplemented as in Shaw's *The Jack-Roller*, by the delinquent's own story.<sup>21</sup>

All careful case studies of delinquents and criminals have emphasized the fact that there are no unit causes of crime. "Crime is assignable to no single universal source nor yet

<sup>21</sup> Clifford R. Shaw, *The Jack-Roller—A Delinquent Boy's Own Story*. See also Professor Sutherland's discussion of the various methods that have been used to determine "causes" of crime, op. cit., pp. 77-78. He indicates that another valuable method in studying crime is by association with criminals "in the open" since criminals are not "natural" in police stations, courts, and prisons. Josiah Flynt has used this method. See his *Tramping with Tramps and The World of Graft*.

to two or three; it springs from a wide variety, and usually from a multiplicity of alternative converging influences," writes Burt.<sup>22</sup> "The nature of these factors and of their varying combinations differ greatly from one individual to another."

Crime is, therefore, a complex phenomenon and its complexity must be taken into account both in searching for causes and also in suggesting methods of treatment. As Healy and Bronner state, "\* \* \* the varieties of human beings and the varieties of causes of delinquency are too many to be met by a unitary conception of what it is possible to do in the therapy of delinquency and crime."<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent*, p. 575.

<sup>23</sup> William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals*, p. 228.

## CHAPTER II

### MORPHOLOGICAL AND PHYSIOLOGICAL FACTORS

The American criminal law to-day rests upon the postulate of responsibility based upon freedom of the will, although philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, and criminologists have for a long time questioned this principle, and proposed European codes abandon it. Modern researches upon the physical constitution of the criminal, his affective and intellectual life, the social and economic forces to whose pressure he must adapt himself, have thrown considerable doubt, from several angles, upon the principle once held axiomatic that a criminal was free to commit or not to commit crime.

The controversy on a scientific basis began with Cesare Lombroso in 1876. To the attempt to prove or disprove his assertion that criminal behavior is fundamentally caused by the physical conditions of the criminal, the modern researches are due. He believed, and sought to substantiate by the examination of criminals, the proposition that a man's mode of feeling and the actual conduct of his life are in turn determined by and find expression in his physical constitution.<sup>1</sup>

Though the emphasis has shifted, this fundamental idea of Lombroso still underlies present research. To be sure, anthropologic investigations into skull structure, brains, and other organs have been replaced by the newer study of the functions of glands of internal secretion in determining body build and personality. In the last analysis, an explanation of criminal behavior is still being sought in terms of physical and organic conditions.

As a result of his researches, Lombroso asserted that anomalous and degenerative physical conditions were to be

<sup>1</sup> Hans Kurella, *Cesare Lombroso, A Modern Man of Science*, p. 18.

found in the criminal, particularly in his skull and brain.<sup>2</sup> Since similar anomalies were also encountered in non-delinquents, Lombroso declared that the distinction between the criminal and the noncriminal lay in the number and character of the stigmata.<sup>3</sup> The more highly stigmatized individuals constituted for Lombroso a distinct physical type, which he called the "born criminal." Without making any allowance for the fact that his researches were made upon prisoners who constitute a highly selected group of criminals because the shrewder variety may escape sentence, Lombroso declared that the "born criminal" comprises 40 per cent of the criminal population.

<sup>2</sup> *L'uomo delinquente*, 5th edition, Vol. I, pp. 207, 331. Some of these anomalies are also found listed in the introduction to the English version of *Crime, Its Causes and Remedies*, published in the *Modern Criminal Science Series*, pp. xvi and xvii, from which the following excerpt is taken:

"The first series of the characteristics of the criminal is the anatomical \* \* \*. A union of many of these anomalies is to be found in the same skull in a proportion of 43 per cent, while 21 per cent have single anomalies. But these figures would have little value if not compared with corresponding figures for noncriminals. Such a comparison results in destroying the significance of some of these anomalies, since they prove to exist in about the same proportion among the latter.

"But there are others [writes Lombroso] on the contrary, which are present in a double or triple proportion in the criminals. Such are, for example, sclerosis, the epactal bone, asymmetry, the retreating forehead, exaggeration of the frontal sinus and the superciliary arches, oxycephaly, the open internasal suture, anomalous teeth, asymmetries of the face, and above all the middle occipital fossa among males, the fusion of the atlas and the anomalies of the occipital opening."

"\* \* \* A study of the convolutions of the brains of criminals reveals many anomalies of which he [Lombroso] says:

"It would be too rash to conclude that at last have been found with certainty anomalies peculiar to the cerebral circumvolutions of criminals; but it can very well be said already that in criminals these anomalies are abundant and are of two orders: Some which are different from every normal type, even inferior, as the transverse grooves of the frontal lobe, found by Flesch in some cases and so prominently that they do not allow the longitudinal grooves to be seen; others are deviations from the type, but recall the type of lower animals, as the separation of the calcarine fissure from the occipital, the fissure of Sylvius which remains open, the frequent formation of an operculum of the occipital lobe."

A detailed description of the number and variety of anomalies to be found in criminals as discovered by Lombroso and his disciples is also to be found in Havelock Ellis, *The Criminal*.

<sup>3</sup> But how many abnormalities must be found before we can stigmatize an individual as a "born criminal?" Professor Ottolenghi, a distinguished pupil of Lombroso, answers this question, according to Ellis, *The Criminal* (p. 278). Ottolenghi divides the criminals according to the amount of physical deviation from the normal into three general classes: (1) The more complete degenerative type with more than five anomalies, (2) the incomplete type with more than three, and (3) the normal type with less than three.

Lombroso ascribed the abnormalities to an arrested embryological development, which in turn was due to two causes—to atavism, the reappearance of characteristics present in man in the earlier stages of his evolution; and to degeneration and diseased conditions of the human organism.<sup>4</sup>

Because of these factors, all criminals, said Lombroso, tended to lose their distinctive racial and national characteristics and approach one type—that of the savage man in a primitive phase of development.<sup>5</sup>

Certain subspecies of criminals became apparent to Lombroso. Thus, assassins, ravishers, incendiaries, and thieves could be distinguished according to physical characteristics not only from the general population, but also from each other.<sup>6</sup> The born female criminal, Lombroso found, was, in her physical characteristics, more like the born male criminal than like other women.<sup>7</sup>

Emotionally, the born criminals of Lombroso are characterized by a complete lack of the higher feelings and sentiments. These individuals are highly impulsive, "children of the moment." They are cruel, completely insensitive to the suffering of their victims, due in part, said Lombroso, to their being themselves insensitive to pain. They are also marked by a puerile vanity, an exaggerated sense of their own importance.<sup>8</sup>

Anomalies similar to those of the born criminal, Lombroso also found in the morally insane and the epileptic.<sup>9</sup> In epilepsy one of the fundamental phenomena is an alteration of the superior inhibitory centers of the nervous system. This phenomena is also present in criminality. Lombroso

<sup>4</sup> Lombroso, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 58, "The atavic theory of crime is completed and corrected with the addition of insufficient cerebral nutrition, incomplete nervous functioning; there is added, in other words, disease to monstrosity."

<sup>5</sup> Lombroso's introduction to August Drähms's *The Criminal*.

<sup>6</sup> *L'uomo delinquente*, Vol. I, p. 333.

<sup>7</sup> Cesare Lombroso and William Ferrero, *The Female Offender*, p. 187.

<sup>8</sup> *L'uomo delinquente*, Vol. I, p. 428 et seq. See also Di Tullio, *La costituzione delinquenziale nella etiologia e terapia del delitto*, p. 70: "It is evident that where an individual presents by reason of his special degenerative constitution, an insufficient emotional responsiveness, the development of his affective sentimental life is necessarily limited, with consequent damage to his moral and spiritual elevation. Thus, there is lacking in this type of delinquent the instinct of love, friendship, the social instincts of duty, pity, justice, respect for authority, etc."

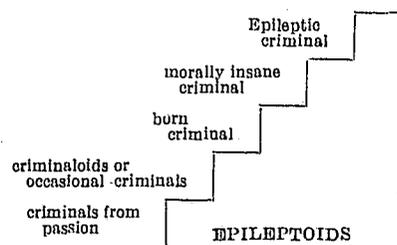
<sup>9</sup> Lombroso, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 55, 56.

asserted that epilepsy, therefore, lies at the basis of crime. Although the epileptic, the morally insane, and the criminal have many characteristics in common, they are not identical. "The epileptic is an exaggeration of the morally insane, as the latter is of the born criminal, as the born criminal is of the occasional criminal, criminaloids and criminals from passion."<sup>10</sup> There is thus a hierarchy of criminality on an epileptoid base.

By centering attention on the criminal rather than on the crime committed, Lombroso made necessary a reexamination of the assumptions of the classic school of criminal law.<sup>11</sup> Jurists, anthropologists, sociologists, and criminologists of Italy, France, and Germany attacked or defended his conceptions from their special points of view.<sup>12</sup>

The most devastating criticism of Lombroso is unquestionably Charles Goring's *The English Convict*. By the use of exact anthropometric measurements, Goring determined the physical conditions of 3,000 English prisoners. This is the method Lombroso discarded for the "anatomico-pathological" method of direct observation of the form and structure of organs by the senses, on the ground that "the variation in measurement between the normal and the abnormal subject are so small as to defy all but the most minute research."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60. Lombroso gives the following diagram:



<sup>11</sup> In Italy, one of the bitterest opponents of Lombroso and the entire positivist school was Luigi Luchini, a jurist of the classicist school and editor of the *Rivista Penale*. See his book, *I semplicisti*, in French under the title of *Le droit pénal et les nouvelles théories*.

<sup>12</sup> Before Goring, the most important critique of Lombroso's work was Adolf Baer's *Der Verbrecher in anthropologischer Beziehung*. See also A. Debierre, *Le crâne des criminels*; and Gabriel Tarde, *La criminalité comparée*.

<sup>13</sup> Lombroso and Ferrero, *The Female Offender*, p. 1.

# CONTINUED

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Goring denied that anomalies could be visible to the senses and yet defy measurement. "Low foreheads, high palates, outstanding ears, oxycephaly, hydrocephaly, submicrocephaly, etc. [anomalies described by Lombroso], are only colloquial descriptions of rough measurements on a coarsely divided scale of characters which, precisely described, must be exactly measured upon a scale finely and accurately divided."<sup>14</sup>

Goring compared his results with those obtained from similar studies of students of Oxford, Cambridge, and other English universities, of soldiers, of hospital inmates, etc. He did not, therefore, repeat the mistake of Lombroso and his followers in their earlier work in not using control groups. The investigations led Goring to begin his book by classing as one of "the superstitions of criminology" Lombroso's point of departure, "the conviction that the inward disposition of man is reflected and revealed by the configuration of his body."<sup>15</sup>

Goring discovered no evidence confirming the existence of a physical type of criminal such as Lombroso described.<sup>16</sup> He did, however, find that "all English criminals (with the exception of those technically convicted of fraud) are markedly differentiated from the general population in stature and body weight," and that "thieves and burglars (who constitute 90 per cent of all criminals), and also incendiaries, as well as being inferior in stature and weight are also, relatively to other criminals and the population at large, puny in their general bodily habit."<sup>17</sup> These conclusions

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<sup>14</sup> Goring, *The English Convict*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173. "In the present investigation we have exhaustively compared with regard to many physical characteristics different kinds of criminals with each other and criminals as a class with the general population. From these comparisons no evidence has emerged of the existence of a physical criminal type."

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200. Burt, in *The Young Delinquent*, came to similar conclusions. "The delinquent child as such conforms to no definite physical type. The same reservation, however, has to be made as before. In height and weight and in general bodily growth, the delinquent child departs and that very frequently from the normal," p. 201. Rock Sleyster examined 1,521 Wisconsin State prisoners and compared their height and weight to the average of 221,819 Americans examined by 43 life-insurance companies. He found that the criminals were 1.8 inches below the average Americans in height. He did not, however, find any material differences in weight. See *Physical Bases of Crime*, a Symposium, American Academy of Medicine, Bulletin D, 1918, p. 118.

Goring designates as the sole facts at the basis of Lombroso's science of criminal anthropology.

Despite these findings, followers of Lombroso consider that Goring supports rather than demolishes their theories.<sup>18</sup> Although he found, as the Lombrosians claimed, that criminals were differentiated from the law-abiding population and from each other, to Goring the differences were quantitative, not qualitative.<sup>19</sup> They did not create a distinct type in which physical deviations were evidence of antisocial motivations. Physical differentiation determines to some extent what individuals are imprisoned, since physical weakness is a handicap both in the struggle to earn a living and in the attempt to escape apprehension for criminal acts.

One difficulty Lombroso encountered in attempting to explain behavior in terms of physical deviation exists today. The lack of a standard of normality hinders the determination of what is abnormal. As Pende pointed out, "There are still large gaps in our knowledge of the normal proportions of the various tissues and organs of the various sections of the body \* \* \*. Especially little do we know of the variations which these proportions undergo during the various stages of life in the two sexes. A knowledge of these would throw much light on the genesis of many anomalous forms of general constitution \* \* \*." <sup>20</sup>

Simple physical measurements, used widely, have shown that defects are common, that the average person quite irrespective of his behavior has physical deviations from a standard in many respects. The Thomases therefore conclude correctly that "the association of physical defect with crime can not be determined until the amount of physical defect in noncriminals is known. "Normal" physical development and growth must be objectively determined before we can trace out and measure the degree of association of various physical states with various behavior manifestations." <sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Charles Goring, *The English Convict*, a Symposium, in *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 5, No. 2, July, 1914, pp. 207-240.

<sup>19</sup> Goring, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>20</sup> Nicola Pende, *Constitutional Inadequacies*, p. 33.

<sup>21</sup> W. I. Thomas and Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *The Child in America*, p. 490.

Lombroso's assimilation of "born criminals" to epileptics and his assertion that all criminality rests upon an epileptoid basis have never been accepted for the simple reason that they have never been proved. Lombroso extended his concept of epilepsy much too far. Everything possible was considered by him as in some way related to epilepsy.<sup>22</sup>

That some delinquents are suffering from epilepsy is hardly surprising since the malady is common enough in the general population. Nor is it difficult to understand why epileptics come into conflict with the law when one considers the psychological traits generally associated with them—emotional instability, egocentric tendencies leading to self-assertion and defective appreciation of the rights of others, excessive obstinacy, a lowered power of moral inhibition.<sup>23</sup> Healy found that of the 1,000 delinquents he studied, 7 per cent were epileptic.<sup>24</sup> Still, epilepsy can not be termed a cause of crime in and of itself simply because in an individual case the criminal is suffering from the disease. As Healy states, "the making of the confirmed criminal out of the epileptic is the result partly of his own innate mental and physical tendencies, partly of the formation of mental habits according to the laws of mental life, and is partly due to social conditions. No small factor in this is the epileptic's continual regarding of himself as an antisocial being, a possible breaker of laws."<sup>25</sup>

Attempts have been made to discover to what extent criminality can be ascribed, not to anthropologic peculiarities or to epilepsy, but to other pathologic and diseased conditions in the physical constitution of the criminal. The insufficient material bearing on this question shows disagreement as to results. Burt, for example, observes, "The frequency

<sup>22</sup> P. Nücke, *Die Ueberbleibsel der Lombroschen Theorien*, vol. 50. *Archiv. fur Kriminal-Anthropologie*, pp. 326-339. Lombroso showed here quite clearly another defect characteristic of much of his thinking, i. e., the acceptance of similarity for identity. Merely because some psychological and physical characteristics of the epileptic and the criminal were alike, did not necessarily show that they both were caused by the same pathologic process.

<sup>23</sup> William Healy, *The Individual Delinquent*, p. 417 et seq. See also John R. Harding, *Epilepsy as Seen in the Laboratory of a Penal Institution*, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 9, No. 2, August, 1918, pp. 260-266.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 416.

<sup>25</sup> Healy, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

among juvenile delinquents of bodily weakness and ill health has been remarked by every recent writer. In my own series of cases, nearly 70 per cent were suffering from such defects and nearly 50 per cent were in urgent need of medical treatment. In London I find that defective physical conditions are roughly speaking one and one-fourth times as frequent among delinquent children as they are among nondelinquent children from the same schools and streets."<sup>20</sup> Burt, be it noted, has tried to make a comparison of the physical conditions of delinquents with nondelinquents. Other investigators have simply studied delinquents and noted that a large percentage are suffering from various diseases or are in poor physical condition.<sup>27</sup> Healy and Bronner have, however, come to opposite conclusions. They write, "These charts may be fairly utilized as negating certain older ideas that delinquents and criminals were the malnourished, the underdeveloped members of society, exhibiting thus the effects of poverty. Rather the charts show surprisingly good conditions of development and nutrition for a very large share of our cases."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Burt, *The Young Delinquent*, p. 239.

<sup>27</sup> L. L. Stanley, *Disease and Crime*, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 14, No. 1, May, 1923, pp. 103-109; Dr. William H. Kraemer, *Medical Science in its Relation to Crime*, *American Prison Association Proceedings*, 1916, p. 122; V. V. Anderson and Christie Leonard, *A Study of the Physical Condition of 1,000 Delinquents Seen in Court*, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 10, No. 1, May, 1919, pp. 82-89.

Alberta S. Guibord summed up her findings in her study, *Physical States of Criminal Women*, made in the reformatory at Bedford Hills, N. Y., and published in *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 8, No. 1, May, 1917 (pp. 82-95), as follows, pp. 93-94: "1. The group of women here studied is characterized by a high degree of physical defectiveness. 2. The physical defects are or were primarily to a large extent preventable in that they are the result of faulty nutrition, bad hygiene, bacterial infection, and other concomitants of unintelligence and poverty. 3. The physical defects resulting as they do in some degree of discomfort and in inefficiency, unquestionably played some part in the conditioning of delinquency."

See also Amy Heves, *A Study of Delinquent Girls at Sleighton Farm*, *American Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 15, No. 4, February, 1925, pp. 598-619.

<sup>28</sup> *Delinquents and Criminals*, p. 182. In *Sex Delinquency in Adolescent Girls*, Amelia Bingham has the following to say of girls examined by her: "On the whole the girls are remarkably free from organic defects; they show ordinary development for age and race and their state of nutrition is surprisingly good." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 13, No. 4, February, 1923 (pp. 494-536), p. 543.

But even if it could be assumed that a certain degree of physical defect and diseased conditions exist among criminals, proof is still wanting that these are causes of crime. As Dr. Alberta S. Guibord remarks, "The relation of previous health conditions to subsequent modes of conduct is at present altogether speculative. To say that a constant correlation exists is presumptive in view of everyday evidence that society exhibits a large number of persons of varying degrees of physical disability who are entirely free from criminal or delinquent conduct."<sup>29</sup> The difficulty here, too, is that we have no reliable statistics as to the incidence of such disabilities in the general population or the social class from which the criminal is drawn. Until such statistics are available and it is shown that the criminals as a class are greater sufferers from physical disabilities than the law-abiding population, it will be presumptive to speak of physical defects and disabilities as causes of delinquency.

Nevertheless tuberculosis, heart disease, hernia, defects of vision, etc., may be found in individual cases to be causes of delinquency in so far as they prevent or tend to prevent the sufferer from earning a living, just as Goring suggested that inferior physique may be at the bottom of a man's criminal behavior by handicapping him in legitimate occupations.

What is lacking in the attempts to explain crime on the basis of physical defects or abnormalities present in criminals is an explanation of how such defects motivate behavior. Endocrinology, the study of glandular activity, is attempting to fill this gap in present-day knowledge. This new science promises, in the words of Dr. Louis Berman, "the chemistry of the soul,"<sup>30</sup> by indicating the definite mental and emotional traits accompanying certain characteristic organic patterns.

Glands are divided into two main groups, those concerned with the drainage system and those which secrete products

<sup>29</sup> Guibord, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>30</sup> Berman, *The Glands Regulating Personality*, p. 22.

for use in bodily activity. The latter are again subdivided into those with ducts down which their discharges flow and the ductless or endocrine glands whose internal secretions are absorbed directly into the blood stream.<sup>31</sup> These ductless glands are the endocrinologists' "glands of destiny."<sup>32</sup>

The endocrinologists claim that the functioning of the glandular system profoundly affects physical development. As Berman states, "More and more we are forced to realize that the general form and external appearance of the human body depends to a large extent upon the functioning, during the early developmental period, of the endocrine glands. Our structure, the kinds of face we have, the length of our arms and legs, the shape of the pelvis, the color and con-

<sup>31</sup> The following is a list of the glands of internal secretion and their functions, as given in Berman, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

Name	Secretion	Function
1. Thyroid.....	Thyroxin.....	Gland of energy production, controller of growth of specialized organs and tissues, brain and sex.
Pituitary.....		Glands of energy consumption and utilization—continued effort.
2. Anterior.....	Pretuitrins.....	Growth of skeletons and supporting tissues, sex growth.
3. Posterior.....	Pituitrins.....	Nerve cell and involuntary muscle cell, brain and sex tone.
Adrenals.....		The gland of combat:
4. Cortex.....	Interrenalin.....	a. A brain growth, tone development of sex glands, chemistry of acid regulation.
5. Medulla.....	Adrenalin.....	b. Energy for emergency situation.
6. Pineal.....	Pinealin.....	a. Brain and sex development. b. Adolescence and puberty. c. Light and maturity.
7. Thymus.....	Thymovidin.....	Controller of growth in childhood.
Gonads:		
8. Testes.....	Orchitine.....	} Masculine.
9. Prostate.....	Prostatin.....	
10. Ovaries.....	Folliculin.....	} Feminine.
11. Placenta.....	Menoform.....	
12. Corpus luteum.....	Lutein.....	
13. Mammary glands.....	Mammarin.....	
14. Parathyroids.....	Parathym.....	a. Controller of lime metabolism. b. Excitability of muscle and nerve.
15. Pancreas.....	Insulin.....	Controller of sugar metabolism.
16. Duodenum.....	Secretin.....	Controller of digestion.
17. Liver.....	Hemopoetin.....	Controller of blood formation.
18. Spleen.....	Hemolytin.....	Controller of blood destruction.
19. Heart.....	Automatin.....	Regulator of heart beat.
20. Skin.....	Dermosterol.....	Regulator of light reactions.
21. Choroid.....	Choriodine.....	Nutrition of nervous system.

In the printed sources there is no general agreement among endocrinologists as to the number, character, secretion, and influence upon the body, of the glands as outlined by Dr. Berman. There is no doubt, however, that some such definite classification is the aim of the endocrinologists.

<sup>32</sup> Ivo G. Cobb, *The Glands of Destiny*.

sistency of the integument, the quantity and regional location of our subcutaneous fat, the amount and distribution of the hair on our bodies, the tonicity of our muscles, the sound of the voice and the size of the larynx, the emotions to which our exterior gives expression, all are to a certain extent conditioned by the productivity of our glands of internal secretion."<sup>33</sup>

But not only is the claim made that the glands of internal secretion determine the physical features of the individual. It is also asserted that they are the real governors and arbiters of instincts and dispositions, emotions and reactions, character and temperament. Just as certain patterns are formed in the body by a particular arrangement of the ductless glands, so the mind also receives its pattern from the same source. A man's nature is then chemically his endocrine nature.

Berman says, "One or several glands possess a controlling or superior influence above that of the others in the physiology of the individual, and so becomes the central gland of his life; it is dominant indeed, so far as it casts a deciding vote or veto in its everyday existence as well as in its high points, the climaxes and emergencies. These glandular preponderances are determining factors in the personality, creating genius and dullard, weakling and giant, cavalier and puritan. All human traits may be analyzed in terms of them because they are expressions of them."<sup>34</sup>

Accepting the rôle of the glands as body builders, Pende<sup>35</sup> divides the various physical constitutions into two fundamental groups, (1) the brachymorphic, a type with a large trunk as compared to height, and (2) the dolichomorphic, a type with a small trunk in proportion to height. He further subdivides both types into their endocrine varieties or special endocrine formulæ, according to the particular endocrine gland which is the dominant in the formation of the individual. Kretschmer<sup>36</sup> assumes also that body build is a chemical function and further that tempera-

<sup>33</sup> Berman, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>35</sup> Pende, *op. cit.*, p. 64, et seq.

<sup>36</sup> Ernest Kretschmer, *Physique and Character*.

ment is related to physique. He divides his physical types into three fundamental groups, (1) the asthenic,<sup>37</sup> which is similar to the dolichomorphic type of Pende, (2) the pyknic, similar to the brachymorphic type of Pende, and (3) the athletic types, recognized by the strong development of the skeleton, the musculature, and also the skin.<sup>38</sup> Kretschmer also describes certain dysplastic or mixed types. He found that there is a relationship between certain types of insanity, manic-depression, and dementia præcox (schizophrenia), and his physical types, formulating his conclusions as follows:

"There is a clear biological affinity between the psychic disposition of the schizophrenes and the bodily disposition characteristic of the asthenics, athletics, and certain dysplastics.

"And vice versa, there is only a weak affinity between schizophrene and pyknic on the one hand, and between circulars [manic-depressives] and asthenics, athletics, and dysplastics on the other."<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21, "The essential characteristic of the male asthenic is, taking the general total impression, a deficiency in thickness combined with an average unlesened length.

We have, therefore, in the clearest cases the following general impression: A lean, narrowly built man, who looks taller than he is, with a skin poor in secretion and blood, with narrow shoulders, from which hang lean arms with thin muscles and delicately boned hands; a long, narrow, flat chest, on which we can count the ribs, with a sharp rib-angle. A thin stomach devoid of fat, and lower limbs which are just like the upper ones in character. In the average values for the measurement in male, the way the weight of the body lags behind the length (50.5:168.4) and the chest measurement behind the hip measurement (84.1:84.7) stands out clearly.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24, "The rough impression of the best example of this species [the athletic] is as follows:

"A middle-sized to tall man, with particularly wide projecting shoulders, a superb chest, a firm stomach, and a trunk which tapers in its lower region, so that the pelvis and the magnificent legs, sometimes seem almost graceful compared with the size of the upper limbs and particularly the hypertrophied shoulders."

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36. Kretschmer gives this table of temperaments, (p. 258):

*The temperaments*

	Cyclothymes	Schizothymes
Psychæsthesia and mood.	Diatetic proportion: Between raised (gay) and depressed (sad).	Psychæsthetic proportion: between hyperæsthetic (sensitive) and anæsthetic (cold).
Psychic tempo.....	Wavy temperamental curve; between mobile and comfortable.	Jerky temperamental curve; between unstable and tenacious alternation mode of thought and feeling.
Psychomotility.....	Adequate to stimulus, rounded, natural, smooth.	
Physical affinities..	Pyknic.....	Asthenic, athletic, dysplastic, and their mixtures

Kretschmer's investigations were mainly upon insane Swabian peasants: he does not therefore strike directly the problem of the relationship between body build and crime. Indications that his data may be of great importance to criminology have been given by Michel. Using Kretschmer's system Michel examined in the prison in Graz, Austria, 225 criminals guilty of serious crimes. He found a preponderance of the athletic type as opposed to the asthenic and other types. Criminals belonging to the schizothyme group; that is, the constitutional class, from which the schizophrenes are recruited, according to Kretschmer, represented 88 to 89 per cent of the total. Michel therefore comes to the conclusion that the schizothymes tend much more to the commission of offenses than do the other types.<sup>40</sup>

More direct applications of the rôle of endocrine glands in crime causation have been made. Thus a West Virginian doctor, examining 192 bodies from various institutions in the State, found a persistent thymus gland in 22.<sup>41</sup> Nineteen of these 22 were bodies of first and second-degree murderers and 1 was that of a rapist. The investigator considers that there must be some relationship between crime and the presence in adults of a gland which normally atrophies at puberty.<sup>42</sup>

Supporting the theory that glandular disorders are responsible for much crime, Dr. Ralph Arthur Reynolds, of San Francisco, states in two memoranda to the chairman of the Commission's subcommittee on causes, that in his research among prisoners at San Quentin he found "a possible 10 to 15 per cent show obvious, visible signs of glandular dysfunction." He adds: "This percentage is, I believe, noticeably higher than one finds in the population at large." His study of these cases leads him to believe that there is a

<sup>40</sup> As reported by Adolf Lenz in *Grundriss der Kriminalbiologie*, p. 66.

<sup>41</sup> After the second year the thymus does not grow in proportion to the rest of the body and gradually loses its thymic character, till at puberty it is very small. In some cases, however, it may persist even to old age.

<sup>42</sup> See S. J. Morris, *The Relation of the Persistent Thymus Gland to Criminology*, 90 *Medical Record*, p. 438.

marked connection between the type of glandular abnormality and the type of crime.<sup>43</sup>

The most ambitious attempt at determining a causal relationship between glandular activity and crime is that of Schlapp and Smith, who use endocrinology as a basis for a new criminology.<sup>44</sup> After pointing out the rôle that glandular imbalance plays in feeble-mindedness, they state that many prison wardens estimate that fully 50 per cent of their charges are mentally below par to some greater or lesser extent. "The fact is," according to these writers, "that criminals are of two broad types, the deficient and the defectives. They are either of subnormal mentality or of faulty mental or nervous constitution. Which class numbers the most individuals in its ranks can not be said at present, but it does not matter, *since it is now certain that both types are similarly produced.*"<sup>45</sup>

Environment becomes a secondary consideration to these writers, the "determining factor in all cases being the mental, nervous, and glandular soundness of the individual. A diseased nervous system is incapable of healthy or social responses even under the best practicable training. On the other hand, a thoroughly normal equipment will probably be little damaged even by exposure to extremely bad environment."

In the next chapter of this report it will become evident that Schlapp and Smith exaggerate the rôle of mental deficiency in crime. Here it is merely pointed out that in grouping all criminals into two classes, both "similarly

<sup>43</sup> Of the 80 to 90 per cent of the prison population who give no evidence of such abnormality, Doctor Reynolds believes that a study of their heredity would reveal a large number of glandular cases in their family history. Many of this 80 or 90 per cent, Doctor Reynolds says, show stigmata of degeneration. It is his opinion, supported by what limited observation he could make, that these stigmata are a kind of heredity end product of a long line of glandular imbalance. "May it not be possible," writes the physician, "that active glandular dys-function, passed on indefinitely through many generations, may eventually result in individuals who, though showing no glandular symptoms, are imperfectly put together?" Doctor Reynolds also gives some instances where prisoners obviously suffering from glandular disturbances were treated for it and showed noticeable improvement thereafter in their conduct. Doctor Reynolds frankly has great faith in the theory, but realizes that no step has yet been proved.

<sup>44</sup> Max G. Schlapp and Edward H. Smith, *The New Criminology*.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119. (Italics the present writer's.)

produced," Schlapp and Smith ignore several of their own admonitions.<sup>46</sup> They ask the reader to remember that "endocrine science is still in its infancy; that definite knowledge on many points is not yet in hand; that there are endless disputes and uncertainties; that various experiments have reported diametrically opposite results from similar researches; and that positive or dogmatic statements are extremely perilous."<sup>47</sup>

They ignore the significance for their theory of the fact that there are a large number of emotionally unbalanced and mentally deficient individuals who do not come into conflict with the law, although the fact itself has not escaped their attention. "Nothing will strike the clinical investigator with more force," write these criminologists, "than the fact that deficient of the same precise type may be criminal or noncriminal apparently in response to nothing more than caprice or chance."<sup>48</sup>

Similar criticisms may be made of Grimberg, whose general thesis is that emotional instability is of far greater influence in delinquency than is mental defect, and that emotional instability is due to a congenital defect in the functioning of the endocrine glands.<sup>49</sup> This writer finds a remarkable kinship between the neurotic and the delinquent in their general psychic make-up, endocrine status, and emotional instability.<sup>50</sup> But he does not provide a satisfactory

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>47</sup> To such statements, the criticism advanced by Charles Fox Chapin may be made. "To some who have theorized only upon the basis of what little knowledge we have of their action, wild statements as to their function have been made and on the basis of these statements ready solution for all abnormality, either physical, psychical, or social, have been made." *Endocrine Disturbance as a Factor in Delinquency*, *The Institution Quarterly*, vol. 15, p. 143.

<sup>48</sup> Schlapp and Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 152. The authors continue: "One is forced to ask how it happens that two boys, both afflicted with feeble-mindedness characterized by maladjustment of the pituitary and the interstitial glands [glandular disorders which, the writers declare, on p. 151, produce the most vicious and brutal criminals] and seemingly affected with equal gravity will go such different ways? One remains all through life a poor deficient who does the world very little harm besides being a burden to the public purse or a cause of constant distress and worry to his parents. The other boy becomes a criminal, commits every kind of deprecation, is used by keener witted and more alert offenders, and eventually commits some act of innate savagery and bestiality."

<sup>49</sup> L. Grimberg, *Emotion and Delinquency*.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

explanation of why one individual becomes neurotic but does not come into conflict with the law while another individual, though subject to similar physical compulsions, becomes delinquent.<sup>51</sup>

The same difficulty arises in determining the rôle of emotional instability as a cause of crime as in determining the rôle of physical defect. In both cases there is no standard for the normal. What distinguishes emotional stability from emotional instability? The endocrinologists are less able to provide us with a norm in respect to emotions than are the anthropometrists with a norm for physical condition, since the material the former have to consider is infinitely more complicated and less tangible. However, until the normal functioning of the endocrine glands and what constitutes emotional stability are determined, it is again merely speculative to talk of emotional instability due to abnormal functioning of the glands as a cause of crime. The wide claims of the endocrinologists that personality characteristics, conduct trends, and criminal behavior are all explicable in terms of glandular functioning have not yet been substantiated.<sup>52</sup>

### CONCLUSIONS

Research into the question of how far criminal behavior results from some physical or organic defect or abnormality in the individual organism encounters several serious obstacles at the outset. Standards of normality are lacking, from which deviations might be gauged. There is, further-

<sup>51</sup> It would seem then that endocrinologists who make sweeping claims of the relation of endocrine imbalance to crime lend justification to the complaint of Doctor Laignel-Lavastine in the introduction to his *The Internal Secretions and the Nervous System*. This classic monograph shows the relationship of nervous disorders to malfunctioning of the glands of internal secretion. But Doctor Laignel-Lavastine observes that glandular disturbance is invoked too frequently as a causative factor, every time, indeed, that the cause is in doubt, and consequently the endocrine glands have become "the maids of all work of physiopathology."

<sup>52</sup> William Healy writes in *Human Biology and Racial Welfare* (Edmund V. Cowdry, editor), p. 399: "Conservative scientific endocrinologists who have undertaken very careful and prolonged special examinations of offenders for us, account for very little indeed of the antisocial behavior in their reports, and in spite of the much-advertised and much-used extracts of glands [they] offer very few suggestions for treatment."

more, no definite information as to the extent to which faulty physical conditions observed in criminals are also found in the law-abiding population.

So far investigators have offered only suggestive theories rather than convincing data on the operation of physical deficiencies in the production of criminal behavior. Lombroso failed in his attempt to set up a distinctive physical criminal type, recognizable by certain stigmata and doomed to a criminal career. The methods by which Lombroso arrived at his conclusions have been shown to be superficial; he did not take into account the fact that anomalies are deviations from a norm and that all efforts to determine physical deviations in individuals are handicapped by the lack of standards of normality, nor could he satisfactorily explain the fact that the anomalies were observable in the noncriminal as well as the criminal population.

Nor does Goring's finding that convicted thieves, burglars, and incendiaries are differentiated from the general population and from other criminals establish any such criminal type as Lombroso suggested. Convicts are a selected group of criminals; they may not be representative of the total criminal population. As Goring also points out, criminals with a weaker physique are more liable to be captured. And if such a differentiation does exist between thieves, burglars, and incendiaries and the general population, it may be explained by the fact that inferior stature and weight handicaps a man in earning a living, and thereby indirectly leads him to a criminal life.

Possibly individuals handicapped by epilepsy and other pathologic conditions are potentially violators of the law to a greater degree than those who are physically normal. But proof that pathologic conditions are generally causes of crime is lacking, and again for the same reason that large numbers of individuals who do not come into conflict with the law are similarly handicapped. Studies on the question of whether criminals are greater sufferers from pathologic conditions and physical disabilities than the general population are none too numerous and there is disagreement as to results.

A large rôle has been claimed for the endocrine glands in the formation of body build and temperament. Accepting this theory, Pende and Kretchmer, among others, have distinguished certain physical types, and Kretchmer in particular has sought to bring such types into relation with certain forms of insanity and temperamental qualities. Applications of his method to criminals are not yet numerous enough to speak of definite results.

A connection between glandular activity and criminal behavior has also been sought by many observers. The science of endocrinology is still too young, and there is still too much disagreement about its data to allow definite conclusions. But this type of research contains interesting possibilities. If it establishes fundamental biochemical mechanisms at the basis of human conduct, the finding can not fail to be of importance in an understanding of criminal behavior, which is but one form of human behavior.

### CHAPTER III MENTAL FACTORS

Dr. Henry H. Goddard, who, more than any other person, is responsible for the contention that there is an intimate relationship between defective mentality and crime, stated in 1919: "Every investigation of the mentality of criminals, misdemeanants, delinquents, and other antisocial groups has proven beyond the possibility of contradiction that nearly all persons in these classes, and in some cases all, are of low mentality. Moreover, a large percentage are feeble-minded \* \* \*. It is no longer to be denied that the greatest single cause of delinquency and crime is low-grade mentality, much of it within the limits of feeble-mindedness."<sup>1</sup>

In his book on feeble-mindedness Goddard presents a table showing the results of intelligence tests given in various institutions. The proportion of defectives ranges from 28 to 89 per cent. On the basis of these studies he reaches the conclusion "that at least 50 per cent of all criminals are mentally defective."<sup>2</sup>

Goddard has indicated unequivocally his conception of the relationship of defective intelligence to crime. His opinion has been shared by many observers.<sup>3</sup> But the soundness of

<sup>1</sup> Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence, lectures delivered at Princeton in 1919, pp. 73-74.

<sup>2</sup> Henry H. Goddard, *Feeble-Mindedness, Its Causes and Consequences*, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> James Burt Miner, in *Deficiency and Delinquency*, gives some published statements as to the percentage of deficiency found among delinquents, as follows: "Probably 80 per cent of the children in the juvenile courts in Manhattan and Bronx are feeble-minded." "Preliminary surveys have shown that from 60 to 70 per cent of these adolescents (sent to the industrial schools in one State) are retarded in their mental development and are to be classed as morons." "Forty to fifty per cent of all criminals are feeble-minded." "The best estimates and the result of the most careful studies indicate that somewhere in the neighborhood of 50 per cent of all criminals are feeble-minded." "Nearly half of those punished for their wickedness are in reality paying the penalty for their stupidity." "More than a quarter of the children in juvenile courts are defective." "One-third of all delinquents are as they are because they are feeble-minded." "It is extremely significant in the

this view depends, first, on whether the amount of mental deficiency existing among criminals has been accurately determined, and, secondly, on whether, where deficiency does exist among criminals, its rôle is necessarily causative. Considerable doubt has been expressed upon both points.

Professor Sutherland has examined 350 studies (practically all he found available) of the intelligence of delinquents and criminals.<sup>4</sup> These studies contain the results of psychometric tests given to about 175,000 offenders. In the following table he classifies the findings according to the type of institution in which the tests were given and indicates the percentages of institution populations found feeble-minded.

*Psychometric studies of delinquents, 1910-1928, by types of institutions*

[Table II in Sutherland's *Mental Deficiency and Crime*]

Institution and years	Number of studies	Percentage feeble-minded in median study	Percentage feeble-minded: range
Juvenile institutions:			
1910-1914.....	24	45	4-96
1915-1919.....	65	32	2-78
1920-1928.....	56	17	2-66
Reformatories:			
1910-1914.....	15	44	14-89
1915-1919.....	28	25	6-66
1920-1928.....	39	26	3-60
State prisons:			
1910-1919.....	30	23	1-75
1920-1928.....	34	19	1-60
Jails, workhouses:			
1910-1919.....	12	31	3-84
1920-1928.....	9	9	1-69
Other institutions:			
1910-1919.....	26	39	8-83
1920-1928.....	11	24	8-37

It is evident from the above table that although high percentages of feeble-mindedness for each type of institu-

study of juvenile delinquency that practically one-third of our delinquent children are actually feeble-minded" (p. 166). Miner believes these views highly exaggerated, although he thinks "mental deficiency is undoubtedly the most important single factor to be considered to-day in the institutional care of delinquents" (p. 167).

<sup>4</sup> Edwin H. Sutherland, *Mental Deficiency and Crime*, ch. 15 of *Social Attitudes*, edited by Kimball Young. Professor Sutherland was kind enough to allow the writer to examine his manuscript before publication. His study has been used extensively in this presentation of the material on mental deficiency in relation to crime.

tion are indicated by particular studies, the variation in percentages for similar institutions is very great. Another conclusion from this table is the unmistakable tendency of more recent studies to find smaller proportions of institution populations feeble-minded. These facts must be accounted for before any valid conclusions may be drawn concerning the extent of defective intelligence among criminals.

Professor Sutherland accounts for the decrease in the diagnoses of feeble-mindedness as follows:

This downward trend in the proportions of delinquents reported feeble-minded may be interpreted in two ways: One is that intelligent people are relatively more likely to commit crime now than they were a generation ago; the other is that the methods of measurement of intelligence have changed. The invalidity of the first interpretation can not be demonstrated, but the second seems much more plausible in view of the well-known changes in the methods of measurement of intelligence. About 1915 much criticism of mental-testing methods developed. Many of the testers pointed out the lack of standardization in these tests. In 1917 Gilliland reported that if 100 delinquents in the Columbus workhouse were given mental tests the percentage found feeble-minded might vary from 19 per cent to 50 per cent, depending upon which one of 12 standards was used. In the same year Miss Fernald reported that if 100 delinquent women, inmates of Bedford, were graded according to nine different methods then in general use, the proportions diagnosed feeble-minded would range between 34 per cent and 100 per cent, depending upon the particular standard selected. In those early days of mental testing the influence of Goddard was very great; he had asserted that the more expert the mental tester the larger the proportion of delinquents he would find to be feeble-minded. Many of the testers attempted to demonstrate their superiority in that manner. During these years Healy, Bronner, Miner, Wallin, and others were questioning the reliability of the high percentages of feeble-minded among the delinquents; Pintner and Paterson and others had suggested methods of standardizing the tests. The criticisms, discussion, and comparison of results did result in lowering the standards of normal intelligence,

so that many who had previously been classified as feeble-minded came to be included among the normal. These changes appear to be the principal factor in the decrease of the proportion of delinquents diagnosed feeble-minded.<sup>5</sup>

The norms fixed by the tests were too high. Wallin states that in the earlier Vineland revisions of the original Binet tests the very age standards which were crucial in the diagnosis of feeble-mindedness in older adolescents and adult criminals and prostitutes, the ages 10, 11, 12, and all higher ages were the most inaccurate.<sup>6</sup> In the careful Stanford revision of the Binet tests made in 1916, and after having tested 65 Californians, Terman fixed the mental age of 16 as the average adult standard. But when this test was given to about 700 unselected adults in the Army the average mental age was found to be only 13.<sup>7</sup>

Until intelligence tests were given to about 1,700,000 men in the United States Army in 1918, the mental testers had not examined a sufficient number of the general population to know whether the norms they had established were accurately fixed.<sup>8</sup> According to these tests much higher percentages of the general population (assuming that the draft Army was representative of the general population) were feeble-minded than was thought to be the case. It had been generally believed that one-half of 1 per cent of the total population was feeble-minded; later, that the percentage was 1 per cent or even 2 per cent.<sup>9</sup> But the Army tests have been interpreted by some, Professor Sutherland points out,

<sup>5</sup> Sutherland, *op. cit.*, pp. 359-360.

<sup>6</sup> J. E. Wallace Wallin, *Problems of Subnormality*, p. 207.

<sup>7</sup> See Margaret Wooster Curti, *The New Lombrosianism*, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 17, No. 2, August, 1926 (pp. 246-253), p. 247.

<sup>8</sup> See *Psychological Examining in the United States Army*, edited by Robert M. Yerkes, Vol. XV, *Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences*.

<sup>9</sup> Miner (*op. cit.*, p. 54 et seq.) considered that 1.5 per cent of the general population would test below 10 years on the Binet scale, as a basis for interpreting the studies made on the intelligence of inmates of a dozen institutions.

See Earnest B. Hoag and Edward H. Williams, *Crime, Abnormal Minds, and the Law*, pp. 8, 9. These writers quote C. J. Olson, of the municipal court of Chicago, as stating that about 2 per cent of the population the world over are charged with crime and then themselves state that "these figures . . . are significantly related to those now available and verifiable in regard to mental defectiveness, namely, that the proportion of the mentally defective to the general population is about 2 per cent."

as showing that 24 per cent of the general population was feeble-minded. This is based on the fact that 24.1 per cent of the 93,973 men on whom results were given tested of inferior and very inferior intelligence.

Professor Sutherland states that "the distribution of the general population in respect to intelligence has not been satisfactorily determined, but the trend appears to be toward higher proportions feeble-minded."<sup>10</sup> This upward trend is also indicated by such studies as the Rhode Island Mental Hygiene Survey which found that 8.6 per cent of 607 Rhode Island school children were mentally defective and the Kentucky Mental Hygiene Survey which showed that 10.3 per cent of 874 school children were mentally defective.<sup>11</sup>

Murchison, Stone, and other psychologists have given the Army tests to adult delinquents in several institutions and have compared their results with those obtained from the testing in the Army.<sup>12</sup> Professor Sutherland summarizes the results of these studies as follows:

These tests, given by different persons in different institutions, are strikingly consistent in the conclusion that adult delinquents score about the same as the draft Army of the same race and nationality in the same State. Serious questions have been raised regarding the validity of these tests and the validity of using the draft Army as a sample of the general population, but the consistency in results is a fact that can not be overlooked.<sup>13</sup>

The downward trend of these tests has thus been accounted for in the lowering of the norms indicating feeble-mindedness, and in the upward trend of the incidence of feeble-mindedness in the general population. The variations in the studies made in similar types of institutions at about the same period, Professor Sutherland explains as due partly

<sup>10</sup> Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

<sup>11</sup> Report of the Rhode Island Mental Hygiene Survey, conducted under auspices of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene (1924), p. 70. Report of the Kentucky Mental Hygiene Survey, made under the same auspices, p. 141, Table 24.

<sup>12</sup> Carl Murchison, *Criminal Intelligence*; Calvin P. Stone, *A Comparative Study of 399 Inmates of the Indiana Reformatory and 653 Men of the United States Army*, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 12, No. 2, August, 1921, pp. 238-257.

<sup>13</sup> Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 363-364.

to real differences in the character of the populations of the different institutions, but more largely to the fact that the testers have not been agreed as to what measure of performance indicates mental deficiency. There has been considerable controversy among psychologists as to whether a mental age of 9, 10, 11, 12, or 13 years represented deficiency.<sup>14</sup> Where the data was interpreted by means of an intelligence quotient, the same controversy arose over whether an I. Q. of 50, 60, 70, or 75 was the proper criterion.

Dearborn<sup>15</sup> and Burt,<sup>16</sup> for example, have maintained that an I. Q. of 50 was the proper dividing line, whereas testers such as Williams<sup>17</sup> and the Ordahls<sup>18</sup> have in fact used I. Q.'s of 70 and 75, respectively, to indicate the level of mental deficiency.

The preceding discussion raises serious questions as to whether intelligence tests which are relied upon to show the connection between low intelligence and crime are proper diagnostic media for this purpose. First of all it may be asked what the psychologist understands by intelligence. As Thomas says, rigid definition must precede exact measurement.

But psychologists do not agree upon the nature of intelligence. Dearborn declares, " \* \* \* if we should ask what it is which constitutes intelligence, teachers and testers would hardly agree with each other or among themselves in their answers. In recent symposia on the subject held by British and American psychologists, many and varied opinions were expressed. Some of the briefer statements or definitions, beginning with one of Binet's are (1) 'Intelligence is judgment or common sense, initiative, the ability

<sup>14</sup> See Wallin, *op. cit.*, p. 207 et seq. See also A. R. Gilliland, *The Mental Ability of 100 Inmates of the Columbus (Ohio) Workhouse*, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 7, No. 0, March, 1917 (pp. 857-866), pp. 858-859.

<sup>15</sup> Walter Fenno Dearborn, *Intelligence Tests*, p. 252.

<sup>16</sup> Cyril Burt, *Mental and Scholastic Tests*, p. 171 et seq.

<sup>17</sup> J. Harold Williams, *Intelligence and Delinquency, a Study of 45 Cases*, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 6, No. 5, January, 1916, pp. 696-705.

<sup>18</sup> Louise E. and George Ordahl, *Study of 49 Female Convicts*, *Journal of Delinquency*, Vol. II (1917), pp. 331-351.

to adapt oneself.' (2) According to Burt: 'Voluntary attention is the essential factor of general intelligence.' (3) Terman says: 'Intelligence is the ability to think in terms of abstract ideas.' (4) 'Intelligence is intellect plus knowledge,' according to Henmon. (5) 'Intelligence is an acquiring capacity,' says Woodrow. (6) One of the best definitions is proposed by Ballard: Intelligence is 'the relative general efficiency of minds measured under similar conditions of knowledge, interest, and habituation.' Other definitions are: (7) Intelligence is a 'composite measure of abilities to learn' (Gates), and one proposed by Thorndike (8) 'We may then define intellect in general as the power of good responses from the point of view of truth or fact.'<sup>19</sup>

This difference of opinion among psychologists as to the nature of the entity which they seek to measure calls forth the following observation from the Thomases:

And so we find \* \* \* that the psychologists are not agreed as to the functions included and the tests which have been devised to measure mental capacity can not be checked back to the functions which it is claimed they measure. The result is a kind of reasoning in a circle, tests are devised to measure intelligence whose exact nature is unknown, and then intelligence is defined in terms of performance on the tests.<sup>20</sup>

The disagreement as to what actually constitutes intelligence is reflected in the disagreement as to the adequacy of the tests in measuring intelligence. Curti states that the early tests reached not "native" intelligence but acquired abilities such as the use of language and scholastic attainments.<sup>21</sup> Stenquist asks, "But is it not a loose use of terms that permits us to use the name 'general' intelligence to designate mental traits which are painstakingly limited to the literary academic tasks of our present intelligence tests?"<sup>22</sup> In other words, the belief expressed by these

<sup>19</sup> Dearborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94. See also W. I. Thomas and Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *The Child in America*, p. 332 et seq.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

<sup>21</sup> Margaret Wooster Curti, *op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> J. L. Stenquist, *The Case for the Low I. Q.*, *Journal of Educational Research*, vol. 4, No. 4, November, 1921 (pp. 241-254), p. 243.

writers is that intelligence may be revealed in other ways than by facility in the use of language and proficiency in things learned at school. Other tests such as mechanical aptitude tests have therefore been developed to measure abilities not disclosed by the usual methods of testing.

<sup>7</sup> Even if tests do measure intelligence, are they adequate diagnostic agents in the determination of who is feeble-minded? For feeble-mindedness involves more than mental retardation. It also involves social incompetence. Doll declares that the concept of feeble-mindedness contains three elements: (1) Social incompetence (2) resulting from mental defect which is (3) caused by arrested mental development.<sup>23</sup>

Terman believed that some measure of performance on his test could indicate a lack of intellectual capacity incompatible with life in society.<sup>24</sup> But other writers do not believe that the I. Q. alone is sufficient for the determination of social competence. They have therefore considered social data as well as the measure of performance shown by the intelligence tests. One element taken into account in forming a judgment as to an individual's capacity for social ad-

<sup>23</sup> E. A. Doll, On the Use of the Term "Feeble-minded," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 8, No. 2, July, 1917 (pp. 216-221), p. 218. See also Goddard, *Feeble-mindedness*, (p. 4).

The oft-quoted definition of the British Royal Commission on Care and Control of Feeble-minded (London, 1908, Vol. VIII, p. 448), should be compared with the one given in the Report of the Mental Deficiency Committee, Great Britain, 1929.

The earlier definition of the feeble-minded was "Persons who may be capable of earning a living under favorable circumstances, but are incapable from mental defect existing from birth or from an early age (a) of competing on equal terms with their normal fellows; or (b) of managing themselves and their affairs with ordinary prudence." Quoted in Miner, *Deficiency and Delinquency*, p. 10.

The 1929 definition is as follows: "Our concept of mental deficiency therefore is that of a condition of incomplete development of mind of such degree or kind as to render the individual so incapable of adjusting himself to his social environment in a reasonably efficient and harmonious manner as to necessitate external care, supervision, and control." Report of Mental Deficiency Committee, Great Britain, 1929, p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> "The writer would propose as a criterion of intellectual feebleness in adults, intelligence below 11 years as determined by the Stanford Revision of the Binet Scale. This would probably include in the class of intellectually feeble, as defined, practically all who are recognized as socially feeble by the popular standards." Lewis M. Terman, *The Binet Scale and the Diagnosis of Feeble-mindedness*, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 7, No. 4, November, 1916 (pp. 530-543), p. 540.

justment has been the commission of a crime. Miner states categorically "A border-line case which has also shown serious and repeated delinquency should be classed as feeble-minded, the combination of doubtful intellect and repeated delinquency making him socially unfit."<sup>25</sup> But it is then absurd to state that feeble-mindedness is the cause of the crimes of the individuals diagnosed feeble-minded when the fact of the commission of crime is one of the elements entering into the determination of who is feeble-minded.

Even granting that intelligence tests are adequate to diagnose mental defects and that testers have employed proper techniques in making their diagnoses, can one draw any conclusions as to the relationship of mental deficiency to crime on the basis of the studies here considered? Most of them relate to institution populations and therefore deal with criminals who are caught. If such criminals were representative of criminals in general, then causative factors impelling them to crime might be said to be generally effective causes of crime. But it is a commonplace that the cleverer criminals are less apt to be caught. Hence institution populations are highly selected groups of criminals.

Furthermore, Malzberg's study indicates that by a process of selection, among the criminals who are caught, the defectives are more apt to find their way into institutions.<sup>26</sup> Of 574 individuals charged with the commission of a felony before the Court of General Sessions of New York, 11.9 per cent were diagnosed mentally defective whereas 16.2 per cent of those found guilty were mentally defective. The mentally defective received fewer suspended sentences; 35.2 per cent of all the felons received this favor, but only 18.2 per cent of the defective felons. Thus 64 per cent of those found guilty were sentenced to institutions as against 81.8 per cent of the defectives. Sutherland found that there also seems to be less likelihood that defectives will be paroled. In 1921 in Joliet Prison, the mentally defective were said to constitute 28.6 per cent of the prison

<sup>25</sup> Miner, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>26</sup> Benjamin Malzberg, On the Relation of Mental Defect to Delinquency, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 10, No. 2, August, 1919, pp. 218-221.

population, but only 15.6 per cent of those paroled were defectives.<sup>27</sup>

While the proposition that there is a direct relationship between deficiency and delinquency has been seriously questioned, several observers have found, in studying institution populations, evidence of a relation between intelligence level and the type of crime committed. Goring, estimating intelligence levels without the use of intelligence tests, came to the following conclusions regarding the mentality of the English convicts studied by him:

It is particularly interesting to note that the percentage of mentally defective murderers is nearly twice as great as the percentage of persons convicted of other forms of personal violence; that receivers of stolen goods and coiners are on the average much more intelligent than thieves; that stack-firing, which is a crime of passion, associated more highly than any other with imbecility, must be distinguished from other forms of arson, which are crimes perpetrated by persons of much higher grade of intelligence and for motives of personal gain; that indecent assaults upon children and unnatural sexual offenses are related to weak-mindedness much more than are crimes of rape upon adults; and that embezzlement, forgery, and most kinds of fraud are peculiarly intelligent crimes, absent in a marked manner from the records of mentally defective persons.<sup>28</sup>

The investigators who have used mental tests seem to be in agreement on the finding that crimes of an acquisitive nature, particularly such crimes as embezzlement, fraud, and forgery, are committed by persons much superior intellectually to those who commit sex crimes. These tend to be committed by persons of inferior intelligence. The intelligence of individuals committing crimes of violence appears to be somewhere between these two groups.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

<sup>28</sup> Goring, *The English Convict* (abridged edition), p. 180. Goring's work was done when intelligence tests were in their infancy.

<sup>29</sup> See Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 372; William T. Root, *A Psychological and Educational Survey of 1916 Prisoners in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania*, p. 52, et seq.; Carl Murchison, *Criminal Intelligence*, p. 62; Bernard Glueck, *First Annual Report of the Psychiatric Clinic, Sing Sing Prison* (Publication No. 11 of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1917), p. 9, et seq.

But proof of a relationship between intelligence levels and types of crime in no way substantiates the claim that there is a significant difference between the amount of feeble-mindedness in the criminal and in the general population.

The contention of the followers of Goddard that feeble-mindedness in and of itself is an important cause of crime is weakened still further by a number of studies made on school children. The most serious behavior problems according to these studies are presented not by the mentally defective, i. e., the feeble-minded, but by the backward children—the dull normals. Wallin diagnosed the mental abilities of 173 delinquent and 691 nondelinquent pupils in the St. Louis public schools. He found that there was a greater percentage of feeble-mindedness among the nondelinquent than among the delinquent children. The latter class, however, contained a much larger percentage of backward children.<sup>30</sup> Dearborn quotes a study of New York City truants which makes the observation, "It will be found that the largest percentage of truants are neither belonging to the class now recognized as definitely defective nor to the class of average normality."<sup>31</sup>

To some extent the fact that the dull-normal, backward children present more behavior problems is attributed to the fact that no special provision is made for them within the school system. The failings of the clearly defective are recognized but the backward children are expected to meet the exigencies of a school system which is unsuited to them.<sup>32</sup> But this tends to show that there is nothing inherent in the nature of deficient intelligence which necessarily leads to misconduct.

Several writers point to a similar conclusion. As one study of the social adjustment of the feeble-minded indicates, " \* \* \* their problem is far from being a simple

<sup>30</sup> J. E. Wallace Wallin, *Delinquency and Feeble-Mindedness*, *Mental Hygiene*, vol. 1, 1917, pp. 585-590. Compare on this point, Owens, *The Behavior Problem Boy*, p. 46 et seq., with M. E. Haggerty, *The Incidence of Undesirable Behavior in Public-School Children*, *Journal of Educational Research*, vol. 12, 1925, pp. 102-122.

<sup>31</sup> Dearborn, *op. cit.*, p. 256 et seq.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257.

one of mental deficiency alone and \* \* \* the social factors involved make it difficult for individuals even of the higher mental levels to make successful adjustments."<sup>33</sup>

Another study of mental defectives states, "Many of the defectives studied were living under conditions making wholesome family life impossible, and the coincidence of bad environment and mental defect aggravated antisocial tendencies."<sup>34</sup>

Healy, too, discounts defectiveness as an independent causative factor in delinquency. He writes "\* \* \* one must conclude that the development of criminalism is partially the result of environment as well as of innate tendencies. If one does not believe this, let him study similar defective individuals in the conditions of a good training school for the feeble-minded, and see, under appropriate environment, how small an amount of criminalistic tendency is evolved."<sup>35</sup>

After having analyzed the 350 surveys on the intelligence of criminals and various studies of the careers of the feeble-minded, Professor Sutherland states finally, "The most significant conclusion from this evidence is that the relation of feeble-mindedness to delinquency can not be determined by dealing with it in isolation from other factors. We find feeble-minded persons well behaved in some situations, delinquent in others; even in one objective situation some feeble-minded persons become delinquent, other feeble-minded persons do not become delinquent. The significance of feeble-mindedness apparently can be determined only when studied in relation to a great many other personal and situational factors."<sup>36</sup>

The influence of environmental factors has not, therefore, been taken into account sufficiently by those who have made

<sup>33</sup> The Social Adjustment of the Feeble-Minded, a group thesis study of 998 feeble-minded individuals made by students in the School of Applied Social Sciences in Western Reserve University, 1930, p. 184.

<sup>34</sup> Emma O. Lundberg, A Social Study of Mental Defectives in New Castle County, Del., U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 24, p. 21.

<sup>35</sup> The Individual Delinquent, p. 448, sec. 262.

<sup>36</sup> Sutherland, op. cit., p. 373.

sweeping statements concerning the relation of mental deficiency to crime.

The contention that there is a direct relationship between defective intelligence and crime rests on the assumption that intelligence is the determining factor in human conduct.<sup>37</sup> But this supposition has been questioned, at least in its application to delinquency and crime.

Grimberg makes a statement typical of the new attitude. "I ascribe to the emotions a greater rôle than to the mental status as a causative agent in delinquency."<sup>38</sup> The extent to which this "emotional or affective deficiency," to use Dearborn's phrase, is active in the production of crime, is being sought for particularly in studies of juvenile delinquents and various types of tests are being developed to make such study possible.<sup>39</sup>

Slawson,<sup>40</sup> for example, tested a group of juvenile delinquents with the Mathews adaptation of the Woodworth psychoneurotic inventory and came to the conclusion that there was an intimate association between defective emotional make-up and male juvenile delinquency.

Bridges makes the following statement concerning the juvenile delinquents studied by him:

There is some evidence that these boys are poorly developed affectively or temperamentally just as they are poorly developed intellectually. This is suggested by the results of the Matthew and Pressey tests as well as by the descriptions of the boys in the office records.

<sup>37</sup> Goddard, Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup> L. Grimberg, Emotion and Delinquency, p. 115.

<sup>39</sup> Albert Sidney Raubenheimer, in An Experimental Study of Behavior Traits of the Potentially Delinquent Boy, p. 6, lists a number of tests of a non-intellectual character, as follows:

June E. Downey: The Will-Profile, Department of Psychology Bulletin, University of Wyoming, 1919.

S. L. Pressey, A Group Scale for Investigating the Emotions, Journal of Abnormal Psychology, vol. 16, 1921.

S. C. Kohs, An Ethical Discrimination Test, Journal of Delinquency, vol. 7, 1922.

Paul I. Voelker, The Function of Ideals and Attitudes in Social Education, Columbia University Contributions to Education, 1921.

S. Upton Chassel and Clara Chassel, A Scale for Measuring the Habits of Good Citizenship. Teachers College Record, vol. 20, 1919.

<sup>40</sup> John Slawson, The Delinquent Boy, p. 268.

They do not seem to have acquired the normal social and personal sentiments, and their emotional reactions are infantile; that is, variable and unstable. In other words, their temperaments appear to be immature in comparison with their chronological ages.<sup>41</sup>

It is too early to draw any conclusions on crime causation from studies of this character. The tests used to measure various emotional traits are still in an experimental stage. And here, too, as in the intelligence tests, the principal problem is what is normal. Until this is adequately fixed it will be premature to talk of emotional deviations or emotional deficiency revealed by these tests.

A much more important approach to the problem of the causation of crime in terms of nonintellectual factors is furnished by the psychiatrists. Within the last few years a considerable number of studies have been made to determine both the levels of intelligence and the mental disorders to be found in inmates of prisons, reformatories, and jails in various parts of the country, beginning with the pioneer study by Dr. Bernard Glueck in Sing Sing Prison.<sup>42</sup> The following charts present the results of the surveys made in penal institutions of 10 States.

<sup>41</sup> James Winfred Bridges and K. M. Banham, *A Psychological Study of Juvenile Delinquents by Group Methods*, Genetic Psychology Monographs, vol. I, No. 5 (pp. 411-506), pp. 505-506.

In a study by Mildred S. Covert, *Excitability in Delinquent Boys*, *Journal of Delinquency*, vol. 5, November, 1920 (pp. 224-239), it is stated that in an unselected group of 100 delinquents, 37 per cent were found to be "definitely excitable." (P. 226.) This finding is compared with excitability statistics derived from public-school surveys, the Salt Lake survey having found that 10 per cent of the pupils were "noticeably nervous" and the Boise survey that 7 per cent were nervous and excitable. (P. 228.) On the basis of evidence of the above character the writer makes the statement: "It would appear therefore that this tendency [to excitability] is much more common among delinquents than in the regular school population." (P. 228.)

<sup>42</sup> *Concerning Prisoners, Mental Hygiene*, Vol. II, April, 1918, pp. 1-42. First Annual Report, Psychiatric Clinic, Sing Sing Prison, published by National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York, 1917.

Summary of mental conditions of populations in prisons, penitentiaries, reformatories, and houses of correction, from mental hygiene surveys made by National Committee for Mental Hygiene

	Arizona	Georgia	Kentucky	Maryland	New York (Sing Sing)	North Dakota	Rhode Island	South Carolina	Wisconsin (Waupun Prison)
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent				
Normal.....	39.5	26.8	24.7	14.6	41.0	15.9	35.4	20.0	25.1
Dull normal.....	27.0	7.5	16.2	28.3		21.1	30.6	15.2	16.3
Subnormal (includes borderline).....	6.3	19.9	21.4	10.9		9.8	12.8	15.4	19.8
Feeble-minded (includes mental defect).....	15.0	17.6	18.1	11.8	28.1	8.4	2.4	16.4	11.9
Epileptic.....		5.5		.2		1.5		3.6	1.2
Psychopathic personality.....	8.5	5.5	16.7	16.9	18.9	35.3	11.4	18.9	18.1
Psychoneurosis.....	.2		.9	5.3		3.7	1.0		.7
Mental disease or deterioration.....	2.9	13.4	.9	2.9	12.0	5.2	5.6	10.1	6.9
Pellagra.....		1.85							
Paranoid condition.....		1.85						.4	
Endocrine disorder.....			.5				.4		
Unascertained.....			.5						
Character defect.....				9.2					
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of prisoners examined.....	380	216	215	1,386	608	213	288	310	570

<sup>1</sup> Includes classification subnormal (14.9) and borderline mental defect (6.5).

<sup>2</sup> Includes drug addiction (2.8).  
<sup>3</sup> 73 white and 237 colored prisoners.

<sup>4</sup> Classified as border-line mental defect.

Summary of mental conditions of populations in jails, from mental hygiene surveys made by National Committee for Mental Hygiene

	Arizona	Georgia	Kentucky	Maryland	New York <sup>1</sup>	Ohio (Cincinnati)	Rhode Island (Providence County Jail)	South Carolina	Wisconsin
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent				
Normal.....	27.7	26.0	4.9	30.7	22.9	25.5	37.6	21.4	55.4
Dull normal.....	32.9	3.0	11.6	13.3	7.2	13.5	38.4	19.7	
Subnormal (includes border line).....	7.8	23.0	19.3	9.3	5.4	7.0	11.0	28.2	7.3
Feeble-minded (includes mental defect).....	8.1	34.0	13.9	2.7	7.6	28.5	1.6	13.7	16.4
Epileptic.....	1.3	5.0		1.3	.9	1.0		1.7	2.3
Psychopathic personality.....	18.8	3.0	45.3	21.3	42.2	18.0	6.8	8.9	15.2
Psychoneurosis.....	1.6				1.5	3.5		.4	
Mental disease or deterioration.....	.9	3.0	3.1	5.4	7.3	2.0	4.8	3.0	3.4
Unascertained.....	.9	1.0	2.2		.5	1.0		3.0	
Paranoid.....		1.0							
Pellagra.....		1.0							
Character defect <sup>2</sup> .....				13.3	4.5				
Endocrine disorder.....				2.7					
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number prisoners examined.....	310	100	223	75	1,288	200	133	234	177

<sup>1</sup> Includes 29 county jails and 5 penitentiaries.

<sup>2</sup> Includes Negro and white prisoners.

<sup>3</sup> Includes 1 per cent drug deterioration.

<sup>4</sup> Includes drug addiction, 0.8 per cent.

<sup>5</sup> Includes classification personality defect.

The range in percentages found feeble-minded in the various institutions on the above charts is from 2.4 to 18.1 per cent in the prisons and reformatories and from 1.6 to 34 per cent in the jails. The variation is therefore great, though not as great as Professor Sutherland found in the surveys made during the same period—that is, after 1920—his figures being from 1 to 60 per cent for prisons and reformatories, and 1 to 69 per cent in the jails. The data on the intelligence of delinquents revealed by these charts bring up no question on the relationship of intelligence to crime which has not already been considered.

According to these charts the two most important types of mental disorders existing among inmates of institutions are psychopathic personality and mental disease or deterioration. Psychopathic personality is by far the more important, Doctor Glueck having found that 18.9 per cent of the prisoners he examined fell into this category. In the State penitentiary of North Dakota 35.3 per cent of the prisoners have been diagnosed as psychopaths; 42.2 per cent of the 1,216 inmates of 29 New York county jails and 5 penitentiaries were so classed; and 45.3 per cent of the inhabitants of 11 county jails in the State of Kentucky.

The importance of the psychopathic criminal for the problem of crime is emphasized by many observers.

Doctor Glueck states, "Serious as is the problem which the defective delinquent presents to society, it is by no means nearly so serious as is the problem of the psychopath with antisocial tendencies."<sup>43</sup> Orbison calls him the "arch criminal" in the realm of mental deviation."<sup>44</sup> The Missouri Crime Survey states:

It is the psychopathic individual who furnishes us with our delinquent problem—the unstable, neurotic, poorly balanced, weak-willed individual with marked character defects and personality handicaps, but often with good intelligence, is *the most difficult problem we have to meet in handling criminals.*<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> In the First Annual Report, Psychiatric Clinic, Sing Sing, p. 35.

<sup>44</sup> Dr. Thomas J. Orbison, Constitutional Psychopathic Inferior Personality, Journal of Delinquency, vol. 10 (1926), p. 428.

<sup>45</sup> P. 405. See also James V. May, Mental Diseases, p. 523. (Italics the present writer's.)

These statements shift the emphasis from the feeble-minded criminal to the psychopathic criminal. Some consideration must therefore be given to the question of what light the diagnosis "psychopathic personality" throws upon crime causation.<sup>46</sup>

"In the psychopaths," writes Birnbaum, "what is affected principally is the personality and character, and particularly feeling, instinct, and will. These character anomalies of the psychopaths are differentiated not qualitatively but quantitatively from normal individuals, the difference being one of degree rather than of kind. The anomalies are outgrowths and defects of natural psychic qualities."<sup>47</sup>

But if psychopathic personality traits are distinguishable from the normal only by quantitative differences, by differ-

<sup>46</sup> The traits in a criminal now designated psychopathic were once explained on a theory of moral insanity. Prichard in 1835 (in A Treatise on Insanity, p. 4, et seq.) was the first writer to use the term "moral insanity." Henry Maudsley secured widespread recognition for it. He speaks of the morally insane as characterized by an entire absence of the moral sense; as there are persons who can not distinguish certain colors because they have what is called color blindness, so there are some who are congenitally deprived of moral sense. (In Responsibility in Mental Disease, 1901 edition, pp. 62-63.) Lombroso identified his born criminal with the morally insane.

The concept of moral insanity has enabled criminologists who opposed the theory that crime was the result of environmental influences to argue that the principal factors in the causation of crime are constitutional. Bleuler, for example (in Der Gehorene Verbrecher, 1896, p. 28 et seq.), argued that even in the lowest classes the requisites for the development of a system of morality were present. If a scheme of morals does not develop and the individual becomes criminal, the reason is that he is not so well constituted as the one who does not become delinquent. Bowers states that every individual is presumed to be the possessor of an innate moral sense or conscience which enables him to decide what is right and wrong in human conduct. The moral sense is the last psychic function to be developed, but is the first to become confused, disordered, or destroyed by pathological processes affecting the mind. (In Constitutional Immorality, International Clinics, 23d series, Vol. IV, 1913, p. 271.)

This concept of moral insanity has, however, been vigorously attacked, particularly in Germany. (See Adolph Baer, Der Verbrecher in anthropologischer Beziehung, p. 284 et seq.) The presence of a mental disturbance which affects simply the moral sphere has been denied. The supposition on which the whole theory of moral insanity is based, that there is such a thing as a moral sense, has never been established. The term is, therefore, no longer used generally by criminologists. It has, however, persisted in England. See, for example, William Norwood East, An Introduction to Forensic Psychiatry in the Criminal Courts, and Burt, The Young Delinquent, p. 33.

<sup>47</sup> Dr. Karl Birnbaum, Die Psychopathischen Verbrecher, p. 10.

ences of degree, there must be some norm to which these deviating traits may be referred.

As the Thomases point out, such a norm does not exist: " \* \* \* Data regarding even the simplest characteristics of mankind in general have been slow in accumulating. And because there have been no exact data by which a proper statistical characterization of the 'normal population' could be made, types have been assumed to deviate from a priori concepts of the characteristics of the normal population. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that these concepts have represented idealizations of mankind, and that in almost every sphere as data have accumulated, the concepts have had to be scaled down quite radically."<sup>48</sup>

The psychiatrists themselves have recognized that they were not dealing with any clearly defined entity. Birnbaum states that because the difference in trait between psychopathic and normal is quantitative there is considerable uncertainty in the differentiation of the psychopathic. Whether the manifestation in question is to be classed within the natural limits of the normal character or as a psychopathic deviation depends wholly on individual judgment.<sup>49</sup>

Bleuler who differentiated various classes of psychopathic personalities states: "The following forms of disease have neither as between themselves nor as opposed to the normal individual any sharply defined limits, I may say any kind of limits at all." In Bleuler's opinion, it is arbitrary with the

<sup>48</sup> Thomas, op. cit., p. 448 et seq. Sidney L. and Luella C. Pressey state: "The first thing concerning normality to be fully recognized is that very, very little is known about it. We know \* \* \* little enough about individuals who are mentally abnormal. But at least abnormality has been studied intensively and extensively. Normal individuals have received almost no such study." Mental Abnormality and Deficiency, p. 85. (Italics the present writer's.)

The Presseys continue, "Such study [of normal individuals] will probably show that many supposedly abnormal features in the histories of persons who are social and psychiatric problems are not distinctive of abnormality at all. It will also probably demonstrate that many cases who were really thought abnormal really are not; just as the testing done in the Army has shown that many criminals and social delinquents who were thought to be feeble-minded can not be so considered. In fact, a thorough revision of present concepts regarding mental disease may be expected," p. 86.

<sup>49</sup> See Birnbaum, op. cit.

psychiatrist how acute and frequent the symptoms need be before a diagnosis of psychopathy will be made.<sup>50</sup>

This explains, then, why psychiatrists are not agreed among themselves as to the character and the extent of the "abnormality" necessary to constitute an individual a psychopath.<sup>51</sup> The Thomases point to one serious result of this lack of agreement. "The lack of definiteness in categories based on 'abnormality \* \* \* in the character and intensity of emotional and volitional reactions' would make it almost impossible to compare studies made by different sets of investigators."<sup>52</sup>

In other words, the assertion by a psychiatrist that 40 per cent of an institution population is psychopathic means no more than that he believes that the "abnormal" mental traits which he understands under the term psychopathic personality are present in the institution to that extent. An equally competent psychiatrist may find a much smaller per-

<sup>50</sup> Dr. E. Bleuler, Lehrbuch der Psychiatrie, p. 422.

The psychopathic categories set up by Bleuler are the following:

1. The excitable type that reacts to external influences in an acute, immoderate way.
2. The unsteady (Haltlosen) distinguished by a lack of permanence in their feelings and an especially strong suggestibility.
3. The impulsives (Triebmenschen)—spendthrifts, gamblers, dipsomaniacs, etc.
4. The eccentrics, in whose psychic life unity and logic are lacking.
5. The liars and swindlers.
6. The enemies of society, who are destined to become criminals.
7. The quarrelsome.

See also Birnbaum, op. cit.

<sup>51</sup> A Special Report on the Psychopathic Delinquent, made by the State Commission of Prisons, New York, December, 1925, states (p. 2) of the psychopath, "No comprehensive definition has been generally accepted. The classification remains vague or, as some experts claim, a makeshift, descriptive of mental abnormalities that do not fall under other forms of diagnosis." The report then quotes several definitions, among them: "It is a term which in the last five years has come to have a more specific meaning, although at the present time it is vague enough \* \* \* not enough has yet been written that is specifically representative of the facts."—Dr. William Healy.

"Psychopathic as a prefix has come to be a waste basket into which all sorts of things have been thrown. It is a sort of middle ground for the dumping of odds and ends, as the præcox group used to be."—Dr. William A. White.

"They are individuals who do not indicate a defect in intelligence nor a definite psychosis, but whose behavior is of an unusual or deviated sort."—Dr. A. L. Jacoby.

<sup>52</sup> Thomas, op. cit., p. 451. See also Sutherland, Criminology, p. 122 et seq.

centage psychopathic. Is it possible that the populations of the jails in Georgia and South Carolina are so dissimilar from those of Kentucky that, as shown in the charts given above, only 3 per cent and 9 per cent are psychopathic in the first two States, respectively, whereas 45.3 per cent are psychopathic in Kentucky?

Moreover, the mere presence of psychopathic traits in a prisoner does not explain why he committed the crime for which he is in prison. Psychopaths commit all types of crime, according to Doctor Glueck.<sup>53</sup> Before the particular abnormal trait may be held responsible for the crime committed it must be brought into direct relation to the criminal act.

Another objection to the use of psychopathy as an explanation of crime is that reasoning in a circle is involved even more directly than in the case of the similar use of the concept of feeble-mindedness. One of the tests as to whether the individual in question is psychopathic is whether or not he has committed crime. Psychopathy is then used to explain why the crime was committed.<sup>54</sup>

A similar fallacy seems to underlie the whole psychiatric approach to the problem of crime. "A really healthy mind does not originate conduct that is criminal," states the Arizona Mental Hygiene Survey.<sup>55</sup> "Mental health entails socialization and therefore precludes antisocial conduct."

The same point of view is also expressed by the following extract from a report of the National Crime Commission: "In the majority of cases that are diagnosed as mental disease for purposes of commitment, cases in which no crime is alleged, there are no demonstrable pathognomic morbid anatomic changes. Present knowledge suggests that mental disease under these circumstances consists of faulty habits of behavior due to inherited defects of bodily constitution, to faulty training or both. The behavior shown by per-

<sup>53</sup> Bernard Glueck, op. cit., p. 37

<sup>54</sup> Professor Sutherland speaks of this error in *Criminology*, p. 123. See also Thomas, op. cit., pp. 447-448.

<sup>55</sup> P. 47.

sons who follow a career of crime is founded also on defects of bodily constitution, faulty training or both and may equally be labeled mental disease. *This conclusion is permissible even when the criminal has shown no evidence of mental disease other than his criminal behavior.*"<sup>56</sup>

But if crime itself is understood as mental disease, the statement that mental disease is a cause of crime is meaningless.

The term mental disease or deterioration as used in the above charts refers to the mental disorders usually found listed and described in textbooks on psychiatry as dementia præcox, paranoia, paresis, etc. Doctor Glueck found 12 per cent of 608 prisoners in Sing Sing were suffering from mental disease or deterioration. In the Georgia State Prison 13.4 per cent of the inmates, and 10.1 per cent of those in the South Carolina penitentiary were placed in this category. Although numerically less important than the psychopathic personality group, the criteria by which the mentally diseased may be recognized are more certain. But the finding that 12 per cent of a group of prisoners are mentally diseased, while interesting for the psychiatrist, does not without further data throw any light on the causation of crime. The objection so frequently urged is of equal force here. The mere presence of an abnormal trait in a criminal does not in and of itself explain his criminal behavior. The mental disorder is causally connected with the crime committed where an individual subject to an illusion of persecution kills the one whom he believes is persecuting him. But no such causality is necessarily present if an individual subject to the manic-depressive psychoses steals. The relation between the mental disorder and the crime committed may be but a chance relation, or the mental disorder may be a prison psychosis, i. e., one developed after the individual has been sentenced to prison and hence after

<sup>56</sup> Report of the subcommittee on the medical aspects of crime of the National Crime Commission (Dec. 18, 1930), pp. 18-19, quoting "the official views of the American Medical Association . . . expressed in an editorial entitled 'Psychiatry in Relation to Crime' which appeared in the journal of that association Aug. 2, 1930." (Italics the present writer's.)

the act was committed.<sup>57</sup> This is of especial importance since the above studies have been made upon prison inmates.

What has been said about the feeble-minded—that the mere fact of mental retardation did not explain their delinquency, and that the influence of other factors had also to be considered—must be repeated in connection with psychopathic offenders or offenders handicapped by mental disorder. Birnbaum says of the psychopath:

It is only necessary to refer to definite prevailing traits of the psychopaths: Their lack of inner control and power of resistance, their weakness of will, their susceptibility and sensitiveness to milieu, in order to recognize the fact that the psychopaths are especially endangered by the environment as regards both the tendency to asocial acts and the inclination to asocial character formation; \* \* \*.<sup>58</sup>

Doctor Glueck also emphasizes the significance of environmental influences:

In any psychopathological study of the offender, the error must be avoided of seeing the cause of the criminal act entirely in the constitutional make-up of the individual. That such is not the case does not require much proof. *The criminal act, in every instance, is the resultant of the interaction between a particularly constituted personality and a particular environment.* Because 59 per cent of the total number of cases examined were classifiable in psychopathological terms, *it does not at all mean that these individuals were*

<sup>57</sup> "Kraepelin asserts that mental disorders occur ten times as frequently in prison as in freedom. The criminal, who in most instances is already burdened with a more or less strong predisposition to mental disorder, upon being placed in prison finds himself at once in a most favorable environment for a mental breakdown \* \* \*. The unfavorable hygienic surroundings which are found in most prisons, the scarcity of air and exercise, readily prepare the way for a breakdown, even in an habitual criminal. Above all, however, it is the emotional shock and depression which invariably accompany the painful loss of freedom, the loneliness and seclusion, which force the prisoner to a racking occupation with his own mind, to a persistent introspection, making him feel so much more keenly the anxiety and apprehension for the future, the remorse for his deed, that play an important rôle in the production of mental disorders. This is especially true when it concerns an accidental criminal, one who still possesses a high degree of self-respect and honor \* \* \*." Dr. Bernard Glueck, *Studies in Forensic Psychiatry*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>58</sup> Dr. Karl Birnbaum, *The Social Significance of the Psychopath*, in *Some Social Aspects of Mental Hygiene*, edited by Frankwood E. Williams (pp. 70-79), p. 70.

*predestined to commit crime.* In fact, there are, in all probability, many more psychopathologically classifiable people outside of prison than there are within prison. That more of them do not get into prison is due to the fact that they have had the many benefits of suitable environment and the protection which goes with these benefits, a protection of which those who do get into prison have been deprived to a greater or lesser extent.<sup>59</sup>

It is strange that in view of this clear statement by Doctor Glueck, the psychiatrists seem to have so lightly passed over the suggestion that social influences may be just as responsible for the criminal behavior of the defective or mentally diseased as his mental abnormalities. The claim advanced by Groves and Blanchard is typical: "From \* \* \* studies of unselected groups of prisoners in different parts of the country, which may be justifiably considered a fair sampling of the population within our jails and prisons, we see that it is indeed a conservative statement when we claim that *one-half of the criminal class is so by virtue of mental abnormalities.*"<sup>60</sup>

Such a view neglects to ask whether any of the accompanying factors in the community or home environment may not be decisive in determining the delinquency of the mentally abnormal, as well as of the mentally normal.

A literature dealing with the criminal from the point of view to which Doctor Glueck subscribes; that is, treating the "criminal act as the resultant of the interaction between a particularly constituted personality and the particular environment," is just beginning.<sup>61</sup> The older criminal psychology describes certain psychological traits of the criminal—laziness, lasciviousness, lack of remorse, gambling proclivities, etc.—as though these were typical only of the criminal.<sup>62</sup> The psychologists and the psychiatrists have

<sup>59</sup> Glueck, *First Annual Report of the Psychiatric Clinic, Sing Sing*, p. 12. (Italics mine.)

<sup>60</sup> Ernest R. Groves and Phyllis Blanchard, *Introduction to Mental Hygiene*, p. 60. (Italics the present writer's.)

<sup>61</sup> Clifford R. Shaw, *Delinquency Areas*, and *The Jack-Roller*, and Frederic M. Thrasher's *The Gang* are recent examples of this approach. Shaw's report to this commission is another similar contribution.

<sup>62</sup> See Goring's criticism of the older psychology in *The English Convict* (abridged edition), p. 163 et seq.

attempted to differentiate the criminal from the law-abiding individual on the basis of mental abnormality peculiar to the criminal. This is a modern manifestation of Lombroso's idea that the criminal is a separate type.

On the other hand, Dr. Franz Alexander, instead of distinguishing the criminal from the normal individual, states that all people are born as criminal beings, by which he means that people come into the world with instincts and impulses which are not adjusted to society. "The motor control of the criminal impulses and the partial exclusion of them from consciousness," he states, "is the highest accomplishment of adjustment to society in cultured human beings to-day."<sup>63</sup> Adjustment to society, then, results from processes of social education, using social education in its widest sense. A psychology that would study the criminal in terms of his individual reaction to environmental influences would determine why these processes of social education failed to produce an adjusted personality in the particular case. This approach suggests that the criminal and the law-abiding individual are motivated by similar wishes, such as those indicated by Thomas: The desire for new experience, the desire for security, the desire for response, and the desire for recognition.<sup>64</sup> Thomas also points out "that the expression of the wishes is profoundly influenced by the approval of the man's immediate circle and of the general public."<sup>65</sup> Action is then socially conditioned, and this is true whether it be criminal action or the action of a law-abiding individual. According to several of the writers here quoted, it is also true of the criminal, whether he be mentally normal or a mental deviate.

### CONCLUSIONS

Two general conclusions stand out from the consideration of the literature on mental factors in crime. First, it has not been determined to what extent either defective intelligence or any other mental abnormality is present in the criminal population. Secondly, even where defective intelligence

<sup>63</sup> Mental Hygiene and Criminology, pamphlet distributed to the Mental Hygiene Congress, May 7, 1930, p. 6.

<sup>64</sup> W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl*, p. 4 et seq.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

and mental abnormalities are present in criminals, a necessary and inevitable causal relationship has not been demonstrated.

An obstacle common to both the psychologists and the psychiatrists in the determination of mental deviation in criminals has been the lack of standards of normality to which deviating traits might be referred. Psychological testing in the Army and other studies among the general population have indicated that the norms commonly fixed by psychologists for average intelligence were too high. A similar scaling down of the standard of what is "normal" may also be expected in the field of mental disorder as the psychiatrists gather more data on "normal" individuals.

A common failing of both the psychometric and the psychiatric approach has been the overemphasis on the particular abnormal trait that has been discovered to the practical exclusion of all other factors. Recognition that behavior, whether it be normal or abnormal, is socially conditioned, that it results from individual reaction to environmental influences, provides the soundest approach to an understanding of mental factors in the causation of crime.

Perhaps the failure of the psychologists and the psychiatrists to increase substantially the body of knowledge on the causation of crime is due to the fact that their work on criminals is still in its infancy. Their techniques for obtaining information are still imperfect. But their approach to the problem of crime through the study of the reactions of the individual criminal may yet prove fruitful, particularly if the criminal is studied not in terms of mental deviation alone, but also in terms of how his particular mental constitution is affected by other social and environmental influences.

## CHAPTER IV

### SOCIAL FACTORS

To Healy's statement, "Practically all confirmed criminals begin their careers in childhood and early youth," many writers subscribe. Bettman, for example, notes that "habitual adult offenders—that is, those who commit crime as a mode of life or with some degree of frequency as distinguished from the occasional offender who commits the occasional crime of impulse or passion—normally and usually begin their habits of delinquency or tendencies toward anti-social conduct in childhood, youth, and adolescence."<sup>1</sup>

A considerable body of evidence supports these statements. Goring gives a table of the ages at first conviction of first offenders as compared with habitual offenders. According to his figures, only 25.6 per cent (175 out of 682) of the first offenders were convicted before the age of 20, whereas 73 per cent (or 1,610 out of 2,204) of the habitual offenders were convicted before that age.<sup>2</sup> One of the conclusions of the study of 145 offenders made by the New York Crime Commission reads: "The majority of these men committed to State prisons and to the State reformatory began their delinquent careers as children. They presented behavior problems in school and later became truants."<sup>3</sup> The Gluecks found that 92.5 per cent of the criminals studied, of whom about 80 per cent later committed additional offenses, committed their first delinquency before the age of 18.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Healy's statement is in *The Individual Delinquent*, p. 10; Bettman's, in his report to this Commission, *Criminal Justice Surveys Analysis*, printed with Report on Prosecution, pp. 78-79. See also Burt, *The Young Delinquent*, p. 19: " \* \* \* it is in childhood that most criminals commence their lawless careers. The majority of habitual offenders receive their first conviction before they are 21."

<sup>2</sup> *The English Convict* (abridged edition), p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> New York Crime Commission, report for 1928, p. 315. The same report, in the study, *From Truancy to Crime*, points out the relationship of criminal careers to truancy (p. 444): "The report herewith presented gives conclusive evidence that among the cases studied, chronic truancy was, in a disquieting number of cases, the first step in a criminal career."

<sup>4</sup> Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck, *500 Criminal Careers*, p. 143.

With such comment and statistics in mind, there have been numerous investigations of the conditions surrounding the childhood of delinquents to ascertain why the first conflict with the law is so frequently neither the first violation of the law nor the last of the arrests and what tendencies, if left uncorrected, produce the habitual and professional criminal.

Considerable attention has been directed toward the conditions existing in the family of the delinquent. One of the family factors believed to be important in connection with delinquency is its economic situation. In an early study by Breckenridge and Abbott, 76.1 per cent of 584 delinquent boys and 89 per cent of 157 delinquent girls in Chicago came from families classified economically as "very poor," and "poor."<sup>5</sup> This study was made in 1912, and economic conditions have changed since that time. In the study by the Gluecks, 14.8 per cent of the families of the reformatory inmates studied were classified as being "dependent," 56.4 per cent were said to be in the "marginal" economic group, and 28.8 per cent in the "comfortable" group.<sup>6</sup> Burt makes the following statement concerning the families of delinquents studied by him: "Thus over one-half (56 per cent) of the total amount of juvenile delinquency is found in homes that are poor or very poor, and the figures show very trenchantly, were figures needed for the purpose, that poverty makes an added spur to dishonesty and wrong."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Sophonisba P. Breckenridge and Edith Abbott, *The Delinquent Child and the Home*, Table 16, p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> *500 Criminal Careers*, p. 113: "'Dependent' is defined as receiving aid continuously from public funds or from persons outside the immediate family. This means chronic dependency. Aid may have been given in the form of money, clothing, food, coal, or medical assistance, etc. 'Marginal' means living on daily earnings but accumulating little or nothing, being on the margin of self-support and dependency. Here are included instances in which temporary aid was resorted to once or twice in order to tide over a critical situation; for example, in case of illness of the breadwinner or desertion of the father. Aid may have been given for a few days or even a month, and with this little assistance the family was able to manage its own problem. 'Comfortable' means having accumulated resources sufficient to maintain self and family for at least four months.

"These three terms represent a summary of the economic status of the family from the time of the boy's birth to the time of his sentence to the reformatory \* \* \*." Footnote 4.

<sup>7</sup> Burt, *The Young Delinquent*, p. 66.

Lund, in his study of Swedish delinquents, found that 66 per cent of the families of 806 delinquents were classifiable economically as "poor" and "very poor."<sup>8</sup> Healy and Bronner seem to have found the poverty of the delinquent family a less important factor. The family economic levels of 675 cases studied by them are as follows: Destitution, 5 per cent; poverty, 22 per cent; normal, 35 per cent; comfort, 34 per cent; luxury, 4 per cent. They state, however, that "extreme poverty militates somewhat against success while cultural opportunities and economic ease somewhat favor moral recovery."<sup>9</sup>

Data of this kind are not very helpful for the purpose of understanding the mechanics of the causation of crime if they are not compared with data obtained from the law-abiding population. Burt bases his statement that "poverty is a spur to dishonesty" on the fact that only 30 per cent of the people in London were said to belong to the strata that furnished 56 per cent of the delinquents.<sup>10</sup> Lund used a control group and found that only 26.7 per cent of the non-delinquent children studied came from the economic groups that furnished 66 per cent of the delinquents.<sup>11</sup> The Gluecks, however, merely state of their figures, "It would be illuminating to compare these figures with those for the Massachusetts population in general, but reliable data as to the economic status of the general population are unavailable. It may safely be stated however, that were such information at hand it would *probably* not disclose as high a degree of dependency and marginality as the above figures show."<sup>12</sup> Healy and Bronner provide no comparable figures for the general population.

On the basis of the above evidence a statistically satisfactory answer to the question of whether the economically less fortunate portion of the population furnishes an undue proportion of delinquents and criminals can not be given. Investigations have not been numerous enough, nor have they

<sup>8</sup> David Lund, *Über die Ursachen der Jugendasozialität*, p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> Healy and Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals*, p. 121.

<sup>10</sup> Burt, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>11</sup> Lund, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> Glueck, *op. cit.*, p. 113. (Italics the present writer's.)

been sufficiently objective or comparable. It is not to be expected that investigators have agreed among themselves in the use of such terms as "poor," "very poor," "comfortable," etc.

Closely connected with the influence of the economic status of the family on criminality is the effect of overcrowded and congested homes on the fostering of delinquent tendencies. However, there is even less evidence relating to the housing conditions of delinquents than there is concerning the economic status of the delinquent family. In a study made by the New York Crime Commission it is stated that the degree of housing congestion among the 251 cases studied appeared to be greater than among the population in general in similarly congested areas.<sup>13</sup> A similar finding was made by Burt. As compared with homes from the same social level, overcrowding was present in the homes of delinquents studied by him 1.32 times as frequently.<sup>14</sup> The difference between the housing conditions of the delinquent and the nondelinquents of the same social strata does not, therefore, appear to be very great.

Another family situation held to be of considerable importance as a factor in delinquency is the "broken home." In order to determine whether the broken home does furnish an undue proportion of delinquents and criminals, it is necessary to compare data relating to the home situations of nondelinquents with those of delinquents. Unfortunately, there are few accurate data relating to nondelinquents.

Shideler estimated that only 25.3 per cent of the children in the total population come from families broken by death, divorce, separation, etc. His study indicates that 50.7 per cent of 7,598 juvenile delinquents in industrial schools in 31 States come from such homes.<sup>15</sup> He, therefore, finds a high correlation between juvenile delinquency and broken homes. His information on the delinquents was obtained by the

<sup>13</sup> From *Truancy to Crime—a Study of 251 Adolescents*, by the Subcommittee on Causes and Effects of Crime, New York Crime Commission, 1928, p. 485.

<sup>14</sup> Burt, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>15</sup> Ernest H. Shideler, *Family Disintegration and the Delinquent Boy in the United States*, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 8, No. 5, January, 1918, (pp. 709-732), Table I, p. 713.

questionnaire method without any additional check up and would appear to be of doubtful accuracy. Nevertheless the percentage of broken homes among delinquents indicated by Shideler is similar to that found by other observers. Healy and Bronner found that of the 4,000 delinquents in Boston and Chicago "normal parental conditions (both parents living and at home) existed in only a little over half of the cases in each city."<sup>16</sup> The United States census report on children under institutional care, covering 10,039 juvenile delinquents admitted to institutions for juvenile delinquents during the first six months of 1923, showed that 56.1 per cent came from broken homes.<sup>17</sup> Cooley found that 47.1 per cent of the 3,053 criminals studied by the Catholic Charities Probation Bureau were products of broken homes.<sup>18</sup> The Gluecks found the percentage of delinquents coming from broken homes to be even greater. Of the 510 cases studied by them at least 306 cases or 60 per cent presented abnormal home situations due to the long or complete absence of one or both parents.<sup>19</sup>

Slawson used a large unselected group of New York City school children for the purpose of comparing the homes of delinquents and nondelinquents. He found that 45.2 per cent of the delinquent boys came from homes where some form of abnormality existed, whereas only 19.3 per cent of the homes of school children were similarly handicapped.<sup>20</sup> Burt has also compared the homes of delinquent with those of nondelinquent children and has found that defective family relationships are much more numerous in the homes of the delinquent.<sup>21</sup>

The above data relate for the most part to delinquents studied in institutions. The incidence of the broken home appears to be somewhat smaller among delinquents appearing before the juvenile courts. Of 40,503 children appearing before 93 courts in 1919, 64 per cent were living with both parents, the percentage of broken homes therefore

<sup>16</sup> Healy and Bronner, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122.

<sup>17</sup> Children Under Institutional Care, 1923, p. 323, U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1927.

<sup>18</sup> Edwin J. Cooley, *Probation and Delinquency*, p. 87 et seq.

<sup>19</sup> Glueck, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>20</sup> John Slawson, *The Delinquent Boy*, p. 353 et seq.

<sup>21</sup> Burt, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

being but 36 per cent.<sup>22</sup> The difference between this percentage and the figures above cited would tend to show that delinquents committed to institutions are more apt to come from broken homes. This is in part accounted for by the fact that the character of the home is an important factor in the decision of the judge as to whether or not the delinquent child should be sent to an institution. Institution populations are therefore selected groups and the rôle of the broken home as a factor in juvenile delinquency can not be indicated merely by a study of such groups.

It would appear from chapter 9 of the Shaw and McKay study for this Commission that the above efforts to establish the incidence of broken homes in the delinquent population have failed to take into account certain factors. Shaw and McKay present the results of their studies on broken homes among 7,278 school boys in 29 Chicago public schools, the data being secured by personal interview. Nine of these schools were in areas with low rates of delinquency, nine others in areas with intermediate rates, and 11 in areas with high rates. The writers point out great variations in the incidence of broken homes between schools in each of these areas: From 16 to 45.9 per cent in the first group of schools in areas of low rates; from 20 to 52 per cent in the second group of intermediate rate areas and from 20.2 to 53 per cent in the third group of areas with high rates of delinquency. (Table XXXIII.) There is, therefore, no very consistent relationship between rates of broken homes and rates of delinquency. However, when the total group of school children is broken up into the various nationalities that compose it, significant differences appear. The incidence of broken homes among the Jewish children, the lowest group, is 16.3 per cent, among the colored, the highest group, it is 46 per cent; and in the American group, 31 per cent. (Table XXXIV.) This would indicate that the different nationality groups have varying degrees of stabil-

<sup>22</sup> Table 4, *Juvenile Court Statistics for 1929*, third Annual Report of the Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, in preparation. The statistics for the year 1927 showed that 67 per cent of 16,258 delinquent boys and 48 per cent of 3,040 delinquent girls were living with "both own parents." Thus 33 per cent of the boys and 52 per cent of the girls come from broken homes. *Juvenile Court Statistics, 1927*, U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, publication No. 195, p. 9.

ity in their home life. Shaw and McKay also show that age variation is a factor of major importance in considering the rate of broken homes among boys in the general population, the higher ages tending to have a greater percentage of broken homes.<sup>23</sup>

Since the prior studies of the incidence of broken homes among delinquents here considered have not allowed for either factor, age, or nationality, their value in indicating the home situation of delinquents as compared to that of nondelinquents, is somewhat dubious. A comparison of the rate of broken homes by Shaw and McKay of a group of 1,675 juvenile court delinquent boys with a control group of the same age and national constituency showed that the incidence of broken homes in the delinquent group was 42.5 per cent, whereas the incidence in the control group was 36.1 per cent.

These writers also studied a delinquent group coming from one area on the "Near West Side" in Chicago. This area is predominantly Italian in population and is characterized by a high rate of delinquency. Of the 93 boys studied, 24, or 25.8 per cent, were from broken homes, whereas of the 1,167 school boys interviewed in 6 schools, 318, or 26.4 per cent, were from broken homes. The incidence of broken homes in the school population is slightly greater than among the delinquents. Shaw and McKay therefore state, "It was found that the difference between the rates in the delinquent and the control group furnished a very inadequate basis for the conclusion that the broken home is an important factor in delinquency."<sup>24</sup>

Another family situation said to contribute an undue proportion of delinquents and criminals is that of the immigrant family. Native-born children of immigrants seem to become criminal to a greater extent than do the foreign born themselves or than do the children of the native born. A report of the Immigration Commission, *Immigration and Crime*, states:

<sup>23</sup> Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency*, Vol. II of this report, p. 271.

<sup>24</sup> Shaw and McKay, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

"No satisfactory evidence has as yet been produced to show that immigration has resulted in an increase in crime disproportionate to the increase in adult population. \* \* \* The statistics do indicate, however, that American-born children of immigrants exceed the children of natives in relative amount of crime."<sup>25</sup>

Sutherland makes a similar observation: "The 'second generation' of immigrants generally come into contact with the courts as delinquents, more frequently than the first generation."<sup>26</sup>

The Gluecks, too, write: "Clearly our figures bear out the proposition that native-born sons of foreign-born parents contribute considerably more than their share to the criminal ranks. There are two and one-half times (53:22 per cent) as many persons native born of foreign or mixed parentage in our reformatory group as are found in the general population."<sup>27</sup>

Healy and Bronner, however, indicate that some differentiation must be made as between nationalities. "Taking nationalities separately, some do much worse than the native-born stock, some do better."<sup>28</sup>

The literature examined up to this point is objective in character and merely tries to indicate to what extent certain conditions are present in delinquent families and how frequently the same conditions exist in nondelinquent families. There has been no consideration of the processes whereby

<sup>25</sup> *Immigration and Crime*, Sixty-first Congress, third session, Senate Document No. 750, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> *Criminology*, p. 100. Sutherland writes also, "In 1920, in Massachusetts, per 100,000 population, 15 years of age and over, the following numbers were committed to penal or reformatory institutions for adults: 120 native born of native parents, 226 native born of foreign or mixed parents, and 143 foreign born. This is in general the rating of the 3 groups, native-born whites of native parents have the smallest number of commitments, foreign-born whites rank second, and native born of foreign or mixed parentage (the second generation) rank highest," p. 101. Dr. Edith Abbott, in the report on *Crime and Criminal Justice in Relation to the Foreign Born*, to this Commission, declares that the available statistical evidence as to the criminality of the second generation is inconclusive, although opinion has it that sons of immigrants are more criminal than immigrants themselves. See Sec. VII.

<sup>27</sup> *500 Criminal Careers*, p. 119. See also Breckinridge and Abbott, *The Delinquent Child and the Home*, p. 62; and Jane Purcell-Guild, *Study of 131 Delinquent Girls*, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 10, No. 3, November, 1919 (pp. 441-476), p. 449.

<sup>28</sup> Healy and Bronner, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

such situations induce delinquent behavior on the part of the child. But a mere indication of unfortunate objective situations in which families are placed is not enough. For, as Burt concludes, after noting how indecisive is the evidence as to a direct relationship between delinquency and bad economic conditions in the family, "It is clear that much must depend upon the mode in which each one reacts to the inadequate conditions under which he is housed and has to live."<sup>29</sup>

The literature which attempts to explain the processes by which an unfortunate family situation results in delinquency rests upon the assumption, implied or expressed, that the family is the smallest social unit and the primary defining agency for the child in conditioning behavior. Tannenbaum, for example, writes:

Every friend, every group, the school, the church, the street gang, all these are environment for the growing child. Each gives attitudes, words, experiences, beliefs, behavior; but the family is the most continuous, the most unrelenting. If the family influences are sufficiently strong and effective, the other influences are trivial, passing, and slight deviations. They slip off the child as water does off a duck's back. The family pattern remains. That, however, is true only provided that the family itself is a unit, that there is a common attitude, a ready reaction, a single standard. The sufficiency of the family is largely determined by its unity, its continuity, its positive standards, its lack of internal conflicts. Things are wrong and right, good and bad, acceptable or unacceptable, without much question, without much hesitancy. Given that setting, the child's range of interests outside the family group tend to remain in the form of experiences which are passing things, glimpses of life that vanish readily and attitudes that come to no fruition.<sup>30</sup>

But the obstacles in the way of determining in any large number of cases how the family imparts patterns of behavior to the child are very great indeed. It necessitates dealing with intangibles, difficult to measure; it involves evaluations of complicated questions of adjustment within

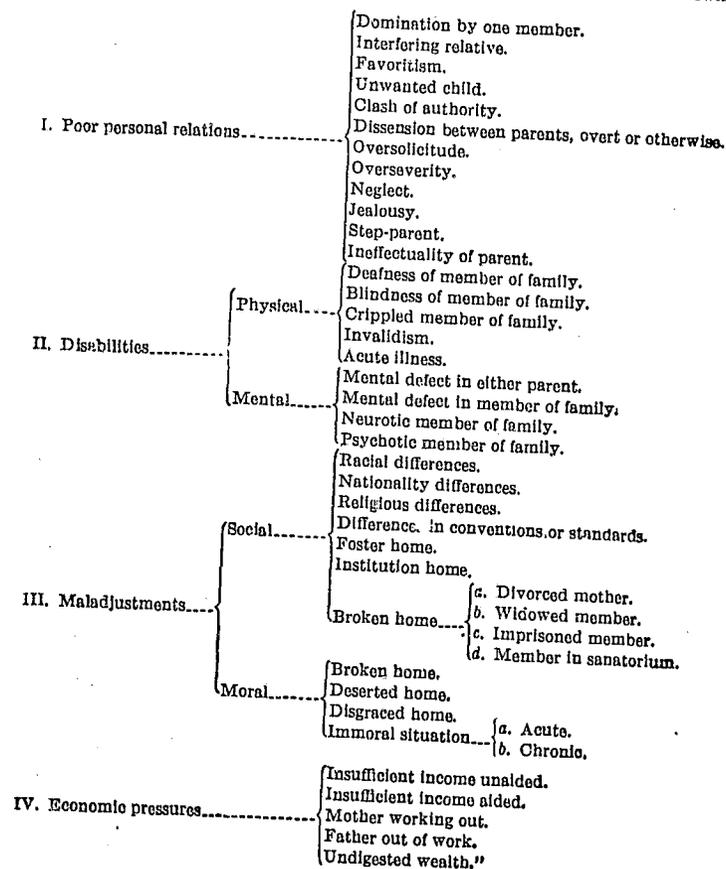
<sup>29</sup> Burt, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>30</sup> Frank Tannenbaum, *The Professional Criminal*, Century Magazine, September, 1925 (pp. 577-596), p. 580.

the family group, emotional conflicts, parental attitudes, methods of training, etc. A literature dealing with these family processes is necessarily on less firm ground than a literature dealing with the more objective aspects of family life.

Blanche Weill, in studying problem children, has listed 40 possible factors which, if present in a family situation, tended to bring about maladjustment for the growing child.<sup>31</sup> In any particular family situation she found that

<sup>31</sup> Blanche Weill, *Behavior of Young Children of the Same Family*, p. 23.  
 "Family situations tending to maladjustment for the individual may be grouped in four general divisions, with innumerable subdivisions, some of which are given in the following outline.



not one but many of these factors were present. How to determine whether or not such elements of poor personal relationships as favoritism, jealousy, overseverity or oversolicitude on the part of the parents were present and, secondly, how to evaluate their influence in terms of the individual reaction are exceedingly difficult problems.

Considering the same group of family situations which Doctor Weill has classed as "Poor personal relationships," Bogardus concludes: "A study of problem children leads in a large percentage of cases to problem parents."<sup>32</sup> The same opinion is frequently expressed by those who work with unadjusted or maladjusted children. For example, Dr. Miriam Van Waters writes, "Constantly, large numbers of boys \* \* \* [and] girls \* \* \* come before the juvenile court with no apparent serious maladjustment. \* \* \* One wishes to avoid dogmatism or harsh criticism, but certain facts are true of the home life of these children; it is all devoted to "making a living" in some place where there are "modern conveniences." In three generations of American family life, the goal has changed from rearing healthy, active children to goals of modern business. Children are prematurely incased in brick and stone. Routine is dull, monotonous, need for adventure is not met. These boys and girls become incorrigible, steal, lie, run away, throw morals overboard. Their treatment is extraordinarily difficult, because there is seemingly no way of changing habits and ideas of adults who control them."<sup>33</sup>

Where the broken home has been said to be an important factor in delinquency,<sup>34</sup> it is usually attributed to the fact that in such situations there is a minimum of parental supervision over children. The presence of a step-parent will not necessarily solve this difficulty, but may in turn raise new problems of adjustment. The efficiency of the home in shaping the attitudes of the growing child is impaired, and thus it offers a less effective barrier to the formation of

<sup>32</sup> Emory S. Bogardus, *The City Boy and His Problems*, p. 13.

<sup>33</sup> Miriam Van Waters, *Youth in Conflict*, p. 59.

<sup>34</sup> See Bulletin No. 27, Chicago Crime Commission, p. 80; Glueck, *op. cit.*, p. 116 et seq.; William T. Root, *A Psychological and Educational Survey of 1,016 Prisoners in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania*, p. 188 et seq.; New York Crime Commission, 1930 Report, *Crime and the Community*, p. 160 et seq.

patterns of delinquent behavior. "Without a normal family," writes Burt, "the child leads an existence warped, one-sided, and incomplete, and lacks the most natural check against lawless behavior."<sup>35</sup>

In describing the family as the strongest agency for the formation of desirable habits of living, and for counteracting antisocial tendencies, Tannenbaum writes, "Especially is this true if the family mode fits in with the community interests and habits, so that there is no conflict between family values and community values."<sup>36</sup> The existence of a distinct clash between the values of immigrant parents and of the surrounding American community is frequently advanced as an explanation of the failure of the immigrant family to function effectively as an agency of social education.

Zorbaugh remarks that immigrant parents limit their horizons to the ghettos and "little Sicilies," the worlds of other immigrants of the same country, while the child must live at least partly in the American world.<sup>37</sup> Immediately there is a conflict of standards and cultural problems. The parents, Breckinridge and Abbott point out, do not understand the American community, and are consequently at a disadvantage in dealing with their own children, who at least think they understand it, and know they know more about it than their parents.<sup>38</sup> The ordinary relationship between child and parent is reversed, with the child developing a sense of superiority to the parent and an unwillingness to take any guidance from people so obviously out of tune with their surroundings. This clash may result only in the commonplace alienation of child from parent, a personal tragedy. But it may have more serious social consequences. Jane Purcell-Guild, noting that a disproportionately large number of delinquents are of foreign-born parentage, concludes that domestic maladjustment following immigration leads to antisocial conduct on the part of the children.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Burt, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>36</sup> Tannenbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 580.

<sup>37</sup> Harvey W. Zorbaugh, *Gold Coast and Slum*, p. 154.

<sup>38</sup> Breckinridge and Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>39</sup> Study of 131 Delinquent Girls, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 10, No. 3, p. 449.

An illuminating analysis of the effect of immigration upon one specific foreign group, the Polish peasant, is given by Thomas and Znaniecki.<sup>40</sup> Studying the peasant in his native land, the writers found that it was not so necessary for the family in Poland to be an effective social educator because a powerful compact community organization, in large measure, would supply the shortcomings of the family. But when the Polish peasant emigrates to America, where his whole life will necessarily have to be reorganized, he "needs a primary group as strong and as coherent as the one he left in the old country."<sup>41</sup> This the Polish-American society has been unable to supply. The Polish immigrant does not feel the same pressure of community interest and community control of his conduct that he felt in his native country.

"A certain lowering of his moral level is thus inevitable. Though it does not always lead to active demoralization, to antisocial behavior, it manifests itself at least in what we may call passive demoralization, a partial or general weakening of social interests, a growing narrowness or shallowness of the individual's social life.

"Of course the second generation unless brought in direct and continuous contact with better aspects of American life than those with which the immigrant community is usually acquainted, degenerates further still, both because the parents had less to give than they had received themselves in the line of social principles and emotions and because the children, brought up in American cities, have more freedom and less respect for their parents. The second generation is better adapted intellectually to the practical conditions of American life, but their moral horizon grows still narrower on the average and their social interests still shallower."<sup>42</sup> The authors also state, "There is a large proportion of immigrant children whose home and community conditions are such that their behavior is never socially regulated, no life organization worthy of the name is ever imposed on them."<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 168.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 295.

Thomas and Znaniecki have thus indicated how one type of family, that of the Polish immigrant, fails to function as effectively as it should as an agency of social education. This condition is probably not limited to the Polish immigrant family but is common to many other immigrant groups. Consideration of the families of "second generation" delinquents and criminals, therefore, provide some insight into the operation of the more subtle features of family life, parental attitudes, methods of discipline and moral training, relations between child and parent, etc., which are so fundamental to the formation of patterns of socially acceptable behavior.

It would appear that even apart from "broken homes," "immigrant homes," "poverty-stricken homes," the family of the delinquent and the criminal is an inefficient instrument for the development of socially desirable behavior patterns. Healy and Bronner state: "In the homes then, of how many of our cases have there been what might ordinarily be called really good family conditions. \* \* \*? Specifically, if we ruled out the families in which there were such clearly unfortunate features of home life, poverty, great crowding, or very insanitary surroundings, extreme parental neglect or extreme lack of parental control, excessive quarreling, alcoholism, obscenity, immorality or criminalism, mother away working, mentally diseased parent in the home, how many had we left? Enumerating the good homes thus by elimination, we found \* \* \* the figures for Boston to be 10.3 per cent, for Chicago 5 per cent, numerically only a small difference. Among 2,000 young repeated offenders then, there were living under reasonably good conditions for the upbringing of a child, only 7.6 per cent."<sup>44</sup>

Similarly the Gluecks found that, of the 402 families of the delinquents studied in which it was possible to obtain information as to criminal conduct, 302, or 75.1 per cent,

<sup>44</sup> Healy and Bronner, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-129. In the study of women delinquents, by Fernald, Hayes, and Dawley, there is the assertion that there is a significant relationship between age at first conviction and the estimate of home conditions, with a tendency for those who were brought up in the poorest homes to be convicted at an earlier age than those who were brought up in better homes. *Study of Women Delinquents in New York State*, p. 283.

contained members guilty of offenses more serious than those of mere drunkenness. To the Gluecks "the important point is that a family tradition of lawlessness and vice and the attitudes evolved in the homes where such lawlessness and vice are common experiences are not conducive to a habit of mind and behavior that ordinarily makes for decent citizenship."<sup>45</sup>

In discussing the functions of the family, the literature frequently points out that the community has a strong influence on the efficacy of the family as a social educator. Patterns of behavior imparted by the family may be modified by the child's contact with the community. Tannenbaum writes: "The community provides the attitudes, the point of view, the philosophy of life, the example, the motive, the contacts, the friendships, the incentives. No child brings those into the world. He finds them here and available for use and elaboration."<sup>46</sup>

From this point of view, there is great significance in the ascertainment of "delinquency areas," where the incidence of crime is very large. In such communities crime and juvenile delinquency, if not approved, are at least apt to be tolerated by a substantial proportion of the adult population. The community, then, not only does not perform its function of directing the individual's behavior into socially desirable channels, but places its stamp of approval upon action which must be discouraged.

The existence of delinquency areas did not escape the attention of earlier observers. Lombroso writes "In every part of Italy, in every Province, there exists some village renowned for having furnished an unbroken series of special delinquents. Thus in Liguria, Lerice is proverbial for swindlers, Campofreddo and Masson for homicides, Pozzolo for highway robbery. \* \* \* But the most famous of all is the village of Artena in the Province of Rome \* \* \*"

<sup>45</sup> 500 Criminal Careers, p. 112. "However, it can not be assumed that because both parents reside under the same roof that the home is a normal one. Too frequently one or both may be addicted to liquor, be immoral, or refuse to provide for dependents. The effect of bad family life in the making of delinquents can not be stressed too strongly and by bad family life is meant families in which there is constant bickering, abuse, no sympathy, etc." New York Crime Commission, 1928 Report, Individual Studies of 145 Offenders, pp. 323-324.

<sup>46</sup> Tannenbaum, op. cit., p. 577.

'Artena is marked by a number of assaults, homicides, and murders, six times as great as that of the average of Italy, and by a number of highway robberies thirty times as great.' \* \* \*"<sup>47</sup>

Breckinridge and Abbott pointed out in 1912 that various parts of Chicago had widely different ratios of delinquency.<sup>48</sup> The region from which the delinquent children came in the greatest numbers was the densely populated west side, particularly the congested wards lying along the river and the canals. Other centers of delinquency were the Italian quarter of the north side, the so-called black belt of the south side, and the districts near the steel mills and the stockyards.

Shaw, in his book, *Delinquency Areas*, made a more extensive study of the same phenomenon. In studying the very wide variation of the rates of crime, truancy, and juvenile delinquency between areas in Chicago, he found also that these rates tended to vary inversely in proportion to the distance from the center of the city; and that the main high rate areas, those near the loop, around the stockyards, and the south Chicago steel mills, have been characterized by high rates over a long period.<sup>49</sup>

In their study for this Commission, Shaw and McKay confirm these earlier findings as to Chicago,<sup>50</sup> and also show that the phenomenon of the "delinquency area" is encountered in many other American cities.<sup>51</sup> Cases of juvenile delinquency studied in Philadelphia, Pa.; Richmond, Va.; Cleveland, Ohio; Birmingham, Ala.; Denver, Colo.; and Seattle, Wash.; show similar patterns of distribution despite marked differences in the characteristics of the cities. As in Chicago, in each of these cities, the greatest concentration of cases occurs in districts in or adjacent to the central business center and the major industrial developments. In neighborhoods further removed from these commercial and industrial centers, the cases are fewer and much more widely

<sup>47</sup> Lombroso, *Crime, Its Causes and Remedies*, p. 23.

<sup>48</sup> Breckinridge and Abbott, op. cit., p. 150 et seq.

<sup>49</sup> Clifford R. Shaw, *Delinquency Areas*, p. 193 et seq.

<sup>50</sup> Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, op. cit., Ch. II. *Areas of Juvenile Delinquency in Chicago*.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. V. *Delinquency Areas in Other Cities*.

dispersed. Like Chicago, moreover, there is in each of these cities a general tendency for the rates of juvenile delinquency to decrease in relation to distance from the center of the city.

Other observers have also indicated that there are significant differences in crime rates between areas in a city. Burt found that the various boroughs of London contributed unequal proportions to juvenile delinquency.<sup>52</sup> In a study of 145 offenders in Sing Sing and Elmira, made by the New York Crime Commission in 1928, it was shown that the offenders from Greater New York came principally from six congested slum sections of the city.<sup>53</sup> Elmer came to the conclusion from his studies in Minneapolis and St. Paul that juvenile delinquency was localized in the areas of the city called "zones of transition."<sup>54</sup>

Some objections may be made to studies such as these. There is the fundamental question whether cases coming before the courts from a particular district are a fair representation of the actual amount of crime and delinquency in the district. In congested areas detection may be easier. Acts which may cause the individual to be taken to court in such areas, charged with juvenile delinquency, may not result in a court appearance in noncongested areas.

These objections do not affect the validity of the statement made in the New York Crime Commission's study, Crime

<sup>52</sup> Burt, op. cit., pp. 67-76.

<sup>53</sup> New York Crime Commission, 1928 Report, p. 325. Crime and the Community, p. 116. The same situation was observed in 1875 by Dr. Elisha Harris, who testified before the legislative committee inquiring into the causes of the increase of crime in New York: " \* \* \* The region south of Fourteenth Street, for example, and the tenement-house districts, the dirtiest dens of the city, have actually been the birthplaces and the nurseries of a very large proportion of these criminals that we now find in the penitentiaries and the State prisons \* \* \* The younger criminals seem to come almost exclusively from the worst tenement-house districts. \* \* \*" Reported in the Thirty-second Annual Report of The New York Prison Association, p. 84. See also Herbert Asbury, The Gangs of New York, chs. 1 and 2, for descriptions of the habitat of these criminals.

<sup>54</sup> M. C. Elmer: Maladjustment of Youth in Relation to Density of Population. American Sociological Society Proceedings, 1925, pp. 138-140.

Thomas Earle Sullenger studied the geographical location of the homes of 1,000 juvenile delinquents in Omaha, Nebr. He states in Social Determinants in Juvenile Delinquency, (p. 34): "It is very obvious that there are certain definite foci of infection which furnish a large portion of the delinquents. \* \* \* These areas, representing only a fractional part of the total area of the city, include one-third of all the cases studied."

and the Community: "Until more comprehensive statistics are available to prove or disprove the case of the urban sociologist, we must provisionally accept the slums of the transitional area type or of the isolated area type as the breeding places of crime, or at least of certain types of crime such as robbery, burglary, and theft."<sup>55</sup>

These two types of area are described as having certain stigmata. The transition areas exhibit conditions of poor housing and low rentals, mobile and decreasing population, great poverty and dependency, a marked absence of the home-owning class, a largely foreign population of inferior social status, high delinquency ratios, vicious gang organization, poor type of commercial recreation, and inadequate open-air play facilities in parks and playgrounds, a tendency to inferiority in average general intelligence. Certain of these characteristics, such as mobility of population, are absent in the delinquency areas of isolation.<sup>56</sup>

The existence of delinquency areas, the conditions under which they arise and certain characteristics of their populations, are fairly determinable. But when it comes to the question of how delinquency areas act to create criminals statements are necessarily interpretive. The more intangible influences by which communities affect individual behavior do not lend themselves readily to objective analysis. But several observers have presented interpretations of the workings of community influence upon behavior which are very much in harmony, although they are given from different points of view.

Thomas and Znaniecki, examining the Polish immigrant group and comparing its conditions of life in America with those under which the group lived in Europe, say " \* \* \*

<sup>55</sup> Crime and the Community, p. 117.

<sup>56</sup> While the area of transition appears through the encroachment of commerce and industry into areas of residence, the area of isolation is ordinarily the result, not of a city's commercial growth, but of its geographical formation. "Streams, gullies, hills, and lengthy water fronts are features hindering mobility, and in parts of a city where there are hindrances to movement in all directions there is likelihood of an area of quiet, a pool of calm in a mad whirl of activity \* \* \*." Crime and the Community, the 1930 report of the New York Crime Commission, from which this description is taken (p. 121), states that "at least half of New York's delinquency areas are areas of isolation" (p. 122).

the natural tendencies of an individual, unless controlled and organized by social education, inevitably lead to a behavior which must be judged as abnormal from the social standpoint."<sup>57</sup>

Healy and Bronner, studying delinquents and criminals, write: "The moral spirit of a community is easily reflected in the conduct of its children. Where such general spirit is poor, there is very ready imitation of the predatory tendencies of public officials and of other adults who were allowed to persist in evildoing. The knowledge of graft in connection with a city hall, of laxity or venality in a public prosecutor's office, of loose administration of justice in a court, are all influences that determine trends toward delinquency and crime. One may note this directly exhibited in individual and group lawlessness and even in youthful self-justification in misdoing. Where community spirit in such matters are better, certainly delinquences are commensurately milder."<sup>58</sup>

Dr. Miriam Van Waters, basing her conclusions on her observations as a referee in the juvenile court of Los Angeles, wrote: "When young people violate sacred family traditions and smile complacently with no loss of self-esteem, it is not because they have become antisocial; it indicates probably that they dwell in some other island of social culture which smiles upon their activities and which is indorsed by some powerful group of adults. Almost all the delinquencies of youth are the expressed social standards of a part of the adult community which is under no indictment and which flourishes without condemnation."<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> The Polish Peasant, vol. 5, p. 166. Danny Ahearn, a notorious New York criminal, is a good example of community education in delinquent behavior. This is set forth on page 17 of the editorial preface to his book, How to Commit a Murder:

"Here is food for thought. Danny himself, although he has never pondered the matter, was 'taken' as a child. He is one of 10 children. Chance placed him on the lower East Side. He looked up to and admired and gave loyalty to the 'big shots' of the neighborhood, who liked him because he was 'a nice, fresh little kid,' who flattered him because it was their nature to flatter, and who allowed him to carry their guns. He grew up in their company, copied their manners, learned their code. Then chance gave him his first break."

<sup>58</sup> Healy and Bronner, op. cit., p. 191.

<sup>59</sup> Van Waters, op. cit., p. 128.

Shaw and McKay, on the basis of their study of delinquency areas and of individual delinquents, conclude: "Delinquency persists in these areas not only because of the absence of constructive neighborhood influences and the inefficiency of present methods of prevention and treatment but because various forms of lawlessness have become more or less traditional aspects of the social life and are handed down year after year through the medium of social contacts. Delinquent and criminal patterns of behavior are prevalent in those areas and are readily accessible to a large proportion of the children."<sup>60</sup>

In the study of delinquency areas, Shaw and McKay give an additional explanation of why children of immigrant families tend to become delinquent more frequently than children from native-born families. Immigrant groups are attracted by the low rents and accessibility to employment which marks the delinquency areas. But they are thus compelled to make their first adjustment to American life and to rear their children in regions of congestion, unsatisfactory living conditions, and of antisocial attitudes. It is not alone, therefore, the conflict between Old and New World standards but also the demoralizing influences of the community in which they settle, which explains the failure of immigrant families to impart socially acceptable behavior patterns to their children. This is strikingly brought out by Shaw and McKay in the third chapter of their report, the conclusion of which reads: "\* \* \* while the relative rates of delinquents in these high-rate areas remained more or less constant over a period of 20 years, the nationality composition of the population changed almost completely

<sup>60</sup> Shaw and McKay, op. cit., Ch. IV, The Spirit of Delinquency Areas. The writers continue: "The presence of a large number of older offenders in a neighborhood is a fact of great significance for the understanding of the problem of juvenile delinquency. It indicates, in the first place, that the possibility of contact between the children and the hardened offenders is very great. These older offenders, who are well known and have prestige in the neighborhood, tend to set the standards and patterns of behavior for the younger boys, who idolize and emulate them. In many cases, the 'Big Shot' represents for the young delinquent an ideal around which his own hopes and ambitions are crystallized. His attainment of this coveted ideal means recognition in his group and the esteem of his fellows."

in this interval. As the older national groups moved out of these areas of first immigrant settlement, the percentage of juvenile delinquents in these groups showed a consistent decrease."

Most of the students of the slum or the delinquency area agree that one characteristic of its life is the gang. It is described as arising to meet the needs of boys and adolescents where other outlets for their energies and interests are lacking. It is pointed out as one of the agencies of demoralization in a delinquency area or slum.

For estimates as to the extent to which gangs exist, what their activities are, what effect the gang has upon its members, we are dependent upon sociologists and workers with delinquent or problem children who have studied either the slum itself or the gang itself, and who base their conclusions on what they have been able directly to observe.

Frederic M. Thrasher, who gathered information on about 1,300 gangs in the Chicago district, describes the conditions surrounding the gang as follows: "In the underprivileged classes, family life in a large number of cases—either through neglect, misdirection, or suppression—fails to provide for or control the leisure-time behavior of the adolescent. School, church, and the recognized agencies of recreation, which might supplement this lack, are woefully inadequate to the need in gang areas. The boy with time on his hands, especially in a crowded or slum environment, is almost predestined to the life of the gang, which is simply a substitute, although a most satisfactory one from the boy's point of view, for activities and controls not otherwise provided."<sup>61</sup>

Zorbaugh, too, writes: "The boys' gang is an adjustment that results from the failure of the family and the community to meet the boys' problems. The failure is especially characteristic of the foreign family and the community which economic necessity has segregated in the slum. Hence it is that the slum, particularly the foreign slum, is gangland. For gangland is but the result of the boy's creation of a social world in which he can live and find satisfaction for his wishes."<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Thrasher, *The Gang*, p. 79.

<sup>62</sup> Zorbaugh, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-155.

The observers agree that while the gang arises as a play group<sup>63</sup> and may be found in all types of communities, children in better communities are less "gangy," the gangs which exist are less permanent, likely to be formed by each generation of children for itself, for some specific activity, and the group organization does not absorb the whole of the children's energies. "The more fortunate boys," writes Furfey, "have more interests to distract them; and non-delinquent boys have no need of banding together. But the poorer boys in an uninteresting environment are apt to band together to seek excitement and as the gang acquires a bad reputation they are more and more excluded from respectable companionship and thrown upon themselves."<sup>64</sup>

That the gang appears more frequently in delinquency areas, that it is more permanent there,<sup>65</sup> and that in those areas it absorbs a disproportionate amount of the boys' energies and interests, makes another observation of Thrasher more serious. "Without formal and conventional control [the gang] yet reflects in its activities the adult life and the customs of the particular community where it is found."<sup>66</sup>

"In developing their own organization," continues Thrasher, "gang boys can not go beyond their experiences, and hence their codes and chosen activities must be studied with reference to the moral codes and activities they meet in the communities where they live. \* \* \* The definition of the situation for the gang boy must emanate

<sup>63</sup> William B. Forbush, in *The Coming Generation*, p. 41, states: "The basis of the gang is play." Emory J. Bogardus, in *The City Boy and His Problems*, pp. 89-90, writes, "Most gangs start as cliques, as a small group of boys 'running around' together looking for something to do."

<sup>64</sup> Paul Hanley Furfey, *The Gang Age*, p. 134. See also J. Adams Puffer, *The Boy and His Gang*, p. 28; Tannenbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 581.

<sup>65</sup> Puffer remarks as to the permanency of gangs (*op. cit.*, p. 29): "Curiously, too, boys from the better class of homes more often from their social groups *de novo* to suit their individual social needs, while boys whose home training is deficient tend more to become members of gangs already formed. For this reason the permanent and long-lived gangs are apt to be tough, with fixed and dangerous traditions. Thus, while among well-brought-up boys a gang rarely survives the boyhood of the group which formed it, among delinquents of my acquaintance hardly more than a quarter were original members of their gangs or could tell how their gangs started. The bad gang, therefore, tends to be a persistent and dangerous institution, taking in new members as the older ones graduate. But the good gang dies young."

<sup>66</sup> Thrasher, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

largely from the disorderly life of the economic, moral, and cultural frontiers of which gangland is a manifestation. The problem of gang morality, therefore, may be stated largely in terms of the patterns which prevail in the immediate social environment."<sup>67</sup>

That gangs in delinquency areas adopt bad patterns of morality and hand them down, most writers agree. Shaw and Myers, in the study of juvenile delinquency made for the Illinois Crime Survey, state: "It should be pointed out that delinquency frequently becomes an established social tradition in certain gangs, and is transmitted from the older members to the younger. It is not infrequent to find gangs in which the requirement for membership is participation in the delinquent activities of the group. In such groups the member who has demonstrated his ability in delinquency or who has 'done time' in one of the correctional institutions, will have prestige and will play a leading rôle in the life of the group."<sup>68</sup>

These statements by observers of gangs and workers with delinquent boys tend to show how the gang acts as a demoralizing agency in the delinquency area. Some evidence that delinquency is at least a group activity, if not a gang activity, is contained in statements concerning delinquents brought before the court.

Breckinridge and Abbott, studying the delinquent child with the aid of court records, come to this conclusion: "In fact there is scarcely a type of delinquent boy who is not associated with others in his wrongdoing \* \* \*. The impression made by a study of the actual reasons for bringing boys into court is that the delinquency is in many instances distinctly one of social character and is due to the organization of a little group whose purpose may be harmless enough but whose social effort is misdirected."<sup>69</sup>

The Shaw and Myers study in the Illinois Crime Survey states:

In a study of 6,000 instances of stealing with reference to the number of boys involved, it was found that in

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.

<sup>68</sup> Clifford Shaw and Earl D. Myers, *The Juvenile Delinquent*, Illinois Crime Survey, Ch. XIV, p. 663.

<sup>69</sup> Breckinridge and Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

90.4 per cent of the cases two or more boys were known to have been involved in the act and were consequently brought to court. Only 9.6 per cent of all the cases were acts of single individuals. Since this study was based upon the number of boys brought into court, and since in many cases not all of the boys involved were caught and brought to court, it is certain that the percentage of group stealing is therefore even greater than 90.4 per cent. It can not be doubted that delinquency, particularly stealing, almost invariably involves two or more persons.<sup>70</sup>

In their chapter, *The Companionship Factor in Juvenile Delinquency*, in the report for this commission, Shaw and McKay present further evidence that delinquency is largely a group activity. They state: "The findings of this study indicate quite conclusively that most juvenile offenses, at least those offenses charged against delinquents appearing in the juvenile court in Chicago, are committed by groups of boys, few singly. It is obvious that not all such group delinquencies are committed by well-organized gangs. While many of the delinquents may be members of such gangs, they usually commit their offenses in the company of only one or two other boys."

A similar situation is indicated by Shaw and McKay's chart which notes that of the offenders brought in the juvenile court on charges of stealing, 11 per cent had committed their offenses alone, whereas 89 per cent committed offenses in company of others.<sup>71</sup>

If one were to sum up the influence of the gang one would probably have to agree with Thrasher that the gang is not as such a "cause of crime" and that "it would be more accurate to say that the gang is an important contributory factor." Even without the gang, many boys would become demoralized by the conditions and attitudes existing in delinquency areas. "But the gang greatly facilitates demoralization," says Thrasher. "by giving added prestige to already existing patterns of unwholesome conduct and by assimilating its members to modes of thinking, feeling,

<sup>70</sup> Shaw and Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 662. <sup>71</sup> Shaw and McKay, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

and acting which would not be so emphasized without group influence."<sup>72</sup>

Where a child is born into an unsatisfactory family situation, where he is raised in a delinquency area, where his playgroup is his gang, the possibilities are great that he will come into conflict with the law. He may then be sentenced to an institution. The purpose of commitment is not only punishment but also the correction of the delinquent tendencies already manifested, which, unchecked, produce the professional criminal. Bettman points out that, as might be expected, there is a tendency for delinquency to become more serious as the boy continues in a criminal career.<sup>73</sup>

In the most thorough objective study yet made of the after careers of inmates of penal institutions, the Gluecks raise grave doubts as to the efficacy of institutional treatment; 61.4 per cent of the group of inmates of the Massachusetts Reformatory whose careers they studied had been previously committed to penal or correctional institutions, at the age of 18 years or less "at a time when many of them were still within the relatively plastic period of youth—an age that presumably still lends itself to considerable influence and reeducation."<sup>74</sup> The Gluecks further found that about 80 per cent of the group studied committed new offenses upon leaving the Massachusetts Reformatory. Healy, on the strength of his individual case studies, states that the intended goal of the institution is illusory in practice. "Among all environmental conditions which tend to create antisocial conduct, none is better known than those which surround the offender during custody. The very individual whom society would turn into the paths of rectitude is often made much worse by the experiences forced upon him."<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Thrasher, *op. cit.*, pp. 381, 382.

<sup>73</sup> Bettman, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>74</sup> See Glueck, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-146.

<sup>75</sup> The Individual Delinquent, sec. 226, p. 310. Thrasher's remarks are also pertinent. "Training in the gang is periodically interrupted by visits to various correctional institutions. He [the gang member] comes to regard these as little more than side excursions and may even point to them with some

In order to determine whether or not Healy's estimate of the effect of incarceration is justified, more follow-up studies such as that of the Gluecks are needed for various types of institutions. In the absence of such reliable surveys, one source of information as to how an institution affects an offender is his own statements. These are found in autobiographies and case studies of criminals, and are frequently quite revelatory as to the processes by which the individual became criminal and the effect of various influences upon him. Obviously such documents must be used with caution. They are usually written at a time when the criminal has learned the lesson of "You Can't Win," through the bitter experience of having been caught. His attitude toward crime is therefore probably different from what it was before his criminal career was ended. Criminals in their autobiographies tend perhaps too much to justify their actions by various circumstances of their lives. With these limitations in mind, however, statements of criminals themselves may legitimately be used to show, among other things, the effect of penal treatment upon them.

One of the first things to be considered is what Healy calls the "psychic contagion" of incarceration.<sup>76</sup> The gathering of a group of offenders under one roof, Healy points out, creates a milieu through the common unit of selection—the commission of a crime. Naturally, then, crime will be the principal interest of the members of this milieu, their common tie, their first and chief topic of conversation. Here is an atmosphere in which crime is something to be admired. Such a milieu will go far toward solidifying delinquent behavior patterns already acquired.

As one of the criminals studied by Shaw puts it, "In a place like the detention home, and in every institution where

degree of pride. Although they are designed to reform him, in most cases they simply speed the process of demoralization." The Gang, p. 369.

Tannenbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 586, writes, "It is perhaps not too much to say that the prison is the chief reason for the continuance of the criminal career, for the return of the criminal to his previous haunts. The fact that approximately 75 per cent of the professional criminals are known to be recidivists . . . is sufficient proof that confinement does not keep them from returning. The object of the prison is not fulfilled in practice."

<sup>76</sup> Healy, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

criminals are confined, the inmates always talk about their experiences in crime. That is the main topic of conversation \* \* \*. Every fellow tries to impress everybody else with what a great criminal he is \* \* \*. Every fellow tries to tell the biggest exploit and make the other fellows look up to him as a big shot and as a daring gunman."<sup>77</sup>

Another of Mr. Shaw's cases noted that the youngest and the most impressionable inmates are carried away by this contagion. "Inside the detention home," he writes, "I found a motley crowd of aspiring young crooks—young aspirants to the 'Hall of Fame of crookdom.' In their own minds they had already achieved fame in the world of crime and proceeded to impress that fact upon the younger boys. The whole thing seemed to be a contest among young crooks to see who was the biggest and bravest crook. They loitered about the place, congregating in small groups, talking about their achievements and ambitions in their common vocation—crime. The older crooks are gods and stand around telling of their exploits. Much of it is bunk, but they succeed in making the other boys, especially the younger ones of more tender feeling, \* \* \* believe it."<sup>78</sup>

From observers of the workings of juvenile institutions, and from criminals who have served terms therein, it seems that institutions frequently strengthen the delinquent's attitude of hostility toward society. Tannenbaum, for instance, in an article tracing the evolution of the professional criminal, points out that the children committed to reformatories come from badly organized homes and neighborhoods where they have proved unmanageable. "They bring to the school all of the problems of a family multiplied a hundred-fold in number and a thousandfold in complexity," he writes. Rough and ready methods are applied to achieve at least an external conformity to the rules of the institution, so that officials and inmates alike may live in some semblance of peace. But, Tannenbaum observes, the process

<sup>77</sup> Clifford R. Shaw, *The Jack-Roller*, case No. 6, p. 12. <sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

builds up a feeling of resentment on the part of the inmate toward the official, a feeling of separateness from the ordinary law-abiding community.<sup>79</sup>

The criminal of *The Jack-Roller* writes:

My feeling was for the code and against the officials. Don't trust anybody except tried pals, who won't squawk. Nobody trusts you, and if they did they wouldn't guard you night and day and always have the cowhide ready for you. Remember the guard or captain is a squawker and your enemy or he wouldn't have his job. He stands in or has a pull with the officials. Harbor revenge but hold it in leash until the proper time to strike.<sup>80</sup>

Not, according to the same criminal, will physical brutality arouse any respect for society.

The horrors of that house of "corruption" can not be described. I can only say that when there I lost all respect for myself, felt degenerated and unhuman. I shall never fully recover from the influences of that old south cell house. I always will feel that it was an insult to put me there. It's an insult to put any human soul there. In my anguish I planned vengeance and hatred. Consequences? I didn't give a damn what happened to me. Hanging, life imprisonment in Joliet—anything would be better than a year in that vermin-ridden, unsanitary, immoral, God-forsaken pit. It wasn't discipline that I hated and resented; I was used to that. But it was the utter low-downness, animal-like existence that it forced me down to.<sup>81</sup>

Far from reforming him, the institution provides the young criminal with better knowledge of his criminal vocation. The older and more experienced inmates impart to the younger and more impressionable their own technique of crime. Discussing the young offender's first institutional sentence, a professional criminal says:

Upon leaving the correctional prison, he, the first offender, commits more crimes and is again sentenced to prison. The police, if asked, will reply that the entire life of the young man is ruined because he would not learn to obey the laws of authority.

<sup>79</sup> Tannenbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 588. <sup>80</sup> Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 67. <sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

Let us remember that this same law of authority sentenced the young man to a school of crime. He was just a good student.<sup>82</sup>

Even in jails, where an inmate may be merely waiting trial, there is too frequently no provision for the separation of the young offender from the older and more vicious. The demoralizing possibilities of this situation is made evident by one criminal who writes:

I entered the jail an amateur in crime and stayed there a little over three months. In that time I learned more of the devious methods which crooks use against society than I had ever dreamed of knowing. What a commentary on justice! What responsibility rests upon a State which makes no provision for the separation of the young and old in crime.<sup>83</sup>

And in whatever institution a delinquent is confined he will encounter teachers ready to give him the benefit of their knowledge of crime and how to get by in the racket.

"Well, what the hell do you think we have to think about when we are in prison?" said one criminal to Doctor Healy. "Even in well-ordered penitentiaries we find means of getting into communication with the other fellows, and soon

<sup>82</sup> The Case of Oscar Fiegelman, unpublished manuscript on the individual criminal, studies by Dr. Ben Karpman of the staff of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C.

<sup>83</sup> Wellington Scott, *Seventeen Years in the Underworld*, p. 24.

Joseph Fishman, for many years only inspector of prisons for the United States Government in territory embracing the United States, Alaska, and Porto Rico, and independent prison investigator and consultant for Federal, State, and municipal governments, in *Crucibles of Crime*, defines the jail as follows: "An unbelievably filthy institution in which are confined men and women serving sentence for misdemeanors and crimes and men and women not under sentence who are simply awaiting trial. With few exceptions, having no segregation of the unconvicted from the convicted, the well from the diseased, the youngest and most impressionable from the most degraded and hardened \* \* \* (p. 13).

Mr. Fishman's judgment as to the results is (p. 25) "And I say that 95 per cent of the jails in America, however widely separated, are driving with uniform efficiency toward one great end—the making of hardened, vicious, and abandoned criminals."

Havelock Ellis quotes in *The Criminal* (4th ed., 1913), p. 231, from the autobiography of an Australian thief who was committed to an Australian jail for three months, where conditions were similar to those described by Mr. Fishman as existing in American jails: " \* \* \* the instructions that I received during these three months considerably improved me in my profession. The Government had placed me in a position to learn a trade and having learnt it I was determined to work at it."

learn to speak without perceptibly moving our lips. We are always on the lookout for shrewd and teachable young chaps. You take a fellow who has not done much but just fall in line with the temptations that have been offered him and who has been sentenced for it; of course he is feeling sore. And when he realizes he is going to be called a gaol-bird for all his life he is willing to learn more about the game. Even if we don't have much to say to him on the inside we can find out where to meet him later on. That's how the best pals are made."<sup>84</sup>

In the preceding pages the influence of the family, the community, the gang, the juvenile institution, have been considered either from the point of view of their failure to impart socially acceptable behavior patterns, or their positively demoralizing effect in the creation of antisocial behavior. They point to the professional criminal as the final result of a long series of demoralizing social influences.

It can not be contended that the professional criminal is always the product of the influences here considered. No doubt there have been individuals subject to all the influences discussed, who have not become professional criminals, and many professional criminals may not have been subject to any of them. All that can be maintained is that where an individual is subject to a bad family situation, where he lives in a delinquency area, joins a gang, and, if sentenced, reacts to commitment in any such fashion as has been pictured by the literature, the probabilities are very great that he will become a professional criminal.

If the picture of the professional criminal as the end result of a long series of social influences which have created in him antisocial attitudes and behavior patterns has any basis in fact, from the point of view of causation of crime it would be advantageous to know what those patterns are. The lack of an adequate criminal psychology, pointed out in the chapter on Mental Factors, makes such a study difficult. At present the only way of obtaining any idea as to the attitudes of professional criminals is from their own statements contained in their autobiographies and from scattered refer-

<sup>84</sup> Healy, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

ences in individual case studies. Here also a word of caution must be given. These statements for the most part have not been examined by unbiased observers to establish the accuracy with which they project the criminals' actions and motives. However, they may be accepted, at least tentatively, as representing attitudes prevalent among professional criminals.

The first thing to be realized in a study of the professional criminal is that he responds to the prevailing philosophy and the prevailing attitudes of an acquisitive society. He is after the same great good for which so many others are striving—money. The criminal himself and those who have studied him are agreed as to that.<sup>85</sup>

"Each act," writes Wellington Scott, in his autobiography, "is a business proposition, considered from a business standpoint and measured only by dollars and cents and the opportunity for a clear 'get away.'" <sup>86</sup>

The professional criminal is out to get as much as he can. In the words of Danny Ahearn, "There's some theaters you can stick up, where you can wind up with probably six grand. Then again, it's not really big money. You take the same risk for that as for \$100,000. \* \* \* It always pays to go out and steal big."<sup>87</sup>

Ahearn's statement as to murder is probably typical, at least of the hold-up man: "It [a robbery] might wind up in a shooting match," he writes, "and you might have to shoot somebody. I don't look to kill anybody. If I can prevent it, I will. But I would shoot somebody to get away, if there's plenty of money there, say \$100,000."<sup>88</sup>

Like individuals in any legitimate profession, criminals build up a special milieu. The editorial preface to Danny

<sup>85</sup> See Robert Heindl, *Der Berufsverbrecher*, p. 130, and Healy, *op. cit.*, chapter on the professional criminal, especially p. 320. Hostetter and Beesley say of the racketeer: " \* \* \* the sole inspiration and objective of the racketeer is the possession of wealth. A cynic and a realist, he accepts society's standard at its face value. He believes, however wrongly, that the test is not, 'How did you get it?' but instead is, 'Have you got it?'" *It's a Racket*, p. 168. And on p. 170, "The unpleasant truth is that the racketeer has simply taken an American political and social ideal, wealth, and tried to achieve it in a minimum of time according to his peculiar lights."

<sup>86</sup> *Seventeen Years in the Underworld*, p. 18.

<sup>87</sup> *How to Commit a Murder*, p. 107.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

Ahearn's book notes how completely demarcated this world of the criminal is from the world upon which it preys.<sup>89</sup> In his own world the criminal finds approbation and recognition of his exploits; his society has a code of its own, different from the code of ordinary society. The criminal group has its own methods of attack and defense against society. The common enemy is the police, and death is the lot of the "rat," the one who will "squeal" to the police.

Jack Black, in his autobiography, testifies to the existence and the nature of this world. Of his criminal activities he writes:

I was wrong. I knew I was wrong, and yet I persisted. If that is possible of any explanation, it is this: From the day I left my father my lines had been cast, or I cast them myself, among crooked people. I had not spent one hour in the company of an honest person. I had lived in an atmosphere of larceny, theft, crime. I thought in terms of theft. Houses were built to be burglarized, citizens were to be robbed, police to be avoided and hated, stool pigeons to be chastised, and thieves to be cultivated and protected. That was my code; the code of my companions. That was the atmosphere I breathed.<sup>90</sup>

Black testifies also to the attitude of a criminal toward his work. "It is difficult to explain to a layman," he writes, "the pride of a professional thief. Nevertheless he must have pride or he would steal his clothes, beat his board bills, and borrow money with no thought of repaying it. He doesn't do these things day after day, but day after day he takes chances and is proud that he can keep his end up and pay for the things he needs. \* \* \* I was a journeyman; I had served a long and careful apprenticeship; professional pride—I don't know what else to call it—would not permit me to take the Chinaman's money for rescuing him from our common enemy, the law, and I went out to get money in my own way."<sup>91</sup>

Contrasted to the philosophy of Jack Black, embodied in the title to his book, *You Can't Win*, written at the end of his career, is the rationalization of the criminal way of life, which Landesco found among gangsters in Chicago.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>90</sup> *You Can't Win*, p. 241.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

The gangster "makes invidious comparisons between opportunities for success in a criminal versus a legitimate career. He contrasts the easy money and the good times of the gambler, beer runner, stick-up artist, and con man with the low wages and long hours of the 'poor working sap.' \* \* \* His glorification of the life and the characters of the underworld is complete evidence of the absence of any feeling of inferiority or shame about his own criminal aspirations."<sup>92</sup>

As to the possibilities of a criminal's "going straight," Emmanuel Levine, a New York police reporter writes: "When a gangster gets sentimental about quitting the racket and reforming so he can go straight and marry and settle down, the gang believes that he is getting yellow or soft and usually takes him for a ride. His death is attributed to some rival organization. His pals and boss can't understand anyone giving up easy money to go to work. Many times they decide somewhat logically, he must be going nuts. So they seal his lips—or they may fear that he is severing his connections with the old gang to better himself by hooking up with a rival one."<sup>93</sup>

### CONCLUSIONS

From the point of view of crime causation, the importance of the family lies in its responsibility for the failure of the delinquent to acquire socially acceptable patterns of behavior. The Healy, Glueck, and other studies referred to show that apparently the delinquent is particularly handicapped in his family relations. But it must be noted that little is known of the family relationships among non-delinquents. Weill's study, listing the possible maladjustments within a family, would lead to the belief that they are more common than are generally supposed.

A family handicapped economically, compelled to live under bad housing conditions, may have a more difficult task as a social educator than a family not so handicapped. But it has been seen that the literature relating to this subject is inconclusive. The families of delinquents are to be found in all social and economic strata. To some extent the

<sup>92</sup> Organized Crime in Chicago, Illinois Crime Survey, p. 1048.

<sup>93</sup> Lavine, *The Third Degree*, p. 26.

lowest economic strata do furnish an undue proportion of delinquents, but their contribution to the delinquent population is not very much greater than what might be expected from their representation in the general population.

Many investigators have held broken homes to be an important contributing factor to delinquency. But the Shaw and McKay study, showing that the statistical evidence on which these conclusions are based, has failed to take into account such significant factors as age and nationality, deprives this evidence of much of its value. All that can be legitimately said is that delinquents do appear to come from broken homes to a greater extent than nondelinquents, but the difference is much less than has been generally supposed. This does not deny that in an individual case, where a child from a broken home does become delinquent, the lack of adequate family discipline resulting from the broken home may have been an important contributory factor.

Because immigrant homes appear to contribute an undue proportion of children to the delinquent population, the immigrant family has been said to be an inefficient agency of social education. The breakdown of the immigrant family is usually attributed to the conflict between American and Old World cultural standards. But the problem of the immigrant is complicated by the necessity of settling in the "delinquency areas," where the children come into contact with demoralizing patterns of behavior.

Whatever the shortcomings of the family as an agency of social education, instead of meeting them, the community too frequently acts itself as an agency of demoralization. The existence of areas of delinquency where the incidence of crime and delinquency are great, is adequately demonstrated by Shaw and other observers. When they attempt, however, to show the processes by which such communities encourage the formation of delinquent behavior patterns they are on less safe ground, in view of the fact that even in such communities only a small proportion of the children become delinquent. But the view that in "delinquency areas" the opportunities for contact with socially demoralizing conduct increase the possibilities of a child's becoming delinquent is certainly justified. Not only are the oppor-

tunities for the contact with the demoralizing social patterns greater, but, in "delinquency areas," with their characteristic conditions of bad housing, poor economic condition, inadequate family life, and lack of proper facilities for recreation, the most attractive outlet for the growing child's energies, is offered by the gang, with its tendency toward delinquent activities and its transmission of demoralizing social patterns of behavior.

Where conflict with the law does result in a sentence to a juvenile institution, delinquent tendencies may already be too deep seated for commitment to result in correction, or institutional experiences may merely strengthen delinquent patterns of behavior already acquired.

There is basis in the literature for the view that the professional criminal is the final product of a long series of demoralizing social influences. His attitudes may be understood only in terms of these influences, and his actions only in terms of his attitudes. But as yet the psychology of the criminal is very inadequately presented; how the criminal regards his life, how his point of view determines his continuance in a criminal career, is to be seen only in autobiographical material. It is suggestive, but it needs to be greatly augmented by more case studies, and analyzed by competent psychologists.

In conclusion, therefore, it may be stated that while the literature on social factors does not provide completely unassailable data, it does point out specific conditions which may well be considered contributory factors in criminality. There seems to be no escaping the conclusion that the family is fundamental; it is the State's first bulwark against the formation of antisocial tendencies. At present it seems that in the very places where the family inadequacy is apt to be greatest, instead of offsetting the results, the community makes them worse. If nothing intervenes between the children and adult demoralizing influences, a point of almost direct contact is provided by the gang, the children's play group. Finally, the evidence as to the failure of institutional treatment points in some cases to a direct subversion of its aims.

## CHAPTER V

### ECONOMIC FACTORS

Discussion of the rôle of economic conditions in the production of crime goes back to antiquity.<sup>1</sup> It is an old contention that criminal conduct is to some degree the result of external stimuli arising out of conditions over which the individual himself has little or no control. There have been many attempts at the difficult task of differentiating the economic from the other environmental factors present in the complex of external influences, in order to determine its importance in the causation of crime. Writers have used three principal methods to show the influence of economic conditions on criminality. The geographic method compares the criminality of countries, or of parts of the same country, where differing degrees of prosperity are observable. A second method investigates the criminal conditions of the different social and economic classes of the population. The third and most instructive method examines the fluctuations in criminality and compares them with the ebb and flow of the economic life of the country.

The first method in its most naive form, that of international geographic comparison, is used by William D. Morrison in his book, *Crime and its Causes*,<sup>2</sup> to show that "the connection between poverty and theft is not so close as is generally imagined." He points out that England is wealthier than Italy, yet more thefts are committed in England than in Italy. So too, France is wealthier than Ireland, and has more thefts. Indicating that in England 1 person to every 42 of the population was proceeded against criminally, whereas in India only 1 person was proceeded

<sup>1</sup> See the historical survey in Joseph Van Kan, *Les causes économiques de la criminalité*.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 130-134.

against to every 195, Morrison concludes, "On the supposition that poverty is the parent of crime, the population of India should be one of the most lawless in the world, for it is undoubtedly one of the very poorest."

Any attempt to draw conclusions from comparisons of countries so dissimilar as France and Ireland, England and Italy, and England and India, without making allowances for differences in legal dispositions and legal organization, in police organization, and in the perfection of the criminal statistics, and without recognizing the various local influences upon the criminal situation, is hardly worthy of serious consideration.

This method is subject to the further criticism that it gives a very limited connotation to the term "poverty." Quetelet, many years ago, noting that the provinces of Creuse in France and Luxembourg in Holland, were the poorest and at the same time the most moral of their respective countries, wrote—

A province is not poorer than another because it contains less riches if its inhabitants are sober and active, and if, as in Luxembourg, they can by their work satisfy their needs; needs which are so much the more modest as there is less inequality of fortune and less provocation of temptation. \* \* \* One would say that poverty made itself felt in the provinces where the greatest riches were amassed as in Flanders, the Department of the Seine, etc.<sup>3</sup>

It would appear that if the relations between economic conditions and criminality in different parts of the same country were compared the results might be more fruitful. Such a comparison was made in Belgium by Jacquart,<sup>4</sup> a well-known statistician. He concludes that though the criminality of different regions may be influenced by economic conditions, nevertheless, it does not vary with the amount of riches or misery present in the particular section. The greatest criminality is found in the arrondissements containing the urban or industrial centers, and precisely there salaries and the percentage of marriages are

<sup>3</sup> L. A. J. Quetelet, *Physique Sociale*, Vol. II, p. 279, et seq.  
<sup>4</sup> Camille Jacquart, *La criminalité Belge*, p. 120.

highest. Nevertheless Jacquart attributes to the economic factor, i. e., to the prevalent misery, the high criminality in Flanders. A similar observation had been made more than a half century previously by another Belgian writer. "It is a well-determined fact that the increase of criminality in Flanders has gone hand in hand with the increase of poverty."<sup>5</sup>

But in Flanders great inequalities of fortune were present, as Quetelet indicated in the quotation above. Moreover, the situation there illustrates very well that the concurrence of other factors besides poverty may be significant in the production of delinquency. For as Jacquart writes, "From the point of view of all the conditions exercising an influence on the development of criminality, \* \* \* Flanders has been inferior to the Walloon provinces \* \* \* This is true regarding education, culture, economic conditions, and alcoholism."<sup>6</sup>

It may be seen then how difficult it is to isolate the causative factors at work in the production of criminality within a particular region. Poverty in Flanders has gone hand in hand with lack of education and with alcoholism. Perhaps poverty is also the cause of both these phenomena. On the other hand, both or either may be causative elements in the production of poverty and criminality.

General conclusions as to the relationship of economic conditions and criminality can hardly be reached by any such simple geographic comparisons. The basis for determining the economic conditions in the sections of the country under examination is a rough estimate, the general state of well-being of the communities. Important facts such as the distribution of wealth, particularly whether or not there exists gross inequalities of fortune, are neglected. Moreover, this method does not take into account individual factors which are prevalent in one community but not in another and which may affect the production of criminality.

The second method of showing the influence of economic conditions upon criminality compares the economic status

<sup>5</sup> Edward Ducepétiaux, *Mémoire sur le pauperisme dans les Flandres*,  
<sup>6</sup> Jacquart, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

of delinquents with that of the general population. If the lower economic strata of society furnishes, proportionately to its representation in the total population, an unduly large contingent to the army of criminals, then one may properly conclude that membership in this strata involves a greater possibility of becoming criminal. However, it still could not be concluded that the economic element is the determinant in the delinquency of the poorer classes. Many factors are at work along with the economic, and until the rôle of each is assigned all that can legitimately be said is that a member of the poorer classes is more apt to become delinquent.

The problem of determining what proportion each class contributes to the total of criminality is extremely difficult. It means trying to weigh the importance of economic well-being or economic distress as a cause of criminal conduct. But the terms "economic well-being" and "economic distress" are not fixed and absolute. They are essentially relative to desires felt and needs unsatisfied. Thus the application of an objective criterion such as income could hardly give a satisfactory picture of the "economic well-being" or "economic distress" of particular groups of our population.

Moreover, other psychological influences may modify the effect of the objective economic factor. Niceforo, in his work, *Les Classes Pauvres*, points out that the moral sentiments of the various social classes are not the same.<sup>7</sup> In the lower classes the higher and more delicate moral sentiments have not been developed. This may be true. But of first importance is the moral tone given to the whole existing social order by the psychological influences of the present economic system at work on all classes. Our social order is based on individualism, an individualism which makes one of its supreme goals the obtaining of wealth and the objects which wealth may procure. Consideration for general welfare is subordinated in every rank of society to individual enjoyment. This has some significance for criminality. A crime is regarded as an injury to an individual and collective

<sup>7</sup> P. 249 et seq.

interest. Social values which weaken individual concern for one's fellow men might be expected to weaken resistance to a criminal satisfaction of one's desires.

The writers who have approached the problem of the respective contributions of the various social classes to criminality are in disagreement as to their results. The Italian observers, using similar data, reach diametrically opposite conclusions. On the one hand, Garofalo divides the Italian population into 12 per cent proprietors and 88 per cent proletarians and finds that they contribute to criminality in nearly similar proportions, even with respect to those crimes whose motives are directly economic (larceny, embezzlement, fraud, forgery).<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, Fornasari di Verce<sup>9</sup> and M. Marro<sup>10</sup> estimated the proportion of the comfortable classes to the total population to be much larger than Garofalo stated, and hence that the contribution of the poorer classes to criminality is greater than its representation in the general population, particularly in the crimes against property.

Dr. B. Foldes, after examining the Austro-Hungarian criminal statistics,<sup>11</sup> concludes that the comfortable classes commit property crimes in lesser numbers than the individuals belonging to the poorer classes. However, in all other types of crimes the percentage of criminals from the upper economic levels is greater. This assertion is in part contradicted by Niceforo for Italy. He shows that in the more comfortable social classes, fraudulent crimes predominate, whereas in the lower classes criminality manifests itself in the form of violent crimes. Niceforo then concludes that two different forms of civilization are present in the different social classes—a more primitive in the lower classes, whose criminal manifestations have violence at their base, and a more modern in the upper classes, characterized by a criminality of fraud.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Garofalo, *Criminology*, p. 150, et seq.

<sup>9</sup> Ettore Fornasari di Verce, *La Criminalità e le vicende economiche*. See Van Kan, *Les causes économiques de la criminalité*, p. 123.

<sup>10</sup> Antonio Marro, *I caratteri dei delinquenti*. See also Van Kan, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>11</sup> Einige Ergebnisse der neueren Kriminalstatistik, in *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Strafrechtswissenschaft*, Vol. XI, pp. 515-577.

<sup>12</sup> Niceforo, *Les classes pauvres*, pp. 137-138.

It is quite evident from these examples that none of the writers who have attempted to show the relationship between economic conditions and criminality by comparing the economic status of delinquents with the population generally has cast very much light on this question. The criminologists have not been acutely aware of the difficulties in the way of obtaining exact knowledge through this type of research. The first difficulty lies in choosing an objective criterion to measure the respective economic situations of various groups in the population. The Italian writers disagree in their results because they disagree in their choice of criteria. Even after a satisfactory standard is obtained it is no easy problem to apply it. To determine the economic status of the delinquent population, one can not simply depend upon criminal statistics, as the various writers on this subject have done. The statistics are based on statements made by the criminal himself, which, unless checked up by independent investigation, do not provide accurate data.

In applying any chosen criterion to the criminal population, moreover, the delinquents must be differentiated according to the various types of crime. The economic influence in adultery is not the same as the economic influence in larceny. Distinction must also be made between first offenders and recidivists and habitual criminals, between juvenile offenders and adult criminals, between male and female offenders. The boy who wants the price of a movie, the unemployed laborer whose family needs food, and the professional criminal out for easy money may all commit larceny; they are all acting under the influence of the economic factor, and they may all come from the same strata of society. But in each case the motive impelling the individual to crime is different and must be differently evaluated. Furthermore, before any conclusions may be reached regarding the causative rôle of the economic conditions of the delinquents, their status must be compared with that of a control group obtained from the general population. Writers in the past have been content to draw conclusions on the basis of too superficial observation.

The third method, the most important for showing the influence of economic conditions on criminality, examines the relationship between fluctuations in the economic life of a country and its criminality. The value of such an examination depends, in the first instance, on the trustworthiness of the basic criteria used to measure the amount of crime and the ebb and flow of the economic situation. These criteria are neither wholly reliable nor uniform.

The data on variations in the amount of crime from year to year are obtained from the criminal statistics of the country under investigation. The dependability of criminal statistics is not the same in different countries, nor are the statistics as reliable for earlier as for later periods in the same country.

Moreover, one defect is common to all criminal statistics. They provide data on the number of offenses detected, not on the number actually committed. All the writers using criminal statistics tacitly assume the principle enunciated by Quetelet "that there exists an almost invariable relationship between the offenses known and judged and the sum total of offenses committed."<sup>18</sup>

This is an arbitrary assumption in view of the many factors which may affect the amount of crime of which there is no official cognizance. To take one simple example, the mere addition of more agents to a police force may bring about an increase in the number of detected violations of law in any given period. Similarly, changes in the superior administrative personnel and administrative policies have their repercussion in the total number of offenses with which the judicial authorities have to deal. Furthermore, the amount of undetected crime may vary with the different species of offenses.

No allowance has been made for these defects in statistics used by the various studies to be considered here. The totals given by the official criminal statistics are simply correlated with the fluctuations of the criterion chosen to measure economic conditions. Consequently the value of these studies is considerably diminished.

<sup>18</sup> Quetelet, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 251.

Criminal statistics, whatever their dependability, are the one source of information relating to the amount of criminality and its fluctuations from year to year. But when it comes to the measurement of the economic situation, many different criteria have been devised.

The earliest writers used variations in grain prices as a measure of the economic well-being of the population and brought it into relation with changes in criminality, as revealed by the criminal statistics. Thus Georg von Mayr came to the conclusion that there was an absolute dependence between grain prices and thefts, that for every rise of 6 kreuzers in the price of grain there would be one more theft per 100,000. Moreover, crimes against the person moved in exactly the contrary direction. They increased with the lowering of grain prices and therefore with the improvement in economic well-being.<sup>14</sup>

The rise and fall in grain prices, however, as indications of the economic situation, have not the same importance under all conditions and at all times. In the earlier years of the nineteenth century, when European countries were predominantly agricultural, and when foreign trade did not exert great influence on the economic situation, grain prices may have been a fairly good index of the economic state of the country. But with the spread of industrialization, and with the increasing importance of foreign trade, grain prices alone are but an imperfect measure of the economic situation of a country. Starke's investigation into Prussian criminality shows in a striking way the influences of the economic changes in that country.<sup>15</sup> In its large outlines before 1870 he finds an agreement between the curves for wheat, rye, and potato prices, and those for all offenses and for thefts. After 1870, however, the rapid rise of industry in Germany brought marked changes in the situation. Food prices no longer exerted the same influence as formerly. With the development of industry, work was plentiful and wages were high. Thus there was sufficient money to pay the high food prices of 1873 and 1874. Between 1875 and 1879, how-

<sup>14</sup> von Mayr, *Statistik der Königreich Bayern und in einiger anderen Länder.*  
<sup>15</sup> *Verbrechen und Verbrecher in Preussen, 1854-1878.* p. 74 et seq.

ever, there was an increase in the number of offenses, yet food prices were low. These were years of industrial crisis, marked by widespread unemployment. Therefore the workman did not have sufficient money to pay even the moderate food prices.

Thus, although grain prices continue to be used by some of the later writers,<sup>16</sup> there is growing recognition that their fluctuations represent inadequately the ebb and flow of economic conditions in countries predominantly industrial. The significance of changes in economic conditions lies in the greater or lesser difficulty experienced by a large part of the population in providing for their needs. An original and interesting index to express such difficulties was devised by Fornasari di Verce.<sup>17</sup> He calculated the number of hours of labor necessary in the course of each year to obtain 100 kilos of wheat. He then compared the variations of this index from year to year with the annual variations in criminality, and found that property crimes usually followed exactly the fluctuations in the amount of work necessary to obtain 100 kilos of wheat. Where parallelism was not found di Verce explained the discrepancy by the counter-influence of other powerful opposing forces.

Though the use of this standard to interpret the economic situation is unquestionably an advance since it attempts to bring food prices into direct relation to wages, it is still subject to criticism. First, one food element is arbitrarily selected. Perhaps variations in its price are representative of food prices generally. On the other hand it is quite possible that the course of prices of food may follow directions different from that taken by the price of wheat. A much more fundamental objection to this method of procedure, however, is that it does not take into consideration the amount of unemployment. Whatever the price of wheat, the unemployed worker is unable to exchange the product of his labor for food.

<sup>16</sup> H. Berg, *Getreidepreise und Kriminalität*; Gustav Aschaffenburg, *Crime and its Repression*, p. 110 et seq.; Woytinsky, *Kriminalität und Lebensmittelpreise*, in *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Strafrechtswissenschaft*, 1920, p. 647; Arnold Wadler, *Die Kriminalität der Balkanländer*.

<sup>17</sup> di Verce, loc. cit.

In recent years economists, studying the phenomenon of the business cycle, have devised more complete measures of economic conditions in the shape of index numbers. Hector Denis, a Belgian economist, was the first to use these in studying criminality.<sup>18</sup> He employed indices of prices of various articles, index numbers showing the production of iron and the movements of exports and imports, and showed that a strong parallelism existed between the curve of criminality and the fluctuations in the economic situation so interpreted. That the representation of changes in the economic situation, even by this method, is not free from difficulty is indicated by Dorothy Swaine Thomas. She has made what is perhaps the most complete study of the social consequences of business cycles.<sup>19</sup> She writes: "The selection of satisfactory statistical indices \* \* \* is beset by many difficulties. In the first place the series selected must move synchronously. There is frequently a difference of two or three years between the maxima of two representative series of business statistics, although both move in cycles. Series must be selected which reflect closely the general business situation \* \* \* [They] must also be as widely representative as possible of all the most important phases of economic activity which are affected by the business cycle."

Even apart from this difficulty of finding proper indices adequately to interpret business conditions, the method of confronting variations in criminality with changes in the business cycle and thus deducing the influence of economic conditions on crime, is subject to a substantial defect. Grain prices as an index of the economic situation have been criticized because their rise and fall do not effect changes in the economic conditions of an industrial population. The use of the business cycle to show variations in economic conditions may err in an opposite direction, since business and agricultural depression may not occur coincidentally. In any arbitrarily selected short period the weight of the crisis may

<sup>18</sup> Denis, *La dépression économique et sociale et l'histoire des prix*, p. 164 et seq. See also his report to the Third Congress of Criminal Anthropology (Brussels, 1903), p. 305, and his *Les Index Numbers des Phénomènes Moraux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* (2me série), Tome IV.

<sup>19</sup> *Social Aspects of Business Cycles*. The quotation is on p. 12.

fall entirely upon the industrial population. It must not be forgotten that although a country is predominantly industrial it also has a rural, agricultural population which contributes to criminality. A complete investigation of the ebb and flow of the economic life of a country as it affects the total population would also include its effects on this rural population.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless business cycles affect large enough proportions of the inhabitants of industrial countries so that investigating the consequences of such cycles may illuminate the question of the influence of economic conditions on criminality. Times of crisis are times of unemployment and this means economic distress for thousands of workers. The possible effect of unemployment on the worker's morale must also be considered. As one writer puts it, "Loss of a job is loss of status. When society refuses participation in its organized activities of production, the pariah of industry (as the unemployed workman regards himself) usually responds in one of two ways. If his personality be weak, he accepts the social verdict of his uselessness to the world. He sinks into a hopeless and listless indifference to his own future and the needs of industry. If his personality be strong, on the other hand, he seeks mental compensation for his wounded pride and the incessant rebuffs of job hunting. He finds it in refusing to accept society's code of conduct. He becomes a rebel."<sup>21</sup>

Whatever be the mechanism that brings about an increase of criminality in times of crisis, an increase is observed by all the writers who have studied the social consequences of the business cycles.<sup>22</sup> These writers, however, with the ex-

<sup>20</sup> Michel Tougan-Baranowsky in *Les crises industrielles d'Angleterre*, asserts that the crises let all their weight fall on those classes of society that are occupied with commerce and industry while they practically do not touch the agricultural population.

<sup>21</sup> *Business Cycles and Unemployment*, Report of committee of President's Conference on Unemployment, 1923, p. 108.

<sup>22</sup> Albert Aftalion, *Les crises périodiques de surproduction*, Vol. I, p. 168 et seq.; Tougan-Baranowsky, op. cit., p. 303; Jean Léscuré, *Des crises générales et périodiques de surproduction* (3me ed., 1923) pp. 39, 94; William H. Beveridge, "Unemployment—A Problem of Industry," p. 48. One of the best studies of the relationship between economic depression and criminality is the study made by Dr. Emma A. Winslow, *Relationships between Employment and Crime Fluctuations as shown by Massachusetts Statistics*, Part IV of Work and Law Observance, the next report in this volume.

ception of Dorothy Thomas, fail to analyze the nature of the increase.

One might suspect that as property crimes occupy such a large place in the total of criminality they would be the principal source of the increase of crime during the downswing of the business cycle. Dorothy Thomas finds some evidence of a correlation between this direction of the business cycle and larcenies though, as she herself states, her data are not very reliable here.<sup>23</sup> However, she also finds a fairly strong inverse correlation between offenses against property with violence (burglary, house and shopbreaking, extortion, sacrilege) and the curve of the business cycle.

But how are crimes against the person affected by the ebb and flow of economic conditions? As has been seen, von Mayr and other early writers found that with the increase in well-being as represented by lower grain prices, crimes against the person tended to increase, though crimes against property diminished.<sup>24</sup> The increase in crimes against the person in good times was usually ascribed to the fact that more money was available for expenses above ordinary needs, hence there was a greater consumption of alcohol and a greater participation in the kinds of festivities which, under the influence of alcohol, degenerated into rows. This finding and the fact already pointed out by Quetelet<sup>25</sup> that the maximum in summer and the minimum in winter of crimes against the person coincided respectively with the minimum and maximum of crimes against property, causes Garofalo to conclude "that the oscillations in the always unstable economic equilibrium are not the real cause of criminality, but merely determine the form under which it manifests itself."<sup>26</sup>

It would be a cause of serious concern if Garofalo's opinion were correct. If changes in the economic situation merely gave form to a latent criminality which would manifest itself anyway, the hope of reducing the amount of crime

<sup>23</sup> Dorothy Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-141.

<sup>24</sup> See Starke, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>25</sup> Quetelet, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 287-288.

<sup>26</sup> Garofalo, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

by improving the economic conditions of the population would be illusory.

However, later writers were unable to find any such close relationship between favorable economic conditions and increases of crime against the person. Berg,<sup>27</sup> for example, studying German criminality and finding that property crimes were dependent on grain prices, also pointed out that there was no relation between the grain prices and crimes against the person. These tended to increase whether grain was cheaper or dearer. Wadler,<sup>28</sup> who discovered a parallelism between grain prices and property crimes in Serbia, found that crimes against the person tended to move in the same direction as crimes against property. A similar finding was made by Heinrich Müller in his study of German conditions.<sup>29</sup>

Berg, moreover, asserted that it was not correct to say that alcohol consumption increased in good times and fell off in bad. The amount of alcohol consumed was not dependent upon the economic ebb and flow. Dorothy Thomas, however, in her study of English criminality,<sup>30</sup> points out that excessive alcoholism did tend largely to be a phenomenon of "good times." Nevertheless she found little relationship between the business cycle and crimes against the person. She states, "Although these coefficients of correlation show that there is more often a tendency for crimes of violence against the person to increase with prosperity and diminish with depression, than for the converse to happen, they are neither large enough nor sufficiently constant to be evidence of a real connection between the business cycle and such crimes."<sup>31</sup>

Let us now recapitulate the results reached by the authors who have tried to show the economic influences on criminality by confronting the fluctuations in the well-being of a people, measured in various ways, with the variations in the amount of crime. On the whole, wherever crimes

<sup>27</sup> Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

<sup>28</sup> Wadler, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>29</sup> Untersuchungen über die Bewegung der Kriminalität, p. 65.

<sup>30</sup> Dorothy Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

against property are differentiated, it is shown that they vary with the fluctuations of the index used to indicate the economic situation. As to crimes against the person, however, the influence of good or bad times is still an open question.

The coincidence of fluctuations of the curve illustrating property crimes and the curve indicating the changing economic situation (as interpreted by the index employed) is, for the most part, temporal rather than intensive. In other words, the increase or decrease in property crimes, as revealed by the statistics, occurs about the same time as the change in the economic situation. However, such increase or decrease is not exactly proportional to the amount of prosperity or depression. Moreover, although the rise and fall of one coincides with the rise and fall of the other, it can not be concluded without further investigation that there is causality. All we have are the quantitative facts that the two kinds of phenomena vary in somewhat parallel fashion. This would lead to the suspicion that the influence of one is exerted upon the other. However, the mechanism of how one factor acts upon the other must be clear before it can be decided that causality is present.

It is certain that property crimes go up in bad times. Does this mean that every attack on property in a period of depression is an act of despair in the face of impending hunger? The motive of some crime against property during a period of depression may undoubtedly be the satisfaction of elementary desires for food and shelter. But it can not reasonably be contended that elementary desires are the impelling force for all property crimes. It may well be that where the income of an individual is reduced by a period of depression he may seek to extend it criminally, in order to continue to enjoy the many things he was able to have in good times. Or possibly it is not so much the economic stress as the destructive effect of unemployment upon the worker's morale, already noted, which causes him to violate the law. Or perhaps the reason is simply that an unoccupied person is more subject to temptation.

A distinction must also be made between crimes committed by habitual and professional criminals and crimes committed by first offenders. None of the investigations into the variations in property crimes considered above makes such a distinction. Yet there is a predatory criminality which is with us in good times as well as in bad. It is the criminality of one who, through the operation of various factors, has chosen crime as a career. This type of criminal will not accept honest labor, for "Only Saps Work."<sup>22</sup> It is evident that the influence of economic conditions upon this species of criminal is quite different from its effects upon one who has not yet violated the law.

Thus research is needed on how the economic factor affects the different kinds of delinquents who appear before the courts. The effect of prosperity should be distinguished from the effect of depression, so that the different operation of economic influences may be noted. Only this type of investigation will enable us to clear up the question of the character of the causative rôle of economic fluctuations and economic influences in the production of criminality.

Considerable light is shed on the mechanism of the relationship between a period of economic stress and property crime by two books dealing with war and postwar criminality in Germany and Austria.<sup>23</sup>

Investigators generally lament that direct experiment is not possible in the social sciences. But the Germans and Austrians were submitted to conditions during the war and immediately thereafter, which gave the countries the aspect of a vast sociological laboratory. There was a shortage of all necessary goods—foodstuffs, clothing, raw materials. The value of the money of the two countries dwindled. With the monetary inflation and the general shortage of goods, material objects of any kind and description became especially valuable. This was the time of the reign of the "Sachwerte." Moreover, a great majority of the population, from the highest paid officials to the workman, suffered from the pinch of necessity.

<sup>22</sup> This is the title of a book on racketeers by Courtenay Terrett.

<sup>23</sup> Dr. Moritz Liepman, *Krieg und Kriminalität in Deutschland*; Franz Exner, *Krieg und Kriminalität in Oesterreich*.

As might be expected, crimes against property—particularly theft—characterized the criminality of this period.<sup>84</sup> The general necessity and privation brought with it a record increase of property crimes. Need was the common criminal motive. It swept away any restraining tendencies. A concise picture of the situation is presented by Liepman, "Every point that the mark fell increased the impulses to dishonesty. Everything became valuable and every conceivable object was in danger of being stolen. All reckoning, all responsibility, all consideration for more than the immediate present, had lost its sense."<sup>85</sup>

Moreover, the striking thing about this war and postwar criminality is that it included such a large proportion of the population which up to that time had not come into conflict with the law. This was particularly true of the feminine and the juvenile part of the population. The number of women and children convicted of crime, particularly of property crime, rose tremendously.

Crimes against the person, on the other hand, with the exception of murder, decreased in these years in Germany and Austria. This was perhaps due, as both Exner<sup>86</sup> and Liepman<sup>87</sup> point out, to the decreased consumption of alcohol and to the undernourishment, worry, and the consequent psychic and physical exhaustion which cut down the activity necessary for this type of crime.

The German and Austrian experience strengthens our opinion that research into the mechanism of the influence of periods of stress and of prosperity in the production of property crime would show that the economic factor operates differently on the professional and habitual criminal than on the first offender. Apparently the danger of times of economic stress from the point of view of criminality consists in the fact that large numbers of hitherto law-

<sup>84</sup> Exner points out, *op. cit.*, p. 60, that in the years before the war, theft (in Austria) represented 39 per cent of the total of all crimes. During the four war years it was 73 per cent and in the four years after the war, the proportion increased to 80 per cent.

<sup>85</sup> Liepman, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>86</sup> Exner, *op. cit.*, p. 90 *et seq.*

<sup>87</sup> Liepman, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

abiding individuals will be brought into conflict with the law. They may be inspired to do so through the operation of any of the factors already noted—immediate need, destruction of morale through loss of a job, or lessened ability to resist temptation. But whatever the impelling forces, the increase in the number of first offenders also carries with it the added danger that some of them will become habitual and professional offenders. Penal and correctional institutions have frequently proven to be schools for crime. Thus the net result of a period of economic stress may be a permanent increase in criminality of the most dangerous kind.

European writers, examining the phenomena of crime, distinguish between the individual fluctuations of the curve of criminality and its long-time trend. It has already been seen that they related the former to the ebb and flow of economic conditions in the search for economic influences on crime. Much less attention has been paid to the influence of economic conditions on the general trend of crime. Before the war it was the opinion of many observers that despite the fluctuations from year to year crime had been increasing for many years in all the principal European countries with the possible exception of England.<sup>88</sup>

A theory interpreting this general increase in crime has been advanced by M. Poletti<sup>89</sup> and has been almost unanimously rejected by the various writers who have considered it; yet it does not seem to be wholly without merit.

Poletti regards criminal activity as being merely the residuum of social acts, obtained by a process of eliminating all the legal activities of production and conservation. He further develops the idea that there is a relationship between honest activity in commerce and industry and the illegitimate activity of criminality. Thus, taking Ferri's estimate<sup>40</sup> that criminal activity in France increased in the

<sup>88</sup> See Enrico Ferri *Studi sulla criminalità in Francia*, pp. 17-59, in his *Studi sulla criminalità*; and his *Criminal Sociology*, pp. 198-200; Garofalo, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-442; Boris Brasol, *The Elements of Crime*, pp. 160-161.

<sup>89</sup> Filippo Poletti, *Del sentimento nella scienza del diritto penale*.

<sup>40</sup> Ferri, *Studi sulla criminalità in Francia*.

period examined from 100 to 254, Poletti finds that legitimate activity, as represented approximately by taxes collected, has increased from 100 to 300. The author then concludes that as criminality has not increased to the same extent as legitimate activity, the figures 100 to 254, far from representing an increase, actually represent a positive decrease of crime. A similar conclusion was reached regarding the criminality of Italy. Thus Poletti finds confirmation for his law that there is a constant relationship between social and antisocial activity. So long as society lives under equal and invariable conditions, the relative number of criminal acts will remain the same. In its relation to the social forces, crime will in all cases adjust itself to the sum of their activities.

The most arbitrary thing in this theory is relating criminality as such to commercial activities. Distinction must be made between types of crime which may and those which may not be affected by increases in business activity. Increased trade, for example, would have a much greater influence on the amount of forgeries committed than on the amount of adultery.<sup>41</sup>

When such distinctions are made the sound core contained in the theory of Poletti may be reached; namely, that *where increased incentives and increased occasions for illegitimate activities result from an increased amount of legitimate activity, there is apt to be an increase in crime.*

To determine whether or not there has been an increase in legitimate activity and therefore greater incentive to illegitimate activity one has but to consider the profound changes occurring in the economic and social systems of European countries and of America in the last hundred years.

The situation in America has been summed up in these words:

The past hundred years have seen great industries spring into existence and expand, aided by machinery and motive power unknown to our forefathers of a few generations since. Railroads with a daily revenue of

<sup>41</sup> See also criticisms by Garofalo, op. cit., p. 170; Gabriel Tarde, *Penal Philosophy*, p. 380; Van Kan, op. cit., p. 199.

approximately \$20,000,000, telegraph lines carrying daily 700,000 messages, daily telephone connections of 72,000,000, daily bank clearings of \$1,500,000,000, daily imports of \$6,000,000, and daily exports of the same amount from a single American port—these are things of recent growth and they speak eloquently of the stupendous volume of our national business.

But each step in this swift progress—every acceleration given to industry, commerce, and banking by improved machinery and power, by railroads, telegraphs, and telephones—has been followed, not only by a marked increase in the number of the criminals who prey upon credit, but a serious expansion in their boldness and ingenuity.<sup>42</sup>

The worker, in the course of this industrial progress, eventually conquered for himself a better economic position. He ought to have felt less pressure at least toward a criminality against property. But an industrial and democratic civilization brings many more influences to act upon him which may result in a conflict with the law. On the one hand there is the relentless pressure exerted by modern industry toward the stimulation of new needs, through the countless forms which advertising may take. On the other hand, there is the example of a leisure class openly enjoying all the advantages of modern society. It must be remembered, too, that the spread of democracy has broken down the caste lines which formerly cut an individual off from the privileges of the class above him. The modern individual does not wish to be simply a spectator at the feast of others. He wishes to participate. He interprets the democratic theory to mean that all men are born with an equal right to enjoy the good things in life. What cuts him off is no inherent inferiority but merely the lack of money.

Thus as Jacquart observes:<sup>43</sup>

The more well-being becomes widespread and wealth greater, the more thieves, forgers, and swindlers there are. But most of them do not steal because of poverty.

<sup>42</sup> A quotation from a Dun Agency report in *Criminal Receivers of the United States* (pp. 9-10), made by the Prison Committee of the Association of Grand Jurors of New York County.

<sup>43</sup> Jacquart, op. cit., p. 117.

They are professional thieves who wish to live from the fruit of their depredations. They are greedy individuals inflamed by the extraordinary importance which our present society attaches to the possession of wealth, not as an insurance against hunger, but to obtain enjoyments of all kinds that it makes possible.<sup>44</sup>

Moreover, the migration from country to city, which the change in the industrial system has brought about, modified the individual's relationship to the community. For the more intimate contact and the social control of a small rural community was substituted the anonymity and the uncertainties of living in an urban center. The very concentration of population, making possible so many more points of contact and therefore so many more points of disagreement, increases the potentiality of conflict between individuals. The basic philosophy, too, of our present social order—individualism and freedom of competition—increasing as it necessarily does the egoistic sentiments of the individual, increases also the possibilities of his conflict with other individuals and with the group which denies him advantages he wishes to have.

It is believed that the above observations contain all that is essentially sound in the socialist theories of the influence of economic conditions in the causation of crime. Bongers,<sup>45</sup> who examined most of the literature relating to the influence of economic conditions on crime, used his data to support the general socialist thesis that the fundamental cause of all crime lies in the vicious organization of society, particularly its existing economic conditions. This survey has shown

<sup>44</sup> See also M. René Maunier: *Des rapports entre le progrès de la richesse et de la criminalité en Égypte*, in *L'Égypte Contemporaine*, vol. 3, 1912, pp. 27-42. He observes (p. 40), "The more numerous men are and the more they come in contact, the more numerous and varied are their needs. The increase of wealth develops, therefore, the desire for wealth and that is what has happened in the rural and urban classes in Egypt; new needs are experienced by the fellahs which they did not have formerly."

<sup>45</sup> William Bongers, *Criminality and Economic Conditions*. See also Dr. Napoleone Colajanni, *La Sociologia Criminale*; Dr. Bruno Battaglia, *La Dinamica del Delitto*; Paul Lafargue, *Die Kriminalität in Frankreich in Die Neue Zeit* (1890); Friedrich Engels, *Condition of the Working Class in England*.

that little enough is even known of the way in which the economic factor operates to produce property crime for such a generalization to be well founded.

## CONCLUSIONS

The use of the geographic method comparing the criminality and the prosperity of different communities or countries has not thrown any light on the influence of economic conditions on crime and can not be expected to do so.

The character of the research into the comparison of the economic status of the criminal classes with that of the general population is superficial and there is some disagreement as to results. The fact that a generally accepted criterion which would differentiate accurately the delinquents and the general population into social groups does not exist has further impaired the value of the findings of the various writers. If such a criterion is established, then research on these lines may be fruitful.

The only significant contributions leading to an understanding of the relationship between economic conditions and criminality have come from writers who attempted to relate the economic ebb and flow to the fluctuations in criminality. They have generally been content to establish that some relationship existed between changes in economic conditions and changes in the total amount of crime, particularly property crimes. These writers have not been generally aware of either the difficulties involved in choosing adequate criteria to interpret economic fluctuations or the necessary limitations involved in the use of criminal statistics. Nor have they pushed their investigations far enough to discover how changing economic conditions operated to produce variations in criminality. Thus, the rôle of the economic factor as a causative element in crime has not been adequately explained even by this method.

Very little has been done, except by way of declamation, to show the influences on the production of crime of the underlying philosophy of the present social and economic

system and of such manifestations of the present social order as the existence of inequality of fortune, the existence of a leisure class, the constant stimulation of needs.

Perhaps it may be found that the price the present organization of society must pay for its continued existence is the necessity of dealing with some individuals who will refuse to accept a material status which does not permit them to enjoy all the things they see others enjoying. Finding their justification in the existing social philosophy, in order to satisfy their desires they may use methods which must be repressed if the present system is to continue.

CONTINUED

2 OF 10

## NOTES ON THE FINDINGS OF OTHER INVESTIGATORS

So far as we have discovered, no case study directed primarily toward tracing the influence of unemployment upon crime has been made in this country. Brief reference is here made to two studies having a bearing upon the subject of this inquiry. In 1911 an analysis of the relation between occupation and criminality of women appeared as a volume of the Federal Government's report on the Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States.<sup>8</sup> The second important study for our purposes is the recently published book, *500 Criminal Careers*, by Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck.<sup>9</sup>

The study of the relation of occupation and criminality among women was based upon the records of penal institutions, with the addition of probation records, and was mainly confined to the manufacturing States. It is an analysis to discover whether women's new economic status has resulted in more or less law breaking. The conclusion in general is that it is the old occupations of women, especially domestic service, which contribute more than their quota to the group committed to penal institutions, and that "the widening of the industrial sphere of women has not been accompanied by any proportionate increase in criminality." (P. 76.) Further on, the statement is made that the inference is strong that so far as the increased industrial opportunities have had any effect it has been in the direction of greater respect for law, and that the apparent decrease of criminality among women is not only an accompaniment but in part a consequence of their wider industrial opportunities. (P. 77.) No emphasis was put upon the fact of unemployment in this study; but in so far as the wider effects of better industrial opportunities have a bearing upon lessening criminality, their good influence seems to have been demonstrated in this study of women in penal institutions.

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<sup>8</sup> United States Senate, 61st Cong., 2d sess., Doc. No. 645: Relation between occupation and criminality of women, Vol. XIV, in Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1911.

<sup>9</sup> Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor T., *500 Criminal Careers*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1930.

Doctor and Mrs. Glueck studied 500 men released from Massachusetts Reformatory whose sentences had expired at least five years previously. Among the many influences which were investigated as affecting success or failure of these men were their work habits, occupations, types of work done, attitude toward work, industrial stability and earnings, and success in meeting economic obligations during the period before admission to the reformatory and afterwards. In both periods work habits and economic status were found to be one of the influential factors in the lives of those who made good; and, conversely, attention to employment and training in skill and economic responsibility appear clearly, on the basis of this study, to be important elements in the successful reform of delinquents.

A study bearing more directly upon unemployment is the analysis of 11,180 misdemeanor cases recently published by the Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research.<sup>10</sup> Only a preliminary summary appears in the report, as the inquiry is still in progress. The findings are statistically summed up in the statement that "40 per cent of all misdemeanor arrests are of the unemployed classes, which comprise only 8 per cent of the total population of Cincinnati." Elsewhere it is concluded that it appears that unemployment plays a big rôle in the committing of misdemeanor offenses. This is especially so in the case of petty larceny, sex offenses, violating liquor laws, drunkenness and disorderly conduct, and vagrancy. These charges comprise 90 per cent of the total number of cases.

#### SUMMARY

(1) As already pointed out, the primary purpose of this study was to experiment with a method of analysis of the records of penal institutions. In the light of that purpose it may be said that the experience with the records at Sing Sing, which are undoubtedly exceptionally good, indicates that further studies of this kind should be made at Sing Sing and in other institutions. On the basis of a wide

<sup>10</sup> Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research: An analysis of 11,180 misdemeanor cases, published by the bureau December, 1929, Pamphlet No. 6 (summary only).

analysis of existing material a smaller group might then be selected for intensive investigation to find material not already available in the prison records. Out of such a study would come new understanding of the problem of lawbreaking.

(2) That the ranks of the unemployed yield more material in proportion to their numbers for penal institutions than do the ranks of the employed, is shown by the present analysis of a selected group, by the records of all those admitted to Sing Sing during the 12 months of the study, and by the prison records for the past 10 years.

(3) The records over a period of years indicate that the proportion of unemployed among the men committed is larger in hard times and less in good times.

(4) Unemployment is a circumstance present more frequently in crimes against property than in other crimes. On the other hand, crimes against property constitute by far the largest group of offenses for which men are serving terms at Sing Sing (64 per cent for the group admitted in the 12 months ended February 28, 1930. See Table III, p. 205).

(5) Analysis of the last occupations in which these men have been employed shows a wide variety—practically a cross section of the vocations of the community. These men are not drawn from the nonwage-earning groups, nor can it be said that their livelihood has come exclusively from lawbreaking. They have been part of the occupational life of the regions where they have lived, but as a group larger numbers of them have been unemployed than in the population as a whole.

(6) An effort to analyze their work opportunities and the assets which they would now have to offer in a search for employment has indicated that though for the majority the occupational environment has been unfavorable or mediocre, nevertheless the majority have one or more assets to offer, out of which it would appear that a program of preventive vocational guidance could be made.

Thus viewed from various angles and taken in conjunction with the men's assets for employment and the quality of

the occupational opportunities which they have had, the indications are that unemployment ranks high among the factors which influence crimes against property, and that, in addition, crimes against property bulk large in the total volume of lawbreaking. It is not claimed that unemployment in all these instances is the direct or even a potent factor. Obviously, crime is the act of an individual. Many individuals who are unemployed and who have similarly difficult conditions to face have broken no laws. On the other hand, it seems evident that as industrial depression throws men out of work there are always a number of men on the border line who can not resist this last pressure of economic insecurity. Whatever place we assign to such a condition as unemployment in its influence upon crime, we can at least be certain that a man's relation to his work must have attention by those who would prevent crime or by those who would restore him to a normal social status in the community.

### PART III

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## NOTES ON THE NEGRO'S RELATION TO WORK AND LAW OBSERVANCE

BY IRA DE A. REID

### PART III

#### NOTES ON THE NEGRO'S RELATION TO WORK AND LAW OBSERVANCE

The conclusion of the National Interracial Conference, as voiced by Professor Sellin, of the University of Pennsylvania, may be taken as the starting point of these notes:

It is unfortunate that the belief in the Negro's excessive criminality has made students of Negro crimes expend so much energy in attempts to verify the charge. Attention has thus been diverted from much more fundamental matters, such as the causes of crime and the relationship of the Negro to our agencies of justice.<sup>1</sup>

In order to direct attention toward the causes of crime among Negroes the Commission authorized a special inquiry as part of this study of work and law observance. This special inquiry regarding the economic, occupational, and other factors in law observance by Negroes was to be a preliminary analysis of available data on the subject obtained from published and unpublished sources, and was to include the information collected for the National Interracial Conference in 1928. The report also was to contain an outline of further inquiries which might be undertaken either by the commission or by other organizations or individuals.

#### QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION—SUGGESTED BY THE RECORDS OF NEGROES IN SING SING PRISON

It happens that the study of men in Sing Sing, described in the preceding reports, offers illustrative material which raises questions for inquiry regarding the Negro group. The proportion of Negroes in the prison population far exceeds their numerical percentage in the region of Sing Sing. Simi-

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted, p. 295.

larly, in every main group of crimes, but especially in assault, homicide, and burglary, the Negroes exceeded the numbers which might be expected from their rank in the population of this district. Is it sufficient to conclude that excessive criminality characterizes the Negro as a race in the United States? Do the records indicate that fundamental conditions which are found to be circumstances in crime for men of all nationalities affect a larger proportion or act with greater pressure upon the Negro group than upon the white group?

The study of the whole group of men admitted to Sing Sing indicates that while the pressure of economic conditions may not represent the total situation, it certainly exercises a pronounced influence in certain types of crime. Unemployment, with all that it implies of insecurity in standards of living, is the environment of a majority.

For the Negro population inside and outside of prison, this and other studies have shown that frequent unemployment and inadequate wages are peculiarly characteristic conditions. A study of the influence of unemployment upon crime must necessarily, then, give special attention to the Negro group, in which both unemployment and penal punishment seem to be disproportionately common.

Sing Sing, probably the most representative of all American prisons, has always had Negro prisoners. In the study described in Part II, it has been shown<sup>1</sup> that the proportion of Negroes admitted yearly between 1920 and 1929, inclusive, has varied from 11.2 per cent in 1921 to 22.2 per cent in 1929. It is interesting to note that, according to records compiled at the prison, Negroes constituted 23 per cent of those admitted in the year 1830 and 6 per cent in the year 1850.<sup>2</sup>

The relative percentage of Negroes as compared with other races in various types of crime, as analyzed at Sing Sing, is shown in Table I.

<sup>1</sup> Appendix B, Table 14, p. 431.

<sup>2</sup> Lawes, Lewis E., *Life and Death in Sing Sing*. Doubleday, Doran & Co., New York, 1928, p. 33.

TABLE I.—Proportion of Negroes and of other specified racial groups committed for various types of crime, in comparison with their population expectancy, of 500 men committed to Sing Sing prison, 1923-1927<sup>1</sup>

	Eng-lish	Irish	Italian	Ger-man	Jewish	Rus-sian-Polish	Negro
Population expectancy.....	0.30		0.14	0.15	0.17	0.09	0.03
Robbery.....	0.20	0.14	.31	.12	.00	.02	.12
Larceny.....	.17	.12	.07	.13	.32	.02	.13
Forgery.....	.20	.07	.07	.22	.35	.02	.03
Burglary.....	.08	.16	.13	.10	.20	.05	.24
Assault.....	.04	.20	.21	.13	.02	.01	.35
Homicide.....	.07	.19	.28	.10	.02	.01	.27
Sexual.....	.10	.10	.18	.20	.03	.20	.13

<sup>1</sup> Lawes, Lewis E., *Life and Death at Sing Sing*, op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> United States Census does not differentiate.

As Table I shows, the Negro prisoners admitted to Sing Sing during the period 1923-1927 exceeded their expectancy for all crimes except forgery, and their percentage was highest for assault, homicide, and burglary, respectively. They had four times their population expectancy in commitments for robbery, four times for larceny, eight times for burglary, eleven times for assault, nine times for homicides, and four times for sexual offenses.

That a clearer picture of the actual problems facing Negro offenders might be secured, the records of 80 Negro prisoners at Sing Sing were studied. These records were selected by the same method followed in the general Sing Sing project, utilizing all available sources of information to obtain a full history of each offender, 67 of the 80 Negro cases being included in the 300 prisoners of the sample group that provided the basis for the general Sing Sing study.

#### NATURE OF CHARGE

In the 80 cases selected for study, offenses against property comprised more than three-fourths of the total group, 78 per cent of the men being within this group. Robbery, larceny, and burglary constituted practically all of the cases in this class, the few other cases being forgery, assault on property, and carrying dangerous weapons.

Offenses against the person formed 19 per cent of the charges. This percentage is higher than that of the white

group for the same class of offense. In the 15 cases falling within this group, 8 were charges of assault to injure persons, 5 were charges of manslaughter, and 2 were charges of murder. Sex offenses and sex crimes comprised 4 per cent of the charges.

#### NATIVITY AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN LOCALITY

Eleven per cent of the Negro offenders were foreign born. Only 14 per cent of the total number of prisoners had lived all their lives in the locality where the offense was committed. Forty-six per cent of them had lived in the locality five years or more; 21 per cent from 1 to 4 years; 13 per cent from 1 to 11 months; and 6 per cent for less than 1 month. At the time their offenses were committed 86 per cent of the offenders were living in New York City.

#### AGES AND FAMILY STATUS

Eighteen per cent of the Negro offenders studied were under 21 years of age at the time of their admission to Sing Sing. This ratio is higher than that for the 233 white offenders studied, 14 per cent of whom were under 21 years of age. In the most active work period—that between the ages of 21 and 44—were 80 per cent of the Negro offenders. Only 25 per cent of the commitments were made after the offender was 45 years of age.

Most significant is the proportion of Negro youth committed to institutions. An analysis of the records of 1,051 offenders committed to Sing Sing during the 12-month period ending February 28, 1930, showed only 13 per cent were under 21 years of age. (Appendix B, tables 5 and 7.) While 45 per cent of the 80 offenders had no record of previous commitment to an institution, there were 43 per cent who were first committed before they were 18 years of age.

The marital status of the men showed 48 per cent of them to be single, 34 per cent living as married, 11 per cent separated or divorced, and 7 per cent widowed. Of the 27 men living as married, 13 were legally married while

the remaining 14 were either common-law marriages or not married to the woman.

Forty-four men were not living at home with other members of the family group at the time of the crime, 25 of the single men and 19 of those "living as married." In other words, 67 per cent of the single men and 70 per cent of those living as married were living apart from their family groups at the time of the crime.

Analysis of the family situation of these 80 offenders prior to their eighteenth birthdays shows that only 21 per cent had both parents living and together at that period. In 39 per cent of the cases one parent was dead or had left the family; in 40 per cent, both father and mother were either dead or away.

#### EDUCATION

Three of the offenders had received no formal education; 25 had spent 5 years or less in school; 43 had attended school for more than 5 but less than 10 years; 8 had spent 10 years or more in school; and data were not available for 1 offender.

#### OCCUPATIONS

An analysis of the last occupation held by the men studied reveals that the vast majority of them were employed in the least remunerative positions—those requiring the least skill and promising the least chance for advancement. The classification presented in Part II demonstrates very clearly the types of employment followed by these men. There is a large frequency of the group of laborers, porters, and cleaners, as well as those employed in the processes of business and industry, while the group of managers, owners, or executives, and owners or partners has no Negroes. There is a distinct concentration of Negro workers in the lower wage-earning groups.

For this situation the offenders themselves are not entirely to blame. An analysis of the factors attending favorable occupational opportunity—experience in processes taking time to learn, training in vocational or industrial schools, apprenticeship, stability of employee, stability of occupation,

formal education—showed that only 13 of the 80 men had opportunities favoring a satisfactory adjustment in their work life. In 36 instances the men's equipment was such as to permit what might be called a modicum of occupational opportunity, while in the 31 remaining instances the conditions were generally unfavorable.

Into this last group would fall the unemployables. While no more than three of the offenders might be so classed, it should be remembered that so far as the Negro worker is concerned the racial hierarchy of occupation in American industry renders the whole racial group "unemployable" in many occupational fields.

The wage distribution for these workers showed that 18.75 per cent earned less than \$20 per week, while 61.25 per cent received less than \$30 weekly. Twenty-three workers (28.7 per cent) were reported as receiving wages varying from \$30 to \$40 weekly. The wages were not given for three workers.

Occupational factors appear to exert a very definite influence on crime. The data collected, while not showing the importance of these factors to the exclusion of all others, do demonstrate a very definite maladjustment on the part of the marginal worker. With the Negro offender these factors appear to be more pronounced.

Unemployment as a factor in crime is shown by the fact that 47 (58.7 per cent) of the 80 offenders were not gainfully employed at the time of their offenses. This percentage is higher than that quoted in another section of this report for white offenders. (See p. 200.) Of these 47 unemployed offenders, 5 had been unemployed for 1 week or less, 11 for more than a week but less than a month, 13 from 1 to 3 months, and 15 for 3 months or longer. The length of time unemployed was not obtainable for three offenders.

Crimes against property accounted for 54 of the 80 offenders. Of these men 39 (72.2 per cent) were unemployed.

#### ARREST AND CONVICTION

The records of the Negro offenders who had previously violated the law (64 in number) indicated that there were

34 previous violations for which they were apprehended. This apparent recidivism (67 of every 100 previous violators involved crimes against property, while 13 of every 100 were for crimes against the person) deserved further analysis. Such an analysis revealed that for every 100 violations of which the men were accused, they were adjudged guilty and sentenced or confined in 48, dismissed or discharged in 37, and given a suspended sentence or placed on probation in 6. Charges were pending in five violations, while data were not given for three.

The evidence contained in the records of the 80 Negro offenders shows that social factors contribute both directly and indirectly to the circumstances of crime. In the analysis of these attending phenomena a factor is not considered unless there is evidence that it really played a part in the crime in question. Thus gambling, though associated with general unfavorable social conditions, would not appear in the tabulation unless it could be shown to be a direct link in the causal chain leading to the crime.

While it can not be said that any one factor is responsible for the offender's present social status, it is true that a thorough examination of all factors bearing on the offense and of all traits and conditions in relation to the rest of the situation among these 80 men show a multiplicity of causations that find their roots in the social status of the Negro population.

The following histories of offenders indicate the factor-in-crime pattern of the Sing Sing Negro prisoner.<sup>a</sup>

#### CASE No. 1.

At the time of his admission to Sing Sing Prison A was 17 years old. Born in Alabama, he was an illegitimate child whose mother died in his infancy and whose father died in the boy's early youth. The northward migration of Negroes a decade ago included this boy. Already he has lived in Vandergrift, Pa., Pittsburgh, Pa., Buffalo, N. Y., and New York City since leaving Montgomery, Ala.

Because he had to work, only 4 of the boy's 11 years of school age were spent in school. His work history shows that he was employed as a railroad laborer at Pittsburgh for half a year. He also worked

<sup>a</sup> All names used in the histories are fictitious.

as a steam-shovel helper for several Pittsburgh contractors. Why he left Pittsburgh is not known. Upon coming to New York he drifted to that section "where colored people hang out," where meals and lodging are cheap, and sociability less difficult. For two weeks he had been unable to find work of any sort. He neither drank nor gambled. His excessive hours of leisure were spent in pool rooms. On the day of the offense he was discharged from a job which he had secured the previous day and became desperate because of lack of money and no prospects of employment.

About 4 a. m. A entered a restaurant in a section of the Bronx inhabited by Negroes, went behind the counter, pointed a loaded revolver at the restaurant keeper, took \$21.82 from the cash register and walked away. The restaurateur, blowing a police whistle, followed. A police officer commandeered an automobile and with the assistance of another officer apprehended the man. The money and a loaded revolver were found in his possession. He was sentenced for 5 to 10 years on the charge of robbery in the second degree.

The combination of all of the circumstances of A's crime seems to leave little hope that he could overcome his handicaps. Perhaps he had expected just such an occasion to arise when he purchased the revolver in Pittsburgh, where in Wylie Avenue in the Negro district, revolvers were on open display in the numerous pawnshops. But, without parental supervision or home life, with only four years of the discipline of a formal education, with no vocational preparation, migrating from city to city unconsciously seeking to find a compensation for these handicaps, he finally met the most insurmountable one—unemployment—and the fear of ultimate starvation in his newest city of residence.

#### CASE No. 2.

John Peterson's friends think him "amiable and well-mannered," but the police with whom he has had dealings since he was 14 characterize him as a "vicious robber." He is an intelligent person, having an intelligence quotient of 100. Although his weekly wages at arrest were only \$22, he has "extravagant tastes."

John's institutional record began when he was 15, when he spent four months in Children's Village because he was an "ungovernable child." Whether he benefited from this experience or not, he did stay out of the hands of the law until 1926, when he was sent to Sing Sing for violation of section 1897 of the Penal Code (carrying dangerous weapons). His sentence there was from 3 to 7 years. After he had been at Sing Sing for a while, John was paroled. He violated this parole in August of 1929. A week after this violation he committed a robbery, which charge is still pending. The offense for which John is now serving time at Sing Sing was committed on a Sunday afternoon in July (1929). About 1 o'clock that day, he entered a United Cigar Store and ordered \$6 worth of merchandise. While the clerk

was wrapping his packages, John produced a revolver, and, intimidating the clerk with it, took the \$48 that was in the cash register and his package. He escaped quickly and successfully. He was later apprehended by the detective assigned to the case. Suspected of being the same person who had robbed the United Cigar Stores of about \$194 in the two previous months, he was given a sentence of 20 years.

John is a native of New York City, where he was born 23 years ago. His father died before his birth, but his mother remarried soon after it. Now John uses either the name of his father or of his stepfather, as suits his convenience. John does not know where his stepfather lives, and he says that his mother died when he was 19. He has a sister who is an entertainer at a night club in New York. From his employers' estimates, he was a satisfactory, hard-working employee.

His first recorded job (at 16 years of age) was with a printing company, where he stayed two years. He then worked for two years with a stationery company. His employers there said that he was a good, industrious worker, who left only for a better salary. At 20 he took the job of porter and "lookout man" at a speak-easy because, he said, "it paid him \$25 weekly and a pint of whisky each evening, which he sold for a dollar." It was while John was here that he received his first court conviction and sentence. On this occasion a fight started in the speak-easy where he was employed. According to John's story, R, his employer, gave him two revolvers and a pocketbook, telling him to carry them across the street before the police arrived. Evidently he did not follow these directions, for when he was searched by the police they found the two revolvers and in the pocketbook a police badge. His employer accused John of "holding up the place" by posing as an officer. According to John's story he was much distressed and paid the policeman \$40 for his release, protesting that he had never carried a weapon. The officer accepted the money and said that his superior would release John the next day. This promise was not fulfilled, however, and John served his time at Sing Sing.

But to continue John's work record. After his release from the penitentiary John worked for nine months at three different printing companies, where he acted as press feeder. In all of these jobs his services were satisfactory. He left one job on his own accord—though his superior there said that he was "honest and industrious." Another employer said that though he had "an excellent reputation" his services were discontinued because of business depression.

John has three times (or for 10 months) been an elevator operator. He said that he "quit" one of these jobs because of an argument. In another case he was discharged because of an accident. In the third job he was "laid off" when the machine broke down, although he was counted a good worker.

In 1924 John married an actress whose "low moral standing and unfaithfulness" he admits. When arrested, they were saving money so that they could have a home. But first, John said that he had to pay \$140 on his mother's funeral expenses. For this he had already saved \$100. John was a night club habitu , conducting gambling games. He was an associate of criminals and characters prominent in the night life of Harlem.

When John finishes his present sentence, he will have the following assets: A good mind and apparent willingness and ability to work steadily and well. These may not be of much value to him, however, as he still faces the pending charge of robbery. When John was sent to prison one of his pleas was that his wife would desert during his absence. Whether or not this happens will probably have a very definite effect on his future.

#### CASE No. 3.

Frank Taylor is one of a family of five. His mother and father are hard-working people. Although Frank is only 18, he had been in the magistrate's court twice before he came on the charge for which he is now at Sing Sing. His latest offense took place on the 6th of March, 1929, when Frank and a white accomplice robbed a grocer of \$00. Frank intimidated the grocer with a revolver, which he had bought, he said, three weeks before for \$15. He was sent to Sing Sing on the charge "Robbery, third degree—armed." He is sentenced for six years. He still has to face the charge of violation of article 1897 of the Penal Code.

Frank's father is a cripple and a janitor at one of the New York City public schools. His mother does janitor service at the house where they live in New York. Frank has lived in New York State only five years. Before that he lived with his brother and his sister with their mother in Connecticut. Their father lived in New York then, but the mother remained in Connecticut, where she was employed. While the mother was at work the children were left with aged women hired to take care of them. Though three such women were employed none seemed to be interested in the children. Frank's brother now lives with the parents. All of his sisters are married.

Altogether Frank spent eight years in school (partly in Connecticut, partly in New York) and left at the end of that time in the fifth grade. In both schools Frank's record was unsatisfactory—he was a disciplinary problem and an habitual truant. His mother said when he was in school in Connecticut that he was beyond her control. He left school in 1926. His taking eight years for five grades is in keeping with the prison's rating of him as of "dull-normal mentality."

Since Frank left school he has worked regularly only two months. He claims to have worked for Mr. R. three days of each week for two years (prior to his offense), at \$2 a day. Mr. R., however,

says that he has employed Frank on two occasions only, for two and one-half hours each, and that he paid him 25 cents each time. Frank did work regularly at the shipping pier in 1928 for two months, receiving \$65 a month. His services here were very satisfactory. Frank claims to have been an elevator boy, but there is no elevator at the address given by him. In the neighborhood where his parents live people call him "an idler who loitered around the river and seldom, if ever, worked."

When Frank was arrested he was living in a furnished room with a girl seven years older than he. He has seldom seen his family since November, 1928, when he left home. Estimates of him are that his "wayward tendencies have become more pronounced since his advent to the city"; that he associated with neighborhood derelicts; that "he used intoxicants"; and "that he frequented pool rooms, speak-easies, and Saturday night rent parties."

Lack of home life, of education, and of an alert mind have given this boy a bad start. This is his first experience at institutional correction, and so one can not say what effect it will have on his future conduct.

#### CASE No. 4.

Gerald Jones, the illegitimate child of two British West Indians, each of whom has since married, was born in the West Indies. He lived with his mother's relatives until he was 10 years old, when he came to the United States in 1919. He probably went to school very irregularly during the first six years that he lived in New York, for no school is mentioned in his records. During these years he was reported as a juvenile delinquent three different times, serving on two different occasions an aggregate of 18 months in the Catholic Protectorate.

In 1925, by the following circumstances, he did get to be regularly enrolled in a school. At 15 he was convicted of a charge of sodomy, demanded, he said, as part of his initiation into a group with which he desired to be affiliated. He was committed to the House of Refuge for 15 months, where his deportment was decidedly unsatisfactory and his school record very poor. He was accused of being "boisterous" and "impertinent" and of "smoking in dangerous places."

Discharged after 15 months, having reached the 8B grade, he built up the following occupational record, though he again worked very irregularly: He claimed to have been a laborer at a ball park for about 16 months, but because the officials there kept no records, his employment could not be verified. Working as a porter, his wages were about \$25 a week, though at one time, working for an auto sales company, he earned only \$18. At various times he was a window cleaner and a pool room helper. His employer at the pool room said that he subsisted largely upon the proceeds of his criminal activities.

Jones is not married but said that he had lived with a girl to whom an illegitimate son had been born, and from whom he had separated

several weeks prior to his arrest. From this time on he lived with an aunt, his father, or his grandmother, having no fixed address nor any real family ties.

On April 6, 1929, he committed the crime for which he is now serving time at Sing Sing. About 1.30 a. m. on that day he approached an acquaintance in a restaurant and induced him to accompany him on the pretext of meeting a woman. Reaching the street they were joined by Jones' accomplice, who went with them to the house. When they were ascending the stairs, Jones drew a revolver and took a wrist watch from his acquaintance. He then threatened that if the incident were reported to the police he would kill his victim. The man did, however, report to a passing policeman, who arrested Jones and his accomplice, Jones being charged also with unlawful ownership of the gun. The police said that Jones and his aide were members of a group that robbed milk dealers and other merchants in that vicinity. Jones and his accomplice admitted the robbery of one store on Lenox Avenue, where they got \$300, 10 other robberies, and implication in the murder of a man.

At the prison the doctor's diagnosis of Jones's equipment is "physically normal, unstable, a moron." Other estimates of Jones's character and potentialities are that he is "impulsive and irresponsible"; that he led an unrestrained existence among the criminal element in Harlem; that he is a frequenter of pool rooms, street corners; that he turned to crime as a source of thrills and a means of subsistence; and that he is regarded as an active and dangerous robber.

Jones probably inherited his weak mind from one or both of his parents. To his parents also must be charged the lack of provision for any home life or supervision in his childhood. Added to these handicaps there were the difficulties of adjustment to life in a new city, a new climate, and a new people, with strange and different customs from those of the West Indies. It should be noted that his antisocial behavior began as soon as he landed in New York, probably then reflecting his lack of adjustment.

#### CASE No. 5.

Jimmie was only 17 years of age when committed to Sing Sing for a minimum of 20 and a maximum of 40 years for robbery. The crime is recorded as follows:

Man with an accomplice held up a milk salesman at point of revolver and took \$55.23. The plea covers three other indictments charging robbery in the first degree. The manager of a large milk concern states that during the three months immediately prior to this instance, at least 50 milk drivers were held up in the Harlem vicinity. The company lost about \$10,000. The manager judged that this man and his accomplice were responsible for the robberies as there were no more after their arrest.

Jimmie was considered by the police authorities as the instigator of a series of robberies. He admitted shooting a policeman who intercepted him and his accomplice in a previous venture.

Jimmie's parents both died during his twelfth and thirteenth years. After their death he and his three brothers and a sister went to live with a grandmother, who was employed during the day and could not give the children the necessary supervision. It was during this period that Jimmie began playing truant from school and forming acquaintanceships which led to his criminal career. Three months prior to his arrest he left his grandmother's house to live with his common-law wife.

There is only one position listed on Jimmie's work record, that of an errand boy for a grocer for whom he worked after hours. For a year and a half he had supported himself through the returns from his criminal practices.

The case histories and the factual data on the whole group of 80 offenders show that among Negroes, even as among other members of the human family, and more so than among many of them, there are complicating factors. Broken homes, poverty, lack of intelligent and sympathetic guidance, unemployment, and the shifting of jobs with more unemployment, have very definitely affected each case studied.

To obtain a picture of the social factors present, the analyst attempted a listing of the circumstances present at the time the crime was committed, as revealed in these records. The result is shown in the following tabular statement.

#### *Social factors in crimes committed by 80 Negro offenders*

[Per cent of frequencies arranged in descending rank order]

Unemployment.....	59
Bad social and leisure habits.....	54
Emotionalism.....	15
Drink.....	10
Gambling.....	5
Gang.....	5
Other.....	4

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

Being out of work is undoubtedly a very direct and common cause for crime, although it is not always possible

to decide just what rôle it plays in the cases of all unemployed offenders. Indirectly, however, poverty with all it entails is closely related to a sordid environment. In the 47 cases of unemployment covered in this study it is difficult to say that "being out of work," with the implication of "being out of money," was a cause. The fact of the matter appears to be that unemployment leaves the individual in idleness—with time to contact with chronic idlers—to seek any amusement and excitement to avoid *ennui* or thought of future consequences, if he does not find work. These factors along with the factor that the Negro worker particularly lives so near the fringe of marginal existence that there is seldom any money surplus are outstanding aspects of this phenomenon.

Also, the seasonal occupations and those occupations lacking permanency of employment, produce an itinerant worker. The movement of many Negro offenders during the 5-year period immediately prior to their arrest illustrates this change. This aimless floating without objective can readily make this itinerant laborer a predatory loafer.

#### BAD SOCIAL AND LEISURE HABITS

While this expression may be a catchall for all sorts of causes, it is also an expression better able to describe the general conditions than any other expression known to the writer. It is given as the second most frequent social factor, partly because it is a basic underlying cause and partly because it is several social items grouped together. The genesis of many of these habits was found in the resultant circumstances of broken homes during the offenders' early childhood. For all of the predatory crimes committed by the Negro, particularly those of assault and burglary, bad social habits show a high frequency.

*Drink* was associated with only eight of the offenses studied, the greatest association being found linked with the crimes against the person.

*Gangs* as a factor in crime were found in four of the offenses, all of which were convicted of robbery. In this connection it might be noted that 31 of 67 Negro offenders

worked with Negro accomplices. Eighteen of the men and their Negro accomplices are known to be in Sing Sing, as are 2 white, 1 Mexican, and 1 other accomplice whose race is not known. The remaining 13 men in this group are alleged to have worked with accomplices not in Sing Sing, or whose identity is not known. One group of four offenders and three groups of three offenders are known to have operated as gangs.

*Emotionalism* was found a direct factor in crimes committed against the person. This factor is difficult to define, but refers to situations in which the individual has shown loss of emotional perspective, has disregarded his own immediate interest as well as the remote consequences of the act, and under conditions in which there could be no predatory interest or trend.

*Gambling* appeared as a factor directly in four of the offenses. Among the Sing Sing Negro offenders it appeared most frequently in crimes against the person.

*Circumstantial factors*.—Those chance circumstances which would augment the probability of a crime's occurrence in a weak or suggestive person, while their absence would perhaps decrease the probability, do not figure in more than 4 per cent of the cases.

The major factors in these cases then appear to be the problem of idleness and unwholesome methods of spending leisure time. Certainly, long before hunger drives the offender into predatory acts, other social factors, many of which are introduced by unemployment, have entered the picture. Social imitation, improvident expenditure of leisure, commercialized vice, leisure class dictates—all have created a much more dangerous and sordid motive for crimes against property in particular than simple hunger.

When the general problems of adjustment to city life are combined with idleness for weeks, the effect on habits and ideals is appalling to contemplate. The combination of unemployment and bad social and leisure habits constitutes one of the most serious factors in crime by the group of 80 Negroes at Sing Sing Prison and present an index to one of the most alarming problems of urban civilization—

the adjustment of a socially handicapped group in a congested urban environment. It should be kept in mind that the Sing Sing material is more indicative of the Negro's relation to law observance in the Northern than in the Southern States, where there is a larger and more rural Negro population and where social pressure upon that group is more pronounced. An analysis of this situation presents a field for extensive inquiry.

#### FACTS FROM OTHER STUDIES

Students of crime and criminal statistics pertaining to the Negro have made certain observations regarding the available materials and the problems in that field. The research committee of the National Interracial Conference in November, 1928, summarized these observations as follows:<sup>4</sup>

1. It is difficult to secure dependable data on Negro crime because (a) general crime records are poor and comparative figures less dependable, and (b) racial prejudice enters, influencing the agencies of law enforcement most frequently to the disadvantage of the Negro and the Negro records of crime.
2. The apparent Negro crime rate as measured by all comparative records is greater than that of the white.
3. The difference in apparent criminality between the two racial groups varies widely and according to geographical location and population ratio; it also varies by types of offenses.
4. There is a much higher Negro rate for homicides than white, even when the emotional factors referred to are taken into account.
5. Negro-arrest rates are higher than white for petty offenses and lower than white in commitment to prison for serious offenses.
6. There is obvious discrimination in the administration of laws on the part of the police, magistrates, judges, and pardon boards, which explains an undetermined degree of the disparity between white and Negro rates.
7. It is possibly true that the apparent Negro rates of crime are more nearly actual crime rates of Negroes than white recorded rates are of crime committed by whites.

<sup>4</sup> Johnson, Charles S., *The Negro in American Civilization*, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1930, p. 316.

8. Illiteracy, unfavorable environment, age distribution, and unfamiliarity with city and urban life are factors to be seriously studied in relation to present Negro crime.

In this summary of findings submitted at the National Interracial Conference no attempt was made to evaluate economic and social conditions as causes of crime by Negroes. Clearly, however, such an evaluation demands not only a study of occupational factors, but a tracing of the relationship of the Negro's economic status in its bearing not only on his attitude toward law, but in the attitude of courts and enforcement officials toward him. As a disadvantaged group, he shares with the poor of all races any handicap imposed upon the poor by the administration of justice.

Justice and the Poor has been the subject of an investigation and report by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.<sup>5</sup> Doctor Pritchett, writing an introduction, thus summarized the main conclusions of the investigator:<sup>6</sup>

In the law that fixes and prescribes the machinery through which rights are enforced or defended—that is to say, in what is technically known as procedural or adjective, as distinguished from substantive law—he finds grave defects. He shows how, not because anyone has deliberately intended to do wrong, but because no one has squarely faced the needs of our new immigrant citizens, our increasing class of wage earners, and of our vast urban populations, the expense and delay needed to obtain legal relief are frequently such that the poor can not afford it. Many are actually deprived of their rights.

In a foreword to the same study, Mr. Elihu Root wrote:<sup>7</sup>

Nor can anyone question that the highest obligation of government is to secure justice for those who, because they are poor and weak and friendless, find it hard to maintain their own rights. This book shows that we have not been performing that duty very satisfactorily, and that we ought to bestir ourselves to do better.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, Reginald Heber, *Justice and the Poor*. Bulletin No. 13, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1919.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. ix-x.

I do not think that we should be overharsh in judging ourselves, however, for the shortcomings have been the result of changing conditions which the great body of our people have not fully appreciated. We have had in the main just laws and honest courts to which people—poor as well as rich—could repair to obtain justice. But the rapid growth of great cities, the enormous masses of immigrants (many of them ignorant of our language), and the greatly increased complications of life have created conditions under which the provisions for obtaining justice which were formerly sufficient are sufficient no longer. I think the true criticism which we should make upon our own conduct is that we have been so busy about our individual affairs that we have been slow to appreciate the changes of conditions which to so great an extent have put justice beyond the reach of the poor.

This conclusion regarding the relation of poverty to the administration of justice suggests that in a study of the relation of the Negro to work and law observance it is relevant to review in the light of these handicaps, studies, on the one hand, of social and environmental conditions, and, on the other, of comparative statistics of criminality and various phases of the administration of justice. As already pointed out, for the most part the studies available give the facts about the disproportionate number of contacts of the Negro race with the law but fail to bring out whether or not the handicaps of poverty, including unemployment and all the disadvantages of low standards of living, are greater on the whole for the Negro race than for the white race and whether this bears upon crime. Here also must be faced the possibility of race prejudice in all the steps of enforcement of law and punishment by the courts. At this point such crimes against the Negro as lynching emerge as pertinent to any consideration of the Negro's relation to law observance.

In this section we review briefly certain studies having a bearing upon these various factors which must be considered. Studies already covered in the analysis referred to as made by the National Interracial Conference are not included here, nor has any effort been made to make the list complete. It is intended to be suggestive as to the need

for more thorough studies. As background the facts regarding the movement of the Negro population from country to city and from South to North are summarized.

## MIGRATION

There are approximately 11,000,000 Negroes in the United States. Since 1910 large numbers of them have been moving to cities. This movement, slight prior to 1910, increased rapidly between 1910 and 1920. During this period the war industries and the withdrawal of foreign-born labor opened for Negroes unparalleled industrial opportunities, of which they were not slow to take advantage.

The results of the depressed condition in rural districts has been a great pressure toward the city jobs on the part of these rural people with a low earning power. Not only have they deserted the land, but there has also been a tremendous natural increase through the excess of births over deaths which has not been absorbed on the farm but has gone to the city. According to Dr. T. J. Woofter, jr., of the University of North Carolina, the southern rural population actually decreased by 300,000 Negroes between 1920 and 1930.<sup>8</sup> In other words, about 1,000,000 Negroes moved in this period from the southern rural areas. About three-fifths of this number moved to southern cities and two-fifths to communities of the North. The movement was so rapid that the half million population depletion evident in the 20-year period 1910-1930, became a rapid inflation for urban centers, with accompanying problems of adjustment.

The 1930 census shows seven cities with more than 100,000 Negroes, two of which have more than 200,000 Negroes. In addition to these very large cities there are some 23 cities which have between 25,000 and 100,000 Negroes, and there has been an extension of the northward movement into cities whose total population ranges from 25,000 to 100,000. Indications point to the fact that between 1920 and 1930 increase in this class of small northern cities was more than twice as rapid as it was in the previous decade.

<sup>8</sup> Woofter, T. J., *Economic Status of the Negro*. Unpublished manuscript, 1930.

Several cities have made special studies of crime among Negroes, relating the facts more or less to environmental conditions. These for the most part are cities which have been especially influenced by migration.

Before dealing with the separate cities, it may be well to summarize a report of housing in 15 communities. Housing of course is a phase of the whole question of economic and environmental conditions. So far as we know, no study has been made of the direct influence of good and bad housing upon crime among Negroes in the United States, but the facts about unfavorable housing and its closely related aspects of leisure time and recreation should be called to mind as a possible influence in the failures of Negroes to obey the law.

## HOUSING AND RECREATION

Dr. T. J. Woofter, in his study of Negro problems in cities, analyzed Negro dwellings in 15 American cities.<sup>9</sup> He found that of 6,236 Negro dwellings 605 or 9.7 per cent were good or adequate in size and equipment, 2,397 or 38.4 per cent were "fair," 2,589 or 38.3 per cent were "poor," and 845 or 13.6 per cent were uninhabitable. This study concluded that the "migrant section in practically all northern cities has an extremely poor type of housing, and there is at least one central district in most American cities where the majority of Negroes live." In these sections municipal improvements are slow and inadequate, and even in cities where streets are paved and lighted, the sewers are often insufficient for the increased density in population. "In many cities," says Dr. E. W. Burgess, "as Chicago, Kansas City, Buffalo, Springfield, Illinois; Fort Wayne, Indiana; Topeka, Kansas; vice has been located in openly recognized segregated districts or in concealed resorts within or adjacent to the Negro districts."<sup>10</sup> An investigator for the Committee of Fourteen says of vice in Harlem that he is forced to con-

<sup>9</sup> Woofter, T. J., Jr. *Negro Problems in Cities*, Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1928.

<sup>10</sup> Burgess, E. W., *Residential Segregation in American Cities*, in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, The Negro, vol. 140, November, 1928, p. 115.

clude that vice is more flagrant, more open, and more rampant in Harlem than in any other section of the city.<sup>11</sup> These areas the Negro has been forced to seek because of his difficulty in gaining entrance into better residential areas. It seems probable that these segregated neighborhoods, where there is in many instances lax police protection, have had their influence in increasing Negro crime in the United States.

Are leisure-time facilities and habits factors in the situation? Consider the facilities for Negro recreation in 57 cities in 1927, as studied by Forrester B. Washington, of the Atlanta School of Social Work, and it is evident that here again exists a serious situation demanding community consciousness and activity.<sup>12</sup>

## CINCINNATI

In Cincinnati the Bureau of Governmental Research found that there was an unusual amount of crime attributed to Negroes in that city during the period from January 1 to June 30, 1929.<sup>13</sup> The Negro formed only 8 per cent of the population, but was responsible for 43 per cent of all of the arrests for misdemeanors.

Here reference should be made to the findings of the same study as to the unemployment of these offenders against the law.<sup>14</sup>

The Department of Public Welfare of Cincinnati made a further analysis of the data, which has not been published. An official reported to us in an interview in June, 1930, that the study showed several contributing factors affecting crime among Negroes. These factors included the low standard of living, the maladjustment of a large part of the Negro popu-

<sup>11</sup> Committee of Fourteen, *Brief Summary of Conclusions on Vice Conditions in Harlem*. Unpublished manuscript, 1930.

<sup>12</sup> This study is reported, together with others, in *The Negro in American Civilization*, op. cit., Chapter XXI, *Where Negro Children Play*, p. 299, with a summary of discussion of the housing and recreation, p. 457.

<sup>13</sup> Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research; an analysis of 11,180 misdemeanor cases. December, 1929. Pamphlet No. 6 (summary only).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Notes on Findings of Other Investigators*, p. 326. It was found that, while the unemployed comprised only 8 per cent of the total population of Cincinnati, 40 per cent of all misdemeanor arrests were of the unemployed. The unemployment percentage figure was obtained by the Department of Welfare through the Board of Education and is for the month of May, 1929.

lation, and the undesirable living conditions in the West End section of the city.

An additional study by the Department of Public Welfare<sup>15</sup> of employment opportunities for Negro workers in the industrial plants of the city revealed the fact that, though the Negroes formed only 8 per cent of the population, they formed 24 per cent of 1,528 unemployed in a total of 12,599 employable male workers. It was also found that the average weekly wage in these plants was \$27.53 for white and \$20.14 for Negro workers.

#### MEMPHIS

When Memphis felt called upon to account for its unfavorable crime record, the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, through Andrew A. Bruce, of Northwestern University, and Thomas S. Fitzgerald, of the Chicago bar, made a study of the whole situation.<sup>16</sup> The study makes the following observation:

In addition to problems furnished by floating workers and nonworkers, we find the problem of the unsettled Negro population. Among these people are to be found few skilled workers—in fact, the labor unions of Memphis rarely permit their entrance into the technical trades. Most of them are on their way to or from the North. Many are from rural communities. They live in congested and undesirable sections of the city.

#### DETROIT

Valuable statistics on Negro and white arrests and convictions were gathered in Detroit for the period from January 1 to June 30, 1926. The study, while showing a large number of unwarranted arrests among Negroes because of the higher conviction rates in certain offenses than for whites, points out that overcrowding, poor social environment, economic pressure, abnormal increase of migrant families, all

<sup>15</sup> Cincinnati Department of Public Welfare, *The Status of the Negro in Industry*, Theodore M. Berry, investigator. Mimeographed. 1930.

<sup>16</sup> *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, August, 1928, pt. 2, p. 3.

were responsible for the greater contact of the Negro population with the law.<sup>17</sup>

#### PITTSBURGH

In a study of 1,916 prisoners in the Western Penitentiary, of Pennsylvania, Dr. W. T. Root pointed out several factors which contributed to increased arrests and convictions among the large Negro population.<sup>18</sup> Unemployment was an outstanding factor in 56 per cent of more than 300 Negro cases studied. Doctor Root's general analysis of these factors is:

1. All of the social conditions are unfavorable for the Negro, beginning with housing and ending with the thousand social humiliations produced by our caste system.

In Pittsburgh the Negroes occupy the poorest houses in the poorest district after both the house and the neighborhood are unsuitable for respectable people to occupy. When a house is too poor and too insanitary for even the lowest type of foreigner it is then permissible for the Negro to occupy it at a very high rental, so high, in fact, that whole families are crowded into one room or two and sublet the beds when not actually in use by the family. Sanitation, morality, and common decency are violated by the very physical nature of the housing, lack of privacy, sewage, and garbage disposal, and the proximity of whole families to every known vice and crime.

2. The case histories of the Negroes in the Western Penitentiary show many of them to be unmarried floaters, coming from rural (often southern) communities since the war. It must not be forgotten that the Negro born outside of Pennsylvania is responsible for much of the Negro crime. We have relatively few Negroes in the Western Penitentiary who were born in Pittsburgh and thus grew up with compulsory education.

<sup>17</sup> Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *The Negro in Detroit*, Section IV. Unpublished manuscript, 1926.

<sup>18</sup> Root, William T., *A Psychological and Educational Survey of 1,916 Prisoners in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania*. Board of Trustees of the Western Penitentiary, Pittsburgh, 1927.

While the Negroes convicted and sent to the Western Penitentiary are guilty in a vast majority of the cases (in the opinion of the writer), there is considerable evidence that the whites equally guilty receive less severe sentences, are less subject to arrest, and less likely to be convicted. The Negro is often the cat's-paw or the victim of unscrupulous whites who either from superior cunning or from police protection avoid arrest or at least conviction. It then comes to pass that while the Negro is convicted as guilty, the white, equally guilty, is not. If this condition is at all prevalent it may be a very definite factor in the high frequency of Negro crime as represented by the Western Penitentiary.

4. Many of our Negro criminals are floaters from the rural South or at least rural communities. Without education or a definite trade, with habits of mind and moral codes unsuited for a northern city, forced to live in close proximity to the most immoral and vice-infested areas of the city of Pittsburgh, the pertinent thing would probably be to show cause why all do not become criminal.

5. There can be no doubt that the Negro floater from the South, especially, tends to be of exceedingly low intelligence. The moronic nature of this group, plus urban conditions, plus northern methods and ways, plus the tendency for all other races to exploit him, make a very bad social, moral, and economic condition.

6. The Negro coming from the rural South is usually illiterate, which makes him unsuitable for many jobs; his lack of any trade training still further reduces the types of jobs open to him; while our caste system bars him from whole vocational fields irrespective of what his technical training or intelligence may be. Thus there are multiple reasons why the Negro suffers excessively from economic depression and fluctuations in the labor market. Economic necessity knows no law, and the organic sense of hunger knows no racial lines.

7. This is not the place for an elaborate discussion of the matter, but the writer, as a psychologist, feels sure that few white men can appreciate at all the tremendous accumulated effect throughout a life of our caste system. Debarred from this and that by a thousand social taboos, the lot of the Negro is unparalleled in the experience of any other race.

8. The Negro criminal, then, is the victim of a vicious circle of social, biological, and economic causes; lack of education, no trade training commensurate with the in-

telligence he has; a set of moral, social, and leisure habits, adjusted to a rural southern community; a victim of caste, forced to live in discarded houses of the dominant race; restricted in employment and social opportunity, the Negro is forced daily to feel inferiority and humiliation in a thousand ways. All this must be given consideration in judging his status in the criminal world.

## CHICAGO

In Chicago between 1914 and 1916, when the Negro portion of the population increased from 2.1 to 4.5 per cent, the Negro crime rate increased 50 per cent or less than half as rapidly as the Negro population. The Illinois Crime Survey presents some unusual material on the Negro and law observance and enforcement.<sup>19</sup> Referring to the Chicago race riot, the survey reports that it was the result of the same movement of political invasion and succession, but the invaders were more marked by physical characteristics and divided by deeper prejudices than were the Irish and Italian. Between the Irish and the Italians there was a deep national and language-group consciousness \* \* \*; between the Negroes and the whites there was the age-long race prejudice which exacerbated the other factors; namely, the traffic in real estate, unionizing of colored labor, unemployment after the war, congestion of population, poor transportation, lack of school facilities, housing, and living conditions.<sup>20</sup>

An interpretation of Negro crime in Chicago is furnished by Edward E. Wilson, assistant State's attorney for Cook County and in charge of the department of appeal, who says:<sup>21</sup>

The underlying cause for an excess of Negro crime, as possibly everyone knows, is economic. One need not expatiate on the fact that the Negro is so circumscribed economically and industrially that he has great difficulty in obtaining a decent living and most of the things that go to make life worth living. I do not mean by this that poor people are necessarily criminal, but I need

<sup>19</sup> Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, *The Illinois Crime Survey, 1929*, p. 615.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 956-957.

<sup>21</sup> Wilson, Edward E., "The Responsibility for Crime," in *Opportunity*, a *Journal of Negro Life*, March, 1929, p. 95.

not argue that when poorness is pushed to the brink of utmost poverty then it becomes demoralizing; and that is the condition of a large number of the Negroes in Chicago.

Another reason for the conditions is that there are a great many newcomers here who came from surroundings that were most demoralizing and who have been unable to adjust themselves to conditions in a large city. The vast majority of those who come are honest and mean well, but economic pressure often drives them from a fair degree of comfort to beggary, and it is but a step from beggary to crime.

A study by the Federal Children's Bureau of the prevalence and treatment of delinquency among boys over juvenile court age in Chicago, presenting statistics on the number of boys between 17 and 20 years of age, gives the most recent information on this phase of delinquency among Negro youth.<sup>22</sup> Of the 972 cases studied, 124 involved colored boys (two of whom were Filipinos). The charge of disorderly conduct was relatively more frequent against white boys than against colored, while charges of sex crimes and offenses against public safety were relatively more frequent among colored boys. Both racial groups committed felonies in proportion to the numbers included in the study.

The study also found that the proportion of colored boys found guilty was larger than the proportion of white boys, "although there is no reason to think that the police used more discrimination in arresting colored boys than white boys." Relatively more colored boys than white boys were committed to institutions (10 per cent of the colored and 4.7 per cent of the white), and relatively fewer colored boys were placed on probation (10 per cent of the colored and 15 per cent of the white). A larger proportion of the cases of colored boys than of white boys were held for the grand jury—13.3 per cent of the colored as compared with 9 per cent of the white. The larger percentage of colored boys given the most severe sentences was not due to their having committed more serious offenses, for approximately the same percentages of each race were charged with felonies (26.6

<sup>22</sup> United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau. Burke, Dorothy Williams, Youth and Crime. Publication No. 196. 1930. P. 33.

per cent for the colored and 27 per cent for the white). In 48.5 per cent of the felony cases involving colored boys, but in only 32.9 per cent of the cases involving white boys, the defendant was held for the grand jury. In the cases involving minor offenses, commitment to institutions was ordered in 6.4 per cent of the white cases and in 13.8 per cent of the colored cases. The study suggested the possibility that social investigation of the cases would have shown "that the needs of the colored boys differed somewhat from those of the white boys, that their economic status and home conditions were less favorable, and that consequently probation was desirable in a smaller portion of the cases."

That this important study of the needs of colored boys as compared with white boys was omitted in this investigation and also in court procedure is significant of the state of knowledge on the causes of crime among Negroes.

#### OTHER RELATED FACTORS

It has already been pointed out that no study of any phase of the Negro's relation to crime can ignore the other related factors which investigators have shown to be influences. For example, the quotation just given from the Children's Bureau raises the question of whether the greater use of probation for Negro offenders would not yield important information for both treatment and prevention. Indicative of how probation and parole officers may assist in the interpretation and adjustment of the problems of Negro offenders is the following case presented by Prof. E. W. Burgess in an article on *What are the Different Types of Paroled Men?*<sup>23</sup>

Washington is a tall, fine-looking Negro of 30, weighing about 200 pounds or more. He speaks good English and is intelligent.

Born in Mississippi in a small town, he went to Chicago at 15 for no reason at all. When he worked he was a porter in a barber shop. He earned most of his money at pool. "My game was stick-up," he said. "I

<sup>23</sup> Journal of American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, May, 1928, p. 264.

had the best time of my life when once I did two store stick-ups and netted \$3,000. I went to Cleveland then, and in nine months I did not have a cent."

In crime when he got arrested, his partner (also a Negro) turned police informer and he was sent to Pontiac Reformatory for one year to life. While there he received much punishment—especially the first year. He stayed there four and a half years.

The reform school does not reform, he said. His success on parole is problematic, as he is irregularly employed.

Because the problem of rehabilitation for the paroled offender is so great a one, and has so many more complications when it concerns Negroes, it may be significant to note that in New York City the one parole officer handling Negro cases in the sixteenth police precinct had on April 16, 1930, a load of 150 cases under supervision, 13 new cases for investigation, and 53 warrants to be executed.

Closely related to the use of probation and parole officers is the use of Negro policemen. Evidence bearing on this subject was secured in the course of this study. Letters were sent to 75 cities having the largest Negro population, inquiring whether Negro police were employed, and if so, what their status was on the police force. Forty of these cities were located in the South and 35 in the North and Middle West. Of the 40 southern cities, only 9 employed Negro police officers. All of the northern cities utilized Negro police and found them a distinct advantage in ameliorating many of the evils that existed within an underprivileged group.

While it can not be said that the employment of Negro police will in itself aid in the enforcement of the law, it has been the experience of numerous cities that these officers are extremely valuable in interpreting the problems of their particular racial group. The appointment of the first officer is usually a political gesture, but the increasing use of this group of public servants points to more decided advantages than have hitherto been mentioned. Eight of the cities employed Negro policewomen. The majority of the cities assigned their Negro patrolmen to Negro districts. Except

in certain sections of the Southwest they are empowered to arrest all violators of the law.

In a study of the Contact of the Negro with the Administration of Law by Public Authority in the United States, Charles H. Houston, vice-dean of the Law School of Howard University, says:<sup>24</sup>

The police in the North generally do not have the same opportunity to oppress Negroes as the police down South. There are fewer segregated Negro neighborhoods, and these neighborhoods are smaller in extent. The northern Negroes wield some political power and can bring pressure to bear on the municipal administration to correct abuses against them. The general temper of the northern community is one of greater respect for law and order than in the South, and the Negro benefits accordingly.

In the same study, Mr. Houston makes a comment bearing upon the Negro's occupational status.

In the South the situation becomes more complicated. The social status of the Negro is nowhere more in evidence than in the southern criminal courts. Usually the first question asked the accused is "Where do you work?" If he answers satisfactorily the case proceeds in orderly fashion; if he fails to satisfy the court and jury that he is an economic asset to the community his case is then and there prejudiced.

A further rather general custom in southern courts is to pass vagrant "foreign"<sup>25</sup> Negroes on to the next county. *Prima facie* any Negro without a job is a vagrant. Any "foreign" Negro without a job is by that fact alone a vagrant; and it takes the judge just about a minute to dispose of him with instructions not to let sunset catch him in the county.

Another closely related aspect of the administration of the law in relation to Negro offenders is the use of Negroes as jurymen. Upon this Mr. Houston comments as follows:

Negroes in the South rarely have the opportunity of being tried by a jury composed in part of other Negroes.

<sup>24</sup> Houston, Charles H., *The Contact of the Negro with the Administration of Law by Public Authority in the United States*. Unpublished manuscript, 1928.

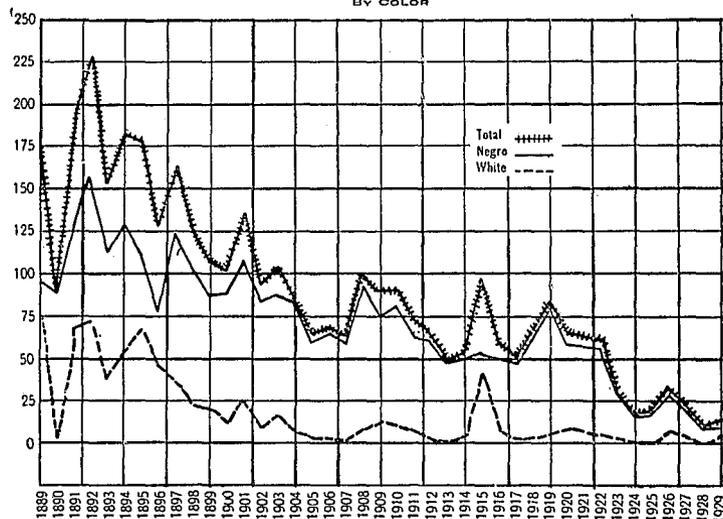
<sup>25</sup> As nearly as the writer could discover, a "foreign" Negro is one born and living outside the State; a "strange" Negro is one born and living within the State but in another county.

Within the knowledge of the writer Negroes regularly serve on the jury in only three southern cities—Augusta, Savannah, and Louisville.

Law enforcement must work both ways. If there be a group against which crimes are committed with impunity, it is inevitable that the attitude of that group toward the law should be adversely affected.

Foremost among the crimes against the Negro is that form of organized mob violence popularly known as lynching. Between 1882 and June 30, 1930, inclusive, a total of 3,533 Negro

TREND IN LYNCHINGS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1889-1929  
By COLOR



lives were lost through this form of crime. Since 1919 there has been a marked decline in the number of lynchings. For this decline numerous factors have been mentioned. Closely allied with the decline have been:

1. The militant propaganda and activity of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
2. The interracial work in the South.
3. The threat of the Dyer anti-lynching bill.
4. The creation of State laws against lynching.

5. The changed editorial policy of many southern newspapers.

6. Functioning committees of whites and Negroes in anticipating mob violence.

The inferior social status of the Negro in American life is in no small way responsible for this situation. Yet one must give some credence to the fact expressed by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois regarding the many plausible and attractive explanations of the decline of lynching from 226 in 1896 to 9 in 1928. In his address on The Negro Citizen at the National Interracial Conference Doctor Du Bois said:<sup>28</sup>

Some attribute it to prayer and others to interracial resolution; but when I see the curve of mob murder fall lazily and indifferently for 25 years and then suddenly in a single year drop 75 per cent I study the occurrences of that year, 1922. And that study leads me to believe that the effective check to lynching was the organized political power of northern Negroes that put the Dyer anti-lynching bill through the House of Representatives on January 26, 1922, by a vote of 230 to 119.

Lynching, though foremost, however, is only one of the crimes against the Negro. The whole subject is fraught with many complications. The existing belief and practices of racial superiority have created additional problems, involving the use of Negro prisoners on chain gangs (whose labor is frequently leased to private business concerns), the prevalence of peonage systems, the rise of race riots because of the denial of citizenship, riots due to restricted residential areas, denial of the right to work, denial of the right to vote, inferior social and educational facilities—in all of which are found both conscious and unconscious crimes against the Negro.

Denial of citizenship must, of course, be underscored as a factor to be studied in its bearing upon law observance. The status of a group which in a democracy like the United States is denied the right to vote must inevitably affect the attitude of individuals in the group toward the law, as it also affects the protection of the Negro offender's rights in the administration of justice.

<sup>28</sup> The Negro in American Civilization, op. cit., pp. 463-464.

If from these references to other studies the impression is gained that the material is slight and scattering, this may be regarded as an accurate reflection of the actual state of knowledge of factors affecting crimes among Negroes. Such evidence as there is indicates that social status, political status, and economic and environmental conditions are strong influences. A white student of the subject concludes that—

there is little comfort for the native white American in casting the blame for crime on the Negro. Even if they are more criminal, which is open to doubt, the causes that bring them to the commission of the crime lie in the social structure for which the white American is primarily responsible.<sup>27</sup>

#### SUMMARY

The materials presented herein bring to a focus several pertinent situations. Beginning with the cases of the 80 Sing Sing offenders and including the materials collected by other investigators of the phenomenon of crime among Negroes, one finds the presence of other factors which would tend to invalidate the opinion that high rates of crime among Negroes are due to an inherent racial criminality. The low economic status of the offender in many instances prevents his paying a fine, so that he is forced to the alternative sentence of imprisonment. Poverty and the restricted opportunity for securing employment contribute to the large number of cases of larceny and robbery.

In communities to which Negroes have migrated in large numbers the mere presence of an unusual proportion of males between the ages of 20 and 44 who contribute the highest proportion of criminal offenders in all groups, would give a different interpretation to the situation. This same factor of migration is evident in the large number of maladjusted rural Negroes now living in urban communities.

Thus, when one views the congestion in poor dwellings in crowded neighborhoods; the lack of recreational facilities

<sup>27</sup> Dexter, Robert C., *Social Adjustment*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1927, p. 312.

and the presence of unwholesome, artificial devices where Negroes may spend their leisure; the prevalent system of segregation and discrimination whereby Negroes are denied the privileges and conditions of citizenship compatible with the greatest good; the element of prejudice that enters into the administration and execution of the law, either subtly or overtly; the unequal distribution of occupational opportunities making Negroes the marginal workers, "the last hired and the first fired;" the total lack of a scientific formula for guidance and training in vocations; a disfranchised working class which Dr. W. E. B. DuBois has called "a menace not simply to itself, but to every group in the community," that will be diseased, criminal, ignorant, the plaything of mobs, and insulted by caste restrictions; in short, "a system of color caste having to do with separation in travel, in schools, in public accommodations, in residence, and in family relations, in the kind and amount of public-school education and in civil rights of various sorts and in courts, jails, fines, lynching, and mob violence;"<sup>28</sup> such a one is forced to conclude that the experience so far gained indicates that the volume of crimes among Negroes is susceptible to vast improvement by effecting changes in the factors underlying this crime.

Our specific knowledge of the correlation between these factors and crime is limited, however. We have therefore suggested in the following section some specific projects that may be followed toward this end, for "the only rational basis of attack is the continuous, scientific, unprejudiced accumulation and interpretation of facts, and their application in the building up of programs of social improvement."<sup>29</sup>

#### SUGGESTED PROJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

The investigations needed fall into three main groups:  
I. Economic and social conditions in their influence upon crimes by Negroes.

<sup>28</sup> Johnson, Charles S. *The Negro in American Civilization*, New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1930, p. 471.

<sup>29</sup> Glueck, Sheldon, and Eleanor T. *500 Criminal Careers*, p. 337.

- II. Administration of criminal law in relation to Negroes.  
 III. Treatment of the Negro offender and its effects.

*Sources of information.*

As sources of study along any of these lines, it is suggested that they are of three main types:

- (a) Case studies of Negro offenders.

The study of the available records in Sing Sing prison indicates the type of information which might be available through a wider study of institutional records. There is need also of direct case studies based upon interviews. Out of these case studies would come information on all of the main topics listed below.

(b) Surveys of neighborhoods, covering all the environmental conditions in their possible relationship to crime.

(c) Surveys of all steps in the administration of law, including statistical data, observation, and interviews with enforcing officials.

These three sources of information might, of course, merge into each other. For example, the case study would throw light upon the survey of administration of justice and the survey of the neighborhood. But in general these represent three types of approach.

*Detailed studies.*

Within the framework outlined above, and using the suggested sources of information, the following separate inquiries are suggested, some of which might be interrelated in the same study.

1. A study of the proximity of vice resorts to Negro dwellings, including an analysis of the interplay between contiguous areas and their social and racial interrelation.

2. A comparative study of a Negro and a white residential area of similar economic aspect; an analysis of the offenses committed by persons living in these areas and the social and environmental factors.

3. A comparative case study of Negro delinquents in particular communities of the North and the South.

4. A study of the Negro in relation to the administration of criminal law, as revealed through an analysis of typical communities.

- (a) In the North.  
 (b) In the South.  
 (c) Having an unusually large Negro population.  
 (d) Having a small Negro population.

The analysis would deal with the police, the courts, representation of the Negro race on the bench, in the prosecutor's office, and on juries, and the use of Negro and white lawyers; evidences of discrimination or of impartiality in the treatment of Negroes before, during, and after trial, in length of sentence imposed and in the use of probation; a similar study of practice and policy in penal institutions, etc.

5. A study of probation and parole as used for Negro offenders, and the success of treatment in rehabilitating the individual.

6. A study of comparative length of sentences imposed on white and Negro prisoners for similar offenses in typical localities.

7. A study of Negro juvenile delinquency in one northern and one southern community, with special reference to the following five factors:

(a) The Negro community and the fairness of describing it as "a kindergarten of crime."

(b) Compulsory education laws and their enforcement for Negro children.

(c) Child labor laws and their enforcement for Negro children.

(d) Resources for prevention.

(e) Provision for care and reformation of the Negro juvenile delinquent.

8. Offenses against the law by Negro women and girls and the factors involved in arrests of Negro women as compared with white women in the South and in the North.

9. A study of organized crime among Negroes; an analysis of its extent and circumstances in selected communities.

PART IV

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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN EMPLOYMENT  
AND CRIME FLUCTUATIONS AS SHOWN  
BY MASSACHUSETTS STATISTICS

BY EMMA A. WINSLOW, PH. D.

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## SECTION I

### MEASURABLE CHANGES IN THE VOLUME OF CRIME DURING PROSPERITY AND DEPRESSION

That fewer crimes are committed during years of unusual prosperity and more when times are hard is a statement frequently made and rarely challenged. But how far has it ever been proved statistically? How wide is the range of normal fluctuation? Are all types of criminal offenses affected or only certain types? Is the relationship the same in all countries and at all periods of time?

A review of the literature of the field shows many attempts to determine statistically the nature and extent of economic influences upon the occurrence of crime. A number of these studies, however, were made many years ago and before modern methods of statistical analysis had been developed. Brief series of criminal and economic statistics were, at first, all that were available for correlation, and generalizations were drawn from crime movements within certain business cycles which later research often showed were not typical of increases and decreases in crime in other periods of prosperity and depression.

Many of the detailed studies related to crime and economic conditions in European countries, and there would seem to be no proven surety that present-day criminal and economic statistics in the United States would show similar correlations in movement to those found in criminal and economic statistics recorded at earlier periods of time in other countries.

The present study of crime and employment fluctuations in Massachusetts was undertaken mainly as an experimental attempt at determining current relationships. Would measurable indications of economic influences upon the occur-

rence of crime emerge, if available statistics for a certain section of the United States were critically handled and cautiously correlated, and would the indicated relationships be similar to those found in previous investigations?

The type of criminal and economic data available for use as indices varies widely from State to State, as do also the phases of economic life likely to be closely connected with fluctuations in the volume of crime. Crime in a primarily agricultural district, for instance, would probably vary more consistently with differences in local crops and prices; while in an industrial section variations in employment opportunities and wages would probably be more important factors. The meaning of crime in various sections is influenced by the many differences in State and local laws defining criminal acts, and there are also important differences indicated in a number of studies with reference to the frequency with which certain types of crime are committed in urban and rural districts and among different racial groups. Fluctuations in crime in different parts of the United States may therefore mean movements in quite different criminal acts as locally reported, influenced in quite different ways by local changes in economic conditions.

Sound deductions as to the extent of changing economic influences upon the volume of crime in the United States would necessitate intensive research covering various sections of the country. Special procedures in statistical compilation and analysis would doubtless have to be worked out in each instance to suit the type of criminal and economic data available for research. The reason back of apparent consistencies and inconsistencies in crime and in economic movements would have to be sought in each locality studied and the relationships between short-term fluctuations and long-term tendencies carefully evaluated.

The report of this first experimental study in Massachusetts, therefore, places much emphasis upon the discussion of the reasons for the method employed as well as upon the conclusions reached. Before starting the statistical work, considerable time was used for the critical review of the methods and findings of previous investigators. The especially significant points learned through this review will be

briefly summarized here, both as background for the report of the Massachusetts study and as a possible means of service to other investigators.

#### METHODS AND FINDINGS IN PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS

##### ECONOMIC INDICES

In early investigations the local price of the staple grain supply was used as the index of economic change for comparative study in connection with fluctuations in crime although the limitations of such an index seem to have been fully realized by the more thoughtful and critical of the investigators.

The first elaborate studies of this type were made by Mayr<sup>1</sup> during the middle years of the nineteenth century. He compiled as long a series as possible of criminal and price statistics for the different Provinces of his own country of Bavaria, and also for France, England, and Wales. He placed much dependence upon changes in grain prices in certain phases of his discussion, finding a marked relationship between these prices and the volume of thefts. Every rise of 6 kreuzers in the price of grain was accompanied by one more theft per 100,000 population. Crimes against the person, however, moved in the opposite direction. He also showed much interest in other factors which, he found, seemed periodically to intensify or neutralize the influence exerted by the changing price of grain. He found, for instance, that if wage rates increased at the same time that prices were low, crimes against property decreased noticeably. If a period of economic depression led to rapid emigration, there might be little of the increase in certain crimes which otherwise took place. If a period of business prosperity brought rapid immigration, there might be a noticeable increase in crime instead of the usual decrease. Any widespread economic disturbance, such as had taken place in certain sections of Europe during the Civil War in the United States, also was found to affect the rate

<sup>1</sup> Statistik der gerichtlichen Polizei im Königreiche Bayern und in einigen anderen Ländern, München, 1867.

of crime in a way which might or might not be paralleled by changes in local grain prices.

Mayr's studies aroused much interest in statistical research of this type among economists and criminologists, and the results of a number of similar compilations of criminal and price data were published during the next years by different investigators working in different European countries.<sup>2</sup>

Because of its easy availability the current price of the staple grain supply continued for some time to be the only economic index used in the correlations with fluctuations in crime. As time went on, however, the more scientifically minded investigators became increasingly critical of the reliability of the local grain price as an index of economic change. Inconsistencies in crime and price movements were more frequently found, and these were usually explained, especially by the economists, by the fact that recent commercial developments had caused local grain prices to be fixed in relation to supply and demand throughout a widening territory, with consequent lessened sensitivity of local grain prices as an indicator of local conditions affecting the volume of crime. The rapid industrialization of European countries also reduced the reliability of this index. Other factors far more complex than movements in the price of grain came to determine the state of economic well-being.

The first use of other economic indices did not take place, however, until 1884, when Starcke<sup>3</sup> presented the results of correlations of fluctuations in crime during a number of years in Prussia with those occurring in grain prices and also in bankruptcies.

Soon afterwards Meyer<sup>4</sup> extended still further the types of economic indices used by his correlations of fluctuations in crime during a number of years in Zurich with those in the average price of a carefully selected group of farm

<sup>2</sup> For detailed bibliography and abstracts of important studies see Bonger, William A., *Criminality and Economic Conditions*, translation by Horton, Little, Brown & Co., 1916.

<sup>3</sup> Starcke, W., *Verbrechen und Verbrecher in Preussen, 1854-1878*. Berlin, 1884.

<sup>4</sup> Meyer, A., *Die Verbrechen in ihrem Zusammenhang mit dem wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnissen im Kanton Zürich*, Jena, 1895.

products, the volume of the potato crop, the volume of the vintage, and the number of business failures. He found that changes in the occurrence of crime did not follow consistently the movements in any one of these indices, and concluded that the volume of crime is influenced by a variety of economic factors. If all are favorable or unfavorable, there is a noticeable effect on the frequency of crime. If certain are favorable and certain are unfavorable, their influence is less noticeable and may be almost completely neutralized.

About the same time Müller<sup>5</sup> devoted much attention to determining the extent to which tendencies toward lessened correlation between fluctuations in crime and those in the price of grain were due to a country's increasing industrialization. As the result of many detailed compilations, he concluded that in England, with its early industrial development, there was, even in the earlier years studied, little consistency between fluctuations in crime and those in grain prices. In France, with its slight industrial development, a close correlation had been consistently present. In Prussia, the previous closeness of relationship had lessened as industrialization had progressed, and a similar reduction was already being indicated in Belgium.

Tougan-Baranowsky<sup>6</sup> made certain detailed comparisons of fluctuations in crime during the periods of 1823-1850 and 1871-1896 in certain agricultural and industrial counties in England, and found that, especially in the earlier period, crime fluctuated in the agricultural counties in close relationship with fluctuations in food prices but not with those in business failures. In the industrial counties, crime fluctuated in close relationship with business failures but not with those in food prices. For the country as a whole, fluctuations in crime correlated closely with those in total exports.

<sup>5</sup> Müller, H.: *Untersuchungen über die Bewegung der Kriminalität in ihren Zusammenhang mit dem wirtschaftlichen Verhältnissen*, Halle, Wittenberg, Inaugural Dissertation, 1899.

<sup>6</sup> Tougan-Baranowsky, M.: *Studien zur Theorie und Geschichte der Handelskrisen in England*, Jena, 1901.

Ogburn and Thomas<sup>7</sup> made the first detailed statistical study of the relationship between crime and economic fluctuations in the United States. They used a specially constructed composite index of changing economic conditions. Included in this index were the following statistical series selected as representing widely different types of economic phenomena: Wholesale prices, commercial failures, bituminous-coal production, pig-iron production, railroad freight ton mileage, bank clearings outside New York, employment in Massachusetts, railroad construction and imports. A similarly selected and constructed economic index was also used by Thomas<sup>8</sup> in her later analysis of British criminal statistics in relation to various stages in the business cycle.

The more recent European studies,<sup>9</sup> however, have continued to place their main emphasis upon correlations between fluctuations in crime and those in only one economic index, usually that of the cost of living.

#### CRIME INDICES

The indices of crime have also varied widely as used in the different investigations. Sometimes they represent offenses reported to the police; sometimes persons arraigned; sometimes persons convicted. If based on police reports, they usually include both minor and major offenses. If based on court or institutional reports, they frequently include only cases sent to certain courts or institutions, usually the higher courts and the institutions with long-term prisoners. What is or is not included in the crime series being correlated is often not explained, and the accurate interpretation and

<sup>7</sup> Ogburn, William F., and Thomas, Dorothy, S.: *The Influence of the Business Cycle on Certain Social Conditions*, Journal of The American Statistical Society, September, 1922. Index numbers as a measure of the economic situation were first used in the study of criminality by Hector Denis, a Belgian economist. See his *La Dépression économique et sociale et l'histoire des prix*, Brussels, 1895, p. 164 et seq. See also his report to the Third Congress of Criminal Anthropology (Brussels, 1893), p. 365.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas, Dorothy S.: *Social Aspects of the Business Cycle*. E. P. Dutton & Co., 1925.

<sup>9</sup> See especially Woytinsky, W. *Lebensmittelpreise, Beschäftigungsgrad und Kriminalität* Archiv. für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, 61 Band, 1 Heft. Tübingen, 1929. Also summaries of recent inquiries in Aschaffenburg, G. *Das Verbrechen und seine Bekämpfung*, 1923 Revised Edition.

comparison of the indicated findings frequently becomes exceedingly difficult.

Sometimes correlations are made with reference to total crime only. In most of the studies, however, correlations are with certain groups of crimes, such as crimes against property, crimes against the person, etc. Little information is given in the published reports as to the offenses included under the general headings, and detailed comparison of findings is also difficult for this reason, especially in studies based on data for countries having quite different systems of defining criminal offenses and consequently important differences in their criminal statistics.

In but few cases was account taken of the fact that the volume of crime, as reported, is influenced by the passage of new laws and also by differences in standards in enforcement, and that certain increases and decreases may be due primarily to these causes rather than economic factors. The investigators, moreover, have not always been aware that criminal statistics, at best, provide information only of detected violations of law. One must therefore use some caution in drawing any conclusions as to the amount of crime actually committed. Such caution is frequently absent in these studies.

#### METHODS OF COMPARING FLUCTUATIONS

In the Ogburn and Thomas studies and those made later by Thomas alone, coefficients of correlation were calculated and differences in the degree of economic influence upon various types of criminal offenses determined mathematically in great detail.

In all the other reports reviewed, conclusions as to the closeness of correlation in fluctuations were reached by visual comparisons of lines on graphic charts showing crime and economic changes during successive years, or by the location of obvious differences in parallel columns of economic and criminal data in more or less elaborate statistical tables.

Both these methods of comparison are likely to lead to interpretation of findings in the terms of what is desired, and it is not surprising that different investigators have

drawn quite different conclusions as to the closeness of correlation in criminal and economic data from the same statistical series according to the years of consistency or inconsistency selected for special comment.

In a considerable proportion of the studies, no attempt was made to eliminate differences in the volume of crime due to the increase or decrease in population by calculation of rates of crime in relation to a certain unit of population. Secular trend was eliminated in the Ogburn and Thomas studies before correlation was made, but this was not done in any of the other investigations.

#### INVESTIGATION FINDINGS

The varying degree of influence of economic changes upon the occurrence of different types of crime is shown with greater consistency in these investigations than would be anticipated from the many kinds of criminal and economic data used in the comparisons.

Crimes against property were found to increase during years of economic depression and decrease during years of prosperity, and this was true also of statistical series showing total crime when they consisted to a large extent of crimes against property. In most of the compilations, the customary increase or decrease did not take place periodically, but these irregularities in fluctuation were less frequent in crimes against property than in most other groups of criminal offenses, and more easily explained as due to special factors affecting the trend in either the economic or crime series.

In Thomas' English studies, a negative correlation coefficient of 0.44, in comparison with 1.00 as an indication of perfect correlation, was secured for property crimes with violence when yearly variations in persons on trial before the assizes and quarter sessions and the courts of summary jurisdiction between 1857 and 1913 were compared with yearly variations in the composite index number measuring changes in the business cycle. For property crimes without violence, the correlation coefficient was  $-0.25$ . Total indictable crimes, which in this study consisted mainly of

property crimes, also gave a correlation coefficient of  $-0.25$ . While these coefficients do not show an especially strong tendency for property crimes to move always in opposite directions to the upward and downward movements in the business cycle, they would seem to confirm the somewhat irregular tendency noted in most other investigations.

In Ogburn and Thomas's American studies the only crime series used was that of convictions for criminal offenses in the courts of record in New York State, and correlation coefficients were calculated only for total offenses and for crimes against the person. Review of the basic data used for the crime series shows that property crimes formed a large proportion of the total group. The correlation coefficient of  $-0.35$  for total offenses is probably an indicator of movements mainly in property crimes and is similar in direction and strength to the correlation tendency shown in the European studies.

In the relatively few studies where fluctuations in vagrancy are given separate analysis, an even stronger and more consistent tendency to fluctuate in response to economic change is usually indicated. In commenting on this, Mayr wrote as follows more than half a century ago:

It is explicable that only a small portion of individuals who become economically dependent proceed to serious crime, while the majority fall into the minor misdemeanors involved in a living obtained through begging and vagrancy. The same force that appears in the increase and decrease of attacks upon property must consequently appear much more intensively in the fluctuation of mendicity and vagrancy.<sup>10</sup>

Where the crime series used for economic correlations are those containing a considerable proportion of vagrancy cases, total crime, also, usually shows strong tendency toward sharp fluctuations upward during depression and downward during prosperity.

Alcoholism was found by Thomas to show a noticeable tendency to become more frequent during prosperity, whether measured in the terms of beer or spirits consumption or in

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* cit. Translation as given on p. 42 in *Criminality and Economic Conditions*, by Bonger.

the terms of prosecutions for drunkenness. The correlation coefficients here were consistently positive and moderately strong (0.30, 0.36, and 0.33 for the three series, respectively). A similar tendency toward increase during prosperity is shown in other studies where alcoholism or drunkenness is given separate consideration, and also in total crime series where offenses of this or closely related types predominate in number.

Other groups of criminal offenses as variously compiled were nearly always found to show only slight and usually irregular tendencies toward fluctuation in response to economic change.

The correlation coefficients secured by Thomas in her English studies were as follows for groups of criminal offenses other than those discussed above:

Crimes of violence against the person.....	+0.06
Crimes against the morals.....	+ .05
Malicious injuries to property.....	+ .04

All these groups contained a number of offenses closely associated with drunkenness, and the author's conclusion is that the slightly positive indication of correlation is probably traceable to the increasing volume of drunkenness during prosperity rather than a direct result of economic conditions. The correlations indicated by the very small coefficients are too weak, however, to have much significance.

In Thomas' American studies with Ogburn, the somewhat different types of crimes against the person included in the New York State court reports, gave a slightly stronger but negative correlation of 0.12.

Similarly irregular tendencies toward slight positive or negative correlations were also reported for these groups by other investigators. If a particular group contained many minor offenses closely related to drunkenness, a slight upward rise during prosperity was often indicated. Abortion and infanticide were found to increase during economic depression. Total crimes against the person tended to increase during hard times if such offenses formed a considerable proportion of the group studied, but might move in the opposite direction with a different combination of offenses included under the general heading.

It was also frequently pointed out by investigators that recent changes in laws had affected the composition and volume of these minor groups of offenses, so that the separation of increases and decreases due primarily to economic causes had become exceedingly difficult. The total numbers of offenses were usually small in comparison with those in the group of crimes against property, and chance fluctuations because of small numbers were probably responsible for certain movements found difficult of interpretation.

To summarize: Findings in the present review of published investigations are fairly conclusive with reference to the tendency for crimes against property and vagrancy to increase during periods of economic depression and decrease during prosperity, and for alcoholism to increase during periods of prosperity and decrease during depression. Other groups of offenses are apparently affected only slightly and irregularly.

Before conclusions can be drawn as to the relative strength of economic influences upon various violations of the criminal law in the United States to-day, or as to the actual amount of change to be expected in the relative volume of crime during prosperity and depression, much additional research is necessary. It is to be hoped that the report of the Massachusetts study, which follows, will be but one of many such investigations to be conducted under various auspices and covering a number of different sections of the United States.

## SECTION II

## SELECTION OF MASSACHUSETTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

The State of Massachusetts was selected as the area to be covered in this experimental study of measurable changes in the volume of crime during prosperity and depression for a number of reasons. Criminal statistics in Massachusetts have been collected on a state-wide basis during a long period of years. They include data on police arrests, on cases handled in all types of criminal courts, and on commitments to all types of institutions and to probation. Except in connection with police arrests, much detail on the nature of offenses is provided. The State department of corrections and the State commission on probation have long shown definite interest both in the compilation and in the interpretation of statistical data indicating crime trends, and their active cooperation in the development of plans for the present study was found to be easily obtainable. The content and scope of criminal statistics in Massachusetts had been critically reviewed in connection with certain studies in the Boston Crime Survey, and this material was placed at the disposal of the investigator for use in reaching a decision as to the types of crime series best adapted for correlation with economic statistics.

As Massachusetts is so largely an industrial State, an economic index was desired which would measure accurately and promptly any economic changes affecting the economic well-being of industrial workers. Here, too, statistics available for Massachusetts proved well suited to the need. Since 1889 information on the number of persons employed in all manufacturing establishments in the State during each month of the year has been secured through an annual

census. An index number showing monthly fluctuations in numbers employed in Massachusetts during the period from 1889 to 1925 had already been compiled by Dr. Ralph G. Hurlin, of the Russell Sage Foundation, and his work sheets and assistance in bringing the index number to date were willingly made available for the commission's use. The bureau of statistics of the Massachusetts State Department of Labor and Industries assisted by providing unpublished data necessary for the extension of the index number of employment and by assisting in developing procedures for the correlation of the data.

The review of previous investigations revealed a lack of sufficiently detailed attention to the nature and limitations of the criminal statistics which were correlated with the economic series. Another error was the failure to take into constant account the influence of changing definitions of crime and changing opportunities for its commitment as factors affecting the volume of reported crime which might, within a particular period of time, be of greater importance than economic changes. In the Massachusetts study, therefore, a special effort was made to avoid these pitfalls which had appeared in the paths of earlier investigators.

Before describing the methods employed and the conclusions reached in the detailed comparisons of crime and employment fluctuations, the types of criminal data available in Massachusetts and the statistical series selected for index use in the present study will be critically reviewed. This will be followed by a detailed discussion of the composition of the various groups of offenses as here combined for correlation with the employment index and also of the changes in laws and opportunities for crime which have apparently been back of many of the important fluctuations in certain groups of offenses.

## CRIMINAL STATISTICS AVAILABLE IN MASSACHUSETTS

The collection of judicial statistics on a state-wide basis began in Massachusetts in 1832, following the passage of a law by the legislature requiring the attorney general to present an annual report on his own activities and also

summaries of reports to be made to him by the district attorneys. Procedure varied somewhat from time to time as to whether the reports of the district attorneys should go to the attorney general or to the secretary of the Commonwealth, but the same general plan for securing reports on local court cases remained in operation until 1859 when the legislature passed a law requiring clerks of courts and trial justices to make annual returns on all court cases to the secretary of the Commonwealth. In 1881, responsibility for receiving and publishing court statistics was transferred to the recently organized State board of commissioners of prisons and has remained up to the present with this board and its successors, the State bureau of prisons in 1916 and the State department of corrections in 1919.<sup>11</sup>

Institutional statistics have also been collected in Massachusetts during a period of nearly 100 years. In 1834 the legislature passed a law requiring that the secretary of the Commonwealth secure, through the county commissioners or other local authorities, regular reports from the keepers of all jails and houses of correction. Following the appointment of the board of State charities in 1863 responsibility for securing these reports was transferred to this board. In 1870 three commissioners of prisons were appointed, and, beginning with 1874, all reports of penal institutions were made to this commission. With the separate organization of a State board of prison commissioners in 1879 responsibility for securing detailed reports on all penal institutions became one of its special functions.

Annual reports to the board on arrests by the police were made compulsory in 1881 and statistics of this type appear regularly in the board's reports, beginning with 1882. As previously described, the collection and presentation of court

<sup>11</sup> For additional detail on method of collecting early court statistics and their content, see:

Robinson, L. E. *History and Organization of Criminal Statistics in the United States*. Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911; pp. 43-46.

Pettigrove, Frederick G. *Statistics of Crime in Massachusetts*. Publications, American Statistical Association, new series, No. 17. March, 1902.

Wright, Carroll D. *Statistics of Crime, 1860-1879*. Pt. III, Eleventh Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor. 1880.

statistics became part of the duties of the board at about the same time.

The employment of a publicly paid probation officer for service in the Boston municipal court was authorized by the State legislature in 1878, and in 1880 the privilege of employing such officers was extended to other cities in the State. Although the reports of the board of prison commissioners contain certain general descriptions and discussions of probation service during the years immediately following, detailed statistical reports appear for the first time in 1889. Under the law of 1891 the employment of probation officers became compulsory in all of the inferior criminal courts in the State, and the statistical reports on probation work became an increasingly important part of the State's compilations of criminal statistics. In 1901 probation work in the superior courts was authorized, and, beginning with 1903, the board's reports include detail on probation cases carried in both groups of courts.

With the separate organization of the State commission on probation in 1908, responsibility for the collection of statistics on probation work was transferred to it from the State board of prison commissioners. The same general plan of statistical reporting continued to be followed, however, and detail as to a number of statistical items in present probation reports can be carried back to the days when reporting standards were first developed under the auspices of the board of prison commissioners.

#### THE SELECTION OF STATISTICAL SERIES FOR CRIME INDICES

The purpose of the present detailed review of collection methods and salient features of crime statistics in Massachusetts was the selection of one or more indices for use in the correlation of crime and economic fluctuations. There was hope, at first, that it might prove possible to use only one type of statistical series as a crime index, but early indications of important differences in trends in different statistical series showed the importance of depending upon at least two series as a mutual check on the degree of fluctua-

tion in crime which could be attributed with accuracy to economic causes.

Following careful consideration of the wealth of statistical material assembled during so many years in Massachusetts it was decided to use as one of the crime indices the number of prosecutions begun in the lower courts and, as the other, admissions on sentence to institutions and to probation.

For both these series it was found possible to secure sufficiently consistent detail by type of offense so that separate study could be given to trends in a number of specially assembled groups of offenses. While the trend for certain items could have been studied for a much longer period of time, it was decided to limit this study to the 45-year period beginning with 1885, when the method of collecting and compiling annual reports had become well standardized and there were no longer important changes in administrative policies with reference to compilation and presentation. Detailed reports on probation admissions were not available before 1889, but the volume of this service during the early years was relatively small, and the trends in admission rates between 1885 and 1889 were probably affected but slightly by the omission of the few probation cases.

Reports on arrests by the police were given special consideration as to suitability for use as a third type of index of crime. These reports in Massachusetts, however, combine all detail on type of offense under a few general headings. In most years, total arrests were found to be approximately the same as total prosecutions, and there seemed no special value in attempting a separate correlation study for arrests with the limited detail on type of offense available under the Massachusetts plan of reporting.

The use of court statistics on convictions would have had certain advantages over the use of the institutional and probation data on admissions, in that the court statistics would include data on cases fined and immediately released, as well as those required to serve a certain amount of time in prison or under probationary supervision. During most years,

however, the Massachusetts statistics on convictions provided less information on types of offenses than did those on admissions, and hence were less satisfactory for comparison with economic fluctuations.

While the two series finally selected for use as indices of crime seemed the best available, they both have definite limitations in the comprehensiveness of their measurements, and these will have to be taken into account in evaluating the significance of their indications of the influence of economic conditions upon changes in the volume of crime.

The index on prosecutions includes cases heard in the district and municipal courts and before trial justices, but does not include those cases, usually of serious crime, which reach the superior courts in the various counties without trial or preliminary hearing in one of the lower courts. The inclusion of these relatively few cases from the superior courts would have added to the accuracy of the prosecution series as an index of crime, but study of reports as currently compiled showed no way in which the separate reports of cases by type of offense for the superior courts and the inferior courts could be combined without a large amount of duplication in the cases being counted. About two-thirds of the cases heard each year in the superior courts are those appealed from the lower courts and already included in their statistical reports. In addition, a number of cases, often for crimes which can be tried legally only in the superior courts, come into the lower courts for preliminary hearing and appear in both sets of reports. Duplication in counts of offenses for the superior courts during successive years also results from the practice during recent years of combining in the annual reports both the cases begun during the year and those pending at the beginning of the year.

Following careful consideration, it was decided that the lesser error in the detailed studies of crime trend would result from the omission of the few offenses not appearing in the reports for the lower courts, and that the exclusion of all statistics related to prosecutions in the superior courts would give an index preferable to the irregularly padded

one which would result from the combination of the frequently duplicated counts in the separate reports for the two groups of courts. As will be discussed in greater detail in the following section, the statistics for the superior courts were found under the Massachusetts system of court procedure to have relatively little significance as an index of the occurrence of serious crime, and no use has therefore been made of them as a separate index in the present study of crime trends.

The index on admissions includes all cases admitted on sentence to local jails, county houses of correction, the State farm, the State reformatories, and the State prison, and also all cases placed on probation. If persons sentenced to fine have insufficient funds for immediate payment and serve an alternative jail sentence or a period of probation while making payments on the installment plan, they are also included in the statistical series used as an index.

This means that the admissions index primarily measures fluctuations in the volume of cases which are sufficiently serious to warrant a sentence to imprisonment or probation in case of conviction. The prosecutions index, on the other hand, measures fluctuations in all but a few of the more serious crimes brought into the court, and is probably the preferable index for use in measuring fluctuations in crime groups containing many offenses subject primarily to punishment by fine.

In the study of the crime indices as here presented for Massachusetts, it is also necessary to bear in mind that all statistical reports on court cases and admissions relate to an individual and also to a specified date. No matter how many crimes a person may be charged with at a particular time, he is reported as only one person. No matter how many times a person may be brought into court, each new appearance means that he is reported as another individual. If more than one person has participated in a certain criminal act, it becomes as many acts as there are individuals who have participated.

This method of reporting means that Massachusetts statistics give accurate information on neither the number of crimes committed nor the number of individual criminals.

For the types of crime most frequently committed by the skillful professional criminal, the number of crimes reported is probably considerably below the number which would be shown in a reporting plan based on numbers of criminal acts, and may fluctuate somewhat differently in response to differences in the lengths of successful criminal careers or in the number of acts committed before arrest under police control of varying degrees of efficiency.

For the types of offenses, like drunkenness, where the same person may be prosecuted or imprisoned a number of times within the same year, the Massachusetts plan of reporting probably overestimates the number of individual offenders, and there probably are also certain annual fluctuations due to differences in policies as to lengths of sentence imposed, which would disappear if reports had been based on actual numbers of individuals.

Whether or not the unit used in crime reporting would influence significantly the nature of the correlations can not be determined from data available at the present time, but it would seem a point worthy of further inquiry in Massachusetts or elsewhere, as the basis for definite recommendations as to the best unit for use in future compilations of criminal statistics.

#### GROUPING OF CRIMINAL OFFENSES

Neither of the crime series here used deals specifically with the offenses popularly accepted as serious crime. For certain reasons this is advantageous, as there is considerable indication in various investigations that fluctuations in crime, in response to economic change, are likely to occur both in petty misdemeanors and in serious crime.

Frequently, however, especially in connection with the comparative use of findings in other investigations, it is desirable to isolate movements in the more serious types of crime, and special care was taken in the Massachusetts study to keep the more serious offenses separate from the less serious ones. Under certain court and institutional systems this can be done by the separate handling of data for different courts or institutions. While this separation could be

made in Massachusetts for data related to the superior courts and the State prison, detailed study showed that these figures would have relatively little significance in indicating either long-term movements or short-term fluctuations in serious crime.

In Massachusetts the place of imprisonment determines the seriousness of a crime rather than the act itself. A sentence to State prison automatically makes a crime a felony, and no such sentence can be given except in the superior court where jury trial is provided. Until 1877, however, a person could be sentenced to State prison for as short a period as one year. Between 1877 and 1895 the minimum sentence was three years and since 1895 two and one-half years. Between 1870 and 1918 a sentence to solitary imprisonment or hard labor not exceeding five years could be served in a local jail or house of correction, and it was only in 1918 that the maximum sentence to a local institution was made two and one-half years to correspond with the minimum sentence to State prison.

As pointed out by Spalding,<sup>12</sup> there have also been important changes made at different times in the State laws defining the conditions under which a sentence to State prison is compulsory, not because of a change in attitude as to seriousness of certain offenses but for administrative reasons, usually to relieve congestion in the State prison. As cases not leading to a sentence to State prison can be tried in a lower court, any change in definition of a State prison sentence immediately affects both court and institutional statistics.

This frequently varied procedure in defining and handling cases of serious crime in Massachusetts prevented any major groupings to show total crimes of more and less serious types, but, so far as possible, the various groups given separate study were planned so as to combine those of similar seriousness as measured by type of penalty imposed.

Much attention was also given to combining within the same group offenses which previous investigations had

<sup>12</sup> Spalding, W. F., *The Legislative History of a State Prison Sentence as a Test of Felony and Infamous Punishment*. Massachusetts Law Quarterly, 7: 91-108. January, 1922.

shown were likely to be influenced in similar fashion by changes in economic levels.

If changes in laws were known to have caused shifts in the listing of closely related offenses, these offenses were kept within the same group so that totals would not be affected by such changes in detailed classification. If sudden and marked changes in volume of a certain type of offense had occurred, such as the rapid increase during recent years in violations of traffic and motor-vehicle laws and of liquor laws, these items were kept separately so that lesser fluctuations in other offense groups would not be masked by their strongly dominant upward movements.

The following 12 groupings, evolved after much experimentation, are not in every respect those which would have been formulated for use in a study of original records in courts and institutions, but are the ones which seemed best suited to the type of detail consistently available in the Massachusetts reports. In a few instances, where information for a certain item was omitted as a separate report for a single year, this has been estimated on the basis of data for the years immediately preceding and following, but such interpolations affected only minor items in the offense groups and any error in these few estimates has probably made little difference in the indicated total movements for the group.

1. Robbery; burglary, breaking, and entry.
2. Larceny, fraud, forgery, receiving stolen goods, unlawful appropriation, arson and other fraudulent burnings, etc.
3. Murder, manslaughter.
4. Assault, assault and battery, felonious assault, threats and intimidation, etc.
5. Nonsupport, neglect or abuse of family, bastardy, etc.
6. Vagrancy (tramps, vagabonds, vagrants).
7. Trespass, walking on railroad, malicious mischief, disturbing the peace, etc.
8. Against chastity, morality, and decency.
9. Drunkenness.
10. Violations of liquor laws.
11. Violations of traffic, motor vehicle, and bicycle laws.
12. Violations of other regulatory laws.

SECTION III

CHANGES IN VOLUME OF CRIME BETWEEN 1885 AND 1929

Important changes took place in Massachusetts between the years 1885 and 1929 in the actual and relative numbers of prosecutions and admissions by types of offense. These are shown in Table I, which follows.

The total number of prosecutions begun in the lower courts was 3,100.2 per 100,000 population in 1885; in 1929 it was 5,132.9, an increase of about 65 per cent. In 1885 drunkenness, the assault group, and the larceny group were the only ones to show a prosecution rate in excess of 200; in 1929 violations of traffic and motor-vehicle laws, of liquor laws, and of miscellaneous regulatory laws were also above this point, and the assault group of offenses had dropped considerably below.

TABLE I.—Prosecutions begun in lower courts and admissions on sentence to institutions and probation in Massachusetts during the years ending September 30, 1885 and 1929

	Number		Rate per 100,000 population		Rank in numerical importance	
	1885	1929	1885	1929	1885	1929
<b>PROSECUTIONS</b>						
All causes.....	62, 116	216, 304	3, 100. 2	5, 132. 9	-----	-----
Robbery, etc.....	1, 043	2, 391	52. 1	56. 7	9	10
Larceny, etc.....	5, 819	9, 591	290. 4	227. 6	3	5
Murder, etc.....	64	304	2. 7	7. 2	11	12
Assault, etc.....	7, 910	7, 240	394. 3	171. 8	2	6
Nonsupport, etc.....	386	5, 492	19. 3	130. 3	10	8
Vagrancy.....	1, 456	1, 202	72. 7	23. 5	8	11
Trespass, etc.....	3, 123	3, 835	155. 9	91. 9	5	9
Against chastity, etc.....	2, 023	5, 800	101. 2	137. 6	7	7
Drunkenness.....	34, 555	75, 231	1, 724. 6	1, 785. 2	1	1
Liquor laws.....	2, 316	10, 815	115. 5	256. 6	6	4
Traffic laws, etc.....	9	71, 681	. 4	1, 701. 0	12	2
Other regulatory laws.....	3, 417	22, 722	170. 6	539. 2	4	3
<b>ADMISSIONS</b>						
All causes.....	1 26, 651	51, 579	1 1, 330. 2	1, 224. 0	-----	-----
Robbery, etc.....	308	1, 685	15. 3	40. 0	8	9
Larceny, etc.....	2, 387	5, 589	119. 1	132. 6	2	3
Murder, etc.....	21	41	1. 0	1. 0	11	12
Assault, etc.....	1, 808	2, 184	90. 3	51. 8	3	8
Nonsupport, etc.....	65	3, 926	3. 2	93. 2	10	4
Vagrancy.....	1, 194	3, 439	59. 6	10. 4	4	11
Trespass, etc.....	853	1, 347	42. 6	32. 0	5	10
Against chastity, etc.....	742	2, 467	37. 0	58. 5	6	7
Drunkenness.....	18, 701	20, 012	933. 4	474. 9	1	1
Liquor laws.....	134	3, 782	6. 7	89. 7	9	5
Traffic laws, etc.....	8	7, 163	. 4	170. 0	12	2
Other regulatory laws.....	432	2, 044	21. 6	69. 9	7	6

† Institutional admissions only, as data on relatively small number of probation admissions not available until 1889.

Total admissions, on the other hand, showed a noticeable decrease in rate. In 1885, the admissions rate could be calculated in relation to institutions only, and the rate of 1,330.2 is probably slightly below what would have been the case if detailed information on probation admissions could also have been secured. In 1929, the admission rate for both institutions and probation was 1,224.0, a decrease of about 8 per cent below the institutional rate of 1885.

If we study the differences in relative volume and trend in the different groups of offenses as shown in the prosecutions and admissions indices on the occurrence of crime, we find that certain of the major movements are reflected in both statistical series but that there are also important movements in opposite directions. For instance, the homicide rate has risen sharply when measured by prosecutions, but has remained unchanged when measured by admissions. Drunkenness has increased slightly in its prosecution rate, but the admissions rate has been cut almost in half. The robbery group of crimes against property varied but little in its rate for prosecutions but increased greatly with reference to admissions. The larceny group decreased markedly in prosecutions and increased slightly in admissions.

As a certain proportion of the admissions are for cases begun in the superior courts and there is also frequently a sufficient time lag involved in the court handling of a case so that its count in relation to institutional or probation admission is in a later reporting year than its count in relation to prosecution begun, comparison of the number of admissions during a year with the number of prosecutions begun in the lower courts during the same period is not entirely accurate. The error is probably not sufficiently great, however, to affect seriously the comparison of varying proportions of prosecutions resulting in sentences to imprisonment or probation as reported at different periods of time, and this type of comparison has been made for the years 1889 and 1929.

TABLE II.—Admissions to institutions and probation in relation to prosecutions begun in the lower courts in Massachusetts during the years ending September 30, 1889 and 1929

	Percentage of prosecutions shown by—					
	Total admissions		Institution		Probation	
	1889	1929	1889	1929	1889	1929
All causes.....	43.5	23.9	40.8	8.7	2.7	15.2
Robbery, etc.....	31.1	70.5	25.0	17.4	5.5	53.1
Larceny, etc.....	40.6	58.3	37.3	16.0	3.3	41.4
Murder, etc.....	23.7	15.5	23.7	12.2	0.0	1.3
Assault, etc.....	24.1	30.2	22.9	0.8	1.2	20.4
Nonsupport, etc.....	25.6	71.5	17.3	17.8	8.3	53.7
Vagrancy.....	70.9	36.6	76.3	27.8	0.6	8.7
Trespass, etc.....	25.2	35.1	23.8	6.2	1.4	28.9
Against chastity, etc.....	42.2	42.5	36.9	15.1	5.3	27.4
Drunkenness.....	52.8	28.0	49.9	13.1	2.9	13.5
Liquor laws.....	17.6	35.0	17.4	10.0	0.2	24.0
Traffic laws, etc.....	(1)	10.0	(1)	2.6	(1)	7.4
Other regulatory laws.....	10.5	13.0	7.7	3.1	2.8	9.9

<sup>1</sup> Number of offenses negligible and data included with violations of other regulatory laws in published reports.

As shown in Table II, total admissions were 43.5 per cent as great as the number of prosecutions begun in the lower courts during the year 1889, the first for which detailed reports on probation are available. In 1929 this percentage had dropped to 23.9.

Admissions to institutions were 40.8 per cent as numerous in prosecutions in 1889, but only 8.7 as numerous in 1929. Admissions to probation had increased from 2.7 per cent in 1889 to 15.2 per cent in 1929.

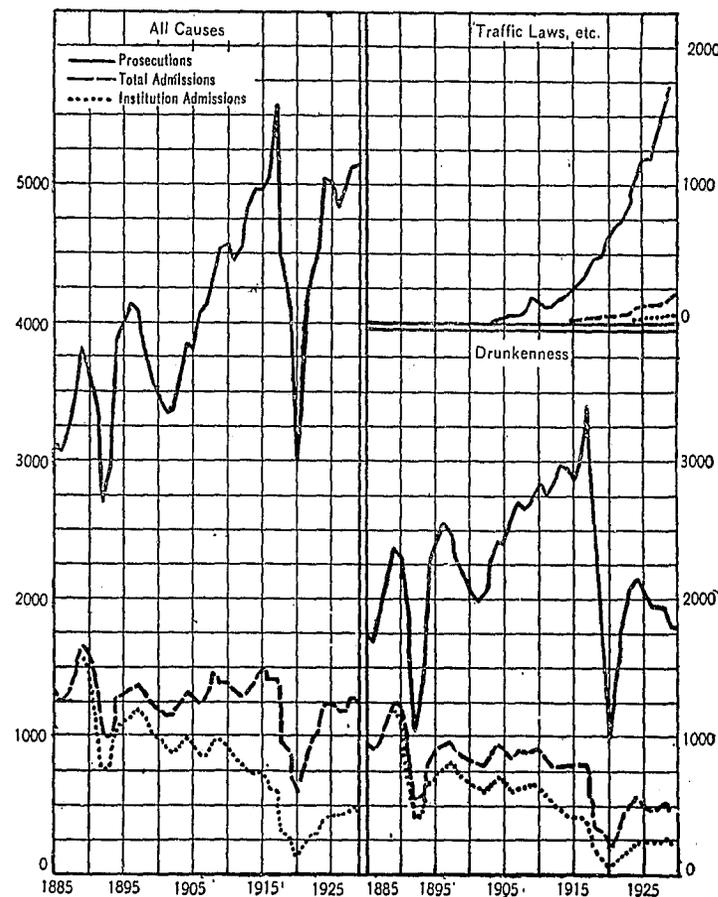
In certain of the groups of offenses there have been large increases in the proportion of cases prosecuted where a penalty of imprisonment or probation is imposed, and also varying amounts of increase with reference to the proportion of cases placed on probation instead of being given institutional care.

It is obvious from these various comparisons that many important changes have been taking place during the last 45 years in Massachusetts with reference to the types of offenses subject to court action, if committed, and also with reference to the nature of the penalty imposed where conviction results. If we study the adjustments from year to year

between 1885 and 1889, as shown in Charts I to III and in Appendix Tables 1 to 13, we find that these changes have occurred suddenly and sharply in some of the groups of

## INCREASES AND DECREASES IN CRIME RATES IN MASSACHUSETTS

CHART I

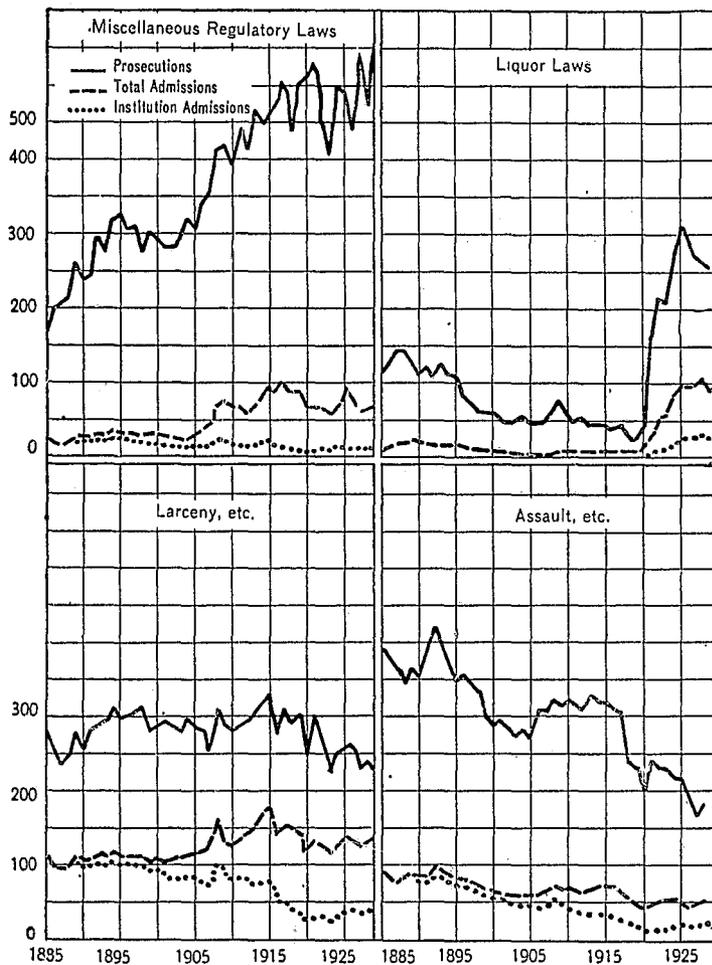


offenses, while in others the change has been slow and steady, and in others the result of alternating periods of varying amounts of increase and decrease. Sometimes the 1885 or 1929 rates just described were the high or low point in the

entire series; sometimes they were far below or above the rates for a number of years in the intervening period.

INCREASES AND DECREASES IN CRIME RATES IN MASSACHUSETTS

CHART II



Careful study of the forces back of these long-time movements in the prosecutions and admissions for different types of criminal offenses in Massachusetts would seem essential

for the proper interpretation of the significance of any variations in volume which on the surface seem to be due to economic causes, and the results of certain preliminary research along this line will be next presented before describing the method used and the results secured in the special study of correlations between crime and employment fluctuations.

In this part of the discussion, the offense groups will be discussed in the order of their numerical importance among court prosecutions in 1929 as shown in Table I, and this order has also been followed in the arrangement of the accompanying charts.

#### ALL CAUSES

(Table 1, Chart I)

The many differences in crime rates for all causes in Massachusetts during the years between 1885 and 1929, are shown strikingly in Chart I, and also the closeness of the correlation between the trend movements in total rates and those shown in the rates for the large groups of drunkenness cases and of traffic and motor vehicle violations.

As these offenses usually provide more than half of the total number of offenses and are also the groups tending to change most suddenly in volume, their dominant influence on the rates for all causes is not surprising. The result, however, is to make the fluctuations in the total rates for prosecutions and admissions in Massachusetts of relatively little significance in the evaluation of the separate or combined movements of other groups of criminal offenses as compared with these two of so great numerical importance.

#### DRUNKENNESS

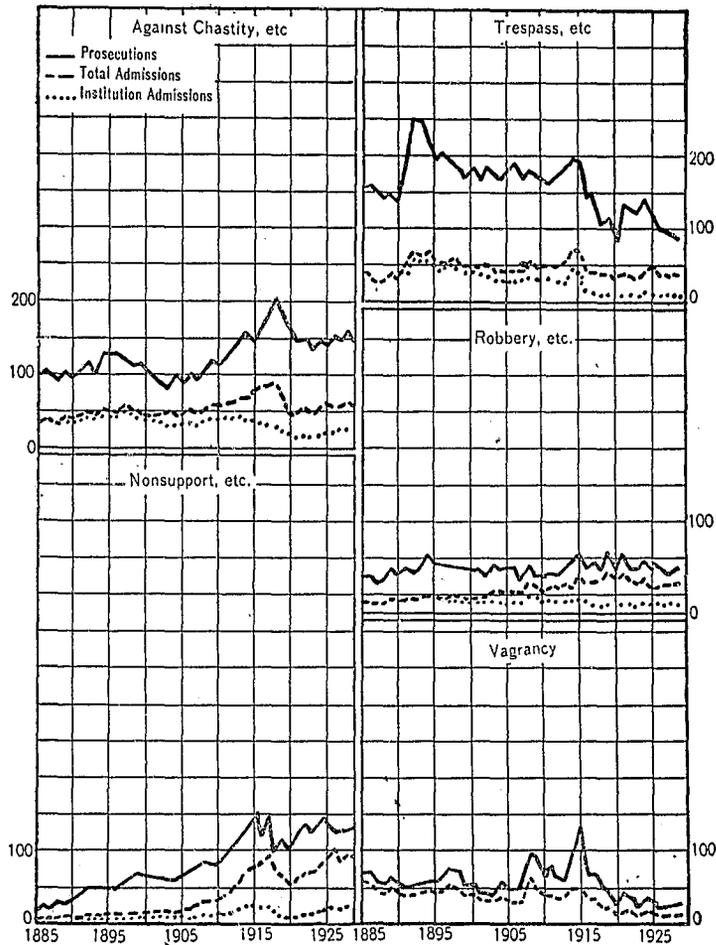
(Table 10, Chart I)

Drunkenness rates have shown within the period studied two abrupt movements downward to a very low point, followed by an equally quick return.

The first of these major fluctuations started immediately after the passage of a law in 1891 which changed radically the previous procedures in handling of arrested cases of

INCREASES AND DECREASES IN CRIME RATES IN MASSACHUSETTS

CHART III



drunkenness and also the nature of the sentence which could be imposed. Under the new law, a person could be released by the police if he succeeded in convincing them of the truth of his written claim of no more than one arrest for drunken-

ness within the preceding 12 months, or, if two arrests, conviction in only one instance. The new law also eliminated any penalty of a fine, gave the judge the privilege of sentencing to imprisonment for any length of time between one day and one year (instead of the former fixed period of 30 days), and made the placement of cases on probation an authorized substitution for a sentence to imprisonment.<sup>18</sup>

That the drop in prosecutions which followed the passage of this law was due to the release by the police of a large number of persons who would have been arraigned under the earlier procedure is clearly indicated by a lack of corresponding decrease in the number of persons arrested, and also by the prompt return to about the previous volume of prosecutions when a revision of the law in 1893 made the court, rather than the police, responsible for passing on the accuracy of the written statements on arrests and determining which cases should be released without arraignment.

Admission rates followed closely these downward and upward movements in prosecution rates, although it would have seemed likely that the elimination of a fine penalty in the law of 1891 and its restoration in the law of 1893 would have caused more admissions during the first part of the time and fewer admissions when it again became possible to impose a fine instead of sentencing to imprisonment or probation.

During the years until 1917 there were no important changes in laws, but prosecution rates, after a short period of decrease, started a steady and persistent upward climb. Admission rates to institutions, which had not returned after the law of 1893 to so high a level as previously, continued to move rapidly downward. Probation admissions increased, but not as rapidly as institution admissions were decreasing, so that in 1917 the rate for total admissions was distinctly below the total rates at the beginning of the period.

The second major drop in prosecutions and admissions began in 1917, and here a variety of causative factors were

<sup>18</sup> For detailed discussion of reasons for enactment of law of 1891 and problems arising during the first year of its enforcement, see bulletin of Massachusetts Prison Association entitled "The Punishment of Drunkenness: Remonstrance of the Massachusetts Prison Association against the Repeal of the Law of 1891."

present. The law was revised during this year to permit the court to release without arraignment persons claiming not to have been arrested during the preceding 12 months. War-time measures of prohibition came into effect. Many men of the age groups most frequently arrested for drunkenness were no longer members of the civil population. Popular attention upon the maintenance of high standards in industrial efficiency as a part of war service probably kept many of the men who remained at home freer from over-indulgence in the use of alcoholic beverages than in the pre-war years.

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that prosecution and admission rates for drunkenness dropped rapidly and that the decrease continued during the early stages of enforcement of Federal prohibition. An upward movement started in 1921, however, and by 1924 both prosecutions and admissions had returned to approximately two-thirds of their rates in the years before the World War. Since then admission rates have remained relatively stationary, but prosecution rates have been moving steadily downward.

Certain of these changes in rates in the two statistical series used in the Massachusetts study, are clearly related to changes in law. Others are caused by differences in administrative policy with reference to arresting persons for drunkenness, releasing them without arraignment, and fining those found guilty in place of sentencing them to imprisonment or probation.

Fluctuations due to these causes are valuable indications of the effect on the volume of court cases and of institutions and probation admissions when laws and enforcement standards change, but probably have relatively little significance in the measurement of differences in the amount of drunkenness in the community.

Prosecution rates in Massachusetts seem to have been especially affected by changes in laws and administrative policies, and, as nearly as can be determined from descriptive and statistical records, much of the increase in prosecution rates during the middle part of the period was due to a greater strictness in arresting and prosecuting minor cases in comparison with the practice in earlier and later years.

Admission rates are apparently affected but slightly by differences in the number of prosecutions except in years of major movements such as those beginning in 1891 and 1917. If more of the minor cases are brought into the courts, more cases are apparently likely to be found not guilty, or, if convicted, are released following the payment of a fine.

Admission to an institution or probation usually signifies a flagrant offense or a frequent offender, and important differences in admission rates would therefore seem to be a fairly reliable index of any important changes in the volume of the more serious cases of drunkenness being brought into the courts as is clearly indicated in the charts. The long-time trend in the admissions index is distinctly and consistently downward throughout the period studied, and without indication of a tendency toward an increase during the middle years when the prosecutions index was moving upward so steadily.

Which is the more reliable index of drunkenness trend during these middle years in Massachusetts can probably only be determined with accuracy through the careful study of police and court records. Because of the frequency with which these and other statistical indices of drunkenness are being used for the comparison of conditions in the years before and since prohibition, such research would seem highly desirable, and it is to be hoped that studies along this line can soon be undertaken under scientifically impartial auspices in Massachusetts or other sections of the United States where available statistics show distinctly contradictory movements in the volume of drunkenness.

#### VIOLETIONS OF TRAFFIC, MOTOR VEHICLE, AND BICYCLE LAWS

(Table 12, Chart I)

As would be expected, the movement in this group of offenses has been unmistakably upward during the last half of the period studied, whether measured by prosecutions or by either type of admissions.

During the early years there were a very few cases of fast driving of horses included in the court and institution

statistics, but special attention to the legal control of traffic on the highways did not begin until the extensive use of the bicycle in the late nineties created the necessity for laws regulating their operation and brought a number of cases of violation into the courts.

The use of the automobile, which began soon afterwards, led to the enactment of an increasingly large number of laws dealing with all phases of traffic and motor-vehicle control. Court cases rose tremendously in number, and in 1929 this group of offenses formed about one-third of all prosecutions begun in the lower courts (71,681 out of 216,304). Admission rates, especially those to probation, also increased rapidly, and in 1929 formed about one-tenth as large a group as prosecutions, with about three-fourths of total admissions being to probation and one-fourth to institutions.

The increased rates here are clearly due to a combination of more opportunities for violating laws as more and more persons are owning and operating motor vehicles, and of more laws to violate as this greater use of motor vehicles has necessitated a more varied and rigorous control of the method of operation.

There is also indication that a certain part of the increase in rates is due to the inclusion here of offenses previously classified under other headings but now occurring to a large extent in connection with the operation of an automobile and under such conditions being reported under the general and all-inclusive heading of violations of the motor vehicle laws. Valuable detail on the nature of the offense represented in cases of motor-vehicle violation placed on probation is found in the recent reports of the Probation Commission in Massachusetts, so that it becomes possible to combine, if desired, the cases of operating a motor vehicle while under the influence of liquor with other cases of drunkenness, the violations of motor-vehicle insurance laws with other violations of the insurance laws, etc. Complete information on all offenses of similar type becomes exceedingly important when crime trend and fluctuations are being studied, and it is to be hoped that detailed separation by nature of offense will soon become a more frequent part of statistical reports on motor-vehicle violations in all parts of

the United States, so that the trend in this and other groups of offenses can in future studies be determined with greater accuracy.

#### VIOLATIONS OF MISCELLANEOUS REGULATORY LAWS

(Table 13, Chart II)

In comparing the diagrams on Charts II and III with those just discussed on Chart I, it is necessary to bear in mind constantly that the rates for the groups of offenses to be next discussed are so much smaller than those for drunkenness and for traffic and motor-vehicle violations that a larger scale was necessary for effective charting. The space which represented 1,000 points on Chart I indicates 200 points on Charts II and III, so that each line becomes five times as high as if the first scale had continued to be employed.

The group of violations of miscellaneous regulatory laws as here compiled includes the violations of city ordinances or town by-laws, of fish and game laws, food laws, gaming laws, health laws, labor laws, license and registration laws, Lord's Day laws, lottery and advertising laws, laws concerning minors, narcotic drug laws, park laws, road laws, school laws, railroad laws, weapon laws, and others of similar type which did not seem to belong logically under any of the other groups as organized for this study.

At present the numbers of prosecutions and admissions in this group are somewhat less than one-third as large as those in the group of traffic and motor-vehicle violations, and it is interesting to note that the relationship between the volume of prosecutions and admissions in the two groups is remarkably similar and also the proportion of the cases admitted to probation and institutions.

Prosecutions have increased fairly consistently throughout the period, and as yet show no indication of the beginning of a downward trend. The more serious cases, as measured by institution admissions, have remained relatively stationary, but probation admissions have followed about the same upward movement as prosecutions and have sent total admissions upward also.

Some of the laws whose violations are included in this group have a history reaching back to early colonial days in Massachusetts. Other laws are related to the control of social and industrial conditions of recent origin, or are representative of present-day viewpoints as to the desirability of community control over certain acts formerly considered to be entirely a matter of personal responsibility.

In the main the increased volume of offenses here included has little significance as an indicator of increased criminality in the community, and would seem rather to measure increased interest in the enactment and enforcement of a wide variety of measures of social control of direct value in the improvement of individual and community well-being.

#### VIOLATIONS OF LIQUOR LAWS

(Table 11, Chart II)

Because of their rapidly increasing number during recent years violations of liquor laws have here been kept as a separate group from other regulatory offenses.

From 1885 to 1895 the number of prosecutions and admissions remained approximately the same. Changes in laws and their enforcement then brought certain reductions which kept both statistical series at a low level through 1920. A strongly marked upward movement then began, which reached a peak for prosecutions in 1925 and for admissions in 1928 and is now showing a slight tendency downward.

In the early years nearly all admissions for violations of liquor laws were to institutions. More recently probation admissions have increased rapidly and at present about one-third of admissions are to institutions and two-thirds to probation.

#### LARCENY, FRAUD, ETC.

(Table 3, Chart II)

Numbers in this group of property crimes without violence have been consistently dominated by the cases of larceny which in most years have formed from 80 to 90 per cent of the total. The remainder of the group, as here classified, is made up of relatively small numbers of cases of fraud, of

cheating and false pretenses, of forgery and uttering, of receiving stolen goods, and other offenses usually closely related to a need or desire for personal gain.

As would be anticipated, this group of offenses tends to fluctuate in volume as business conditions become more or less favorable, and the short-term movements indicated on the chart are probably due mainly to this reason.

During the early and middle years, prosecution rates remained relatively stationary except for these minor fluctuations. At first, admission rates also remained about the same, but soon the increased volume of probation admissions more than counterbalanced the decrease in institution admissions, and we have a distinctly upward trend in total admissions reaching a peak during the hard times of 1915.

A noticeable tendency downward then began which affected both prosecutions and admissions. This movement has continued to the present time with prosecutions, but more recently there is indication of the beginning of an upward movement in institution admissions, with a corresponding effect upon total admissions.

Accurate determination of the reasons back of the long-time movements in these property crimes is difficult. In part they are probably due to changes in the law, although here most of the changes have dealt with details of classification within the group and have probably affected the total volume to a relatively small extent. There is also a possibility that certain of the recent decreases in prosecution rates for the lower courts are caused by certain changes in the numbers of cases reaching the superior courts without previous hearing in one of the lower courts.

#### ASSAULTS, ETC.

(Table 5, Chart II)

In this group the movements have been largely dominated by those at first reported as assaults and later under the separate headings of assault and battery and of assaults. Such offenses have usually formed about 90 per cent of the total group, while felonious assaults have formed about 5 per cent, and threats and intimidations, abductions, and

various minor offenses against the person have formed in combination the remaining 5 per cent.

In this group of offenses the trend is unmistakably downward, whether measured by prosecutions or total admissions, with a possibility that at least a part of the change in volume is due to differences in practice in the classification of offenses. In his study of trends in crime statistics in Massachusetts between 1881 and 1890,<sup>14</sup> Pettigrove comments upon the increasing frequency with which the police were charging arrested cases with drunkenness instead of assault, because of the greater ease of securing a conviction. That the opposite was true during the years immediately following, when the policy governing the treatment of cases of drunkenness was changed, is indicated by the high peak in assaults in 1892, when drunkenness cases reached their low point for the reasons previously described, and the reduction in the number of cases of assaults when prosecutions on a charge of drunkenness again became more frequent.

The second major drop in prosecution rates for assaults began in 1917, at the same time that drunkenness rates started sharply downward under the influence of war conditions. With assaults, however, the relative amount of decrease between 1917 and 1920 was much less, and the present downward trend in prosecutions is more clearly a continuation of a downward trend already in progress since the early part of the period being studied.

Admissions have fluctuated in volume less widely than prosecutions and have also moved downward less rapidly. At the present time, a much larger number of the prosecutions begun in the courts are apparently leading to sentence to probation or institution, but whether this is due to a difference in the types of cases being charged with assaults or to a difference in policies as to sentence imposed, is difficult to determine from available data and would seem to promise a valuable field for further special study.

<sup>14</sup> For detailed discussion of reasons for enactment of law of 1891 and problems arising during the first year of its enforcement, see bulletin of Massachusetts Prison Association entitled "The Punishment of Drunkenness: Remonstrance of the Massachusetts Prison Association against the Repeal of the Law of 1891."

(Table 9, Chart III)

This heading, which has been used since 1915 in the published reports of the State Department of Correction, includes a wide variety of offenses of different degrees of social importance, such as adultery, common nightwalker, keeping a disorderly house, keeping a house of ill fame, abortion, obscenity, bigamy and polygamy, common nuisance, cruelty to animals. To this group were added for the purpose of this study, cases of rape and also cases of disorderly conduct which in Massachusetts are usually sex offenses.

Following a slight rise between 1885 and 1895, prosecutions for this group decreased somewhat, although total admissions tended upward as the number of probation admissions began their increase. About 1903 a strongly upward movement in both prosecutions and admissions began which reached a maximum point in the war year of 1918. A sharp decrease then took place, followed by a period of relative stability. At the present time there is a slight indication of the beginning of an upward movement.

The marked increase during the middle part of the period probably signifies little as to the comparative frequency of the occurrence of offenses of this type in the community. During these years there was much popular interest in the enactment of laws which would make certain types of violations of the moral code subject to criminal prosecution, and also in the strict enforcement of these laws and others of similar character already on the statute books. The increased prosecutions and admissions during these years would therefore seem to be primarily an indicator of a larger amount of emphasis upon the control of recognized social evils.

Whether the recent slightly upward tendency is also mainly a matter of enforcement or whether it represents an actual increase in the number of offenses is less clearly indicated from available descriptive and statistical data. Popular demand for new laws and for strict enforcement is less vocal than formerly, but the earlier agitation is probably

still bearing fruit in the form of improving administrative procedures and attitudes. However, experience in various places is indicating that sex offenses are becoming more frequent under present-day conditions of life, and special study of the reasons back of the recent increases in these offenses in Massachusetts would seem another valuable field for future research.

#### NONSUPPORT, ETC.

(Table 6, Chart III)

At the beginning of the period very few cases were being brought into the courts on charges of bastardy or of neglect or abuse of family. Popular interest in the passage and enforcement of laws safeguarding a family's support was soon aroused, however, and the volume of cases of this type prosecuted and admitted rose rapidly, especially after the passage of the nonsupport act in 1910.

During the war years, with their widespread provision of allowances to families of men in service, the previous rise in nonsupport cases was definitely checked and a downward movement began which lasted through the year 1920. Prosecution rates, admission rates to probation and to institutions then all started to rise again and their rates are now approximately at the same level as in the years immediately before the war.

As was found also to be true in connection with the group of offenses against chastity, morality, and decency, the increase in rates during the early and middle part of the period is probably due entirely to changes in laws and their enforcement and has probably little significance as an indicator of an increasing number of cases of failure to provide family support.

How much of the more recent increase is due to enforcement standards is difficult to determine, but it would seem likely that the increase in this group is related, at least in part, to increasing divorce rates and other indications of breakdown in the permanence of family relationships and may indicate an actual increase in the frequency of this offense under present-day conditions of life.

#### TRESPASS, MALICIOUS MISCHIEF, ETC.

(Table 8, Chart II)

Combined in this group of offenses are various violations of property rights where the offender usually derives little or no financial profit as is the case in the larceny and robbery groups among the property crimes. Included in the present group are also cases of disturbing the peace, as it was considered that these would probably vary in somewhat similar fashion under the influence of changing economic conditions.

As was discussed in connection with the assault group, the different policy in the handling of drunkenness cases between 1891 and 1893 caused a certain number of cases formerly charged with drunkenness to be brought into court under other charges. Disturbing the peace seems to have been a frequent alternative charge, and as nearly as can be determined, much of the increase and decrease for this group during the early years, was caused primarily by the changed basis for the prosecution of drunkenness cases.

During the years until 1915 prosecution rates remained relatively stationary. War conditions then caused a decrease. A sharp recovery to a point somewhat below the level of the pre-war years then took place and this has been followed by a noticeable downward tendency during the years since 1924.

Admission rates to institutions decreased during the middle part of the period, but since 1920 have remained almost unchanged. The increase in probation admission has about counterbalanced the decrease in institutions so that total admissions have remained at nearly the same level throughout the period.

#### ROBBERY, BURGLARY, ETC.

(Table 2, Chart III)

As will be later discussed, this group of property crimes with violence, tended to fluctuate especially widely and consistently under the influence of changing economic conditions. Except for these fluctuations, the volume of prosecu-

tions begun in the lower courts has remained remarkably nearly the same during the many years between 1885 and 1929.

No drop during the war years is here indicated as was so noticeable in the other groups of property crimes, and all recent movements are too slight to have significance as an indicator of present and future trend.

Institution admissions have here remained very nearly stationary. Many more cases are being placed on probation, however, and total admissions have been increased rapidly in comparison with prosecutions in much the same way as was found to be the case with the larceny group.

Whether or not a different trend in prosecutions would have been indicated if cases begun in the superior courts could have been included, can not be determined from available data, but it seems likely that practice in the handling of these more serious cases in the superior courts has changed but little within the period being studied, and that, while the total rates would have been affected by the inclusion of the cases heard only in the superior courts, there would have probably been only a slight difference in the trend indicated by the lower court cases alone.

#### VAGRANCY

(Table 7, Chart III)

Fluctuations in the volume of vagrancy cases follow closely those in economic conditions, but here the trend during recent years is distinctly downward in both prosecutions and admissions.

How much of this recent reduction is due to differences in practice with reference to the arrest and prosecution of persons under a vagrancy charge as other and more constructive methods of handling cases of homeless men and women have come into use, and how much of it is due to a lessening of the actual amount of vagrancy in the community under present social and economic conditions, is difficult to judge, and further study of causes back of this decrease would seem highly desirable.

#### MURDER, MANSLAUGHTER

(Table 4)

Because of the small rates for homicides in comparison with those for the other offense groups here studied, and the greatly increased scale for charting which would have been required to bring out their fluctuations, it has seemed advisable to present no chart with such a different scale in the present series.

If it had been included, an almost level line for admissions would have been shown, but the prosecutions line would have been shown rising sharply during the middle of the period and indicating since about 1915 a relatively stationary volume in number of prosecutions at a point between three and four times as high as during the earlier years of relative stability.

This increase in prosecutions is probably due mainly to the large number of technical charges of manslaughter now being filed routinely in connection with fatal accidents where a question of legal responsibility is involved. Such action is coming to be recognized as an important phase of effort for accident prevention and control, and the higher rate for prosecutions at the present time would seem to be primarily an indicator of increased effort along this line.

Because of its consistent counting throughout the period of only cases where the proof of intent to kill has led to a sentence of death or imprisonment, the admissions index is probably the better index here with reference to the cases usually meant when the trends in homicide rates are being given popular discussion. In the admissions index, as described above, there has been almost no change within the period being studied.

#### SUMMARY OF LONG-TIME TRENDS

If we bring together the groups of offenses where a consistently upward movement has been shown since the beginning of the period, we find that they include the violations of the miscellaneous regulatory laws, the cases of nonsupport, and the widely varied offenses combined under the heading

of offenses against chastity, morality, and decency. Those showing an upward trend only in the more recent years are the violations of the traffic and motor vehicle laws, the violations of the liquor laws, and the cases of homicides as measured by prosecutions. Certain of these changes, as has been previously discussed in detail, are increases due primarily to changes in the law, and are probably hopeful indices of improvements in social control rather than alarming indices of a larger volume of criminal offenses being committed. Other increases such as those in the group of motor-vehicle violations are due to greater opportunities for violation during recent years as well as of more laws to violate.

The offense groups moving definitely downward are those of assaults, trespass, vagrancy and, during the latter part of the period, drunkenness. Here the reduction is probably due in part to difference in practice in the charging of certain offenses at the beginning and end of the period, but the consistency of direction in all these somewhat closely related groups of offenses would seem to show an actual lessening of the frequency with which such acts are being committed in the community.

Remaining relatively unchanged in volume throughout the period are the groups of property crimes with and without violence, and the homicides as measured by the admission index. These crimes form a relatively small proportion of the cases being handled each year in the courts and institutions in Massachusetts, but are the ones usually meant when crime waves are being discussed or special effort is being organized for the prevention or reform of criminal careers. Their lack of change in volume during the many years of local and national attention upon crime reduction would seem to indicate the need for a careful evaluation of present procedures as the basis for developing new methods of prevention and control which will eventually cause a definite and continued lowering of rates in these especially important groups of criminal offenses.

#### SECTION IV

#### INDICATED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CRIME AND EMPLOYMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS

As has been plainly evident in the charts and tables just discussed, total rates in the various offense groups used in this study varied greatly in amount. Total rates for homicides were negligible in comparison with those for drunkenness; total rates for property crimes with violence were far below those for property crimes without violence. Unless deviations could be compared in percentage form fluctuations in groups of such varying size would have relatively little significance. All comparisons of crime fluctuations with those in the economic index have therefore been made here in the terms of percentage rather than actual deviation.

The rates in most of the groups also varied considerably in amount between the beginning and end of the period studied. If the percentage deviation were calculated in relation to the average rate for the period as a whole or for any selected group of years, and the long-term trend of the group were definitely upward or downward, the amount of deviation in a particular year from such an average would have varying significance according to the strength of the long-term trend and the stage in its development represented by the year being especially studied. Following experimentation with various methods of eliminating differences in yearly deviations due to noticeably changing volumes in crime, it was finally decided to make all comparisons with employment fluctuations in the form of percentage deviations from a 7-year moving average. Most of the long-term movements were comparatively slow and careful checking showed that the selected plan of always comparing the rate

for a particular year with an average based on rates for that year and the three years immediately preceding and following eliminated much of the influence of long-term tendencies.

The economic index used in the Massachusetts study already described shows the changing volume of employment in manufacturing establishments throughout the State, and was calculated on an annual basis from the monthly employment index for the years 1889 to 1921 prepared by Hurlin<sup>15</sup> and later extended by him to include the months through 1925.<sup>16</sup> This was brought up to date under his direction from data provided by the statistical bureau of the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries, and percentage deviations in relation to a 7-year moving average calculated in accordance with the plan found most desirable for use in the determination of annual fluctuations in the various series of criminal statistics.

As fluctuations in rates for all causes were dominated so largely by fluctuations in the rates for drunkenness and for violations of the motor vehicle laws, as previously discussed, no attempt was made to correlate fluctuations in total prosecutions and admissions with those in the employment index. There also seemed no probability of significant correlation between employment fluctuations and those in the rates for violations of the traffic and motor vehicle laws, the liquor laws, and the miscellaneous regulatory offenses. These groups, therefore, have been omitted from the present study of economic influences upon the concurrence of crime.

For the other groups of offenses discussed in the preceding chapter, percentage deviations from 7-year moving averages were calculated, and the detail is presented by successive years in Tables 14 to 21 in the appendix. In Table 22 will be found the detail on the employment index and its deviations.

As will be seen, the years of relatively high, medium, and low volume of employment in manufacturing establishments

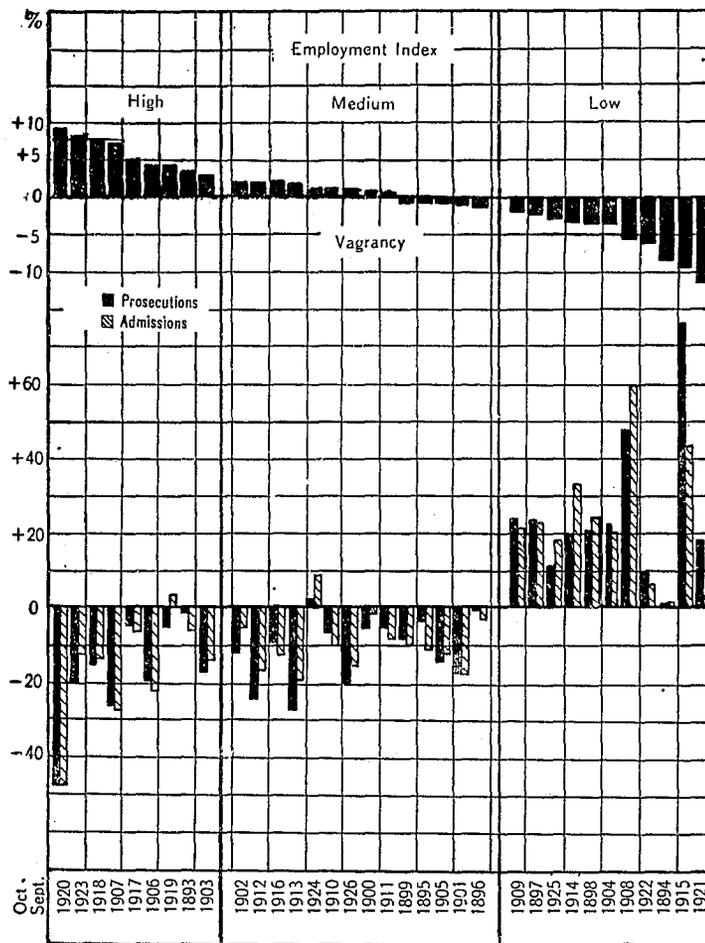
<sup>15</sup> Hurlin, Ralph G. Three Decades of Employment Fluctuation. The Annalist, Oct. 24, 1921.

<sup>16</sup> See chart on monthly index for the years 1889-1925 and description of data upon which based in Hurlin, Ralph G., and Berridge, William A., Ed., Employment Statistics in the United States. Russell Sage Foundation, 1926.

in Massachusetts occurred in a somewhat irregular sequence within the years 1893 to 1926, the period for which percentage deviations in the annual index of employment could be

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN EMPLOYMENT AND CRIME FLUCTUATIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS

CHART IV  
VAGRANCY

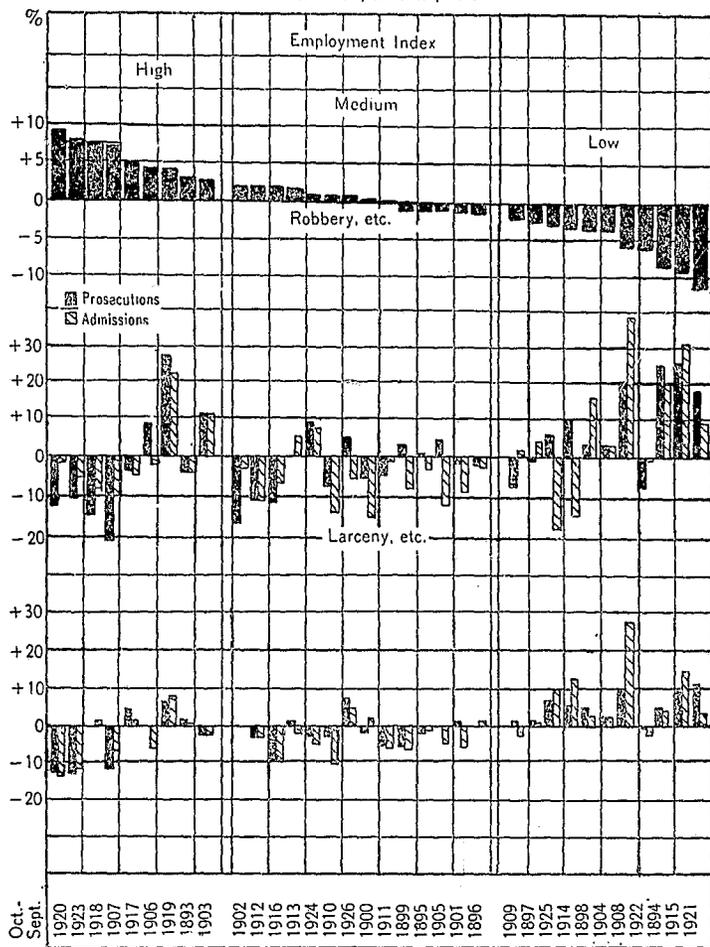


calculated. This made accurate comparisons of deviations in crime and employment difficult in statistical series arranged in the customary way by successive years. Much

of detailed significance as to reasons for lack of correlation in certain years was also found to be lost when main de-

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN EMPLOYMENT AND CRIME FLUCTUATIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS

CHART V  
ROBBERY, LARCENY, ETC.



pendence was placed upon comparisons of relative strength of correlation in the terms of a correlation coefficient.

The solution finally evolved was to arrange the years in accordance with the amount of positive or negative devia-

tion in the employment index. Years with a high employment index were considered those with a positive deviation of 2 per cent or more. Years with a low employment index were considered those with a negative deviation of 2 per cent or more. The years with deviations between these two extremes were classified as having a medium volume of employment.

This grouping is somewhat rough, but a check with other economic indices showed that it brought into the years of high and low employment those which always stand out as being years of unusual prosperity or depression, when the same months are included as in the reporting year used in Massachusetts for criminal statistics and of necessity followed also in the annual data used in the economic index. Among recent years, for instance, those ending with September 30 in 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, and 1923, stand out in practically all methods of measurement as being years of relatively good economic conditions for industrial wage earners, while the years ending with September 30 in 1914, 1915, 1921, 1922, and 1925 stand out as years of economic hardship.

CRIME DURING YEARS OF DEPRESSION

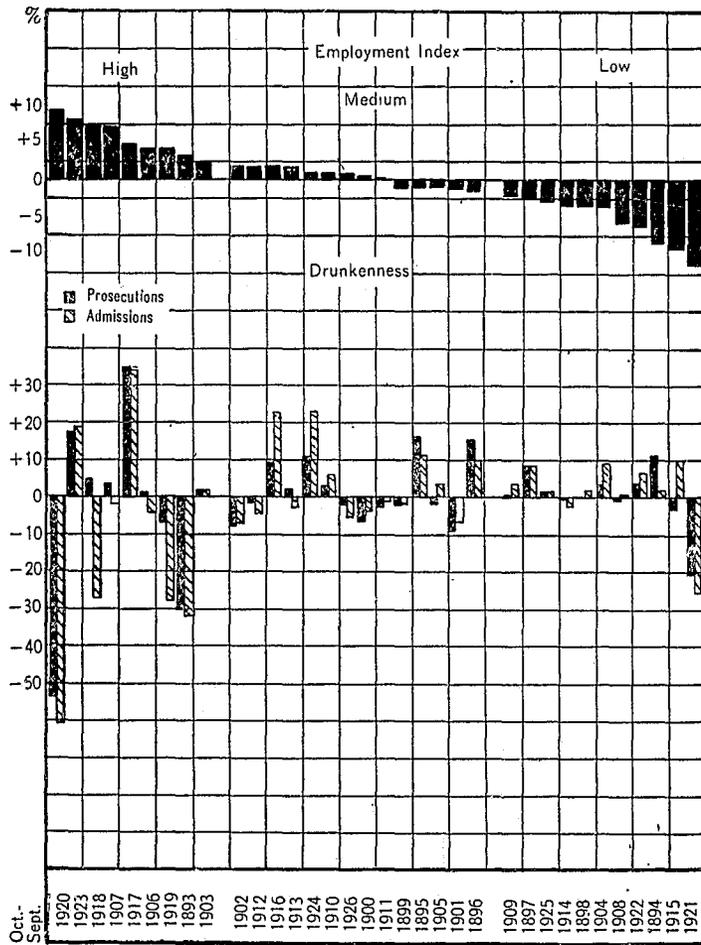
The consistency with which the volume of certain types of crime rises above the average of the immediately surrounding years when the employment index drops, is plainly indicated in Charts IV to VII and also in Table III.

Whether measured in deviations in prosecutions or admissions, whether occurring early or late in the period of years studied, a consistent story is told of an increase in the number of vagrancy cases, and also a fairly consistent story as to an increase in the number of crimes against property, especially those involving violence. This is in accordance with the findings in earlier investigations, as described in Chapter I, and would seem to indicate a universal tendency.

As already discussed, the volume of vagrancy cases in Massachusetts has been decreasing noticeably during recent years, and the present number, even during depression, is small in proportion to total court cases and admissions to

institutions and probation. The large percentage increase, however, usually makes the handling of vagrancy cases a

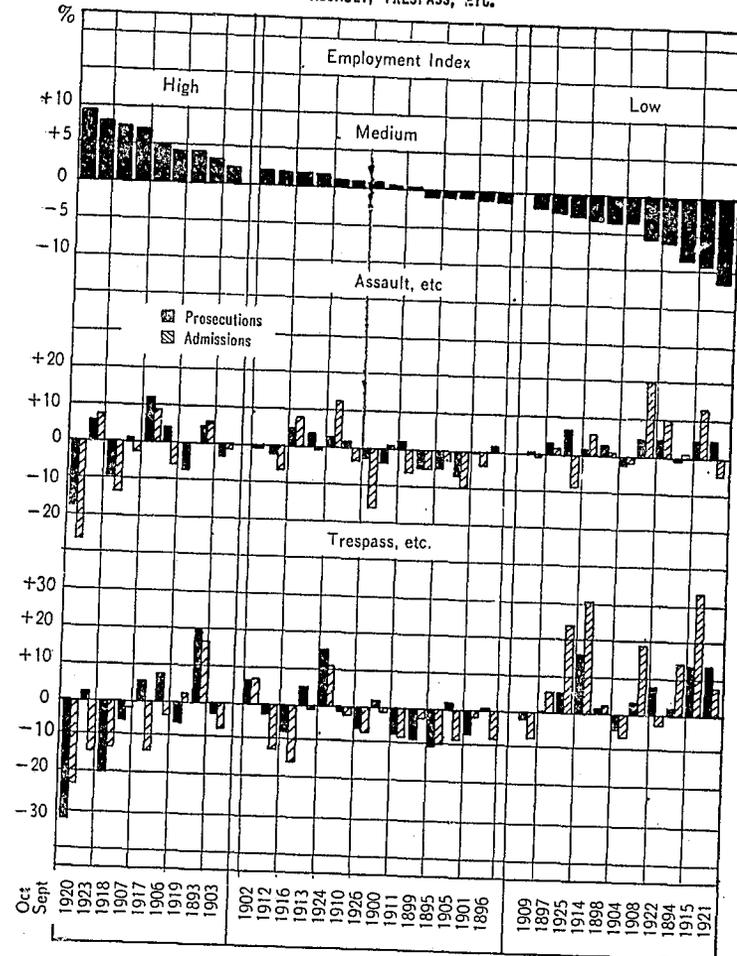
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN EMPLOYMENT AND CRIME FLUCTUATIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS

CHART VI  
DRUNKENNESS

suddenly acute problem in the police courts and jails unless special provision is made for other methods of caring for

the increased number of homeless persons during years of hard times.

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN EMPLOYMENT AND CRIME FLUCTUATIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS

CHART VII  
ASSAULT, TRESPASS, ETC.

Crimes against property form a considerable proportion of the more serious types of criminal offenses, and an in-

crease of even 5 or 10 per cent during periods of business depression is sufficient to form an obviously added volume of crime in the life of the community.

## RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN EMPLOYMENT AND CRIME FLUCTUATIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS

CHART VIII

NON-SUPPORT, AGAINST CHASTITY, ETC.

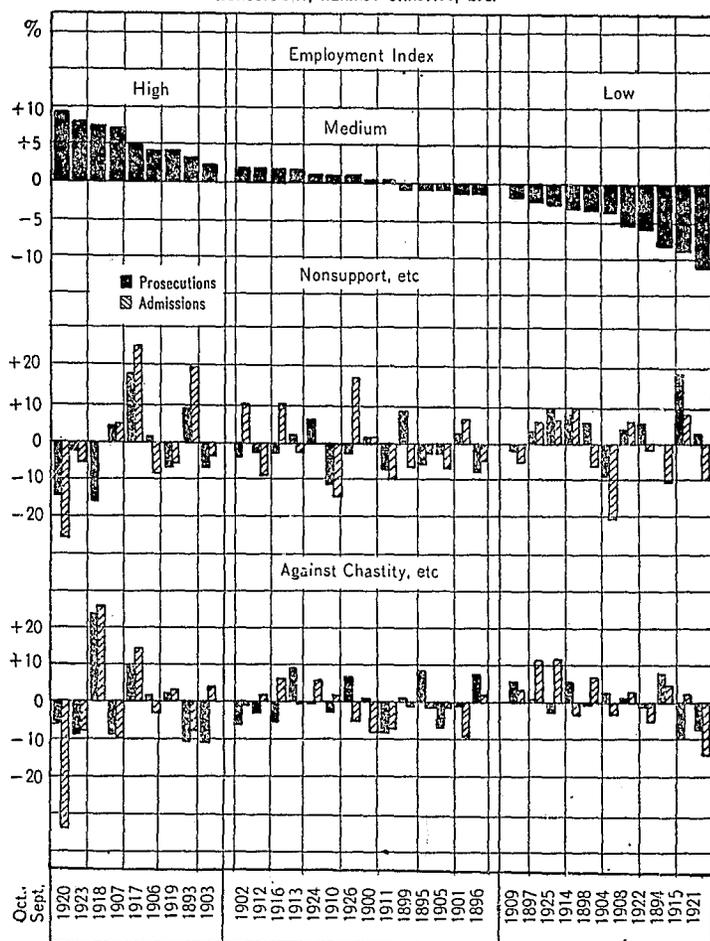


TABLE III.—Number of years with positive and negative deviations in crime rates in relation to different employment conditions

[All deviations calculated in relation to a 7-year moving average]

	Prosecutions		Admissions	
	Positive deviation	Negative deviation	Positive deviation	Negative deviation
<b>EMPLOYMENT INDEX HIGH</b> (Deviations +2 per cent and over)				
Vagrancy.....	0	9	1	8
Robbery, etc.....	3	6	2	7
Larceny, etc.....	13	15	4	6
Assault, etc.....	5	4	3	5
Trespass, etc.....	4	5	2	6
Non-support, etc.....	4	5	4	7
Against chastity, etc.....	4	5	4	5
Drunkenness.....	6	3	3	6
Total.....	129	142	23	49
Percentage distribution.....	40.8	59.2	31.9	68.1
<b>EMPLOYMENT INDEX MEDIUM</b> (Deviations between +2 per cent and -2 per cent)				
Vagrancy.....	1	13	1	13
Robbery, etc.....	5	9	2	12
Larceny, etc.....	4	8	13	10
Assault, etc.....	0	8	4	10
Trespass, etc.....	0	3	2	12
Non-support, etc.....	5	9	5	9
Against chastity, etc.....	6	8	5	9
Drunkenness.....	6	8	6	8
Total.....	139	171	128	133
Percentage distribution.....	35.5	64.5	25.2	74.8
<b>EMPLOYMENT INDEX LOW</b> (Deviations -2 per cent and less)				
Vagrancy.....	11	0	11	0
Robbery, etc.....	8	3	8	3
Larceny, etc.....	10	1	9	2
Assault, etc.....	9	2	7	4
Trespass, etc.....	9	2	8	3
Non-support, etc.....	8	3	5	6
Against chastity, etc.....	6	5	7	4
Drunkenness.....	16	14	9	2
Total.....	167	120	64	24
Percentage distribution.....	77.0	23.0	72.7	27.3

<sup>1</sup> Excludes 1 year where deviation less than 0.1 per cent.

<sup>2</sup> Excludes 2 years where deviation less than 0.1 per cent.

In most of the European studies alcoholism was found to increase during years of economic prosperity. No such correlation is indicated by the Massachusetts figures on drunkenness, although as previously discussed the various changes in laws and administrative practices related to the handling of drunkenness in Massachusetts makes the accurate inter-

pretation of trends in statistics of drunkenness exceedingly difficult. In the 11 years with a low employment index, however, 9 had admissions for drunkenness above the average of the surrounding years, and 6 had similarly positive deviations with reference to admissions to institutions and probation. In the 9 years with a high employment index there were 3 with positive deviations for prosecutions, and again 6 with positive deviations for admissions. In the 14 years with a medium employment index those with positive and negative deviations were 6 and 8, respectively, for both prosecutions and admissions. While less consistently indicated than with vagrancy and property crimes, any tendency toward an increase in drunkenness in Massachusetts would seem also to be associated with years of economic depression. (Chart VI.)

As was found in previous investigations, relationships between unfavorable economic conditions and changes in the volume of the other offense groups studied, were somewhat irregularly positive and negative. That they tend toward an increase during years of economic hardship is brought out more clearly, however, in the Massachusetts study than in the earlier ones reviewed. A large proportion of the years with volume of low employment showed positive deviations for the offense groups of assaults, trespass, and nonsupport. (Charts VII and VIII.) The number of years with positive deviations was also slightly higher for offenses against chastity. (Chart VIII.) The amount of these deviations was usually fairly small, however, and the small number also in most of these offense groups makes the total effect of these deviations on the volume of crime less noticeable than with vagrancy and crimes against property.

For the entire group of offenses included in the present comparisons, about three-fourths of the years with a low employment index showed a tendency toward an increase in crime as measured for the different groups of offenses by positive deviations in prosecutions and admissions. That these are not entirely chance relationships is also indicated by the two-thirds to three-fourths negative deviations, when the same groups of offenses are studied for the years with

# CONTINUED

## 4 OF 10

PART I  
—  
DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR IN RELATION  
TO THE SOCIAL SITUATION

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## CHAPTER I

### DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR IN RELATION TO THE SOCIAL SITUATION

It is quite generally assumed among students of human behavior that the attitudes and habits underlying the behavior of the child are built up in the course of his experiences, developing in the process of interaction between the child and the successive situations in which he lives. The character of this process is determined, therefore, both by the conditions in the organism and by the nature of the social and cultural situations to which the child is responsive. The child is born into the world a physical organism endowed with certain physical characteristics, reflexes, capacities, and undefined impulses. Furthermore, he is always born into a social world in which certain personalities, traditions, cultural forms, activities, and social relationships already exist. The social world thus precedes the child and has certain expectations with reference to him. It functions in relation to his original impulses as a defining agency, giving meaning to these impulses and largely determining the course of their development.

If the attitudes underlying behavior traits are formed in the process of social interaction, it follows that an understanding of the behavior of the child necessitates a knowledge of the social world in which he lives. Children always live and act in association with other persons. They live as members of groups, as participants in the activities of a dynamic social world; it is artificial to view them and their behavior apart from the various social groups of which they are members.

Among the more important social groups involved in the development of the attitudes and behavior trends of the child are the family, the play group, and the neighborhood. These groups are particularly significant, since they are the first groups to which the child belongs. Through participation in these groups the child is subjected to an increas-

ing number and variety of personalities and social values to which he must make some sort of an adjustment. In this process of adjustment to the expectations and standards of his various social groups, beginning with the family, the play group, and the neighborhood, the child's attitudes and behavior trends are gradually built up.

It is from the point of view set forth in the preceding paragraphs that the present study of delinquent behavior has been made. In this investigation delinquency has been studied in its relation to the social and cultural situation in which it occurs. The materials of the study pertain particularly to such primary social groups as the family, the play group, and the neighborhood.

As an introduction to the present study, it is desirable to give a concrete illustration of the social character of the behavior problems of the child. For this purpose a rather detailed case study of the behavior problems of a 14-year-old Greek boy is presented. It should be borne in mind that this case is used solely for the purpose of illustration without any assumption that it is typical of all cases of boys who present behavior problems. It is introduced to focus attention upon the manner in which the child's social groups may be involved in his various behavior problems.

#### THE CASE STUDY

Nick, the subject of this case study, was brought to the Juvenile Court of Cook County on a delinquency petition, charged with various forms of misconduct. The parents, who made the complaint to the court, stated that the boy refused to work, that he was lazy and unreliable, that he stole money from home, ran away from home without their consent, used abusive and obscene language, quarreled with his parents and older sister, and had violent outbursts of temper.

In making the complaint to the court, the mother stated:

Nick no wanta work. He big man, 14, and wanta play ball all day. Father say, "You go to-day and work in restaurant and work with uncle, for he pay you and you learn the business." What does he say? He makes faces, cusses, laughs, and runs out to play ball. He cusses everybody, hollers, and runs away. He very bad

boy. He no like restaurant business. He no wanta work. He tell me "go to hell," "shut your mouth," "why don't you holler all the time?" He get up at noon and go out and play ball. That not right. I go out to the ball game and say, "Nick come home with me from these bad boys and work." He laugh at me, make a face, tell me to go home and to mind own business. He like nothing but ball. He gets very mad and breaks the chairs, smashes the house, and falls on the floor kicking and saying bad names to me. The father work hard. Have heart trouble. Nick ought to help. His father work hard when he was only 11 years old. That would be right way for Nick.

An investigation of these charges revealed that Nick habitually played truant from home, had stolen a small sum of money from home on two occasions, and frequently had violent temper tantrums. These behavior problems, which were confined entirely to the family, began soon after Nick graduated from the eighth grade at the age of 12½ years. His refusal to work after his graduation was, according to the parents, the first evidence of rebellion against parental authority. From that time his conduct problems had become increasingly serious.

A description of the behavior problems in this case would be incomplete without the boy's own description of his problems and the situation in which they occurred. His version is given in the following excerpt from his own story:<sup>1</sup>

I've had a lot of trouble at home. They all fight me and hate me. They don't want me to play or have any fun with the fellows. They say I ought to work all day and then only play a little at night. The other fellows my age don't work and I don't see why I have to if they don't. My married sister always has her gab to say. She can't keep her nose out of my busi-

<sup>1</sup> Considerable autobiographical material is used throughout this report. These excerpts from autobiographies are used in the form in which they were written by the boys, since it is felt that any attempt to translate them into our own language would necessarily distort their original meaning. Such material is not only important in the description of situations, but it is one method of disclosing the personal attitudes and point of view of the child. For a full discussion of the value of such material in social research, see W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Knopf, 1927, W. I. Thomas and Dorothy S. Thomas, *The Child in America*, Knopf, 1928, E. W. Burgess, *What Social Case Records Should Contain to be Useful for Sociological Interpretation*, *Social Forces*, VI (1928), 526-32, and Clifford R. Shaw, *The Jack-roller, A Delinquent Boy's Own Story*, University of Chicago Press, 1930.

ness. She tells my mother what to do with me, that I ought to work and never play and that I ought to be put in jail. She's always fighting me. I can't help but curse her. I can't hold myself. She'd make anybody sore.

My uncle tries to boss me all the time and make me work. He sticks with my sister against me. They both hate me. My mother makes me mad when she won't let me play baseball. She always goes out to where we play ball, and she whips me, and then the boys laugh at me, and when she goes away they say, "You've got a heck of a mother. Our mothers don't make us stop playin' ball." She always whips me out there and then scolds me and the other fellows. That's what makes me sore, and then the fellows have the laugh on me.

They don't want me to play baseball. They want me to work. My oldest sister hollers at me too much. She tries to boss me too much. They want me to work with my uncle in the restaurant. I don't want to go into the restaurant business. Every day they want me to work with my uncle, but I don't like him or his work. He nags me and beats me if I don't work hard. The other fellows don't have to work hard like I have to. I have to work hard all day without any rest. The guys all say, "You've got a heck of a mother and father."

They kick me and say they are going to put me out of the house. My father puts pepper in my eyes and hits me with an iron or anything when he gets mad. They're all against me except the guys on the street. They all like me.

All was going well until I stole \$2 from my mother and bought a baseball glove. When my mother found out she gave me a beating and sent a note to my eighth-grade teacher, stating that I had robbed two bucks. She asked me why I robbed them. I told her the reason and I never robbed again.

When my school was out my mother said I should go look for a job for vacation time. I told her I would try to get one. My uncle told my mother he had a job for me in his restaurant. I told my mother I didn't want to work in a restaurant. She said that I have to. I was working for a while and I was getting mad. I asked my mother and father if I could get a different job. They said I should work and not ask questions. They said if I don't work I wouldn't sleep in the night. Then one day last week I was sprinklin' the garden. My mother was going to tighten the thing at the end of the hose so it wouldn't leak. I told my

mother I would do it. My sister Anna happened to be there. She said if any water spilled on her she would give me a slap on the face. While I was fixing it a little water went on my sister's dress. She gave me a hard slap on the neck. I was so sore that I hit her on the shoulder. My brother-in-law got a stick and beat me up. I threw a chair at him. He caught me and broke a stick on me. My mother then gave me another beating. My sister and my father started to beat me then. My mother got some pepper and stuck it in my mouth and eyes. My cousin then came in and told them to stop it. Then it began to rain. I could not see anything for the pepper was in my eyes. I went into the house and slept till morning. My eyes were all right, but my neck had red spots on it. I got sent to work and my uncle gave me a bawlin' out. When I got home I told my mother and father that I didn't want to work there. My father said I had to. I told him I didn't want to get out late. He said I should work. Now I haven't a chance to play ball, to go swimming or anything.

While I was playing ball with the kids, my mother would come out and spoil the game and send me home. I couldn't even get a glove, or ball. About a year ago my mother started to hide my gloves and baseballs. About a week ago I found my glove which was hidden. I gave it to a friend of mine to take care of. My sister, Marie, was always talking back to me. About a year ago she robbed over 50 bucks and got away with it. I think if she kept her mouth shut it would be better.

They're all against me though, and hate me. They beat me and make me work all the time. They won't let me play ball. My sister Anna is mean to me and tells me to shut up. She hits me and when I hit her back my brother-in-law beats me.

The other night when I was playin' ball with the guys out in the street my ma came out, began scolding me, broke up the game, and made me come in. Then she whipped me with a big stick. The next time I met the guys they made fun of me and asked me if I asked my ma if I could come out. I whaled into Irish and beat him up, but I got a black eye. Then my dad beat me for fighting and for not askin' my ma if I could go out and play.

That's the way they are all against me. I feel like I don't belong there. They tease me and nag me and I get mad and feel like I could kill them. That's why I hit them with a chair or anything. I can't have any fun. If I work hard they still fuss at me and don't

give me any of my money. I get filled up with mad feeling and tear into them; I can't help it. They all think I am a liar and thief. I get blamed for everything. I wish I wasn't living with them. They don't want me to have any fun. I don't tell the guys I have to work all the time.

A comparison of this story with the previous statement from the mother indicates a rather intense emotional conflict between the boy and his family. It is clear from the boy's account that his attitudes were intensely hostile and rebellious. At the very beginning of the study of the case, the attention of the investigator was necessarily shifted from the mother's specific complaints to a consideration of the total situation in which the boy was living. It became increasingly clear that his specific behavior problems were perhaps incidental to the larger conflict situation. The essential problem of the case study was, therefore, to determine the nature of this conflict and the manner in which it was related to the behavior problems of the boy.

#### CLINICAL FINDINGS

##### *Developmental History:*

Pregnancy and birth in this case were normal. Weight at birth 7 pounds. Breast fed. No nutritional difficulties; no convulsions; no enuresis. Walked at 12 months and talked at 16 months. Had the usual children's diseases.

##### *Physical:*

Nick was a very normal appearing, pleasant, and alert boy, quite well developed, strong, and well proportioned. At 14 years he weighed 101 pounds and was 4 feet and 8 inches in height. Aside from the fact that he had carious teeth and a slight visual defect, his physical examination was negative.

##### *Psychological:*

Throughout the psychological examination Nick was cooperative and expressed considerable interest in the test. The results of the mental examination showed that he possessed average intelligence, with an intelligence quotient of 98.

##### *Personality:*

Nick was a very frank, straightforward, and expressive boy, quite spontaneous and direct in manner. He conversed fluently and with much enthusiasm. When he was thwarted he was inclined to react impulsively and to fight back rather than to feel hurt or become moody. He made friends readily and was loyal to them.

#### HOME AND COMMUNITY

Although the family owned three new 2-story residence buildings in the neighborhood, they themselves lived in a ramshackle, unpainted, 4-room cottage facing an alley. The home was very poorly furnished, untidy, and dirty. There were only three beds, one of which was occupied by the parents and the other two by the nine children. The facilities for ventilation were most inadequate and there was, necessarily, practically no privacy.

The home was located in an outlying residential community populated very largely by Irish and German-American families. It was a community of single-family dwellings with a rather stable homogeneous population. The families belonged chiefly to the skilled laboring group and, for the most part, owned the homes in which they lived. There were relatively few cases of delinquency, crime, or family dependency in the community. As compared to the other families, Nick's family lived on a lower economic level; their home was by far the most unattractive in the neighborhood. Furthermore, Nick's parents were the only residents of their own nationality in the immediate neighborhood and the neighbors' attitude was one of hostility. The family had practically no social contacts in the community and were definitely excluded from participation in local activities. The attitudes of the neighbors toward the family are indicated in the following verbatim statements:

#### INTERVIEWS WITH NEIGHBORS

*First neighbor.*—Say, that's the worst family in this neighborhood. I don't want to knock them but they're

poor stuff. They're some foreign nationality and when you've said that you've said a mouthful. I don't have nothing to do with them but I can't help but hear their family feuds. They have a lot of trouble with the boy called Nick. They beat the life out of him. You can hear him for three blocks. I know the brother-in-law; he's a pretty rough customer. He's a cockey sort of guy.

*Second neighbor.*—He is the worst boy I ever knew. I never knew a boy who cursed his mother like he does. He calls her every bad name and strikes her. The whole family is always fighting in the back yard. There must be something wrong with the kid. The whole family is loud and hot-headed. Nick gits so mad that he could kill somebody. He throws himself on the ground and yells and kicks and curses so all the neighbors can hear. We called the police sometimes because it got so bad we thought they was killing the kid. They beat him a lot, lick him with boards, and the brother-in-law beats him with his fists. It looks like a free-for-all sometimes. Sometimes I feel sorry for the kid though. The old folks are poor and they want him to work but, of course, he wants to play ball. You can't blame either one of them. The old folks want the money and the kid wants to play, there you are. He gits mad if you don't speak to him. If you pass him and not notice him he gits mad, screams and yells at the top of his voice. He does it to me. I didn't know what was the trouble with him at first, but when I did I spoke to him. I wouldn't trust him though. He steals and lies. I don't want anything to do with him. I just speak to him to protect myself. It's his race, though, I think. That accounts for a lot of his meanness. I don't fool with them. They're dangerous. I wouldn't trust them. The least you have to do with them foreigners, the better off you are.

*Third neighbor.*—They are always quarreling and fighting back there. You can hear them beating the boy and bawling him out. Night before last he was in the back yard screaming and cussing at the top of his voice. We wanted to go to sleep. It was 10 or 11 o'clock and you could hear him four or five blocks away. We all thought they were killin' him. They had put pepper in his eyes to punish him. They quarrel all the time. They beat him and bawl him out and he calls them "Sons of B." He's going to be a bad boy when he grows up. I wouldn't blame him for what he does if he was 17 or 18 the way they treat him, but he's too small to act that way now.

*Fourth neighbor.*—That's a foreign family. I don't do nothing with them. They're a bad set. They quarrel from morning till night. Why, we can't sleep sometimes because of the way they fight around there. They beat the kid (Nick) something awful. Come around some night when they're all there and you'll find what kind they are. They're a bad lot. The kid's not so bad. They beat him almost to death. The way he screams is a fright. I guess the foreigners fight a lot, anyway, don't they?

*Fifth neighbor.*—That's a dago family or some other foreigners. They fight most of the time. The oldest girl (married daughter) has a sharp tongue. You can hear her all the time laying somebody out. The kid seems purty nice; he'd be all right if they wouldn't beat him all the time. I guess they are like all foreigners, just fighting all the time. They have a madhouse all night. They pound Nick around, want him to work and support the family, I guess. I don't blame the kid. I told him he didn't have to work and that it was against the law for him to work yet. These foreigners want their kids to work before they're out of the cradle. You ought to throw the old folks in the pen instead of the kids. They don't belong in this country; they don't know how to live here. I wish they'd move out of here, but they own those houses so I guess they are here to stay. We don't have much to do with them, only I side with the kids. I like the boy. He's a nice chap. Too young to work. I told him I'd leave that dump (home) if I was him.

While the neighbors were hostile to the family as a whole and regarded its members with suspicion, they were quite friendly and sympathetic with Nick and in many instances had protected him from the severe punishment of his parents. Through frequent interviews with Nick it became clear that he assumed toward his family the same attitude that prevailed among the neighbors. He regarded his parents as foreigners and aliens and assumed an attitude of contempt and superiority toward them.

#### INTERESTS AND PLAY GROUP

At the time Nick was brought to court he was a member of a large informal and spontaneous play group composed of boys who lived in his immediate neighborhood. This group consisted of about 20 boys who ranged in age from

10 to 16 years. Most of them were of Irish and German descent. Nick was an enthusiastic participant in the activities of this group.

The group's interests and activities were of a very wholesome character. Practically all of the boys attended school regularly and only one of them had a record of delinquency in the juvenile court. The chief play interests of the group consisted in various forms of athletic games, particularly baseball. Nick's interests in and his attitudes toward his play group are indicated in the following extract from his own story:

I started to play with the guys around my home. These guys are my best friends. We like to play ball the most. We always play ball. Gee, I like to pitch and I like to catch. We play over in Clyde Park and beat another team there nearly all the time last summer. I'd rather play ball than anything else. It's the most fun I ever had. Every boy likes to play ball, I guess. We go swimming and play tag and other games, too. We like to sneak rides on the cars and trucks. We had a sort of a boys' club for a while and met in an old barn. We used to smoke a lot. My brother-in-law caught me smoking and kicked me good and drug me home. The neighbors saw him and said, "Hey, quit hurting that boy," but he told them to mind their own business. I don't like to smoke much because it hurts my lungs and kills my wind and then I couldn't be a good ball player. I'd like to be a big league player like Babe Ruth and I can't if I smoke.

I like to play baseball. I want to be a great ball player. Babe Ruth is the kind of player I'd like to be. He's a great player. Everybody knows him and the fellows all talk about him. He's a great swatter. I wish I could bat like him. That would be great. But nobody likes me to play ball; that's what makes me mad.

The fellows used to call me "Dago," but since I'm a good player on the team they don't call me this name. Everybody thinks we are wops and dagos. They don't know we are not wops. It doesn't make any difference to them. That's what I used to fight about a lot. I wouldn't let anybody call me such names. I can lick every kid on this street. I don't like to box or wrestle, but I'd rather fight with my bare fists.

I don't read much but the sports section in the newspaper. That's the best part of the paper. I could read it all the time. \* \* \* I don't tell the guys I have

to work all the time. I don't want them to make fun of me all the time because of my pa and ma. I tell the guys that I go to the Cubs and White Sox Parks and that I run off and go swimming. I read all about the games in the papers and tell the guys about them so they'll think I've seen them.

It is clear from this statement that Nick's vital interests and ambitions were definitely oriented in terms of the activities and social values of his play group. He identified himself with this group and was keenly sensitive to the attitudes of approval and disapproval of its members.

#### THE FAMILY SITUATION

As previously indicated, this was an immigrant family. The father and mother were born in Europe and had come to Chicago soon after their marriage. For seven years they lived in a neighborhood inhabited largely by families of their own nationality, in the near West Side district of Chicago. At the end of that period they moved into the community in which they were living at the time Nick was brought to court.

There were 10 children in the family; Nick was the third oldest. Anna, the oldest child, was married and lived in the basement of a building in the same lot in which the parents' cottage was located. Anna and her husband were in close contact with the parents and cooperated with them in disciplining the children. Marie, the second oldest child, was 16. She had a record in the juvenile court for running away from home and for disobedience in the family. Elsie, who was one year younger than Nick, had also run away from home and stolen small sums of money from her parents. Edward, the fifth in the family, while not a behavior problem at the time this case study was made (four years ago), is at the present time presenting behavior problems similar to those in the case of Nick.

The attitudes and cultural background of the parents are indicated in the following brief statements:

#### FATHER'S STORY

I was born in Europe. My father was a strict man. He beat his kids if they did not mind. At the age of

11 I started to work as an apprentice in a machine shop, for I didn't want to go to school. All boys there except the rich ones begin to work. I worked hard, but I didn't get no pay. That is the way things are there. The boy works and learns a trade to make a living; that is a good way, that is the only good way. In America things are not good for a boy. He don't learn a trade; nothing else—just wants to bum around. It is good for a boy to work hard. He is some good then and knows lots when he gets big and can make his own living without stealing. I had to mind my father. I couldn't do anything else; if I didn't I got beat up. Many times I got beat up. The father whips lots in the old country. That is the reason their kids mind and don't get into bad things. He was the boss, and I couldn't argue him. Here in America the kids don't have to mind. They only laugh at the father and fight him and play all day. I came to America 19 years ago and worked in a machine shop all the time. I work hard and give my kids good to eat, clothes, and everything. My oldest kids are good, but Nick want to play ball and run around with Irish kids and not work. I say, "Nick, work in your uncle's restaurant and learn the business, for that is good for you." He just fights and curses and runs away. I whip him and send him to work, but he calls me bad names. He fight all of us and steals. His uncle give him good chances in restaurant, but Nick no care; just want to be thief and bum. He worst boy I ever saw. I can't make him be good. Won't you scare him hard, maybe have him arrested and put in jail to scare him and make him work and not fight and not steal any more?

#### MOTHER'S STORY

I was born in Europe. My father and mother poor people, no nothing to eat and have to work hard. I no went to school. They keep me home and I work hard with my brothers and sisters. If I want to be bad my father lick me hard and make me work harder. We no never did much bad like kids in America. The father he boss and lick kids hard. Over there when kid come 'leven years old they stop school and work for father and learn job. All kids give money to father and he spend it for them. That is the right way when children mind father and mother and know something and have something to live on and for his wife and kids. In America kids curse father and call him "old man" and make faces at him and gets mad and fights

when father licks him. That is not right. Kids are bad and need lickin', lots lickin'. But father can do nothin', just lick and lick, but kids only fight.

The interrelationships within the family and the points of conflict between Nick and his parents are clearly revealed in the following verbatim report of a family interview:

#### FAMILY INTERVIEW<sup>1</sup>

*Interviewer.*—Mr. ———, I have come here to see you in regard to Nick. I understand that you are having some difficulty with him.

*Father.*—Nick is a 'ver' bad boy. I have 10 kids [pointing to the children who were standing in the room], but Nick cause lots of trouble. He run away, fights, steal, and wants to play all day. He lazy, won't work, and—

*Married daughter.*—Nick is awful bad. He swears at me and hits me and talks awful bad. He swears at his mother and won't do a thing she tells him. He fights her, even strikes her and calls her names, something awful. You should hear him cussing and swearing at his mother and father. You wouldn't believe it if you wouldn't hear him. Yes, and he steals. He stole two dollars and bought a ball glove once. He took the money from his mother. He's always running off with other boys without askin' his ma. Now, what can you do with a such a boy? He's got a good job working in his uncle's restaurant, but we have to beat him to make him work there, and he whines and complains that the work is too hard and he don't want to work there. He's stubborn and bullheaded and lazy. It's a good job and he could learn the business and the uncle would treat him swell. He only makes excuses to not work, but pa beats him and makes him work.

*Mother.*—I have a big family and have to work hard washin', but Nick he want to loaf around and run away with other boys. I lick him, but he swears back and runs off again. I afraid he be learning to steal with them. He don't work; my husband has heart trouble and can't work much. He lies lots and steals. Maybe you scare him, mister, so he work.

*Married daughter.*—You can't believe a word he says. He's a big liar and—

<sup>1</sup>This interview took place in the home. During the interview the father, mother, married sister and her husband, Nick, and some of the other children were present.

*Boy* (interrupting).—Yes! You're the liar. You don't need to stick in. Why don't you go home and take him [pointing to brother-in-law] with you? You make me—

*Married daughter*.—You see how he talks back. You should hear him when he swears at his mother. It's awful the way he swears at his parents.

*Boy*.—Shut up, you hain't got anything in this. You don't live here. Why don't you go home where you belong?

*Married daughter*.—He was always wanting me to cook him a good dinner. One day I told him I would cook him a good meal. He wanted to help and asked if he couldn't go to the store for me and acted so nice. But as soon as he'd got his belly full then he began to cuss me and talk mean to me. That's the way he is. He can be awful nice if he wants you to do somethin' for him, but then he turns around and cusses you afterwards. I won't have anything to do with him.

*Boy*.—She lies. I don't want anything to do with her either. I never will make up with her.

*Mother*.—And the worst part is, Eddie who is only twelve do everythin' just like Nick do. Eddie is a good boy now, but I afraid he learn bad things if Nick keep on being bad.

*Boy*.—Yes; you just think Eddie ain't bad. What did he do to Irish the other day? He tripped him and hurt his face when he fell and then Eddie just laughed. I guess he's just as bad as I am. You all think the other kids are angels and that I'm the only one that's bad. You're all against me.

*Married daughter*.—We wouldn't be against you if you would be good and work. You're always fighting and cussing. You're the cause of all the trouble around the house.

*Boy*.—You're always talking against me and making fun of me. Nobody likes me here. You're all against me. I don't want to stay around here. I can't do anything that I want to do. Irish (a chum) don't have to work. He can do anything he wants to. Nobody always hollers at him. I don't see why I can't play ball and not work in an old restaurant all day.

*Married sister* (sarcastically).—Why, you've got an easy job. You don't have to do much. It don't amount to much, what you do. You're just lazy and want to play all day. What do you care what Irish does? He's a bum and you'll be just like him.

*Boy* (retorting).—Oh, you don't know anything about my work. You wouldn't think it was easy if you had to do it all day. Why don't you do a little work? You're always sticking your nose in. You've got a big mouth.

*Married daughter*.—Have I? Well, I'll slap yours, if you get too fresh. If I can't, my husband can. You're too fresh, you little bum. You're just like the lazy bums you run with. You're good to them but cuss your own father and mother. You need a good beating. Everybody's too good to you.

*Brother-in-law*.—He [referring to Nick] talks too much, don't know how to mind. He needs somebody with a strong arm to handle him awhile. His parents let him play with them. He's got a hot head. I'd take it out of him if I lived with him. I have beat him a few times, but you'd have to kill him to break him. But he needs it.

My father was strict with me in the old country. He knowed how to lick. There the kid has to mind or be killed by beating. My father's word was the law there.

There the married sons usually live at home with the father. It is like one big family, but the father rules everything. Believe me, he rules, too. Mine did. All the money that is earned is turned over to the father. The father is very strict and whips his kids lots if they don't mind. If I had done like the kid [referring to Nick] my father would beat me to death. That's the reason they obey over there and don't steal and get into trouble. They are afraid of the father. I was terribly afraid of mine. When the old man dies, the oldest son runs things. If he is good and the brothers like him they stay, but if he is too mean or their wives don't like to obey him, they will leave.

There the boy has to work. Why should this kid [Nick] play ball all day and not work and help his father? If we don't beat him he won't mind and will grow up to be a thief or kill somebody. He already is a bum. I've tried to help the parents out by whipping him. I've given him several good beatings for quarreling and fighting. He needs more of it and harder.

*Boy*.—Yes! You are not my boss. You have no right to whip me. I don't have to mind you. You can't make me mind you. I'm not going to be bossed around by you. Why don't you go on home and take care of your own business? You're always sticking your nose in.

They are all against me. They hate me around here. They don't want me to have any fun, just work. This hain't like any home. They are all against me. (Boy cries.)

*Married sister.*—You baby, you'd better cry. It'll be better for you to cry instead of stealing and fighting so much.

*Boy.*—Shut up. You're always sassing.

*Married daughter.*—I've seen you cry before; it doesn't worry me. You'll be beating somebody the next minute.

*Mother.*—Mister, see Nick has a hot temper. He fight and quarrel everybody, like you see.

*Boy.*—Oh! you're all against me. You make me feel like killing somebody. You don't want me here.

*Married daughter.*—Yes; you'll be a murderer, running with them little Irish bums. What did we tell you? You're just like them, want to be a lazy bum. We don't want you to disgrace our family. You're the only bum in the family.

*Brother-in-law.*—He seems to think that he doesn't need to work, but just bum off of the family. He ought to have my father for a little while in the old country. He'd make a man out of him. They're too easy with him here. He runs everybody around here but me. I gave him a good trimming the other night.

*Boy.*—I'll get you some of these days! If I were bigger, I'd get you now. I'll lay you out! (At this point everybody laughed, and Nick became very angry and rushed out of the house into the back yard. As he was leaving he cursed his parents and said: "You are all against me and hate me! I'll kill you! I'll run away and never come back!")

*Married daughter.*—You see how mean he is. He is liable to kill somebody. He's dangerous! Won't you have him arrested?

*Mother.*—Mister, please scare Nick. He very bad boy. We no can make good boy him.

*Father.*—I lick him many times hard with club. Think sometimes I kill him. No good. He very bad. Just like Irish bum kids. No work, wanta play. That is bad.

*Mother.*—Mister, I got ten kids, work hard, lots a' worry. I lick Nick hard every day. Father lick him; brother-in-law lick him; sister lick him; everybody lick him. Still he bad boy; say he kill all us. Mister, he bad boy; scare him, Mister, please. Tell him, "Nick, work or I'll put you in jail for long time." Then he be

good, maybe! [At this time the brother-in-law went out to Nick, took him by the arm, and started to pull him into the house. Nick cursed him and told him to go back into the house. The brother-in-law, becoming angry, struck Nick, and the latter threw himself on the ground, screaming, cursing, and kicking. The father and mother and married daughter ran out of the house, and as the father hurried toward him, Nick ran into the alley and disappeared.]

This interview clearly reveals the intense emotional conflict between Nick and his family. The events which occurred during this interview were more or less typical of the life in this family; they indicate the sort of situation in which Nick's temper tantrums, rebellion, and defiance of parental authority usually took place.

#### SUMMARY

It is clear that the parents had very little appreciation of the nature of Nick's problems and the sort of social world in which he was living. Although his behavior was, for the most part, strictly in conformity with the socially approved standards of the play group and neighborhood, it was a violation of the family tradition and expectations. He was torn between the demands and expectations of two conflicting social groups. On the one hand, we have in the family background a persistence of an Old World family pattern, the outstanding features of which consist in the exercise of paternal authority, rigorous discipline, and the subordination of the individual member to the ideals of economic security. In accordance with this tradition the boy must go to work at an early age and contribute his wages to the family budget. On the other hand, the boy has grown up in an American community; his attitudes and interests have been defined in terms of the activities and values of a more or less typical American group. His interests are centered chiefly in sports and high-school attendance, both of which are in direct conflict with family expectations. This conflict is made more acute because the boy was conscious of the economic and social inferiority of his family and had accepted the contemptuous and superior attitudes of the neighbors toward his family. It is in this conflict of values,

attitudes, and interests that the boy's temper tantrums, stubbornness, and open defiance of authority occurred. From this point of view it may be assumed that his behavior problems were incidental to the larger cultural conflict between the family and the prevailing social values of the neighborhood.

In addition to the behavior problems associated with Nick's rebellion against parental authority, it was known that he had stolen money from home on two occasions. In each of these instances he used the money to purchase athletic equipment for his team. His parents were unwilling to contribute money for this purpose. As far as could be ascertained, Nick had no definite interest in stealing as such, nor any emotional drive toward such behavior. It appeared, in the light of the total case study, that stealing represented the only, or perhaps the easiest, means for securing those objects which were essential to a satisfactory adjustment in the group in which his major interests were defined and in which he desired favorable status.

While it is quite possible that there were important contributing factors which were not disclosed in our study of Nick's behavior problems, the materials secured suggest very strongly that his behavior was inextricably involved in his personal relationships in his family, his play group, and his neighborhood. Thus this case serves as an introduction to the study of behavior problems in their relation to those social groups which are analyzed in greater detail in the subsequent chapters of this report.

## PART II

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### JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND COMMUNITY BACKGROUNDS

## CHAPTER II

### AREAS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN CHICAGO

The present section of this report is concerned with the study of juvenile delinquency in its relation to community backgrounds. As an initial step in this study materials will be presented to show the geographic distribution by place of residence of male juvenile delinquents in the city of Chicago. These materials will not only localize the problem, but will serve as a basis for the further analysis of the relationship between types of community situations and juvenile delinquency.

Chicago, the second largest city in the United States, and the largest of the cities included in this study, lies along some 25 miles of the western shore of Lake Michigan and extends inland from 8 to 10 miles. During the last century it has grown from a small town with about 200 inhabitants and an area of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  square miles to a great metropolis with a population of more than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million people and a political area of over 211 square miles. This is a history of almost unprecedented population increase, territorial expansion, and commercial and industrial development.

The town of Chicago, as incorporated, centered about the point of original settlement at the mouth of the Chicago River. The population grew rapidly so that by 1840 the number of inhabitants according to the Federal census was 4,470. Ten years later this number had increased to about 30,000, and by 1860 to more than 108,000. By 1880 the population had reached a total of one-half million inhabitants and in the next decade doubled this number. By 1910 the population was well over 2,000,000 and by 1920, the mid-year of the period covered by some of the series of delinquents to be discussed in this chapter, it had reached 2,701,705. During the last decade, the population increased 25 per cent and reached a total of 3,375,329 in 1930.

The territorial expansion of Chicago was rapid but somewhat less regular than the population increase. The area of 2.4 square miles included in the town at the time it was incorporated had increased to 10.6 square miles in 1837, the date of the incorporation of the city. In 1889, when the area comprised 44 square miles, 126 additional square miles were annexed, thus quadrupling the area and increasing the number of square miles within the political boundaries to a total of 170. From that time to the present the annexations have been relatively small, but numerous enough to increase the total incorporated area to 211 square miles. Although some of the area within the political boundaries is as yet unpopulated, the metropolitan city extends far beyond these boundaries in almost every direction, including many contiguous suburban cities and towns located chiefly along the transportation lines on the north, south, and west sides.

In 1920 the population of Chicago was 95.8 per cent white, 4.1 per cent Negro, and 0.1 per cent of other races. Evidence that foreign immigration has been an important factor in the rapid growth of Chicago is seen in the fact that 29.8 per cent of the total population is foreign born and 42.2 per cent is native white of either foreign or mixed parentage. On the other hand, the population classified as native white of native parentage constitutes only 23.8 per cent of the total population.

Of the total 808,558 foreign-born inhabitants of Chicago in 1920, 17 per cent were Polish, 15 per cent were Russian and Lithuanian, 13.9 per cent were German, and 7.3 per cent were Italian. That the composition of the present population of Chicago has been greatly influenced by the large immigrant groups which came to the city earlier is seen in the nationality distribution of the foreign white stock. This group, which includes the foreign born and the native born of foreign or mixed parentage, constitutes 72 per cent of the total population of the city. A further analysis shows that of the foreign white stock, the German comprises 21.7 per cent, the Russian 16.4 per cent, the Austrian 16.3 per cent, the Irish 10.3 per cent, the Italian 6.4 per cent, and the Swedish 6.2 per cent.

The extent to which the population of Chicago has been affected by migration from other States is indicated by the

fact that 15.5 per cent of the white population was born in States other than Illinois, as compared to 53 per cent born within the State. The large influx of Negroes into Chicago during recent years is very clearly indicated by the fact that 85.1 per cent of this group were born outside of the State of Illinois and only 14.9 per cent within the State. The disproportionately large percentage of the total population within the working ages is characteristic of a rapidly growing industrial city.

This statement of the rapid territorial expansion and geometric increase in the population of Chicago implies marked changes in the areas within the city and a rate of mobility quite unknown in stable communities. Likewise, the influx of great numbers of people of such widely different social and cultural backgrounds implies not only lack of homogeneity but also disorganization and reorganization affecting a large proportion of the population. Chicago is, in brief, a new and rapidly changing commercial and industrial city, whose population is a most varied assortment of racial and national groups in various stages of assimilation and adjustment.

#### THE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN CHICAGO

The present study of the geographic distribution of male juvenile delinquents in Chicago includes three types of series of cases; namely, one series of alleged delinquents dealt with by police probation officers; one series of alleged delinquents brought before the juvenile court; and one series of delinquents committed by the juvenile court to correctional institutions.

Probably any one of these three series would serve to establish the facts of distribution and variation in rates of delinquents in Chicago, since each of the series may be used as an index of the relative number of delinquents in the different areas of the city. But in order to present the distribution and variation in rates of delinquents more adequately and to make certain that all types of cases are represented in the study, one series each of the three types of cases will be presented in detail, and several other series will be summarized.

For complete presentation we have chosen:

1. A series of 9,243 alleged delinquent boys (aged 10 to 16) dealt with by the juvenile police probation officers during the year 1926.

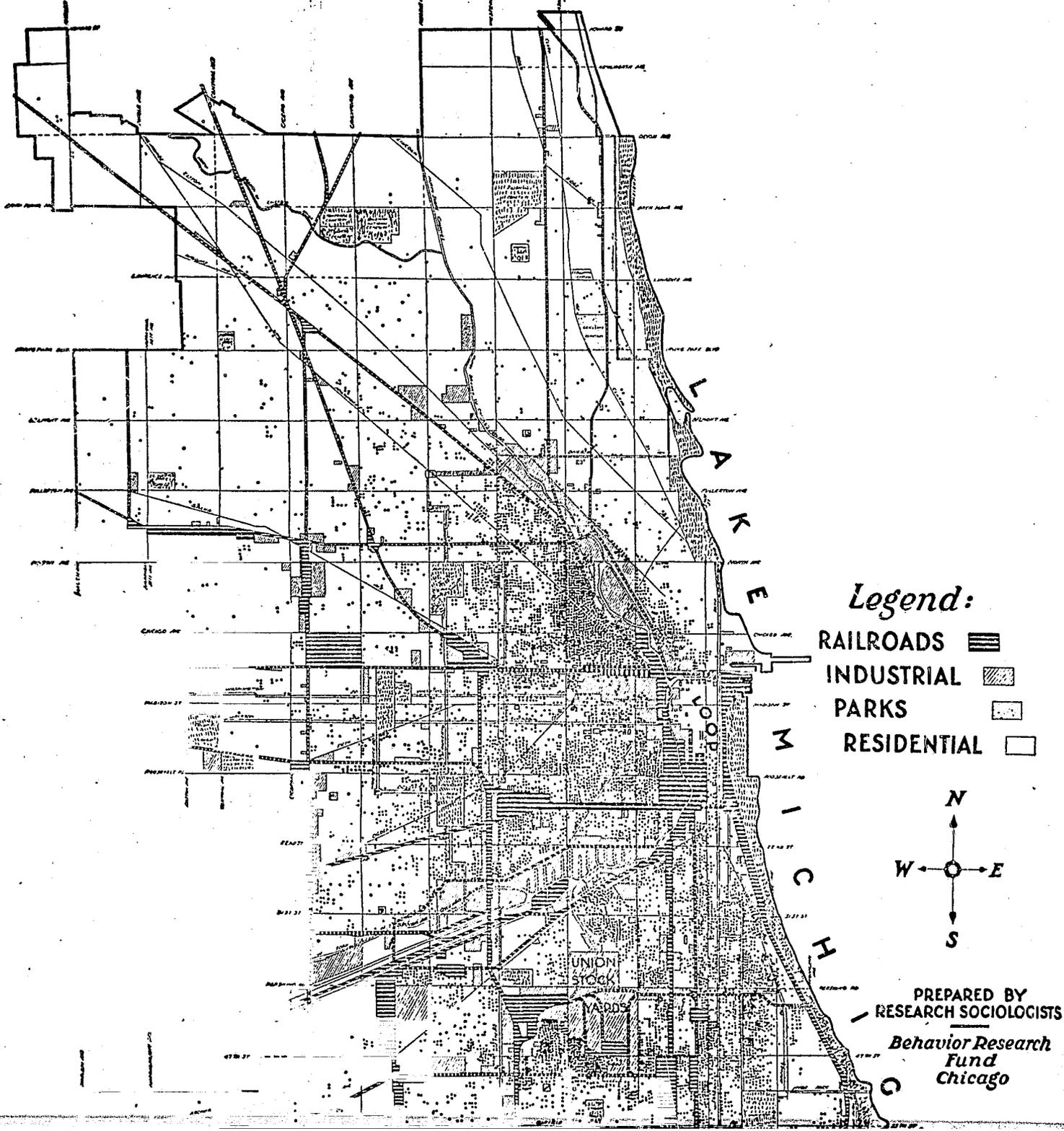
2. A series of 8,141 alleged delinquent boys (aged 10 to 16) brought before the juvenile court of Cook County during the period 1917-1923.

3. A series of 2,596 delinquent boys (aged 10 to 16) committed to correctional institutions by the juvenile court of Cook County during the period 1917-1923.

It should be remembered that these series of delinquents are being used as measures of distribution and variation of rates among areas and not as measures of the volume of delinquency or the actual number of delinquents in a particular area. Thus it is of no great importance that the series are for different years and cover different periods of time.

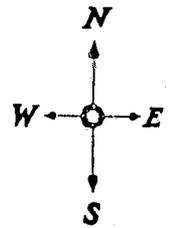
The cases of boys coming to the attention of the police as alleged delinquents, the juvenile court cases, and the cases of delinquents committed in a given year, necessarily vary widely both as to number and as to the seriousness of offenses. The police series includes many boys who were not taken to the juvenile court. This series, being the most inclusive of the three series, contains, together with the cases that are taken to the juvenile court on delinquency petition, some individuals who are probably not guilty, many who are guilty of lesser offenses, and many guilty of serious offenses whose cases are disposed of by the police probation officer without court action. As a usual procedure approximately 85 per cent of the cases coming to the attention of the police are disposed of without court action, while the remaining 15 per cent, presumably the more serious and repeated offenders, are taken to the juvenile court on petitions alleging delinquency. Of the boys brought to court as alleged delinquents, approximately one-third are committed to correctional institutions. Thus, of the 8,141 alleged delinquents brought to court during 1917-1923, 2,596 were committed. Without question these committed individuals were guilty of serious delinquencies, and most of them were recidivists.

Since each of the three types of series of cases is being presented, the reader can choose the one which seems to



*Legend:*

- RAILROADS 
- INDUSTRIAL 
- PARKS 
- RESIDENTIAL 

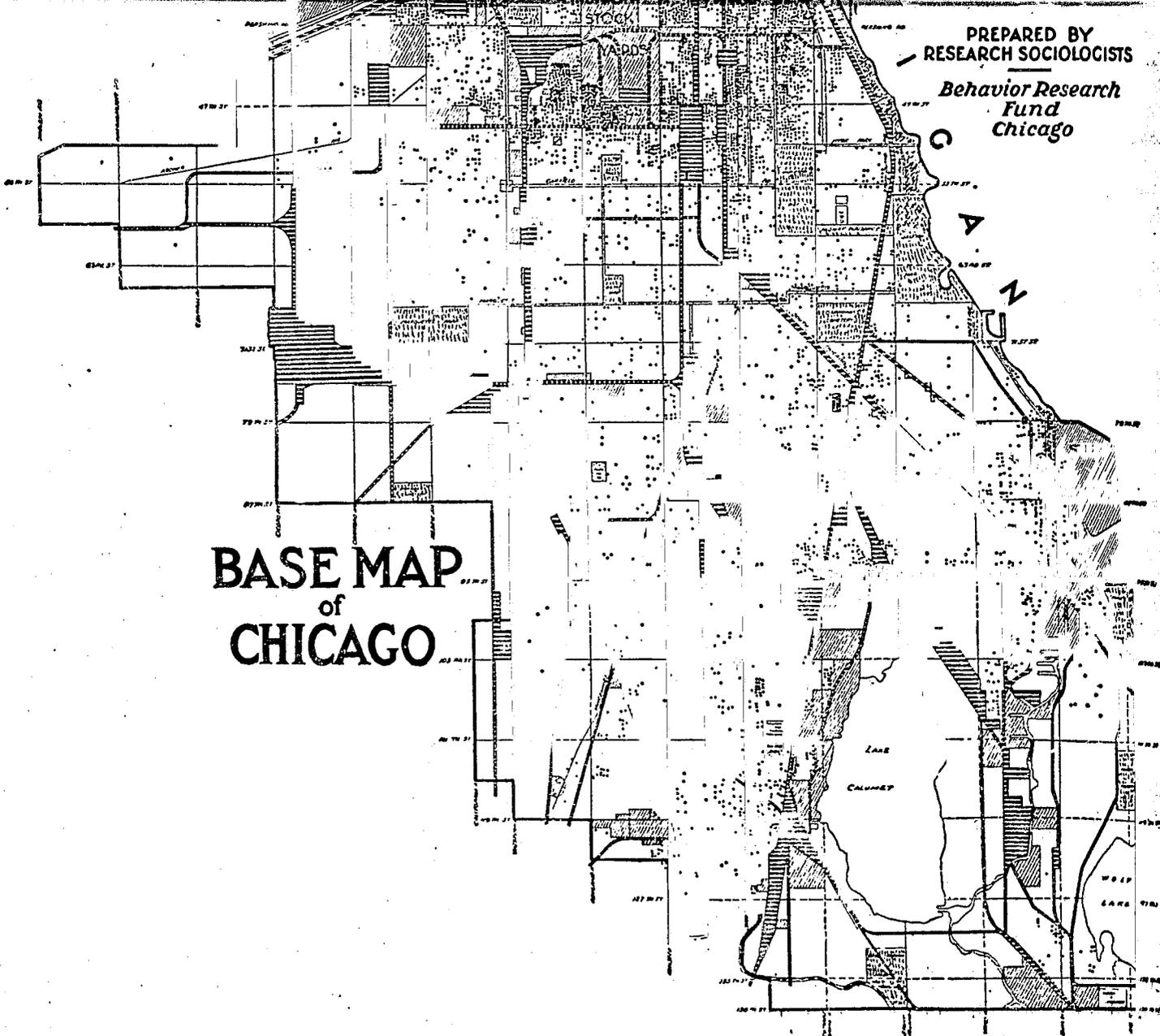


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**BASE MAP**  
of  
**CHICAGO**

MAP NO. I

HOME ADDRESSES OF 9,243 ALLEGED MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS DEALT WITH BY THE JUVENILE POLICE PROBATION OFFICERS IN CHICAGO DURING THE YEAR 1926

57167-31. (Face p. 27.)

*over*

him the best index of distribution and variation of rates of delinquents, or he can compare the findings in the different series. The 1926 police series will be presented first.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF ALLEGED DELINQUENT BOYS IN POLICE SERIES

In Chicago practically all boys arrested on charges of delinquency and most of the delinquency complaints come to the attention of the juvenile police probation officers who are assigned to the juvenile court by the superintendent of the police department. In 1926 there were 28 such officers assigned to the 40 police districts of the city. When a boy is arrested or when a complaint is made at the police station, the case is referred to the police probation officer assigned to the district in which the boy is apprehended. This officer may dispose of the case either with or without court action.

The series of alleged delinquents dealt with by the police probation officers during the year 1926 includes the 9,243<sup>1</sup> individual boys whose names and addresses were included in the records of the police probation officers during that year. The ages of these alleged delinquents ranged from 8 to 17 years. While the highest frequencies occurred in the older-age groups, it is significant that 31.3 per cent of these boys were under 13 years of age, 14.1 per cent were 13 years of age, 18.3 per cent were 14, 17.4 per cent were 15, and 17 per cent were 16. The remaining 1.9 per cent of the boys were 17 years of age, which is beyond the juvenile age in Illinois.

A rough classification of the offenses indicates that 55 per cent of these alleged delinquents were charged with some

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<sup>1</sup>The annual report of the superintendent of police indicates that 19,566 cases were dealt with by the police probation officers during 1926. The discrepancy between this figure and the number of boys included in our series (9,243) is due to at least three different factors: (1) The number indicated on the police report includes both male and female cases. Our study includes only alleged delinquent boys. (2) The police totals are based on cases and not on individuals. In the police reports the 9,243 individual boys included in our series were counted as many times as they were arrested or made the subject of a complaint. (3) Some of the cases included in the reports of the juvenile police probation officer were not recorded on his books by name and address. Obviously these cases could not be included in our series. We have every reason to believe that the boys whose names and addresses were not given were either not guilty or were guilty of such minor offenses that it was not considered necessary to place their names on the books.

form of stealing—that is, petty stealing; shoplifting; snatching pocketbooks; stealing automobiles; breaking into stores, residences, or factories; holdup; and similar offenses. The other 45 per cent were charged with a great variety of offenses, including truancy from home, begging, destruction of property, assault, trespassing on railroad property, setting fires, manslaughter, and sex immorality.

In considering the seriousness of the offenses charged against the alleged delinquents in this series it should be borne in mind that in some court systems almost all of these boys would have been brought before the juvenile court, although in Chicago, as previously indicated, delinquency petitions were filed on only about 15 per cent of them. The fact that the system in operation here did not require the other 85 per cent to be brought to court does not mean that these boys were innocent or that their offenses were not serious, since, as previously stated, the police probation officers have the authority to dispose of serious as well as minor offenses outside of court.

Map I shows the distribution by place of residence of the 9,243 alleged male juvenile delinquents included in the series under consideration. Each spot represents the home address of an alleged delinquent boy; only one spot was used for each individual regardless of the number of times he was dealt with by the police probation officers during the year. Since these cases were plotted by street and number, this map represents the actual rather than an approximate distribution.

Upon observation this map presents several very interesting characteristics. It will be observed immediately that there are areas of marked concentration of delinquents as compared with other areas where the delinquents are widely dispersed. The concentrations are most obvious along the north and south branches of the Chicago River, on the near West Side, around the stockyards, in the South Chicago steel-mill districts, and in the Pullman industrial districts west of Lake Calumet. Another obvious characteristic of this distribution is that a large proportion of the delinquents and the areas of heavy concentration are, with the exceptions just noted, located adjacent to the central business district, which is designated on this map as the Loop. As one moves

outward in any direction from these areas the cases are more scattered until one reaches the periphery of the city, where in general the delinquents are widely dispersed.

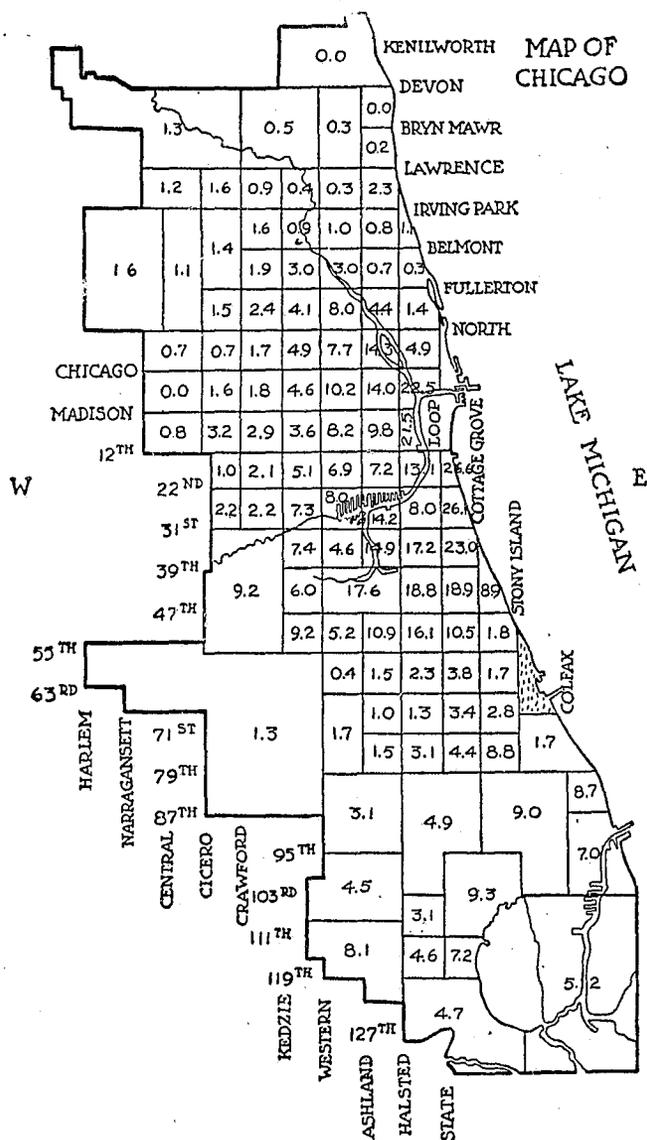
In order to make a more complete comparison of the relative frequency of delinquents in different sections of the city, and to compare the number of delinquents with the juvenile population, the city has been divided into 113 areas. Most of these areas are square miles, but since it was thought desirable to have a minimum population per area of 500 males from 10 to 16 years of age for the computation of rates of delinquents, it was necessary in the outlying districts, where much of the territory was occupied by industry, or where the population was sparse, to combine contiguous square miles area until this minimum population was secured. For this reason many of the areas near the outer boundaries of the city contain more than one square mile. Throughout our study, however, these areas will be referred to as square-mile areas.

Before going into the problem of the relation of the number of delinquents to the population, it is interesting to note the variations in the actual number of delinquents as between square-mile areas, since these variations represent very significant differences both from the point of view of administration and from the point of view of the actual possibility of a boy having contacts with delinquents.

In the series under consideration, there are 12 of the 113 square-mile areas with fewer than 10 delinquents, and a total of 26 areas where there are fewer than 20 delinquents. On the other hand, 1 square-mile area of the city has 326 delinquents. Six additional areas have more than 250 delinquents each, and a total of 14 areas include more than 200 delinquents each. Variation in the actual number of delinquents to be found in these areas is even greater than this comparison indicates, since the areas with more than 200 delinquents are, as a whole, smaller than the areas with fewer than 20 delinquents.

#### RATES OF DELINQUENTS IN THE POLICE SERIES

Rate Map I shows the rates of delinquents by square-mile unit areas as calculated on the basis of the 9,243 alleged male juvenile delinquents in the present series. The rates of



RATE MAP I

RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN CHICAGO BASED UPON THE 9,243 ALLEGED MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN THE 1926 POLICE SERIES

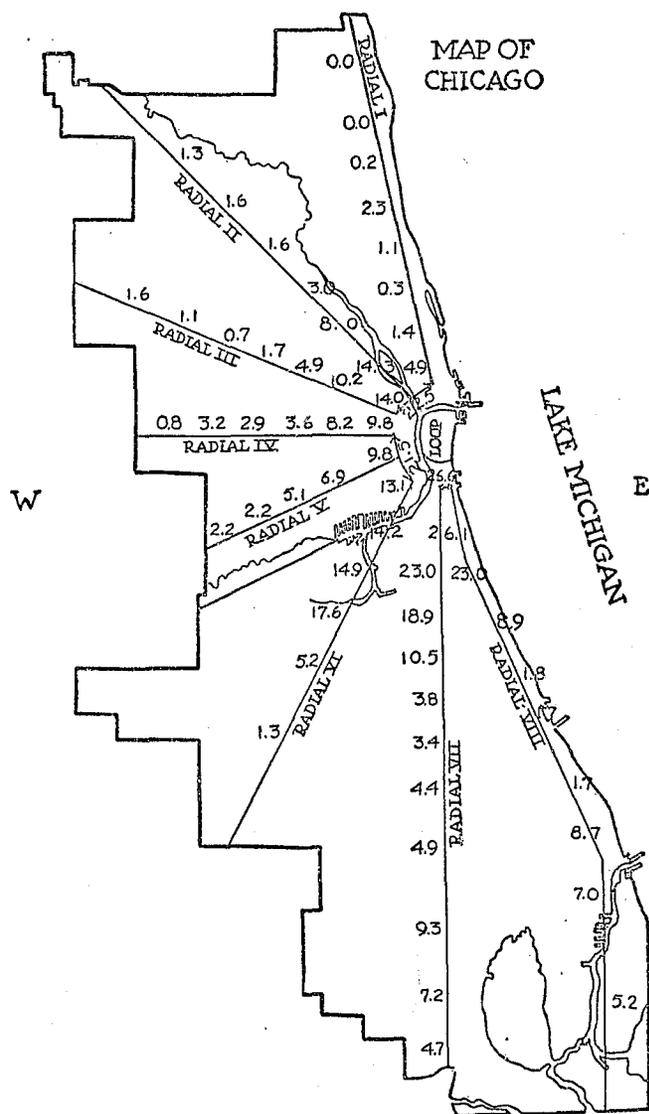
delinquents in this series represent the relationship between the number of alleged delinquents and the aged 10 to 16 male population for the 113 areas. To be more specific, the rate is the percentage of the boys in each area who were dealt with by the police as alleged delinquents in the year 1926.<sup>2</sup>

The aged 10 to 16 male population used in these calculations was secured from the Chicago census tract data for 1920 in the possession of the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago. From these data we were able to secure the aged 10 to 16<sup>3</sup> male population for each of the 499 census tracts into which the city was divided in 1920. The population was correlated for 1926 on the basis of the rate of increase or decrease in each tract between 1910 and 1920. Since the square-mile areas used in this study are combinations of census tracts, the population used in the calculation of rates was the sum of the corrected 10 to 16 male population in the tracts included in each area.

The range of rates of delinquents in this series is from 0.0 to 26.6. The median rate is 3.4 and the average rate is 5.2. Five of the 113 square-mile areas have rates of delinquents above 20, that is, in five areas more than 20 per cent of the boys were dealt with by the police probation officers during the single year 1926. At the other extreme there were 17 areas where less than 1 per cent of the boys were dealt with by the police probation officers in that year. In other words, 5 square-mile areas have rates of delinquents that are more than 20 times as high as the rates in 17 other areas. Similarly a total of 42 areas have rates of less than 2 and a total of 10 areas have rates of more than 15 per cent.

<sup>2</sup> Although a very good index of the relative number of delinquents in different areas, these rates do not represent the actual number of offenders, since it is probable that many boys who were delinquent during the year escaped detection. Neither can these rates be taken as a measure of the volume of delinquency in an area since a great number of these boys were delinquent many times during the year both in the area in which they lived and in other areas as well.

<sup>3</sup> The aged 10 to 16 male population was used as the base for the calculation of all rates of male juvenile delinquents in Chicago, because it corresponds most closely to the actual range of ages of delinquents. The fact that a small percentage of delinquents are of ages that fall outside of this 10 to 16 range is of no importance, since in this study we are concerned not with the size of the rates, but with their variation.



RADIAL MAP I

RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN CHICAGO BASED UPON THE 9,243 ALLEGED MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS INCLUDED IN THE 1926 POLICE SERIES ALONG EIGHT LINES RADIATING FROM THE LOOP

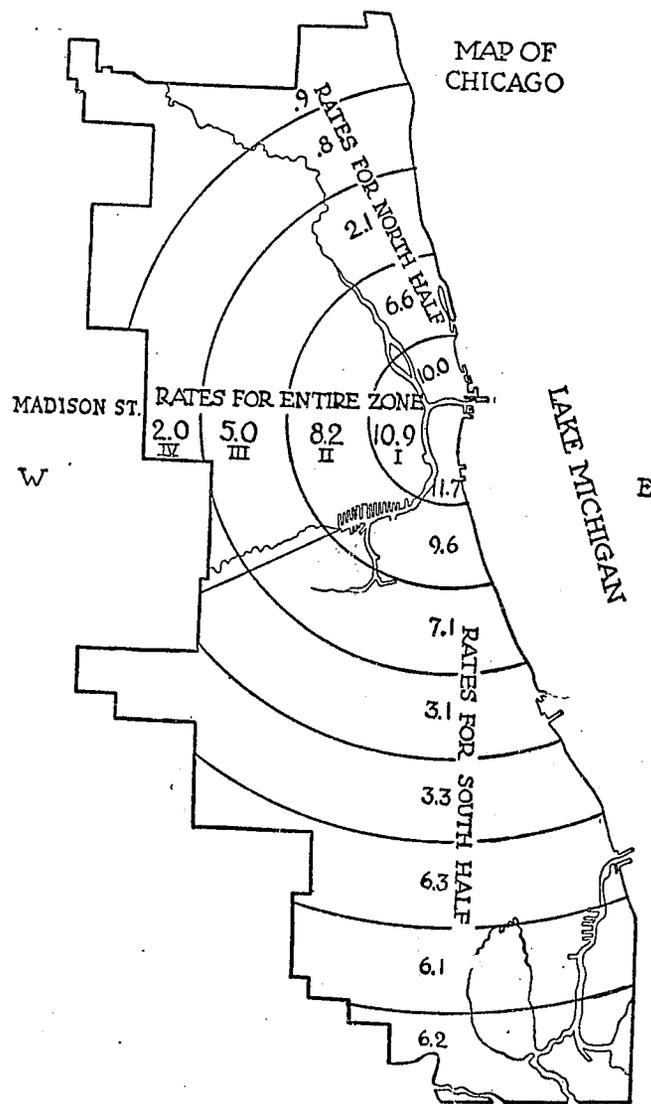
When Rate Map I is examined, it is revealed that this wide range of variation follows quite closely the configuration presented by Distribution Map I. Generally speaking, the high rates are adjacent to the central business district, the branches of the Chicago River, the stockyards, and the south Chicago industrial districts, while the lowest rates are in the outlying areas. While this is the general tendency, it is important to note that in some instances very great differences can be observed in the rates in contiguous areas. For example, one of the areas just north of the Loop, has a rate of 22.5 while the one adjoining has a rate of 4.9. Likewise on the South Shore, in the district south of Jackson Park, one area has a rate of 1.7, while the adjoining areas have rates of 8.8, 9.0, and 8.7, respectively.

## RADIAL RATES

Radial Map I shows more vividly the gradations between the high rates near the center of the city and the low rates near the periphery. It will be noted that the rate nearest the center of the city on radial lines I, II, and III is 22.5, while the terminal rates are 0.0, 1.3, and 1.6, respectively. Radial lines IV, V, and VI start with a rate of delinquents of 21.5 and end with rates of 0.8, 2.2, and 1.3, while radial lines VII and VIII start with a rate of 26.6 and end with rates of 4.7 and 5.2, respectively. In these last two radials it will be noted that the rates decrease gradually to about the sixth mile, then rise again in the south Chicago and Calumet districts. An especially smooth and gradual decrease is noted in Radial II where the rates from the center of the city outward range as follows: 22.5, 14.3, 8.0, 3.0, 1.6 and 1.3.

## ZONE RATES

The general tendency of the rates of delinquents to decrease outward from the center of the city, which is so obvious when either the rate or radial map is examined, is indicated in a more idealistic manner in Zone Map I. These zones were constructed by taking a focal point at the intersection of State and Madison Streets in the loop and drawing concentric circles at intervals of 2 miles. The rates in these zones are actual rates, that is, they were calculated upon the



ZONE MAP I

RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS BY ZONES IN CHICAGO FOR THE  
1926 POLICE SERIES

basis of the total aged 10 to 16 population and the total number of delinquents.<sup>4</sup>

It should be borne in mind that zone rates of delinquents are presented chiefly because of their theoretical value; they represent the radial variations more conceptually and idealistically. The rates in the areas included in a given zone vary widely as indicated in the discussion with reference to the wide differences in rates in contiguous areas. The rates for the areas in Zone I, for example, range from 2.0 to 26.6, while the rate for the zone as a whole is 10.9. It is because these zone rates eliminate the fluctuations in rates for small areas and present general tendencies, that they are of theoretical importance in the study of the variation and distributions of delinquents.

Zone Map I presents rates of delinquents for the first four zones taken as wholes, and separate rates for each zone in the north and south halves of the city when Madison Street is taken as a division line. The rates for the entire zones are presented horizontally on the map. It will be noted that the latter zone rates decrease progressively from the center of the city outward. From 10.9 in the first zone, the rates decrease to 8.2 in the second, to 5.1 in the third, and to 1.8 in the fourth zone. While 1.8 per cent of the boys in the areas included in the fourth zone were dealt with by the police probation officers during the year 1926, proportionately six times as many, or 10.9 per cent, were dealt with by these officers in the areas included in the first zone.

The differences between the zone rates in the north and south halves of Chicago indicate quite clearly the actual differences between these two sections of the city. On the north side, it will be noted, the rates decrease rapidly from 10.0 in the first to 0.9 in the fifth zone, with a low point in the range at 0.8 in the fourth zone. The rate in the first zone, that is in the north side areas within two miles of the center of the business district, is 4.6 times the rate in the third zone and 11.1 times the rate in the fifth zone, which includes all of the north side areas more than 8 miles from the focal point.

<sup>4</sup>When an area was divided so that a part fell in each of two zones, the population and alleged delinquents were divided between the zones on the basis of the percentage of the area which was included in each.

This regular decrease in zone rates reflects the fact that the north side is undisturbed by any major outlying industrial developments such as those found on the south side in the stockyards and the steel-mill districts. This difference is indicated very clearly in the zone rates for the south half of the city where the stockyard areas are included in the third zone, part of the southwest manufacturing district in the fourth, and part of the South Chicago industrial districts in each of the last four zones.

The zone rates for the south side start, it will be noted, with a rate of 11.7 and decrease much more slowly than the rates in corresponding zones on the north side. The low rate is in Zone IV, which includes some of the better Lake Shore residential areas. Beyond this point, the rates rise again so that in Zones VI, VII, and VIII they increase to more than one-half the magnitude of the rates in the first zone.

It is obvious from these rates that the extreme southern part of Chicago represents a variation from the ideal construction found on the north side and in the first four zones on the south side. It is known that the extreme southeastern portion of the city is an industrial and commercial center, which possesses many characteristics similar to those in or adjacent to the central business district.

#### EXTENT OF CONCENTRATION IN POLICE SERIES

In order to show more clearly the extent of the concentration of the 9,243 delinquents in relation to the distribution of the aged 10 to 16 male population and the geographic area of Chicago, the 113 square mile areas have been divided into four equal groups. This division of areas was made upon the basis of the magnitude of the rates of delinquents in the series. For convenience, the 113 areas may be thought of as being arranged in a series from the area with the lowest rate to the area with the highest. When points are selected that divide the areas into the four equal groups,<sup>5</sup> a basis is furnished for an analysis of the extent of concen-

<sup>5</sup> Each of these four groups of areas includes 28 $\frac{1}{4}$  areas. The number of delinquents, the population, and the city area are divided according to this division. This method of dividing the 113 areas applies to all of the tables pertaining to the extent of concentration of delinquents in this chapter and Chapter V.

tration of delinquents in relation to the population and the geographic area.

Throughout this discussion the one-fourth of the areas with the lowest rates will be referred to as the first quarter, or first one-fourth, the one-fourth with the highest rates will be referred to as the fourth quarter, and the intermediate quarters will be designated as the second and third quarters. It should be noted that this is a quartile division and that all of the areas with rates of delinquents below the median are, therefore, in the first and second quarters, while those with rates above the median are included in the third and fourth quarters.

The marked variation in the distribution of the delinquents in this series in relation to the aged 10 to 16 male population and the total city area, when the 113 areas are divided into four equal groups according to the magnitude of the rates, is indicated in Table I.

TABLE I.—Percentage distribution of delinquents, population, and city area in each one-fourth of the 113 square mile areas grouped on the basis of the magnitude of the rates in the 1926 police series

Quartile grouping of areas	Percentage of delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of city area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the 113 areas.....	54.9	21.8	22.4
Third one-quarter of the 113 areas.....	30.4	27.1	26.6
Second one-quarter of the 113 areas.....	10.9	26.2	19.2
First or lower one-quarter of the 113 areas.....	3.8	24.9	31.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0

When Table I is examined the wide variation between the percentage of delinquents in the upper one-fourth of the areas as over against the percentage in the lower one-fourth is immediately apparent. The areas comprising the fourth quarter include 54.9 per cent of the delinquents and only 21.8 per cent of the population and 22.4 per cent of the geographic area of the city. At the other extreme the areas with the lowest rates, which contain a higher percentage of the population (24.9) and a higher percentage of the geographic area of the city (31.8), contain only 3.8 per cent of the total number of delinquents in the series. The comparison between the percentage of the total number of delin-

quents in each of the four groups into which the 113 areas are divided is facilitated, it will be noted, by a comparatively uniform distribution of the population and of the geographic area.

A significant variation in the distribution of the aged 10 to 16 population and the geographic area is again revealed, when the 9,243 delinquents are divided into four groups on the basis of magnitude of rate of delinquents in the 113 square mile areas. (See Table II.)

TABLE II.—Percentage distribution of population and city area when the 9,243 delinquents are divided into four equal groups on the basis of the magnitude of the rates of delinquents in the 1926 police series

Quartile grouping of delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of city area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the 9,243 delinquents.....	7.0	5.8
Third one-quarter of the 9,243 delinquents.....	11.7	13.6
Second one-quarter of the 9,243 delinquents.....	18.1	17.4
First or lower one-quarter of the 9,243 delinquents.....	63.2	80.6

It will be noted that the upper one-quarter of the delinquents come from 7 per cent of the population and 5.8 per cent of the city area, while the same number of delinquents from the areas of lowest rates come from 63.2 per cent of the population and 80.6 per cent of the city area. When a division is made at the median it will be noted that the delinquents in the two upper quarters, which, of course, include 50 per cent of the total number of delinquents, represent less than one-fifth of the population and less than one-fifth of the geographic area of the city.

#### POLICE SERIES FOR 1927

The findings in the series of alleged delinquents dealt with by the police probation officers during 1926 are substantiated by an almost identical series for the year 1927. In this series the data were secured and the rates were calculated in the same way as in the 1926 series, except that the population was corrected for 1927.

The range of variation in the 1927 series (0.0 to 21.2) is very similar to the variation in the 1926 series. Likewise

the central tendency, as indicated by the median rate (3.4) and the average rate (4.9) shows little variation as between the two series. The high-rate areas in the 1927 series are, as in the 1926 series, located near the central business district, the stockyards, and the South Chicago steel mills. This marked correspondence is indicated by the high coefficient of correlation as computed for the rates in the two series ( $0.96 \pm 0.07$ ).

#### DISTRIBUTION OF JUVENILE COURT DELINQUENTS

In the foregoing section the distribution of delinquents was studied by analyzing a series of alleged delinquents dealt with by the police probation officers during 1926. In the present section the distribution of 8,141 alleged male delinquents brought before the juvenile court of Cook County in the 7-year period from January 1, 1917, to December 31, 1923, will be analyzed as the second index of the relative number of delinquents in the 113 areas of the city.

Without question most of the offenses charged against the boys comprising this series are of a serious character. As indicated previously, most of the boys guilty of minor offenses are eliminated by the police probation officer system, since as a usual practice only the cases in which the charge is of a more serious nature are taken to court. A large number of these boys were recidivists. Many of them had not only appeared in the juvenile court two or more times, but had served sentences in correctional institutions.

The seriousness of the offenses committed by these 8,141 individuals is indicated by the classification of the offenses with which they were charged in the 12,029 petitions filed against them in the juvenile court. This classification shows that 29.4 per cent of the offenses are classified as burglary, 12.2 per cent as larceny of automobiles, and 20.4 per cent as petty stealing. These offenses, together with a total of 7.5 per cent of other stealing offenses, including holdup, shoplifting, and purse snatching, give a total of 69.5 per cent of the total 12,029 offenses classified as "all stealing." The remaining 30.5 per cent of the charges include 17.1 per cent incorrigibility, disorderly conduct 4.4 per cent, and all sex

offenses 2.1 per cent. There can be little doubt that the boys in this series were, on the whole, involved in serious delinquency.

In this series, 16.7 per cent of the boys were under 13 years of age as compared with 31.3 per cent in the 1926 police series. Twelve and seven-tenths per cent were 13 years, 18.3 per cent 14, and 0.4 per cent 17 years of age. The small percentage of boys over 16 is due to the fact that the seventeenth birthday is the upper age limit for juvenile court delinquents. The highest frequencies are in the 15 and 16 age groups. These two age groups include 51.9 per cent of the boys, while only 34.4 per cent in the police series were in these ages. In general, therefore, the boys in this series were somewhat older than those included in the police series considered previously.

Map II shows the distribution by place of residence of the 8,141 male delinquents<sup>6</sup> brought before the juvenile court of Cook County in the 7-year period covered by this series.<sup>7</sup> As in the previous series only one spot is used for each boy regardless of the number of times he had been in the juvenile court.

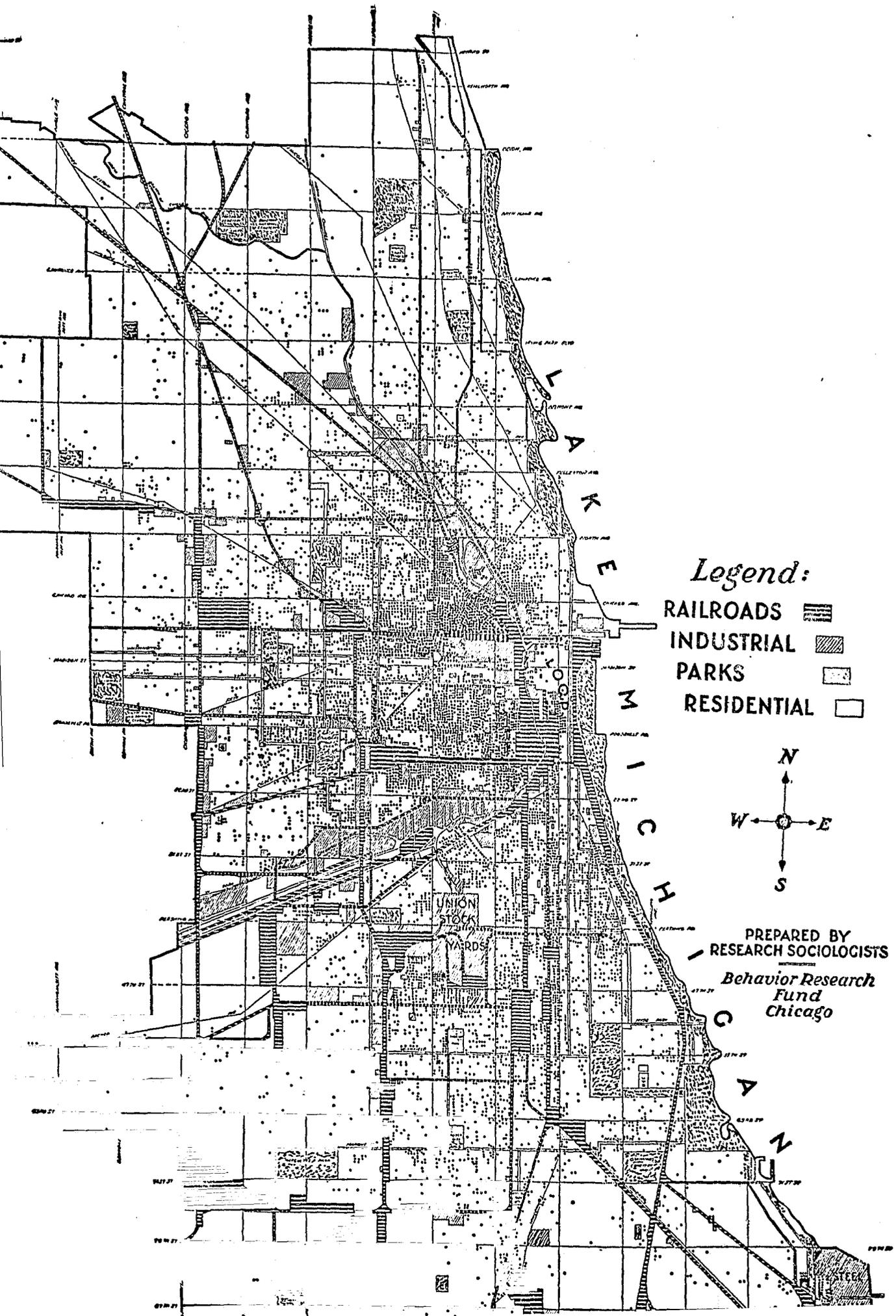
A careful study of Map II indicates that the distribution of boys brought before the juvenile court is very similar to the distribution of the delinquents dealt with by the police probation officers. The areas of concentration of spots on the two maps coincide very closely. Here again these areas of heaviest concentration are located adjacent to the central business district and industrial centers, while the areas in which the spots are widely dispersed are in the outlying sections of the city.

The 113 square-mile areas, which were described in the foregoing section, were used also in this series as a basis for a more complete discussion of distribution and for the calculation of rates of delinquents.

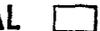
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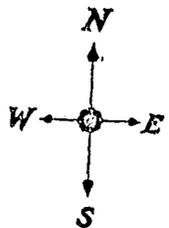
<sup>6</sup> Throughout the remainder of this discussion these 8,141 individuals, although technically only alleged delinquents, will for the sake of convenience be referred to as delinquents.

<sup>7</sup> The addresses used in plotting this series were those recorded at the time of the boy's first appearance in the juvenile court on a delinquency petition. Since the probation officer must visit the home to make a social investigation prior to the boy's appearance in the juvenile court, the possibility of the addresses being incorrect is virtually eliminated.



*Legend:*

- RAILROADS 
- INDUSTRIAL 
- PARKS 
- RESIDENTIAL 



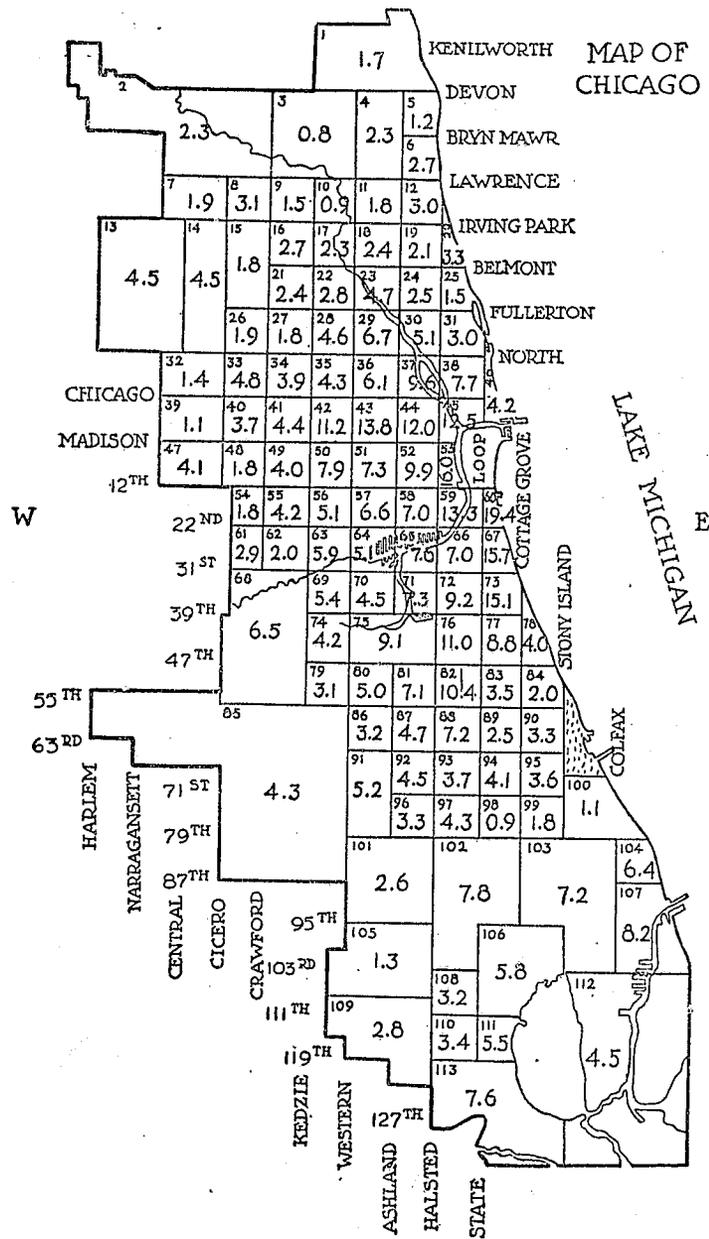
PREPARED BY  
RESEARCH SOCIOLOGISTS  
*Behavior Research  
Fund  
Chicago*



The distribution of delinquents by square-mile areas indicates that this series also presents very great variations in the number of delinquents as between areas. One of the 113 square-mile areas contains 6 delinquents, while another contains 312. Four areas contain fewer than 10 delinquents each, while 5 contain more than 250 delinquents each. When the distribution is analyzed further, it is found that 11 areas contain fewer than 15 delinquents and 18 contain fewer than 20 delinquents each. On the other extreme, a total of 7 areas contain more than 200 delinquents each and 14 contain more than 150. As suggested in connection with the previous series, this wide variation in the number of delinquents as between areas is of twofold importance; first, it indicates the variation in the magnitude of the concrete problem with which the people in the various areas or communities are confronted; and, second, it serves to indicate the possibility of a boy's having contact with delinquents who live in his area or his neighborhood.

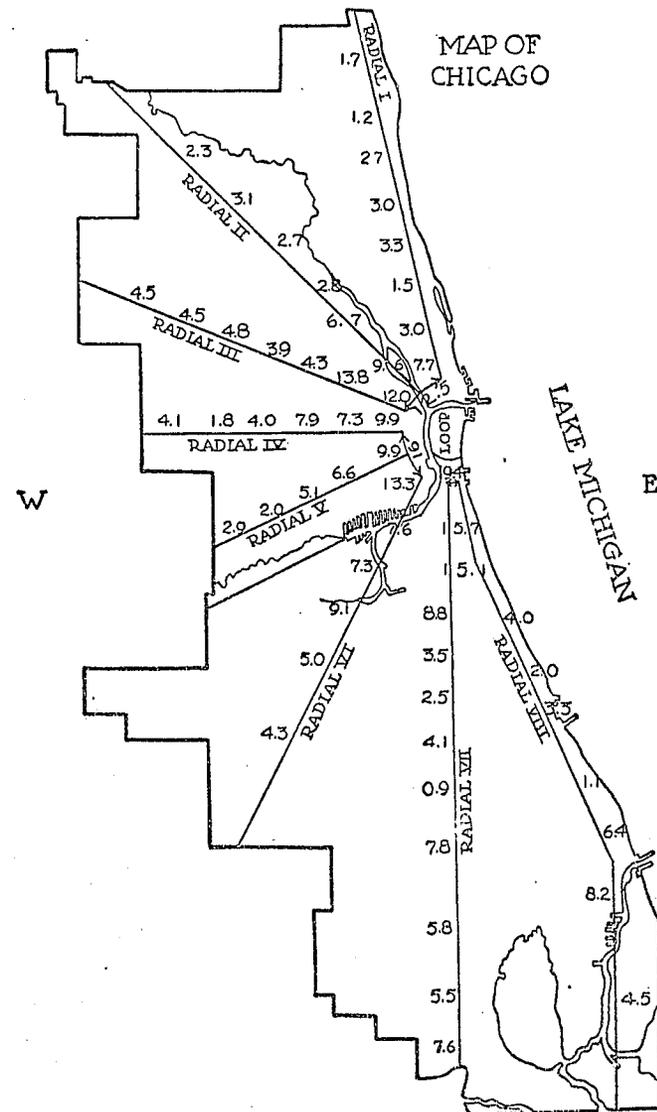
#### RATES OF JUVENILE-COURT DELINQUENTS

The rates for the present series of 8,141 delinquent boys are presented in Rate Map II. The rate in a given area is the ratio between the number of boys brought to court during the 7-year period and the aged 10 to 16 male population for 1920, the mid-point of the period of years included in the series. Thus the rates for this series are for a period of 7 years, while for the previous series they were for a single year. Since the number of individuals brought to court in a single year is not sufficiently large to yield reliable rates for small areas, the period was extended to give a statistically ample series of delinquents. In securing this series of individual delinquents, all duplications were eliminated. If duplications had not been eliminated, the rates for this series would be equal to the sum of seven yearly rates. However, since our major interest in this study is to determine the variation of the rates in a single series or the similarity of variation of rates among the several series, the number of years included is of less importance than the statistical adequacy of the series. On the other hand, the period of years and the types of cases included in the series must be taken



RATE MAP II

RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN CHICAGO BASED UPON THE 8,141 ALLEGED MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS INCLUDED IN THE 1917-1923 JUVENILE COURT SERIES



RADIAL MAP II

RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN CHICAGO BASED UPON THE 8,141 ALLEGED MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS INCLUDED IN THE 1917-1923 JUVENILE COURT SERIES ALONG EIGHT LINES RADIATING FROM THE LOOP

into consideration if one is interested in using the rate as an index of the absolute number of delinquents in specific areas.

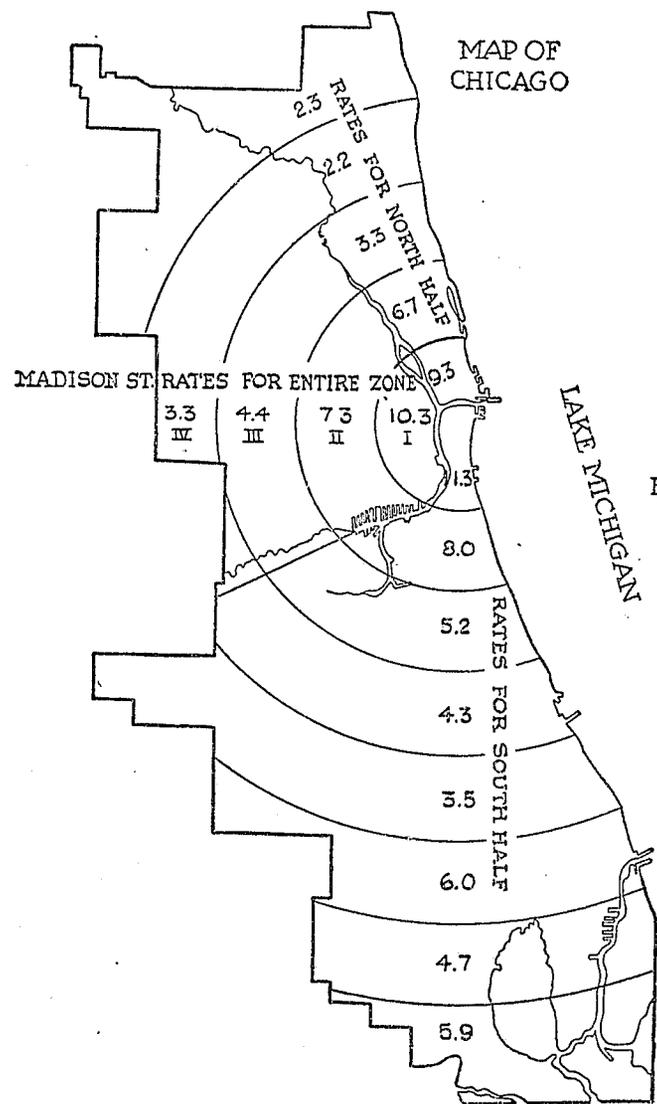
The range of rates in the present series is from 0.8 to 19.4. The median rate for the series is 4.3 and the average rate is 5.4. Three areas have rates of less than 1 and four areas have rates of 15 or over. Similarly, eight areas have rates of 12 or over, while at the other extreme 19 areas have rates of less than 2. Rate Map II reveals that in this series, as in the police series, most of the areas with the highest rates of delinquents are adjacent to the central business district and industrial communities, while the low-rate areas are, for the most part, in the outlying communities.

#### RADIAL RATES

The gradations from the high rates in the areas near the central business district to the low rates in the outlying districts are indicated for the present series in Radial Map II. Radials I, II, and III originate with a rate of 12.5 and terminate with rates of 1.7, 2.3, and 4.5, respectively. The rates along Radial IV range from 16 to 4.1, with a low point of 1.8. Radials V and VI also begin with a rate of 16 near the Loop and decrease to 2.9 and 4.3, respectively. The other two radials, VII and VIII, originate with the highest rate in the city, namely, 19.4. The rates along Radial VII decrease to the low point of 0.9 and then rise again to 7.6, while along Radial VIII the rates reach the low point of 1.1 in the South Shore residential district, and then rise to 6.4, 8.2, and 4.5 in the South Chicago industrial district.

#### ZONE RATES

When the rates of delinquents in this series are presented idealistically by large zones, they show a decrease very similar to that found in the 1926 police series. These zones were constructed in the manner described in connection with the previous series and the rates are the actual ratios between the aged 10 to 16 male population and the number of delinquents. The zone rates for the north and south



ZONE MAP II

RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS BY ZONES IN CHICAGO FOR THE 1917-1923 JUVENILE COURT SERIES

halves of the city and for the entire first four zones are presented in Zone Map II.

It will be observed that the rates in the zones for the city as a whole range from 10.3 in the first zone to 7.3 in the second, and from 4.6 in the third to 3.3 in the fourth. The zone rates for the north half of the city show about the same variation as the rates for the entire zone. The lowest rate (2.2) is in the fourth zone, although the rate in zone five (2.4) is only slightly higher. In the zones for the south half of the city the variation is almost an exact duplication of that for the police series. Here again, the first zone rate (11.3) is higher than the rate in the corresponding zone on the north side. The rates decrease gradually to the fifth zone, and then increase again to 6 in the last zone. Apart from the exceptional situation in South Chicago, the rates decrease with remarkable regularity from the first to the fifth zone.

#### EXTENT OF CONCENTRATION OF JUVENILE-COURT DELINQUENTS

The extent of the concentration of the 8,141 delinquents in the present series in relation to the aged 10 to 16 male population and the total geographic area of the city is obvious when the 113 areas are divided, as in the previous series, into four groups on the basis of the magnitude of the rates of delinquents. The marked variation in the distribution of the delinquents, population, and city area in relation to these four equal groups of areas is indicated in Table III.

TABLE III.—Percentage distribution of delinquents, aged 10 to 16 population, and city area when the 113 areas are divided into 4 equal groups on the basis of the magnitude of the rates of delinquents in the 1917-1923 juvenile court series

Quartile grouping of areas	Percentage of delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of city area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the 113 areas.....	50.5	28.4	21.7
Third one-quarter of the 113 areas.....	29.6	29.9	38.3
Second one-quarter of the 113 areas.....	12.6	19.9	17.0
First or lower one-quarter of the 113 areas.....	7.3	21.8	25.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0

The contrast between the percentage of the delinquents in the upper and lower quarters of the 113 areas reveals the nature of the concentration for this series. The one-fourth of the areas with the highest rates contains 50.5 per cent of the delinquents, 28.4 per cent of the population, and 21.7 per cent of the geographic area, while the lower one-fourth of the areas, with the lowest rates, contains only 7.3 per cent of the delinquents, 21.8 per cent of the population, and 25 per cent of the geographic area. It will be noted that 80.1 per cent of the delinquents come from areas with rates of delinquents in the upper two quarters, or in other words, from areas with rates above the median rate.

When the 8,141 individual delinquents are divided into four equal groups on the basis of the magnitude of rate of delinquents in the 113 areas, a very decided variation in the percentage distribution of the aged 10 to 16 population and the city area by these groups is revealed. (See Table IV.)

TABLE IV.—Percentage distribution of aged 10 to 16 male population and city area when the 8,141 delinquents in the 1917-1923 juvenile court series are divided into four equal groups on the basis of the magnitude of the rate of delinquents

Quartile grouping of delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of city area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the 8,141 delinquents.....	10.9	6.0
Third one-quarter of the 8,141 delinquents.....	12.1	11.1
Second one-quarter of the 8,141 delinquents.....	29.0	27.4
First or lower one-quarter of the 8,141 delinquents.....	48.0	55.5
	100.0	100.0

It is significant that the one-quarter of the delinquents from the areas of highest rates comes from 10.9 per cent of the population and 6 per cent of the geographic area, while the upper one-half of the delinquents comes from 23 per cent of the population and 17.1 per cent of the city area.

A comparison of the present series with the 1926 police series, indicates marked similarities in the distribution of the cases and the variation of the rates in the two series; the police cases show a slightly greater concentration than the court delinquents. Correlation of the rates in the two series

yields a coefficient of correlation of  $0.85 \pm 0.02$ , which indicates a relatively high degree of correspondence. Some discrepancy in the relative magnitude of the rates for certain areas as between the two series is expected, since the number of delinquents involved in the calculation of rates in some areas was not sufficiently large to insure against chance fluctuations, and, also, the data used in the two series were secured from different sources. Nevertheless, it is clear that there is a high degree of similarity between the two series for the city as a whole, as indicated by the distribution maps, the extent of concentration, the similarity in the zone rates and the high coefficient of correlation.

#### RECIDIVISM AMONG JUVENILE-COURT DELINQUENTS

The 8,141 individual delinquents included in this series appeared in the juvenile court of Cook County on delinquency petitions a total of 12,029 times during the 7-year period. Each appearance was regarded as a separate case and a map was prepared to show the distribution of the total 12,029 cases. In the preparation of this map one spot for each appearance in court was placed at the home address of the offender. A study of the distribution of these cases revealed that the ratio between the number of individuals and the number of cases in the 113 areas of Chicago was not constant, but varied with the rates of individual delinquents. An analysis of this variation indicated that in the areas with high rates of delinquents a larger percentage of the delinquents became recidivists and that in these same areas the recidivists appeared in court more often than did the recidivists in the low-rate areas.

In order to determine the extent to which the percentage of recidivists among delinquents varies with high and low rate area the 113 areas were combined into four groups upon the basis of the magnitude of rates of delinquents in the present series. When the percentage of delinquents who became recidivists was calculated for each of these four groups of areas it was found that 10.3 more delinquents per hundred were recidivists in the high-rate areas than in the low-rate areas. Since 34.3 is 43 per cent greater than 24, it may be said that 43 per cent more delinquents were recidivists in high-rate areas than in low-rate areas.

TABLE V.—*Relationship between rates of delinquents and the percentage of delinquents who were recidivists in the 1917-1923 juvenile court series, by large class intervals*

	Percentage of delinquents who were recidivists
High-rate areas (9 and over)-----	34.3
Medium high-rate areas (6 to 8.9)-----	28.8
Medium low-rate areas (3 to 5.9)-----	26.3
Low-rate areas (0 to 2.9)-----	24.0

But not only do more delinquents from the high-rate areas become recidivists, but the average number of times recidivists appear in court is highest in the high-rate areas as revealed in Table VI.

TABLE VI.—*Relationship between rates of delinquents and the average number of times recidivists appeared in the juvenile court in the 1917-1923 juvenile court series, by large class intervals.*

	Average number of times recidivists were in court on delinquency petition
High-rate areas (9.0 and over)-----	2.69
Medium high-rate areas (6.0 to 8.9)-----	2.70
Medium low-rate areas (3.0 to 5.9)-----	2.53
Low-rate areas (0.0 to 2.9)-----	2.33

It will be observed from Table VI that the recidivists in the low-rate areas appeared in the juvenile court slightly less than two and one-third times each, while the recidivists from the high-rate areas appeared more than two and two-thirds times each. Thus, not only a disproportionately large number of the delinquents in high-rate areas become recidivists, but, in these areas, the recidivists appear in court more times than the recidivists in the low-rate areas.

#### JUVENILE-COURT DELINQUENTS FOR 1900-1906

An interesting comparison with the 1917-1923 juvenile-court series is furnished by a series of delinquents brought into the juvenile court of Cook County during the period 1900-1906 (the first seven years of the juvenile court's existence). This series includes 8,056 delinquent boys and is quite similar to the later series in age distribution and type of offenses.

When these 8,056 alleged delinquents were plotted on a map of Chicago by home addresses, the resulting configuration was very similar to that of Map II. The only notice-

able difference was that in the 1900-1906 series the areas of concentrations were more restricted and somewhat closer to the loop. But apart from this slight variation, the delinquents in this early series were concentrated in the same areas—that is, around the Loop, along the forks of the Chicago River, back of the stockyards, and in South Chicago.

The rates of delinquents in this series were calculated upon the basis of the aged 10 to 15 male population for the mid-year of the series. The areas used were the same as those used in the 1917-1923 juvenile court series, except that in seven instances it was necessary to combine certain of the 113 areas in order to secure adequate population in districts that were at that time sparsely settled. The rates in the 106 areas thus secured range from 0.6 to 29.8, with a median rate of 4.9 and an average rate of 8.4. Four areas have rates of 20.0 or over, 7 have rates of 15.0 or over, and 12 areas have rates of 12.0 or over. At the other extreme 3 areas have rates under 1.0 and 12 areas have rates of less than 2.0.

The high-rate areas in these two juvenile court series, although the series are separated by a time interval of 20 years, correspond very closely. One measure of this correspondence is the high coefficient of correlation of  $0.85 \pm 0.018$ . Another measure is the fact that all of the six areas with rates of 15.0 or over are, in whole or in part, within the first zone—that is, within 2 miles of the Loop—and all of the 14 areas with rates of 12.0 or over are either near the Loop or in the stockyards or South Chicago districts. The 25 areas with rates of less than 3.0, on the other hand, are 4 or more miles from the Loop. More specifically, the correspondence between the high-rate areas in the 2 series is indicated by the fact that all but 3 of the 15 high-rate areas in the late series are included in the 15 highest rate areas for the early series. The 3 areas not included have, interestingly enough, undergone a marked transition from a high-class residential neighborhood to a deteriorated area during the 20 years interval between the series. But apart from these areas of very rapid change, the high-rate areas of 1900 were practically the same as those of 1920. This correspondence is important in and of itself, but it is

especially important in view of the fact that the composition of the population in these areas has changed repeatedly in the interval between these two series. The fact that an area is likely to maintain a high rate of delinquency over a long period of time, irrespective of the different nationalities that occupy it, is of tremendous significance in the study of delinquency. A more detailed discussion of this point will be presented in a subsequent chapter.

#### RECIDIVISM IN 1900-1906 JUVENILE COURT SERIES

The 8,056 individual delinquents included in the 1900-1906 juvenile court series appeared in the juvenile court on delinquency petitions a total of 12,133 times. In this early series, as in the late juvenile court series, these appearances in court were regarded as separate cases and plotted on a map in the manner described in connection with the 1917-1923 juvenile court series. This distribution revealed that here again the ratio between the number of cases and the number of delinquents varied with the rates of individual delinquents.

As in the 1917-1923 series, this variation was due both to the fact that in the high-rate areas a higher percentage of delinquents became recidivists and to the fact that in the high-rate areas the recidivists appear in court more often than in the low-rate areas. Both of these relationships are shown roughly in Table VII, where all of the areas are included in four groups according to the magnitude of rate of delinquents in the 106 areas.

TABLE VII.—*Relationship between rates of delinquents, the percentage of delinquents who were recidivists, and the average number of times recidivists appeared in the juvenile court in the 1900-1906 juvenile court series; by large class intervals*

	Percent- age of delin- quents who were recidivists	Average number of times recidivists were in court
High-rate areas (12.0 or over).....	31.3	2.83
Medium high-rate areas (8.0 to 11.9).....	28.0	2.73
Medium low areas (4.0 to 7.9).....	27.1	2.67
Low-rate areas (0 to 3.9).....	23.7	2.60

It will be observed from Table VII that 7.6 more boys per 100 became recidivists in the areas with rates of 12.0 or over than in the areas with rates of less than 4.0. For every 100 delinquents in the low-rate areas who were recidivists, there were 132 recidivists in the same number of delinquents in the high-rate areas. Likewise, the average number of times the recidivists appeared in court was 2.83 in high-rate areas as against 2.60 in low-rate areas.

The data for both the early and late juvenile court series show that recidivism varies directly with the rate of individual delinquents. The delinquents living in high-rate areas are more likely to be recidivists, and the recidivists living in these areas are likely to appear in court a greater number of times than those in the low-rate areas.<sup>8</sup>

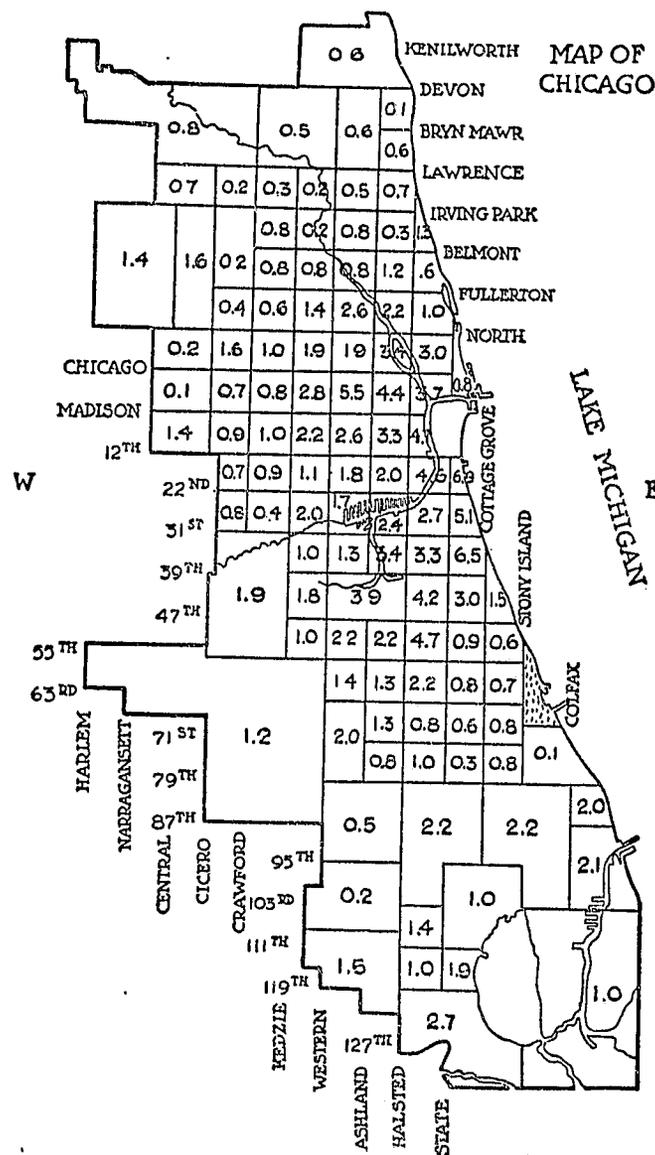
DISTRIBUTION OF COMMITTED DELINQUENTS

The third type of series of cases used in this study to determine the relative number of delinquents in different areas of Chicago includes the 2,639 boys who were committed by the Cook County Juvenile Court to correctional institutions during the years 1917-1923. These boys were without question involved in very serious delinquencies. Most of them had been in the juvenile court two or more times and many of them had served sentences in one or more juvenile correctional institutions. When these committed delinquents were tabulated by the 113 areas, it was found that there were three areas in the city from which more than 50 boys were committed during the 7-year period. On the other extreme, there were six areas from which only one boy was committed during this period and 14 areas from which less than five were committed.

RATES OF COMMITTED DELINQUENTS

When rates were calculated for these committed delinquents, it was found that the distribution of high and low rate areas was very similar to that for the police and juvenile court series. (See Map IIA.) The range of rates is

<sup>8</sup> For a more complete discussion of recidivism, see *Delinquency Areas*, University of Chicago Press, 1920, Clifford R. Shaw et al.



RATE MAP IIA

RATES OF DELINQUENTS IN CHICAGO FOR 1917-1923 JUVENILE COURT COMMITMENT SERIES

from 0.1 to 6.9. The median rate for the series is 1.2 and the average rate 1.8. Four areas have rates of 5 or over, and 17 areas have rates of 3 or over, while at the lower end of the range, 14 areas have rates of less than 0.5, and 46 areas have rates of less than 1.

It is clear from Rate Map IIA that the geographic distribution and variations of rates in this series greatly resemble the two series previously presented. The high-rate areas are adjacent to the central business district and industrial areas, while the low-rate areas are in the outlying communities. Striking evidence of this is seen in the fact that eight of the highest-rate areas are, at least in part, within 2 miles of the center of the city, while, on the other hand, all of the 46 areas with rates of less than 1 are, with two exceptions, more than 3 miles from the Loop.

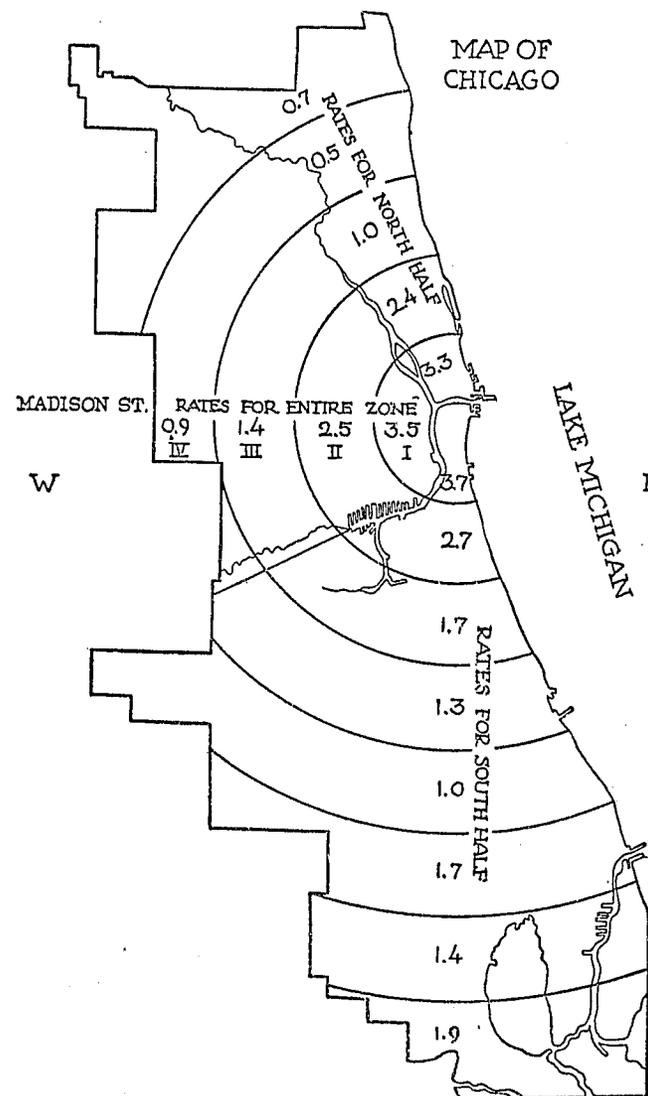
#### ZONE RATES

Because of the relatively small number of individuals included in this series, the rates show more chance fluctuations than the more complete series. This is especially noticeable in the rates along radial lines which, although they show the decrease out from the center of the city, are somewhat more irregular than in the other series. When the distribution is considered idealistically in zone rates, however, the variation is much the same as in the other series. (See Zone Map IIA.)

According to Zone Map II, the rates for this series decrease from 3.5 in Zone I to 0.9 in the fourth zone, which is a decrease of nearly 75 per cent. In other words, about four times as many boys per hundred are committed from the first zone as from the fourth. The zone rates for the north and south halves of Chicago show a variation very similar to that for the series previously presented.

#### EXTENT OF CONCENTRATION OF COMMITTED DELINQUENTS

A marked concentration of committed delinquents is indicated when the 113 areas are divided into four equal groups on the basis of magnitude of rate of committed delinquents and the percentage distribution of delinquents,



ZONE MAP IIA

RATES OF DELINQUENTS BY ZONES IN CHICAGO FOR THE 1917-1923  
JUVENILE COURT COMMITMENT SERIES

population, and city area is computed for these groups. (See Table VIII.)

TABLE VIII.—Percentage distribution of the committed delinquents, aged 10 to 16 male population, and city area when the 113 areas are divided into four equal groups on the basis of the magnitude of the rate of delinquents in the 1917-1923 juvenile court commitment series

Quartile grouping of areas	Percentage of the delinquents	Percentage of the population	Percentage of the city area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the 113 areas.....	56.3	29.1	21.2
Third one-quarter of the 113 areas.....	27.1	27.0	20.9
Second one-quarter of the 113 areas.....	11.8	23.2	25.6
First or lower one-quarter of the 113 areas.....	4.8	19.8	22.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0

From these calculations, it will be noted that 56.3 per cent of the 2,639 delinquents were committed from the upper one-fourth of the 113 areas, while these areas contain only 21.2 per cent of the geographic area, and 29.1 per cent of the aged 10 to 16 male population of the city. At the other extreme, only 4.8 per cent of the delinquents were committed from the one-quarter of the areas with the lowest rates, although these areas contained 19.8 per cent of the population and 22.3 per cent of the geographic area of Chicago.

When the 2,639 committed delinquents are divided into four equal groups on the basis of the magnitude of the rate of delinquents in the areas from which they were committed, further evidence of the marked concentration of the delinquents in this series is indicated. (See Table IX.)

TABLE IX.—Percentage distribution of the aged 10 to 16 male population and city area when the 2,592 committed delinquents are divided into four equal groups on the basis of the magnitude of the rate of delinquents in the 1917-1923 juvenile court commitment series

Quartile grouping of committed delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of total city area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the 2,639 delinquents.....	9.1	6.2
Third one-quarter of the 2,639 delinquents.....	15.0	10.8
Second one-quarter of the 2,639 delinquents.....	22.0	15.0
First or lower one-quarter of the 2,639 delinquents.....	53.9	68.0
	100.0	100.0

According to Table IX, one-quarter of the total 2,639 boys were committed from 9.1 per cent of the population and 6.2 per cent of the city area, while another one-quarter, those from the low-rate areas, were committed from 53.9 per cent of the population and 68 per cent of the city area. These measures of concentration indicate that this series of committed delinquents is somewhat more concentrated than the juvenile court cases and slightly less concentrated than the 1926 police series.

When the rates for this series of committed delinquents are correlated with the rates based on the 8,141 delinquents brought before the juvenile court between 1917-1923, the coefficient is  $0.96 \pm 0.01$ . The coefficient of correlation between the rates in this commitment series and the 1926 police series is  $0.86 \pm 0.02$ .

#### COMMITTED DELINQUENTS FOR 1900-1906

A study was made also of the distribution and rates of delinquents based upon the 2,592 boys committed from among the 8,056 delinquents included in the 1900-1906 juvenile court series. This series verifies throughout the findings presented for the previous series of committed offenders. Likewise, the high-rate and low-rate areas for this early series correspond very closely to the high and low rate areas in the juvenile court series for the same period. The extent of this correspondence is indicated by the high coefficient of correlation between the rates in these two series, namely,  $0.97 + 0.004$ .

#### SUMMARY

Three types of series of delinquent boys have been studied to determine the variations in the rate of male juvenile delinquents in the different areas of Chicago, namely, one series of boys dealt with by the police officers in a single year, one series of boys brought to the juvenile court during a 7-year period, and one series of committed delinquents. The findings in these three types of series have been fully presented and the correspondence between them indicated. Likewise, other similar series have been presented to substantiate these findings. In order to facilitate comparison

of the variation in the rates among the several series, the correlations between them will be summarized.

When the rates in the more recent series are correlated with one another, the following coefficients of correlation are found:

1926 police series with 1927 police series.....	0.96±0.01
1917-1923 juvenile court series with 1926 police.....	.85± .02
1917-1923 juvenile court series with 1917-1923 commitments.....	.96± .01
1917-1923 commitment series with 1926 police series.....	.86± .02

The correlation between the rates of delinquents based upon the individuals brought before the juvenile court between 1900-1906 and the rate for delinquents committed to correctional institutions during the same period yields a coefficient of  $0.97 \pm 0.004$ .

It is important to observe that there is, also, a high degree of correspondence in the variation of rates as between early and late series, despite the fact that these series are separated by an interval of at least 20 years.

1917-1923 juvenile court series with 1900-1906 juvenile court series.....	0.85±0.02
1917-1923 juvenile court series with 1900-1906 commitments.....	.86± .02
1917-1923 commitments with 1900-1906 juvenile court series.....	.87± .02
1917-1923 commitments with 1900-1906 commitments.....	.82± .02

The foregoing coefficients of correlation serve to verify the impressions gained from a comparison of the rate maps themselves. The geographic distribution of the cases and the variations in rates show a high degree of correspondence for the three types of series that have been presented.

In each series the greatest concentration and highest rates occur in areas adjacent to the central business district and the large industrial developments. It has been observed, also, that in general the rates show a definite tendency to decrease from the center of the city outward to the periphery. Figure I shows this variation by zones in the 1926 police, 1917-1923 juvenile court, and 1917-1923 commitment series, when the rate in the first zone is taken as a 100 per

cent base. The fact that these curves of decrease almost coincide establishes the consistency of this tendency as

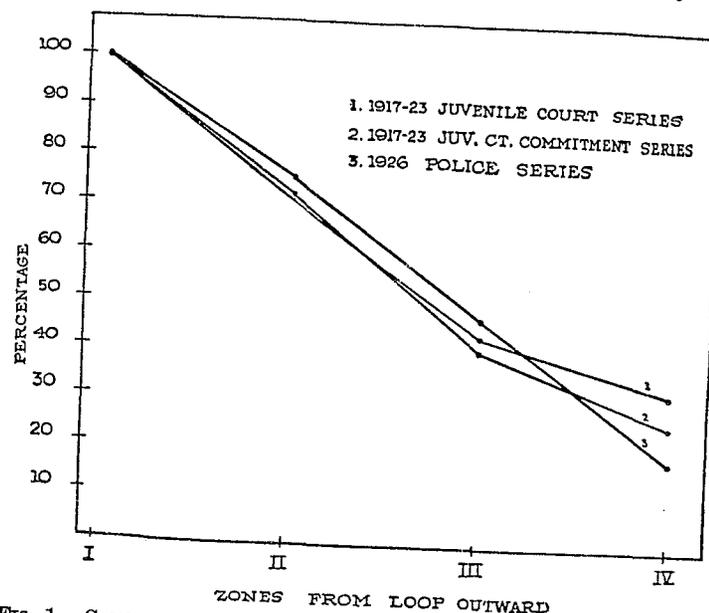


FIG. 1.—COMPARATIVE DECREASE IN RATES OF DELINQUENTS OUTWARD FROM CENTRAL ZONE FOR THE 1926 POLICE SERIES, 1917-1923 JUVENILE COURT SERIES, AND JUVENILE COURT COMMITMENT SERIES

measured by any one of the three types of series used in this study.

### CHAPTER III

#### FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF DELINQUENCY AREAS

The study of the distribution of juvenile delinquents in the previous chapter revealed wide variations in the rates of delinquents in the 113 areas of the city. Likewise it was found that the areas of low and high rates of delinquents assume a typical configuration with regard to the center of the city and also that this configuration of low and high rate areas has remained relatively unchanged over a long period of time. In attempting to interpret these findings, certain questions invariably arise: (1) What are the characteristics of these areas of high rates and how may they be differentiated from the areas with low rates? (2) Why do the low and high rate areas assume this configuration in relation to the center of the city? (3) Why have the rates in most of the areas of the city remained relatively constant over a long period of time? Any attempt to answer these questions must take into consideration the organic nature of the city and the processes of segregation and differentiation that take place in its growth and expansion.

Students of social problems have repeatedly pointed out that there are marked differences between areas within the city. The business center, the foreign districts, the slum, the industrial centers, and many other districts have been differentiated. Of these, the slum has probably received the most attention. This term has been used in a general way to designate areas where such conditions as physical deterioration, bad housing, overcrowding, poverty, and crime are prevalent. Attempts have been made to explain these conditions in terms of the other conditions existing in the same area and in terms of the local situation. Upon further analysis, however, it appears that all of these conditions of the local situation are products of the more general processes of expansion and segregation within the city.

The nature of these processes has been the subject of considerable study during recent years. Students of the city,

comprehending its unity and noting its organic nature, have described these processes in natural science terms by suggesting that every American city of the same class tends to reproduce, in the course of its expansion, all the different types of areas. The areas produced by this process are natural areas in the sense that they are not planned; they are typical in the sense that they tend to exhibit, from city to city, the same physical, social, and cultural characteristics. The natural process involved in the creation of these natural areas within the city is summarized in the following quotation from Robert E. Park:

The city plan establishes metes and bounds, fixes in a general way the location and character of the city's constructions, and imposes an orderly arrangement within the city area, upon the buildings which are erected by private initiative as well as by public authority. Within the limitations prescribed, however, the inevitable processes of human nature proceed to give these regions and these buildings a character which it is less easy to control \* \* \*. Personal tastes and convenience, vocational and economic interests, infallibly tend to segregate and thus to classify the populations of great cities. In this way the city acquires an organization and distribution of population which is neither designed nor controlled \* \* \*.

Physical geography, natural advantages and disadvantages, including means of transportation, determine in advance the general outlines of the urban plan. As the city increases in population, the subtler influences of sympathy, rivalry, and economic necessity tend to control the distribution of population. Business and industry seek advantageous locations and draw around them certain portions of the population. There spring up fashionable residence quarters from which the poorer classes are excluded because of the increased value of the land. Then there grow up slums which are inhabited by great numbers of the poorer classes who are unable to defend themselves from associations with the derelict and vicious.

In the course of time every section and quarter of the city takes on something of the character and qualities of its inhabitants. Each separate part of the city is inevitably stained with the peculiar sentiments of its population. The effect of this is to convert what was at first a mere geographical expression into a neighborhood, that is to say, a locality with sentiments, tradi-

tions, and a history of its own. Within this neighborhood the continuity of the historical processes is somehow maintained. The past imposes itself upon the present, and the life of every locality moves on with a certain momentum of its own, more or less independent of the larger circle of life and interests about it.<sup>1</sup>

In his description of the processes of radial expansion, Prof. E. W. Burgess has advanced the thesis that, in the absence of counteracting factors, the modern American city takes the form of five concentric urban zones. This ideal construction, as applied to the city of Chicago, is presented graphically in Figure 2. Burgess characterizes in the following manner the areas which are differentiated in the process of radial expansion from the center of the city:

**Zone I: The central business district.**—At the center of the city as the focus of its commercial, social, and civic life is situated the central business district. The heart of this district is the downtown retail district with its department stores, its smart shops, its office buildings, its clubs, its banks, its hotels, its theaters, its museums, and its headquarters of economic, social, civic and political life. Encircling this area of work and play is the less well-known wholesale business district with its market, its warehouses, and storage buildings.

**Zone II: The zone in transition.**—Surrounding the central business district are areas of residential deterioration caused by the encroaching of business and industry from Zone I.

Thus it may therefore be called a zone in transition, with a factory district for its inner belt and an outer ring of retrogressing neighborhoods, of first-settlement immigrant colonies, of rooming-house districts, of homeless men areas, of resorts of gambling, bootlegging, sexual vice, and of breeding places of crime. In this area of physical deterioration and social disorganization our studies show the greatest concentration of cases of poverty, bad housing, juvenile delinquency, family disintegration, physical and mental disease. As families and individuals prosper, they escape from this area into Zone III beyond, leaving behind as marooned a residuum of the defeated, leaderless, and helpless.

**Zone III: The zone of independent workingmen's homes.**—This third broad urban ring is in Chicago, as

<sup>1</sup> Park, R. E.: Human Behavior in Urban Environment; in *The City*, by R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess et al., Chicago, the University of Chicago Press, 1925, pp. 4-6.

well as in other northern industrial cities, largely constituted by neighborhoods of second immigrant settlement. Its residents are those who desire to live near but not too close to their work. In Chicago it is a housing area neither of tenements, apartments, nor of single dwellings; its boundaries have been roughly determined by the plotting of the two-flat dwelling, generally of

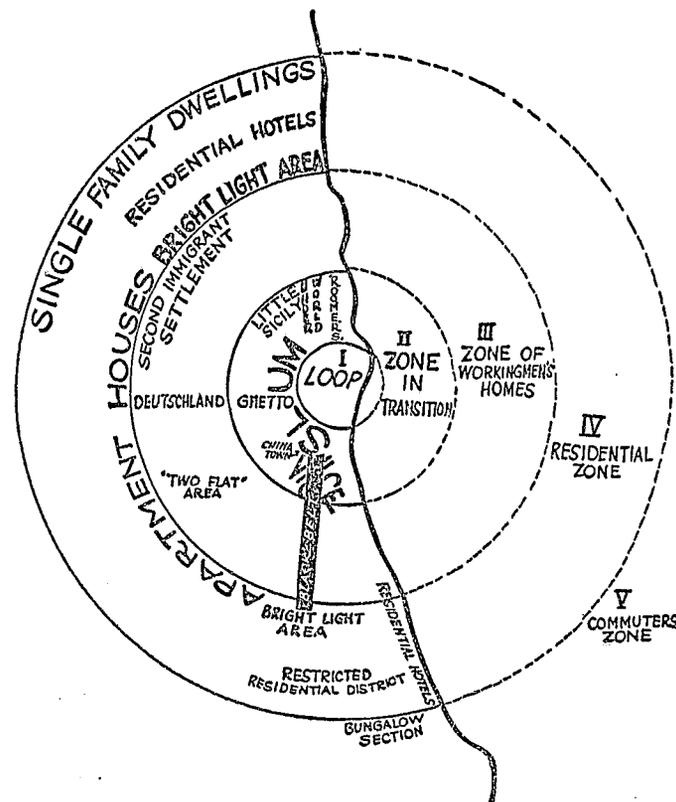


FIG. 2.—URBAN ZONES AND AREAS

frame construction, with the owner living on the lower floor with a tenant on the other. While the father works in the factory the sons and daughter typically have jobs in the Loop, attend dance halls and motion pictures in the bright-light areas, and plan upon marriage to set up homes in Zone IV.

**Zone IV: The zone of better residences.**—Extending beyond the neighborhoods of second immigrant settle-

ments, we come to the zone of better residences in which the great middle classes of native-born Americans live, small business men, professional people, clerks and salesmen. Once communities of single homes, these are becoming in Chicago apartment-house residential-hotel areas. Within these areas at strategic points are found local businesses called satellite Loops. The typical constellation of business and recreational units includes a bank, one or more United Cigar Stores, a drug store, a high-class restaurant, and automobile display row, and a so-called "wonder" motion-picture theater. With the addition of a dancing palace, a cabaret, and a smart hotel, the satellite Loop also becomes a bright-light area attracting a city-wide attendance. In this zone men are outnumbered by women, independence in voting is frequent, newspapers and books have wide circulation, and women are elected to the State legislature.

Zone V: *The commuters' zone*.—Out beyond the areas of better residence is a ring of encircling small cities, towns, and hamlets, which, taken together, constitute the suburbs, because the majority of men residing there spend the day at work in the Loop (central business district), returning only for the night. The communities in this commuters' zone are probably the most highly segregated of any in the entire gamut from an incorporated village run in the interests of crime and vice, such as Burnham, to Lake Forest, with its wealth, culture, and public spirit.<sup>2</sup>

The actual situation in any given city is, of course, somewhat different from this ideal presentation of city growth. In every city there are disturbing factors, such as lake fronts, rivers, elevations, railroads, and other barriers which affect the actual configuration that the city takes in its growth. Nevertheless, such an ideal construction furnishes a frame of reference from which the processes of city growth may be studied. It presents not only a general picture of the location of types of areas in a city at any given time, but it draws attention to one of the most significant characteristics of expansion, namely, succession, or the tendency of each inner zone to extend its area by invading the next outer zone.

<sup>2</sup>Burgess, E. W.: *Urban Areas in Chicago: An Experiment in Social Science Research*. Edited by T. V. Smith and L. D. White, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. 114-117.

It is the purpose of this chapter to present a picture of the structure of Chicago and to locate and characterize, by means of indices of organization and disorganization, the areas which have been produced by these processes of expansion and succession acting within this structure. These indices, it is hoped, will afford a basis for differentiating between the areas of low and high rates of delinquents, and will serve as a partial explanation of the location of the high-rate areas and the constancy of the rates in these areas over a long period of time.

The effect of Lake Michigan on the configuration of Chicago is seen in the fact that the business district, which has remained at the point of original settlement, is on the lake shore and not in the center of the city. The study of the growth of Chicago in terms of concentric circles is at once modified to a study in terms of semicircles.

As elevation is a negligible factor in Chicago, the only other natural barrier which has interfered significantly with the free movement of population according to the radial pattern of expansion is the Chicago River. Although not a large river, its two branches, which extend almost diagonally out from the center of the city, have rather effectively divided Chicago into three divisions, each one of which may be thought of as being somewhat distinct from the others. These two branches of the river have also complicated the transportation problem and thus affected the movement of population in near-by areas.

Very early in the history of Chicago industry was attracted to the areas along both branches of the river. This development was accompanied by settlements of early immigrants in the surrounding areas, while high-class residential districts developed north, south, and west of the central business district.

The outline of Chicago is, as a whole, quite regular. The city is laid out on the checkerboard street plan; the important streets are for the most part the section lines of the Government survey. Because of this plan the sections north, south, and west have been more accessible to the business center, and have therefore developed more rapidly than the northwest and southwest sides, where the river is a

complicating factor. This situation has been altered somewhat by the presence of certain important diagonal thoroughfares, which have been followed by foreign groups in their movement outward from the center of the city.

In the course of the growth of Chicago marked changes in the character of the areas around the central business district have taken place. Residential districts close to the center of the city were forced to give way to industrial and commercial developments, while other areas of single-family dwellings along the main transportation lines have become apartment-house districts. The high-class residential districts formerly located on the near west side and near south side have disappeared, but it is interesting to note that a high-class residential district on the near north side, locally known as the Gold Coast, has as yet withstood the invasion of industry.

South Chicago, an outlying business center on the Lake front, which developed almost as early as Chicago proper, was at the time of its founding, and still is, the center of a large industrial development. Likewise the district of Pullman, located just west of Lake Calumet, has always been an industrial center. Other districts such as Lake View on the North Shore and Hyde Park on the South Shore, which also became a part of Chicago through annexation, have largely retained their strictly residential character.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL CENTERS

One index which may be used to distinguish the types of areas that have been differentiated in the process of the growth of Chicago is the configuration of its major industrial and commercial developments. Figure 3, gives an outline of the areas zoned for industry and commerce by the Chicago zoning ordinance of 1923. The central commercial and light industrial district is indicated by the cross-hatched sections of this figure. The Loop is almost entirely occupied by commercial houses. In the zoned areas adjacent to the Loop, but not occupied by heavy industry, are slight industrial plants, warehouses, and similar buildings. Some of this area is still used for residential purposes but it is

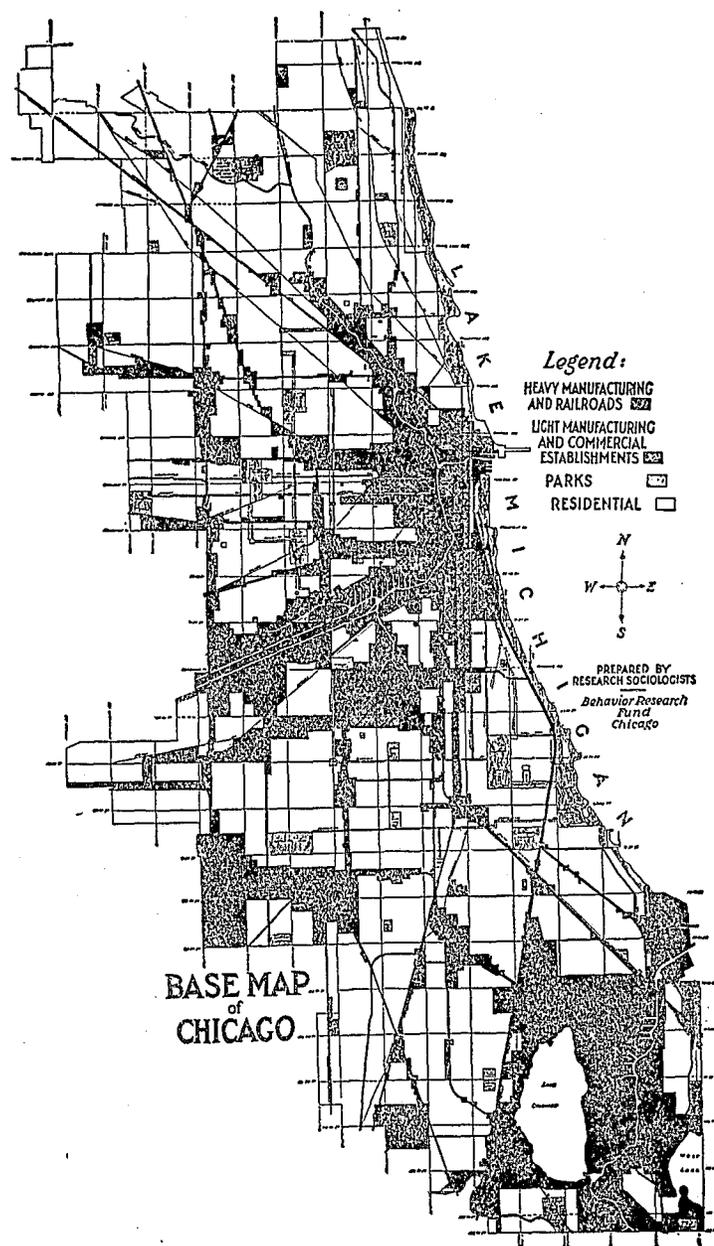


FIG. 3.—ZONING MAP OF CHICAGO (ADAPTED)

subject to occupancy by industry and commerce as the central district expands. It is interesting to note that this area zoned for light industry and commerce includes almost all of the area that was within the limits of the city in 1850 when the population was 30,000.

In contrast with the commercial and light industrial developments in and adjacent to the center of a city, heavy industry tends to be located where there are natural advantages such as rivers, along the trunk lines of railroads, or on the Lake front.

Thus the heavy industrial districts in Chicago, which are indicated in solid black on Figure 3, are quite widely dispersed throughout the city. The largest developments are along the banks of the Chicago River and extend outward from the point where the first industries were established. The northern extension follows the north branch about three miles from the central district, while the southern extension follows the south branch of the river to the city limits and includes a large portion of the Union Stock Yards and the central manufacturing district. The other major industrial areas outlined on this figure are in the South Chicago and Calumet district where, as previously indicated, more or less independent industrial communities developed early in the history of Chicago.

When the maps showing the distribution of delinquents in Chicago are compared with this industrial map, it will be noted that most of the concentrations of delinquents and most of the high-rate areas of delinquents are either included in or are adjacent to the districts zoned for industry and commerce. The high-rate areas along the two branches of the Chicago River on the west side, on the south side, in the stockyard district, and in South Chicago are either completely or in part included in the shaded areas. On the other hand, the areas with low rates of delinquents are, generally speaking, quite far removed from the major industrial developments.

From the foregoing it may be said that, in general, proximity to industry and commerce is an index of the areas of Chicago in which high rates of delinquents are found. It is not assumed that this relationship exists because industry and commerce are in themselves causes of delinquency.

But it is assumed that the areas adjacent to industry and commerce have certain characteristics which result from this proximity and which serve to differentiate them from the areas with low rates of delinquents. An effort will be made, therefore, to show how these areas are affected by industry and commerce and to present some of their more significant characteristics:

#### PHYSICAL DETERIORATION

As the city grows, the areas of light industry and commerce near the center of the city expand and encroach upon the areas used for residential purposes. The dwellings in such areas, already undesirable because of age, are allowed to deteriorate under the threat of invasion, because further investment in them is unprofitable. Others are junked to make way for new industrial or commercial structures. The effect of these changes is that the areas become increasingly undesirable through general depreciation.

Evidence of the physical deterioration around the central business and industrial district in Chicago is seen in Figure 4, which shows the location of the dilapidated and dangerous buildings, which were condemned by the building department of the city either to be destroyed or repaired (March, 1929.) It is not assumed that the configuration of the spots on this figure delimits all of the areas where bad housing conditions exist, although the housing conditions are probably more undesirable here than in any area of the city. The figure does show the areas where the pressure of the expanding business and industrial area is greatest and where the change in the use of land is most rapid.

Likewise, the areas adjacent to heavy industrial centers, but not yet occupied by industry, are subject to invasion. While the threat of invasion is not so great as in the areas close to the center of the city, first-class residences are not constructed in these areas and there is a definite tendency toward physical deterioration. Furthermore, the areas that are near heavy industrial developments are often rendered more undesirable for residential purposes because of noise, smoke, odors, or the general unattractiveness of the surroundings. The total result is, therefore, that both the areas

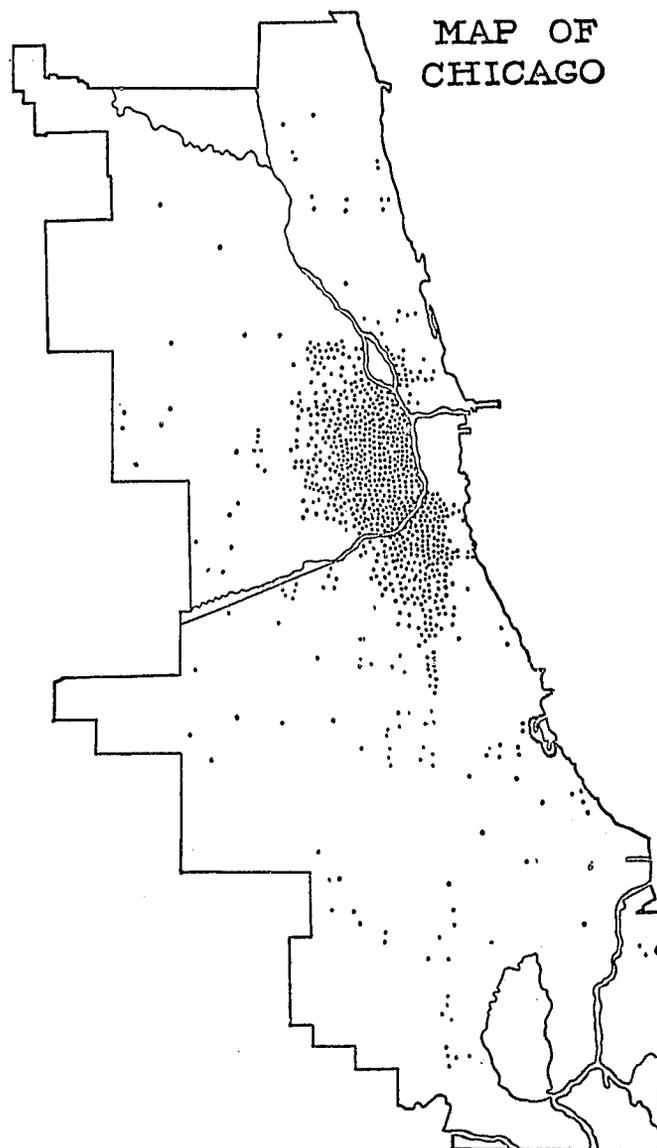


Fig. 4.—LOCATION OF CONDEMNED BUILDINGS IN 1929

adjacent to commercial and light industrial properties near the center of the city and those adjacent to centers of heavy industrial development in the outlying sections are in gen-

eral almost equally unattractive and undesirable for residential uses.

#### AREAS OF INCREASING AND DECREASING POPULATION

Further evidence of the process of deterioration and rapid change in the areas adjacent to commerce and industry is seen in Figure 5, which shows the percentage increase and decrease of the population in each of the 113 areas during the period from 1910 to 1920. According to this figure, 12 areas, all of them near the center of the city, decreased more than 20 per cent in this 10-year period; and a total of 23 areas, either near the central business district or the heavy industrial sections, showed some decrease. For example, it will be observed that some areas in the stockyards district and in the South Chicago and the Pullman industrial sections were among those showing a decrease in population.

When either the distribution maps or the rate maps are compared with Figure 5, it will be observed that most of the heavy concentrations of delinquents and most of the high-rate areas are included in those sections of the city which show a decreasing population. Likewise, the areas that are slowly increasing in population tend to be the areas with medium rates of delinquents, while the areas of more rapid increases tend to be the low-rate areas. This general correspondence is indicated in the following table, which shows the actual rate of delinquents in areas of increasing and decreasing population as classified in Figure 5, for each of the three major series of delinquents presented in the foregoing chapter.

TABLE X.—*Relationship between rates of delinquents and percentage increase and decrease of population in the five groups of areas outlined in Figure 5*

Population change	1926 police rates	1917-1923 juvenile court rates	1917-1923 commit- ment rates
Areas decreasing:			
20 per cent and over.....	11.0	9.7	3.3
0 to 20 per cent.....	10.6	8.6	3.1
Areas increasing:			
0 to 20 per cent.....	4.9	5.3	1.6
20 to 40 per cent.....	4.7	4.0	1.3
40 per cent and over.....	2.9	3.6	1.0

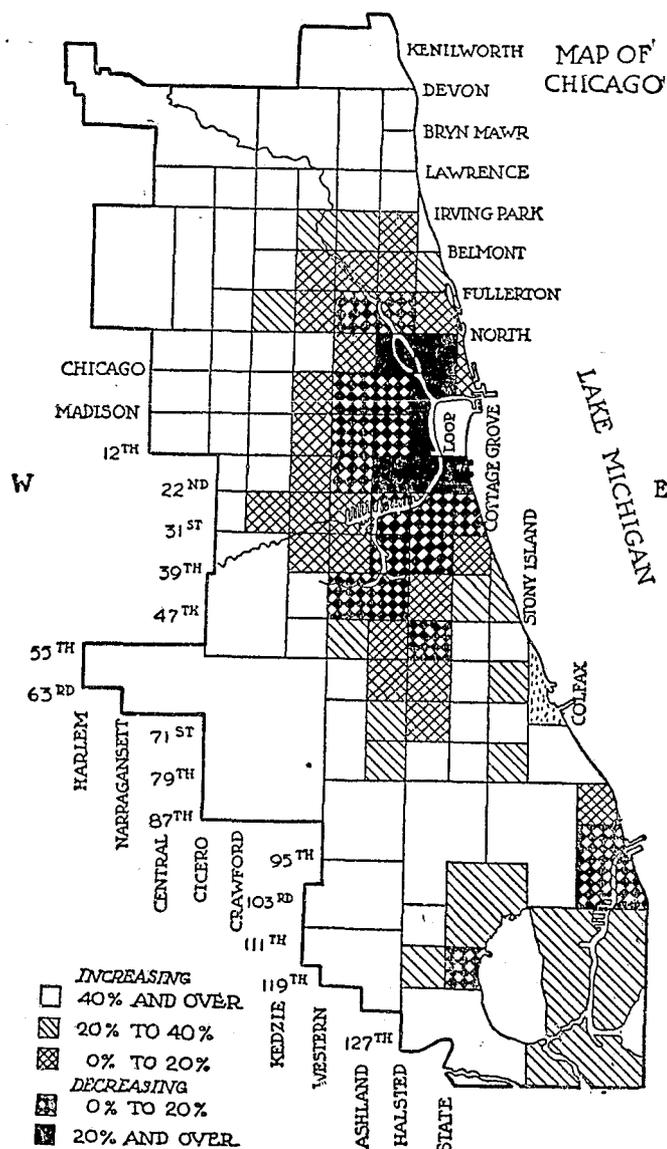


FIG. 5.—AREAS OF INCREASING AND DECREASING POPULATION IN CHICAGO BETWEEN 1910 AND 1920

According to Table X the rates in each of the three series of delinquents show a smooth and regular decrease from the areas with the greatest decrease to those with the greatest increase of population. Thus from the group of areas in which the population decreased more than 20 per cent, to the group of areas where the population increased more than 40 per cent, the range of rates in the police series is 11.0 to 2.9, in the 1917-1923 juvenile court series 9.7 to 3.6, and in the juvenile court commitment series from 3.3 to 1.0.

The reader is cautioned against attaching causal significance to the correspondence between rates of delinquents and percentage increase and decrease of population as presented in Table X, or to any of the variables considered in relation to rates of delinquents in this chapter. All the variables considered in this chapter are used solely to indicate differences between community backgrounds. The facts concerning increasing and decreasing population serve as a basis for differentiating between the areas of high rates of delinquency and those of low rates. It is probable that decreasing population, rather than contributing to delinquency, is a symptom of the more basic changes that are taking place in those areas of the city that are subject to invasion by industry and commerce.

The coefficient of correlation between the percentage increase and decrease of population in the 113 areas and the rates of delinquents in the 1917-1923 juvenile court series is  $-0.54 \pm 0.04$ . Here again the reader is cautioned against ascribing causal significance to this coefficient or to any of the coefficients presented in the remainder of the chapter. Throughout the chapter coefficients are presented to indicate in a more exact manner the degree of association between rates of delinquents and the several indices of community organization and disorganization which are considered.

The above coefficient would be somewhat higher were it not for exceptional rates of increase in a limited number of areas in the outlying districts of the city where new communities developed between 1910 and 1920. There appears to be a rather close and linear association between rates of



these two agencies during the year. While it is not assumed that this series of dependency cases furnishes an ideal index of the economic status of all of the families in these areas, it is probable that, with the exception of some Negro communities, it outlines the poverty areas quite accurately.

The areas in black on Figure 6, which show the areas of highest rates of dependency, are concentrated, as in the previous figures, around the central business and industrial section and in the stockyards district. The second class of areas—that is, those with rates of dependency ranging from 1.5 to 2—are concentrated just outside the highest-rate areas in the center of the city, in the "back-of-the-yards" district, and in the South Chicago industrial district. On the other hand, the areas of lowest rates are in the outlying residential communities.

The corresponding variation in the rates of delinquents and the rates of dependency in the five groups of areas outlined in Figure 6 is indicated in Table XI.

TABLE XI.—*Relationship between rates of delinquents and rates of family dependency in the five groups of areas outlined in Figure 6*

Dependency rates	1926 police rates	1917-1923 juvenile court rates	1917-1923 commit- ment rates
2 and over.....	11.0	0.2	3.2
1.5 to 2.....	8.6	7.1	2.5
1 to 1.5.....	7.4	6.4	2.2
0.5 to 1.....	3.8	5.1	1.5
0 to 0.5.....	2.2	2.9	.8

It will be observed that the variation in rates of delinquents as between the areas with highest rates of dependency and those with the lowest rates of dependency is 11 to 2.2 in the police series, 9.2 to 2.9 in the juvenile court series, and 3.2 to 0.8 in the juvenile court commitment series. These facts indicate that there is a marked similarity in the variation of rates of family dependency and rates of juvenile delinquents, since for each decrease in rates of dependency there is a corresponding decrease in rates of delinquency for each of the three series of delinquents. The coefficient of correlation between these rates of dependency

and the rates of delinquents in the 1917-1923 juvenile court series is  $0.74 \pm 0.03$ .

The inferior economic status of the families in the deteriorated areas is again suggested by the distribution of the children brought before the juvenile court on dependency petitions. The cases were secured for the period 1917-1923 and show a geographic distribution similar to that of cases of the delinquents for the same period. When rates for this series of dependent children were calculated upon the basis of the total number of children under 15 years of age, the areas showing the high rates were grouped around the center of the city and the industrial districts, and those with low rates were in the outlying districts.

In order to show the similarity in the geographic distribution of delinquents and this series of dependent children, the 113 areas were grouped into five classes upon the basis of the magnitude of the dependency rates and rates of delinquents were calculated for these groups of areas. (See Table XII.)

TABLE XII.—*Relationship between the rates of delinquents and rates of dependent children in five groups of areas*

Rates of dependent children	1926 police rates	1917-1923 juvenile court rates	1917-1923 commit- ment rates
1.6 and over.....	12.3	10.2	3.6
1.2 to 1.6.....	12.2	9.0	3.1
0.8 to 1.2.....	6.7	6.5	2.1
0.4 to 0.8.....	3.6	4.3	1.3
0 to 0.4.....	1.5	2.3	.6

The coefficient of correlation calculated upon the basis of the rates of dependency in this series and the rates of delinquents in the 1917-1923 juvenile court series is  $0.82 \pm 0.02$ .

A third series of dependents used in this study included the children in families which received financial aid under the provisions of the Mothers' Pension Act during the period from 1917 to 1923. Rates of dependency in this series were calculated upon the basis of the total population under 15 years of age in the 113 square-mile areas. Here again the

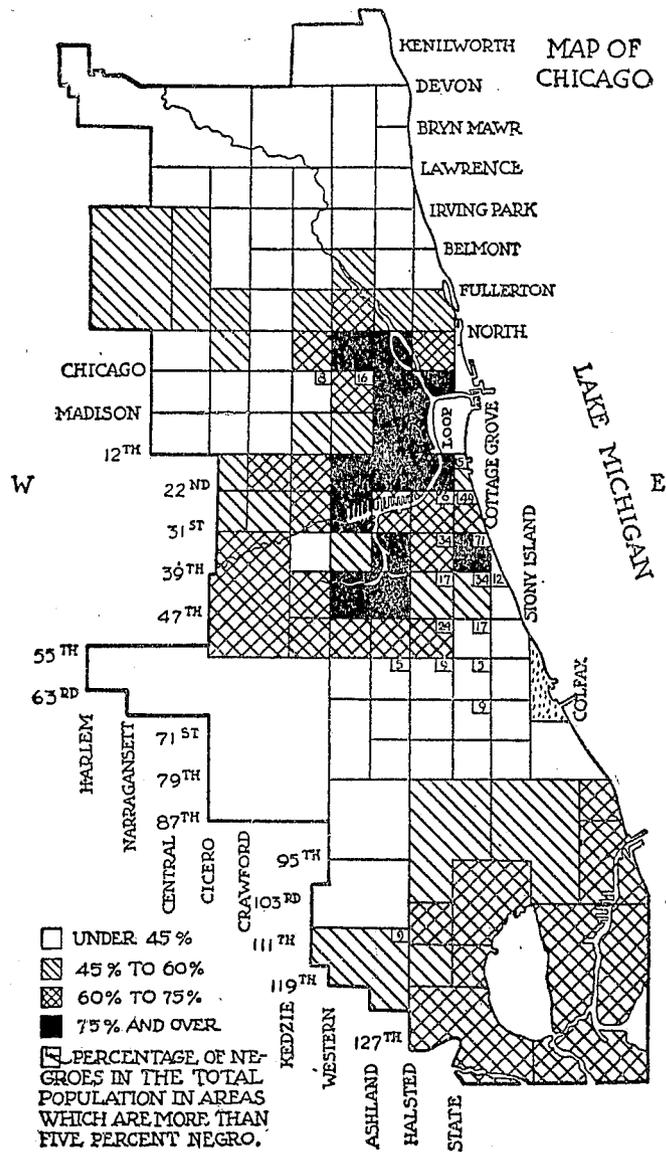


FIG. 7.—PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN AND NEGRO POPULATION IN THE TOTAL POPULATION OF CHICAGO IN 1920

rates showed wide variations between areas and a distribution similar to that of the other two series. When the rates for this series of dependents are correlated with the rates of delinquents in the 1917-1923 juvenile court series the coefficient is  $0.63 \pm 0.04$ .

#### DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN AND NEGRO POPULATION

Another characteristic of the areas of decreasing population, physical deterioration, and economic dependency is the high percentage of foreign and Negro population. The process of selection and segregation, operating on both economic and cultural bases, attract into these areas the population groups of the lowest economic status. These groups, include, for the most part, the newest immigrants and the Negroes. For the purpose of studying the processes of segregation and expansion within the city, the foreign born, the native born of foreign parentage under 21 years of age, and the Negroes are combined. This combination of different racial groups is justifiable since the Negroes and the immigrants are of somewhat comparable economic status; both are unaccustomed to the conditions of a modern urban community and are faced with the problem of making an adjustment in a situation with which they are not familiar. The cultural backgrounds of both groups are largely rural.

Figure 7 shows the percentage of the combined foreign and Negro population in the total population for each of the 113 areas in Chicago. In areas where the Negroes constitute more than 5 per cent of the total population the actual percentage for this group is given. As indicated in this figure, the highest percentages of foreign and Negro population are in the areas around the center of the city, in the stockyards district, and in South Chicago. The fact that these are the areas of high rates of delinquents is obvious when Figure 7 is compared with the delinquency maps presented in the previous chapter. The rates for the three series of delinquents and the percentage of foreign and Negro population in the four groups of areas outlined on Figure 7 are presented in Table XIII.

TABLE XIII.—*Relationship between the rates of delinquents and the percentage of foreign and Negro population in the total population in the four groups of areas outlined in Figure 7*

Per cent of Negro and foreign population	1926 police series	1917-1923 juvenile court series	1917-1923 commit- ment series
75 and over.....	11.6	8.8	3.0
60 to 75.....	7.9	7.1	2.4
45 to 60.....	4.9	5.2	1.7
Under 45.....	2.1	3.2	.9

The coefficient of correlation between the rates of delinquents in the 1917-1923 juvenile court series and the percentage of the combined foreign and negro group in the total population is  $0.61 \pm 0.04$ .

A further analysis of the population by square-mile areas revealed that the percentage of aliens among the foreign born was disproportionately large in the areas where the percentage of foreign born in the total population was highest. Thus it was found that in the shaded areas (fig. 7) near the center of the city, the percentage of aliens in the foreign-born population was 40.0, while in the unshaded areas only 13.9 per cent were so classified. Thus it is clear that in the areas of high rates of delinquents a much smaller proportion of the foreign born are naturalized than in the outlying areas where the rates are low. This fact suggests that the newest immigrants are concentrated, for the most part, in the areas of highest rates of delinquents.

As distinguished from the other indices of community organization and disorganization, the variation in the percentage of the combined foreign and Negro groups in the total population is of additional interest since the children of these two groups have, for a long period of time, constituted a disproportionate percentage of the delinquents in the juvenile court. This is indicated when the 8,141 delinquents included in our 1917-1923 juvenile court series are classified on the basis of the nativity of the father and compared either with the nativity distribution of the male adults in the total population or the nationality distribution of the total aged 10 to 16 male population as recorded in the 1920 census. Of the total number of delinquents classified in the 1917-1923 series, 9.1 per cent were Negroes, and

of the total number of white delinquents, 24.4 per cent had native-born fathers and 75.6 per cent had foreign-born fathers. The distribution of the male adults in Chicago shows quite different proportions in each of these groups. Of the total population in 1920, 4.9 per cent of the male adults (21 years and over) were Negroes, and of the total male white population, 48.3 per cent were foreign born and 51.7 per cent were native born. Thus, although 75.6 per cent of the white delinquents had foreign-born fathers, only 48.3 per cent of the total male white population were foreign born.

A comparison of the nationality distribution of the boys in the juvenile court series with that of the aged 10 to 16 male population for the city as a whole also revealed certain significant differences between these two groups. Of the total 10 to 16 white male population, 64.6 per cent had foreign-born fathers<sup>4</sup> as against 75.6 per cent of the white boys in the 1917-1923 juvenile court series. Interesting differences between the extent of delinquency among the children of native parentage and foreign parentage are revealed when actual rates are computed for each of these groups. The rate for the delinquents with native fathers was 2.9 as against 5.0 for the delinquents with foreign-born fathers. Thus, the rate for the children with foreign-born fathers is 72 per cent greater than that for the delinquents with native-born fathers. The rate in the native group for the single year 1920 was 0.8 and for the native white of foreign parentage 1.3. Thus for this single year the rate of the delinquents of foreign parentage was 62 per cent greater than that for the native white of native parentage.

The Negro group shows a somewhat higher rate of delinquents than either the native white of native parentage or the native white of foreign parentage. While the aged 10 to 16 male Negro population was only 2.5 per cent of the total aged 10 to 16 male population in the city, 9.9 per cent

<sup>4</sup> The total aged 10 to 16 white male population with foreign-born fathers for the city was secured by combining the native white of foreign parentage, the foreign born, and one-half of the native white of mixed parentage (the latter division was made on the assumption that one-half of the parents were native born and one-half foreign born). While this population is available for the city as a whole it could not be secured for local areas within the city.

of the delinquents in the 1917-1923 series were Negroes. For this series as a whole the rate for the Negro group was 15.6 and for the single year 1920 the rate was 4.6.

It is significant to note that the presence of a large Negro and foreign-born population in the areas having high rates of delinquents was not a unique situation in 1920. A study of the distribution of racial and national groups in both the school census of 1898 and the Federal census of 1910 showed that the highest percentage of the Negro and foreign born was in the areas having the highest rates of delinquents in the 1900-1906 juvenile court series. At that time, also, according to a study by Breckinridge and Abbott, there was a disproportionately large number of children in the juvenile court whose fathers were foreign born. Thus they state: "A comparison \* \* \* indicates that the number of delinquent parents in the foreign group is disproportionately large. That is \* \* \* the foreign born form 57 per cent of the married population of Chicago, while \* \* \* at least 67 per cent of the parents of the delinquent boys of the court were foreign born, and there is reason to believe that the true percentage is above 67."<sup>5</sup>

#### SUCCESSION OF CULTURAL GROUPS IN DELINQUENCY AREAS

Before attempting to interpret the fact that a disproportionately large number of boys brought before the juvenile court are of foreign born and Negro parentage, or that the highest percentage of foreign born and Negro population is found in the areas having the highest rates of delinquents, it is necessary to consider two complementary changes that have taken place in the history of Chicago. In the first place, during the period between 1900 and 1920 marked changes took place in the racial and national composition of the population which inhabited the areas with the highest rates of delinquents. In the second place, this change in the composition of the population was paralleled by a corresponding change in the racial and nationality groupings among children brought before the juvenile court of Cook County during the 20-year period.

<sup>5</sup> Breckinridge, S. P., and Abbott, Edith: *The Delinquent Child and the Home*, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1912, pp. 61, 62.

It was pointed out in the previous chapter that the relative magnitude of the rates of delinquents in the areas having the greatest concentration of delinquent boys in 1920 has changed relatively little since 1900. In view of this fact, the above-mentioned changes in the composition of the population in these areas are of great significance in the study of juvenile delinquency and will therefore be considered in greater detail.

Dr. Paul F. Cressey, in an exhaustive study entitled "Succession of Cultural Groups in the City of Chicago" has described the successive changes in the geographic distribution of the various racial and nationality groups in the city during the period between 1898 and 1920. In a summary statement of the entire study Mr. Cressey says:

Upon first arrival in the city an immigrant group tends to settle in a very compact community near the industrial areas adjacent to the center of the city. These regions are known as areas of first settlement and are characterized culturally by the perpetuation of many European traditions and habits of life. After some years of residence in such an area of initial settlement the group tends to move outward to some new district, establishing an area of second settlement. In such a district the group is characterized by less concentration and by a closer approximation of urban American standards of living. As individual members of these immigrant communities become more fully assimilated they tend to move away from their particular communities into cosmopolitan American residential areas. Thus the length of time an immigrant group has been in the city is reflected by its pattern of distribution; whether it is highly concentrated close to the center of the city, or scattered in several areas of first and second settlement, or whether it is widely distributed through a relationship between the culture of a group and its spatial distribution. The successive stages of movement represent progressive stages of assimilation.

The oldest immigrant groups in the city are the least highly concentrated and are found farthest removed from the center of the city. Nearer the center are found more recently arrived immigrant groups, while the latest arrivals live in very compact communities very close to the Loop.

The distribution of the total population of Chicago and of the most important immigrant groups was

measured statistically from material contained in a local school census for 1898 and in the Federal census for 1910 and 1920. The city was divided into circular mile zones, radiating from the center of the city, and the distribution by percentage of each group was computed for each of these zones for the three successive periods. Graphs were also prepared of these distributions. The German, Irish, and Swedish groups which are the oldest immigrant groups in the city are shown to be the most widely dispersed at the present time, their graphs having the greatest semiinterquartile range. They are also located farthest from the center of the city, the medians of their distribution generally falling in the fourth and fifth mile zones from the center of the city. The more recently arrived groups are more highly concentrated, have smaller interquartile ranges and are located nearer to the center of the city, their medians falling primarily in the second and third mile zones. The centers of distribution in 1920 of the Italians, Negroes, Russians (largely Russian Jews), Poles and Czechoslovaks are nearer to the center of the city than is the center of distribution of the total population of the city, while the medians of the Germans, Irish, and Swedes lie farther out than that of the total population.

The negroes present a striking contrast to the increasing dispersion of the European immigrant groups in Chicago, for they have become more highly concentrated during the past twenty-two years. As the number of Negroes in the city has increased fewer Negroes have lived scattered through predominantly white areas and the greater has become their concentration in specific Negro communities."<sup>6</sup>

The movement of the immigrant groups from the areas of the first immigrant settlement to the areas of the second and third settlement, and the succession of nationalities in the areas adjacent to the center of the city, are matters of great significance when considered in relation to the process of city growth and the distribution of juvenile delinquents. Attracted by the low rents and accessibility to employment, the newer immigrants settle in the areas adjacent to industry and commerce, force out the older immigrants, and then in turn give way to still newer immigrant groups. It is in

<sup>6</sup> Cressey, Paul F.: *The Succession of Cultural Groups*, dissertation submitted for the degree of doctor of philosophy, department of sociology, University of Chicago, 1930.

# CONTINUED

## 6 OF 70

these deteriorated areas, therefore, that the members of each nationality have been forced to make their first adjustments to the new world and to rear their children.

The rate of movement of immigrants out of the areas of first settlement depends, among other things, upon the rapidity of growth of the city. In cities that are growing very slowly this movement is less marked both because there is less pressure from incoming groups and because the areas of first settlement are not seriously threatened by the invasion of industry and commerce. In Chicago, because of the very rapid increase of the population through immigration and the tremendous industrial development, the older groups have been under constant pressure to move out of the areas of first settlement to make way for the newer immigrant groups.

The result has been a continuous change in the composition of the population in the areas of first immigrant settlement, which have been shown to be the areas of highest delinquency rates.

In order to indicate in a concrete manner the changes which have taken place in the composition of the population in the areas of first immigrant settlement, a limited number of areas have been selected for further analysis. In three of these areas a comparison is made between the nationality distribution of the foreign-born population in 1898 and in 1920 and the nationality distribution of the juvenile delinquents of foreign-born parents in the 1900-1906 with the 1917-1923 juvenile court series. In two additional areas a comparison is made between the percentage of Negroes in the total population in 1898 and in 1920 and the percentage of Negro and white delinquents in the early and late juvenile court series.

Several facts should be kept in mind when the above comparisons are being considered. In the first place it was necessary to use the foreign-born population as a basis for showing the population change in three of the areas. The nativity distribution of the foreign born represents the nationality distribution of most of the population in these three areas, since most of the inhabitants of these areas are either foreign born or children in the families of the foreign-born population. In the second place it was necessary to

use the Chicago school census population for 1898, since the 1900 Federal census population was not available by nationalities for local areas. Although the school census of 1898 antedated by five years the mid-year of our 1900-1906 series, it was, fortunately, a census of the total population giving the nationality distribution by small areas, which could be combined into areas practically identical with the square miles used in this study. When this census was compared with the Federal census for 1900, it was found to correspond fairly well as regards the percentage distribution of nationalities in the total foreign-born population, and as regards the percentage of Negroes in the total population but not as regards the percentage of native born and foreign born in the total population. In the following tables, therefore, no attempt will be made to state the exact percentage of native and foreign born in the total population, or the percentage of children of native-born or foreign-born parents in the total number of children for the early period. It should be added, however, that studies of this census and the census of 1910 revealed that the percentage of foreign born in the areas of first settlement in 1900 was fully as great as in 1920.

The following tables are presented for the sole purpose of showing in a general way the changes in the racial or nationality distributions in the foreign-born population and the juvenile delinquents in the areas considered. In view of the above-mentioned limitations of the materials, no attempt should be made to make precise comparisons between the extent of the change in the population and the delinquents for any given nationality.

## AREA 44

The transition in the composition of the population and the composition of the delinquents in the period between the early and late juvenile court series is shown very clearly in area 44. This area is located just west of the Loop and is bounded by Chicago Avenue, Halsted Street, Madison Street, and Ashland Avenue. The rate of delinquents in this area was 14.6, with a percentile rank of 93, in the 1900-1906 juvenile court series and 12.0 with a percentile rank of 93 in the 1917-1923 juvenile court series. The exact correspondence of the percentile rank of the rates in these

two series indicates that in relation to the rest of the city the rates of delinquencies had not changed appreciably during this period.

As indicated previously it is possible to make comparisons only between the percentages of each nationality in the foreign-born population and the percentage of each nationality among the delinquents with foreign-born fathers. The percentage of foreign born in the total population in area 44 is 44.5. Since 72.5 per cent of the adults were foreign born and 86.4 per cent of the persons under 21 years of age were born of foreign parents, the nativity distribution of the foreign born may be taken as representative of the nationality distribution of a major proportion of the total population of the area.

In the total number of delinquents in this area in the 1900-1906 series 79.4 per cent were classified as having foreign-born fathers as over against 85 per cent in the 1917-1923 series.

TABLE XIV.—Changes in the nationality distribution among the foreign born and delinquents of foreign-born parents in area 44

Nationality	Per cent distribution of foreign-born population by country of birth		Per cent distribution of delinquents of foreign-born parents by country of birth of father	
	1898	1920	1900-1906 series	1917-1923 series
German.....	18.7	3.6	11.2	1.9
Irish.....	12.7	1.7	12.9	2.3
Scandinavian.....	50.8	3.7	23.0	3.2
Italian.....	7.1	28.1	19.1	27.4
Slavic.....	2.1	50.9	14.1	60.0
All others.....	8.6	12.0	19.7	4.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table XIV shows, it will be noted, that there was an almost complete change in the composition of the foreign-born population in this area. The percentage of Germans decreased from 18.7 per cent in 1898 to 3.6 per cent in 1920, the Irish from 12.7 to 1.7 per cent and the Scandinavian from 50.8 to 3.7 per cent in the same period. In contrast the percentage of Italians increased from 7.1 to 28.1, in this 22-year period, and the percentage of all Slavic peoples from 2.1 to 50.9.

The distribution of delinquents, classified on the basis of the place of birth of the father, shows a similar change as between the 1900-1906 juvenile court series and the 1917-1923 juvenile court series. The percentage of delinquents whose fathers were born in Germany decreased from 11.2 per cent of the total number of delinquents with foreign-born fathers in the early series, to 1.9 per cent in the late series. In the same period the percentage of Irish decreased from 12.9 per cent to 2.8, the percentage of Scandinavian from 23.0 to 3.2, while the percentage of Italian increased from 19.1 to 27.4 and the Slavic group from 14.1 to 60.0 per cent.

This change in the composition of the delinquents shows not only the same picture of change that is to be observed in the general population, but it also brings out the very important fact that there is not a disproportionate number of delinquents among the members of the older groups who have remained in the area. This suggests that the families in which there were delinquents moved out of the area as readily as the families in which there were no delinquents.<sup>7</sup>

Taken as a whole, Table XIV shows that the older immigrant groups have been succeeded by the newer immigrants in this area of first settlement. The change was almost complete. This fact is especially interesting in view of the fact that the relative magnitude of the rates in the area is almost identical for the early and late series.

## AREA 52

Area 52, bounded by Madison Street, Halsted Street, Roosevelt Road, and Ashland Avenue, is another area of first settlement located just west of the Loop. In this area the rate of delinquents in the 1900-1906 series was 13.8, with a percentile rank of 91, and the rate in the 1917-1923 series

<sup>7</sup> While it is felt that the data in these tables are adequate to show changes both in the composition of the population and the delinquents, they do not furnish an adequate basis for the calculation of rates of delinquents within the national groups either for the city as a whole or for local areas within the city. While it is agreed that rates of delinquents for nationalities would be highly desirable, it is felt that they could not be accurately calculated without knowing the juvenile population by age groups distributed on the basis of the country of birth of their parents. Such statistics are not available.

was 9.9, with a percentile rank of 90. Here, as in area 44, the relative magnitude of the rate of delinquents has remained almost constant. In this area the delinquents of foreign-born fathers were equal to 82.8 per cent of the total number of cases in 1900-1906 series, and to 89.5 per cent of the total number in the 1917-1923 series. Forty-three and eight-tenths per cent of the total population in this area were foreign born, while 86.2 per cent of the population under 21 years of age were of foreign-born parentage.

The changes in the composition of the foreign-born population in this area, along with the nationality distribution among the delinquents in both the 1900-1906 and 1917-1923 series, are indicated in Table XV.

TABLE XV.—Changes in the nationality distribution among the foreign born and delinquents of foreign-born parents in area 52

Nationality	Per cent distribution of foreign-born population by country of birth		Per cent distribution of delinquents of foreign-born parents by country of birth of father	
	1898	1920	1900-1906 series	1917-1923 series
German.....	18.4	2.7	8.5	0.4
Irish.....	34.9	4.7	29.9	3.5
English-Scotch.....	6.2	2.2	7.6	.9
Scandinavian.....	4.4	1.8	1.2	.9
Italian.....	3.9	59.4	18.3	80.3
Slavic.....	16.6	12.0	20.8	10.5
Others.....	15.6	17.2	13.7	3.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The greatest change revealed in this table is the decrease of the German and Irish and the increase of Italian population. The percentage of Irish showed the greatest decrease. This group decreased from 34.9 per cent in 1898 to 4.7 per cent in 1920, while the percentage of Germans decreased from 18.4 to 2.7. On the other hand, the percentage of Italians in the foreign-born population increased from 3.9 in 1898 to 59.4 in 1920. Corresponding changes are to be noted in the nationality distributions among the delinquents in the 1900-1906 series and the 1917-1923 series. The percentage of delinquents of German parentage decreased from 8.5 in the early series to 0.4 in the late series, the percentage of Irish

from 29.9 to 3.5, the percentage of English and Scotch from 7.6 to 0.9; while the percentage of Italians increased from 18.3 to 80.5. Thus, while the percentile rank of the rates of delinquents for the early and late series was almost identical, the nationality composition of the population and of the delinquents in the area showed an almost complete change. In both of these groups the early immigrant population was supplanted by the more recent immigrants.

Areas 44 and 52 are sufficient to illustrate in a general way the changes which have taken place in most of the areas of first immigrant settlement in the near west side in Chicago. For further study we have chosen an outlying area of first settlement near one of the major industrial developments of Chicago, namely, the Union Stock Yards.

## AREA 75

Area 75 is bounded by Thirty-ninth Street, Halsted Street, Forty-seventh Street, and Western Avenue. Although this area is 2 square miles in size the population is largely concentrated in a small section of the west half of the area. The remainder of the area is occupied by the stockyards and other industrial establishments.

The rate of delinquents in this area in the 1900-1906 juvenile court series was 14.1, with a percentile rank of 92, while the rate in the 1917-1923 juvenile court series was 9.1, with a percentile rank of 87. Thus, according to the percentile rank of the rates for the early and late series, the rate of delinquents in this area decreased slightly during the interval between the series. According to the classification of the delinquents included in the 1900-1906 juvenile court series, 97.2 per cent had foreign-born fathers; the percentage was almost the same (97.8) in the 1917-1923 series. In this area 52.1 per cent of the population were foreign born in 1920, and 91.6 per cent of the population under 21 years of age were of foreign-born parentage.

The changes in the nationality composition of the foreign-born population and the delinquents in area 75 are indicated in Table XVI. From this table it is clear that the changes observed in areas 44 and 52, located just west of the Loop, are almost duplicated in area 75.

TABLE XVI.—Changes in the nationality distribution among the foreign born and the delinquents of foreign-born parents in area 75

Nationality	Per cent distribution of foreign-born population by country of birth		Per cent distribution of delinquents of foreign-born parents by country of birth of father	
	1898	1920	1900-1906 series	1917-1923 series
German.....	12.9	1.8	13.0	1.1
Irish.....	30.5	1.6	31.9	1.1
English-Scotch.....	4.1	.3	2.9	0
Slavic.....	37.4	87.4	40.6	92.3
Others.....	15.1	15.1	11.0	5.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

According to Table XVI, the Germans, Irish, English, and Scotch disappeared almost entirely from this area, while the Slavic peoples have largely replaced them. The consistency in the change between the population and the delinquents is quite striking. The percentage of Germans in the total foreign born decreased from 12.9 to 1.8, while the percentage of delinquents of German parentage decreased from 13.0 to 1.1. Likewise, the percentage of Irish decreased from 30.5 to 1.6, and the delinquents of Irish parentage from 39.1 to 1.1. In sharp contrast, the percentage of the Slavic population in the total foreign born increased from 37.4 to 87.4, while the delinquents of Slavic parentage increased correspondingly from 40.6 to 92.3 per cent of the total number of delinquents of foreign parentage. It will be observed that the Slavic population, which is largely Polish, had started to occupy this area before 1898, as indicated by the fact that 37.4 per cent of the foreign population were classified as Slavic at that early period.

The change in the composition of the population in area 75 is in most respects quite typical of the changes that have taken place in most of the areas adjacent to major industrial developments. The relative percentage of the different nationalities in the total population may vary somewhat from area to area, but in most instances the German, Irish, English, Scotch, and Scandinavian groups have been supplanted by more recent immigrants, such as the Italians, Poles, and Lithuanians. Further study indicates that such changes have taken place in most of the areas near the stockyards, South Chicago steel mills, and in the Pullman industrial district.

## AREA 67

Another type of change in the population is seen in areas where both the native white and the foreign population have been replaced by the Negroes, with corresponding changes in the composition of the juvenile delinquents. Such a change has taken place in area 67. This area is located south of the Loop and is bounded by Twenty-second Street, Lake Michigan, Thirty-first, and State Streets.

In this area the rate of delinquents for the early series was 20.8, with a percentile rank of 97, and a rate in the late series of 15.7, with a percentile rank of 98. Here again the rate, as indicated by the similarity of the percentile ranks, is almost identical for the two series. The changes which have taken place in the racial composition of the total population and the juvenile delinquents in area 67 are indicated in Table XVII.

According to this table, the total population in area 67 was 15.0 per cent Negro in 1898, and 48.8 per cent in 1920 (as stated on page 86, the percentage of American and foreign born was not available by local areas for 1898). A somewhat similar change is noted in the composition of the delinquents. In the early series, 38.6 per cent of the delinquents in this area were Negroes, while in the late series 69.2 per cent were so classified. The percentage of American white delinquents changed but little, while the percentage of white delinquents of foreign-born parents decreased from 41.8 per cent to 15.4 per cent. On the basis of these facts it is evident that the Negroes were replacing the white group both in the total population and in the delinquent groups during the 20-year period.

TABLE XVII.—Changes in the racial composition of the total population and delinquents in area 67

Race	Per cent distribution of Negroes in total population		Per cent distribution of American white, Negroes, and foreign born among delinquents	
	1898	1920	1900-1906 series	1917-1923 series
American.....		34.9	19.6	15.4
American Negro.....	15.0	48.8	38.6	69.2
Foreign born.....		16.3	41.8	15.4
			100.0	100.0

## AREA 73

In area 73 there was an almost complete change from a white to a Negro population in the period from 1898 to 1920. In contrast with the other four areas, in which the rates of delinquents remained constant, there was considerable increase in the relative rate of delinquents in this area. Area 73 is located immediately south of area 67 and is bounded by Thirty-first Street, Cottage Grove Avenue, Thirty-ninth and State Streets.

In area 67 the rate of delinquents in the early juvenile court series was 6.9, with a percentile rank of 64, while the rate in the late series was 15.1, with a percentile rank of 97. The change in percentile rank from 64 to 97 indicates the marked relative increase in the rate of delinquents during the period between the two series.

As revealed in Table XVIII, the percentage of Negroes in area 73 increased from 2.8 per cent of the total population in 1898 to 70.8 per cent of the total in 1920. Similarly, the percentage of Negroes among the juvenile delinquents changed from 8.6 in the 1900-1906 series to 81.5 in the 1917-1923 series. On the other hand, the percentage of delinquents both of native and of foreign parents showed a marked decrease, the former from 37.1 to 13.1 and the latter from 54.3 to 5.4.

TABLE XVIII.—Changes in the racial composition of the total population and delinquents in area 73

Race	Per cent distribution of Negroes in total population		Per cent distribution of American white, Negroes, foreign born among Negroes	
	1898	1920	1900-1906 series	1917-1923 series
American.....		20.9	37.1	13.1
American Negro.....	2.8	70.8	8.0	81.5
Others.....		8.3	54.3	5.4
		100.0	100.0	100.0

The changes from a white to a Negro population in area 73, and to a less extent in area 67, were quite different from the changes in areas 44, 52, and 75 where one national group replaced another without any noticeable change in the relative magnitude of the rates of delinquents. Area 67,

which had a high rate of delinquents in the early series, showed an increasing Negro population without any evident change in the character of the area. Area 73, however, located somewhat farther out from the center of the city, was not primarily an area of first immigrant settlement. The invasion of the area by relatively unassimilated Negroes brought about, therefore, marked changes in its social organization. These changes are reflected in the increase in the rate of delinquents during the period between the early and late juvenile court series.

The changes in the distribution of racial and national groups both in the population and the delinquents in the five areas that have been analyzed are paralleled by very similar changes in all of the areas of first immigrant settlement, as well as those that have been invaded by the Negroes. An analysis of the changes in all of the areas in which there has been a succession of foreign groups reveals that, with few exceptions, the older immigrant groups have been replaced by the newer immigrant groups, and that these changes have been accompanied by little variation in the rates of delinquents.

#### CHANGES IN THE NATIONALITY DISTRIBUTION AMONG JUVENILE COURT DELINQUENTS FOR THE CITY AS A WHOLE

The movement of the German, Irish, English, and Scandinavian groups out of the areas of first settlement into the areas of second settlement has been paralleled by a corresponding decrease in the percentage of delinquent boys in these nationalities in the Cook County Juvenile Court. Likewise, the increase of Italians, Polish, Russians, Lithuanians, and Negroes in the areas of first settlement has been paralleled by an increase in the percentage of boys in these groups in the juvenile court. This fact is indicated both in the nationality classification of the delinquents in our two series of court delinquents and in the nationality classification published in the annual reports of the juvenile court.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> In the Cook County Juvenile Court reports through 1920 the delinquents were classified on the basis of the nationality of the parents. It is impossible to ascertain exactly the extent to which nationality represents nativity. Probably in some instances foreign-born parents give their nationality as

For the purpose of making the present comparisons, the classifications in the reports of the court will be used, since they give the nationality distribution by single years for a period of 30 years. The nationality distribution of the delinquents in the juvenile court, as shown by the annual reports, is presented for each fifth year from 1900 to 1930 in Table XIX.

TABLE XIX.—Nationality of delinquent boys based on the nativity of their parents expressed in percentages of the total number of cases classified by race and nationality for each fifth year since 1900

Nationality	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930
Total number of cases classified.....	1,035	1,828	1,123	2,215	1,829	1,910	2,307
American:							
White.....	16.9	19.0	10.5	16.5	23.0	21.7	10.5
Negro.....	4.7	5.1	5.5	0.2	0.0	17.1	21.7
German.....	20.4	18.5	15.5	11.0	0.3	3.5	1.9
Irish.....	18.7	15.4	12.3	10.7	0.1	3.1	1.3
Italian.....	5.1	8.3	7.9	10.1	12.7	12.8	11.7
Polish.....	15.1	15.7	18.0	22.1	21.5	21.9	21.0
English-Scotch.....	3.4	3.0	2.5	2.0	.0	.7	.6
Scandinavian.....	3.8	5.9	2.9	2.8	2.3	.5	.8
Austrian.....	.1	.9	.0	1.3	.0	2.2	1.7
Lithuanian.....	.1	.3	1.1	2.9	2.2	3.0	3.3
Czechoslovakian.....	4.6	4.3	5.5	3.0	2.2	2.8	4.2
All others.....	8.0	4.5	11.8	10.8	0.1	0.8	11.8
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Only the cases classified by nationality or race were included in the computations of the percentages. This table indicates that of the 1,035 cases of male delinquents brought to the court during 1900, the German and Irish groups showed the highest percentage, the former 20.4 and the latter 18.7. The percentages in these two groups had decreased to 1.9 and 1.3, respectively, by 1930. Of equal consistency, but opposite in tendency, is the increase in the percentage of Italians and Poles, the former having increased from 5.1 per cent in 1900, to 11.7 per cent in 1930, and the latter from 15.1 per cent to 21.0 per cent in 1930.

While these changes were taking place in the foreign group, the percentage of cases in the white American group

American, while others who were native born give as their nationality the country from which their ancestors came. In our study of the court records we attempted to make all classification on the basis of the nativity of the father. When our results are compared with the published records of the court the percentage distribution for nationalities are quite similar.

show relatively little increase. The percentage of American Negroes, on the other hand, increased from 4.7 per cent in 1900 to 9.9 per cent in 1920, and to 21.7 per cent in 1930.

In order to interpret the changes in the percentage of juvenile court delinquents among the various racial and national groups, it is necessary to take into consideration the changes in the proportion of each group in the total population of the city. The extent to which population change is responsible for the decrease in the percentage of the early immigrant groups among the juvenile court delinquents, may be illustrated by a special analysis of the German and Irish groups.

When the percentages of persons of Irish and German nativity in the total population in 1900 and 1920 were compared with the percentages of these nationalities in the juvenile court delinquents for the same years, it was found that the relative decrease in these two nationalities in the total population accounted for 51.8 per cent of the decrease in the Irish, and 43.3 per cent of the decrease in the German group. In other words, it was found that there was a 48.3 per cent decrease in the relative number of delinquents of Irish parentage, and a 56.7 per cent decrease in the relative number of delinquents of German parentage in the juvenile court cases after corrections were made for the changes in the ratio of each of these nationalities to the total population. On the other hand, calculations revealed that the increase in the percentages of Italian and Polish delinquents in the juvenile court was greater than the increase in the proportion of these groups in the total population.

The above facts indicate that without question the decrease from 1900 to 1920 in the proportion of the German and Irish in the delinquent group is much greater than the decrease in the proportion of these groups in the total population of the city. It is probable that this disproportionate decrease in the percentage of German and Irish delinquents in the juvenile court from 1900 to 1920 is due to the movement of these groups out of the area of first immigrant settlement and of high rates of delinquents during the 20-year period.

It is important to observe that the descendants of the early immigrant groups that have moved out of the areas

of highest rates are not appearing in the juvenile court in great numbers. This fact is clearly indicated in the German and Irish groups when the probable number of their descendants in the population is considered. For while the absolute number of persons in Chicago of German and Irish nativity decreased between 1900 and 1920, the actual number of persons of German and Irish nationality, when defined to include the members of the third and fourth generations, probably grew through natural increase at a rate almost in proportion to the growth of the population for the city as a whole. If these descendants were appearing in the juvenile court in the same proportion in 1920 as did the children of German and Irish parentage in 1900, the percentage of delinquents among the white Americans would have increased between 1900 and 1920 in proportion to the decrease in the German and Irish group, since the descendants of these groups would be classified as Americans in 1920. Table XIX shows that, while the percentage of Germans and Irish decreased from almost 40 per cent of the total number of delinquents in 1900 to 3.2 per cent in 1930, the percentage of white Americans failed to show any consistent increase. This indicates that the rate of delinquents among the descendants of the German and Irish in 1920 was relatively insignificant as compared with the rate of delinquents in these two groups when they resided in the high-rate areas near the center of this city.

This same difference is indicated by the aforementioned fact that the rate of delinquents is more than 70 per cent greater among the boys of foreign-born parentage than it is among the boys of native-born parents. All of the children of immigrants would be included in the first group, while all of the descendants after the second generation would be included in the latter.

The decrease in the rates of delinquents in the nationality groups that moved out of the areas of high rates during the period is established quite apart from the nationality classification of cases in the juvenile court by the fact that the rates of delinquents in the areas of second and third settlement are much lower than the rates in the areas of first settlement. This is indicated on all of the maps showing rates of delinquents in Chicago which are included in the preceding chapter.

It has been pointed out in this section that there has been a succession of nationalities in the areas of the first settlement near the central business district and the important industrial centers in Chicago, and that while this change was taking place there were few significant changes in the relative rates of delinquents in the same areas. In other words, the composition of the population changed; the relative rates of delinquents remained unchanged.

It was found also that as the older immigrant group moved out of the areas of first settlement there was a decrease in the percentage of these nationalities among the cases in the juvenile court. This fact, which suggests that the high rate of delinquents in these national groups was at least in part due to residence in these areas of high rates, is substantiated by the fact that the rates of delinquents are much lower in the areas of second and third immigrant settlement.

Similarly, it was pointed out in this section that for a long period of time there had been a disproportionate number of delinquents of foreign-born parents in the juvenile court in Chicago. This fact has attracted attention to the foreign-born population in the study of delinquency. One reason for this disproportion, as suggested by these materials, is that a disproportionate percentage of the foreign-born live in the areas of high rates of delinquents. These high rates of delinquents can not be explained in terms of population, for as has been shown in this section the population has changed in many of these areas while the rates of delinquents remained relatively unchanged. All of this material, therefore, suggests the need for further analysis of the neighborhood situation in these areas of high rates of delinquents.

#### DISINTEGRATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATION

Thus far in this chapter we have presented certain formal indices of community organization and disorganization which serve to differentiate the areas of high and low rates of delinquents. When considered collectively these indices imply certain important variations in the community life in the areas adjacent to the central business district

and the large industrial centers as compared to the outlying residential neighborhoods. They suggest that certain areas are characterized by great mobility, change, disintegration of the social structure and lack of stability, while in other areas, the neighborhood is more settled, stable and highly integrated. Decreasing population implies that the security of the neighborhood is threatened; poverty implies bad housing, lack of sanitation, and a dearth of facilities for maintaining adequate neighborhood agencies and institutions; while the presence of a high percentage of foreign-born population, comprising many divergent cultures and types of background, implies a confusion of moral standards and lack of social solidarity. Where such conditions prevail, the community is rendered relatively ineffective as an agency of control. There is little effective public opinion, community spirit, and collective effort to meet the local problems of the neighborhood.

The community is vital when social opinion concerns itself with all matters, outside happenings or individual acts, which possess a public interest, when its attitudes toward these matters are consistent and able to reach approximate unanimity, and when any common action considered necessary to solve the situation is defined by social opinion it is carried on in harmonious cooperation.<sup>9</sup>

A community organization in the sense that Thomas and Znaniecki define it is probably not to be found in any growing American city. Under the disintegrative forces of city life many of the traditional institutions of the community are weakened or destroyed. While this tendency is to be observed in the city as a whole, it is particularly accentuated in certain sections of the city. It is obvious that there are tremendous differences between sections of the city in the extent to which the community is vital and effective and concerns itself with the solution of its local problems.

As suggested by Thomas, an effective community life is dependent upon the solidarity and stability of the social organization. In the areas close to the central business district, and to a less extent in the areas close to industrial

<sup>9</sup> Thomas, William I., and Znaniecki, Florian: *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1927, Vol. II, p. 1171.

developments, the neighborhood organization tends to disintegrate. For in these areas the mobility of population is so great that there is little opportunity for the development of common attitudes and interests. This fact is suggested by the difference between the percentage of families owning their homes in the areas close to the center of the city and in the outlying districts. For example, along Radial II (Radial Map I) the percentages of home ownership by square-mile areas from the Loop outward show the following variation: 6, 13, 25, 34, 44, 47, and 60. The low percentage of home ownership in the areas near the center of the city indicate, among other things, that there is not sufficient permanence to encourage the buying of homes, while the high percentage in the outlying areas indicates that a much larger proportion of the families are settled and permanently established.

It is a significant fact that many of the traditional institutions of society disintegrate under the influence of the rapidly changing conditions that prevail in the deteriorated areas of the large city. In a very exhaustive and illuminating study of the church and the changing community Dr. Samuel C. Kincheloe has pointed out how prosperous and flourishing Protestant churches in these areas have disintegrated with the rapid change in the neighborhood life. Kincheloe observed four major types of reactions among the Protestant churches in these areas—they die, move to a more advantageous community, federate with other churches in the neighborhood, or take on the character and functions of social settlements. If the institution attempts to perpetuate itself in the area, it becomes dependent upon subsidy or endowments from persons or organizations outside of the local area; it ceases to be a spontaneous and self-supporting agency of the neighborhood life. This process of disintegration and adaptation of the Protestant church to the rapidly changing conditions in the deteriorated area is typified in most of Kincheloe's detailed case studies of specific churches. He summarizes one of these case studies as follows:

The church began as a mission. It came to have a thriving Sunday school, and its services were described as "filled to overflowing." Movements of population

and death finally took the leaders of the church. The children of incoming German immigrants were sought, and some of these who were won became leaders of the church as they became older. The church attempted to gain the incoming Bohemians and Jews. Various programs of clubs, forums, and week-day activities were attempted. The church sought and received home-missionary aid.

As the church declined the members assessed the blame for their failure now upon the pastor, now upon unfaithful members, now upon the incoming groups, and finally upon the home-missionary society. They quarreled among themselves and the outside groups.

There were periods of optimism and enthusiasm and periods of despondency when the members would have closed the church had they not been angry at some one. They came to glorify the past and to make much of the sacredness of the old church building and of their own past fellowship.

A small group of people came to bear the burden of service for the church. When their own workers left they accepted volunteer help from outside the congregation. These volunteer workers came to dominate the situation and changed the character of the teaching of the church. The services became extremely informal and lacking in ritual.

The old church home was sold and the building turned into a bottle works, while the congregation moved to a rented hall. By means of rewards and entertainments, the children of the community were induced to attend an evening religious service in the rented hall. These children were of a different religious faith and background from the Monroe Park Church and regarded it as a secular rather than a religious institution. The church even came to be a gathering place for a boys' gang, whose members attended these evening services.

Under the stress of circumstances, the workers came to emphasize play and recreation as a part of their program. The church finally dissolved, and a community center program was financed by the home missionary society. The staff is now seeking to meet specific community problems and needs by means of a social-service program. Some volunteer religious work continues, although one transformation after another has taken place, until the character of the institution is now completely changed.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Kincheloe, Samuel C.: *The Behavior Sequence of a Dying Church*, reprinted from *Religious Education*, April, 1929, p. 19.

The inability of the inhabitants of the "slum" to act collectively with reference to their local problems has long been recognized. For example, the settlement movement was a response to the recognized need for establishing in these disintegrated sections of the city, neighborhood agencies and institutions. In expressing his own conception of what settlements could accomplish Mr. R. A. Wood says:

University settlements are capable of bringing to the depressed sections of society its healing and saving influences for the lack of which those sections are to so large an extent as good as dead. The settlements are able to take neighborhoods in cities, and by patience bring back to them much of the healthy village life, so that the people shall again know and care for one another. They will impart a softer touch to what social powers now act there, and they will bring streams from the higher sources of civilization to refresh and arouse the people so that they shall no more go back to the narrowness and gloom, and perhaps the brutality, of their old existence.<sup>11</sup>

A study of the distribution of social settlements and similar agencies in Chicago in 1925 revealed that of the 59 such institutions, 19 or 32.2 per cent were located within 2 miles of the heart of the Loop, and a total of 50 or 84.8 per cent were located within 4 miles of the center of the central business district. Of the remaining 8, 3 were in the Negro district and 2 were in South Chicago. Presumably, the concentration of settlements indicate those areas in which the local neighborhood organization is least effective and where there is the greatest need for assistance from other communities.

Apart from the social institutions which are supported and controlled by persons from more prosperous communities, there are few agencies in delinquency areas for dealing with the problem of delinquent behavior. The absence of common community ideals and standards prevents cooperative social action either to prevent or suppress delinquency. In some of the more stable integrated communities in the outlying districts any increase in the amount of delinquency is responded to by mass meetings and other indications of collective action among the women's clubs, business men's

<sup>11</sup> Quoted from *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, 1893, John Daniels, *The University Settlement Idea in America via the Neighborhood*, Harper & Bros., New York and London, 1920, p. 157.

organizations, church societies, and fraternal orders. On the other hand there is little such spontaneous and concerted action on the part of the inhabitants of the areas of high rates of delinquents to deal with the delinquent.

The neighborhood disorganization in the areas outside of the central business district is probably common to all rapidly growing American cities. However, in northern industrial cities, such as Chicago, the disorganization is intensified by the fact that the population in these areas is made up largely of foreign immigrants who are making their first adjustment to the complex life of the modern city. This adjustment involves profound and far-reaching modification of the whole structure of the cultural organization of the immigrant group. The extent of this transition is clearly indicated in a summary statement on the subject of social disorganization by Thomas and Znaniecki.

First, the peasant was adapted to the life of a permanent agricultural community, settled for many hundreds of years in the same locality and changing so slowly that each generation adapted itself to the changes with very little effort or abstract reflection. Secondly, the peasant was not accustomed to expect unfamiliar happenings in the course of his life within his community, and if they came, relied upon his group, which not only gave him assistance when necessary in accordance with the principle of solidarity but helped him regain his mental balance and recover the feeling that life in general was normal in spite of the unexpected disturbance. Further, the peasant drew all his social contact with his milieu, and the steadiness and efficiency of his life organization depended on the continuity of his social intercourse with his own group. \* \* \*

In view of all this it is not strange that in the different conditions which he finds in this country he becomes more or less disorganized. In fact, it is surprising that there is yet so much normal life left and that as time goes on constructive forces assert themselves increasingly in Polish-American communities. \* \* \*<sup>12</sup>

This analysis, although directly concerned with the Polish peasant, is equally applicable to most of the other immigrant groups. The problem of assimilation among them differs as regards the extent to which national atti-

<sup>12</sup> Thomas, William I., and Znaniecki, Florian: *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1927, Vol. II, p. 1824.

tudes are involved and the extent to which cultural backgrounds differ from our own; it involves a more or less complete change from a stable rural life to a rapidly changing and complex industrial urban community. In this situation, as Thomas and Znaniecki point out, demoralization takes place in both the first and the second generation:

In order to reorganize his life on a new basis he needs a primary group as strong and coherent as the one he left in the old country. The Polish-American society gives him a few new schemes of life, but not enough to cover all of his activities. A certain lowering of his moral level is thus inevitable. Though it does not always lead to active demoralization, to anti-social behavior, it manifests itself at least in what we may call passive demoralization, a partial or a general weakening of social interests, a growing narrowness or shallowness of the individual's social life.

Of course the second generation, unless brought in direct and continuous contact with better aspects of American life than those with which the immigrant community is usually acquainted, degenerates further still, both because the parents have less to give than they had received themselves in the line of social principles and emotions and because the children brought up in American cities have more freedom and less respect for their parents. The second generation is better adapted intellectually to the practical conditions of American life, but their moral horizon grows still narrower on the average and their social interests still shallower. One might expect to find fewer cases of active demoralization, of antisocial behavior, than in the first generation, which has to pass through the crisis of adaptation to new conditions. And yet it is a well-known fact that even the number of crimes is proportionately much larger among the children of immigrants than among the immigrants themselves.<sup>13</sup>

This disorganization among the foreign immigrants is paralleled by a similar disorganization among the Negroes. More than one-half of the Negroes in Chicago in 1920 were born outside of the State of Illinois; probably most of them in the rural districts in the Southern States. In any event, like the peasants from Europe, they are largely unaccustomed to the life in a large urban community.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas, William I., and Znaniecki, Florian: *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1927, Vol. II, p. 1650.

But in one respect the background of the Negro is different from that of the foreign immigrant as described by Thomas and Znaniecki. Unlike the immigrant, the Negro has relatively few stabilizing traditions extending back over "hundreds of years." Neither does he have as a background a stable community organization which has remained unchanged over a long period of time. His institutions are very new and inadequately developed. Consequently they break down completely as agencies of social control in the process of adjustment to the complex life of an urban community. This social disorganization is accompanied by a large amount of personal disorganization and demoralization among Negro adults as well as among Negro children.<sup>14</sup>

No doubt this absence of stabilizing tradition in the Negro group is a very important factor underlying the high rates of delinquents already noted among Negro boys. As a whole their situation is much less constructive than that of the children of foreign immigrants, both because there is less tradition in their own group, and because a larger proportion of them live in areas of high rates of delinquents. These conditions are probably important factors in determining the disproportionate number of Negro delinquents in the juvenile court.

#### ADULT OFFENDERS

In concluding this study of the formal characteristics of the delinquency areas of Chicago, it is important to point out that these areas also show the greatest concentration and highest rates of adult offenders.

In the absence of an effective neighborhood organization delinquency gains a foothold in the disorganized areas, despite the efforts of settlements and other social agencies to combat and suppress it. In this situation large numbers of the juvenile delinquents from these areas continue in adult crime.

The location of the areas of high rates of adult criminals is shown in Figure 8. The rates presented in this figure

<sup>14</sup> This point of view is quite fully developed by Prof. E. Franklin Frazier, of Fisk University, in an excellent study *The Negro Family in Chicago*. This study was prepared as a doctor's dissertation in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago and is as yet unpublished.



industrial developments. Generally speaking, these areas were found to be characterized by physical deterioration, decreasing population, high rates of dependency, high percentage of foreign-born and Negro population, and high rates of adult offenders.

One of the most significant findings in this part of the study is the fact that, while the relative rates of delinquents in these high-rate areas remained more or less constant over a period of 20 years, the nationality composition of the population changed almost completely in this interval. As the older national groups moved out of these areas of first immigrant settlement, the percentage of juvenile delinquents in these groups showed a consistent decrease.

It was indicated, also, that the areas of high rates of delinquents are characterized by marked disintegration of the traditional institutions and neighborhood organization. In this type of area, the community fails to function effectively as an agency of social control. The manner in which this type of situation is reflected in the delinquent behavior of the children is suggested in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE SPIRIT OF DELINQUENCY AREAS

The materials presented in the foregoing chapter indicate rather clearly that the delinquency areas of Chicago possess certain formal and external characteristics which differentiate them from the outlying residential communities in which the rates of delinquency are relatively low. While such formal indices as increasing and decreasing population, percentage of families owning their homes, percentage of foreign born, rate of dependency, and rate of adult crime, may serve as a basis for making rough distinctions between areas of the city, they do not disclose the more subtle and intangible processes which constitute the very essence of the social and moral life in the community. More important than the external realities of the area are the traditions, standards, and moral sentiments which characterize the neighborhood life. While these more intangible factors are difficult to ascertain and do not readily lend themselves to objective analysis, they are nevertheless important aspects of the moral world to which the growing child must make an adjustment.

Healy and Bronner, both in their case histories and in their more general statistical studies, have emphasized the importance of community and neighborhood influences in the development of delinquent attitudes and trends. That they have placed particular stress upon the importance of the spirit of the neighborhood is indicated in the following quotation:

We have been thoroughly persuaded that one of the most important phases of the situation with regard to delinquency anywhere is the spirit of the community, difficult as this may be to define. This spirit is itself evolved from many sources in the life and the cultural history of the community. \* \* \*

The moral spirit of a community is easily reflected in the conduct of its children. Where such general spirit

is poor there is very ready imitation of the predatory tendencies of public officials and the other adults who are allowed to persist in evil doing. The knowledge of graft in connection with a city hall, of laxity or venality in a public prosecutor's office, of loose administration of justice in a court (and one of the shrewdest policemen we have ever known has assured us the last point is of vast importance) are all influences that determine trends toward the delinquency and crime. One may note this directly exhibited in individual and group lawlessness, and even in youthful self-justification in misdoing. Where community spirit in such matters is better, certainly delinquencies are commensurately milder.

Then the good spirit of a community directly concerning child welfare is inevitably proportionate to the feeling of responsibility on the part of adults. This expresses itself by personal service in preventive and remedial agencies or in the support of such agencies and in the creation of favorable public opinion toward all good efforts in behalf of childhood and youth.<sup>1</sup>

While this statement was made with particular reference to large municipal units or cities, it is equally applicable to local neighborhoods within the city. As pointed out in the previous chapter, the local neighborhoods in the city of Chicago differ markedly with respect to cultural traditions, local standards and sentiments, and their effectiveness as agencies for the training, education, control, and protection of the child. Certain areas, particularly those in or adjacent to the central business district and the large industrial centers, lack the homogeneity and continuity of cultural traditions and institutions which are essential to social solidarity, neighborhood organization and an effective public opinion. The gradual invasion of these areas by industry and commerce, the presence of various immigrant and racial groups with widely divergent cultural backgrounds and in various stages of assimilation and adjustment, the economic insecurity of the families, the tendency of the family to escape from the area as soon as they prosper sufficiently to do so, all combine to render difficult, if not impossible, the development of a stable and effective form of neighborhood organization in these sections of the city.

<sup>1</sup> Healy, Wm., and Bronner, Augusta.: *Delinquents and Criminals, their Making and Unmaking*. New York, Macmillan, 1926, pp. 190-191.

In the absence of a basic social solidarity, public opinion and initiative on the part of the citizens for maintaining community standards, the capacity of the neighborhood for concerted action with respect to the problems of community welfare is greatly diminished.

Children who grow up in these deteriorated and disorganized neighborhoods of the city are not subject to the same constructive and restraining influences that surround those in the more homogeneous residential communities farther removed from the industrial and commercial centers. These disorganized neighborhoods fail to provide a consistent set of cultural standards and a wholesome social life for the development of a stable and socially acceptable form of behavior in the child. Very often the child's access to the traditions and standards of our conventional culture are restricted to his formal contacts with the police, the courts, the school, and the various social agencies. On the other hand his most vital and intimate social contacts are often limited to the spontaneous and undirected neighborhood play groups and gangs whose activities and standards of conduct may vary widely from those of his parents and the larger social order. These intimate and personal relationships, rather than the more formal and external contacts with the school, social agencies, and the authorities, become the chief sources from which he acquires his social values and conceptions of right and wrong.

This exclusion from participation in the activities of our conventional society is particularly marked in the case of the children of foreign-born parents, since the latter cleave to their Old World traditions and are largely unfamiliar with the standards of American life. Frequently the parents are entirely ignorant of our laws and possess little appreciation of the social life about them. Their attitudes, ethical standards, language, manners, and outlook on life are those of the Old World. Thus the immigrant family, although rich in Old World traditions and culture, has little to offer the child which will prepare him for participation in the activities of the larger American community. Not infrequently, as illustrated in the case presented in Chapter I, the child, through his contacts outside of the home, develops attitudes and forms of behavior which isolate him from his

own family. In many such cases the child's relationship to his parents assumes the character of an emotional conflict, which definitely complicates the problem of parental control, and greatly interferes with the child's incorporation into the social milieu of his parents. In this situation the family is rendered relatively ineffective as an agent of control and fails to serve as a medium for the transmission of cultural heritages. This conflict between the child and the parent, and the breakdown of parental control with its consequent lowering of family restraint, were clearly indicated by Breckinridge and Abbott in their early studies of juvenile delinquency.

It is clear that in these foreign groups there are numerous influences at work which tend to delay the process of Americanization; and this delay must in many cases have serious consequences for the children of the family. The point of view of the parents with regard to much that is considered essential to the proper upbringing of the child often remains singularly un-American. For example, the immigrant child frequently suffers from the fact that the parents do not understand that the community has a right to say that children under a certain age must be kept in school. It seems, for example, unimportant to the Italian peasant, who as a gloriously paid street laborer begins to cherish a vision of prosperity, whether his little girls go to school or not. It is, on the contrary, of great importance that a sufficient dower be accumulated to get them good husbands; and to take them from school and put them to work is, therefore, only an attempt to help them accomplish this desirable end \* \* \*.

Not only in the matter of compulsory education, but in many other ways, the slow Americanization of the parents reacts injuriously upon the children. Obviously, many things which are familiar to the child in the facts of daily intercourse, in the street, or in the school, will remain unknown or unintelligible to the father and mother. It has become a commonplace that this cheap wisdom on the part of the boy or girl leads to a reversal of the usual relationship between parent and child. The child who knows English is the interpreter who makes the necessary explanations for the mother to the landlord, the grocer, the sanitary inspector, the charity visitor, and the teacher or truant officer. It is the child again who often interviews the boss, finds the father a job, and sees him through the onerous task of joining

the union. The father and mother grow accustomed to trusting the child's version of what they all do in America and gradually find themselves at a great disadvantage in trying to maintain parental control. The child develops a sense of superiority toward the parent and a resulting disregard of those parental warnings which, although they are not based on American experience, rest on common notions of right and wrong, and would, if heeded, safeguard the child \* \* \*.

If one studies the old European background of the lives of our recent immigrants, it is not difficult to understand why their children should be brought to court in disproportionately large numbers as delinquent boys and girls. If the immigrant parents in leaving the old for the strangely new home have not come to new standards of right and wrong, they have come to such new conditions of life and work, to such new relationships, that confusion of the old standards may easily result. Even the old simple virtues seem to lead to disaster; thrift often means sacrificing the children's education, and parental discipline after the European fashion alienates the affection of the Americanized child.

It is, of course, never possible to say to what extent the child's experience may bear on his delinquency, but when the parents are thus unable to adjust themselves to their surroundings, when the child becomes a precocious and unnatural family interpreter or spokesman, and the normal restraints are in large measure removed, the child has no instructor, no guide, no guardian in the intricate relationships thrust upon him.<sup>2</sup>

The findings of Breckinridge and Abbott with reference to the breakdown of control in the immigrant family were amply confirmed by Thomas and Znaniecki in their exhaustive study of the Polish peasant group and the disorganization which takes place in this group under the conditions of American city life. Thus they state:

If we contrast now the conditions at home with those which the emigrants meet in America, we see that a loss of control over the child is inevitable if the parents do not develop new means as substitutes for the old ones. First, there is in America no family in the traditional sense; the married couple and the children are

<sup>2</sup> Breckinridge, S. P., and Abbott, Edith: *The Delinquent Child and The Home*, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1912, pp. 68-69.

almost completely isolated, and the parental authority has no background. [In a few cases, where many members of the family have settled in the same locality, the control is much stronger.]

Again, if there is something equivalent to the community of the old country—i. e., the parish—it is much less closed and concentrated and can hardly have the same influence. Its composition is new, accidental, and changing; moreover, it is composed of various elements, influenced each separately and each somewhat differently by the new environment, and has consequently a rather poor stock of common traditions. Further, the members of the new generation, brought up in this new environment, are more likely to show a solidarity with one another as against the parents than a solidarity with the parents as against the younger members of the family. Finally, economic independence comes much earlier than in the old country and makes a revolt always materially easy. On the other hand, the parents' authority ceases also to be controlled, except by the state in the relatively rare cases of a far-going abuse. The traditional measure of its exertion is lost; the parents have no standard of education, since the old standard is no longer valid and no new one has been appropriated. The natural result is a free play given to individual caprice, excessive indulgence alternating with unreasonable severity. Thus the moral character of parental authority in the eyes of the children is lost.

The immigrant can therefore control his children only if he is able to substitute individual authority for social authority, to base his influence not upon his position as a representative of the group but upon his personal superiority. But this, of course, requires a higher degree of individual culture, intellectual and moral, than most of the immigrants can muster. The contrary case is more frequent, where the children assume a real or imagined superiority to the parents on account of their higher instruction, their better acquaintance with American ways, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Underlying the present study of juvenile delinquency is the basic assumption that stable habits and attitudes in the child develop under the influence of a relatively stable and consistent set of social standards. Where the routine of social life is broken up by any form of rapid change and the child is subjected to the influence of a great variety of

<sup>3</sup> Thomas, William I., and Znaniecki, Florian: *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1927, Vol. I, pp. 710, 711.

divergent and conflicting standards of conduct, the problem of developing a stable life organization is extremely difficult. As we have already suggested, the social life in the deteriorated and disorganized areas of Chicago fails to provide a sufficiently consistent set of conventional values for the development of stable and socially approved forms of behavior among the children. In the natural process of city growth the conventional traditions and neighborhood organization tend to disintegrate in these areas. This process of social disorganization and the consequent breakdown of neighborhood control is accentuated by the influx of large foreign and racial groups with varied cultural backgrounds. The child in this situation is not only isolated from the traditions of our conventional culture but is subjected to a great diversity of behavior norms, some of which come from the family, others from the schools and courts, and still others, perhaps the most stimulating and enticing, from the undirected play groups and neighborhood gangs. In this chaotic and confused situation it is not surprising that many of the children fail to acquire an attitude of respect for the law and the traditions of conventional society. The whole point is summed up briefly in the following quotation from Thomas and Znaniecki:

But an entirely new side of the whole question is disclosed when we ask ourselves not how the young generation loses a life organization that it has acquired but how it ever acquires a life organization at all. For then it proves that, while in relatively organized and isolated Polish-American communities—particularly in provincial towns—the economically most settled and socially most active part of the population can still impart to the growing youth a certain minimum of normal and vital principles of behavior, there is a large proportion of immigrant children—particularly in large cities—whose home and community conditions are such that their behavior is never socially regulated, no life organization worthy of the name is ever imposed upon them. Their status is, exactly speaking, not that of demoralization—for demoralization presupposes the loss of a moral system and they never had any moral system to lose—it is simple and plain amorality. If personal character is the product of social education acting upon a given temperamental foundation, such individuals in the most radical cases have no character,

good or bad. They are originally in a condition similar to that which, as we saw in the preceding chapter, even socially formed individuals can reach if left outside of any organized social group and subjected to destructive influences—a condition of passive or active wildness in which behavior is not controlled by social customs and beliefs but directly conditioned by temperamental tendencies and swayed by momentary moods.<sup>4</sup>

Having presented this more general picture of the social disorganization and confusion of moral standards in the deteriorated areas of Chicago, a limited number of excerpts from case histories will be given to illustrate in a more concrete manner the social life in these areas and to suggest the manner in which the general situation is reflected in the behavior of the children. For this purpose we will depend very largely upon excerpts from life histories of the children themselves. The cases presented have been selected from several hundred case studies of delinquent boys, and while they are used here for the sole purpose of illustration, they are amply confirmed by numerous other cases and by the observation of persons who have worked with delinquents in these areas. Only those cases that have been studied intensively over a long period of time are presented.

The reader should bear in mind that these excerpts are taken from the life histories of delinquents. While similar materials from the nondelinquent children living in the same area might give a somewhat different picture of the neighborhood, this does not detract from the value of the delinquent's own description of the situation. His story does disclose the situation as he views it; it reveals, presumably, those aspects of the community life to which he is most responsive and in which he participates. It is probable that a knowledge of these more informal and personal elements in the community life, although they are difficult to evaluate in an objective manner, is essential to a complete understanding of the delinquent child and the kind of social and moral world in which he lives.

The following cases are given to focus attention upon two general aspects of the social life in the areas of Chicago in

which the high rates of delinquents are found. In the first place, cases are presented which reflect the general indifference, tolerance, and low resistance of these neighborhoods toward lawlessness and the absence of constructive, organized influences which might serve as stabilizing factors in the lives of the children. Cases are presented, in the second place, to illustrate various positive influences which contribute directly to the development of delinquent attitudes among the children in these areas.

#### ABSENCE OF NEIGHBORHOOD CONTROL

The dissolution of the neighborhood organization is accompanied by a breakdown of the restraints and safeguards which normally surround the child. The random, uncontrolled, unguided character of the activity of the delinquent children in these areas is illustrated in cases 1, 2, and 3.<sup>5</sup> These cases suggest very strongly the absence of any definite attempt on the part of the local neighborhood to supervise and direct the activities of these children.

*Case No. 1.*—As far back as I can remember was when I was about five years old, we lived at M and W Streets, in Chicago. Our family was very poor and my father had to keep a home for eight children and my mother on \$20 a week that he earned in a factory. We lived in four rooms in a basement in an old building a block away from the river and railroads. Next to our house was a warehouse and in the back was a horse stable for a delivery company. The neighborhood was old and filled with all kinds of people. My father said the neighborhood was good when he came there, but the Mexicans and niggers came and everything changed. Niggers and an Indian family lived next door to us and we fought with them all the time because we didn't like niggers. The boys would break their windows, holler in their doors and throw tin cans into their house. They would open their doors and yell at us to stop, but we would tell them to go to hell or something like that. Then they would call the police and when they arrived we would scatter through alleys and hallways to get away. We were always playing tricks, going junking, and stealing from morning till night.

<sup>5</sup> These are the boys' own statements. In so far as possible these statements are presented in the form in which they were written by the boys.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas, William L., and Znaniecki, Florian: *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1927, Vol. II, p. 1777.

We would get some milk bottles in front of the grocery store and break them in somebody's hallway. Then we would break windows or get some garbage cans and throw them down someone's front stairs. After doing all this dirty work and running through alleys and yards, we'd go over to a grocery store. There some of the boys would hide in a hallway while I would get a basket of grapes. When the man came after me, why the boys would jump out of their places and each grab a basket of grapes. In the meantime, if my basket of grapes would be a handicap for me in running, I would throw it away. The grocer getting his grapes, would give up the chase, but on returning to the store, he would find about ten baskets of grapes were missing. He would cuss the day that he fell for the old, old, trick. Many times I would double back and reach the store before the keeper did, just to see the expressions on his face. When he'd see all the stuff gone that the other boys had taken sometimes he would spot me and give chase, but that was like a turtle trying to catch a rabbit because I was considered the fastest boy in the neighborhood. In the meantime the other boys had gone to our hangout and we would all meet there. While we were eating the grapes, we'd talk about the grocer and the trick we played on him. "Say, you guys; wasn't that an easy one and don't these grapes taste good? I've a mind to go and buy some more." There were 12 and 15 boys in the gang and if it wasn't getting grapes, we'd be getting cakes out of the bakery by sticking long poles with nails tacked to the end and putting them through the windows. We'd stick the cakes and pull them out and eat them right there in front of the bakery. Some times we'd bang on the front door. The man would come out and chase us, while the other boys would go to the rear of the bakery and carry out a lot of cakes and pies. Then, we'd climb on the doorsteps across the street and eat the things in front of the baker.

Sometimes, the whole gang would raid a junk wagon, a fruit vender's cart, or a news stand. We did everything in the gang, anything for a thrill and excitement. I can honestly say that we never went home unless we had done some kind of excitement, summer or winter.

I can not remember when I first started to stealing. It was as soon as I began to play around in the streets and alleys with my older brother and his pals. They were stealing junk, lead pipes from buildings in the neighborhood, shoplifting, stripping cars and strong arming drunks. We would go into a building and cut

out the pipes and haul them to our hangout or a back yard. When we got a big pile we'd sell it to a junk man and then maybe break into his shed that night and steal it back and sell it to another junk dealer.

One day we were all arrested in a building cutting lead pipes. That was when I was about nine years old. We went to the police station and there I admitted the theft. I took the responsibility because I was so young and thought I would get a short sentence and the other guys would be let free. But my brother was sent to St. Charles and the other two guys went to the house of correction for six months, while I was sent to Cook County School for Boys. I was committed to Cook County on June 1. I stayed there until August 18th and was paroled.

Arriving home, I fell back with the old crowd and again we went around breaking windows and stealing. Until one night three boys and myself talked about robbing the ——— school. We did so. We climbed upon the small roof, another boy and myself leaving two boys outside to give us jiggers and if anyone came they were to whistle, so we proceeded into the school. We went straight to the office. There we got some gold pencils and fountain pens. Some rings and a great many other things. Then we circled back through all the rooms, and when we finished we went outside on the roof to meet the other boys. When we arrived on the roof, we heard a whistle and that was supposed to be our signal that some one was coming. The other boys with me ran into the school, while I ran to the edge of the roof. I leaned over just when a revolver shot rang out and heard the whistle of the bullet go by my head. I ran back to the other end of the roof and jumped down. Then I ran through the school yard and down the street. I thought I was safe but when I turned around a detective was right behind me. He hollered for me to stop, but I kept on running and he shot at me—once, twice, three times. Again and again—five shots. I ducked through an alley and jumped over a fence and layed down on the ground. For half an hour I layed there and then got up, peeped over the fence and I saw the detective about two blocks away and I beat it home. As soon as I got home I went to bed. In the meantime, two of the boys that were giving us jiggers got caught and squeaked on us. They came to my house and waked me out of bed and brought me to the Hudson Avenue Station. There I again admitted to my robbery. I was brought to the Juvenile Detention Home and from there was sent to the Cook County

School for the second time. I remained there four weeks and then they sent me home for Christmas on a visit. I went home but I didn't return to the school until I was caught by my probation officer and was returned there for the third time. I served until March 10, six weeks, and then was paroled.

When I got back home I started to rolling drunks, breaking in, and shoplifting with the guys in the neighborhood. There were about twelve guys in the gang, and we split up in small groups to go stealing. There wasn't a day that somebody didn't get pinched. You don't think anything about an arrest in that neighborhood. Many times was I arrested and placed at a police station. At twelve years old I was sent to St. Charles, where I stayed for almost two years.

The activities among the children in delinquency areas include a great variety of types of petty stealing that seldom come to the attention of the authorities.

*Case No. 2.*—As a boy I was tall and slender with a mop of blond hair. It gave me a wild appearance, and they nicknamed me "Whitey." I can't remember very good of my first crime I committed. When I was a kid I used to fight. If you know anything at all about Chicago, you must understand that we were always fighting in that neighborhood. First, we fought for the championship of our block. Next, we fought to see which kid would be the king pin of his school. We had gang fights and had all kinds of trouble keeping leadership over the different neighborhoods.

In our block we shot craps for money. Some of the kids would steal from news stands on the corners, and others would steal money from their mothers' pocket-book and from their sisters and brothers. Some of the kids bought candy with the money they stole, and some would buy cigarettes, chewing gum, tobacco, and snuff. These fellows were supposed to be tough guys. I never used chew tobacco or snuff, but I smoked cigarettes when I was very young.

There was jealousy and keen competition among the boys for leadership. You fought well, or you didn't. And if you didn't—well, that was just too bad. You took a licking as often as a seal takes a bath. My mother hated fighting and would punish me whenever she saw or heard of me fighting. I loved fighting, and most of the kids were very afraid of me.

I would play hookey from school with a couple of kids and go scouting for coal along the tracks of some

railroad. We would get tired of picking coal from the tracks and would climb on some coal cars that were passing by and throw the big lumps of coal off and then later on pick them up and load our sacks. When we had all our sacks loaded we brought our wagons and put what we could in them. We then put a kid there to watch the rest of the coal until we came back. He was supposed to look out for the railroad "dicks" and if any of them came around the kid would tip us off and where the dick was located at, so we wouldn't get pinched.

Plenty of the kids used to go down to market and steal vegetables and fruits. Lots of them used to steal off the peddlers that came through the neighborhood. We would get one of the kids to throw something at the peddler and get the peddler to chase him and then we would help ourselves to whatever we wanted from his wagon. Some of the peddlers were smart to those ways of kids and would get some person to watch the wagon for him. When he did this we would appoint a kid to get rid of that fellow and what fun we would have with them "greenhorns."

At school, when we were there, we would play games of different sorts, penny lagging, marbles, dice, baseball, buck-buck, and football. We didn't play baseball on the square, for we always had an umpire who could really cheat for us, so we would win all our games. If he would cheat for the other team he sure would get a licking and chased out of the sand lot. If he ever showed up again he sure would be caressing a sore jaw and head. Some of the kids would frame him in other districts and he would have to go to school either with his father or mother or older brothers or sisters to protect him from being lynched by our gang. Some of the kids played night games as: 1-2-3 red light, tag, blind, pomp-pomp-peete-away, horse on a run away, follow the leader, one and over, racing around the block, cops and robbers, and many others I could mention. We would go to the shows, that is moving picture shows, and try to sneak in from the back of the show. We would have some kids who had payed their way in tell us "jiggers." They would sit in the front row, and tell us when the man wasn't looking, then we would run in and sit down. Some times we were caught, but we just got a kick in the rear end, and was slapped in the face. The kids used to be crazy about seeing a picture show and use to do everything they could to get enough money for the price of the show

and would do errands for the mothers and fathers to get money and permission to go.

I liked to go swimming and so did the other kids in the neighborhood like the same. So we would gather as many of the kids as we could and start for Lake Michigan and when we came to the negro neighborhood we would go into an alley and get a hold of some house bricks and clubs and stones and be ready for a battle. All the kids hated a negro and if any made an attempt to touch us we sure would give them a fight. They use to bar us from swimming at the lake and would steal and burn our clothes up. So if they came in our neighborhood, we sure would mess up them tar babies. They sure would get slaughtered.

The kids get acquainted with each other by doing favors for each other, like letting him have a fountain pen or buy him an ice cream cone or pass out a couple of apples and treat him swell. Most of the kids get acquainted through games they play in the street.

The random and unguided activities, as well as the general disregard for property rights among the delinquent children in these areas, are suggested again in case No. 3.

*Case No. 3.*—I first saw the light of day on the fourteenth day of March, 1914. I was born of humble parents and was the fifth and last child in the family. My father was a laborer and my mother was a hard-working woman. He died when I was only three months of age, leaving my mother with five small children, of which the oldest was seven. This left my mother in a none too pleasant predicament. She started to work and left us children in a nursery by a settlement house.

The first things that I remember are the good times I had playing with my chums in the prairie near the settlement and in the alley and street. We liked anything that had a thrill in it and it didn't make any difference what it was. Shooting "craps," playing coppers and robbers, making raids on news stands, bumming from school, junking, snatching pocketbooks, and playing games in the prairie. I always liked anything that gave me a kick and was always looking for thrills.

I can not remember when I started to steal, but it was about the age of seven. I always wanted to be in the midst of any excitement, whether it was stealing, breaking windows, breaking in school houses and tearing up the furniture, or playing a ball game. Nothing thrilled me more when I was a kid than to try to break

some windows in the settlement or school with the other fellows or help raid a fruit peddler cart and take all of his fruit, or make a raid on a junkman's wagon. Being chased by somebody was the thrill of the stealing. Sometimes the whole bunch would go into a store and one fellow would steal something, and while the man was chasing the fellow to get the stolen orange or apple the rest of us would raid the whole store, run out of the back door and into the alley.

We traveled all over the city by bumming rides on trucks or sneaking into street cars. We never paid for anything because the guys razzed you if you couldn't get by without paying. It was smart to sneak into a crowded street car without paying.

I never liked school and went only when they forced me to go, and school was like being locked up and not having any freedom to enjoy yourself.

Almost all of my pals went robbin' and stole everything that was loose. The older guys were called "big shots" because they were in the racket. They went in for big jobs like stealing cars and stick-ups. They looked down on us little punks but we heard their braggings of their doings. One would say, "well, I pulled a job for a grand to-day." When asked how he did it he would say, "Oh, that was a soft job, I had that spotted for the past month, so I knew when to do the job." I listened to these "big shots" when they gathered on the corner or shot craps in the alley. They told stories of their doings that thrilled me.

Nobody care how much we stole, so we didn't steal from them. I stole for three years before I was arrested and taken to the station. That was when I and two pals broke into a store and were caught in the act. We were released and sent home. \* \* \*

I next got into the auto racket and stole my first car when I was twelve years old. I was thrilled to get my hands on a car. The way it felt when you gave it the gas was a thrill. Just to go tearing down the street at sixty miles an hour was enough to make my nerves tingle with excitement. I don't know how many cars I stole, but my fingers always itched to hold the steering wheel of a different car. I didn't care very much how much dough there was in it if I could get the thrill of handling different cars \* \* \*.

I was finally arrested for stealing a car and was sent to St. Charles for sixteen month. \* \* \*

The boys steal not because they want the money or gain, but for the joy of getting away with something that doesn't belong to them. In other words they like

to get chased once in awhile and this they call fun. I remember one petty robbery one afternoon where we needed something to smoke but didn't have any money to buy smoking tobacco with, so the oldest of the crowd suggested shaking dice. The loser had to grab the purse of the next woman who passed along the street. The loser happened to be the bully. Well, just then an old lady came by with one of those old-fashioned purses and the bully walked over and grabbed her purse \* \* \*.

These areas of social disorganization are not only lacking in facilities for prevention and suppression of delinquency but, as suggested earlier, they show a general indifference to the problem of delinquency and crime. Generally speaking, violations of the law are no longer shocking. Delinquency, particularly various forms of petty stealing, may be generally accepted or tacitly condoned. Sometimes these delinquent activities are engaged in openly without any organized attempt to suppress them. This is especially true of pilfering, jack-rolling, stealing junk, and breaking into freight cars. Case No. 4 is an instance in which jack-rolling was practiced openly in the street and indicates the attitude of indifference on the part of the citizens toward this practice.

*Case No. 4.*—To begin with the streets of Chicago in the naborhoods where I spent my early childhood were very poor and dirty like most of the slums are. The buildings are of wooden frame and most of them are in very poor condition. The alleys were unpaved and very sloppy and filled with trash. Junk yards and horse stables come out into the very heart of the naborhood; just a block away from my home were the railroads. They were always very smoky and dirty.

In the naborhood there were Jews, Polocks, and Irish, mostly foreigners and a poor class of people that could hardly read or write but had a flock of "kids." Some were very honest people and some were not, as you often find in such naborhoods. In many cases some were clean, but most of them were very dirty. Many of them were supported by chairty societys like my people were. Others that found it hard to make a living sent their children out to earn and steal whatever they could, just to bring home the bacon, as we say. Most of the boys that I knew in my early childhood had this sort of people. To go into further details, their

sisters and mothers sold their soules for bread and butter, not because they wanted to but for the family's sake. With so many babies to feed, the brothers and fathers went out to work, and if it could not be found they became gun men, not that they were looking for the so-called "easy" ways to make a living, that often proves the hardest, but for the family's sake. Put yourself in their shoes. If the chairty society turned you down with the excuse that you were young and healthy but too lazy to find work, then you found yourself in a helpless condition. Such were the nabors and the everyday occurrences around my own naborhood.

You can just about judge for yourself how the adults in the naborhood thought about delinquency. The way they looked at it was "let him steal if he wishes to, so long as its not from me, but for me." Times were always poor in the neighborhood and I and the other children had to steal coal off the tracks of the railroad and sometimes break seals on the box cars to get fruit or whatever the car contained. It seemed to me that many of the people encouraged young boys to crime by buying stolen articles. The junk yard dealers bought stolen junk. They never asked any questions. They didn't care how, what, or when the goods were gotten, just so they were able to buy them. Some of the money would go for the mothers and fathers of these children, and so nine times out of ten they will encourage the child's mind to work for easy money.

Most of the games played by the younger boys were "craps," playing with toy pistols, fighting, junking, and stealing. So, you see how a child can be brought up, not knowing himself what his first start in crime was. But as he grows older and looks back and sees just how and where he spent his early childhood the situation is solved. The older boys in the naborhood went in for big things, like stealing cars, holdups, burglary, and shoplifting. The little fellows always mingled with these big guys and heard them talking about their stealing.

Most of the stealing done by little boys in the naborhood was fruit, clothing, coal, merchandise from the freight cars, junk, and sometimes breaking into some nabor's house. Maxwell Street, which was at the time the only market in the naborhood was a good place for the boys to steal from. The boys from sixteen to twenty use to hang around the corners and wait for some old drunkard whom they would beat and take from him whatever valuables he may have. People would stand by and stair and even laugh as the boys would rob the

drunkard. This would happen during the day where everybody could see it and the older people only was amused by it. Wherever the old guys met they would talk about robbing. The older guys were called "big shots" for their ability to make money fast by picking pockets, snatching purses, and the use of a gun in hold-ups. They even had what is called "backers," a lawyer or somebody with a pull. Just as soon as they got caught a lawyer would come and also a bondsman and out on the street the boy went. The "backer" worked on a fifty-fifty basis.

During my time in the neighborhood there was that notorious gang that called itself the valley gang. Frankie Lake and Terry Druggan were at the head of this gang. They were very active at that time in robberies, stick ups, and many of the murders in the neighborhood were the work of this gang. The boys, young and old, took part in this kind of a living. They had many "backers" and also what they called "big shots." This gang had mostly Irish and Polish boys, and very few Jews. They use to stick up trucks and sell the stuff on Maxwell Street. They also stole cars and stripped cars of tires and broke into stores and raided them of merchandise. Money was coming easy for these young guys. Everything looked rosy for the mothers and fathers, sister and brothers who did not care how the one or many brothers were making all the money that came into the family. The little fellows were impressed by these big fellows and got the idea that stealing was an easy, rosy way to make big money. This is something about the neighborhood I lived in during my childhood.

#### POSITIVE INFLUENCES TOWARD DELINQUENCY

It was indicated in Chapters II and III that the areas adjacent to the central business district and the major industrial centers have been characterized by a high rate of juvenile delinquency for a period of many years. Delinquency persists in these areas not only because of the absence of constructive neighborhood influences and the inefficiency of present methods of prevention and treatment, but because various forms of lawlessness have become more or less traditional aspects of the social life and are handed down year after year through the medium of social contacts. Delinquent and criminal patterns of behavior are prevalent in

these areas and are readily accessible to a large proportion of the children.

The extremely high rate of crime among the young men between 17 and 21 years of age living in the areas with high rates of juvenile delinquency is convincing proof of the presence of criminal influences surrounding the boys in these areas. As pointed out in the previous chapter, the distribution of 6,398 alleged criminals brought before the boys' court of Chicago on charges of felony during 1924-1926 shows the greatest concentration in areas having the highest rates of juvenile delinquency. The marked similarity in the distribution of the boys' court series of offenders and juvenile delinquents is indicated by the fact that the coefficient of correlation between the rates in the former series and the series of delinquents brought before the juvenile court during 1917-1923 is  $0.90 \pm 0.01$ .

The presence of a large number of older offenders in a neighborhood is a fact of great significance for the understanding of the problem of juvenile delinquency. It indicates, in the first place, that the possibility of contact between the children and hardened offenders is very great. These older offenders, who are well known and have prestige in the neighborhood, tend to set the standards and patterns of behavior for the younger boys, who idolize and emulate them. In many cases the "big shot" represents for the young delinquent an ideal around which his own hopes and ambitions are crystallized. His attainment of this coveted ideal means recognition in his group and the esteem of his fellows.

In many of the delinquency areas of the city, crime among the older offenders is often highly organized.<sup>9</sup> These organized groups become a very powerful influence and perpetuate criminal traditions in the whole area. The members of these groups and their criminal practices are known to the younger boys. Materials secured from personal interview and life histories indicate that delinquent boys possess an amazing fund of knowledge about crimes, criminal rackets, graft, political corruption, the criminal code, fences, and numerous other aspects of the life and practices of the

<sup>9</sup> See "Organized Crime in Chicago," by John Landesco, The Illinois Crime Survey Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, Chicago, pp. 825-1087.

underworld. For the most part, this knowledge is secured through their contacts in the neighborhood and thus reflects the kind of world in which they live. Some of these more positive influences that contribute to the delinquency among the children in the disorganized areas are illustrated in the following cases:

Case 5 indicates, among other things, the influence of older offenders, the presence of "fences" in the delinquency areas, and the practice among some parents of sending their children out to pilfer lumber and coal.<sup>7</sup>

*Case No. 5.*—My neighborhood is located on the fringe of the Union Stock Yards, and is sometimes called the back-of-the-yards section of the south side, though a wise visitor seldom uses this expression to the face of the inhabitants of this section of the city. Why they discriminate against this bit of slang a visitor could not judge. With the odors from the packing houses and fertilizer plants permeating the air, it equals that of the Union Stock Yards itself.

A visitor coming into this neighborhood comes upon a section of the stockyards that portrays the typical conditions existing in this nook of the south side. Squalid houses, unpainted, in need of repairs and some sagging. Lumbering packing-houses trucks passing by with children on skates hanging on, at least two saloons to the street block and sometimes more. This is not counting speak-easies, of which there is at least one in every few houses you see. Policemen in squad cars stopping in front of saloons and getting out and, if the saloon keeper or his wife is out in front, jollyng him or her, then entering, soon coming out, maybe wiping the foam of the beer off their mouths or else blowing their noses. Then entering their car and getting off at the next saloon.

Dirty looking butcher shops with big fat butchers standing in the doorway waiting for customers. A glance in the window will show a sight that would disgust any one who had any sense of cleanliness, filthy meat blocks, women customers picking up the meat and examining it. The butcher's quarters are usually located in the rear of the shop, and his family uses his shop for a playground. His wife helps wait on

<sup>7</sup> For a very excellent discussion of this practice among immigrant families, see Breckinridge and Abbott, *The Delinquent Child and the Home*, The Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 68, 69.

customers, not bothering to wash her hands which may be filthy from some housework she has been doing.

The husband is not any cleaner in his habits or clothes. His attire is two or three sweaters, an apron that once was white, sometimes he wears gloves when he handles meats, only to protect himself from infection. His scales are usually out of balance, though in a way to favor him. He sells on credit and overcharges, but if he did not gyp them he would lose, because many of his customers default in payments.

An examination of one of these customer's home would show a sight that will be remembered for a while. These homes are located in buildings consisting of 4 to 6 flats, of 4 rooms each. The kitchen of these houses are used as the dining, living and sometimes the sleeping room, if the family is large. No bathtub, only a sink with running water. Usually besides four or five kids to the family there are a couple of boarders. The kids sleep on the floor, and sometimes in a bed. The furniture, if it could be called such, consists of three or four beds, one-half dozen chairs and a large table.

The saloons can be recognized by the sign advertising it as a soft-drink parlor, also, because it usually is the cleanest-looking building on the street. The proprietor can be easily recognized. It's funny, he usually is a big fat man, cleanly dressed, and so is his wife. He caters to any one, and he is the only one who really makes the profit in his business; he buys his stuff for four or five dollars a gallon and retails it at 25 cents a shot. Though of course he has to pay for protection. He also owns a car, belongs to the Masons if they will have him.

The population is a mixture of Poles and Lithuanians. You very seldom see the negro here; he is not liked. If he tries to move in, he usually is stoned or threatened some way or other to keep him out. The neighborhood is so foreign it seems as if Poland and Lithuania have been moved across the ocean. All the Poles and Lithuanians eat, drink, and talk of the same subjects. All of them came over to this country with the same purpose, to get rich. Their plans were the same when they came over, to rear children, set them to work, collect their wages, and as soon as they got enough money to go back to the old country. But, the poor creatures are fooled.

The majority of these people are slaves to hard work, drink, and a routine existence. Their diet consists usually of sauerkraut, spare ribs, and neck bones. They

put the kids to work at an early age, looking for wood, coal, junking or stealing.

The children are broken in on stealing by many of the parents. It usually starts out by the parents sending them out to pick coal on the railroad tracks; most of the kids do not like this; they would rather play, but, as an incentive, the parent offers a small sum of money; this means shows, candy, and anything else that a child wants.

There are so many picking coal off the tracks that it soon is gathered up. No coal, no money—so they first steal off the coal cars; later they steal out of the coal yards themselves. As they get a little older and bolder they begin to look on coal stealing as a piker's racket. They go junking. Soon there is a scarcity of junk. Brass and lead to them are like gold nuggets to a prospector. They turn to investigating old houses and often find lots of brass and lead in them. This supply, however, soon is exhausted. They next turn to stealing off peddlers, first a few bundles of paper off junk wagons or maybe a crate of fruit off a fruit truck. Now that they really are in the racket, the other lads begin to respect them, or make off they respect them, for they share the spoils without sharing the consequences. This soon begins not to have enough money in it. The older boys suggest things and the little fellows start stealing in earnest. By this time they have a mob, because in numbers they are safer. They roll drunks, rob storekeepers, bread boxes, and pie wagons. Some of the smarter ones invest their money in good clothes, clean up, and try shoplifting, first in the dime stores, then the larger department stores. Now they are called hoodlums by the police and many fall into the clutches of the juvenile authorities. They usually get a break in court. When they get out they are made, for the stay in the Juvenile Home, does no harm to their name—in fact it makes them respected by all. Why not? Haven't they got a record?

About this time they begin to notice girls and to begin to feel the need of more money. The dumber ones keep rolling drunks, stealing off peddlers, stripping cars; others try forgery, shoplifting, stealing articles like radio sets, clothes, and suit cases. There is a ready market for all these articles. Burglary is not practiced much; for one thing there is not much to steal, and for another the fact that houses and stores are mostly occupied, and who wants to get shot or beat up. As the shoplifters get older and begin to be noticed they have to quit, for they usually are picked up and

arrested. Being sent to the juvenile home is no fun, but it means the Cook County School or St. Charles.

The jack-rollers are known to police and picked up by the coppers occasionally. They can read, and to them the newspapers are their colleges and high schools. They begin to ponder, Why can't I be a big shot? I will never get nowhere stealing about thirty dollars' worth of stuff a week. Looking more deeply into this, they find that gunmen control most of the rackets in their neighborhood, and they would not take just anybody into their gang. You have to show your stuff. The smarter heads suggest sticking up stores, speak-easys, and occasionally a drug store for good booze.

Others get work in some big company and carry home merchandise. Girls do not care to work as domestic servants. Why should they? They could get a job as salesladies in department stores or stock-room girls in some of the mail-order houses, and by stealing their clothes and toilet articles their appearances soon equal that of the well-to-do. Disposal of stolen goods were easy; people did not ask questions, as long as you did not steal from them. If police were looking for you, the buyers of the stolen article, in the majority of cases, gave false leads to the police, to protect the hunted. They had good reasons. A child from infancy was taught to shun and hate the coppers.

There are many fences in the neighborhood. When needing a few bicycles a fence sends out word that he needs a few, then some of the boys would take the elevated train to Evanston or Wilmette. Down there the kids ride to school on bicycles and leave them outside of the school. This was not stealing for them, just taking; the only hard part about it was riding them home. It meant ten dollars for each bicycle when you took it to the fence.

Another fence in the neighborhood dealt in radio and radio parts. Kid shoplifters (men could not do this trick well) would go down to one of the large department stores and raid the radio department. They would carry home radio sets worth \$75.00 a piece and get \$15.00 a piece for them. There was not much risk to doing this. The store detectives had a hard time catching them with the goods, and if they did get caught, it only meant the Juvenile Detention Home and then the streets.

Then there were the common junk men who bought anything. I believe these men are the fundamental causes of much evil in most of the so-called slum districts, for he buys the stuff from kids. If he didn't

buy, the kids would not dig up water pipes from basements of houses or else steal electrical cables, or cut lead pipes from houses.

My neighborhood was filled with rackets of all kinds, from stealing pennies from news stands to stick ups. The little fellows begin by stealing little things and bumming from school. We "big shots" steal automobiles, stick up, and do robbery jobs. They drive around in swell cars and strut their stuff and have a swell broad on the string. No kid wants to be in a piker's racket very long and steal coal and junk, because he sees bigger money in the stick-up game, and if you make a hit with the right mob, you're all set.

There are certain areas of the city in which stealing from freight cars and markets is a common form of delinquency. In many instances, as suggested in the previous case, the practice is encouraged by the parents. It is sometimes practiced openly and apparently has the sanction of the neighborhood, at least no action on the part of the neighborhood is taken against it. Case No. 6 is an excerpt from the life story of a young offender whose earliest delinquencies were stealing from vegetable markets and freight cars.

*Case No. 6.*—My stepmother sent me out with William (my stepbrother) to pick rags and bottles in the alleys. She said that would pay for my board and make me more useful than fretting and sulking at home. I did not mind that in the least. In fact, I enjoyed it, because I was at least out of the old lady's reach. I began to have a great time exploring the whole neighborhood—romping and playing in the alleys and "prairies," gathering rags, bones, and iron, and selling them to the rag peddlers. This romping and roaming became fascinating and appealed to my curiosity, because it was freedom and adventure. We played "Indian" and other games in the alleys, running through the old sheds and vacant houses. Then we gathered cigarette "butts" along the street and took them to the shed, where we smoked and planned adventure. I was little and young, but I fell in with the older guys. Outside, in the neighborhood, life was full of pleasure and excitement, but at home it was dull and drab and full of nagging, quarreling, and beating, and stuffy and crowded besides \* \* \*

One day my stepmother told William to take me to the railroad yard to break into box cars. William always led the way and made plans. He would open

the cars and I would crawl in and hand out the merchandise. In the cars were foodstuffs, exactly the things that my mother wanted. We filled our cart, which we had made for this purpose, and proceeded toward home. After we arrived home with our ill-gotten goods, my stepmother would meet us and pat me on the back and say that I was a good boy and that I would be rewarded. Rewarded, bah! Rewarded with kicks and cuffs.

After a year of breaking into box cars and stealing from stores my stepmother realized that she could send me to the market to steal vegetables for her. My stealing had proved to be very profitable to her, so why not make it even more profitable? I knew it was for my own good to do what she wanted me to do. I was so afraid of her that I couldn't do anything but obey. Anyway, I didn't mind stealing, because William always went with me, and that made me feel proud of myself, and it gave me a chance to get away from home.

Every Saturday morning we would get up about three o'clock and prepare for the venture. William, Tony, and his two sisters, and I would always go. We would board a street car, and the people on the car would always stare at us and wonder where such little kids were going so early in the morning. I liked to attract attention of people and have them look down upon me with curiosity. The idea of my riding in a street car at that early hour appealed to my adventurous spirit and keyed me up to stealing. In the street car William would give me orders on what to steal and how to go about it. I listened to him with interest and always carried out his orders. He had me in the palm of his hand, so to speak. He got the satisfaction of ordering me and I got the thrill of doing the stealing. He instructed me how to evade peddlers and merchants if they gazed at me while I was stealing. After arriving at the market William would lay out the plan of action and stand guard while I did the stealing. He knew what the stepmother wanted, and he always filled her orders to overflowing. All in all, I was a rather conceited little boy who thought himself superior to the other boys of his age, and I didn't miss impressing that little thing upon their minds. I was so little that the peddlers were not suspicious of me, and it didn't take long to fill our baskets and be ready for the journey home. All spring, summer, and fall did we go to the market, and never did I get caught and never did we go home with empty baskets.

Stealing in the neighborhood was a common practice among the children and approved by the parents. Whenever the boys got together they talked about robbing and made more plans for stealing. I hardly knew any boys who did not go robbing. The little fellows went in for petty stealing, breaking into freight cars, and stealing junk. The older boys did big jobs like stick-up, burglary, and stealing autos. The little fellows admired the "big shots" and longed for the day when they could get into the big racket. Fellows who had "done time" were big shots and looked up to and gave the little fellows tips on how to get by and pull off big jobs.<sup>8</sup>

One type of delinquency which shows a close relationship to the physical environment in which it occurs is stealing in connection with the practice of junking. The deteriorated sections of the city are fruitful fields for junking and the various delinquent activities related to it. As Thrasher suggests, stealing junk is frequently an initial step in a delinquency career and is often instigated by junk dealers.<sup>9</sup>

*Case No. 7.*—In the neighborhood in which I lived there was mostly Italians and Croatians. There was always street fights, drunkards, and there were all kinds of petty thieves. The buildings and homes were dirty and shabby looking and the streets were likewise. Then there were some tenement houses and rooming houses and there were a few factories.

I was 11 or 12 when I associated with some young roughnecks and petty thieves and I got my ideas from them. We use to steal milk off people's porches and break open the bread boxes in front of the stores early in the morning after the breadman left and we would take the milk, bread, and cakes to our clubhouse in the middle of the block, and in the rear of the house facing the alley was a barn where a negro fellow left his horse and wagon. In the attic of this barn was our clubhouse and to the left of the barn was a junk yard where we use to build fires and hang around late at night. To the right of the barn was a house, and next to the house was a garage. Across the alley was Mr. Smith's shanty, where he kept his coal and did his business. Us kids, or in other words, our gang, use to help Mr. Smith make his deliveries. He would sell his coal by the bag at

<sup>8</sup> The Jack-Roller, a Delinquent Boy's Own Story, by Clifford R. Shaw, University of Chicago Press, June, 1930, pp. 51-54.

<sup>9</sup> Thrasher, F. M.: The Gang, University of Chicago Press, 1927, pp. 148-158.

35 cents a bag. Whenever another coal man was making his deliveries and left his wagon load of coal sit in the alley or street, a couple of us kids would steal the wagon load of coal and take it down to Smith's shanty and unload the wagon of coal. We would then drive the horse and wagon about a mile away and leave it along the street. Then we would catch a street car and come back to the shanty to get our money. Smith would give us a couple of dollars for the wagon load of coal and we would go down to Guy's restaurant and get something to eat and then we would go to the shows. There we would see and hear the pretty girls dance and sing.

Smith had a junk yard, too, and he bought junk and sold it. He had a big bunch of us kids that stole all kinds of junk for him in the neighborhood and in other neighborhoods. We would drive with Smith to some neighborhood and look around by an old house. We would go in the old house and Smith would drive away a few blocks and we would get all the old iron, bottles, and lead and pile it in the alley or some safe place and then Smith would come back to get it. Sometimes Smith sent us out to steal from junk yards and from junk wagons. He always paid us money or candy or cigarettes. I stayed with him for two years and then got into the auto racket.

Smith let us have our clubhouse in his barn as pay for stealing for him. Sometimes we would sleep in our clubhouse and sometimes in summer we would sleep in the other old buildings.

I have a mother and father. My father had no trade, so he worked as a common laborer whenever he could find work. He was a steady worker. My mother took care of the house, as we had six boarders at the time, so it kept her quite busy at home. I have two older brothers and three sisters. I would help at home by chopping wood and clean the snow off of the sidewalks in the winter and run errands for my mother. I did not realize at the time how serious these petty crimes were. I thought I was smart to do those things. I got in the habit of stealing and thought nothing of it. Somebody would dare me to throw a rock through the window of a department store or steal, and I would do it for the kick I got out of it.

In some cases delinquent and criminal patterns of behavior are transmitted through the personal contacts within the family group. The following excerpt is taken from the life history of a young delinquent who apparently was led into delinquency through the influence of his older brothers.

There were five boys in this family, all of whom have long delinquent and criminal records dating back to the age of 7 or 8. The parents were Polish peasants and came to this country a few years after their marriage. At the end of a period of 20 years' residence in this country they were not naturalized and spoke only broken English. They settled in one of the delinquency areas of Chicago and have never been able to exercise sufficient control over the children to counteract the demoralizing influences in the neighborhood.

*Case No. 8.*—The first time I ever started stealing was when I was still a youngster of about 8 or 9 years old and wanted the price of a show or ice-cream cone. The pennies I received off mother and father was not enough to satisfy me so I had to look for other ways of obtaining money, and the result was I started stealing off news stands and started begging for pennies from people who entered a show. I don't exactly remember the first time I ever stole from a newspaper stand or who taught me, because I did it a great number of times, but when I was still a youngster my brother, who was a few years older than me, picked me as one of his companions and him, I, and another fellow who later became my partner in crime, started going out together and bum from school. I was taken all over the city by them and we usually hopped on wagons, trucks, or any vehicle which seemed to go the way we wanted to. My brother and partner both were older than I and more experienced in ways of stealing, so whenever we came in front of a news stand which stood outside on a corner and was runned by the owner of the corner store, we would look and see if there should happen to be a few odd pennies on it and if there was, my brother and partner got them while I stood around and then they ran away from the news stand before the owner came out. It was this way that I learned to steal from news stands and any other kind of magazine stand.

At the time I first started stealing pennies from news stands my three brothers were a lot more experienced in stealing and were altogether in a different racket. They were burglarizing homes over the north side of Chicago with their buddies. During the time I was stealing with my brother, Edward, and his partner, whose name was James Kowski, I did not take things seriously and it seemed only natural that I was following in my brothers' steps because I was being taught by him and his other buddies.

The only thing I thought of when I was stealing pennies from news stands and fruit from peddlers was not to get caught, because I did not want my father to give me a whipping because whenever he did whip us we usually got a hard beating. After stealing pennies from news stands and bumming from school, I was arrested with my brother, Edward, for being truant so many times and also for stealing pennies and begging in front of the theaters for pennies. The truant officer took us to the Juvenile Detention Home, where I stayed for a few weeks and then was released and sent back to school. After going to school for a few months and behaving myself, my brother's partner, James, came and again I started on my petty thievery. This time without my brothers, for they had gone to jail. For the next few months I stole most anything I could lay my hands on, and through the smartness of my partner we got away with this and I started stealing pennies from paper stands, and after awhile my partner and I went into the big Loop stores and stole things from the big stores with my partner. I took my younger brother along for company and taught him what I had learned, although many days my father would catch me with toys and other things I stole and whip me and my brothers for stealing and bumming school.<sup>10</sup>

There is an abundance of evidence already available from probation officers, police, social workers, teachers, and from residents of the delinquency areas of Chicago that corroborates the major points brought out in the foregoing cases. This evidence is typified in the following letter which was written by a resident of one of these areas to the Juvenile Protective Association.

CHICAGO, February 9, 1931.

JUVENILE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.

DEAR SIR: I want to write you about a little boy that lives in this neighborhood as I was told that you were the people that looks after such matters.

You see I live on H and L Sts., known as the drug-store corner, and from my upstairs windows I can see over a great part of the neighborhood, besides my boy tells me a lot about the children around here. Well, this boy I want to tell you about is 8 or 9 years old, his name is George Nicoli and he lives at 4-- Loomis St., on the second floor; his mother is in a crazy

<sup>10</sup> The detailed case study of this family will be published shortly by the University of Chicago Press under the title "Brothers in Crime."

asylum as she can not take care of anybody, and his father works some place, so the boy has nobody to take care of him; sometimes he goes to school and often not—but loafes and stays among the neighbors who seem to be a bad lot as they mostly all make and drink home brew and moonshine and their habits is such as to demoralize a child and are unfit to have a child around them; besides he loafes around with a lot of tough young boys and some girls that live on the NW. corner of 13-- W. Harrison St., on the 3d floor above the grocery. These kids is known as the "Barber Bunch" on account of their father being a barber—and tough—oh, my goodness—they learn this boy George all kinds of devilment, such as pilfering from the corner store and parked cars and delivery wagons; they use this boy as a lookout to give the danger signal while the other boys get away with the stuff.

I saw them rob a pie-delivery wagon the other day—the man with a lot of pies went into the store—this boy George stood on watch at the grocery store door to give the danger signal when the pie man came out while the 2 other boys robbed the wagon of 4 or 5 pies and beat it down the street where there is 2 alleys where they seem to have a hangout behind a candy factory where nobody cares what they do—the people over there all know about these toughs but don't seem to care—for instance—there is lots of cars parked around there every day and these young toughs have bunches of keys that they carry around with them and while one kid is on the lookout the others try to unlock the doors of the cars which some they do and they steal everything they can lift, even seat cushions; they have a junk dealer down on Roosevelt Road that buys anything and everything these and other kids bring to their place—and that is how and where these toughs get money for cigarettes, candy, and movie shows; this is only part of the facts and no use telling any policeman around here as they don't care about such small matters; anyway I don't let my boy mix up with them, but if you can save this boy George from getting to be a street loafer like the boys he goes with, it will be an act of kindness.

FROM A MOTHER.

These materials reveal in a concrete manner many important aspects of the social life in the delinquency areas of Chicago. They suggest very strongly that these areas not only fail to provide a sufficiently consistent cultural back-

ground and neighborhood organization for the development of desirable forms of behavior, but that they possess many elements that contribute directly to the formation of delinquent habits and attitudes among the children. It appears that in many cases the delinquent and criminal behavior of the boy represents an adjustment to the traditions, behavior standards and expectations of the neighborhood groups with which he has contact.

The foregoing excerpts from case studies give a much more detailed picture of the activities of delinquent boys than could be secured from the formal records of the police or the juvenile court, since they indicate that the boys in the delinquency areas engage in numerous delinquencies that are never known to the authorities. While of course many of the boys in these areas do not become delinquent, it is quite certain that the number actually engaged in delinquency is much greater than is indicated by our rates for police arrests or appearances in juvenile court.

Finally, it should not be assumed that the parents of the delinquents in the areas under consideration are necessarily indifferent to the needs and welfare of their children. In many cases their efforts to control and direct the behavior of the children are rendered futile because of the more powerful demoralizing influences operating in the community.

## CHAPTER V

### DELINQUENCY AREAS IN OTHER AMERICAN CITIES

The study of the geographical distribution of juvenile delinquents in Chicago showed that rather than being distributed uniformly throughout the city, the cases were largely concentrated in limited areas and that there were wide variations in the rates of delinquency as between areas. The study further revealed that the greatest concentrations and highest rates occur in the areas adjacent to the central business district and the major industrial centers. Furthermore, both the concentration of cases and the rates show a rather consistent tendency to decrease from the center of the city out to the periphery. It is the purpose of the present chapter to indicate to what extent the geographic distribution of juvenile delinquents in other American cities shows a configuration similar to that found in Chicago. For this purpose a series of cases for each of the following six cities will be presented: Philadelphia, Pa.; Richmond, Va.; Cleveland, Ohio; Birmingham, Ala.; Denver, Colo.; and Seattle, Wash. These cities, which represent widely scattered sections of the United States, vary markedly as to age, size, composition of population, and topography.

The reader is cautioned against attempting to make any comparisons as to the relative extent of juvenile delinquency in these cities upon the basis of our materials. In view of the marked discrepancies between the cities with respect to the definition of delinquency and the policy for dealing with juvenile offenders, such a comparison would be entirely misleading. Furthermore, we did not include all of the cases brought to the juvenile courts in the several cities during the periods covered by the respective series. Some of the courts make a distinction between "official" cases and "nonofficial" cases. For the most part, the latter group includes cases involving offenses that were regarded by the courts as being of a minor character. In cities where this

distinction was made we included only the official cases in our study. On the other hand, in cities where no such distinction was made our series was limited, in so far as possible, to those types of cases which would have been classified as "official" in the other cities.

Our series in certain cities were thus limited in order to exclude individuals charged with very minor offenses, and to make certain that the several series would be relatively comparable as to types of offense. It should be noted that this procedure in no way vitiates the findings for our study, since our primary purpose is to determine the variation in the extent of delinquency among the areas of each city and the similarity in the pattern of distribution as between the several cities.

Limitation of space will not permit a presentation of data to show the extent to which the rates of delinquents vary with types of local areas within these six cities. Such data are already secured for these cities, however, and they indicate that the areas of high and low rates of delinquents in these cities are differentiated in much the same manner as the areas of high and low rates in Chicago. (See Ch. III.)<sup>1</sup>

#### DISTRIBUTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Philadelphia, the third largest city in the United States and one of the oldest of the large cities, is located at the junction of the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers, about 60 miles from the Atlantic Ocean at the nearest point, and 100 miles by way of the Delaware River and Bay.

The natural advantages of this strategic position were recognized very early. Even in 1682, when the settlers sent out by William Penn arrived, there were settlements of Swedish, Dutch, and English in the area now within the corporate limits of the city.

The site chosen for the settlement was on the peninsula between the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers about 5

<sup>1</sup>The formal indices differentiating the local areas within these 6 cities, along with a study of the distribution of juvenile delinquency in 8 additional cities, will be published in the near future by the University of Chicago Press under the title "Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas."

miles above their junction. The city as originally laid out extended from the Delaware River on the east to the Schuylkill on the west, a distance of about 2 miles, and from Vine Street on the North to Cedar (now South) Street on the south, a distance of about 1 mile.

Geographically the land was an almost level plain, being practically cut through by several small streams, but without any restraining physical barriers. To the south the land was also level but somewhat lower, especially near the junction of the rivers where it was only slightly above sea level. To the north of the original city, on the other hand, the land which later was to become a part of Philadelphia, was high and rolling. Rising slowly on the Delaware River side, but more abruptly on the Schuylkill, it reached a height of more than 400 feet above sea level in the region where Germantown was to be established a couple of years later. Likewise on the west, the region which was to become West Philadelphia, was a rolling country somewhat higher than the original city. Each of these regions contained a number of creeks but many of them have since disappeared as a result of the leveling process of municipal engineering.

The street plan which was carefully worked out included High (now Market) Street, a wide street extending from river to river about midway between the northern and southern boundaries of the new city; and Broad Street, an equally wide street running north and south about midway between the two rivers. At the intersection of these two streets, which marked the geographic center of the corporate area, a large public square was laid out.

The assumption underlying the plan of the new city of Philadelphia was that there would be simultaneous developments inward from each river and that the two would meet at the square. But although both the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers were navigable, the fact that the Delaware was larger and offered a longer water frontage at tidewater level made it so much more attractive from the standpoint of navigation that the early settlers preferred to remain near it. Consequently the city grew, not east and west as had been planned, but northward and southward along the Delaware River front.

This early city was centered about High and Second Street (the second street from the Delaware River), where the city hall and the markets were located. As the city grew this center moved slowly westward, until to-day the square at the intersection of Broad and Market Streets, now called City Hall Square, may well be taken as the center of the downtown business district. Time has not detracted from the importance of Market Street. Broad Street, which for over a century was outside of the built-up area, has now become the leading north and south thoroughfare.

The original boundaries of Philadelphia remained unchanged for 172 years, and as the corporate area was only 1 mile in width from north to south the city soon spread beyond its boundaries along the Delaware River. Before the Revolutionary War, Southwark on the south and Northern Liberties on the north had been incorporated into separate districts. In 1811 Mcase writes that the settlement had "increased northward and southward of the original plot, upon the Delaware front, and now occupies a space nearly 3 miles in length north and south, while the buildings in the middle, where they are most extended, reach little more than a mile from the Delaware."

The population continued to spread beyond the original boundaries, and as the adjoining territory became populated it was divided into corporate districts. Following Northern Liberties and Southwark, Kensington and Richmond along the Delaware River toward the northeast, Spring Garden and Penn on the north, West Philadelphia on the west, and Moyomensing on the south were incorporated. In 1850 the population of Philadelphia was 121,376 and the population of the contiguous districts just enumerated was 238,927, indicating that only about one-third of the population was within the city limits of Philadelphia.

Beyond these districts but within the present limits of the city there were several other boroughs of considerable size and importance. Germantown, which had been settled by the Germans the year following the settlement of Philadelphia, was a city of 6,209 population located on the high land to the northwest of Philadelphia. Manayunk, with a population of 6,158, was located on the Schuylkill above the fall line. Frankford, with a population of 5,346, was

located near the Delaware, northeast of the city proper. In this same district were the smaller towns of White Hall, Bridesburg, and Aramingo.

In 1854 these cities, towns, and corporate districts were abolished and the boundaries of Philadelphia extended to the county lines by the legislature. Thus by a single act the corporate area of the city was increased about sixty-five times or from the original 2 square miles to the present 129, and the population from 121,376, the population of Philadelphia in 1850, to 408,462, the population of the county in the same year.

Although Philadelphia is an old city, it is strikingly obvious that its development into a great metropolis has been relatively recent. In 1790, 108 years after the settlement was established and 90 years after the incorporation of Philadelphia as a city, the population was only 28,522 and the population of the county only 54,391. By 1860, the first census after the consolidation, the city had grown so that the population was well over a half million (565,529) and by 1890 had passed the million mark (1,046,964). The population of Philadelphia according to the Federal census of 1920 was 1,823,779 and in 1930 was 1,964,430.

The direction of greatest growth in Philadelphia has been northward. A fairly accurate picture of the way in which the city has spread is given by the distribution of population if the city is divided into old Philadelphia, the original city, North and South Philadelphia, the areas between the rivers north and south of the original city, and West Philadelphia, the name given to all of the area west of the Schuylkill. North Philadelphia contained 55.7 per cent of the total population of the city in 1920. This northward development took two general directions, one along the Delaware River toward the northeast and the other northwest, on the high ground along Wissahickon Creek.

Apart from these general movements, sections have been built up where local transportation made them desirable for residential purposes and around industrial plants which sprang up where rail or water transportation justified the location. There is as yet, however, considerable open country in North Philadelphia, especially in the northeast section.

The area of old Philadelphia contains 4 per cent and South Philadelphia 20.6 per cent of the population. Growth to the south has been prevented by the limits of the area and the fact that the land near the junction of the rivers is so low that it is undesirable for residential purposes.

West Philadelphia contains 19.7 per cent of the population. Westward across the Schuylkill the growth has extended beyond the city limits. The movement toward the southwest has been limited, however.

Although our study of delinquency will be limited to the city proper, it is important to remember that many of the finest residential areas of Philadelphia are in the many suburbs along the main thoroughfares outside of the city. These suburbs, along with Camden, N. J., an industrial city located directly across the Delaware River from the center of the business district, and representing the eastward growth, may all be thought of as part of the development of greater Philadelphia.

The census of 1920 gave the population of the suburbs within the metropolitan areas as 477,219, or 17 per cent of the population of Philadelphia proper. The fact that the rate of growth in these incorporated areas outside of Philadelphia between 1910 and 1920 was 76.3 and the rate within the city 23.6, indicates that an increasingly large proportion of the population of greater Philadelphia is settling in the suburbs.

In 1920, 92.6 per cent of the population were recorded as white and 7.4 per cent as Negro, but the composition of the school population indicates that the percentage of Negroes has materially increased since that time. Seventy and seven-tenths per cent of the population were native white: 38.3 per cent were of native parentage, and 32.4 per cent were of foreign and mixed parentage.

Twenty-one and eight-tenths per cent of the population in 1920 were foreign born, and the total percentage of foreign stock was 54.2. The predominant nationalities among the foreign born were Russian and Lithuanian, 25 per cent; Irish, 16.1 per cent; and Italians, 15.9 per cent. The predominant nationality group throughout the life of the city has been Irish, one-third of the foreign-born population being so classified in 1900.

Philadelphia is primarily an industrial city and is especially noted for its textile mills and shipbuilding yards. According to the census of 1920, 47.5 per cent of the occupied persons were engaged in manufacture. Only Cleveland of the cities under consideration would, on the basis of this index, be more completely a manufacturing center.

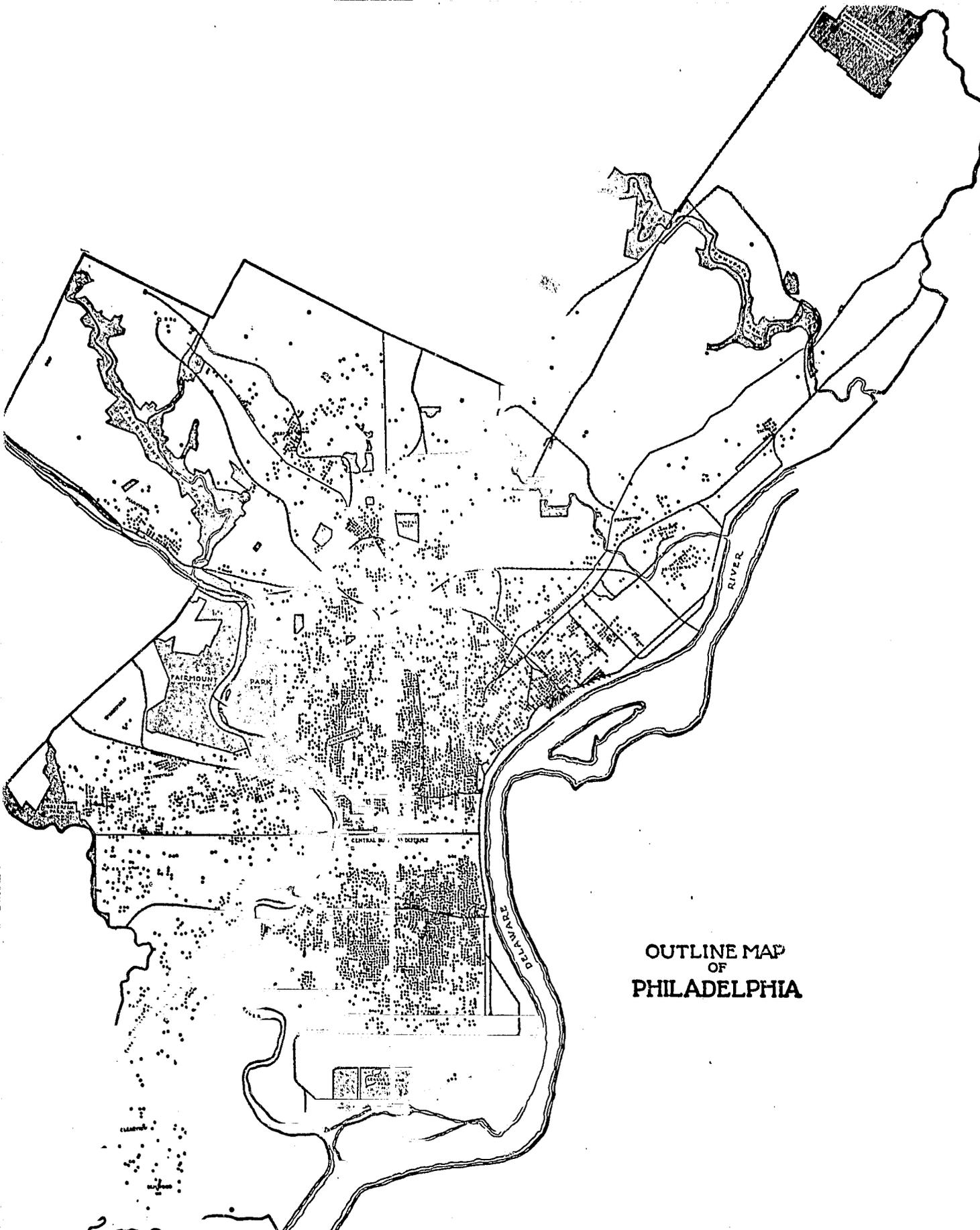
With this general information and brief statement of the growth and development of Philadelphia as a background we are now in a position to consider the geographical distribution of juvenile delinquents in the city.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF DELINQUENTS

The cases of juvenile delinquents in Philadelphia are heard in the juvenile division of the municipal court. In this court a large number of informal complaints are disposed of unofficially by the probation staff. By this method many boys against whom only trivial complaints have been made are eliminated from the court cases. In securing the series of delinquents for the present study, only boys who were brought to the court on petitions alleging delinquency were included; all cases which were disposed of unofficially were excluded. The series covers a 3-year period (1926-1928), and includes 5,859 boys.

For the most part, the boys included in this series fall within the age range from 9 to 15 years. The highest frequencies are in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth years. These age groups comprise respectively 16.3, 17.7, and 21.4 per cent of the boys of this series. Only 2.6 per cent of the boys were over 15 years of age. Of the total number of boys in this series 48.2 per cent were charged with stealing, 14.5 per cent with running away from home, 11.7 per cent with destruction of property, 8.5 per cent with truancy from school, 6 per cent were incorrigible, 2.4 per cent were sex offenders, and 8.7 per cent were charged with other offenses.

The distribution of the 5,859 boys comprising the present series is indicated on Map III. The City Hall Square at the intersection of Broad Street and Market Street may be taken as the center of the main business district and a focal point for the discussion of the distribution of delinquents.



OUTLINE MAP  
OF  
PHILADELPHIA

MAP III

HOME ADDRESSES OF 5,856 ALLEGED MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS BROUGHT BEFORE THE JUVENILE COURT OF PHILADELPHIA DURING THE YEARS 1926-1928

The area surrounding the City Hall Square, in which there are very few spots, indicates quite clearly the central business district. It is an area that is largely depopulated with an especially small juvenile population. To the south of the old city a great concentration of spots will be noted extending over most of the built-up sections of South Philadelphia. North of the old city an almost equally great concentration will be observed, especially east of Broad Street. West of Broad Street there are more open spaces but some very decided concentrations are to be noted just north of Vine, the old city limits, and northward and southward from Girard College. Broad Street, like Market, is for the most part a commercial rather than a residential street so that the open spaces on either side of both North and South Market indicate absence of resident population.

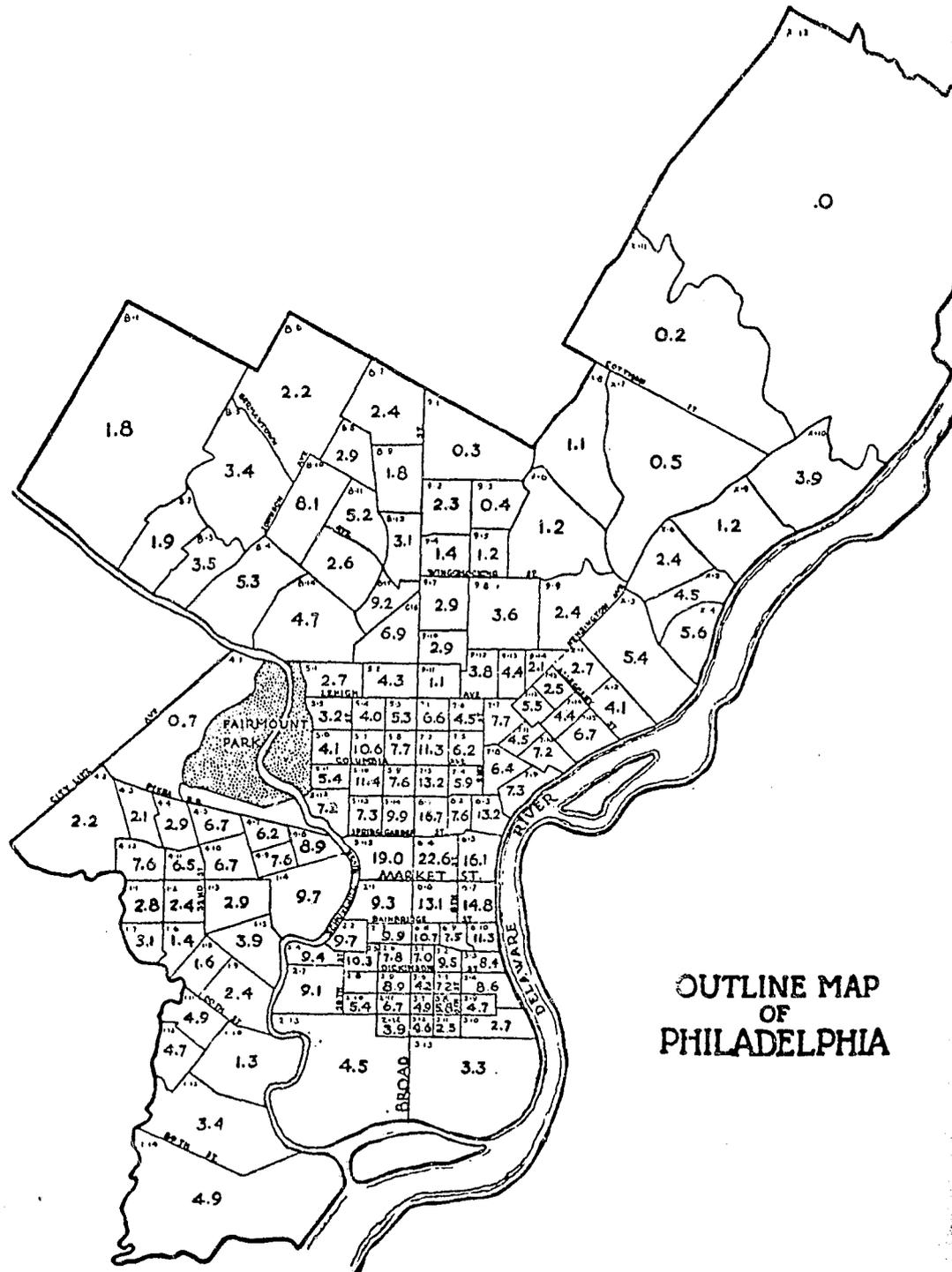
It is interesting to observe that the concentrations in the delinquency distribution in the areas farther removed from the center of the city are located in districts that were either separate towns or cities prior to the consolidation of 1854. Decided clusters of spots will be noticed at Richmond, which was one of the corporate districts of Philadelphia, and at Bridesburg and Frankford, which were and still are, from many points of view, separate cities. Another cluster of spots will be observed farther up the river at Tacony.

In north central Philadelphia a cluster of spots will be observed at Franklinville southeast of Hunting Park, and another very decided concentration near Nicetown directly west of Hunting Park.

Further concentration will be noted at Germantown and Manayunk, both of which are old settlements and which had populations of about 6,000 in 1850.

RATE OF DELINQUENTS

Rate Map III shows the rates of male delinquents in each of the 184 areas into which the city of Philadelphia was divided for the purposes of this study. Each of these areas contains 500 or more males in the 10 to 15 age grouping. These areas were constructed by combining school census blocks into larger areas until the desired population was secured. With one minor variation the boundaries of the



OUTLINE MAP OF PHILADELPHIA

RATE MAP III

RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN PHILADELPHIA

10 large school districts into which Philadelphia is divided, were retained. The prefix of the number assigned to each area indicates the school district in which the area is located.

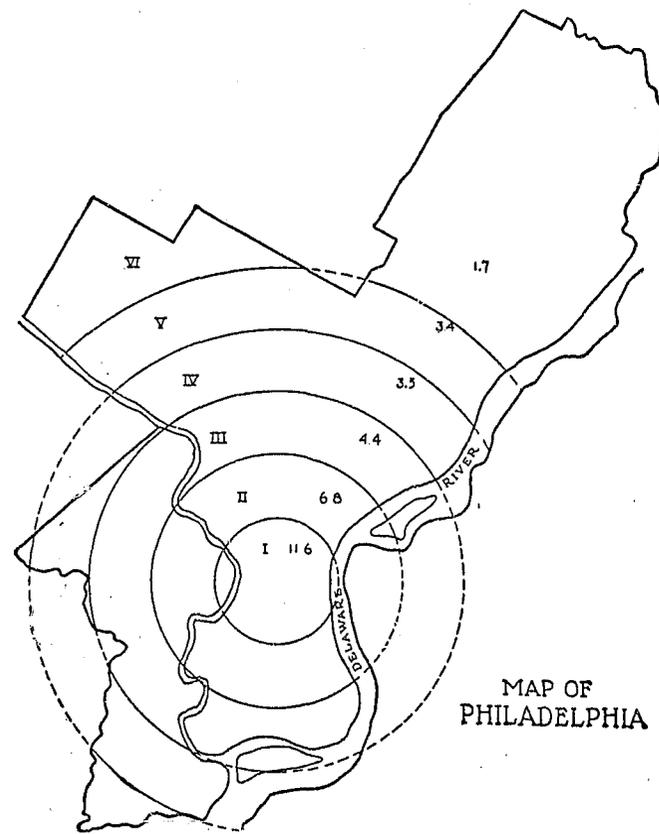
The aged 10 to 15 male population in these 134 areas was calculated from the 1927 total 6 to 15 school population. In order to make this calculation as accurate as possible the ratio of the aged 10 to 15 male population to the total school population was established separately for each of the 10 school districts. This ratio was then used in computing the aged 10 to 15 male population from the total aged 6 to 15 male population in each of the areas within the several school districts.

The rates of delinquents in this series are 3-year rates; that is, they are the ratios between the number of male juvenile delinquents brought into the juvenile court officially during the 3-year period, from each area, to the total 10 to 15 school population in each area in 1927. The range of rates is from 0 to 22.6. The median rate is 4.7 and the average rate for the city as a whole is 5.6.

It will be observed that in general the areas of concentration of delinquents are also the areas of high rates. One notable exception is in the central business district where there are few delinquents but high rates. Here the juvenile population is of course very small. Outside of this district, however, the picture given by the distribution map is verified by the rate map, for the high rates are found in the areas where concentrations of delinquents are evident. The highest rates are in the areas that include the central business district and incidentally all of the old city of Philadelphia. The two highest rates are just north of Market Street in areas 6-4 and 5-15, with rates of 22.6 and 19.0, respectively. Other areas with very high rates are to be observed along Market Street, between the rivers, and just east of Broad Street. In the outlying districts, high rates are to be noted along the Delaware River toward the northeast, in Germantown, Manayunk, and north of Market Street in West Philadelphia. But with these exceptions the outlying areas tend to have relatively low rates of delinquents.

The rates tend to decrease progressively from the central business district outward. This variation in rates becomes

increasingly clear when the change is noted along streets that run from the center of the city to the periphery. For example, in the areas along the east side of North Broad Street the range of rates is from 22.6 to 0.3 and on the west side from 19.0 to 2.4. Likewise south from the center of the



ZONE MAP III

RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS BY ZONES IN PHILADELPHIA

city, the range is from 13.1 to 3.3 in the areas east of Broad Street and 9.3 to 4.5 in the areas on the west side.

RATES BY ZONES

The tendency of the rates of delinquents in Philadelphia to decrease from the center of the city outward is presented

ideally in Zone Map III. These zones were constructed by taking a focal point at the corner of Broad and Market Streets and drawing concentric circles at intervals of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles. The rates in these zones, as in the Chicago series, were calculated in the same manner as were the rates in the separate areas. They represent the actual ratio of the number of delinquents to the total aged 10 to 15 male population.

It is interesting that in spite of the relatively high rates of delinquents in some of the areas in outlying centers, the rates by zones decrease regularly from 11.6 in the first zone to 1.7 in the last zone. In other words, nearly seven times as many boys became delinquent in the area within  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles of the center of the city as in the area located more than 9 miles from this point. The intermediate rates reading outward from the central zone are: 6.8, 4.4, 3.5, and 3.4.

#### THE EXTENT OF CONCENTRATION OF DELINQUENTS IN PHILADELPHIA

In order to show more clearly the extent of the concentration of the 5,856 delinquents in relation to the distribution of the aged 10 to 15 male population and the geographic area of the city of Philadelphia, the 134 areas of the city were divided into four equal groups. This division of areas was made upon the basis of the magnitude of the rates of delinquents in the 134 areas.

Throughout the following discussion the one-fourth of the areas with the lowest rates will be referred to as the first or lower one-quarter, and the one-fourth containing the areas with the highest rates will be designated as the fourth or upper one-quarter. The intermediate quarters will be designated as the second and third quarters. As this is a quartile division all the areas with rates of delinquents below the median are therefore in either the first or second quarters, while those areas with rates above the median are classified in the third or fourth quarters.

The variation in the distribution of the delinquents in this series in relation to the aged 10 to 15 male population and the total city area in the four equal groups of areas is indicated in Table XXI.

TABLE XXI.—Percentage distribution of delinquents, population, and city area in each one-fourth of the 134 areas grouped on the basis of magnitude of rates in the Philadelphia series

Quartile grouping of areas	Percentage of delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of city area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the 134 areas.....	46.6	25.1	9.4
Third one-quarter of the 134 areas.....	30.1	27.4	14.0
Second one-quarter of the 134 areas.....	16.4	25.1	21.0
First or lower one-quarter of the 134 areas.....	6.6	22.4	55.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0

When Table XXI is examined the wide variation between the percentage of delinquents in the upper one-quarter division of the areas as compared with the percentage in the lower one-quarter is apparent. The areas comprising the fourth one-quarter contain 46.6 per cent of the delinquents and include only 25.1 per cent of the aged 10 to 15 population and 9.4 per cent of the geographic area of the city. At the other extreme the areas included in the first one-quarter contain only 6.9 per cent of the delinquents, as against 22.4 per cent of the population and 55.6 per cent of the city area.

Significant variations in the distribution of the aged 10 to 15 population and the city area in relation to the distribution of delinquents are again revealed in Table XXII. Here the 5,856 delinquents were divided into four equal groups upon the basis of the magnitude of rates of delinquents in the series, and the percentage distribution of the city area and the population in these groups was computed.

TABLE XXII.—Percentage distribution of population and city area when the 5,856 delinquents in the Philadelphia series are divided into four equal groups on the basis of the magnitude of the rates of delinquents in this series

Quartile grouping of delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of city area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the 5,856 delinquents.....	10.8	4.0
Third one-quarter of the 5,856 delinquents.....	16.8	6.0
Second one-quarter of the 5,856 delinquents.....	22.8	10.8
First or lower one-quarter of the 5,856 delinquents.....	49.6	79.2
	100.0	100.0

Upon examining Table XXII it will be noted that the upper one-quarter of the delinquents is concentrated in 4 per cent of the city area and represent 10.8 per cent of the aged 10 to 15 male population, while the same number of delinquents in the areas with the lowest rates are distributed over 79.2 per cent of the city area and represent 49.6 per cent of the population.

When a division is made at the median it will be noted that the delinquents in the upper two-quarters, who comprise 50 per cent of the total number, represent less than three-tenths of the aged 10 to 15 male population and only one-tenth of the geographic area of the city.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN RICHMOND, VA.

The first settlement within the present limits of the city of Richmond was made in 1737 at the head of the tidewater on the James River. The town of Richmond with an area of one-fifth of a square mile, was incorporated in 1742, at which time the population was about 250. As the town grew it moved westward along the river, most of the annexations being made in that direction. Richmond was made the capital of the State in 1779 and was incorporated as a city in 1782. By 1810 the population had reached 9,785 and the area had increased to 2.4 square miles. At this time the city centered around what is to-day the central business district. In 1910, when the area of Richmond had increased to about 10 square miles, a tract on the south side of the river was annexed. The total area of the city was increased to 24 square miles in 1914.

The population was 27,570 in 1850, 85,050 in 1900, and 182,883 in 1930. The increase from 1920 to 1930 was 6.5 per cent.

The composition of the population in Richmond is, of course, quite different from that observed in Chicago or Philadelphia. According to the Federal census of 1920, 68.5 per cent of the population were white and 31.5 per cent Negro. Sixty per cent of the total population were native born of native-born parents and only 2.7 per cent foreign born. In short, the white population of Richmond is pre-

dominantly native American and almost one-third of the total population is Negro.

SOURCES OF DATA

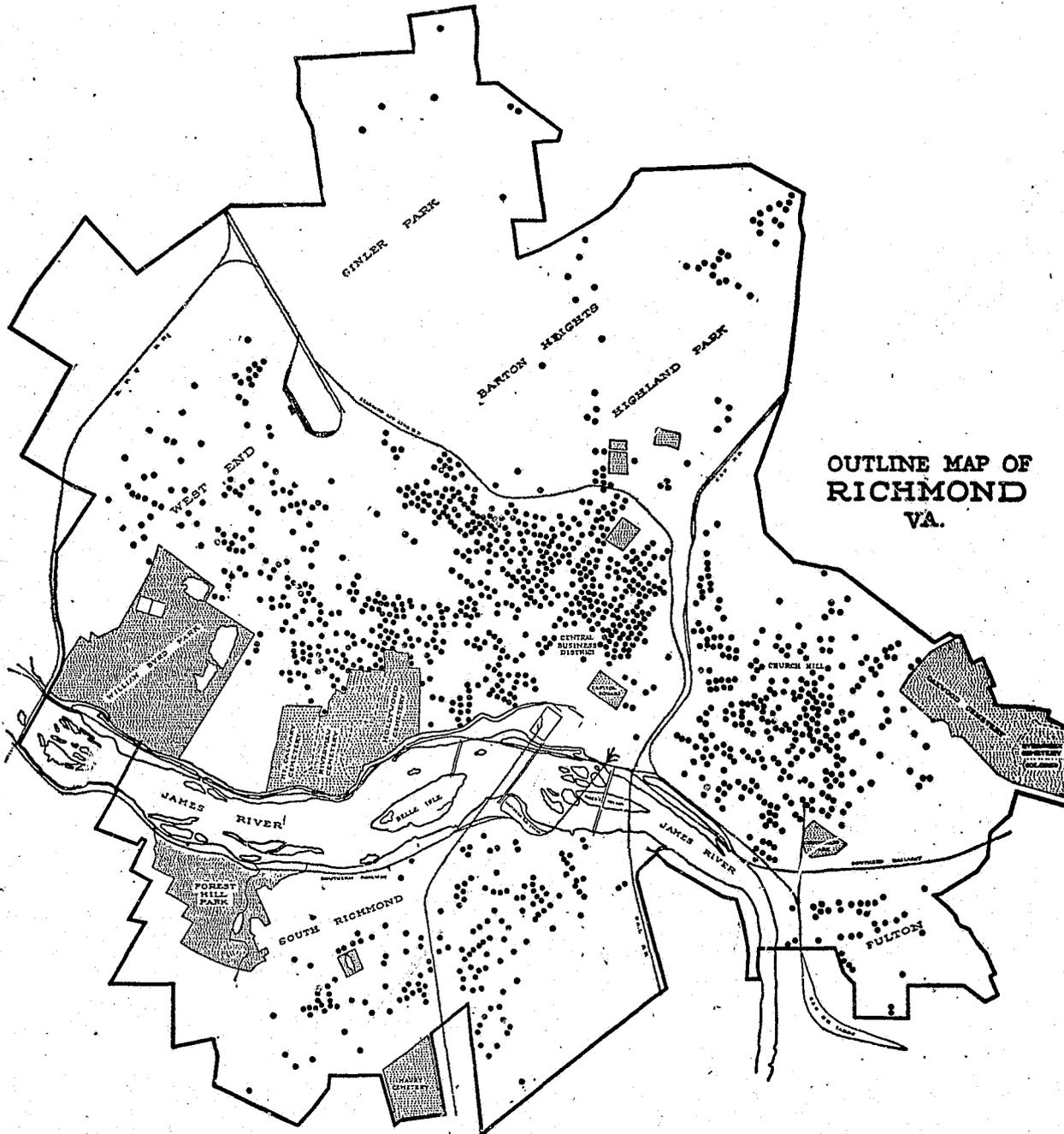
The cases included in this study of the distribution of juvenile delinquents in Richmond were secured from the records of the juvenile and domestic relations court of that city. Practically all of the boys arrested in Richmond are brought to the juvenile court, where a large proportion of them are dismissed with a warning. Because of the large number of boys brought to this court charged with very minor offenses, it was necessary to limit our series to those cases where the court order indicated that the offense was of a more serious nature. This selection was made in order that the cases in this series would be more comparable to the cases in other cities where minor offenses are disposed of without court action. The present series, which comprises the cases brought to court between May 1, 1927, and April 30, 1930, includes 1,238 boys.

The offenses with which these boys were charged are classified as 60.4 per cent stealing, which included 10.1 per cent larceny of autos, 14 per cent burglary and robbery, and 36.4 per cent other types of larceny; 6.5 per cent sex offenses; and 33.1 per cent other offenses, including truancy, violation of probation, destruction of property, disorderly conduct, incorrigibility, and drunkenness.

The age distribution of the delinquents in the Richmond series is somewhat different from the distribution in Chicago and Philadelphia. In Richmond the upper age limit is the eighteenth birthday, whereas, in Chicago the seventeenth, and in Philadelphia the sixteenth birthdays are the upper limit. Three and four-tenths per cent of the boys were 9 years of age or younger, 4.6 per cent were 10, 4.7 per cent were 11, 7.7 per cent 12, 10.9 per cent 13, 14.5 per cent 14, 17.1 per cent 15, 17.7 per cent 16, and 17.7 per cent 17 years of age. The remaining 1.4 per cent of the boys were over 17 years of age.

DISTRIBUTION

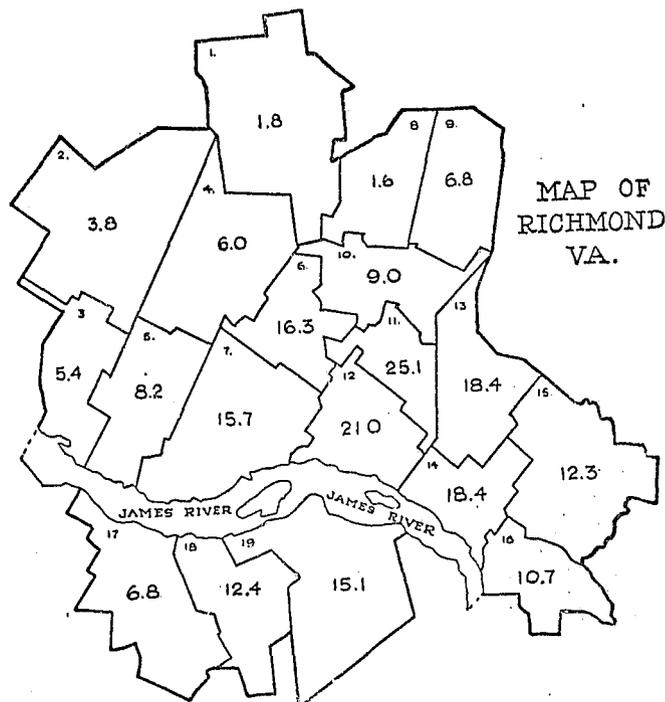
Map IV shows the distribution by home addresses of the 1,238 juvenile delinquents included in this series. It is clear



MAP IV

HOME ADDRESSES OF 1,238 ALLEGED MALE DELINQUENTS BROUGHT BEFORE THE JUVENILE COURT IN RICHMOND, VA., DURING THE PERIOD FROM MAY 1, 1927, TO APRIL 30, 1930

that there are marked variations in the extent of concentration of cases in the different areas in Richmond. Very heavy concentrations are to be noted north of the central business district and in the section north of Riverview and Hollywood Cemeteries, with lesser concentrations east of the business center in the Church Hill district, in Fulton, and in South Richmond. On the other hand there are relatively



RATE MAP IV

RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN RICHMOND, VA.

few spots in the West End, Ginter Park, Barton Heights, and Highland Park districts.

## RATES OF DELINQUENTS

Rate Map IV shows the rates of delinquents in the 19 areas into which the city of Richmond was divided for the

purpose of this study. The rates represent the ratio between the number of delinquents included in this series in each area and the total aged 10 to 17 male population. The areas were secured by combining the 1930 enumeration districts until a minimum population of 250 was secured.

Since the population data were not available by age groupings, it was necessary to calculate the aged 10 to 17 male population on the basis of the 1930 total population. In this calculation the ratio of the aged 10 to 17 male population to the total population in 1920 was used.

The rates of delinquents in the 19 areas into which Richmond was divided range, it will be observed, from 1.6 to 25.1, with a median rate of 10.7 and an average rate of 12.3.<sup>2</sup>

The area with the highest rate of delinquents is located just north of the central business district in one of the largest negro communities of the city. The area with the next highest rate includes the business center. These two areas are surrounded by other areas with relatively high rates of delinquents.

The low-rate areas are those numbered 1 and 8, located in the northern districts of Richmond; the rates in these areas are 1.8 and 1.6, respectively. These are high-class residential communities. Other areas with medium low rates are those numbered 2 and 3 in the west end, where the rates are 3.8 and 5.4. It will be noticed that, beginning with either area 11 or 12, the rates of delinquents decrease quite regularly from the center of the city outward.

## ZONE RATES

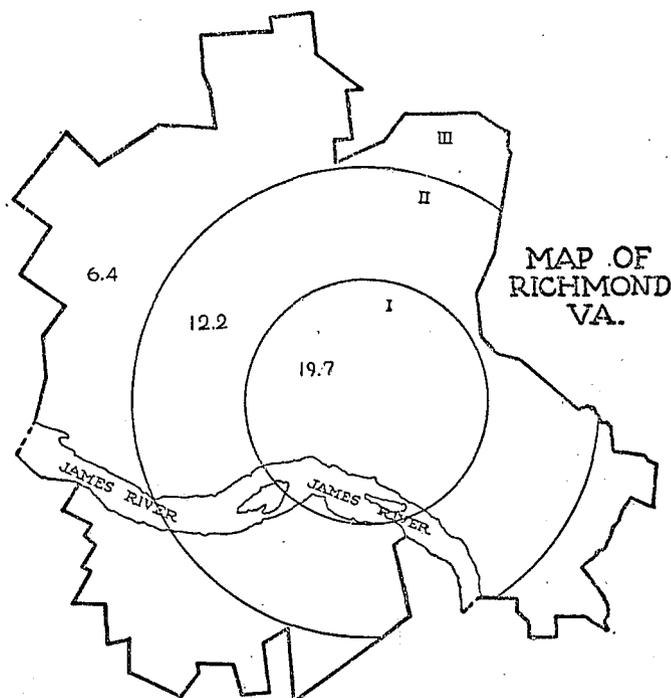
The tendency of the rates to decrease outward from the center of the city is presented idealistically in Zone Map IV. These zones were drawn at intervals of one mile, with a focal point in the center of the business district. The variation, it will be noted, is from 19.7 in Zone I to 6.4 in the

<sup>2</sup> The fact that the rates of delinquents in Richmond are somewhat higher than in some of the other cities should not be interpreted to mean that there is more delinquency in Richmond than in these other cities. This study furnishes no basis for any conclusion on this question. In this study, as stated previously, we are interested solely in the variation in rates of delinquents between areas and have made no effort to study the comparative number of delinquents or the amount of delinquency in the different cities.

third zone. In other words more than three times as many boys appeared in the juvenile court on serious charges from the first zone during the three years than from the last zone.

## EXTENT OF CONCENTRATION

In Richmond, as in Chicago and Philadelphia, the concentration of delinquents has been studied in relation to the distribution of the population and the total city area. The extent of this concentration, when the areas of the city are divided into four equal groups ranging from those with



ZONE MAP IV

RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS BY ZONES IN RICHMOND, VA.

the lowest rates of delinquents to those with the highest rates, is indicated in Table XXIII.

TABLE XXIII.—Percentage distribution of delinquents, population, and city area in each one-fourth of the 19 areas grouped upon the basis of the magnitude of the rates of delinquents in the Richmond series

Quartile grouping of areas	Percentage of delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of city area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the areas.....	48.0	29.7	18.3
Third one-quarter of the areas.....	33.4	27.9	27.8
Second one-quarter of the areas.....	12.0	19.9	24.9
First or lower one-quarter of the areas.....	6.6	22.5	29.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0

While the percentage of delinquents in the four groups of areas varies widely, the corresponding percentage for the population and city area shows relatively little fluctuation. Forty-eight per cent of the delinquents are found in the one-fourth of the areas with the highest rates of delinquents, while these areas contain only 29.7 per cent of the population and 18.3 per cent of the city area. On the other hand, only 6.6 per cent of the delinquents are found in the one-fourth of the areas with the lowest rates, although these areas contain 22.5 per cent of the population and 29.0 per cent of the city area.

Likewise when the 1,238 delinquents are divided into four equal groups on the basis of the magnitude of the rates, significant variations in the population and city area are again revealed. These are presented in Table XXIV.

TABLE XXIV.—Percentage distribution of population and city area when the 1,238 delinquents are divided into four equal groups on the basis of magnitude of rates in the Richmond series

Quartile grouping of delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of city area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the 1,238 delinquents.....	13.7	9.3
Third one-quarter of the 1,238 delinquents.....	17.3	9.5
Second one-quarter of the 1,238 delinquents.....	21.0	19.5
First or lower one-quarter of the 1,238 delinquents.....	48.0	61.7
	100.0	100.0

This table shows that, while the one-fourth of the delinquents from the areas of highest rates of delinquents are concentrated in 9.3 per cent of the city area and represent

only 13.7 per cent of the population, the one-fourth of the delinquents from the areas of lowest rates represent 48 per cent of the population and are dispersed over 61.7 per cent of the city area.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN CLEVELAND, OHIO<sup>3</sup>

The city of Cleveland, Ohio, is situated on the southern shore of Lake Erie at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River. It is the second largest city between New York and Chicago and constitutes a lake port of importance as a commercial and manufacturing center serving a wide territory. In 1920, with a population of 796,841, Cleveland ranked fifth in size among the cities of the country.

A decade after the first settlement was established in 1786 along the east bank of the Cuyahoga at the river's mouth, a trading post was established on a permanent basis by the Connecticut Land Co. under the direction of its representative, Moses Cleveland, for whom the city was named.

It was not until 1814, however, that the settlement became incorporated as the Village of Cleveland, with a population of approximately 100. "The original village plat was confined to a mile square bounded virtually by the lake, the river, Huron and Erie Streets."<sup>4</sup> The present public square was included in the original survey and constituted the approximate geographic center of the village.

In the meantime a rival settlement had sprung up on the west bank of the Cuyahoga River. This settlement was founded in 1807 as Ohio City and it received a charter in 1836. In the same year, Cleveland, having expanded considerably, though still confined to the east side of the river, was incorporated as a city with a population of about 5,000. These two cities were united in 1853.

The city's consistent and substantial growth has been due largely to its geographic location. Situated between

<sup>3</sup>The authors are indebted to Frederick M. Zorbaugh, formerly a member of the Department of Research Sociology, Institute for Juvenile Research and Behavior Research Fund, for his assistance in securing and preparing the materials presented in the studies in Cleveland and Denver.

<sup>4</sup>Orth, S. P.: *A History of Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio*, S. J. Clark Publishing Co., 1910; p. 45.

the iron region of Lake Superior and the coal and oil regions of Pennsylvania it gradually gained commercial prominence. Growth was slow until transportation to the south was facilitated by the opening of the Ohio Canal in 1827. Succeeding decades brought continuous expansion and development.

By 1920 the city of Cleveland had expanded to include 56.6 square miles of area and 796,841 inhabitants. Of this total population, 95.6 per cent were white and 4.3 per cent Negro. The native white population constituted 65.6 per cent of the total and included 26.6 per cent native parentage, 30.9 per cent foreign parentage, and 8 per cent mixed parentage. Of the total population, 30.1 per cent were foreign born.

The predominant foreign-born groups of the city in 1920 were of Polish, Hungarian, German, Russian, and Lithuanian, and Czechoslovakian extraction. These groups comprised, respectively, 14.6, 12.4, 11, 10.1, and 10 per cent of the foreign-born population. The Italian and Yugoslavs constituted the next ranking groups.

The topographical features of Cleveland played an important part in the direction of the city's growth. The meandering course of the Cuyahoga River Valley, with its considerable depth and width, has constituted an important ecological barrier effecting a division of the city into the east and west sides. Due to the irregular course of the river valley the principal expansion of the city has been to the southeast and southwest rather than to the south. Outlying residential communities—East Cleveland, Cleveland Heights, and Shaker Heights to the east, and Lakewood and West Park to the west—comprise important residential communities, and although politically independent, constitute an integral part of the economic and social life of Cleveland. Consequently, these communities will be included in our treatment of Cleveland as part of the city area.

#### JUVENILE COURT DELINQUENCY CASES

The Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court of Cleveland has jurisdiction over delinquents up to 18 years of age. When

a delinquent is arrested, or otherwise referred to this court, the case is recorded, classified, and dealt with either officially or unofficially. The unofficial cases are those which, in general, constitute the less serious group of offenders. Many of these are of the nature of complaint cases, too serious to be released without court action, but on the whole less serious than the official cases.

In order to insure a series of cases about which there could be but a minimum of question as regards the serious nature of the problems involved, only the official cases have been selected for our series. The 3-year period, 1919-1921, was selected in order that the 1920 Federal census population data applicable to the mid-point of the series might be used in computation of the delinquent rates. Data essential to this study were secured directly from the juvenile court docket books for all official male delinquents coming before the court during this 3-year period.

The age range of the cases included in this series is from 10 to 17 years. The highest frequency occurs in the fifteenth and sixteenth ages. Fourteen and one-tenth per cent of the cases are those of boys under 13 years of age. Of the total 4,978 boys, 51.1 per cent were brought to court on stealing offenses.

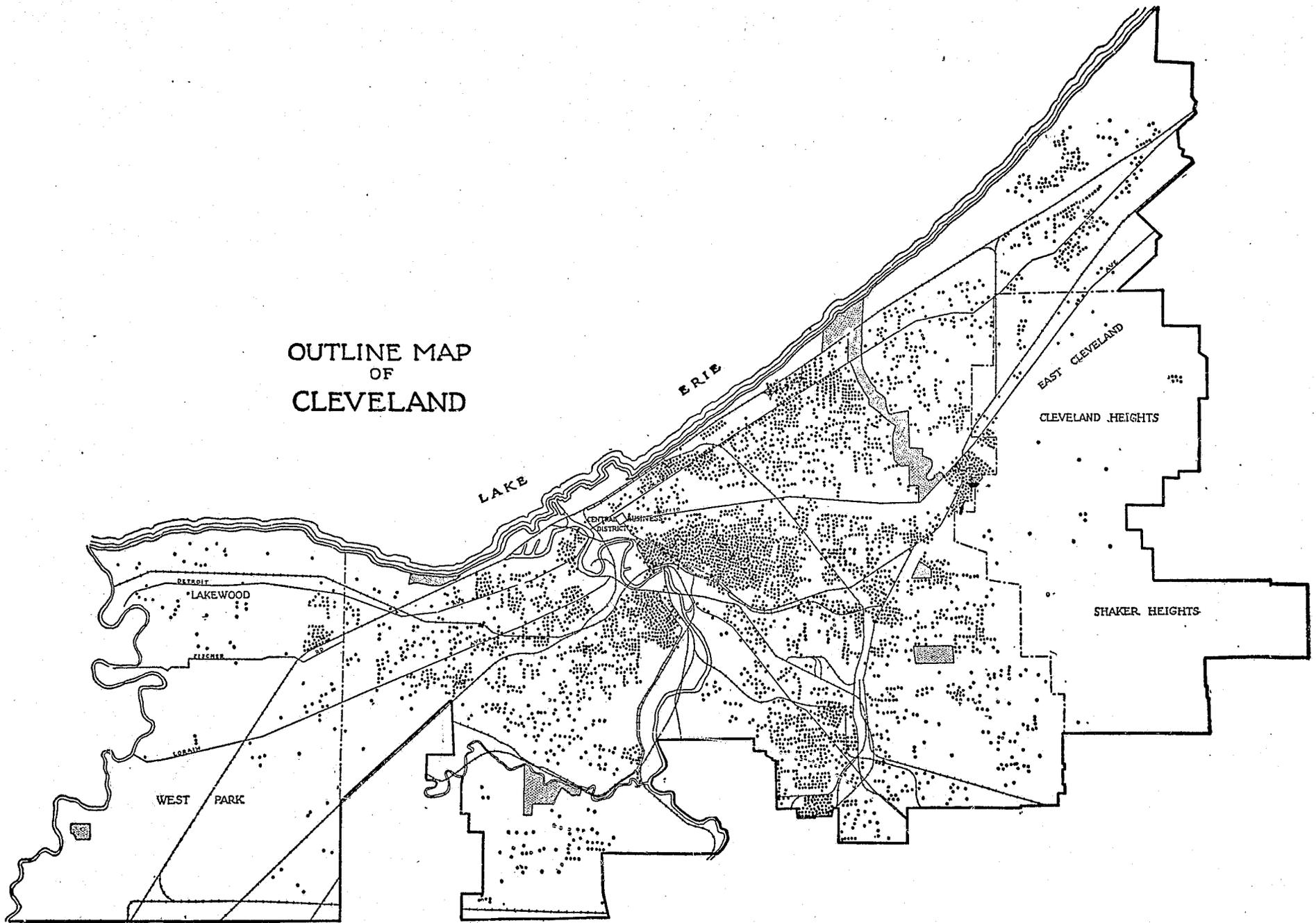
#### DISTRIBUTION OF DELINQUENTS

The present series of offenders includes 4,978 male delinquents residing within the corporate limits of Cleveland, East Cleveland, Cleveland Heights, Lakewood, and West Park, against whom delinquent petitions were filed in the juvenile court of Cleveland during the 3-year period from January 1, 1919, to December 31, 1921. Distribution Map V indicates the place of residence of these individuals as established by investigation at the time of their appearance before the court on delinquency petitions.

Different areas of the city present obvious variations in the extent of concentration of delinquents. Certain of the areas are marked by comparatively few spots, whereas others show decided concentrations.

In general, the areas of greatest concentration are located in the districts to the southeast of, and immediately adjacent

OUTLINE MAP  
OF  
CLEVELAND



MAP V

HOME ADDRESSES OF 4,978 ALLEGED MALE DELINQUENTS BROUGHT BEFORE THE JUVENILE COURT IN CLEVELAND, OHIO, DURING THE PERIOD FROM JANUARY 1, 1919, TO DECEMBER 31, 1921

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to, the central business district of the city. This area roughly assumes the form of a triangle, bounded by Carnegie Avenue on the north, East Fifty-fifth Street on the east, with the river, railroads, and adjacent commercial and industrial properties marking the third side. Approximately 3 miles southeast of this district, in the general vicinity of the Newberg Steel Mills, another area of marked concentration is discernible.

South of the central business district, immediately adjacent to the commercial and industrial properties to the south and west of the river, two somewhat distinct areas of concentration may be discerned. These two areas are separated by railroad and industrial properties. Northeast of the central business district, at a point approximately 4 miles from the Public Square, the cases may be observed to be concentrated in the area spreading out from the lake shore. At a point 5 miles almost directly east of the central business district appears another heavily concentrated area, although it is relatively small and somewhat isolated.

The areas pointed out constitute the principal areas of concentration, although other less concentrated districts may be observed scattered throughout the city. The bulk of the cases, however, appear to fall within a 3-mile radius of the central business district. In general, they become somewhat more dispersed with increased distance from the center of the city, the outlying residential districts being marked by relatively few spots.

#### RATES OF DELINQUENTS

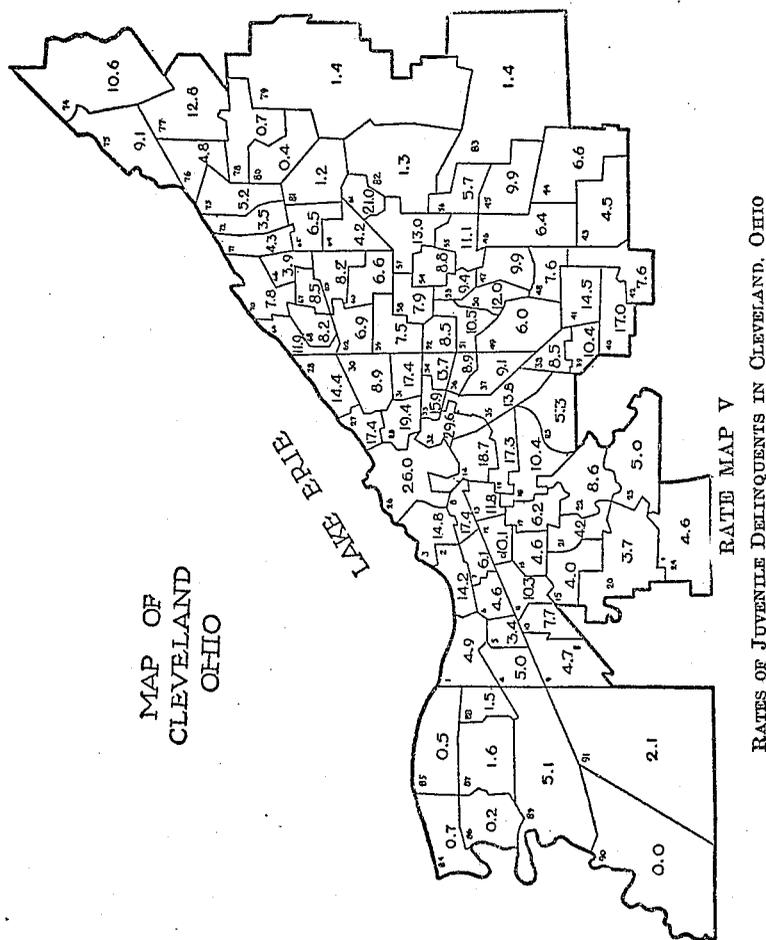
The 91 areas used for the presentation of rates of delinquents were secured by combining the 248 census tracts into which the city was divided by the Federal Census Bureau in 1920. The aged 10 to 17 male population for the census tracts were procured through the courtesy of Mr. Howard W. Green, of the Cleveland Health Council.<sup>5</sup> By combin-

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<sup>5</sup> Mr. Green is director of the bureau of statistics and research, and secretary of the Cleveland Health Council. In 1927 the Forman-Bassett Co., of Cleveland, published his volume, *An Analysis of Population Data*, which includes the total population of Cleveland by census tracts. The aged 10 to 17 male and female population is not included among the items in this volume, but was specially prepared for our study through the courtesy of Mr. Green.

ing the census tracts into the larger areas an adequate population for the computation of rates was secured.<sup>6</sup>

The rate of delinquents in each of the 91 areas is the ratio between the aged 10 to 17 male population in 1920 and the



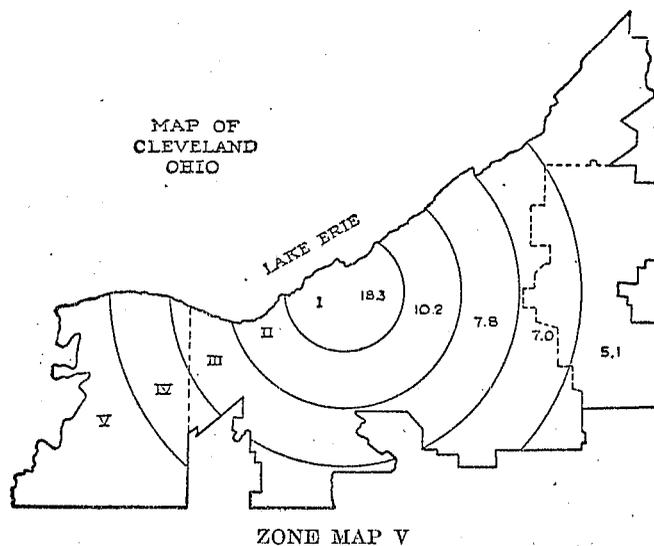
total number of male delinquents brought to the juvenile court from the respective areas during the 3-year period (1919-1921). These rates are presented in Rate Map V.

<sup>6</sup> In the process of combining census tracts the suburbs included in the area under consideration were treated as independent units, so that political boundaries have been maintained.

Variations in the rates of delinquents are quite marked and range from 0.0 in area 91 to 29.6 in area 26. In general, the high-rate areas are those in which the greatest concentration of cases occurred in the Distribution Map V. It will be noted that all of the areas in or adjacent to the central business district have relatively high rates of delinquents. The other areas specifically referred to in connection with the distribution map as being marked by a relative heavy concentration of cases may also be observed to have high rates of delinquents.

ZONE RATES

The general tendency of the rates of delinquents to decrease in relation to distance from the center of the city is clearly indicated in Zone Map V. In constructing this map the Public Square was taken as a focal point and concentric



RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS BY ZONES IN CLEVELAND, OHIO

circles drawn at 1 1/2-mile intervals. The rate is the ratio between the number of delinquents and the aged 10 to 17 male population for each zone.

The rates thus computed for these zones may be observed to range from 18.3 in Zone I to 5.1 in Zone V. Proceeding

from the center of the city outward the rates decrease progressively as follows: 18.3, 10.2, 7.8, 7.0 and 5.1. Thus the rate in Zone I, which includes the central business district and the adjoining area of deterioration, is more than three times greater than the rate in the outer zone, which, with the exception of the extreme northeast corner, is comprised largely of high-class residential communities.

## EXTENT OF CONCENTRATION OF DELINQUENTS IN CLEVELAND

In order to show in a more precise manner the extent of concentration of the 4,978 delinquents in relation to the distribution of the aged 10 to 17 male population and the gross geographic area of Cleveland, the 91 areas were divided into four equal groups based upon the magnitude of the rates of delinquents. As in the other cities, the one-fourth of the areas with the lowest rates is designated as the first or lower one-quarter, the one-fourth with the highest rates is referred to as the fourth or upper one-quarter, and the intermediate quarters as the second and third. The great variation in the distribution of delinquency in relation to the total aged 10 to 17 male population and the gross city area in the four groups is indicated in Table XXV.

TABLE XXV.—Percentage distribution of delinquents, population, and city area in each one-fourth of the 91 areas grouped upon the basis of magnitude of rates in the Cleveland series

Quartile grouping of areas	Percentage of delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of city area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the 91 areas.....	47.4	26.3	17.3
Third one-quarter of the 91 areas.....	29.6	28.7	17.9
Second one-quarter of the 91 areas.....	17.4	25.7	24.0
First or lower one-quarter of the 91 areas.....	5.7	19.3	40.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0

According to Table XXV, there is a very marked variation in the percentage of delinquents as between the upper one-fourth of the areas and the lower one-fourth. The areas comprising the upper one-fourth include 47.4 per cent of the delinquents and only 26.3 per cent of the population and 17.3 per cent of the city area. At the other

extreme, the areas with the lowest rates, while including 40.8 per cent of the city area and 19.3 per cent of the population, include only 5.6 per cent of the delinquents in the series.

A marked variation in the distribution of the population and the city area is again revealed when the 4,978 delinquents are divided into four equal groups on the basis of the magnitude of the rates in the 91 areas (Table XXVI).

TABLE XXVI.—Percentage distribution of population and city area when the 4,978 delinquents in the Cleveland series are divided into four equal groups on the basis of magnitude of rates of delinquents in this series

Quartile grouping of delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the 4,978 delinquents.....	11.2	7.2
Third one-quarter of the 4,978 delinquents.....	17.2	13.7
Second one-quarter of the 4,978 delinquents.....	24.3	13.0
First or lower one-quarter of the 4,978 delinquents.....	47.3	66.1
	100.0	100.0

From Table XXVI it will be noted that the upper one-quarter of the delinquents is concentrated in 7.2 per cent of the total city area and represent 11.2 per cent of the total aged 10 to 17 male population, while the same number of delinquents in the area of lowest rates are distributed over 66.1 per cent of the area and represent 47.3 per cent of the population.

## DISTRIBUTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Birmingham, located in the north central part of the State of Alabama, is a relatively new city, the petition for its charter having been filed in 1871. By far the most striking feature of its history is its remarkable development into an important industrial center. From a struggling mining community of 3,086 inhabitants in 1880, Birmingham has grown to a city with a population of over a quarter of a million. The growth has been due very largely to the development of the rich natural resources in the area in which the city is located. In addition to mining, the manufacture

of iron and steel represents the most important single development.

The number of inhabitants in Birmingham had reached 38,415 by 1900 and 178,806 by 1920. The population according to the Federal census of 1930 was 257,657, which was an increase of 44.1 per cent over the population of 1920. These census figures do not embrace a rather large population in both residential and industrial communities outside of the corporate limits of the city.

The composition of the population of Birmingham differs very markedly from that of a northern industrial city. Of the total population in 1920, 60.7 per cent were white and 39.3 per cent were Negro. Fifty-one and six-tenths of the total population were native white of native parentage, 3.7 per cent native white of foreign parentage, and 2 per cent of native white of mixed parentage.

Topography has played a rather important part in determining the direction of growth in Birmingham. The city lies in a valley about 6 miles wide, with mountains on either side. Since expansion northward and southward has been prevented by these natural barriers, the direction of greatest growth has been eastward and westward. The result is that the city is about 14 miles in length and only 5 miles in width. The total geographic area is 50.3 square miles.

Unlike the other cities considered in this study, heavy industry in Birmingham is not concentrated in any part of the city, but instead is distributed in advantageous positions in all but a few areas. The result is that the types of communities are not so distinctly differentiated, and the different sections of the city tend to be socially and culturally less distinct than the other cities considered in this study. The best residential district is located southwest of the central business district in the area near the country club, while the most completely industrialized sections are in Ensley and North Birmingham.

#### THE DISTRIBUTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

For the purpose of determining the geographic distribution of juvenile delinquents in the city of Birmingham, a

series of 990 boys brought before the juvenile and domestic relations court of Jefferson County on petitions alleging delinquency during the period from May 1, 1927, to April 30, 1930, was secured.

In this court a distinction is made between official and nonofficial cases, only those of a more serious nature being taken before the court for an official hearing. The series under consideration was limited to these official cases.

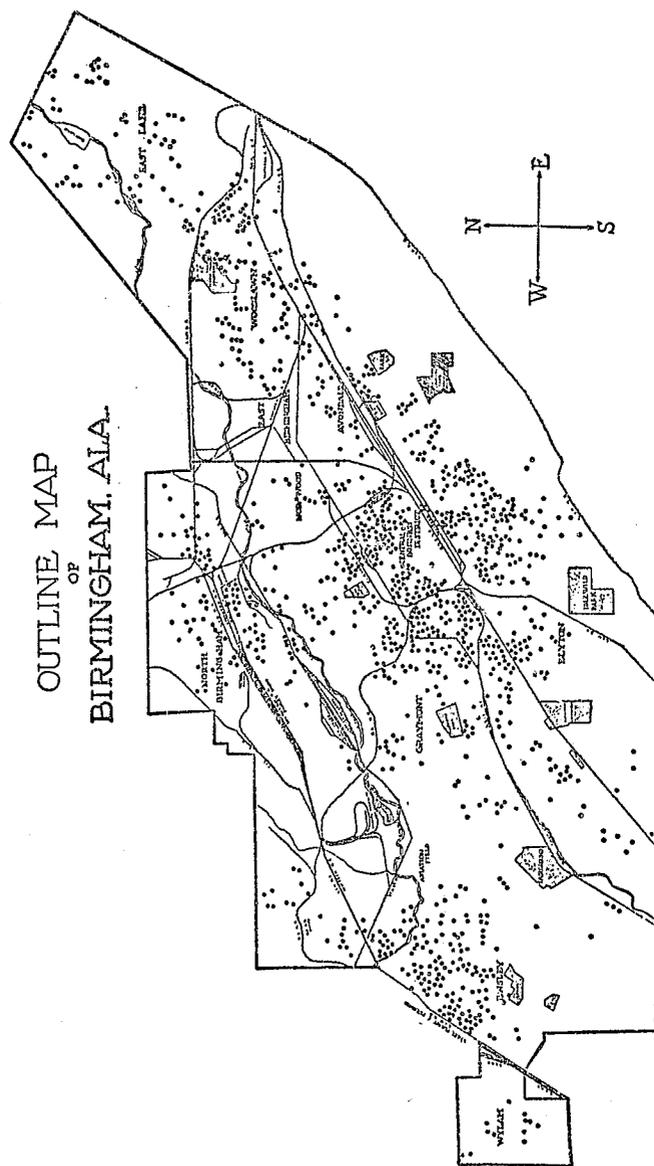
The offenses charged against these alleged delinquents are classified as 57.1 per cent all stealing, which includes petty larceny, larceny of automobiles, burglary, and robbery. The remaining 42.9 per cent of the individuals were charged with a variety of offenses including destruction of property, truancy, incorrigibility, and sex offenses. The general character of the series is indicated by the high percentage of stealing cases.

The age distribution of the delinquents in the Birmingham series is different from that in the other cities in that the upper limit of the juvenile court age for delinquent boys is 15 years. The highest frequencies are in the 13, 14, and 15 age groups. These three comprise 64.2 per cent of the total number of delinquents.

Map VI shows the distribution by home address of the 990 boys included in this series. The pattern of distribution revealed by this map resembles closely the distribution patterns of the other cities studied. The heaviest concentration of delinquents is clustered around the central business district, while decided concentrations are to be observed in the industrial districts in Ensley and North Birmingham. Another area where the concentration is only slightly less marked is in Woodlawn.

#### RATES OF DELINQUENTS

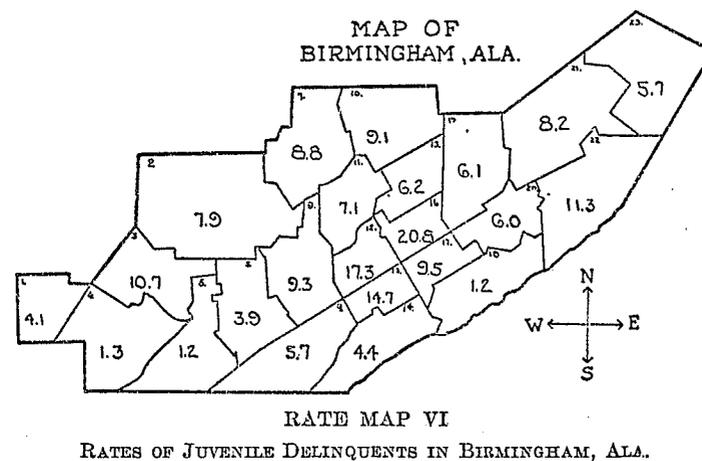
In order to study the relation between the distribution of delinquents and the population, the city of Birmingham was divided into 23 areas. This was accomplished by combining the 1930 Federal census enumeration districts until a minimum population of 300 boys per area was secured. Only the total population was available for these enumeration districts. It was necessary, therefore, as in the case of



Richmond, to calculate the aged 10 to 15 male population from this total. The ratio of the aged 10 to 15 population to the total population in 1920 was taken as a basis for this calculation.

The rates of delinquents for these 23 areas are presented in Rate Map VI. The rates, as in other series, are the ratios between the number of delinquents and the total aged 10 to 15 male population in each area. The range of rates in this series is from 1.2 to 20.8. The median rate is 7.1 and the average rate 7.5.

The three areas with the highest rate of delinquents in Birmingham, are near the central business district. In

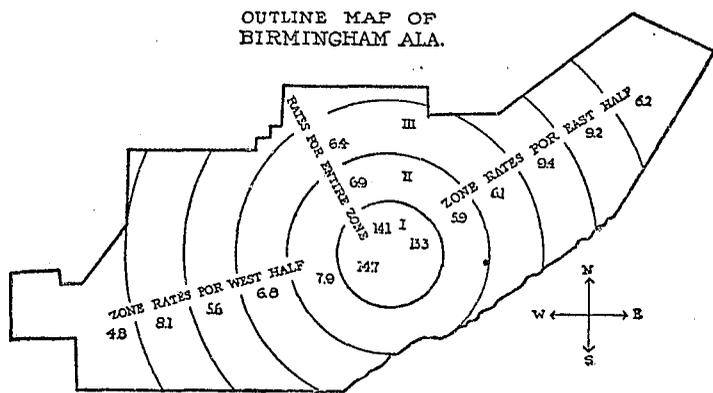


fact, much of the business district is divided between area 12, which has a rate of 17.3, and area 16, which has a rate of 20.8. Other high-rate areas are to be found in Ensley (rate 10.7 in area 3); in North Birmingham (rate 8.8 and 9.1 in areas 7 and 10, respectively); and in Woodlawn (areas 22 and 33 with rates of 8.2 and 11.3, respectively). The three lowest rates are in areas 18, 5, and 4, located in South Highland, West End, and South Ensley. The rates in these three areas are 1.2, 1.2, and 1.3, respectively. These three areas are, as previously indicated, the better-class residential communities.

ZONE RATES

The variation in rates of delinquents with reference to the decrease out from the center of the city in Birmingham is somewhat at variance with the findings in other cities. This is probably due both to the fact that equal expansion of the city out from the center in all directions was prevented by the mountains, and to the fact that Birmingham grew both from the center outward and by development of almost independent outlying industrial communities.

The result is that when the rates of delinquents are presented idealistically by means of 1-mile zones, there is less



ZONE MAP VI

RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS BY ZONES IN BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

regularity than in the other cities. This will be observed in Zone Map VI, which shows the rates for the entire first three zones and separate zone rates for the east and west ends of the city. It will be observed that the rate in the first zone is 14.1, in the second 6.9, and in the third 6.4. Thus in spite of the fact that Zone III includes some of the industrial areas with high rates in North Birmingham, it is less than half of the rate in Zone I. Beyond these three zones there is little regularity in the decrease out from the center of the city in either the east or west ends, although the rates in extremes are much smaller than the rates in

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the first zone. The decrease in the east end is from 13.3 to 6.2 and in the west end from 14.7 to 4.8.

THE EXTENT OF CONCENTRATION OF DELINQUENTS

In order to show more precisely the extent of concentration of the 990 delinquents in relation to the distribution of the aged 10 to 15 population and the geographic area of Birmingham, the 23 areas were divided into four equal groups upon the basis of magnitude of the rates of delinquents. The results of this comparison are seen in Table XXVII.

TABLE XXVII.—Percentage distribution of delinquents, population, and city area in each one-fourth of the 23 areas grouped upon the basis of magnitude of rates of delinquents in the Birmingham series

Quartile grouping of areas	Percentage of delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of city area
Fourth or upper one-fourth of the areas.....	39.0	22.0	17.1
Third one-quarter of the areas.....	31.7	28.0	34.3
Second one-quarter of the areas.....	20.3	28.3	24.1
First or lower one-fourth of the areas.....	9.0	24.7	24.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0

When Table XXVII is examined the wide variation of the percentage of delinquents between the upper and lower one-quarter is apparent. The upper one-quarter includes 39.1 per cent of the delinquents and only 22 per cent of the population and 17.1 per cent of the city area. At the other extreme the areas of lowest rates include only 9 per cent of the delinquents as over against 24.7 per cent of the population and 24.5 per cent of the city area.

The variation in the distribution of the aged 10 to 15 male population and the city area in relation to the distribution of delinquents is further revealed when the 990 delinquents are divided into four equal groups on the basis of the magnitude of rates of delinquents. The results are presented in Table XXVIII.

TABLE XXVIII.—Percentage distribution of population and city area when the 990 delinquents are divided into four equal groups on the basis of magnitude of rates in the Birmingham series

Quartile grouping of delinquents	Percent- age of pop- ulation	Percent- age of city area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the 990 delinquents.....	12.2	12.1
Third one-quarter of the 990 delinquents.....	19.4	13.9
Second one-quarter of the 990 delinquents.....	23.3	31.6
First or lower one-quarter of the 990 delinquents.....	45.2	42.4
	100.0	100.0

It will be noticed immediately that the upper one-quarter of the delinquents lived in 12.1 per cent of the city area and represented 12.2 per cent of the population, while the lower one-quarter of the delinquents lived in 42.4 per cent of the city area and represented 45.2 per cent of the population. Although this concentration is not so great as in some of the other cities it is, nevertheless, very pronounced.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN DENVER, COLO.

The city of Denver, situated at the edge of the Great Plains some 12 miles east of the main range of the Rocky Mountains, is the capital of Colorado and the largest city between Kansas City and San Francisco. Although its population (287,644 in 1930) is not large as compared with many of our eastern cities, it is one of the leading administrative, financial, commercial, and industrial centers of the Great Plains region.

The discovery of gold in the South Platte River region served as the initial stimulus for the establishment of a settlement on the site of Denver. In 1858 two rival settlements were established on opposite banks of Cherry Creek near its confluence with the South Platte River. In 1860 the two settlements, with a population of about 1,000, were consolidated, taking the name of Denver.

It is largely to its position as the center of a great mining region that Denver owes its growth. The Leadville Hills discovery in 1878 attracted capital and immigrants in large numbers. In addition to its importance as a mining center it soon became an agricultural center with a large trade in

cattle, hides, and wool, with varied manufactures. Railroad connection with the East and the Pacific coast region in the seventies was followed by a period of quite rapid growth. By 1890 the population had increased to 106,713. During the succeeding decades the population increased steadily, though less rapidly, until in 1930 it ranked twenty-ninth among the cities of the United States with a population of 287,644. The city now embraces an area of about 59 square miles.

The early expansion was largely confined to the immediate region of the original settlement on either side of Cherry Creek just east of the South Platte River in the neighborhood of Wazee and Blake Streets, the latter constituting the first business thoroughfare of the city. By 1880 business had expanded to the southeast, and Larimer Street became the principal business thoroughfare. Expansion to the west of the river was somewhat impeded by the "river bottoms" and railroad constructions. The principal expansion took place east of the river and the business center gradually shifted to a point generally conceded at present to be in the neighborhood of Curtis and Sixteenth Streets.

The total population of Denver in 1920 was 97.3 per cent white, 2.4 per cent Negro, and 0.3 per cent all others. Of the total population 82.6 per cent were native white, which included 56.4 per cent of native, 16.8 per cent of foreign, and 9.5 per cent of mixed parentage. The foreign born constituted 14.7 per cent of the total population. Of this group the Russians and Lithuanians ranked first with 14 per cent, the Germans second with 12.2 per cent, and the Swedish third with 10.3 per cent.

#### JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN DENVER

The Denver juvenile court has exclusive jurisdiction over children under the age of 18 and concurrent jurisdiction over minors above this age. As generally practiced, however, delinquent petitions are filed only for minors in the age group of 10 to 17.

When a boy of juvenile court age is arrested, or a complaint of delinquency is made against him, he is usually re-

ferred immediately to a special police officer assigned to the juvenile court. The regular police avoid making arrests in juvenile cases whenever possible, the usual procedure being to turn the case over to the special officer upon receipt of a complaint. This officer then investigates the case. After consulting with the police, the complainant, the boy, his parents, and the juvenile court probation officer of the district, he may release the boy; if, in his opinion, the case warrants further action, he refers it to the complaint clerk of the juvenile court.

All complaints of alleged delinquency filed with the complaint clerk of the juvenile court are passed upon by the chief probation officer who exercises the following discretionary powers: "Decision as to whether the case required investigation, and assignment for investigation; decision as to whether case should be dismissed, dealt with informally, or dealt with formally on filing of a petition."<sup>7</sup>

When one takes into consideration the various steps in the process by which the delinquent is brought before the court, it is not surprising that petitions are filed only on cases which in general constitute rather serious problems from the standpoint of the court and the community.

The present series of cases includes the 1,291 boys who were brought before the juvenile court of Denver on petitions alleging delinquency during the 5-year period between July, 1924, and July, 1929. Data on these cases were procured directly from the docket book in the juvenile court.

The serious nature of the charges for which these boys were brought to court is indicated by the fact that 68.1 per cent of them had been engaged in stealing activities. For the most part the boys in this series fall within the 10 to 18 year age grouping. Of the total number, 24.2 per cent were under 13 years of age, and the highest frequencies were in the fourteenth and fifteenth years.

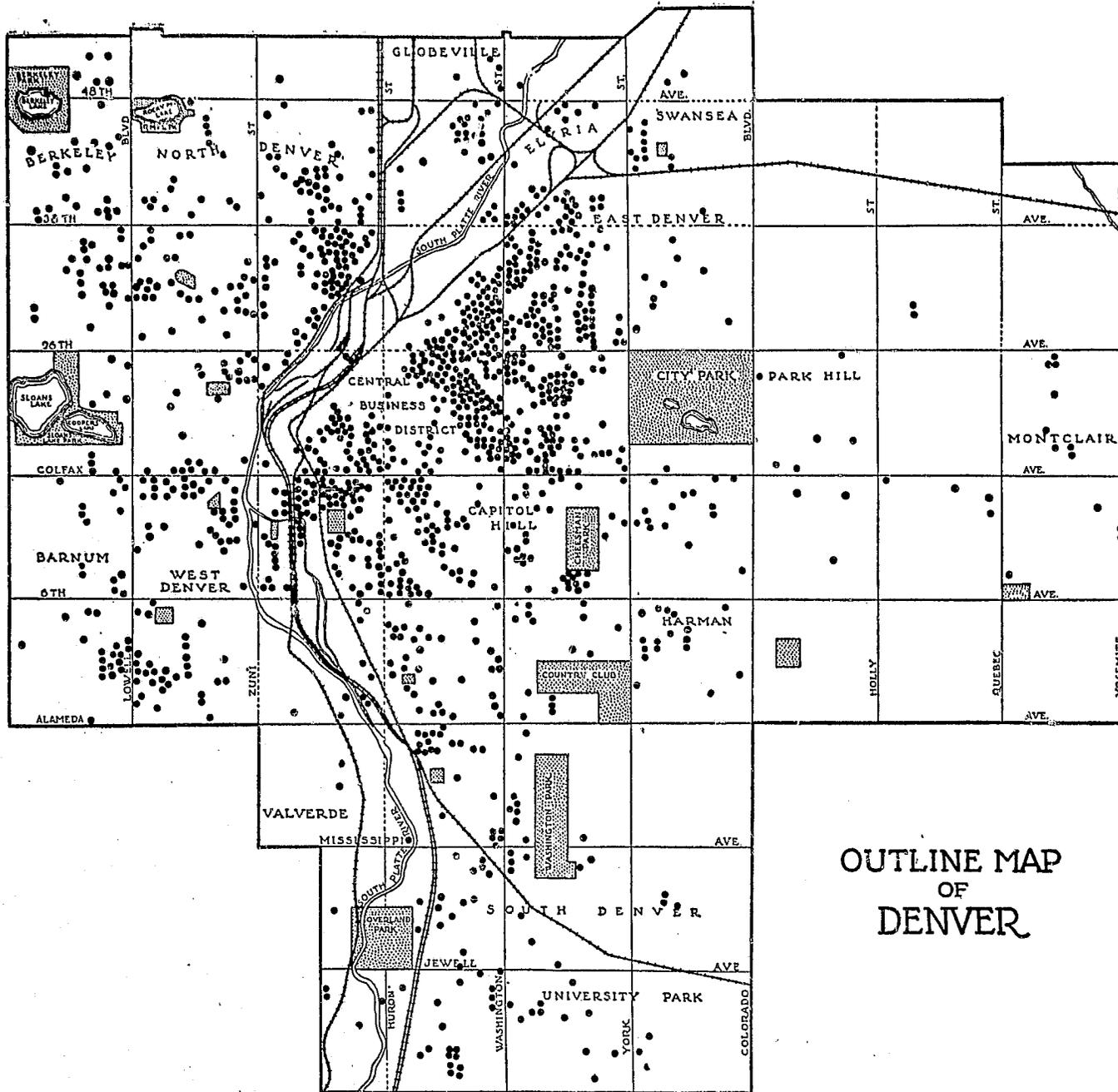
#### DISTRIBUTION OF DELINQUENTS IN DENVER

The place of residence of each of the 1,291 individual male delinquents included in this series, at the time of his appear-

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<sup>7</sup> Lenroot, K. F., and Lundberg, E. O.: *Juvenile Courts at Work*, United States Children's Bureau Publication No. 141, p. 41, Table 6.

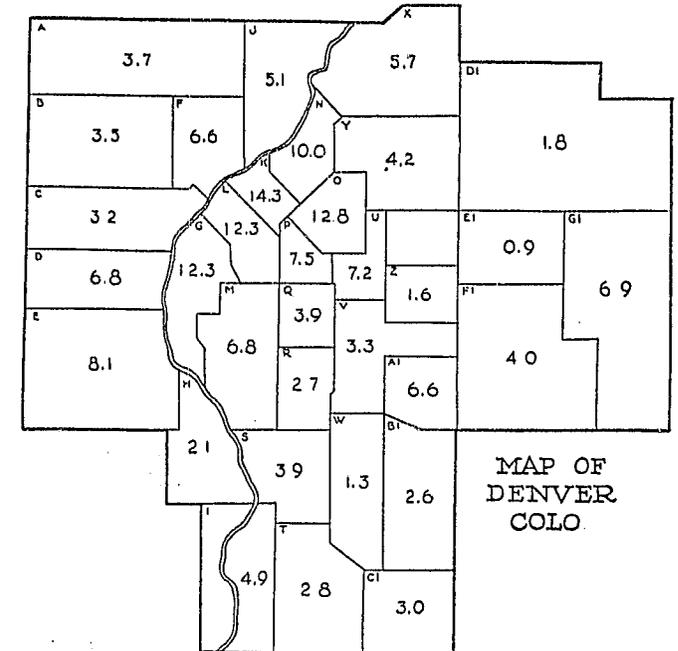
ance before the juvenile court on a delinquency petition, is indicated by the spots on Map VII. Variations in the extent of concentration as between different sections of the city are quite obvious. The most decided concentration of cases appears near the central business district. This heavily concentrated area extends eastward close to City Park and north from Capitol Hill to East Denver. It extends southward from the central business district approximately



MAP VII

OUTLINE MAP OF DENVER

HOME ADDRESSES OF 1,291 ALLEGED MALE DELINQUENTS BROUGHT BEFORE THE JUVENILE COURT IN DENVER, COLO., DURING THE PERIOD FROM JULY 1, 1924, TO JUNE 30, 1929



RATE MAP VII

RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN DENVER, COLO.

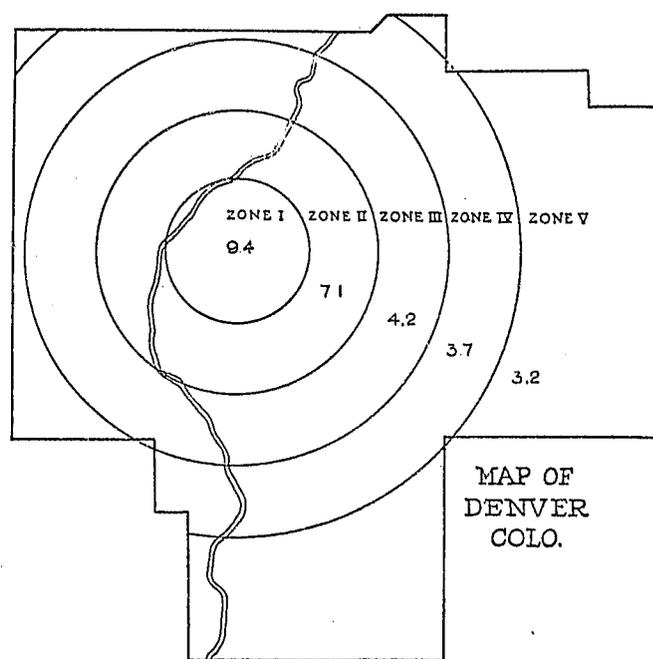
2 miles, including part of West Denver, and extending east to the Capitol Hill district.

Other concentrations, though slightly less marked, follow the west bank of the river extending from West Denver on the south to Globville on the north. The cases appear to become more and more dispersed with increased distance from the central business district. The outlying districts

in general have considerably fewer cases and these are much more dispersed. The highly concentrated area thus comprises but a relatively small portion of the city.

#### RATES OF DELINQUENTS

The rates of delinquents for the city of Denver are presented in Rate Map VII. The 33 areas used for the purposes of rate presentation in this city are those agreed upon



ZONE MAP VII

RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS BY ZONES IN DENVER, COLO.

by the various social agencies of Denver to be used as a basis for community studies. The population used in the calculation of rates of delinquents was based upon the school population of May, 1928, and included the total number of boys 9 to 18 years of age. The rates of delinquents for this series represent, therefore, the ratio of the total number of

boys brought into the juvenile court on petition alleging delinquency in a 5-year period, to the aged 9 to 18 male population in a single year.

The rates of delinquents in these 33 areas in Denver range from 0.9 to 14.3. The areas with rates of 10.0 and above are seen to be grouped about the central business district of the city just east of the river. Adjacent to these high-rate areas are those with rates of delinquents ranging from 5.0 to 10.0, while the areas with low rates are in the outlying districts.

#### ZONE RATES

The tendency of the rates to decrease with distance from the center of the city is indicated by the variation in zone rates noted in Zone Map VII. On this map concentric circles have been drawn at mile intervals with the center of the city<sup>8</sup> as a focal point, and the rate of delinquents for each zone computed. These zone rates will be observed to decrease progressively with increased distance from the center of the city. From the inner to the outer zone the rates vary as follows: 9.4, 7.1, 4.2, 3.7, and 3.2.

#### EXTENT OF CONCENTRATION OF DELINQUENTS IN DENVER

In order to show in a more precise manner the extent of concentration of the 1,291 delinquents in relation to the aged 9 to 18 male population and the total city area of Denver, the 33 areas were divided into four equal groups upon the basis of the magnitude of the rates of delinquents. The one-fourth of the areas with the lowest rates is designated as the first or lower one-quarter, the one-fourth with the highest rates will be referred to as the fourth or upper one-quarter, and the intermediate quarters as the second and third. The marked variation in the distribution of delinquents in relation to the total aged 9 to 18 population and the city area in these four groups of areas is indicated in Table XXIX.

<sup>8</sup> Intersection of Sixteenth and Curtis Streets.

TABLE XXIX.—Percentage distribution of delinquents, population, and city area in each one-fourth of the 33 areas grouped upon the basis of magnitude of rates of delinquents in the Denver series

Quartile grouping of areas	Percentage of delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of city area
Fourth or upper one-fourth of the area.....	52.2	23.7	16.0
Third one-fourth of the area.....	21.6	26.0	25.5
Second one-fourth of the area.....	20.0	30.0	28.0
First or lower one-fourth of the area.....	7.2	19.7	30.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0

It will be observed from Table XXIX that the variation in the percentage of delinquents as between the upper one-fourth and the lower one-fourth of the areas is quite marked. The areas comprising the former group include 51.2 per cent of the delinquents and only 23.7 per cent of the aged 9 to 18 male population and 16 per cent of the city area. On the other hand, the areas with the lowest rates, which comprise 30.5 per cent of the city area and 19.7 per cent of the population, contain only 7.3 per cent of the delinquents.

A marked variation in the distribution of population and the city area in relation to rate of delinquents is again revealed when the 1,291 delinquents are divided into four equal groups upon the basis of the magnitude of rates of delinquents in the 33 areas. (Table XXX.)

TABLE XXX.—Percentage distribution of population and city area when the 1,291 delinquents are divided into four equal groups on basis of magnitude of rates in the Denver series

Quartile grouping of delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of city area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the 1,291 delinquents.....	11.0	6.7
Third one-quarter of the 1,291 delinquents.....	17.8	15.9
Second one-quarter of the 1,291 delinquents.....	23.8	27.3
First or lower one-quarter of the 1,291 delinquents.....	47.4	50.0
	100.0	100.0

From Table XXX it will be observed that the upper one-quarter of the delinquents lived in 6.7 per cent of the city area and represented 11 per cent of the aged 9 to 18 population, while the lower one-quarter was distributed over 50

per cent of the area and represented 47.4 per cent of the population.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Among the more striking features of the history of Seattle is the remarkable rapidity of its growth. From a relatively obscure lumbering town in 1880, it now has become one of the leading commercial centers of the Pacific Northwest. During the 40-year period, between 1880 and 1920, the number of its inhabitants increased from 3,533 to 315,312. A brief account of some of the outstanding aspects of this rapid development will be presented as a point of departure for the present study of the distribution of juvenile delinquency in the city.

Seattle is located on a narrow strip of land between Elliott Bay and Lake Washington in the western part of the State of Washington. The original settlement of about 20 persons was made at a point near what is now the foot of Yessler Way. The first town plat was filed in 1853 and by 1860 the inhabitants numbered approximately 200. In 1869 the city was incorporated with a population of 1,000 inhabitants and a geographic area of 10.9 square miles. The growth continued to be slow during the next decade; the inhabitants in 1880 numbered only 3,533.

With the development of the coal-mining industry about 1880, and the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1886, the growth of the city was greatly accelerated so that by 1890 the population had increased to 42,837. Another factor which gave impetus to the early development of Seattle was the discovery of gold in Alaska and the Yukon Territory in 1897. At that time Seattle became an outfitting post for gold prospectors and the point to which shipments of gold were made from the Northwest. During the period between 1900 and 1910 the population increased from 80,671 to 237,194 inhabitants. Added impetus to the expansion of the city came with the completion of the Union Pacific and the Chicago-Milwaukee railroads in 1910, the Panama Canal in 1914, and the rapid increase of trans-Pacific trade. By 1930 the population had increased

to 365,518 and the city had assumed an important rôle in the commercial life of the Pacific Northwest.

The population of Seattle in 1920 was 96 per cent white, 0.9 per cent Negro, and 3.1 per cent Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all others. The percentage of foreign-born population in the total population was 23.4, the percentage of native white of native parentage 44.3, and the percentage of native white of foreign and mixed parentage 28.2. Among the foreign born the predominant groups are Canadian, 17.1 per cent; Swedes, 12.7 per cent; Norwegian, 11.3 per cent; English, 9.6 per cent; Japanese, 7.4 per cent; and German, 6 per cent. The proportion of the population in the combined Slavic and southern European groups was negligible, comprising less than 10 per cent of the foreign-born population. Only 22.9 per cent of the total population and 30.8 per cent of the native population were born in the State of Washington.

As stated previously, the point of original settlement in Seattle was located near what is now known as the foot of Yessler Way. Around this point the central business district originally developed. But during recent years it has expanded chiefly to the north, being hemmed in on the west by Elliott Bay and on the east by an abrupt elevation in the land. Roughly speaking, the business district at present includes the area extending northwest from Main Street to Olive and between the bay and Seventh Avenue.

The topography of Seattle has undoubtedly played a rather important part in determining the present configuration of the different economic and cultural areas within the city. This is quite clearly manifest in the distribution of industrial, commercial, and residential districts. The industrial and commercial areas tend to be concentrated in the valleys and lowlands. Extending northwest and southeast from the central commercial district along the water front is a narrow belt occupied chiefly by industry. By far the largest industrial area extends south from the central business district and follows the lowlands along the Duwamish waterway to the city limits. The industrial properties north of the central business district follow the bay for a distance of approximately 2 miles, then north between Magnolia Bluff and Queen Ann Hill to the Salmon Bay and Lake Wash-

ington Canal. A narrow belt of industrial properties has developed along either side of these two waterways.

For the most part the more highly integrated conventional residential neighborhoods are located on the higher elevations, while individuals and families of lower economic status are largely concentrated in the lowlands adjacent to industry and the central business district. In this connection Prof. R. D. McKenzie states:

It is in the Seattle neighborhoods, especially those on the hill tops, that the conservative, law-abiding, civic-minded population elements dwell. The down-town section and the valley, which are usually industrial sites, are populated by a class of people who are not only more mobile but whose mores and attitudes as tested by voting habits are more vagrant and radical.<sup>9</sup>

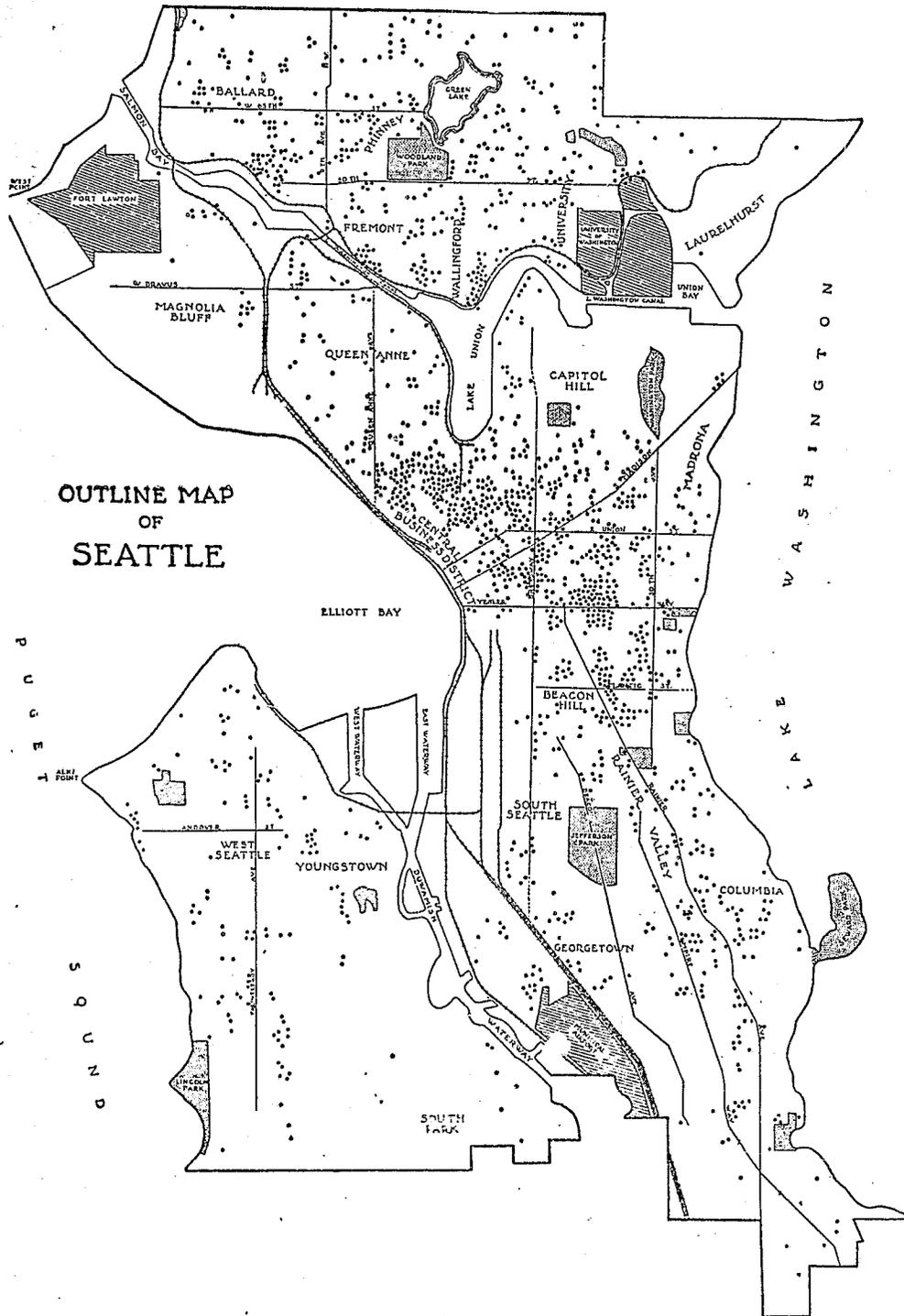
DISTRIBUTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

For the purpose of determining the geographic distribution of juvenile delinquents in the city of Seattle, a series of 1,529 boys brought before the juvenile court on petitions alleging delinquency during the period from July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1929, was secured. For the most part these alleged delinquents fall within the age range from 10 to 17 years; the greatest frequencies occur in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth age groups.

In securing this series, the names, offenses, and addresses of boys brought before the court on delinquent petitions during the 3-year period were copied from the official records. All duplications were eliminated. Also, in order to make this series more comparable to the series in the other six cities, cases involving violation of traffic regulations were excluded. Of the total 1,529 boys, 51.6 per cent were brought to court charged with some form of stealing.

Turning now to the distribution of juvenile delinquency in Seattle, it is interesting to note that the pattern of distribution in Seattle corresponds rather closely to that found in the other six cities. (See Map VIII.) As in all of the six cities, the most pronounced concentration of delinquents occurs in a semicircular zone surrounding the

<sup>9</sup> The Ecological Approach, by R. D. McKenzie, in The City, University of Chicago Press, (1925) p. 79.



MAP VIII

HOME ADDRESSES OF 1,529 ALLEGED MALE DELINQUENTS BROUGHT BEFORE THE JUVENILE COURT IN SEATTLE, WASH., DURING THE PERIOD FROM JULY 1, 1926, TO JUNE 30, 1929

business district. Another concentration, although much less marked than the former, extends southwest from the central business district between Lake Washington and the wide belt of industrial area along the Duwamish Waterway. A rather heavy sprinkling of spots may be noted in the lowland between Magnolia Bluff and Queen Ann Hill and in the area northwest of Lake Union, with a major concentration at the business center of the community of Ballard. Less marked concentrations will be noted at other points along the waterway and in the area immediately southwest of Green Lake. The number of cases in such residential areas as Queen Anne Hill, Capitol Hill, Laurelhurst, University Heights and the greater part of West Seattle is relatively small.

The area surrounding the central business district is undoubtedly the most disorganized and deteriorated section of Seattle. With the expansion of this district during recent years business has progressively invaded residential communities, resulting in an exodus of the population and a change in use of land. This invasion of residential communities has been most marked at the northern extremity of the central business district, since the expansion of this district in other directions has been restricted by natural barriers.

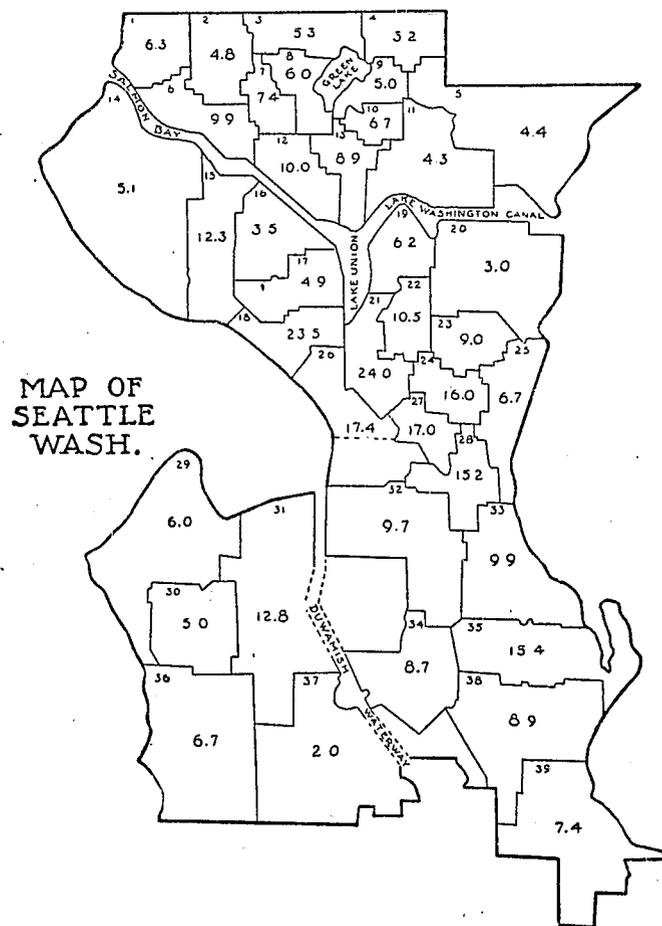
#### RATES OF DELINQUENTS

The rates of juvenile delinquents in Seattle were computed upon the basis of the population secured from the school census of 1928, the midyear of the three-year period covered by our series of delinquents. Since the aged 10 to 17 male population in many of the school districts was not large, districts were combined to give a minimum of 300 boys per area.<sup>10</sup> By this method the 70 school districts were combined into 38 areas for the computation of rates. Wherever feasible only districts with similar economic and cultural characteristics were combined, although in many instances it was impossible to observe this principle.

Rate Map VIII shows the rate of delinquents in each of the 38 areas of the city, the rate being the ratio between the number of delinquent boys brought to the juvenile court

<sup>10</sup> The only area having less than 300 males aged 10 to 17 was area 15.

during the years 1927 to 1929 and the aged 10 to 17 male population for 1928. Among the several areas the rate ranges from 2.0 to 24.0. The mean rate for the city is 9.0, and the median rate is 7.4.



RATE MAP VIII

#### RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN SEATTLE, WASH.

According to Rate Map VIII, marked variations in rates occur as between contiguous areas. As in each of the other cities considered in this report, the highest rates of delinquency occur in the areas within or contiguous to the down-

town district. Practically all areas having rates above the median (7.4) fall within the district near the down-town section and the large industrial developments, while, with few exceptions, all of the areas farther removed from industry have consistently low rates. In area 26, which includes practically all of the central business district, the rate is 17.4, this being lower than the rates in most of the surrounding contiguous areas. It should be pointed out that the rate in this area, which is composed of the Denny, Central, and Gazert School districts, is forced down by the disproportionately small number of delinquents in the Gazert district comprising the south portion of the area. Gazert district, the northern boundary of which is indicated by the broken line (see Rate Map VIII), has 262 boys and only 15 delinquents, with a rate of 5.7. Area 26, exclusive of the Gazert district, has a total of 295 boys and 82 delinquents, with a rate of 27.7, which is somewhat higher than any other area in the city. Upon the basis of the limited information now available, it is not possible to explain the extremely low rate of delinquents in the Gazert district. It may be pointed out, however, that the male juvenile population in the district is predominantly Chinese and Japanese. Of the 262 boys from 10 to 17 years of age, living in the district in 1928, more than 90 per cent were Chinese and Japanese. Whether or not the boys in these groups are less likely than other children to become delinquent, or for some reason are not brought to court, is not known.

## RATES BY ZONES

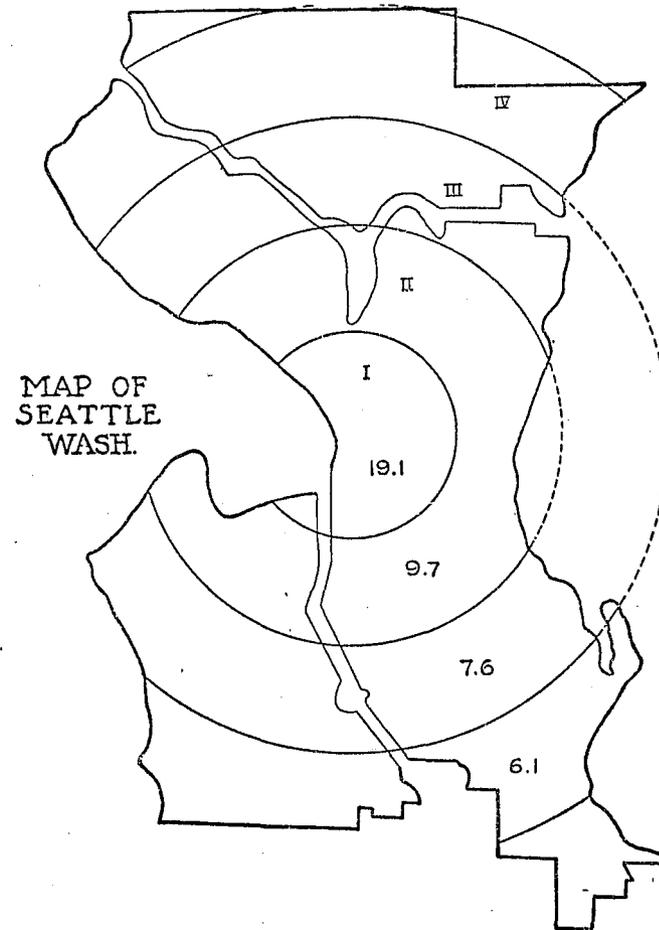
The tendency of the rates of juvenile delinquents to decrease outward from the central business district is indicated very clearly in Zone Map VIII. These zones were constructed at intervals of 1 mile with the center of the central business district taken as a focal point. The rate for each zone represents the ratio between the aged 10 to 17 male population and the number of delinquents. It will be observed that the highest rate, 19.1, is found in the inner zone which includes the central business district and part of the zone of deterioration surrounding this district. From the center of the city the rates decrease as follows: 19.1 in the

## DELINQUENCY AREAS IN OTHER AMERICAN CITIES 185

first zone, 9.7 in the second, 7.6 in the third, and 6.1 in the fourth.

## EXTENT OF CONCENTRATION OF DELINQUENTS

In order to show more precisely the extent of concentration of the 1,529 delinquents in relation to the distribution



ZONE MAP VIII

RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS BY ZONES IN SEATTLE, WASH.

of the aged 10 to 17 population and geographic area of Seattle, the 39 areas were divided into four equal groups upon the basis of the magnitude of the rates of delinquents.

The marked variation in the distribution of delinquents in relation to the total aged 10 to 17 male population and the city area in these four groups of areas is indicated in Table XXXI.

TABLE XXXI.—Percentage distribution of delinquents, population, and city area in each one-fourth of the 39 areas grouped upon the basis of magnitude of rates of delinquents in the Seattle series

Quartile grouping of areas	Percentage of delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of city area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the areas.....	47.0	24.8	20.0
Third or upper one-quarter of the areas.....	24.6	23.4	23.0
Second or upper one-quarter of the areas.....	15.8	23.3	27.9
First or lower one-quarter of the areas.....	12.6	28.5	29.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0

When Table XXXI is examined the wide variation in the percentage of delinquents as between the upper one-fourth and the lower one-fourth of the areas is apparent. The areas comprising the former include 47 per cent of the delinquents and only 24.8 per cent of the population and 20 per cent of the city area. At the other extreme, the areas with the lowest rates, which contain a higher percentage of the city area (29.1) and a higher percentage of the population (28.5), contain only 12.6 per cent of the delinquents in the series.

A significant variation in the distribution of the aged 10 to 17 population and the city area in relation to rates of delinquents is again revealed when the 1,529 delinquents are divided into four equal groups on the basis of the magnitude of rates of delinquents in the 39 areas. (See Table XXXII.)

TABLE XXXII.—Percentage distribution of population and city area when the 1,529 delinquents are divided into four equal groups on the basis of magnitude of rates in the Seattle series

Quartile grouping of delinquents	Percentage of population	Percentage of city area
Fourth or upper one-quarter of the 1,529 delinquents.....	11.2	6.3
Third one-quarter of the 1,529 delinquents.....	16.4	15.2
Second one-quarter of the 1,529 delinquents.....	25.4	28.7
First or lower one-quarter of the 1,529 delinquents.....	47.0	49.8
	100.0	100.0

It will be noted that the upper one-quarter of the delinquents lived in 6.3 per cent of the city area and represented 11.2 per cent of the total aged 10 to 17 population, while the lower one-quarter of the delinquents lived in 49.8 per cent of the area and represented 47 per cent of the population.

#### SUMMARY

This chapter includes distribution data for six different American cities, all of which show the same general pattern of distribution of juvenile delinquents despite marked differences in their general characteristics. Two of the cities are located in the South, two in the East North Central States, one in the Mountain States and one on the Pacific coast. The range in population in these cities is from a quarter of a million to nearly two million; the range in geographic area is from 24 to 129 square miles. Some are very old cities, while others are relatively new. Some are growing very rapidly, while others have shown relatively little increase in population and geographic area during the last two decades. The several cities show marked differences as regards composition of population. The proportion of foreign population (foreign born, native born of foreign and mixed parentage) ranges from 41 per cent to 72 per cent of the total population, and the proportion of Negroes ranges from 0.9 per cent to 39.3 per cent (1920). Certain of the cities are characteristically industrial, while others are chiefly commercial and residential.

A comparison of the maps showing the distribution of juvenile delinquents in these six cities shows marked similarities in the geographic configuration of cases. In each of the cities, the greatest concentration of cases occurs in districts in or adjacent to the central business center and the major industrial developments. In the outlying neighborhoods, which are farther removed from these commercial and industrial centers, the cases are fewer and much more widely dispersed. This pattern of distribution, as suggested in the discussion of the Chicago series, probably reflects the process of differentiation and segregation resulting from the natural growth and expansion of the city.

The marked variation in the number of delinquents in different areas of the city has great practical significance for the study and treatment of the delinquent child. Obviously the possibility of a child's having contact with delinquents is much greater in the areas of concentration than in the outlying communities in which the number of delinquents is not only comparatively small, but where the cases are dispersed over larger areas.

The variations in the rates of delinquents by unit areas in the several cities confirm the impression given by the maps showing the geographic distribution of cases according to the home addresses of the delinquents. In each of the six cities, the highest rates of delinquents are found in the areas adjacent to the central business district, while the lowest rates, with few exceptions, are in the residential communities farther removed from the major commercial and industrial centers. In each city, however, there are contiguous areas near these centers in which the rates of delinquents show marked variations in magnitude. It is probable that, as in Chicago, these wide variations in rates of delinquents in contiguous areas in each of the six cities reflect significant differences in community situations.

In each of the cities the rates show a general tendency to decrease from the central business district outward to the periphery. This general tendency is indicated in the zone rates for the several cities. Despite the fact that there are areas both in the districts near the center of the city and in the outlying communities in which the rates of delinquents show wide variation, the general tendency of rates to decrease in relation to distance from the center of the city is unmistakable in all of the cities.

### PART III

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#### THE COMPANIONSHIP FACTOR IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

## CHAPTER VI

### MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AS GROUP BEHAVIOR

The first vital social contacts of the child are restricted largely to the intimate relationships within the family group. At an early age, however, the range of his contacts with other persons is extended beyond the narrow limits of the home. He begins to associate with children outside of the family and to engage in their various social activities. Through his participation in these activities, the child's intimate relationships with companions, play groups, and gangs are gradually developed.

The development of relationships with play groups outside of the home represents a significant enlargement of the child's social world. Through them he is subjected to the influence of an increasing number and variety of personalities, social activities, and moral norms. That these play-group relationships are important factors in determining behavior traits is indicated in the study of the life histories of both delinquent and nondelinquent boys. They are particularly important as a medium through which new social values are acquired and new attitudes and interests defined.

The tendency of boys to organize themselves into some form of social group is more or less characteristic of the social life in the deteriorated and disorganized sections of the city as well as in the outlying residential neighborhoods. Such groupings are usually spontaneous in origin and constitute a form of primary group relationship. While these groups are more or less universal in all sections of the city and possess many common characteristics with respect to the mechanisms of control within the group, they differ widely in regard to cultural traditions, moral standards, and social activities. In certain areas of the city the practices and social values of many of these groups are chiefly of a delinquent character. Frequently these groups develop persistent delinquent patterns and traditional codes and stand-

ards which are very important in determining the behavior of the members. Some of these groups are highly organized and become so powerful in their hold on members that the delinquent traditions and patterns of behavior persist and tend to dominate the social life throughout the area.

Breckinridge and Abbott were among the earlier students of the problem of juvenile delinquency in this country who emphasized the group nature of delinquent behavior. They have pointed out that delinquencies are typically committed by groups of two or more boys, and that even in many of the cases where the child commits his delinquency alone the influence of companions is apparent. Their findings in this connection are summarized in the following quotation:

It is clear that the larger offenses of burglary and larceny and the other more serious depredations are committed by boys in groups, but often the purely mischievous acts are likewise manifestations of the spirit of the gang. In fact, there is scarcely a type of delinquent boy who is not associated with others in his wrongdoing. The little vagrant may sometimes sleep alone, but we are sure that he does not pass the days alone. The 12-year-old beggars may beg alone, but the begging child is really dependent rather than delinquent. The boy who is brought in because he will not give in all his wages undoubtedly wants to spend them in social ways. The impression made by a study of the actual reasons for bringing boys into court is that the delinquency is in many instances distinctly one of a social character and is due to the organization of a little group whose purpose may be harmless enough, but whose social effort is misdirected.<sup>1</sup>

Healy and Bronner, likewise, have stressed the group character of juvenile delinquency. While recognizing that the organized gang is an important contributing factor in many cases, they have emphasized more particularly the importance of the more informal and spontaneous companionship groupings. Thus they state:

A large share of all delinquency among juveniles is a companionship affair. Realizing that frequently the companions were not worse and perhaps even not so much to blame as the offender we have studied, yet we

<sup>1</sup> Breckinridge, S. P., and Abbott, Edith, *The Delinquent Child and the Home*, p. 35.

may safely conclude that in many cases if it had not been for the companionship the offense would not have been committed. It is important in planning effective preventive work with delinquents to know that in 62% of 3,000 cases companionship could fairly be regarded as a causative factor in the delinquency, a figure that varies little for the sexes and is practically the same for the two cities.<sup>2</sup>

Following these earlier studies, Thrasher, author of *The Gang*, made an extensive study of boys' gangs in Chicago. One important phase of this study pertained to the relationship between gang activities and juvenile delinquency. As a result of this study, Thrasher concluded that the gang, while perhaps not a cause of delinquency in itself, is an important factor contributing to the development of criminal attitudes and behavior. He states:

The present study does not advance the thesis that the gang is a "cause" of crime. It would be more accurate to say that the gang is an important contributing factor, facilitating the commission of crime and greatly extending its spread and range. The organization of the gang and the protection which it affords, especially in combination with a ring or a syndicate, make it a superior instrument for the execution of criminal enterprises. Its demoralizing influence on its members arises through the dissemination of criminal technique, and the propagation, through mutual excitation, of interests and attitudes which make crime easier (less inhibited) and more attractive.<sup>3</sup>

In order to secure a more exact measure of the extent to which juvenile delinquency is group behavior, a study was made of the relative frequency of lone and group offenders among cases of delinquent boys appearing in the juvenile court of Cook County. For this purpose an analysis was made of the records of all the boys who appeared in this court on petitions alleging delinquency during the year 1928. This analysis was made at the end of that year and took into consideration the delinquency record of each boy from the date of his first appearance in the court as a delinquent.

<sup>2</sup> Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta F., *Delinquents and Criminals*, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1926, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> Thrasher, Frederic M., *The Gang*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1927, pp. 381, 382.

Thus, the group includes both the recidivists whose first appearances in the court had occurred prior to 1928 and many boys who appeared for the first time during that year.

Throughout this chapter a distinction is made between individual delinquents and offenders. The number of individual delinquents whose records we have considered in this study is 1,886. These individual delinquents were known by the juvenile court authorities to have been involved in 3,517 offenses. The number of offenders, as that term is used here, was determined by counting each individual delinquent as an offender for each offense in which he was known to have been involved. Thus, if 1 group of 3 delinquents was brought to court charged with 2 offenses, the number of individual delinquents would be 3 and the number of offenders 6. Likewise, if a boy appeared in court

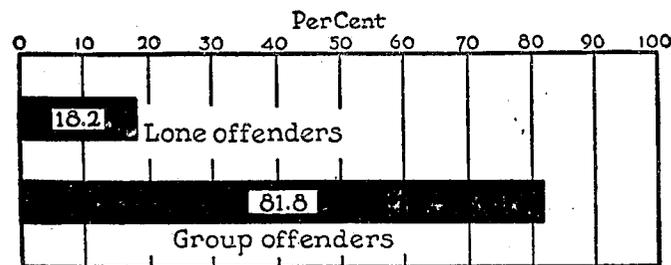


FIG. 9.—PERCENTAGE OF LONE AND GROUP OFFENDERS AMONG OFFENDERS BROUGHT TO THE JUVENILE COURT

alone on three offenses, the number of offenders would be three. Thus, the total number of offenders involved and brought to court in connection with the 3,517 offenses was 5,480.

At the outset an analysis was made to determine the relative incidence of lone and group delinquents among the 1,886 boys included in this study. In this total number 1,402, or 74.4 per cent, were involved with companions in committing the offense for which they were first brought to court, while only 484, or 25.6 per cent, committed their first offenses alone. Furthermore, 124 of the 484 boys appeared in court as group delinquents on subsequent offenses. Thus the boys who always committed their offenses alone, according to the records, comprised only 19 per cent of the total 1,886 individual delinquents.

A tabulation of lone and group offenders was made also for the total 5,480 offenders. This tabulation showed that only 18.2 per cent of the total offenders committed their delinquencies alone. Thus, as many as 81.8 per cent were group offenders; that is, committed their delinquencies with one or more companions. (See fig. 9.)

The distribution of the 5,480 offenders according to the number of participants is indicated in Figure 10. Accord-

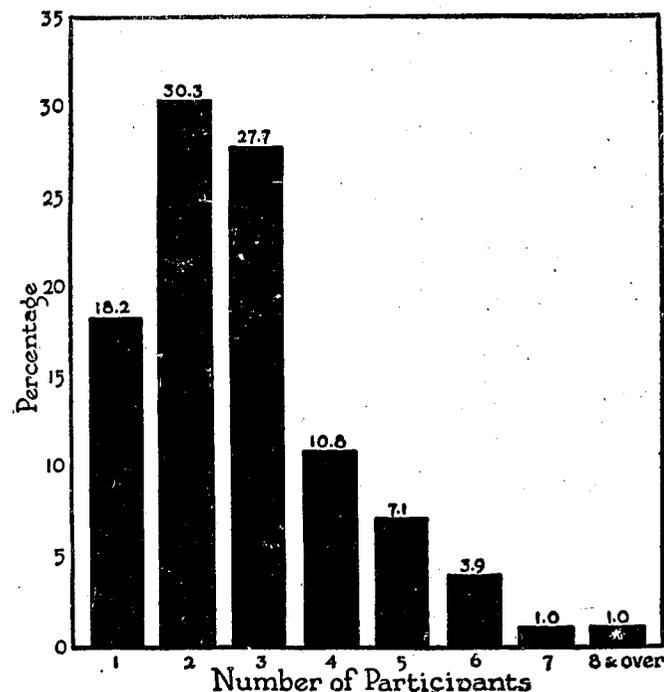


FIG. 10.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENDERS BROUGHT TO COURT BY NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS

ing to this figure it will be observed that the groups which have the highest frequency are those in which two and three participants are involved, the first comprising 30.3 per cent and the latter 27.7 per cent of the total number of offenders. As many as 10.8 per cent were involved in groups of 4, 7.1 per cent in groups of 5, and 3.9 per cent in groups of 6.

A comparison of the offenses charged against the lone and group offenders revealed that a much smaller propor-

tion of the former were charged with stealing offenses than the latter. A disproportionately large number of the lone offenders were charged with offenses against the home and school. Among the total 5,480 offenders, 4,663 were charged with some form of stealing. Of these 4,663 stealing offenders only 11 per cent appeared in court alone, as compared with 89 per cent who were brought to court with accomplices.<sup>4</sup> (See fig. 11.) It is clear, therefore, that the frequency of lone offenders is greater among cases involving only stealing charges than it is for the juvenile court cases in general.

The distribution of the 4,663 stealing offenders according to the number of participants (see fig. 12) indicates that, as in the case of the total 5,480 offenders, the groups which have the highest frequency are those involving two

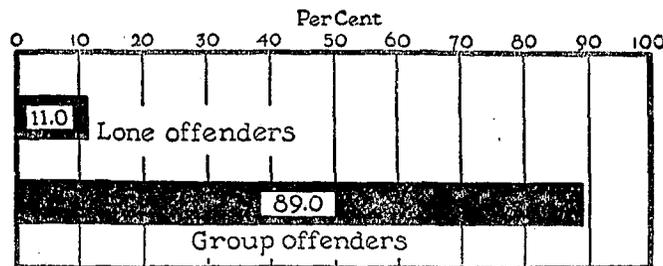


FIG. 11.—PERCENTAGE OF LONE AND GROUP OFFENDERS AMONG OFFENDERS BROUGHT TO THE JUVENILE COURT ON CHARGES OF STEALING

and three participants. The group involving two participants constitutes 33 per cent, and the group involving three participants, 30.9 per cent of the total number of stealing offenders. The frequency of groups involving either two or three participants is three times greater than the frequency for lone offenders. It is important to observe that the percentage of lone offenders is less than the percentage in the cases which involve as many as four participants.

As stated previously only offenders brought to court were taken into consideration in making the foregoing tabula-

<sup>4</sup> In 1923 a similar study of lone and group offenders among cases appearing in the juvenile court of Cook County indicated that in a total of six thousand offenders brought to court on charges of stealing, 90.4 per cent committed their offenses in groups as against 9.6 per cent lone offenders. See "The Juvenile Delinquent," by Clifford R. Shaw and Earl D. Meyer, the Illinois Crime Survey (1920), p. 662.

tions. A study of the records revealed that the 5,480 offenders had 3,004 alleged accomplices who for various reasons were not brought to court.<sup>5</sup> These two groups combined yielded a total of 8,484 alleged offenders of which 11.8 per cent were lone offenders, while 88.2 per cent were involved with companions. (See fig. 13.)

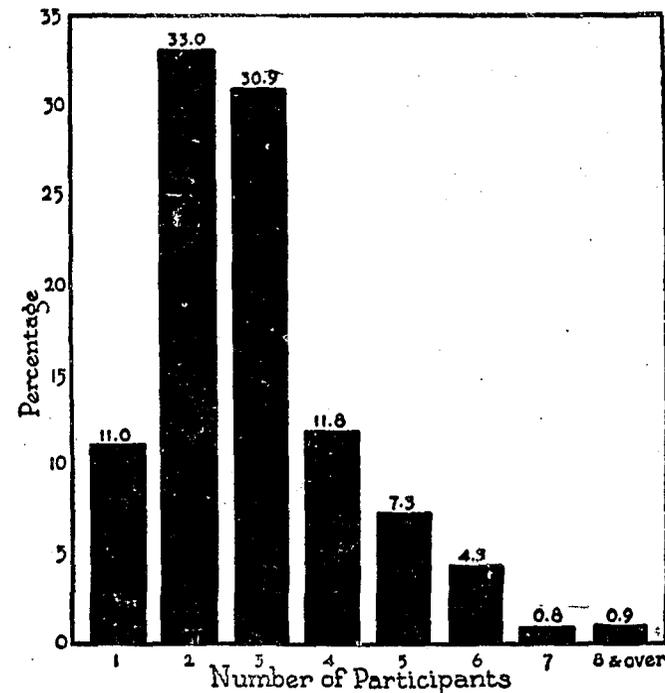


FIG. 12.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STEALING OFFENDERS BROUGHT TO COURT BY NUMBERS OF PARTICIPANTS

Here again the proportion of group offenders becomes even greater when the tabulation is restricted to those charged only with stealing offenses. In the total group of 8,484 alleged offenders, 7,393 were involved in some form of steal-

<sup>5</sup> This group of alleged accomplices not brought to court was comprised chiefly of the following: (1) Persons alleged to have been involved but not apprehended; (2) persons apprehended but not brought to court on delinquency petitions because they were either above or below the juvenile court age limits for delinquents; and (3) boys who at the time of arrest were on parole or had escaped from correctional institutions and were returned to the institution without further court action.

ing. As many as 93.1 per cent of these stealing offenders were implicated with companions, as contrasted with the surprisingly low percentage of 6.9 for lone offenders. (See fig. 14.)

It should be borne in mind that these statistical tabulations have been restricted to offenders known to the juvenile

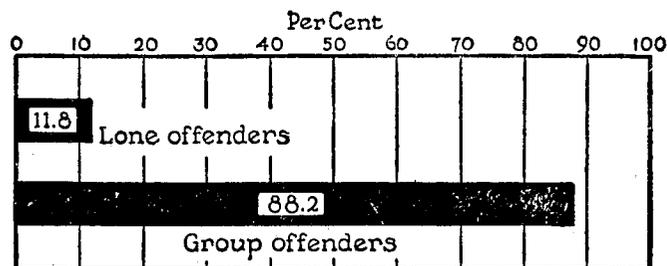


FIG. 13.—PERCENTAGE OF LONE AND GROUP OFFENDERS AMONG OFFENDERS KNOWN TO THE JUVENILE COURT

court authorities. It is not assumed therefore that the relative frequency of lone and group offenders in the general delinquent population is identical with the percentages presented in this study. Obviously, not all of the boys engaged in delinquent activities are known to the court. Cases are

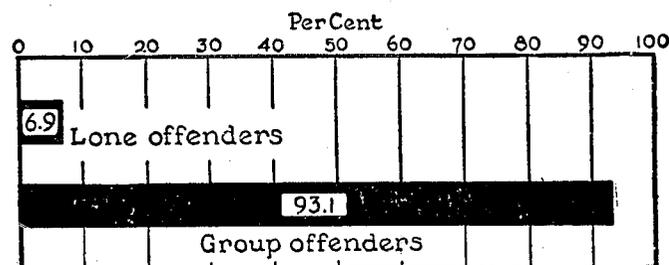


FIG. 14.—PERCENTAGE OF LONE AND GROUP OFFENDERS AMONG STEALING OFFENDERS KNOWN TO THE JUVENILE COURT

not infrequent in which only one member of a group involved in an offense is apprehended and arraigned in court. In many of these cases the boy's loyalty to his group is so strong that he refuses to disclose the identity of his companions. It seems probable, therefore, that the proportion of the offenders considered in this study who actually com-

mitted their delinquencies alone is less than the foregoing percentages indicate.

In many cases in which the delinquent boy actually commits his offense alone, the influence of companions is apparent. This point is clearly illustrated in the case of boys brought to court charged with stealing from members of their own family. In many such cases the theft, although the act of a single boy, clearly reflects the influence of companions. Frequently such thefts are planned by other boys and carried out at their instigation.

The findings of this study indicate quite conclusively that most juvenile offenses, at least those offenses charged against delinquents appearing in the juvenile court in Chicago, are committed by groups of boys; few by individuals singly. It is obvious that not all such group delinquencies are committed by well-organized gangs. While many of the delinquents may be members of such gangs, they usually commit their offenses in the company of only one or two other boys.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE MEMBERSHIP OF A DELINQUENT GROUP

The statistical data presented in the foregoing chapter indicate that the boys appearing in the Cook County juvenile court on petitions alleging delinquency usually commit their offenses as members of groups. In order to give a concrete illustration of the offenses and membership of such groups, a description of the companionship groups of a young male delinquent will be presented in the present chapter. While this case is, of course, not representative of all the variations of social groups among delinquent boys, it possesses certain aspects that are common to a statistically high proportion of the cases of male juvenile delinquents appearing in the juvenile court of Chicago. As indicated in the previous chapter, the most frequent type of delinquent groups in which juvenile offenses are committed, is the small companionship groups comprising two or three boys. In this respect the case of Sidney Blotzman,<sup>1</sup> the subject of the present case study, is typical. While Sidney in the course of his career in delinquency was associated with three large delinquent groups, his companions in any given offense never exceeded three.

The accompanying chart gives a summary of Sidney's socially known delinquencies and the number of boys with whom he was involved in each of these offenses. The offenses in the chronological order in which they occurred are indicated in the first vertical column, while those of his 11 companions, whose names and birth dates appear at the top of the chart, are recorded in the succeeding columns. The companions involved with him in each of his offenses are indicated between the heavy horizontal lines. An examination of this chart reveals that Sidney was apprehended

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<sup>1</sup> For a complete case study of the delinquency career of this boy see Clifford R. Shaw, "The Natural History of a Delinquent Career," University of Chicago Press, 1931.





13 different times on delinquent and criminal charges. In 8 of these delinquencies he had 2 companions, in 1 he had 3, in 2 he had 1 companion, and in the other two instances he was alone. In the delinquency for which he was first apprehended, which occurred when he was 8 years of age, he was involved with two companions. While one of these companions was about Sidney's age, the other one was at least four years older. The older companion had a record of delinquency extending back over a period of at least three years prior to Sidney's first contact with him.

During Sidney's career in delinquency, he was involved with members of three distinct delinquent groups. His contact with the group in which his first delinquencies took place occurred when he was about 7 years of age and continued until he was 10. At that time his family moved to another neighborhood, where he became associated with three members of a second delinquent group. The family moved again when he was 15. While living in this third neighborhood, Sidney was brought into contact with some of the younger members of an adult criminal organization. The official delinquency records of his delinquent companions in each of these three groups will be presented to give a more detailed picture of the delinquent behavior of his companions and the traditions of each group.

During his infancy, childhood, and early adolescence Sidney lived in one of the most deteriorated and disorganized areas of Chicago. This area is located immediately west of the Loop, the central business district of the city, and, as indicated in a previous chapter, has been characterized by a high rate of delinquency for many years. His family was disorganized by the frequent desertion of the father. At times the mother and children were entirely dependent upon a charitable agency. During the early formative years of Sidney's life the mother was employed outside of the home and could not exercise close supervision over his behavior. The complete list of Sidney's officially known delinquencies, arrests, and commitments is included in the following record. This record shows his delinquencies in the chronological order in which they occurred, his age at the time of each delinquency, and the ages of the boys with whom he was involved in each offense. It shows also

the commitments to institutions and the length of time spent in each institution.

OFFICIAL RECORD OF ARRESTS AND COMMITMENTS

1. Seven years of age: Sidney was placed in the home for dependent children.
2. Seven years two months: Escaped from the home for dependent children. Was in the company of an older boy when he escaped.
3. Seven years five months: Arrested while shoplifting in Fair Department Store in Loop. Was in company of Joseph Kratz (11 years 8 months) and Israel Rathers (8 years 6 months), at the time of arrest. Turned over to the police and held in police station until released to mother that night.
4. Seven years six months: Arrested in the act of shoplifting in department store in the Loop. Held at police station and later released to mother. In company of Joseph Kratz (11 years 9 months), Sam Leben (10 years 7 months), and Max Izen (11 years 4 months).
5. Seven years nine months: Arrested and brought to court on a charge of burglary. In presenting the case in court, the officer stated: "Your honor, these three boys, Joseph Kratz (12 years 1 month), Sam Leben (10 years 11 months), and Sidney Blotzman (7 years 10 months) stole \$3 worth of woolen goods from a store in the neighborhood of their home last Tuesday evening. The goods were recovered and restored to the owner. Joseph and Sam have been in court before and have parental school records. They are a great worry to their parents who have lost control of them. These boys sell their stolen goods to junk men in the neighborhood. This is Sidney's first offense." Released to mother.
6. Seven years eleven months: Arrested while in the act of shoplifting. Was in company of Joseph Kratz (12 years 2 months) and Max Izen (11 years 9 months). Placed in detention home and later released to mother.
7. Eight years six months: Appeared in court charged with truancy from school. Committed to Chicago Parental School.
8. Nine years: Paroled from Chicago Parental School to live at home with mother.
9. Nine years five months: Brought to court charged with truancy from school. Committed to Chicago Parental School.

10. Ten years three months: Arrested in the Boston Store in the act of shoplifting. Was in the company of Tony Domino (14 years 3 months) and Nick Domino (12 years 8 months). All three boys were held in the detention home one day and then released to their parents.

11. Ten years three and one-half months: Arrested in the Boston Store; charged with shoplifting and breaking into slot machine. Was in the company of Tony Domino (14 years 3½ months) and Nick Domino (12 years 8½ months). Sidney was placed under supervision. The other boys were sent to the Chicago and Cook County School.

12. Ten years four months: Brought to court charged with truancy from school and shoplifting and breaking into slot machines. Was implicated with Reuben Silver (14 years 10 months), Israel Rathers (11 years 5 months), and Tommy Sorto (12 years 11 months). Sidney committed to Chicago Parental School.

13. Eleven years four months: Paroled from Chicago Parental School to live with mother.

14. Eleven years six months: Brought to court on charge of truancy from school and committed to Chicago Parental School.

15. Eleven years six months: Escaped from Chicago Parental School but was returned within one week.

16. Twelve years six months: Escaped from Chicago Parental School but was returned within a few weeks.

17. Thirteen years: Paroled from Chicago Parental School to live with mother.

18. Fifteen years two months: Brought to court charged with larceny of automobiles. Was implicated with William Paddock (15 years 11 months). In receiving the case the court stated: "This boy, with his superior intelligence, ought to finish high school. I don't think he will do well at home. He should be placed elsewhere and permitted to attend school. I will appoint a guardian with right to place." Boy was released to live at home until a foster home could be found for him.

19. Fifteen years three months: Accused of fighting and breaking a plate-glass window. Placed in detention home and later released to mother.

20. Fifteen years five months: Brought to court charged with larceny of merchandise from his employer. Committed to Chicago and Cook County School.

21. Fifteen years five and one-half months: Escaped from Chicago and Cook County School.

22. Fifteen years six months: Picked up as an escape and returned to Chicago and Cook County School.

23. Fifteen years seven and one-half months: Escaped from Chicago and Cook County School, but was picked up and returned to the school the next day.

24. Fifteen years ten months: Paroled from Chicago and Cook County to live at home under the supervision of parole officer.

25. Sixteen years two months: Arrested on a charge of larceny of automobiles, holdup with a gun, and attempted rape. Involved with William Paddock (16 years 11 months) and William Leggett (16 years 9 months). Sidney was committed to the St. Charles School for Boys.

26. Sixteen years five months: Escaped from St. Charles.

27. Sixteen years eight months: Arrested on a charge of holdup with a gun and rape. Involved with George Gerard. Both boys were committed to a State penal institution for a period of 20 years.

According to the foregoing record, Sidney's delinquent career began when he was only 7 years of age. Following the initial experience of pilfering fruit from local neighborhood stores, his delinquencies grew increasingly serious, proceeding from various forms of petty stealing and truancy to such major crimes as holdup with a gun and attempted rape. It should be noted, also, that all but two of his delinquencies and crimes took place while he was in the company of older offenders. According to this official record Sidney was arrested at least sixteen times, was brought to court on petitions alleging truancy or delinquency ten times, and received seven commitments to four different correctional institutions. His offenses in the order of their occurrences included pilfering in the neighborhood, breaking into neighborhood stores, shoplifting, "jack-rolling," stealing accessories from automobiles, larceny of automobiles, robbery with a gun, and rape.

#### SIDNEY'S FIRST COMPANIONSHIP GROUP

The officially known offenses of the first play group to which Sidney belonged, and in which his initial delinquencies occurred, are indicated in the following official delinquency records of the five members of this group. In

order to show the manner in which the delinquent patterns of this group were transmitted through the gang, the official records are presented according to the chronological ages of the boys, proceeding from the oldest to the youngest member of the group. In studying these records the reader should note the extent to which each member of the group had been involved in delinquency prior to Sidney's first contact with him.

#### REUBEN SILVER

The oldest member of Sidney's first delinquent group was Reuben Silver who was four years and six months older than Sidney and lived only a few blocks away from the latter's home. Reuben was the oldest in a family of five children. There was no disorganization in his family and the parents exercised very close supervision over the children. According to psychological tests given at the time he was 14 years of age, Reuben had an intelligence quotient of 98, which places him in the group having average intelligence.

#### REUBEN'S OFFICIAL RECORD

1. Nine years two months: Involved with Joseph Kratz (8 years 11 months) and an older companion on a charge of petty stealing in the neighborhood. The three boys were held in the juvenile detention home and later released to their parents.

2. Eleven years eleven months: Arrested with two 15-year-old boys in the act of shoplifting in the Loop. Placed in the detention home and later released to parents.

3. Twelve years one month: Appeared in juvenile court with the same two companions; charged with truancy from home and school, burglary, and shoplifting. Released to live at home under the supervision of a probation officer. The two older companions were committed to the Chicago and Cook County School.

4. Twelve years ten months: Appeared in the juvenile court with the same companions on a charge of shoplifting at department stores in the Loop. Placed under supervision of a probation officer. The two companions were committed to the St. Charles School for Boys.

5. Thirteen years eight months: Arrested in Kresge's store in the Loop in the act of snatching a pocketbook.

Was in the company of one other boy. Placed under the supervision of a probation officer.

6. Fourteen years ten months: Arrested with Sidney Blotzman (10 years 4 months), Tommy Sorto (12 years 11 months), and Israel Rathers (11 years 5 months) on a charge of truancy from home and school, petty stealing in the neighborhood, shoplifting in the Loop, and breaking into slot machine on elevated platform. Committed to the St. Charles School for Boys.

7. Seventeen years seven months: Arrested on a charge of larceny of merchandise in department stores. Committed to the house of correction. Released at the end of six months and is now employed.

#### JOSEPH KRATZ

The second eldest member of the gang was Joseph Kratz, who was 4 years and 3 months older than Sidney. Joseph was the oldest in a family of four children. The family group was disintegrated by the death of the father at the time Joseph was 8 years of age. After the father's death the mother was employed outside of the home.

Joseph was perhaps Sidney's most intimate companion during his early boyhood. Prior to his contact with Sidney, Joseph had been arrested three times on charges of stealing and had already spent six months in the Chicago Parental School because of truancy from school.

According to the psychological tests at the time he was 13 years of age, Joseph had an intelligence quotient of 104, which placed him in the group having high average intelligence.

#### JOSEPH'S OFFICIAL RECORD

1. Eight years eleven months: Arrested on a charge of petty stealing in the neighborhood. Involved with Reuben Silver (9 years 2 months) and an older companion. The three boys were held in the juvenile detention home and later released to their parents.

2. Ten years five months: Arrested on a charge of shoplifting in the Loop. Implicated with an older companion. Brought to the juvenile court and Joseph was placed under the supervision of a probation officer. His companion was committed to the St. Charles School for Boys.

3. Eleven years one month: Arrested in the act of shoplifting in a department store in the Loop. Involved

with Max Izen (10 years 8 months). Both boys committed to the Chicago Parental School.

4. Eleven years seven months: Released from the Chicago Parental School.

5. Eleven years eight months: Arrested while shoplifting in the Fair Department Store in the Loop. Was in the company of Israel Rathers (8 years 6 months) and Sidney Blotzman.

6. Eleven years nine months: Arrested in the act of shoplifting in a department store in the Loop. Was in the company of Sam Leben (10 years 7 months), Max Izen (11 years 4 months), and Sidney Blotzman (7 years 6 months). Held at police station and later released to parents.

7. Twelve years: Arrested while shoplifting with Max Izen (11 years 7 months) and Sidney Blotzman (7 years 9 months). Boys placed in detention home and later released under supervision of probation officer.

8. Twelve years one month: Arrested and brought to the court on a charge of burglary. Implicated with Sam Leben (10 years 11 months), and Sidney Blotzman (7 years 10 months). Released on probation.

9. Twelve years two months: Arrested while in the act of shoplifting. Was in the company of Max Izen (11 years 9 months), and Sidney Blotzman (7 years 11 months). Placed in detention home and later released to parents under the supervision of a probation officer.

10. Sixteen years two months: Arrested with Sam Leben (15 years) on a charge of larceny of automobiles. Committed to St. Charles School for Boys.

11. Seventeen years eight months: Paroled from St. Charles School for Boys.

12. Eighteen years four months. Arrested on a charge of larceny of merchandise from a department store in the Loop. Brought to the boys' court and placed on adult probation.

13. Nineteen years seven months: Arrested on a charge of larceny of merchandise truck. Implicated with two adult companions. Again placed on adult probation.

14. Nineteen years seven months: Arrested on a charge of larceny of automobiles. Was in the company of Max Izen (19 years 2 months).

15. Twenty-one years: Arrested in the company of Sam Leben (19 years 10 months); charged with stealing automobiles.

16. Twenty-one years five months: Became involved in the bootlegging racket and was killed by a rival gangster.

## MAX IZEN

Another member of Sidney's early gang was Max Izen, who was 3 years and 10 months older than Sidney. Max and his older brother had been arrested on numerous occasions, charged with truancy from home, petty stealing, and shoplifting. Max's mother was an invalid and was placed in a tuberculosis sanitarium at the time he was eight years of age. The father, who was a shoemaker, worked irregularly, was an excessive drinker and very abusive to the children. He deserted the family many times and was once committed to the Chicago House of Correction charged with cruelty to his wife and children.

Max was the second in a family of eight children. His brother, 3 years older than Max, was an habitual delinquent, having been involved in various cases of petty stealing, snatching pocketbooks, shoplifting, and burglary. According to the psychological tests at the time he was 12 years of age, Max had an intelligence quotient of 98, which places him in the group having average intelligence.

## MAX'S OFFICIAL RECORD

1. Eight years ten months: Arrested with his brother; charged with truancy from home and petty stealing. Placed in the detention home and later released to the father.

2. Nine years eight months: Arrested with brother on a charge of petty stealing and truancy from home. Placed in the detention home and later released to father under the supervision of a probation officer.

3. Ten years three months: Arrested in Boston Store with stolen merchandise in his possession. Was in the company of two other boys. Held in the detention home one night and released to father.

4. Ten years eight months: Arrested in the act of shoplifting in a department store in the Loop. Involved with Joseph Kratz (11 years 1 month). Both boys committed to the Chicago Parental School.

5. Eleven years four months: Arrested in the act of shoplifting in a department store in the Loop. Was in the company of Joseph Kratz (11 years 9 months), Sam Leben (10 years 7 months), and Sidney Blotzman (7 years 6 months). Held at police station and later released to parents.

6. Eleven years seven months: Arrested while shoplifting with Joseph Kratz (12 years) and Sidney Blotzman (7 years 9 months). Placed in detention home and later released to parents.

7. Eleven years nine months: Arrested while in the act of shoplifting. Was in the company of Joseph Kratz (12 years 2 months) and Sidney Blotzman (7 years 11 months). Placed in detention home and later released to parents under the supervision of a probation officer.

8. Thirteen years five months: Arrested with older brother and Sam Leben (12 years 8 months); charged with burglarizing two homes, stealing \$14 from one and \$3.25 from the second. Placed in the home for dependent children.

9. Fourteen years: Stole \$10 and escaped from the home for dependent children.

10. Fourteen years two months: Picked up as a runaway and brought to court. Released to live at home under the supervision of a probation officer.

11. Fourteen years four months: Appeared in court at the expiration of a period of supervision. Since his record under supervision was not satisfactory, he was continued under probation for three months.

12. Fourteen years five months: Brought to court in the company of his brother and Sam Leben (13 years 8 months); charged with snatching a lady's pocketbook. Continued under supervision.

13. Fourteen years six months: Arrested in the company of Sam Leben (13 years 9 months); charged with shoplifting merchandise in department stores in the Loop. Released to live at home under the supervision of a probation officer.

14. Fourteen years seven months: Arrested in the company of Sam Leben (13 years 10 months) on a charge of shoplifting. Both boys were committed to the Chicago and Cook County School.

15. Fourteen years seven and a half months: Released from Chicago and Cook County School.

16. Fourteen years eleven months: Arrested on a charge of petty stealing and shoplifting. Placed in detention home and later released to parents.

17. Fifteen years seven months: Arrested on a charge of shoplifting in department stores in the Loop. Held in police station and later released to parents.

18. Sixteen years five months: Max and two other boys were arrested on a charge of shoplifting in the Boston Store. Max was sent to Chicago and Cook

County School. The other boys were placed under supervision.

19. Sixteen years seven months: Escaped from Chicago and Cook County School.

20. Sixteen years nine months: Max and four other boys brought to court charged with breaking into a garage and stealing automobile. Max sent to the St. Charles School for Boys and others placed under supervision.

21. Eighteen years three months: Parole from St. Charles School for Boys.

22. Nineteen years two months: Arrested on a charge of larceny of automobiles. Was in the company of Joseph Kratz (19 years 7 months). Committed to the house of correction for one year.

#### SAM LEBEN

Another member of the first gang with which Sidney became identified was Sam Leben, who was three years and one month older than Sidney. Sam was the youngest in a family of five children. Three months prior to Sam's birth his father died and the mother was forced to seek employment outside the home. At various times during Sam's childhood the family was dependent upon charity.

According to psychological tests at the time he was 13, Sam had an intelligence quotient of 76, which places him in the high-grade feeble-minded classification.

#### SAM'S OFFICIAL RECORD

1. Ten years seven months: Arrested in the act of shoplifting in department store in the Loop. Held at police station and later released to mother. In company of Joseph Kratz (11 years 9 months), Max Izen (11 years 4 months), and Sidney Blotzman (7 years 6 months).

2. Ten years eight months: Involved with Israel Rathes (8 years 8 months) on a charge of shoplifting. Placed in the detention home and later released to parents.

3. Ten years eleven months: Arrested and brought to court on a charge of burglary. Implicated with Joseph

Kratz (12 years 1 month) and Sidney Blotzman (7 years 10 months). Boys placed in detention home and later released under supervision of a probation officer.

4. Twelve years eight months: Burglarized two residences with Max Izen (13 years 5 months). Both boys were placed in the detention home and later released to parents.

5. Thirteen years eight months: Brought to court with Max Izen (14 years 5 months); charged with snatching pocketbooks. Placed under the special supervision of a probation officer.

6. Thirteen years nine months: Arrested while in the act of shoplifting in department stores in the Loop. Involved with Max Izen (14 years 6 months). Placed in Detention Home and later released to parents under the supervision of a probation officer.

7. Thirteen years ten months: In court with Max Izen (14 years 7 months); charged with shoplifting and running away from home. Sam and Max were sent to the Chicago and Cook County School.

8. Fourteen years four months: Released from Chicago and Cook County School.

9. Fourteen years four months: Arrested in the company of two adults on a charge of shoplifting in the Loop. Placed on probation.

10. Fourteen years five months: Arrested with another boy while shoplifting in the department stores of the Loop. Committed to St. Charles School for Boys.

11. Fifteen years: Arrested with Joseph Kratz (16 years 2 months) on a charge of larceny of automobiles. Committed to St. Charles School for Boys.

12. Fifteen years eight months: Paroled from St. Charles School for Boys.

13. Seventeen years seven months: Arrested with an adult on a charge of burglary and committed to the house of correction.

14. Eighteen years seven months: Released from house of correction.

15. Nineteen years ten months: Arrested in the company of Joseph Kratz (21 years), charged with stealing automobiles. Recommitted to the house of correction.

16. Twenty years four months: Released from house of correction.

17. Twenty years eight months: Arrested with an adult on a charge of holdup with a gun and committed to the house of correction.

18. Twenty-one years eight months: Arrested on a charge of burglary and larceny of automobiles. Involved with one companion. Committed to the State reformatory at Pontiac.

## ISRAEL RATHERS

The first member of the gang with whom Sidney had contact was Israel Rathers, who was one year older than Sidney. There was no family disorganization in this case. According to psychological tests Israel had an intelligence quotient of 105, which places him in the group having high average intelligence. Israel was not only the first member of the gang to exert an influence upon Sidney, but it was probably through him that Sidney became associated with the gang.

## ISRAEL'S OFFICIAL RECORD

1. Eight years six months: Arrested while shoplifting in the Fair Department Store in the Loop. Was in company of Joseph Kratz (11 years 8 months) and Sidney Blotzman (7 years 5 months) at the time of arrest. Turned over to the police and held in police station until released to parents.
2. Eight years eight months: Arrested on a charge of shoplifting. Implicated with Sam Leben (10 years 8 months). Placed in the detention home and later released to parents.
3. Eight years eleven months: Brought to the court on a petition alleging truancy from school. Released to live at home under the supervision of a truant officer.
4. Nine years six months: Again brought to court on a petition alleging truancy from school. Committed to Chicago Parental School.
5. Ten years eight months: Released from Chicago Parental School.
6. Eleven years five months: Arrested on a charge of shoplifting. Implicated with Reuben Silver (14 years 10 months). Committed to Chicago and Cook County School.
7. Eleven years eight months: Escaped from the Chicago and Cook County School.
8. Fourteen years five months: Arrested on a charge of burglary. Implicated with one companion. Committed to the St. Charles School for Boys.
9. Sixteen years: Paroled from the St. Charles School for Boys.
10. Seventeen years: Israel and two companions "stole \$200 worth of merchandise from a trunk." Brought to boy's court and placed on adult probation.
11. Seventeen years six months: With one companion burglarized a store. Placed on adult probation.

12. Eighteen years four months: Held up the office of a dairy company. Implicated with two companions. Israel committed to the house of correction.

13. Nineteen years three months: Released from house of correction.

14. Twenty years seven months: Brought to court charged with larceny of automobile. Implicated with three companions. Sentenced to the Illinois State Reformatory at Pontiac.

A study of these cases reveals several interesting features concerning this group of young delinquents. In the first place, it is clear that stealing, particularly shoplifting, was an established practice in the group prior to Sidney's first contact with its members. For example, the three oldest boys in the group—Reuben Silver, Joseph Kratz, and Max Izen—had official records of delinquency dating back for at least three years. (See Chart I.) The delinquencies of these three boys, as well as the delinquency of their older companions consisted chiefly of shoplifting, which was the type of stealing which Sidney most frequently engaged in during the early years of his career in delinquency. Thus the character of his early delinquency was identical with the traditional pattern of the group. It is not improbable, therefore, that Sidney's experiences in shoplifting represent an adjustment to the specialized pattern of delinquency which had been handed down from the older to the younger members of the group.

It is important to observe that all of these six boys were apprehended on delinquent charges at a very early age. One (Sidney) was apprehended before the age of 8, three before the age of 9, one before the age of 10, and the others before the age of 11. It should be remembered that these were the ages at the time of the initial arrests and not at the time of the first experience in delinquency.

In all six cases the career in delinquency continued beyond the age of 17, the upper age limit for the juvenile court cases. One of the six was killed by a rival gangster, one has made an adjustment, and the other four are at present either engaged in criminal activity or serving sentences in penal institutions.

The intelligence quotients of the members of this group show a rather normal distribution; the range is from 76 to

119. Four of the boys have intelligence quotients falling within the range of average intelligence, while one of them is above this range and one below. The more detailed study of these cases showed marked differences between the family situations of the six boys. Two of the families were self-supporting, while the others were economically dependent upon relief agencies; in some the relationships were harmonious and intimate, while in others the relationships were broken by desertion or death of the father, or characterized by intense emotional conflicts. Such marked differences in the family situations and intelligence of members of delinquent groups are by no means unusual. Similar differences have been noticed in numerous other group cases which we have studied. Healy has also observed similar differences in his cases of group delinquency. Case No. 8, of the Judge Baker Foundation case studies, is an excellent illustration of this point. The study of that group or crowd, as Healy called it, showed that the 11 members differed markedly in intelligence and represented widely divergent types of family situations.

While these boys engaged in many common activities together, they did not constitute a highly organized gang. It is true that Reuben Silver, Max Izen, and Joseph Kratz had been members of such a gang, but their group had been broken up as a result of the fact that most of its members had been committed to correctional institutions. These older boys were serving sentences at the time Sidney first became involved in delinquency with Joseph, Israel, and Max. It was through these three older members of the group that Israel Rathers and Sam Leben, as well as Sidney, became implicated in delinquency. This delinquent group is quite representative both in the sense that the delinquent patterns were handed down from the older members and that only two or three of the members were involved together in any given offense.

#### SIDNEY'S SECOND DELINQUENT GROUP

As stated previously, Sidney's contact with the delinquent group described in the foregoing pages, continued until he was about 10 years of age. At that time his family

moved to a near-by neighborhood. Here he became associated with a group of Italian boys who were engaged in delinquent activities. Although this was a large group, including 12 to 15 boys, Sidney was implicated in delinquency with only three of them, namely, Tommy Sorto and two brothers, Nick Domino and Tony Domino. As indicated in the following official records, all three of these boys had been repeatedly involved in delinquency prior to Sidney's contact with them.

#### NICK DOMINO'S OFFICIAL RECORD

1. Nine years one month: Arrested on a charge of petty stealing. Involved with brother Tony (10 years 8 months) and Tommy Sorto (9 years 3 months). Placed in detention home and later released to parents.
2. Nine years seven months: Arrested on a charge of burglary. Was implicated with his brother Tony (11 years 2 months) and Tommy Sorto (8 years 9 months). Held in detention home for one week and released to parents under supervision of probation officer.
3. Ten years one month: Brought to court charged with truancy from home and school. Committed to Chicago Parental School.
4. Ten years seven months: Released from Chicago Parental School.
5. Ten years eleven months: Arrested in the company of his brother Tony (12 years 6 months); charged "with having stolen \$10 from a cash drawer in a neighborhood store." Placed on probation.
6. Eleven years five months: Picked up as a runaway and placed in the detention home. Released to parents.
7. Twelve years eight months: Arrested in the Boston Store while in the act of shoplifting. Was in the company of Sidney Blotzman (10 years 3 months) and Tony Domino (14 years 3 months). Held in detention home and released to parents.
8. Twelve years eight and one-half months: Arrested in the Boston Store charged with shoplifting and breaking into slot machines. Was in the company of Sidney Blotzman (10 years 3½ months) and Tony Domino (14 years 3½ months). Committed to Chicago and Cook County School.
9. Twelve years eleven and one-half months: Escaped from Chicago and Cook County School.
10. Thirteen years one month: Picked up as a runaway. Had been away from home three days. Brought to court and placed on probation.

11. Thirteen years two months: Picked up by police in a newspaper alley. Had been away from home 10 days. Released to parents.

12. Thirteen years six months: Brought to court as a runaway. In presenting the case in court the officer stated: "This boy is an habitual truant, always seeks the Loop, associates with bad companions, comes home at 1.30 every night, and steals from porches. Probation is not an effective measure. He has been in Chicago Parental School and the Chicago and Cook County School." Committed to the Chicago and Cook County School.

13. Thirteen years eight months: Escaped from the Chicago and Cook County school.

14. Thirteen years eight months: Picked up by the police as a runaway at 12.30 a. m. His mother was notified but refused to take him home. She said, "He ran away from home and I can not manage him." Placed in Juvenile Detention Home and later released to mother.

15. Thirteen years ten months: Arrested on a charge of shoplifting in the Fair Department Store. Was in the company of three other boys. Committed to the Chicago and Cook County School.

16. Thirteen years eleven months: Escaped from Chicago and Cook County School.

17. Fourteen years four months: Arrested on a charge of burglary. "This boy and his two companions admit that within the last two months they have burglarized 12 or 15 homes." Committed to the St. Charles School for Boys.

18. Fifteen years two months: Escaped from St. Charles.

19. Seventeen years three months: Arrested on a charge of burglary. He and one companion had burglarized more than 20 homes. Their "method was to call a residence by phone, then if no one answered, force an entrance through a window." Committed to the State Reformatory at Pontiac.

20. Nineteen years three months: Paroled from State reformatory at Pontiac.

21. Twenty-two years four months: Arrested on a charge of burglary. Committed to the house of correction.

#### TONY DOMINO'S OFFICIAL RECORD

1. Ten years four months: Arrested with two older boys on a charge of burglary. Placed in detention home and later released to parents.

2. Ten years eight months: Arrested on a charge of petty stealing. Implicated with brother Nick (9 years 1 month) Tommy Sorto (9 years 3 months).

3. Eleven years one month: Arrested while in the act of shoplifting in a department store in the Loop. Implicated with two older boys. Held at police station and later released to parents.

4. Eleven years two months: Arrested on charge of burglary. Was implicated with his brother Nick (9 years 7 months) and Tommy Sorto (9 years 9 months). Held in detention home one week and released to parents under supervision of probation officer.

5. Twelve years six months: Arrested in company of his brother Nick (10 years 11 months); charged with "having stolen \$10 from a cash drawer in a neighborhood store." Placed on probation.

6. Thirteen years three months: Arrested with one other boy on a charge of burglary. Brought to court and committed to Chicago and Cook County School.

7. Thirteen years nine months: Paroled from Chicago and Cook County School.

8. Fourteen years three months: Arrested in Boston Store in the act of shoplifting. Was in the company of his brother Nick (12 years 8 months) and Sidney Blotzman (10 years 3 months). All three boys were held in the detention home one day and then released to their parents.

9. Fourteen years three and one-half months: Arrested in the Boston Store charged with shoplifting and breaking into slot machines. Implicated with Sidney Blotzman (10 years 3½ months) and Nick Domino (12 years 8½ months). Committed to Chicago and Cook County School.

10. Fourteen years eleven months: Arrested with "stolen merchandise in his possession which he had taken from a department store in the Loop." Brought to court and committed to Chicago and Cook County School.

11. Fifteen years five months: Paroled from Chicago and Cook County School.

12. Seventeen years nine months: Arrested on a charge of burglary. Implicated with two companions. Brought to boys' court and committed to the house of correction.

13. Eighteen years eight months: Released from the house of correction.

14. Twenty-one years six months: Arrested on a charge of carrying concealed weapons. Brought to boys' court and placed on adult probation.

## TOMMY SORTO'S OFFICIAL RECORD

1. Nine years three months: Arrested on a charge of petty stealing. Implicated with Tony Domino (9 years 1 month). Placed in detention home and later released to his sister.

2. Nine years nine months: Arrested on a charge of burglary. Involved with Tony Domino (11 years 2 months) and Nick Domino (9 years 7 months). Held in detention home one week and released to sister.

3. Eleven years three months: Brought to court on a charge of truancy from home and school. Committed to the Chicago Parental School.

4. Eleven years nine months: Paroled from Chicago Parental School.

5. Twelve years six months: Arrested on a charge of shoplifting. Implicated with one other boy. Held at detention home and later released to his sister under supervision of a probation officer.

6. Twelve years eleven months: Brought to court charged with truancy from school, shoplifting, and breaking into slot machine. He was implicated with Reuben Silver (14 years 10 months) and Sidney Blotzman (10 years 4 months). Tommy was committed to the Chicago and Cook County School.

7. Fourteen years six months: Paroled from the Chicago and Cook County School.

8. Sixteen years three months: Arrested on a charge of shoplifting. Committed to St. Charles School for Boys.

9. Twenty-one years one month: Arrested on a charge of shoplifting. Involved with one companion. Placed on adult probation.

According to these records, the delinquency careers of these three boys began, as in the case of Sidney's earlier companions, before the age of 10. All three of these boys continued in delinquency and became adult offenders.

## SIDNEY'S CONTACT WITH AN ADULT CRIMINAL GROUP

When Sidney was approximately 15 years of age his parents moved away from the near west district of Chicago. In this new neighborhood he became associated with some of the younger members of an adult criminal group, whose headquarters were only a few doors away from his home. The membership of this group included some of Chicago's most notorious criminals. Although Sidney did not actu-

ally participate in criminal activities with these adult criminals, he mingled with them and heard them relate stories of the crimes which they had committed.

Prior to Sidney's contact with this group, his delinquencies had been limited to pilfering, burglary, and shoplifting. This contact, however, marked the beginning of a very significant extension of his delinquent activities. It was immediately following his association with this group that his first experiences in the larceny of automobiles and robbery with a gun occurred. Such crimes, along with bootlegging, racketeering, hijacking, and other forms of violence were not uncommon in this group. The officially known delinquencies of the two boys whom Sidney met at the meeting place of this group and with whom he became involved in the larceny of automobiles, robbery with a gun, and rape, are indicated in their official records.

## WILLIAM PADDOCK'S OFFICIAL RECORD

1. Eleven years four months: Arrested on a charge of petty stealing. Placed in detention home and after being held for a few days was released to parents.

2. Twelve years eight months: Brought to court on a petition alleging truancy from school. Released under supervision of a truant officer.

3. Fourteen years one month: Brought to court on a truancy petition. Committed to Chicago Parental School.

4. Fourteen years seven months: Paroled from Chicago Parental School.

5. Fifteen years five months: Arrested with an older companion "charged with the larceny of an auto truck valued at \$275." Brought to court and placed under the supervision of a probation officer.

6. Fifteen years eleven months: Arrested on a charge of larceny of automobiles. Implicated with Sidney Blotzman (15 years 2 months). Both boys were brought to court and placed on probation.

7. Sixteen years eleven months: Arrested on a charge of larceny of automobile, holdup with a gun, and attempted rape. Implicated with Sidney Blotzman (16 years 2 months) and William Leggett (16 years 9 months). Brought to court and committed to St. Charles School for Boys.

8. Seventeen years two months: Escaped from St. Charles School for Boys.

9. Nineteen years four months: Arrested and brought to boys' court charged with larceny of automobile. Implicated with one adult companion. Placed on adult probation.

10. Twenty years three months: Arrested and brought to the boys' court charged with larceny of automobiles. Implicated with one adult companion. Committed to Chicago House of Correction.

WILLIAM LEGGETT'S OFFICIAL RECORD

1. Eleven years seven months: Arrested with four other boys. Charged with larceny of merchandise from freight cars. Held in the juvenile detention home and later released to parents.

2. Twelve years eleven months: Arrested with two other boys; charged with breaking into freight cars. Brought to court and placed under special supervision of a probation officer.

3. Thirteen years one month: Arrested with five other boys; charged with "cutting block signal wire on railroad." Brought to court and placed on probation.

4. Thirteen years four months: Arrested with a group of boys charged with larceny of merchandise from freight cars. Committed to the St. Charles School for Boys.

5. Fourteen years eight months: Paroled from St. Charles School for Boys.

6. Fifteen years four months: Arrested on a charge of burglary and returned to St. Charles.

7. Sixteen years five months: Paroled from St. Charles.

8. Sixteen years nine months: Alleged to have been involved with Sidney Blotzman (16 years 2 months) and William Paddock (16 years 11 months) in the larceny of automobile, holdup with a gun, and attempted rape. Not apprehended.

Sidney's accomplice in the crime for which he was committed to a penal institution at the age of 16 years and 8 months was George Gerard. Gerard was a few months older than Sidney, but had no delinquency record. At the time he met Sidney he was working regularly and contributing his money to his mother. The study of the case history indicates that Gerard's complicity in the robbery and rape episode was due largely to the influence of Sidney.

Sidney's career in delinquency serves to focus attention upon many of the more formal aspects of the delinquent

group. In the course of his career in juvenile delinquency, from 7 to 17 years of age, he was officially known to have been involved in delinquency with 11 different companions, although the number implicated with him in any given offense was never more than 3. He was apprehended as a lone offender in only two instances; one of these was for fighting and the other was for larceny of merchandise from his employer. His 11 companions represented three distinct groups, whose activities and traditions were clearly of a delinquent character. Furthermore, the successive types of delinquent activity in which Sidney engaged, beginning with pilfering in the neighborhood and progressing to larceny of automobiles and robbery with a gun, show a close correspondence with the delinquent patterns prevailing in the successive groups with which he had contact. The materials presented in Chart I, along with the official records of the 11 boys, suggest very strongly that Sidney acquired the early patterns of pilfering, burglary, and shoplifting from his first play groups, and the later patterns of larceny of automobiles and robbery with a gun from the adult criminal gang with which he had contact after the age of 15.

## CHAPTER VIII

THE ACTIVITIES AND TRADITIONS OF  
DELINQUENT GROUPS

Thus far the subject matter of this section of our report has been limited to data of a more or less formal character. In the first place, statistical materials were presented to show that most delinquent boys commit their offenses as members of groups. In the second place, a specific case was summarized to give a picture of the offenses and the membership of the groups involved in the delinquency career of a young male offender. It is the purpose of the present chapter to present excerpts from a limited number of case histories of delinquent boys to illustrate in a more vivid manner the activities and traditions of delinquent groups, and to draw attention to certain possible relationships between such groups and the origin and development of delinquent attitudes and behavior among boys.

It was pointed out in previous chapters that cases of juvenile delinquency are largely concentrated in the deteriorated and disorganized areas adjacent to the central business district and the large industrial developments, and that in these areas various forms of delinquency and crime have persisted over a long period of time and have tended to become a part of the neighborhood tradition. To a very great extent these traditions of delinquency are preserved and transmitted through the medium of social contact within the unsupervised play group and the more highly organized delinquent and criminal gangs. In the deteriorated areas, where there is little organized effort among the citizens for combating lawlessness, these groups persist and tend to perpetuate delinquent and criminal forms of behavior. It is clear from the study of case histories that very frequently the boy's contact with the play group or gang marks the beginning of his career in delinquency. These groups, with their fund of delinquent tradition and knowledge, often become the chief source from which the

boy gains familiarity with delinquent practices and acquires the techniques that are essential in delinquency. Many forms of delinquency require special skill and knowledge which are usually acquired through contacts with older and more experienced delinquent companions. Sometimes a group will specialize in a particular kind of delinquency and employ specialized techniques. In some of these cases it has been possible to trace the transmission of these techniques from one boy to another, from one group to another, and often from one neighborhood to another.

## TRANSMISSION OF DELINQUENT TRADITION

The transmission of delinquent tradition through the companionship group is clearly illustrated in the case of Sidney, whose career in delinquency was presented in the foregoing chapter. His own description of his first delinquent experiences and his initial contacts with the delinquent group is given in the following excerpt from his life history. It will be recalled that shoplifting was an established tradition among his companions prior to his first contact with them.

*Case 1.*—It was at about this period that I began to go to school and I liked it. I had often asked my mother when I could start to go. When I finally went I was tickled to death.

Shortly after this I became acquainted with a boy named Joseph Kratz, who lived a few doors from where I lived. Joseph was about four years older than I was and knew a lot. He knew so much about life and I liked him, so I made him my idol. At first he would not allow me to go places with him because I was so much younger than he was. But finally he allowed me to accompany him after school and we became fast friends. He proved to be very fast indeed; for one day while we were passing a fruit store he picked up an apple while no one was looking and continued to walk past the store with the apple in his hand. He performed for me in like manner quite a few times and nothing would do but that he must teach me to do the same thing. That was the first time I ever stole anything.

This fruit store had baskets, barrels, and boxes containing fruit and vegetables setting out in front of it, as the weather was still quite warm. He, that is Joseph, started to walk past the fruit store and as he came past the fruit store and as he came to a box of fruit he took

some fruit and walked on. He motioned me to do the same thing.

I would walk behind him and as soon as he would pick up a piece of fruit I was supposed to do likewise. It took lots of practice and he had to set many examples before I could at last gain enough courage to follow suit.

Never a thought occurred to me as to whether it was right or wrong, it was merely an interesting game. The apple or orange didn't make as much difference as the getting of them. It was the taking them that I enjoyed.

On subsequent afternoons we made it our habit to pass this fruit store many times and steal various things. I found as much fun and enjoyment in grabbing a potato or an onion as to grab anything else. The proprietor soon discovered what was going on and in his endeavor to curtail further depredations on his stock began to keep a sharp lookout for our approach and to watch us closely as we passed. This only made the game more interesting and it began to require real skill to get away with anything. Often after this he would chase us for a block or two in order to teach us a lesson but he never did. This is when it started to get real good and you couldn't keep us away after that. The chases added spice to our little game.

Having heard of the Loop, with its many department stores full of toys, I craved to go there and to see what it was like. Joseph promised to take me there often but never did for a long time. Then one day he did. It was all arranged. I was to bum from school and go with him. On the morning we were to go he took me to a pool room that was not yet open, and merely made the fact known that we were to enter it by means of a hole in one corner of the plate-glass window.

The store faced a main thoroughfare and it was decidedly risky. It seemed a very interesting contemplation and held out possibilities of becoming even more interesting. Joseph wanted me to crawl in first but I lacked the courage. So he had to crawl in first himself. After he was inside he had to do a lot of coaxing and motioning in order to get me to follow him. I finally crawled through and we made for the rear, he leading. He went straight for the cash register and proceeded to rifle it. I had much rather have explored the cigar case. I got to my toes several times in an effort to peer into the cash drawer but Joseph cautioned me down with, "Sh! wait'll I get through." Finally he allowed me to help myself from the cash drawer. I couldn't raise myself high enough to see the whole cash drawer but I

saw enough to let me know that they were all empty except one and that contained nickels and a few dimes. To my great chagrin he started to leave and we weren't going to explore the cigar counter. It looked like it contained many interesting things. We made hastily for the rear door and Joseph cautiously removed the bar and silently opened the door in order to peer out into the rear hallway. No one was there so we stole through to the side passage and thence to the street. With my hands in both pockets I commenced jingling the coins and made lots of noise walking down the street. I was reproved for this by Joseph for I was attracting people's attention toward us.

Finally I had my first visit to the department stores in the Loop. Joseph and two other boys had been shoplifting things in the Loop and making lots of money. They talked a lot about it, but had never asked me to accompany them. This day when they asked me to go to the Loop I was happy and knew what we were going to do. They took me through most of the big department stores and the 5 and 10 cent stores. I was greatly impressed by the sight I saw—the crowds and big stores. My chums stole from the counters but it was new to me, so I didn't try. There followed many more visits to the Loop and finally I began to steal little trinkets from the counters under my escort's tutoring. He knew the house detectives and spotted them for me and showed me how to slip things into my hat or put my hat on the thing I wanted to steal and then take it with my hat. We operated in different stores so the detectives would not spot us or get acquainted with us, so to speak. Within a few weeks I became an expert shoplifter. I lost interest in the companions of former days. I liked the new game of stealing I had learned, and it really was a game, and I played it with much zest and relish. I wanted to learn more about this new game and to indulge in it wholeheartedly, and I did this to the exclusion of all else. I forgot about school almost entirely. Compared to stealing and playing in the Loop, school life was monotonous and uninteresting.

Every morning the bunch would come past my home about school time. We left home at this time to make our parents think we were going to school. It was easy for me, for my mother was working and didn't know much about me. We would sneak a ride on the elevated railway, climbing up the structure to the station, to the Loop. After getting down town, we would make the round of the big stores. If we couldn't steal enough

candy and canned goods for lunch, we would go without lunch. I did not know of anything else that interested me enough to go without a meal, but "making the big stores" did. I do not know whether a good thrashing would have cured me or not, as I never received one for stealing; just the ones my father gave me when he was mad. But anyway the shoplifting experiences were alluring, exciting, and thrilling. But underneath I kind of knew that I was sort of a social outcast when I stole. But yet I was in the grip of the bunch and led on by the enticing pleasure which we had together. There was no way out. The feeling of guilt which I had could not overbalance the strong appeal of my chums and shoplifting. At first I did not steal for gain nor out of necessity for food. I stole because it was the most fascinating thing I could do. It was a way to pass the time away, for I think I had a keener adventurous spirit than the other boys of my age, sort of more mentally alert. I didn't want to play tame games nor be confined in a schoolroom. I wanted something more exciting. I liked the dare-devil spirit. I would walk down between the third rails on the elevated lines in the same daring spirit that I stole. It gave me a thrill and thrilled my chums in turn. We were all alike, daring and glad to take a chance.

I became an expert shoplifter in time. I always followed Joseph. He would be walking in a store, me following, and take a ring or two from a counter or a bottle of perfume or a large carton of gum, stuff it into our belts under our coats, and leave the store. We would then sell the things to a fence. We could find fences who bought our goods; and then go to a show, buy something to eat, and there you are. I got so I could not only spot a house detective a mile away, but I could almost smell him. You can tell them by the way they act. If we did get caught—and we did several times—a few tears and a promise never to do it again would be enough to make him turn us loose, and sometimes he would just lead us to the door and tell us to stay out of there. Being little and very small for my age, it was easy to win the sympathy of the detective when we were caught. So on I went; you know when you get by with it once it makes it a little easier to get by with it the next time. I became cocky and self-confident and had a real pride in my ability to steal.

The practice of "jack-rolling"—picking the pockets of intoxicated men—is a form of stealing which frequently involves considerable specialized skill and technique. Vari-

ous artifices are used to lure the victim to a secluded alley or vacant building where he is attacked and robbed. This form of stealing is particularly prevalent in the rooming-house section of the city, where the population is composed predominantly of adult unmarried males.<sup>1</sup> "Jack-rolling" and many of the special techniques associated with it are illustrated in the following case. This boy's experiences in delinquency prior to his contact with a group of experienced "jack-rollers" in the West Madison Street district at the age of 15 had consisted entirely of stealing from freight cars and vegetable markets and shoplifting. As indicated in his own story, his knowledge of "jack-rolling" was acquired through his contacts in the rooming-house district of West Madison Street.

*Case 2.*—Going back to Madison Street, I found that my old job was taken, so I began to hang out at a pool room with a bunch of crooks. These crooks were young boys like myself, fifteen and sixteen years old, but they were more wise to the world and tougher. There were four of us who hung around together. The other three had been in St. Charles School for Boys while I was there, and that strengthened our faith in each other. I was looked up to as the hero of the quartet because I had done fifty-six months in St. Charles, more than all the others put together. They naturally thought I was one who had a vast experience and was regarded as one might regard the big social hit of society.

These lads had been "jack-rolling" bums on West Madison Street and burglarizing homes on the north side of the city. Knowing of my long record, they asked me to join them, so I fell in with them. We formed "The United Quartet Corporation" and started to "strong arm" "live ones" (drunks with money), and to burglarize homes.

My fellow workers were fast guys and good pals. We were like brothers and would stick by each other through thick and thin. We cheered each other in our troubles and loaned each other dough. A mutual understanding developed, and nothing could break our confidence in each other. "Patty" was a short, sawed-off Irish lad—big, strong, and heavy. He had served two terms in St. Charles. "Maloney" was another Irish lad, big and strong, with a sunny disposition and a happy outlook on life. He had done one term in St. Charles and had already been in the county jail. Tony

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, Nels, *The Hobo*, University of Chicago Press, 1923, pp. 51, 52.

was an Italian lad, fine looking and daring. He had been arrested several times, served one term in St. Charles, and was now away from home because of a hard-boiled stepfather. We might have been young, but we sure did pull off our game in a slick way.

So we plied our trade with a howling success for two months. Sometimes we made as much as two hundred dollars in a single day. But I had a weakness for gambling, so I was always broke. West Madison Street and vicinity was a rather dark section of the city, so it was easy to strong arm the "scofflaws." There were a lot of homosexuals and we played our game on them. We would let them approach one of us, usually me, because I was so little and they like little fellows, and then I'd follow him to his room or to a vacant house to do the act. My pals would follow us to our destination, and then we'd rob him. We made that part of our regular business. Two or three times a week we would pull off a burglary on the north side or on the south side.

It was springtime and we would go out to Grant Park during the day and lounge around and plan our burglaries. We always planned very carefully, and each pal had to do a certain thing. It was our absolute rule that if any pal did shrink from his part in the deal he would be branded and put out of "The United Quartet Corporation." We had a common fund for overhead expenses. If a pal had to take a bum to dinner so he could find out if he was "ripe" (had dough) or if a pal had to rent a room to take a bum into, supposedly for homosexual purposes but really to rob him, the expenses came out of the funds.

One day we were strolling along West Madison Street "taking in the sights," or, in other words, looking for "live ones." At the corner of Madison and Desplaines we saw a drunk who was talking volubly about how rich he was and that the suitcase he had in his hand was full of money. We were too wise to believe that, but we thought he might have a little money, so we would try. We tried to lure him into an alley to rob him, but he was sagacious even if he was drunk. He wanted to take me up to a room for an immoral purpose, but we decided that was too dangerous, so we let him go his way and then shadowed him.

He went on his aimless way for a long time, and we followed him, wherever he went. He finally went into a hotel and registered for a room. I saw his room number and then registered for a room on the same floor. Then we went up and worked our plans. It

was not safe for all of us to go to his room, for that would arouse suspicion. One man could do the job and the others would stand by because they might be needed. But who would do the job? We always decided such things by a deck of cards. The cards were dealt, we drew, and it fell to my lot to do the deed. I was a little nervous inwardly, but did not dare to show it outwardly. A coward was not tolerated in our racket. Woe betide the one who shows it outwardly.

Putting on a bold front, I stepped into the hall and surveyed the field. Then I went to the drunk's door, my spinal nerves cold as ice. I tried the door and it was open, and that saved me a lot of work and nerve. The occupant was snoring, dead drunk, so the way was clear. I had a "sop" (blackjack) with me to take care of him if he woke up. I rifled the room, picked his pockets, and took the suit case in our room. With great impatience we ripped it open, only to stare at a bachelor's wardrobe. That was quite a blow to our expectations; but we dragged everything out, and at the bottom our labor was rewarded by finding a twenty-dollar bill. With the thirteen dollars I had found on his person and the twenty-dollar bill, we had thirty-three dollars—eight dollars and twenty-five cents apiece. We debated what to do. Since the job would be found out and suspicion would be directed toward us, it was decided to separate for a day or two, then we would not be caught in a bunch. We divvied up the clothes. I got a pair of pants and some other small articles. Then we separated.<sup>2</sup>

The official record of the subject in case 3 shows that he was brought to the juvenile court on a petition alleging delinquency at the age of 10 years. At that time he was charged with complicity in the theft of several bicycles. The records of his two accomplices, who were 5 years older, revealed that they had been in the court on two previous occasions charged with stripping automobiles and larceny of bicycles. The records of these two accomplices further revealed that they had five other companions with whom they had previously appeared in the juvenile court. As far as could be ascertained from the official records this group of delinquents comprised nine members, who ranged in age from 10 to 16 years. The offenses for which they were

<sup>2</sup> From "The Jack-roller, A Delinquent Boy's Own Story," by Clifford R. Shaw, The University of Chicago Press, pp. 96-98.

brought to court consisted chiefly of pilfering, larceny of bicycles, and stripping automobiles.

*Case 3.*—At eight years of age I got acquainted with the lads in the neighborhood. I made intimate friends with two of the boys who were 4 years older. We were great chums in no time. There was a peddler in our block who had a barn in the back of the house and these lads used to go in there and steal fruit. They told me about it and asked me to come with them. I went and they crawled in the barn through a little window that was cut in one side of the barn. We took some fruit out of the barn and had a good time. After that I made it a habit of going with the boys in the barn until the man moved out.

It was during the vacation of school in 1924 when the two lads I was chumming around with asked me to go with them up north to take bicycles. I mean the north side of Chicago. I told them I have never been out there and was afraid of getting lost; Joe, which was one of the boys, said "Come on, you won't get lost. All you have to do is to follow the L." So I went with them. When we arrived in the swell neighborhood by Rogers Park we walked around the streets. We walked a few blocks and one boy, which was Charley, said, "There's a good bicycle." Then Joe said, "Watch me get that one," then he walked up to a bicycle and rode away with it. Then Charley said to me to come on, let's go home. We took the L back and he paid the fare. We got home and having nothing to do we waited around for Joe to come with the bicycle. He came back about four hours later and told Charley he sold the bicycle to a fellow for five dollars. We went there a few times and stole a few more bicycles. The few dollars we made in selling the bicycles made me think I was a millionaire.

One morning when we went back to Rogers Park to get some more bicycles we were walking down the street when an officer walked up to us and asked us where we were going. We told him we were going swimming, because we had our bathing suits. He did not believe us and took us to the station. He questioned and questioned us. Then he started to scare us and threatened to hit us and we told him where we sold the bicycles and they got them back. We went to court and the judge put us on probation for three months.

One year later the two other fellows and I got arrested for stripping automobiles on Cicero Avenue.

They took me to the juvenile home and my two partners got 90 days in the bridewell because they were older. I stood in the juvenile for 19 days and was let out on probation. A few months later I got arrested for nothing at all, and because I did not want to go on a farm in Melrose Park the judge sent me to Cook County School for Boys. I was there a few days and ran away.

Next we went and burglarized a store and brought all the stuff in a garage. The next morning we went over to another store and made a sale. We brought the stuff over and collected the money. Upon leaving this store a couple of plain-clothes officers pushed us back in at the point of their pistols. They called the wagon and took us to the station. We were booked that night and my partners made bonds and took me out also. We went up to court next day and we were afraid to stand trial. So we asked the judge for a continuance which was granted. We did not show up or, in other words, jumped our bonds.

I was arrested sometime later while hanging around the Medill High School while I was waiting for a friend of mine to come out with another lad. I was taken to court the next day and the officers claimed I tried to steal their tires. Upon hearing this the judge said, "I think you are one of the lads who stole my tire off my car; 60 days in the bridewell." I went in the bridewell May 29th and got out the 5th of August. I was then taken to the Maxwell St. station where they wanted me for jumping my bonds and burglarizing that store which I have already told you about. I was taken to Judge Smith's racket court, and he continued my case for a few days to let the complainants show up, because he was out of town at the time. My case was brought up again, and the judge put me on probation for a year.

I got out and got my old job back again working for Herald's Book Bindery. I stood with him for about 4 months, and things got slow, and I was laid off. I was disgusted with myself. Here I was out of a job and out on probation. I did not know what to do with myself. I then started to hang out in a pool room which was in the neighborhood there where my pals all hung out.

I got in with two older boys who were pals of my other companions in the racket and we planned to make some money. One of the boys had a pistol. These two lads knew the game because they have participated in hold ups before. So all I had to do was do as I was told. We went to a garage in the neighborhood and stuck up the attendant. While they stuck up the at-

tendant they told me to get a car. The fastest one there was. So I picked on a Graham-Paige. They got in and we went away. We then drove to another garage and held this place up. There was a Cadillac sport coupe in that garage and they told me to leave the Graham-Paige and get the Cadillac, which I did, and drove off. We were going down the street and the squad spotted us and gave chase. We started to speed away and we wrecked while turning a corner. One of the partners and I ran south while my other partner ran north. We ran for a couple of blocks and then started to walk. About five minutes later we heard a command to stick them up. We turned around and there was a detective with a gun in his hand. He marched us around the corner and shot his pistol in the air. In two minutes the squad arrived and they jumped off the car and started to beat us up. The police then took us to the police station. We stood trial and I was committed to this institution.

The subject of case 4 lived during his infancy, childhood, and adolescence in one of the rooming-house districts which is notorious for its vice and extremely high rate of adult offenders. His career in delinquency began when he was 12 years of age and his record shows the following sequence of types of delinquent experiences: Petty stealing in the neighborhood, shoplifting, jack-rolling, picking pockets, and hold up with a gun. All of his offenses were committed in the company of other delinquents, most of whom were older than he. The case is presented because it shows quite clearly the manner in which the techniques involved in such a highly specialized form of delinquency as picking pockets are acquired through companionship groups.

*Case 4.*—I started to go out of the house to play when I was six or seven years old and became a member of a group of about eight or ten kids of my own age, whose families lived on the block.

On Saturdays there was always a few kids that used to go up and down alleys and pick up bottles and rags and junk and take it over to the junk shop and sell it. At that time there was a certain kind of whisky bottle you could sell to saloons for a cent apiece. One time we got into an empty house and cut the lead pipe, pulled it out, and took it over to the junk man, who bought it. He also told us he would buy copper if we knew where there was any copper \* \* \*.

Then there were some older fellows going to high school at the time. They were in first-year high at Wendell Phillips. I got in playing with these kids and started going down town and shoplifting.

Ed, "The Sheenie," O'Conner, and I decided to go down town, just because it was a place where we hadn't been taken to much, and we were like anybody else, curious to see those things. We bummed rides from cars on the boulevard and so got down town. Ed and Jack (The Sheenie) were both going to high school and had lunch money of fifteen or twenty cents. We took in nickelodeons and stole jackknives from five and ten cent stores and used to ride the moving stairways. We could always reach over and "hail a cake or piece of candy." Always stole enough food to satisfy our hunger. That was unknown to my people.

The first big thing I ever stole, I wanted a pair of hockey skates on shoes—Johnson racers, and I had been promised them for Xmas. We had an early winter that year and everybody was skating before Xmas, so I bummed from school one afternoon. I had saved carfare from errands I had run. I and my friends went to the store in the sporting goods department. There I picked up a pair of Johnson racers that were in a box and I put my cap in my pocket, the box under my arm, and got in the elevator and went home. I hid my skates in the basement.

We did the same with them fancy gym shoes. Me and the Sheenie bummed from school one day and went downtown, and we were both basket-ball players, and some of the other fellows had a pair of good gym shoes that cost \$4 or \$5; so Jack and myself decided to get ourselves some. So we went in one of the department stores and each got ourselves a pair. Later, we went down and got several more pairs which we sold \* \* \*.

I was 16 when my mother died. I had graduated from school that summer. She died from an appendix operation. The fact of her death seemed to daze me for quite a while. I was moody, and seemed to be by myself more than I went around with the fellows, as one can understand.

And a month after her death, why, my father, rather than have a housekeeper, decided that he would send us to relatives, and an aunt took my sister, another aunt my brother, and an uncle wanted to take me. But I didn't seem to want to go. I didn't like to go to his house altho he had considerable more means than we did. He wanted me to go to high school. I figured I had about all the schooling I cared for.

Rather than living with my uncle, I got a room in a rooming house and started to hang out with the big guys. Two or three of us were on what they call "on the bum." When school started that fall, I had neither a job nor decided to go to school. The school authorities wired to our old address, enquiring why we were not at school. They were referred to my father by neighbors, who told them where my sister and brother was, but told them that he couldn't do nothing with me—that he hadn't seen me for a month altho he had looked high and low for me \* \* \*.

I had been rooming with some people, and eating in restaurants, paying for my board and room every week with the proceeds of burglaries and jack-rolling. I had seen several of the older boys put what is known as "the arm" on a drunk, and later on when I happened to be walking down a street and I see a drunk, I always went to a pool room where they hung out, told them which way the drunk had gone and went with them not taking part in the actual robbery. I was always given all the way to \$20 which I didn't know whether it was split or not. I didn't know just how much they got. Later I gamed up and took an actual part \* \* \*.

Then we, these older fellows and I, started burglarizing stores. We could "close up" a store by one of us standing in the front, or across the street, and watch where the proprietor hid the bulk of the money. Then if he had a transom, one of us boost one into the transom and if we were successful in seeing where he put the money, he would get the money and climb out or go thru the back door. If not, we would enter thru skylights, saw bars to get in, and the three of us would search for the money. We did this for quite a while. It was always the same three of us who would go on a prowl. We would not pass up a drunk if we run acrost him in our looking for likeable stores. In the line of jack rolling I have got as much as \$70; sometimes as low as \$1.50 but as a whole I made fairly good money. During this time I was pinched a few times on suspicion of burglary and robbery, but they could never pin nothing on me \* \* \*.

It was about that time that I had changed my place from where I lived to another, and there was two pickpockets rooming in this same place, which was a private family.

The people were very kind to me in several ways and had no idea, how I made my living, but often wondered. To satisfy them I told them I was working on a vegetable wagon.

When I first started living in the rooming house there I kept pretty much to myself. There were several other roomers that lived in this place. Outside of meeting them in the hall, and saying "good morning" that was as much as I ever had to do with them. I was living there about two months. I happened to be standing talking to some fellows on the corner, who were older than myself, and these two fellows come along and one of them stopped to buy a newspaper while the other came over to speak with the fellows I was talking to. I nodded to both of them. They called one of these fellows on the side and asked him who I was. They explained to him that they were living in the same place that I was, and I guess this fellow told them that I was jack-rolling and burglarizing stores, and would do anything for a dollar.

After they left, I asked this fellow who they called on the side, who they were and he told me that one of them was a well-known thief. At that time this thief had been in the business for 16 years. The other man with him was a few years younger than the first, 6 or 7, I should say. Still about 10 or 11 years my senior. Shortly after that I was coming up the stairs leading to the floor where I lived on, and one of them was coming in at the same time. He asked me into his room and asked me how business was. I complained of not making much money—we was having a siege of bad luck, and he asked me how would I like to work with them. Up until that time I had had several pickpockets pointed out to me, but I had never come in close contact with them.

I think I told him anything would be better than what I was doing at the time; so they made a "meet" to go out the next morning. I was of very little help to them the first few weeks. Later on I caught on to the game. It seemed to hold sort of a fascination for me. I can remember this one pickpocket had been married for a number of years, his wife also living there, and after being with them for some time he asked me how I would like to be able to "lift a poke" as good as he could. Him being the first one I had actually worked with, I was awed at his ability to pick a man's pocket without a person feeling it. I must say, in reference to this man, that he was one of the best in the "racket."

He first started to schooling me in a room in which he lived in how to pick a pocket. His name was Harry Pearson. I was with him for several months as his "duke man." During the course of these months

he was giving me daily lessons. A pickpocket "mob" consists of 3 or 4 men. Generally 3, sometimes 5 (what they call a "basket-ball team"). One is called "the stall." He is the man who is in front, slows up the victim's progress, and keeps him from turning. Then, "the wire" is the man who actually reaches in and picks the pockets. The "duke man" comes up on his left hand and covers the "wire's" hand while he is at work and covers him from the people standing back and the people on the side. A "duke man" always keeps his right hand at his side; so when the "wire" comes away from under "the mark's" coat with his purse or roll of money, he always hands it to the "duke man." The "duke man" puts it in his "left coat tail" (meaning his left coat pocket). The reason that the "duke man" keeps his right hand at his side in case of a "rumble" the wire pulls his hand away and there is always two hands there and the victim is undecided which one it was.

The reason that he always goes to his coat "tail" with the purse, in case the victim "blows" (meaning, feels his loss) and turns around and grabs the duke man, the stall and the wire know just what pocket to go to, take the purse out, and throw it on the floor.

The "sucker" is always satisfied when he sees his money. When I was with Harry P. I was his "duke man."

I worked with him for several months, and up until that time I had never stole a pocketbook myself, nor had ever tried. Still he was schooling me—different angles, how pocketbooks and rolls of money laid in people's pockets. While I was still working with him, he never worked on Saturdays. Saturday seemed a day that the police were more active, and if they arrested you, you stayed till Monday.

On Saturday morning I decided to go downtown and do some shopping. I boarded an Indiana Street car at 31st, going north. While standing on the back platform the car got rather crowded. Some fellow was standing directly in front of me. I thought that this would be a good chance to try my ability as a pickpocket; so I started to work on him. I started working to get his pocketbook at 26th Street and finally got it at 18th. It was in the summer time, and how that man never felt me, I don't know to this day.

As soon as I had his pocketbook in my hand I got off of the car, went in an alley, and opened it. There was \$128.00 in it; so that I think the \$128.00 is what really made a pickpocket out of me.

My intentions were when I started from home to go downtown to do some shopping, but after I stole that pocketbook, I boarded another street car and carried out my first intentions. After doing my shopping I decided to take in a show. While sitting in the show, I got to thinking of how I had picked that pocket; so leaving the show I went right out on State St., and picked three more pockets that evening. The total amount that I got was less than \$50.00.

Up till the time that I started picking pockets with Harry (Harry Pearson is one of the best-known pickpockets in Chicago, and has done several stretches for this crime. He had been in the business 16 years when I hooked up with him), I hadn't given any thought as to when I would quit living the life that I was, or whether I'd continue. But after I found out that I could "take a poke," I decided that I would give that a whirl for awhile. Up to this time if anybody would have straightened me out, I believe that I would have done different, altho if I had my life to live over again I believe that I'd continue in the way I did.

I was about 16 when I started picking pockets with Harry, and I had not been arrested as a suspect pickpocket, but I had once been arrested in between the time that I was stealing by myself in a "hot" car, and given 30 days in the bridewell. Upon my release from the bridewell I kept right on picking pockets. I believe I was on that "racket" for three years before I had my first arrest as a pickpocket suspect. At that time Chicago was not policed on pickpocket suspects as well as it is now.

I worked State Street different times by myself and made barely a living. I didn't have the success that Harry had. Well, I worked at that for a while till I had confidence in myself, and thought I could support a troupe. By having a troupe makes it so much easier to pick a pocket. I didn't have confidence in myself that I could steal good enough to support a troupe, but after working alone for a while I decided to give it a whirl.

I asked two pickpockets who weren't working at the time and who were not very well known, to take a trip to Detroit with me. They were ascarded to go out of town, not knowing nothing of my ability, and suggested that we work around Chicago for a while. After working with them a short time, we left town. I found the work very much easier having some assistance. There is different "offices" used by different sets of pickpockets.

The old-fashioned set seems to be used by the old-fashioned pickpockets, is of letting one another know when they have retrieved a man's valuables. When a "mark" is "clipped," you make a peculiar sound by sucking in the breath thru the lips. That signals to the "stall" that you have relieved "John" of his wallet, and you step right over to the next "mark."

Then, if the victim hasn't a pocketbook in his pants pocket or a roll of money, whenever the occasion may be, if it is on a train or at a convention, and the man looks prosperous enough, you would know that he had money some place. So it is then that they try what is known as an "insider," meaning that the man has his wallet in his inside coat pocket. This work, to take a poke from the inside pocket is altogether different. The "wire" has to be facing the victim. It is known to be a fact by pickpockets that if the victim will stand for what is known as a "throw," he can be beat. By a "throw" I mean putting a newspaper under the man's chin or by having a topcoat or short coat on your arm and holding that up under his chin. The "stall" is directly behind the "mark" in the position otherwise occupied by the "wire." The "duke" man is standing behind the "wire," bracing him with his body, if it is on a subway or a car or train, and a newspaper or coat shades his hand from working. He can unbutton three buttons on a "mark's" coat and reach in and take a man's pocketbook from inside his coat or even vest. The same thing goes for a stud or a diamond pin. I myself and several others that I have talked to find an "insider" as easy, if not easier, than a "prat poke" if the man will stand for a "throw." The average man, when you put a newspaper under his chin, he will brush it away, but anyone that will stand to have that paper laid under their chin can be beat, and most generally are.

Among pickpockets they always stay spread out, no matter where you may be. On a train, you stand by yourself, never "connecting." Working in the city, you never "connect," never stand talking to each other. While standing on a corner waiting for a street car to pull up one of the mob sees a "dick." Then we have what is known as a "works office." He reaches up and pulls with his right hand on the lapel of his coat—gets one of his companion's eyes, and then does this. That signifies that there is "heat." The other fellow passes that to the third, and so on, and when the car pulls up, you get on that "natural"—that is, you don't work. Once in amongst a crowd of people you do not steal one

pocketbook or one roll of money, and then back out and wait for the next car. As soon as a man is beat, the "office" is given, and you step to the next. Sometimes they have as high as seven or eight or ten "stings" in one crowd.

After picking pockets for a period of years this young delinquent became associated with a group of adult criminals who were engaged in various forms of holdup with a gun.

I finally decided to quit picking pockets because it didn't pay enough. Besides I got in with a mob of stick-up guys who were making dough. I started working with this stick-up outfit who were preying upon gambling houses, union halls, and I learned their trade. I stayed at that for about three years.

Every gambling joint has "heavy men"—what are known as "floor men," and they are the "heat" in the joint. You have to be searched two or three times before you are allowed to enter the gambling house, and that way it is very hard to get up there with guns.

In order to stick up a gambling joint, the tip generally comes from a dealer or a hanger-on. Well, you then go up. Two of the mob, in which there are generally four or five, would go up and look the place over. The tipster would point out the "heavy men" who were unknown to us.

Now, in some of these places they only shake a man's person. They never bother with packages. So we got an idea if you took a suit box, put sawed-off shot guns in the suit box and pistols, one man could carry them in. But first a man would go up with a suit box with a suit in a laundry box and try it out a couple of times to see if it would work. And if they passed it up once or twice we would take a chance and go up. We never had a "rumble" before we got into a place by having the box examined.

Other places would check boxes and packages—they would take them off you. Lots of time if the place was prosperous enough we would "prowl" the joint after it closed up, and plant our stuff—guns, etc. Then come back the next afternoon and take the joint.

The main worry of this was you could never tell whether somebody had found that stuff. We always took the precaution first to examine all guns to see that they were loaded before giving the command that it was a stick-up.

As I said before, they was generally from one to three "heavy men," and they were already pointed out

to us. If we were successful in getting a suit box in we would loiter around the place, always split out, and one man would go to the toilet and go in a booth and open the box, and we would all take turns of going in and getting our guns. The men who were going to use the sawed-off shot guns, of which there was always two, would be the last to go in.

Everybody would have their positions. The men would circle behind the "heavy men," so when the command was given they were always the first to go up because they didn't have no chance to reach for their guns.

One man would take the paying cages which consisted sometimes of two or three for race-horse bets. We would all spread out around the place, and when one man would give the order, that it was a stick-up, each one in the mob would echo the order singly. That was to let the people know that there was a number of us.

We would first relieve the "heavy men" of their guns. Most times you would find a gun or two in the pay window. Therefore, it was always a man with a shotgun that took care of them cages. After hoisting the place up we would chase everybody against the wall, facing the wall, with their hands up, chasing the cashier out of the cages. One man always had a sack or a brief case with which he went to the cages to gather the money. Everybody had a part in the drama, and it all went off like clockwork. It was a matter of routine.

Upon getting the "office" telling us that the cages were clean, all card tables, all boxes, all crap tables, we would then chase everybody from one side of the wall to the other and pick up all the money that was dropped. It was much easier that way than searching pockets. Sometimes we would look into their socks, just at random. We would not search individuals except those whose faces were familiar to us, and we knew the gamblers who would be apt to have rolls.

#### ACQUIRING THE DELINQUENT CODE

The foregoing cases illustrate the manner in which specific delinquent and criminal patterns of behavior may be transmitted through the intimate personal contacts within the play group and gang. These groups serve also as a medium through which the boys gain familiarity with the attitudes, standards, and code of the criminal group. As previously indicated, the ethical values of these groups often vary widely from those of the larger social order.

In fact the standards of these groups may represent a complete reversal of the standards and norms of conventional society. Types of conduct which result in personal degradation and dishonor in a conventional group, serve to enhance and elevate the personal prestige and status of a member of the delinquent group. Thus, an appearance in the juvenile court or a period of incarceration in a correctional institution may be a source of pride to the young delinquent, since it identifies him more closely with his group.

The delinquent group, like all social groups, tends to develop its own standards of conduct by which it seeks to regulate and control the behavior of its members. It inflicts punishment upon those who violate its rules and rewards those who are loyal and conform. In the older delinquent and criminal groups there tends to be a definite hierarchy of social grouping, which ranges all the way from the petty thief to the gangster. Jack Black, who was a burglar for 25 years and published his autobiography under the title "You Can't Win," gives the following description of the code and social castes of the criminal group:

The upper world knows nothing about caste as compared with the underworld. Crookdom is the most provincial of small villages, the most rigid in its social gradations. Honors and opportunity are apportioned on the basis of code observance. There is no more caste in the heart of India than in an American penitentiary. A bank burglar assumes an air with a house burglar, a house burglar sneers at a pickpocket, a pickpocket calls a forger "a short story writer," and they all make common cause against the stool pigeon, whatever caste he comes from. He jeopardizes the life and liberty of his own, which is the great unpardonable crime in the underworld code. He is the rattlesnake of the underworld, and they kill him on the "safety-first" principle as swiftly and dispassionately as you would kill a copperhead. Respect for property in the underworld is as deep as it is in the upper-world. The fact that it is upper-world property which is involved makes no difference, for when property is transferred from the upper-world to the underworld it becomes sacred again.

"The burglar who shoots his partner for holding out a lady's watch goes up in the social scale of the under-

world. Like the clubman who perjures himself to save a lady's reputation, he has done the right thing in the sight of his fellows. Each is a better gentleman according to the code."<sup>3</sup>

This description by Black is amply confirmed by our detailed case-studies of delinquent careers. A few of the more common aspects of the code prevailing in delinquent groups, that are revealed in a comparative study of a large number of life histories of delinquents and young criminals are presented for illustrative purposes.

Since the young delinquent's most vital contacts outside the home are often restricted to play-groups and gangs whose standards and expectations may be greatly at variance with the standards of conventional society, it is not surprising that he has but little appreciation of the meaning of traditional norms and formal laws, and that he often regards the police and the school as influences inimical to his welfare. Efforts to suppress his delinquent tendencies by formal methods of education and discipline, especially when his delinquency is in conformity with the expectations of his group, often give rise to attitudes of rebellion and hostility.<sup>4</sup> He tends to assume these attitudes toward any agency—the school, the social settlement, the police, the court, the correctional institution—which seeks arbitrarily to impose the standards of society upon him and to prevent him from participating in the activities of his group.

*Case 5.*—From the time I started to hang around with the older guys in the neighborhood. I learned to look at the police as my sworn enemies. All the guys in the bunch looked at them that way. The police were the only ones that interfered with whatever we wanted to do in the racket. The older guys knew all about the police, their ways, the third degree, and how to elude the police. I learned that the police always were to be shunned and avoided, at least those ones whose fingers weren't sticky for a little graft money. \* \* \*

The first thing that I learned was never to trust any affairs of the racket to the police. Never talk to the police about your pals when you fall into the hands of the law. The best thing that guy could have said about

<sup>3</sup> Harpers Magazine, CLX (February, 1930), No. 957, pp. 306-307.

<sup>4</sup> See E. H. Sutherland, Crime and Conflict Process, Proceedings of 58th Annual Congress of the American Prison Association, pp. 93-103.

you was "he won't talk," meaning that you wouldn't squawk on your pals when you got caught. I learned that a "rat" or "stool pigeon" was to be hated along with the police. \* \* \*

If a criminal goes out to do a job, he won't be interfered with. If the police get in his way, he'll be shot. So the police and the criminal are on two sides of the fence. If one doesn't get the other, the other will get him. The criminal is to be caught and the police are to be avoided, escaped from, or bought off. It's natural for enmity to grow up between them. I knew from the time I was young not to trust the police, but to keep out of his clutches. That's the way all the guys in the bunch felt.

*Case 6.*—In my group the "police" are regarded as objects to be feared and avoided. If the feeling toward the "screw" is one of intense hatred, the feeling toward the "cop" is doubly so. The police are responsible for sending crooks to jail. The police are never too gentle in their treatment of their prisoners. If you were to have your head "kicked in" or beaten with "saps," you would not feel overkindly toward the "dicks." On the other hand, the feeling is mutual. A "cop" knows that his life isn't worth anything if a crook pulling a job sees him first; and vice versa for the crook. Both are common enemies to one another by the very nature of their professions.

Like conventional social groups, the delinquent and criminal group demands conformity to its code and ideals on the part of its members. Probably the most serious violation of the code of the delinquent group is for a member to divulge to the police the identity of his companions in delinquency. The contemptuous attitude toward the traitor is indicated in such opprobrious epithets as the "rat," the "stool pigeon" and the "squawker."

*Case 7.*—The way I feel about it was that not only we but all the prisoners were not getting a square deal, except the "rats," who would sell their souls for a piece of tough horse meat.

Anybody who rats on a prisoner in prison is the lowest, most contemptible sneak on two feet. Hence they are called "rats." Of course, an allowance is given in some cases, but to make it your business to inform the "screw" (guard) about everything that is going on under the surface is not fair to prisoners. Because I feel that life is all a game and hard enough for some,

like myself. Also, the prisoner has a slim chance against the rest of the world, and it seems unfair for a rat to spoil even that little chance. It only makes life harder for the prisoner, and he will have to remain in prison that much longer.

I believe that any game should be played according to the rules of the game. Violators of rules should be punished. Crime is a game, and therefore as a rat violates the rules or code by informing the "dicks" and the "screws" he should be punished. I think everyone will agree with me in my feelings about these low rats. All prisoners who are worthy of the name will agree with me.

In the laundry there are rats, and in every department of the prison. They are like vultures preying upon rotten things—noiseless, seeking information about the prisoners' conduct, and sometimes framing a trumped-up charge against a prisoner because he has a grievance against him or wants to win a favor from the guard. A prisoner could serve five years and be a rat all that time, and nobody but him and the guard would know it. But woe betide said rat if he is exposed. He is branded and shunned by the good prisoners and made miserable whenever they can make him miserable. When he is released there is always some one out to get him. In a few words, anyone who rats commits the unpardonable sin. The worst sin of the criminal world, and often the penalty is death. These rats are composed of dope fiends, petty thieves, and other similar low characters. A man with some manhood in him wouldn't stoop that low. The dirty, lousy, filthy vultures would knife a man when his back was turned. They are only born to be hanged. My feelings are always with the prisoners.<sup>5</sup>

*Case 8.*—I was never given any lessons by any of the guys about keeping my mouth shut when arrested, but I knew how the fellows looked down on those that did talk when arrested. They considered them rats and shunned them. So when I was in the police station I figured, "the big guy don't squawk," and I didn't want to be looked down on by them, and so I would not squawk either.

*Case 9.*—There are plenty of "rats" and "stool pigeons" in this reform school and every prison in the world. The prison world would run thousands of times better without those lousy "rats" and sure would de-

crease trouble. They sure would do a good deed if they got rid of those "rats" that are existing. No good criminal has any use for a "rat" and his presence. Most of them get "bumped off" or "taken for a ride" by the gang when they are caught up with. What they get in punishment from their gang they deserve and more yet.

*Case 10.*—As everyone knows rats exist everywhere. But the "rat" I'm discussing is found among the underworld group. He is known as the police informer, or trying to protect himself or get himself out of a rap he rats on his fellow henchmen. The rat never gets anywhere in the underworld. When he is ever found out and spotted, he is given a good beating and most of the time he is "put on the spot" by the big-time racketeers. His life is not worth a cent after he is found to be a rat. We have many rats with us in this institution. Their informing racket is mostly known by every inmate. Just think of a rat informing a screw as to the other inmates having contrabands. It kind of hurts his feelings, I guess, because he has not got any. That's how most of the good jobs are passed around. They give them to the rats as a compensation like. I don't think I or anybody else would want to be a rat after what I seen done to one on the yard in recreation time. As the inmates gather on the yard for the recreation period or to watch a baseball or football game they are let loose to roam around the limits of the yard. I saw a bunch huddled together and following a rat. When they were some distance from the nearest screw they closed in on him and liked to kill the lad. They left him laying there for some friend screw to pick him up.

*Case 11.*—A fellow that deliberately tells just to get in good with the officer for a good job is a "rat." Sometimes he happens to squawk on the wrong fellow. For instance, one Saturday afternoon out in the yard, my friend came up to me and said "Get ready, Lou, we've got a rat." We would get together and make a circle around the rat. Other boys would be watching for the screw, we would jump on the "rat" and beat the heck out of him and when his cries would bring the officer, we would all scatter. If an officer should get one of us, we would tell him we were just watching the fight and don't know anything about it. Plenty of times we got rats out in the yard for squawking on me or my friends and they paid for it and only once I was caught out of the whole bunch. I done five days in the hole for it. Now a rat has to be careful who he rats on

<sup>5</sup> The Jack-roller, A Delinquent Boy's Own Story, the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1930, pp. 111-113.

because he doesn't know who is going to break his head out in the yard and there's so many boys out there, you don't know who done it. That's the way we deal out here with rats. Anyway my bunch does.

*Case 12.*—After a man has violated the code he is almost always considered untrustworthy by those who know of his violation. Even if it has occurred through ignorance and inexperience and he has led an exemplary life in crime for years afterwards, he is always under suspicion, and is trusted only by personal friends who feel that he has lived down his indiscretion.

In cases where crimes have been committed by two or more persons, and one, with strong evidence against him, is arrested, he adheres to the code by refusing an offer of light punishment in exchange for information against his confederates.

It is the prevailing opinion that where a man makes a confession implicating only himself, he is not a violator of the code.

*Case 13.*—My idea of a "rat" is not very good to express in writing. But what most of us think of him I'll write a few lines. A rat is a person who turns state's evidence on his fellow henchmen when in trouble just to escape punishment from the State. He never figures on the punishment he will receive if others find out what he is. The term "rat" is pinned on him forever in underworld eyes. He never has peace. He is generally taken for his last ride. The rat in jail has no friends, everyone shuns him as if he were a skunk, and if he rats once too often and comes out on the playground, he is given a good beating. I don't see where the rat gets any good when he squawks or turns anyone in. This old alibi of his conscience bothering him is no good. I've seen a lot of things, but it's none of my business and I always let it pass without any bother. So why can't a rattish person do the same thing and eliminate the so-called "rat business."

*Case 14.*—The attitude of a crook toward a rat is hostile. Good crooks have not anything to do with one, because if they did have one among them and found out that he squealed on them I wouldn't like to be in his shoes because any place he goes in the underworld or prisons he is despised and left all to himself. Many times I used to stand and talk to a group of inmates in a reform school and they would point out a rat to me and tell me who he squealed on and what for. If a rat is caught squealing on a fellow he usually gets a terrible beating by a group of the older and tougher fellows who have no use for him and would just as soon see

him dead than alive. I have been told by a number of fellows who had been in many prisons how they deal with rats or stool pigeons. Well the way they usually worked it is one fellow would start a fight with the rat and both he and the rat would get run into solitary for a few days and a day or so later another fellow would start punching hell out of the rat and they usually repeated this every time they had reason to believe that the rat squawked on them. A rat is the most despised human in any jail or place where criminals hang out.

It is a matter of great significance that there is a general tendency among older delinquents and criminals to look with disdain and contempt upon the person who engages in any form of petty stealing. Often he is distrusted and regarded in much the same manner as the "rat" or "stool pigeon." It is possible that the stigma attached to petty stealing in the delinquent group is one of the factors involved in the young delinquent's desire to abandon such forms of petty delinquency as stealing junk, vegetables, breaking into freight cars, stealing pennies from news stands, and to become identified with older groups engaged in larceny of automobiles, and robbery with a gun, both of which are accredited "rackets" among the older delinquents.

*Case 15.*—In my racket, which was the auto racket, we wouldn't have a sneak thief of any kind. It takes guts to steal cars and we wouldn't trust our lives with a low piker like a petty thief. The way we looked at it was that if a fellow didn't have enough guts and ambition to do anything but jack-roll a poor old drunk man or snatch an old lady's purse was a coward and no good in a hot racket. A sneak thief is looked down on by all real criminals and is not trusted. Stealing junk and vegetables is all right for a kid, but it's not a man's job. \* \* \*

*Case 16.*—The prisoner in charge of the mangle that I worked on was Billy, a hardened criminal from Chicago. He was eight years my senior, and was in on a five to life sentence as a burglar and "stick-up" man. Billy took a great liking to me, mostly out of pity, and gave me instructions on how to get on in Pontiac, and how to get by with the police outside. He indelibly impressed two things upon my mind. First, never to trust anybody with your affairs in crime. You never know when a partner will rat you if he gets into a close pinch and finds it an advantage to "sell his soul" to the police. Billy would ask me questions about my

rap and my past experiences, but he would not talk much about himself. He was old and experienced, and was different from most of the glib-tongued young crooks that I had known in St. Charles.

Secondly, Billy chided me for petty stealing. His idea was to "do a big job or none at all." Of course, he considered that I was just a kid and wasn't old enough to "do a job" like him. He figured that the dangers and penalty were about the same whether you did a little job or a big one, so you just as well chose the best. Besides, he said that there was some satisfaction in doing a real man's job, and that it was easier to pay the penalty for a big haul. That sounded reasonable to me, so I thought if I ever pulled another job it would be a big one or none. \* \* \*

*Case 17.*—Halfpint had a lot of education, and this, coupled with a glib tongue, gave him a great asset for his work. He used his smooth tongue to garner tobacco for us and to get out of hard work. He was the wisest prisoner I ever knew. I compared myself with him and saw the difference. He was a con man, who at one sweep of his hand could make enough dough to live on for the rest of his life, while I, a petty thief, could hardly steal enough to live on. Then, too, he was able to dress well and was looked up to, and his racket was not very hard work. I could see that among criminals he was respected and a hero. I felt humiliated inwardly and made up my mind to get a racket that would bring me good returns. Halfpint promised to help me in working out my plans, and I had a whole year to do it in.

*Case 18.*—The petty thief is considered no good outright. When anyone starts to steal something, he might as well start stealing something worth while, cause when he is caught he gets just as big punishment as if he would steal something 100 per cent as valuable. You know we have these petty thieves amongst us in this school. They steal our tobacco, soap, socks, etc. Such a person who makes life miserable for us and for himself, if caught, is very degrading in class. The petty thief is of no account in here. The inmates hate him and beat him always. It's better for them not to get found out, if possible, when they pull their degrading tricks.

*Case 19.*—The "petty thief" is known as a "jag off." He is looked down upon with a condescending air, and sort of tolerated. But the petty thief forms the bulk of our population, and when the time comes for him to go home, which is usually short, he is envied by the

so-called aristocrats who are compelled to serve anywhere from 1 to 10 years. Why, you can't trust your best friend if he's a petty thief. He usually is a piker and a coward and yellow, as we say.

The antithesis of the petty thief is the "big shot," the person who has gained prestige and power in the delinquent group. Such persons are well known in the neighborhood and are often emulated by the younger members of the delinquent group.

*Case 20.*—How would you feel toward the King of England or the President of the U. S. A.? Well, the young crook feels the same toward the "big shot." The "big shot" is the ideal—the ultimate hope of every forward-looking criminal. So he is held in awe and respect.

*Case 21.*—The big shot is respected by the criminals and honored for his power and brains to hold down a big job and have a number of gangsters under him and obeying his commands and orders. In every group of young crooks they mention things about the power of big-timers like Al Capone and many others of the well-known big-shot gangsters from Chicago or some other town or city. Some of the young fellows expect to work for some of these fellows and go into the racket on a big scale. I've never had anything to do concerning a big-shot myself, but I've heard plenty about them from fellows who know them and can see by their talk about the big-shots that they respect them.

*Case 22.*—Every boy has some ideal he looks up to and admires. His ideal may be Babe Ruth, Jack Dempsey, Al Capone, or some other crook. His ideal is what he wants to be like when he grows up and becomes a man. When I was twelve years old we moved into a neighborhood where there lived a mob of gangsters and big crooks. They were all swell dressers and had big cars and carried "gats." Us kids saw these swell guys and mingled with them in the cigar store on the corner. Jack Gurmey was the one in the mob that I had a fancy to. He use to take my sis out and that way I saw him often. He was in the stick-up racket before he was in the beer racket and was a swell dresser and had lots of dough. He was a nervey guy and went in for big stuff. He was a mysterious fellow and would disappear sometimes for several days but always came back. He was looked up to as the leader of his mob and anybody would be glad to be in his place.

He never talked to me about crime, but I secretly looked up to him for his daring and courage. He was what a fellow would call a big hit to me. I liked to be near him and felt stuck up over the other guys because he came to my home to see sis.

#### THE DELINQUENT AS A PERSON\*

While delinquent and nondelinquent groups may vary widely as to cultural traditions and social values, with respect to the processes of control and interaction within the groups, they possess many features in common. Apparently the motives underlying the delinquent boy's participation in the delinquent activities of his group are essentially not unlike those observed among members of nondelinquent groups. Like the nondelinquent boy, he is apparently motivated by those common and universal desires for recognition, approbation and esteem of his fellows, for stimulation, thrill and excitement, for intimate companionship, and for security and protection. In the delinquency areas of the city these fundamental human desires of the boy are often satisfied through participation in the activities of delinquent groups.

The following case is a specific illustration of the thrill and stimulation which may be derived through participation in the delinquent practices of the group. Often the boy's club, the social agency, or the school find it difficult to compete with the thrill of adventure which the delinquent group is able to secure for itself. In many cases, as the following case illustrates, school life is dull and monotonous as compared to delinquent experiences.

*Case 23.*—For awhile my life was made up of constant efforts to avoid the truant officer, the house detectives of the department stores, and my mother and brother when I should have been in school. The only time that I spent at home was at night and I never got home until ten or eleven o'clock. \* \* \*

It wasn't long before my mother received a summons to appear with me in the juvenile court. When faced with this possibility of having to leave my mother and

\* For an excellent discussion of the delinquent as a person see E. W. Burgess, *The Study of the Delinquent as a Person*. Amer. Jour. Sociol., 28, pp. 657-680, May, 1923.

leave the gang, I felt miserable and cried. I couldn't understand how the judge could contemplate such cruelty. I, of course, promised to attend school regularly in the future and sincerely wished that I could. Yet I knew I would find it misery to attend school all day long every day. So dull an outlook did this present that school from that time onward was regarded by me as a punishment. And that was one punishment I tried hard to avoid. School, I thought, was a necessary evil that grown folks expected little children to endure. I didn't want to go and I couldn't see it in any other light but as a means to keep me from doing the things that I liked to do.

I, of course, attended school regularly for about two or three weeks, but it was no use. My heart wasn't in it. My mother would accompany me to see that I got as far as the school; but I never went inside if I could help it. Between going to school and stealing I chose stealing. I knew of nothing else to do, only these two things. \* \* \*

When we were shoplifting we always made a game of it. For example, we might gamble on who could steal the most caps in a day, or who could steal caps from the largest number of stores in a day, or who could steal in the presence of a detective and then get away. We were always daring each other that way and thinking up new schemes. This was the best part of the game. I would go into a store to steal a cap, by trying one on and when the clerk was not watching walk out of the store, leaving the old cap. With the new cap on my head I would go into another store, do the same thing as in the other store, getting a new hat and leave the one I had taken from the other place. I might do this all day and have one hat at night. It was the fun I wanted, not the hat. I kept this up for months and then began to sell the things to a man on the west side. It was at this time that I began to steal for gain.

The boy's delinquent group often gives him security and protection from the police and the courts. It sometimes provides food, clothes, and shelter for its members when it is necessary for them to remain in seclusion to avoid detection. This tendency among juvenile delinquents is very similar to that observed among older delinquents and criminals where the gang often provides funds for bribes and legal protection.

*Case 24.*—Every time I ran away from the reform schools I went back to the gang's old hangout in the alley between T and K Streets. I always would find some of my old pals there and I thot it was home to me. I never went to my own home because my father would report me to the police, as he always did when I was a little kid and then I would be taken back to the reform school from where I had escaped. I was never afraid of my pals. We were trusted friends and never failed each other.

When I ran away from St. Charles the second time I went right to the hangout and met four of my old pals, Jimmie, Lefty, Tuffie, and Snuf. They were glad to see me and soon had eats for me for I sure was starved. They got a suit for me so I could get rid of the telltale uniform from the reform school. I stayed in the club for two weeks and never ventured out, and all the time the fellows gave me eats. I sure did live the life of Riley \* \* \*.

The manner in which the boy's participation in the delinquent practices of his group contributes to his prestige and gives him a feeling of pride and superiority, is illustrated in the following cases.

*Case 25.*—When I was 8 years old I did my first job in the racket. This job was the biggest thrill I ever got in my life. It happened in April. That day I was hanging around with the oldest brother and his gang. They had been playing baseball all afternoon and I was watching them.

When it got too dark to play ball we all went into the alley to have a smoke and tell stories. The big guys got to talking about stealing, and my brother said he had a good place spotted where we would get some easy "dough" (money). The place was a butcher shop in Thirty-first Street. The big guys planned everything, and I only listened. These guys were seven or eight years older than me and had pulled off a lot of big jobs before. They would never let me go with them on big jobs; but this night I went along and they didn't say a word. We all went to the butcher shop about 11.30 o'clock. It was very dark and everything was quiet, and I was nervous and stayed close to my brother. We all slipped around into the alley behind the butcher shop, and my brother and another big guy went up to the building to see if the doors were unlocked. My brother had been in the place a few days before to see how to get in and where the cash register was; and so he led the

way. I and two other guys waited close to the alley between two buildings. We were going to give "jiggers."

In a little while my brother came back and said everything was locked tight. The owner lived over the butcher shop, so we couldn't make much noise by breaking the glass or jimie the door. We all went up to the back door, and then my brother got a box and stood on it and tried the transom—and it opened. It was too little for my brother or the other guys to get through. Then I was thrilled when they said I'd have to crawl through the transom. That was the kick of my whole life.

I was only 8 and always was very little so I could get through the transom easy. I was scared but made up my mind to go through anyway. I was too thrilled to say no.

My brother lifted me up on his shoulders and I crawled through the transom. I hung down on the inside and stood on an ice box and then crawled down on the floor. The door was locked with a padlock and chain, but I was able to unlock the window and let the big guys in that way. The big guys looked for money first and found \$22. Then we all got everything we wanted to eat and several cartons of cigarettes and ditched the place.

When we got out, my brother divvied up everything and I got \$4 and a lot of cigarettes. I felt like a "big-shot" after that night and the big guys said I could go with them every time they went robbin'. Almost every night we went robbin' and many times I had to crawl through transoms and one time through an ice-box hole. That's why the big guys called me the "baby bandit."

*Case 26.*—My early playgrounds were in my back yard, on the shed roof, in the streets, and in the back yards of the other little fellows' homes with whom I played.

We use to play the toughest games we had heard of, and a lot of times I came home all cut and scratched up, and so did the others.

One of our favorite games was the well-known one, coppers and robbers, and I can truthfully say I never seen it played as we did; we divided our two groups up; one bunch was coppers and the other was crooks; then we separated and it was up to the coppers to catch the crooks and see that he was put into the jail as we called the spot under the porch.

But now comes the hard part of the game; when a crook was caught he hollered for help, and he got it,

and the unlucky copper that pinched him got banged up good and plenty, until he got help from some one on his side, or until he would let us leave with the guy he had pinched, and when some one of the unlucky crooks got to what we called jail, it was too bad for him; he got what is termed as the "third degree" until he told where we were hiding and where we hid the swag, as the swag was the thing the side of the coppers wanted, and when they found it we changed sides; the coppers were then crooks and crooks coppers.

The third degree consisted of being pinched, socked, and kicked, and then everybody that reached the jail got five or any amount of slaps on the rear end, and was then tied up as it was the best substitute for handcuffs we could think of.

My start as a delinquent was as many more fellows started. It started with playing hookey from school. Then I was shown how to get cookies, cakes, and a lot of other things that can make the day nice for a young truant. That was simple, the folks, having credit at stores and paying every two weeks or month, were the goats. I would go into the store and ask for whatever I wanted, and when I got it all I had to say was put it on the bill and walk out. When the time came for the bill to be payed it was all marked in with the regular purchases and nothing was said. From that it led on to taking pennies from mother's purse, stealing junk from yards, etc. Then it started to be a habit of going through the brother's pockets while he was at work and taking change, a dime, fifteen cents, a quarter, and sometimes more; it all depended on how much change was there. That served to give me enough courage to prowl a house when the opportunity came one day. I should have never did it alone, but being with one of my pals that was different. That led to heaving coal and selling it, stealing pigeons and sometimes chickens and selling them; also hanging around Hiesler & Junge bakery and crawling through windows and stealing cakes and cookies, and also stealing and selling bicycles. And so it went, always increasing the value of the theft until it came up to where I was using a gun, and had dropped most of the petty things and was going after some real dough \* \* \*.

The feelings of these people is this: Each family thought, well, if Jones kid wants and is going bad leave him; that's his people's lookout, but mine's not if we can help it. What somebody else's kid did did not bother them as long as it did not involve there kid or

property. For all they cared you could go to hell in a week as long as you didn't try to take there kid along.

Like in nearly every neighborhood there was a bunch of us younger guys that no amount of beating could keep us going right for over a few hours. Then there was also the big gang, made up of older guys somewhere between 14 and 17 years of age. Then there was also the oldest bunch hanging around in front of M. T. Carrol's saloon. The guys were mostly men from about 21 to 35, mostly drunkards and who hardly ever worked, but they never mixed outside of themselves. My nerve and gameness to get into anything that was going on got me in with this bunch and after getting pinched a couple of times and licking a few of the older lads, I was looked on as sort of a hero by the lads of my own class, and then started hanging with these older guys steady.

When I first started stealing or at the time of my first delinquency my gang were all little young fellows of my own age, more or less selfish, as it seems to me now as I look back, and of course they did a little bit of stealing, but when they did, whatever they got they kept to themselves, very seldom dividing with anyone else. I was altogether different, whatever I had stolen or bought I always split it. When I stole a few pennies it was spent in the company of my pals and they got as much of whatever I bought as I did. For being so big hearted of course they looked on me as a sort of a leader and thought I was a swell and clever guy to get away with things as I did. This also made me feel like a big guy, and so I kept getting a little braver as I went along and kept doing bigger.

After I was admitted to the older gang, through my nerve and gameness I was sort of a flunky. I was easy, they could get whatever I had and I'd do about everything they wanted me, and not until I licked several of the younger members was I treated as a regular and after some other guy had to do the dirty work. I was still easy, though. I gave away and let them talk me out of everything I had and nearly always had to be the lead man. For instance, if a bicycle was standing on some porch it was me that was told to go up and get it and not wanting to be thought yellow I got it. After it was sold I might get a fourth of what I should have and I'd never say anything. It was this way until after I started hanging with another gang for a while and then came back to hang with the old one again. I got into an argument with one of the near leaders of the

gang and licked him and after that it was a toss up between me and the former leader as to who really was leader. After that I would hang with different gangs, once with this mob, another time with that, and every gang I hung with seemed to think I was the whole circus, I could fight and I would and I was an all-around true bad man, who wouldn't talk if pinched.

*Case 27.*—At any rate these three brothers use to take me along with them on prowling excursions. It was my job to go into some yard, or on some lawn or porch and bring to these three brothers whatever it was they pointed out to me. It might be a rug—a small wagon—or anything. Invariably it was a pat on the back, sweet words, or a piece of candy that I received as a reward. I really use to get a thrill by doing things to please these brothers, my chest would swell with pride over their eloquent praises—which were far better than material bribes.

The foregoing cases have been presented to illustrate some of the more common aspects of the social activities and standards of delinquent groups. All of the cases presented are excerpts from the life histories of delinquents whose cases we have studied in considerable detail over a period of several months. Thus it has been possible in each instance to evaluate the boy's own statement in the light of the total case history, which includes the usual clinical findings, data from official records and from interviews with friends and relatives of the subject. Only those cases in which the boy's attitudes and the events which he describes were consistent with the total case history have been presented.

It is not possible from the foregoing data to determine the extent to which membership in delinquent gangs produces delinquency. It is probable, however, that membership in such groups is an important contributing factor in many cases, since it is found that very often the boy's contact with the delinquent group marks the beginning of his career in delinquency and that his initial delinquencies are often identical with the traditions and practices of his group. On the other hand, it is known that some of these groups are composed of boys who are, as separate individuals, definitely inclined toward delinquency. It is clear from these materials that many types of delinquency are of such a char-

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acter as to necessitate the participation of two or more persons in their execution.

In conclusion it should be stated that the activities and social values of play groups and gangs among boys obviously reflect the traditions and social life prevailing in the larger communities. It is possible that the delinquent group is, therefore, a product of a neighborhood situation and should be treated as an integral part of these more general social processes.

These materials suggest, also, the great need for developing methods of group treatment in the field of delinquency, since it appears that delinquent behavior is in many cases a form of group activity.

PART IV

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FAMILY SITUATIONS AND JUVENILE  
DELINQUENCY

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## CHAPTER IX

### BROKEN HOMES AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

It is quite generally conceded that among the many factors which determine the development of the attitudes and personality of the child, the family is probably the most important. It is particularly significant since it is the first social group in which the child has membership. During the more plastic and impressionable years of his life, the child's vital contacts with other persons are largely limited to the members of his own family group. This group situation, with its different personalities and with its complex of attitudes, relationships, and social values, is not a matter of the child's own choosing; it is part of the order of things into which he is born and to which he must make some kind of adjustment. It exists prior to him, has certain expectations with reference to him, and seeks to regulate and control his activities according to its preexisting standards, values, and ideals. The family as an institution serves both as an agency for the transmission of cultural heritages and for the development of the attitudes and personality of the child.

In the studies of the problem of juvenile delinquency, the family has received more attention than any other social institution. Particular emphasis has been placed upon family disorganization or the "broken home." It is quite widely assumed that the probability of delinquency is much greater among boys whose homes are broken by death of one or both parents, divorce, desertion, or separation of parents, than among boys who live in unbroken families. Breckenridge and Abbott, in a careful study of the parental status of boys brought before the juvenile court of Cook County on petitions alleging delinquency during 1903-4, found that of 584 cases 43.3 per cent lived in homes that were broken by death of one or both parents, desertion, divorce, or separation of parents, or commitment of one or both parents to an institution.<sup>1</sup> As a result of a study of

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<sup>1</sup> Breckenridge, S. P., and Abbott, Edith, *The Delinquent Child and The Home*, p. 92.

the parental condition of 7,598 delinquent boys confined in industrial schools in 31 States, Shideler found that 50.7 per cent came from broken homes.<sup>2</sup> Slawson studied the marital relation of parents of 1,649 delinquent boys in four institutions in the State of New York, and reported that in 45.2 per cent of the cases the family was broken by the death of one or both parents, or by divorce, desertion, or separation of parents.<sup>3</sup> From his intensive case studies, Healy reports that 49 per cent of the male recidivists which he studied in the Cook County Juvenile Court came from broken homes.<sup>4</sup> It is not surprising that the frequency of broken homes for these various studies shows considerable variation, since there are marked differences between the series of cases considered. The study by Breckinridge and Abbott, which shows the lowest percentage of broken homes, was based upon a representative series of court cases; the studies by Shideler and Slawson were restricted to boys confined in institutions; and Healy's was limited to recidivists. Thus the series considered in the various studies differed markedly both as to types of cases and as to the age distribution of the boys included.

As a preliminary step in the present study of family disorganization among delinquent boys, a study was made of the frequency of "broken homes" among an unselected group of school boys living in different areas of the city of Chicago. The findings of this study will serve as a basis for evaluating more accurately the importance of family disorganization in juvenile delinquency. Data concerning the incidence of "broken homes" among delinquent boys are not subject to accurate evaluation except in relation to similar data for strictly comparable series of boys in the general population.

#### BROKEN HOMES AMONG 7,278 BOYS

The present study of the incidence of broken homes among boys in the general population was undertaken, not only to

<sup>2</sup> Shideler, E. H., *Family Disintegration and the Delinquent Boy*, Journal American Institute Criminal Law and Criminology, Vol. VIII, p. 713.

<sup>3</sup> Slawson, John, *The Delinquent Boy*, Boston, Badger, 1926, p. 354.

<sup>4</sup> Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta F., *Delinquents and Criminals*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1926 (p. 263).

furnish a basis for comparison with a particular series of delinquents, but also to establish certain norms that would be valuable, in Chicago at least, in interpreting the significance of the incidence of broken homes found in any series of juvenile delinquents. It was recognized that it was impossible to secure a sample of nondelinquents that would represent adequately all types of areas and cultural groups in Chicago. Therefore, when this study was expanded beyond the needs of a particular series, three definite objectives were kept in mind: (1) To establish the incidence of broken homes among boys living in areas with different rates of delinquents; (2) to establish the incidence of broken homes among boys of different nationalities; and (3) to establish the incidence of broken homes among boys in different age groups.

In this study the broken home will be viewed from the standpoint of the boy living in the home. The problem is not to determine the incidence of broken homes in the general population, but rather to determine the percentage of the boys of a given age and nationality (or race) in a given area who are living in homes that are, or have been, broken. A boy was considered to be from a broken home when one or both of his parents had been removed from the home by death, divorce, desertion, separation, or prolonged absence due to confinement in an institution. The term "rate of broken homes" will be used to refer to the percentage of boys in a given group who come from homes that have been broken.

It should be noted that in this study of broken homes we are interested in the percentage of boys who come from broken homes regardless of the cause of the break or the effect of the break upon the behavior of the boys. It is entirely possible that the break in the home may be advantageous or desirable from the point of view of the boy, but that is not our concern in this chapter. Furthermore, the fact that a boy is considered to be from a broken home does not mean that the home in which he lives is not a harmonious functional unit. It means, simply, that from the standpoint of the boy his home has been broken, even though another marriage may have created a new home situation.

## SOURCES OF DATA

The desired information regarding the family situation among school boys was secured for 1929 by personal interviews with 7,278 boys in 29 Chicago public schools.<sup>5</sup> The ages of the boys interviewed ranged from 10 to 17 years with the highest frequencies in the ages at the lower end of this range. All of the boys within these ages in each of the 29 schools were included in the study, except that a limited number of orphans living in orphanages near two of the schools were excluded from the series. These orphans were excluded because they had been placed in the institution from all parts of the city; comparatively few of them had come from homes in the vicinity of the school. Furthermore, the group of orphans represented a single nationality and in all of the other nationality groups considered in this study the orphans had been eliminated from the school by placement in orphanages in other communities or outside of the city. Since the orphans in most of the schools had been eliminated from the school population by placement in institutions outside of the school district, it was deemed advisable to exclude them from our cases in the two schools in which they appeared.

The particular schools selected for this survey were chosen because of their location in city areas which represent the entire range of the rates of delinquents. Schools were included from the "Near west side," "Near northwest side," "Back of the yards," South Side Negro district, South Chicago, Hyde Park, Woodlawn, and Douglas Park. These schools represent areas showing not only widely different rates of delinquents, but also wide variations in racial and national stock and cultural backgrounds.

Since on the average about 250 boys were interviewed in each of the schools included in this study it was possible to calculate, with considerable accuracy, the rate of broken homes for each school. When these rates were computed they were found to range from 16.0 to 53.0. This wide vari-

<sup>5</sup>The authors are very grateful to Chester C. Scott, formerly assistant in the department of research sociology, Institute for Juvenile Research, for his assistance in securing and preparing the data presented in this chapter.

ation, indicating that more than three times as many broken homes were found among the boys in some schools as in others, immediately suggests the presence of some highly significant differential factor. The possibility of variation with rates of delinquents will be considered first.

TABLE XXXIII.—Rate of broken homes in 29 schools classified on the basis of the rates of delinquents in the areas in which the schools are located

Group I. Areas with low rates of delinquents (0.0-4.4)		Group II. Areas with intermediate rates of delinquents (4.5-8.0)		Group III. Areas with high rates of delinquents (9.0 and over)	
No. of school	Rate of broken homes	No. of school	Rate of broken homes	No. of school	Rate of broken homes
1.....	16.0	1.....	20.0	1.....	20.2
2.....	17.0	2.....	21.0	2.....	25.0
3.....	17.6	3.....	23.7	3.....	23.5
4.....	17.9	4.....	25.4	4.....	25.0
5.....	19.5	5.....	29.1	5.....	25.2
6.....	29.8	6.....	29.0	6.....	26.5
7.....	33.3	7.....	30.2	7.....	27.0
8.....	35.3	8.....	37.3	8.....	29.9
9.....	45.9	9.....	52.0	9.....	37.1
				10.....	46.0
				11.....	53.0
Total.....	26.2	Total.....	29.7	Total.....	31.1

Table XXXIII shows the rates of broken homes in the 29 different schools when they are divided into three groups on the basis of the rates of delinquents in the square-mile area in which the school is located. The 1917-1923 juvenile court series was used as a basis for this division. (See Rate Map II, p. 42.) Group I includes the schools in areas where the rates of delinquents are low (0.0 to 4.4), Group II the schools in areas with intermediate rates of delinquents (4.5 to 8.0), and Group III the schools in the areas where the rates of delinquents are high (9.0 and over).

From Table XXXIII it will be seen that the percentage of broken homes fluctuates very widely among the schools within each of the three groups of areas. In Group I, the range is from 16.0 to 45.9, in Group II from 20.0 to 52.0, and in Group III from 20.0 to 53.0. These variations indicate that there is no very consistent relationship between rates of broken homes and rates of delinquents. This fact is

further indicated by a comparison of the rates of broken homes calculated for all of the schools within each group. In the areas with lowest rates 26.2 per cent of the boys lived in broken homes, in the medium-rate areas 29.9 per cent, and in the high-rate areas 31.1 per cent. It will be observed that this variation is so slight that it might be reversed by the addition of one school with a high percentage of broken homes in Group I, and the addition of one school with a low percentage in Group III.

The absence of a significant relationship between broken homes and rates of delinquency is further indicated by the low coefficient of correlation ( $0.19 \pm 0.12$ ) between the rates of broken homes in each of the 29 schools and the rate of delinquents in the area in which the school is located. It will be noted that the probable error is more than one-half the size of the coefficient.

The absence of significant variation between rates of broken homes and rates of delinquents, as well as the marked variation in the percentage of broken homes among the boys in the schools in each of the three groups of schools as classified in Table XXXIII indicates that there are other important factors making for variation. The entire series of 7,278 boys will, therefore, be considered from the standpoint of variation by nationality and by age.

TABLE XXXIV.—Number of boys, number of broken homes, and rates of broken homes among 7,278 boys in the general population, classified by age and nationality

Age.....	10			11			12		
	Boys	Broken homes	Rate	Boys	Broken homes	Rate	Boys	Broken homes	Rate
American.....	83	24	28.9	78	20	25.0	80	20	36.3
Negro.....	391	122	40.5	252	111	44.1	230	106	46.1
Italian.....	300	55	18.3	314	68	18.5	310	68	21.9
Polish.....	148	43	23.1	161	47	29.2	219	64	29.2
Greek.....	25	4	16.0	36	0	25.0	47	9	19.1
Mexican.....	46	18	39.1	47	19	40.4	34	11	32.4
Jewish.....	281	42	14.9	307	33	10.7	272	60	24.3
Others.....	203	50	27.6	214	60	28.0	224	70	31.3
Total.....	1,387	364	26.2	1,409	357	25.3	1,416	423	29.9

TABLE XXXIV.—Number of boys, number of broken homes, and rates of broken homes among 7,278 boys in the general population, classified by age and nationality—Continued

Age.....	13			14			15		
	Boys	Broken homes	Rate	Boys	Broken homes	Rate	Boys	Broken homes	Rate
American.....	64	10	20.7	41	13	31.7	22	8	36.4
Negro.....	200	97	47.1	137	73	53.3	85	43	50.6
Italian.....	274	68	21.2	203	42	20.7	110	36	30.3
Polish.....	275	73	23.4	233	80	38.3	234	69	25.2
Greek.....	35	6	14.3	25	0	36.0	17	5	20.4
Mexican.....	22	8	36.4	21	10	47.6	22	8	36.4
Jewish.....	141	17	12.1	43	10	23.3	17	4	23.5
Others.....	251	84	33.5	208	76	36.1	100	40	37.7
Total.....	1,268	300	28.9	961	312	32.5	622	203	32.6

Age.....	16			17			Total		
	Boys	Broken homes	Rate	Boys	Broken homes	Rate	Boys	Broken homes	Rate
American.....	2	1	50.0	1	1	100.0	371	115	31.0
Negro.....	42	23	54.8	13	5	38.5	1,200	580	46.0
Italian.....	19	2	10.5	2	1	50.0	1,541	320	20.8
Polish.....	72	22	30.6	6	8	50.0	1,398	339	28.3
Greek.....	2	1	50.0	1	0	0.0	188	42	22.3
Mexican.....	10	7	70.0	4	1	25.0	206	82	39.8
Jewish.....	2	1	50.0	0	0	0.0	1,063	173	16.3
Others.....	36	15	41.7	3	0	0.0	1,245	400	32.1
Total.....	185	72	38.9	30	11	36.7	7,278	2,108	29.0

Table XXXIV shows the total number of boys, the number of boys in broken homes, and the rate of broken homes for the totals in each nationality and each age, as well as the number of boys and the rate of broken homes for each age within each nationality. It will be observed that the ages of the boys included in this study range from 10 to 17 years, with the highest frequencies in the ages at the lower end of the range. The study of variation in percentage of broken homes by race and nationality was limited to the eight groups in which the number of boys was sufficiently large for statistical treatment. The term "American," for want of a more accurate, usable term, is used in this connection to designate all of the boys, except those classified as Jewish, Negro, or Mexican, whose parents were native born. The boys of Jewish, Negro, or Mexican parentage were placed in those groups regardless of nativity, while the Italians, Polish, and Greek boys were classified on the basis of

the nativity of their parents. The "others" group includes boys of foreign or mixed parentage. Throughout this discussion this division will be referred to as a nationality classification, even though one distinction is racial and another religious.

The rates of broken homes for the different nationalities, it will be observed, range from 16.3 per cent in the Jewish group to 46.0 in the Negro group, with the rates in the intermediate groups distributed at rather uniform intervals between these two extremes. It is evident, however, that these rates are not exactly comparable since the age distribution varies slightly within each nationality. In order to eliminate this variation and to secure a more adequate basis for comparisons between nationalities at different ages, the expected rate of broken homes for each age and the expected average rate of broken homes for each nationality were calculated.

This was done by fitting a straight line to the observed rates of broken homes in each age for each nationality. These observed values were weighted upon the basis of the number of cases of each age in each nationality. The computed rates of broken homes for each nationality are presented in Table XXXV.

TABLE XXXV.—*Computed rates of broken homes by age and nationality*

Age.....	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Average
NATIONALITY	Computed rates of broken homes								
American.....	27.5	29.3	31.1	32.9	34.7	36.5	38.3	40.0	33.8
Negro.....	41.5	43.0	45.0	47.7	49.8	51.8	53.9	55.0	48.7
Italian.....	17.4	19.0	20.6	22.2	23.8	25.4	27.0	28.6	23.0
Polish.....	29.1	28.8	28.0	26.4	28.2	28.0	27.8	27.6	28.3
Greek.....	18.8	19.2	21.0	24.0	26.4	28.8	31.2	33.6	25.2
Mexican.....	37.0	38.2	39.4	40.7	41.0	43.2	44.4	45.7	41.3
Jewish.....	13.7	15.4	17.2	18.3	20.7	23.4	24.1	25.9	19.8
Others.....	27.6	29.4	31.2	33.0	34.8	36.6	38.4	40.2	33.0
Total.....	25.5	27.1	28.6	30.1	31.7	33.2	34.7	36.2	30.9

The computed average rates of broken homes for each nationality as presented in this table are somewhat higher than the actual rates presented in Table XXXIII. This is due to the fact that the actual rate of broken homes for each

nationality is for boys who are, on the average, in their twelfth year, while the average rate presented in Table XXXIV is for the fourteenth birthday.

These computed rates of broken homes for nationalities range from 19.8 per cent in the Jewish group to 48.7 per cent among the Negroes. This very wide variation in both the actual and computed rates of broken homes for the different nationalities indicates tremendous differences in the stability of the family life in these various groups. It indicates further that a rate of broken homes for a group of boys in the general population is of little or no value if the nationality and racial composition of the group is not known. The fact of nationality must be taken into consideration in making any comparisons between the rates of broken homes among delinquents and among boys in the general population if the conclusions are to have scientific validity.

The increase in the rate of broken homes in the successive age groups is of almost as great theoretical significance as the variation in the rates between nationalities. It will be noted from Table XXXIV that the incidence of broken homes among the boys in the 17th year age group shows considerable increase over that for the boys in the tenth year. The upward trend of the rate of broken homes with increase in age is indicated in Figure 15. This figure shows the actual rate of broken homes for each successive age group and the curve of best fit calculated by the method of least squares and weighted upon the basis of the total number of boys in each age group. The actual rates and the weights used in this calculation were presented in Table XXXIV and the computed values in Table XXXV.

Although the actual rates of broken homes for each age in Figure 16 do not vary widely from the computed values, except at age 16, there is in each instance some difference between the two. In order to avoid these fluctuations, which are due, presumably, to inadequacies in the sample, the computed values will be used as a basis for discussion.

The computed rates of broken homes for the total number of boys in each age group range from 25.5 among the boys 10 years of age to 36.2 among the boys 17 years of age. The increase is, therefore, 42.0 per cent. Presum-

ably, this variation represents the expected increase in the rate of broken homes through natural causes with increasing age.

As previously indicated, the computed rates of broken homes by ages within each nationality are presented in Table XXXV. It will be observed from this table that, with the exception of the Polish group, each nationality exhibits an increase in the rate of broken homes with each

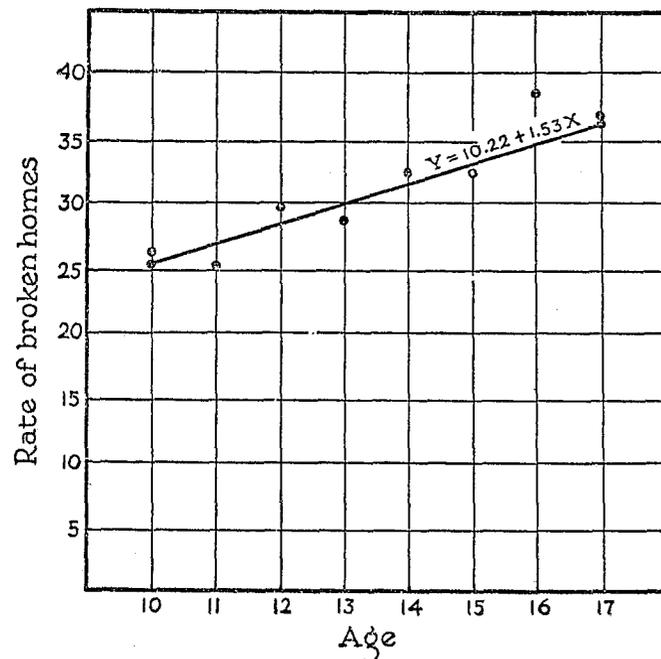


FIG. 16.—RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND RATES OF BROKEN HOMES AMONG 7,278 BOYS IN THE GENERAL POPULATION

successive year of age. The increase for each nationality differs but little from the increase in the series as a whole, although the actual rates are, of course, very different. For example, the range of rates of broken homes in the Negro group is from 41.5 in the aged 10 group to 56.0 in the aged 17 group; the range in the Jewish group is from 13.7 to 25.9; and the range in the Italian group is from 17.4 to 28.6 for the same ages. The rates of broken homes by ages in the

Polish group reveals, for reasons undetermined, a slight decrease with increasing age. With this one exception, however, the increase in the rates of broken homes by ages for the separate nationalities and for the series as a whole is sufficiently large and sufficiently consistent to indicate that age variation is a factor of major importance in considering the rate of broken homes among the boys in the general population. It follows that in any comparison between delinquents and boys in the general population the age factor must be taken into consideration.

From the foregoing materials it is obvious that the rate of broken homes among these 7,287 boys (28.9) applies only to this series which has a particular nationality composition and a particular distribution of cases in the different ages. Even when the rate of broken homes for this series is corrected for age (see Table XXXV) and stated in terms of the average computed rate for the mid-point of the age range, it does not apply to the population of the city as a whole, since the nationality composition of this series does not approach that of the total city population. The very wide difference between the rates of broken homes in the several nationalities indicates that this general rate is subject to great fluctuation with any change in the nationality constituency of the series. It indicates, furthermore, that it would be impossible to establish a rate of broken homes for the "normal" population without having in the sample exactly the same nationality constituency as that found in the total population.

On the other hand, the rates of broken homes for the separate nationalities are probably of more general significance, since the rates for each nationality did not vary markedly between schools or between different areas of the city. These rates can be used, therefore, as a basis for general comparison between the incidence of broken homes in delinquent and nondelinquent groups within each nationality. Similarly the extent of the tendency of the rates of broken homes to increase with age in each nationality probably indicates quite accurately the tendency for the city as a whole. Additional cases might modify the slopes of the curves for the different nationalities somewhat, yet the curve

for the entire group probably represents quite accurately the expected increase in rates of broken homes with age.

This study of the rate of broken homes among boys in the general school population has significance quite apart from the value of the rates of broken homes that were established for ages and nationalities. It indicates, in the first place, the need for a control group to establish the incidence of broken homes in the general population before any conclusions are drawn as to the significance of the broken home in juvenile delinquency. The rates of broken homes that were found in these 29 schools are probably much higher than those that have been generally assumed for the general population. Underestimation of the rate of broken homes in the general population has probably led to an over-emphasis of the broken home as a factor in delinquency.

The foregoing data indicate that great caution must be observed when the rates of broken homes among boys in a local situation are taken as an index of the rate of broken homes among boys in another situation. For example, it is clear what might happen if boys in a public school were taken to represent the general population in a comparison with delinquents. Table XXXIII shows that the rate of broken homes in some public schools is more than three times the rate in other schools. The results one would secure, therefore, would depend entirely upon the school selected.

If two groups of boys are to be compared as regards the rates of broken homes, they should have the same nationality constituency. That is evident from the foregoing materials which show the wide variation between national groups. Most of the variation in rates as between schools and whatever variation there was between areas seemed to be due largely to this very wide variation between nationalities. The increase in the rate of broken homes with age, on the other hand, is a naturally expected increase. However, the range of variation indicates that age is a factor that must be taken into consideration if accurate comparisons between delinquents and the general population are to be made.

COMPARISON BETWEEN RATE OF BROKEN HOMES AMONG DELINQUENTS AND BOYS IN THE GENERAL POPULATION

On the basis of the rates of broken homes for ages and nationalities presented in the foregoing pages, a comparison will now be made of the relative rates of broken homes in a series of juvenile delinquents and a comparable series of boys from the general population.<sup>6</sup>

The group of juvenile delinquents chosen for this comparison includes the 1,675 boys who appeared in the juvenile court of Cook County from Chicago during the year 1929.<sup>7</sup> The cases in this series classified by age and by the predominating nationalities are presented in Table XXXVI.<sup>8</sup>

TABLE XXXVI.—Age and nationality classification of 1,675 delinquent boys

Age.....	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Total
	Number of delinquents								
<b>NATIONALITY</b>									
American.....	2	11	37	53	61	82	84	16	346
Negro.....	2	11	44	40	78	84	108	12	379
Italian.....	3	7	14	25	48	44	39	6	186
Polish.....	3	16	39	48	72	70	79	13	345
Others.....	2	10	45	61	73	114	97	17	419
Total.....	12	55	179	227	332	394	407	69	1,675

Since the data presented in the foregoing pages reveal such wide variations in the rates of broken homes between

<sup>6</sup> It should be borne in mind that our control group is not a strictly non-delinquent group; it does include a limited number of boys who had been in the juvenile court on petitions alleging delinquency. The rates of broken homes in the control group are probably not influenced by the presence of delinquents to any great extent, however, since (1) many of the court delinquents are removed from the community and committed to institutions, (2) the number of boys in the juvenile court in a single year is seldom more than 1 per cent of the total number of boys in the city of juvenile court age, and (3) separate tabulations for boys who at the time of their interview stated they were delinquent showed that the rate of broken homes among these boys was little different from that of the other boys in the same school.

<sup>7</sup> The authors are indebted to Mr. Earl R. Moses, Director of Research, Chicago Urban League, for the material on broken homes among the 1,675 delinquent boys.

<sup>8</sup> These delinquent boys were classified on the basis of the country of birth of their fathers. It was not possible to use the same classification of nationalities that was used in Table XXXIV, since there were too few cases of delinquents in some of the nationalities for which rates of broken homes were calculated separately.

different nationalities and racial groups, and between the different ages, it is evident that the control group used in this comparison must be identical with the delinquent group as regards nationality and age composition. This comparability must apply not only to age and nationality in general, but to the age distribution of each national group.

Therefore, the control group used for comparison with the delinquents will not be the 7,278 boys from whom data were secured in this study, but rather a group theoretically identical as regards ages and nationalities with the delinquent group presented in Table XXXVI. The assumed rate of broken homes for each age in each nationality in this control group will, however, be the rates calculated for each age in each nationality in the entire group of 7,278 boys. These rates were presented in Table XXXV.

Since it was found that rates of broken homes did not vary consistently with rates of delinquents, in the several areas in which the 29 schools were located, it was not deemed necessary to make corrections for areas in order to insure comparability between the delinquent and control groups. However, it is probable that the delinquent and control groups will be quite comparable in this regard both because the 7,278 boys interviewed in the schools and the 1,675 delinquents showed about the same distribution among the areas of low, intermediate, and high rates of delinquents; and because in making corrections for nationalities, corrections for areas are made automatically, since most of the national group are quite highly localized.

The number of broken homes in the control group was calculated by multiplying the number of boys of each age in each nationality in the delinquent group (see Table XXXVI) by the computed rate of broken homes for the same age and nationality in the school population<sup>9</sup> (Table XXXV). For example, in Table XXXVI it will be seen that there are 37 boys 12 years of age classified as Americans. Table XXXV shows that the expected rate of broken homes among American boys 12 years of age is 31.1. When

<sup>9</sup> The rate of broken homes for the control group as a whole would not have been greatly different if the actual rather than the computed values had been used in these calculations. The computed values were used because by this method the fluctuation due to small samples was eliminated.

37 is multiplied by 31.1 the product is 11.5, which is the number of boys among the 37 American boys 12 years of age who would be expected to come from broken homes. The number of delinquents 12 years of age who came from broken homes was 14. Similarly, the expected rate of broken homes among American boys 13 years of age is, according to Table XXXV, 32.9. Therefore, 17.4 boys out of the 53 boys of that age and nationality (see Table XXXVI) would be expected to come from broken homes. When this calculation was completed for all ages and nationalities it was found that while 712 of the 1,675 delinquents came from broken homes, 605 would be expected to come from broken homes in the control group of the same age and nationality constituency. The rate of broken homes among the 1,675 delinquents is, therefore, 42.5, while the rate among the 1,675 boys in the control group is 36.1.<sup>10</sup> For convenience in making comparisons this difference may be expressed as a ratio.

$$\frac{42.5}{36.1} = 1.18$$

It would be difficult to ascertain whether this difference between the rate of broken homes in the delinquent and control groups is a significant factor in delinquency, or whether it indicates a greater likelihood of a boy from a broken home being brought to court. Surely, the latter is a probability. However, even if no such selection is operating, the difference between the rate of 36.1 in the control group and 42.5 in the delinquent group is not sufficiently great to indicate that the broken home as such is a significant

<sup>10</sup> Slawson found that the incidence of broken homes among 1,640 inmates of 4 correctional institutions in the State of New York was 2.3 times greater than the incidence among 3,198 boys in 3 public schools in New York City. These three schools—No. 11, West Seventeenth between Eighth and Ninth Avenue; No. 64, Ninth and Tenth Streets, east of Avenue B; and No. 46, St. Nicholas Avenue and One Hundred and Fifty-sixth Street, were selected because they represented community situations of different economic and social status. Among the delinquent boys the incidence of broken homes was 45.2 and among the school boys in the control group it was 19.3. Perhaps the low incidence of broken homes among the boys in Slawson's control group may be explained, in part at least, by the nationality constituency of the group. It is possible that his control group was comprised largely of Jewish, Italian, and other groups with low rates of broken homes. In any event the incidence of broken homes among the 3,198 boys in his control group (19.3) is almost identical with the incidence for the combined Jewish and Italian groups in our control series in Chicago.

causative factor in cases of delinquent boys brought before the Cook County Juvenile Court.

In addition to the similarity in the frequency of broken homes in the delinquent and control groups, the variations by ages and nationalities are interesting. Table XXXVII shows the number of boys who came from broken homes in each nationality in the delinquent group, and the number who would be expected to come from broken homes among boys of the same age and nationality in the control group. It will be observed that the rates of broken homes among the delinquents in the different nationalities are, with one exception, somewhat higher than the expected rate in the control group. The greatest difference is in the Negro group where the actual rate of broken homes among the delinquents is 66 per cent and the expected rate in the control group 50.6 per cent, while the smallest difference is in the group classified as "Others," where the rate of broken homes in the delinquent group (35.3) is slightly lower than the rate in the control group (35.5).

TABLE XXXVII.—Number of boys, number of broken homes, rates of broken homes, and ratio between rates of broken homes in delinquent and control groups, by nationality

Nationality	Delinquent group			Control group			Ratio between rates
	Boys	Broken homes	Rate	Boys	Broken homes <sup>1</sup>	Rate	
American.....	346	140	40.5	346	122.3	35.3	1.15
Negro.....	379	250	66.0	379	191.9	50.6	1.30
Italian.....	186	51	27.4	186	45.0	24.2	1.13
Polish.....	345	116	33.6	345	97.2	28.2	1.19
Others.....	419	148	35.3	419	148.6	35.5	.99
Total.....	1,675	712	42.5	1,675	605.0	36.1	1.18

<sup>1</sup> Computed.

Table XXXVIII shows the difference between the rate of broken homes in the delinquent and the control group by ages. It will be seen from this table that the ratio of the rate of broken homes in the delinquent group to the rate in the control group is consistently higher in the younger ages. Thus, at age 10 the rate of broken homes among the delinquents was almost twice as great as in the control group, while at age 17 the rate in the delinquent group was only 9

per cent greater than in the control group. In other words, the ratio between the incidence of broken homes in the delinquent and control groups varies from 1.87 in the age 10 group to 1.09 in the age 17 group.

TABLE XXXVIII.—Number of boys, number of broken homes, rates of broken homes, and ratio between rates of broken homes in delinquent and control groups, by ages

Age	Delinquent group			Control group			Ratio between rates
	Boys	Broken homes	Rate	Boys	Broken homes <sup>1</sup>	Rate	
10.....	12	8	60.0	12	3.2	26.7	1.87
11.....	55	22	40.0	55	16.8	30.5	1.31
12.....	179	73	40.8	179	59.6	33.3	1.22
13.....	227	91	40.1	227	75.7	33.3	1.20
14.....	332	143	43.1	332	117.1	35.3	1.22
15.....	394	102	41.1	394	145.9	37.0	1.11
16.....	407	186	45.7	407	160.1	39.3	1.16
17.....	69	29	42.0	69	28.6	38.5	1.09
Total.....	1,675	712	42.5	1,675	605.0	36.1	1.18

<sup>1</sup> Computed.

It is known that the juvenile police officers of Chicago are instructed to refrain from taking legal action against boys under the age of 12 years, except in those cases where the home situation requires the supervision of the juvenile court. By following this practice, many very young offenders are dealt with in their own neighborhoods and saved the embarrassment of a court appearance. The result is that the younger boys in the delinquent group have been selected either because of the seriousness of their first offense or because of the insecurity of their home surroundings. This fact alone might easily account for the exceptionally high rate of broken homes observed among the younger boys of our delinquent group.

In any event it is obvious that the difference between the rate of broken homes in the delinquent and control group is very small in the upper ages. This fact indicates that if broken home situations are important causal factors in delinquency they are decreasingly important in the successive ages considered in this study. The ratio of difference between the rate of broken homes in the delinquent and control groups (1.18) is an average and eliminates these variations. It is evident, however, that this ratio would be larger if the

study were limited to the younger ages and smaller if only the upper ages were included.

#### RATES OF DELINQUENTS AND RATES OF BROKEN HOMES

In the first pages of this chapter it was pointed out that when the 29 schools, which were attended by the boys in our control group, were divided into three groups on the basis of the magnitude of rates of delinquents in the areas in which they were located, there were very great differences in the rates of broken homes among the boys in the different schools included in each of the three groups, but relatively little difference in the rates based upon the total number of boys in each of the three groups (See Table XXXIII). The areas with low, intermediate, and high rates of delinquents showed relatively little variation in the frequency of broken homes. One of the schools in an area with a low rate of delinquents had an incidence of broken homes more than twice as high as the incidence in another school located in an area of high rate of delinquents, while the variation in the incidence of broken homes in these groups of schools showed a range of only 26.5 to 31.1. This indicates the absence of any significant relationship between rates of broken homes and rates of delinquents, a fact that is substantiated by the low coefficient of correlation (0.19-0.12).

It should be added that these wide variations in the rates of broken homes among the 29 schools were found to be due primarily to variation in the rates of broken homes in the different nationalities. For example, the school with the lowest rate of broken homes was almost entirely Jewish and the school with the highest rate was almost entirely Negro. It follows that variations in the rates of broken homes among national and racial groups were primarily responsible for the variations among the schools located in areas with the same rate of delinquents. The incidence of broken homes varied with nationality and race, rather than with rate of delinquents.

There is no way to determine from this sample whether or not there would be a correlation between rates of broken homes and rates of delinquents if all of the schools in the

city were included in the study. If such a correlation does exist, it is evident from the variations within the group of schools in the areas of low, intermediate, and high rates of delinquents that it would be very low, and would indicate more than anything else the extent to which the different nationalities were segregated in areas of high and low rates of delinquents.

It has been indicated that our materials failed to show any significant positive relationship between the rates of delinquents and the incidence of broken homes among boys in the 29 schools considered in this study. It is of further interest to note that there is no consistent positive relationship between rates of delinquents and the incidence of broken homes among delinquent boys. This is evident when the 1,675 delinquents in the 1929 series are divided into three groups on the basis of the rates of delinquents in the area in which they lived and rates of broken homes are calculated separately for the boys in these areas of low, intermediate, and high rates. The results are presented in Table XXXIX.

TABLE XXXIX.—*Rates of delinquents compared with rates of broken homes among 1,675 delinquent boys*

Group	Number of delinquents	Number of broken homes	Rate of broken homes
I. Low rate areas (0-4.4).....	494	207	41.9
II. Intermediate (4.5-8.0).....	734	312	42.5
III. High rate areas (9 and over).....	447	193	43.2
Total.....	1,675	712	42.5

When Table XXXIX is examined it will be seen that the incidence of broken homes in this delinquent group varies little with rates of delinquents. In the areas with the highest rates 43.2 per cent of the delinquents were from broken homes, while in the areas with the lowest rates the percentage was 41.9. The rate of broken homes in the areas with intermediate rates of delinquents is the same as for the group as a whole. It is evident, therefore, that the rate of broken homes among delinquents as well as among boys in the general population does not vary consistently with rates of delinquents.

## COMPARISON OF THE RATE OF BROKEN HOMES AMONG DELINQUENTS AND THE SCHOOL POPULATION IN A LOCAL AREA

Some further evidence on the question of the relationship between broken homes and delinquency was secured in a more controlled comparison of the rates of broken homes among delinquents and among boys in the general population in one area on the near west side in Chicago. In this area, which is predominantly Italian in population and characterized by a high rate of delinquents, all of the boys between 10 and 17 years of age who were attending the six local public schools were included in the study. Of the total 1,167 boys interviewed in these six schools 318, or 26.4 per cent, were from broken homes.

From this same area 93 boys appeared in the juvenile court of Cook County on delinquency petitions during the year 1929. Of the 93 delinquents 24, or 25.8 per cent, were from broken homes. Thus the rate of broken homes among the delinquents in this area was less than among the unselected school boys in the general population.

When the nationality composition among the school boys in this square-mile area was compared with the nationality composition of the delinquent group considerable variation was evident. For example, 9.9 per cent of the total number of school boys in the six schools were Greeks and 6.3 per cent were Mexicans, while in the delinquent group only 2.2 per cent were Greeks and there were no Mexicans.

An effort was made, therefore, to eliminate these variations between the delinquent and school group by correcting the latter group for nationality composition. When this correction was made the rate of broken homes in the group of boys in the general population with the same nationality composition as the delinquent group was 31.1 as against 25.8 for the delinquents. This difference would have been even greater if corrections for age had been made, since the average age of the delinquents was somewhat higher than that of the school boys.

Although the number of cases in the delinquent group in this area was too small to furnish a basis for any general conclusions, these findings tend to indicate again that there is no significant difference between the incidence of broken

homes among the delinquent boys in the Cook County Juvenile Court and school boys of the same age and nationality.

TABLE XL.—Comparison of rates of broken homes with ratios of delinquents to school boys in four nationality groups in one square mile area

Nationality	Total number of school boys interviewed	Number of broken homes	Rate of broken homes	Number of delinquents	Ratio of delinquents to school boys
Italians.....	781	165	21.1	65	8.3
Greeks.....	115	25	21.7	2	1.7
Americans.....	92	48	52.2	8	8.7
Mexicans.....	74	34	46.0		

It was further revealed in this west-side area that there is no consistency in the relationship between the ratio of delinquents to school boys and the rate of broken homes in the same national group. This is quite clearly indicated in Table XL, which shows the ratio of delinquents to school boys and the rates of broken homes among four national groups in this area. It will be observed from this table that there were 781 Italian school boys and 65 Italian delinquents. The ratio of delinquents to school boys is, therefore, 8.3, while the rate of broken homes among the Italians is the lowest in the area (21.1).<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, among 74 Mexican boys there were no delinquents, although 46 per cent of them lived in broken homes. Thus, in this area, the Italian boys show a low rate of broken homes and a relatively high ratio of juvenile delinquents, while the Mexican boys show a high rate of broken homes and no delinquents.

Among the Greeks and Americans in this area a relationship somewhat different from that observed among the Mexicans and Italians is to be noted. The rate of broken homes and the ratio of delinquents are both low among the Greek boys, while both are high among the boys classified as Americans. Thus, among the four national groups in this area there are low rates of broken homes and high ratio of delinquents (Italians), low rates of broken homes and low ratio of delinquents (Greeks), high rates of broken homes

<sup>11</sup> These ratios were calculated to facilitate comparisons in this area, and should not be taken to have general significance.

and high ratio of delinquents (Americans), and high rates of broken homes and no delinquents (Mexicans).

These variations are not limited to this particular area. In the total series of 1,675 delinquents in the juvenile court in 1929 there was only one Mexican, although, as indicated in Table XXXV, the rate of broken homes among the Mexicans for the city as a whole is very high. On the other hand, there were many delinquents of Italian parentage, while the rate of broken homes among Italians is consistently low. Conversely, among the Negroes there are high rates of delinquents and high rates of broken homes, while among the Jewish there are relatively few delinquents and a low percentage of broken homes. It seems probable from these facts that there is no consistent relationship between the rate of broken homes and the rate of delinquents in any of these national groups.

There is probably little question about the fact that the difference between the rates of broken homes in the different nationalities suggests distinct difference in cultural background. In some groups the family is an institution of traditional solidarity, while in other groups it is less firmly established and exercises less control over its members. The amount of delinquency in a group, on the other hand, as indicated in previous chapters, seems to be more closely related to the question of whether or not the group is located in one of the delinquency areas. This does not suggest an answer to the situation in the near West Side area in Chicago where there is little delinquency among the Mexicans. There, however, other factors are involved. The Mexicans, and to a certain extent the Greeks, represent minority groups who have not as yet had sufficient time to take over the traditions of delinquency in the area. It is probable that an increase in the rate of delinquents will be observed in these newer groups within the next few years if they continue to reside in delinquency areas.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Our studies seem to indicate that it is necessary for new groups to spend some time in an area of high rates of delinquents before the boys in these groups become delinquent in large number. This was found to be true in the Polish and Italian groups who occupied the areas of high rates of delinquents in the period between 1900 and 1920, during which time as indicated in Chapter III, the proportion of delinquents among the boys

## SUMMARY

A study of the incidence of broken homes among 7,278 unselected school boys in 29 different public schools revealed that there were wide differences between the percentage of broken homes in the different schools, and that these percentages were quite unrelated to rates of delinquents or the geographic location of the school in the city. Further analysis revealed that these differences were due, primarily, to variations in the incidence of broken homes among different racial and national groups; the incidence in one group was more than three times as high as that in another group. In addition, the incidence of broken homes for each age in each nationality was computed to indicate the increase in rate of broken homes with age. This increase between the ages of 10 and 17 amounted to 42 per cent for the group as a whole.

A comparison of the rate of broken homes between a group of 1,675 juvenile court delinquent boys and a control group of the same age and nationality constituency revealed that, while the incidence of broken homes in the delinquent group was 42.5, the incidence in the control group was 36.1. Similarly, a study of one area on the near west side in Chicago revealed that the incidence of broken homes was higher in the school population than in the delinquent group, and that the incidence of broken homes was not a reliable index of the amount of delinquency in that group.

It should be borne in mind that the cases of delinquents used in this comparison was a series of juvenile court delinquents who, as indicated previously, are largely serious gang offenders. While no very significant difference was found between the rate of broken homes in this series of delinquents and the control group, it is entirely possible that

in these groups increased faster than the proportion of these groups in the total population.

It is not known how long a group must live in an area before its members begin to assimilate the traditions prevailing among the boys of the area, or how long the rates of delinquents in the group would continue to increase if the group remained in an area of high rates. Probably the size of the group and the extent to which the group is excluded by racial or cultural differences from contact with the traditions of the area are important factors in this process. These questions can be fully answered only by further research.

there might be very great differences between a group of boys who present personality problems and a group of school boys of the same age and nationality.

This chapter has been limited to a study of the percentage of boys in the general population who come from broken homes, and a comparison of the rate of broken homes in a delinquent and a control group, without regard for the importance of the broken home in individual cases. It was found that the difference between the rates in the delinquent and the control group furnished a very inadequate basis for the conclusion that the broken home is an important factor in delinquency. This should not be interpreted to mean that the family is not an important factor in behavior problems, but that the broken home, as such, is not a significant measure of the importance of family life in the cases of delinquent boys appearing in the Cook County juvenile court. The significance of the family as a functional unit will be discussed in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER X

### FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The data presented in the preceding chapter pertain particularly to some of the more formal aspects of the family in relation to the problem of juvenile delinquency. It appears from these data that if family situations are important influences in juvenile delinquency, we must look for these influences in the more subtle aspects of family relationships. Although the formal break in the family may not in itself be an important determining factor, it is probable that the conflicts, tensions, and attitudes which precipitate the disorganization may contribute materially to the development of the delinquency and the personality problems of the child. The actual divorce or separation of the parents may not be so important a factor in the life of the child as the emotional conflicts which have resulted in the break in the family relationships. It is apparent that in the study of behavior problems among children there is much need for a better understanding of the more subtle and intangible processes which constitute the dynamic life of the family group. In this connection Healy and Bronner state:

It seems to us from our experience that if one is looking for what in home life either positively or negatively, through directly bad influences or through lack of good influences, makes for inability to withstand outside temptations, one must consider first and foremost the mental or spiritual aspects of home life \* \* \*. The subtler aspects of human situations are often vastly more formative than anything that can be more objectively observed or enumerated.<sup>1</sup>

Healy's contention that the subtler aspects of family life are far more important in the study of delinquent behavior than the more formal and objective factors of the home and family is confirmed both by the statistical data presented in

<sup>1</sup> Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta F., Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies, series 1, case 8, p. 17-a.

the last chapter and by our detailed case studies. Our case histories suggest that the subtle emotional relationships between members of the family are often significantly involved in the boy's delinquent behavior. Since statistical data concerning such relationships among the delinquent boys in our series of cases are not available, it is necessary to depend very largely upon case materials in this phase of our study.

A concrete illustration of the possible relation between the emotional relationships in the family and the personality problems and delinquency in the child will be presented in this chapter in the form of a case study. In presenting this case, attention will be focused chiefly upon the processes of interaction within the family. In other words, the family will be regarded in its functional sense, or, as Professor Burgess terms it, as a "unity of interacting personalities." In this connection he states:

By a unity of interacting personalities is meant a living, changing, growing thing. I was about to call it a superpersonality. At any rate, the actual unity of family life has its existence not in any legal conception nor in any formal contract but in the interaction of its members. For the family does not depend for its survival on the harmonious relations of its members, nor does it necessarily disintegrate as a result of conflicts between its members. The family lives as long as interaction is taking place and only dies when it ceases.<sup>2</sup>

As Burgess states, the family is more than a legal formulation or an aggregate of individuals. It is a dynamic unity, the structure and vitality of which depend upon the process of interaction between its members. It is this functional conception of the family which offers most for the understanding of the influence of family life upon the behavior of the child, since it is such dynamic elements as the attitudes, gestures, and personalities of the members of the family which seem to constitute the important determining social factors in the early personality development of the child.

When we come to evaluate what in his surroundings influences the child most, we are immediately confronted by the problems of the social relationships of the child.

These social relationships begin in the home in earliest infancy and continue to be most potent forces in the whole life of the individual.

Every infant begins life as a social being, fully occupied with acquainting himself with his environment and how he can satisfy his wants. His reaction patterns are the outcome of the conflict between these egocentric strivings and the environmental influences which are brought to bear upon him. There is constant interaction between the child and his environment. Not only does the environment affect the child, but he affects the environment and this in turn affects him again.

Most important in the child's life are the relationships in the family. First, those of the father and mother to each other. It is not enough for the father and mother to conceal their differences from the children, they must adjust or remove these differences. Second, those of the father and mother to the group of children. Third, those of the father to the child and of the mother to the child, and those of the child to each parent. Fourth, those of the child to his individual brothers and sisters.

It is these relationships which give form and direction to the child's love, to his hate, to his fears. It is out of these relationships that crippling jealousies and envies may emerge, crippling not only his happiness but his efficiency, and not only in the present but in the future.

A child in his behavior generally finds his models in the accustomed behavior patterns first of the other members of his family, then of the adults among his relatives whom he admires, or in the neighborhood, or at school. Some of his companions serve as his models also. From these patterns, which often influence him both directly and indirectly, he acquires his attitudes toward authority, for instance. If his parents are critical of the school and his teachers, he reflects this attitude by rebellion or antagonism. If he feels that his parents are fair in their judgments of others or of his own mistakes and misbehavior, the child gets an attitude of fair play which he carries on in his own relations with the people he meets. Whether he considers the rights of other people depends more upon his experience in his family than upon oft-repeated precepts. His attitude toward work may be a repetition of that of his parents. Even his sense of humor is largely dependent upon the family mood. In ways of gaining his own ends he is much influenced by the patterns set by the

<sup>2</sup> Burgess, Ernest W., *The Family as a Unity of Interacting Personalities*, *The Family*, vol. 7, March, 1928.

other members of the family. In fact, emotional reaction patterns are constantly before him in the family life and his habits of reaction are influenced inevitably by these moods.<sup>3</sup>

The manner in which the behavior problems of the child are conditioned by the attitudes, personalities, and emotional tensions in the family situation is illustrated in the case of Milton Walker, the subject of the present case study. At the age of 14 years and 9 months Milton was referred to a behavior clinic, because of repeated emotional encounters with his father, running away from home, truancy from school, failures in school work (first-year high school), shoplifting, and burglary. Prior to the time the case was referred to the clinic, Milton had been arrested by the police and had been expelled from school "because of truancy, indifference to school work, and because of a bad reputation which he had acquired at school." Although the emotional conflicts with the father and the running away from home had continued over a period of many years, the stealing and the acute school problems had developed during the few months prior to the time the case was referred for study.

Milton is a short, slender boy, with rather delicate features. He is sociable, friendly, responsive, talkative, and appears to have critical insight into his own problems and situations. He has a nervous manner and gives the impression that he is under considerable emotional tension; he cries when anyone is sarcastic or harsh with him.

#### SUMMARY OF CLINICAL FINDINGS

*Developmental history.*—The mother was 20 years of age and the father 22 at the time of Milton's conception. The mother had fainting spells during pregnancy and was ill during the entire nine months. The father was in good health at the time of conception.

Milton was a full-term baby; normal delivery. Weighed 6½ pounds at birth. Breast fed for 11 months; never used bottle. Began to walk at 9 months and cut his first tooth at 9 months. Did not talk until 4 years of age. Enuresis until 4 years of age.

<sup>3</sup> Burleigh, Edith N., What is Environment? Family, vol. 8, January, 1928.

*Physical condition.*—At the age of 14 years 9 months Milton Walker was described by the medical examiner as being somewhat underweight. He was, at the time of examination, 5 feet 2½ inches tall and weighed 97½ pounds. He had numerous carious teeth; reflexes normal; a mild visual defect; lungs normal. He showed evidence of a former cardiac trouble which had been compensated for at the time of the examination; nutrition poor; Wassermann negative; Milton had scarlet fever when 20 months old followed by "chorea." Circumcized at 9 months; diphtheria carrier at the age of 3 years; pneumonia at 3 years and 5 years of age; mumps at 4 years, followed by whooping cough and chicken pox; tonsils and adenoids removed at the age of 9 years; was operated on for abscess on his neck, recovered well and quickly; no convulsions.

*Habits and hygiene.*—Milton goes to bed at 9 o'clock and gets up at 7 to 7.30 a. m. He sleeps alone. He has a good appetite and is well nourished. He is neat, tidy, and particular about his appearance. His toilet habits were not established until he was 4 years of age, because of illness. Practiced masturbation with companions at the age of 12.

*Psychological findings.*—Chronological age, 14 years 9 months; mental age, 14 years 6 months; and intelligence quotient 98. On the educational tests he ranked low in mathematics but high in reading, language, dictation, and spelling. He was described as restless and active, yet cooperative and attentive during the tests.

*Psychiatric findings.*—At the age of 14 years 9 months the psychiatrist examining Milton described him as follows:

The patient feels that he is socially misunderstood, is terrifically discouraged about his school progress, and feels that he has not the qualifications of the other members of the family for education, industrial, and social achievement. Because of the habit of reacting vigorously to situations, he now is reacting to this situation by resistance rather than retirement into the background as might otherwise be expected. He expresses his feeling of hopelessness in his identification with the gang. This offers him recognition and a feeling of security which he does not feel at home.

## COMMUNITY BACKGROUND

Two years prior to the time that Milton was referred to the clinic for study, the family established a home in a small residential neighborhood in one of the large industrial suburban communities of Chicago. Previously the family lived in small towns outside the metropolitan district of Chicago. The neighborhood in which the new home was located is populated by families of the skilled laboring class who are largely dependent upon the industries in the adjacent communities for employment. The families occupy single-family dwellings of the bungalow type and for the most part own the homes in which they live. The neighborhood is quite new; most of the dwellings have been built during the last decade.

The population of the neighborhood is predominantly foreign born and native born of foreign-born parentage. Most of the families have recently moved into the neighborhood from the foreign section of Chicago or from adjacent industrial communities. Since the families have only recently established homes in the neighborhood and represent widely different cultural backgrounds, there is relatively little homogeneity and neighborhood spirit.

While the neighborhood has relatively little adult crime, various forms of delinquency are prevalent among certain groups of the children.

## PLAY GROUP CONTACTS AND ACTIVITIES

Soon after the Walker family moved into this neighborhood Milton became associated with a group of boys who were engaged in various delinquent practices. This group included about 11 boys who ranged in age from 13 to 16 years. Two of the older members of the group were on parole from correctional institutions at the time of Milton's first contact with the group. Their chief delinquent activities consisted of shoplifting in department stores, pilfering, and making gang raids on neighborhood stores.

After Milton's contact with this play group his parents observed certain changes in his attitudes and behavior. In this connection the father states:

I noticed that he began to assume a tough manner and began to use vulgar phrases and to be more defiant of our authority. He talked about underworld life and assumed familiarity with criminal characters. For the first time he used such expressions as "the world owes me a living," "I can make enough to get along on my own." When we questioned him about his companions he became more secretive, deceitful, and evasive.

According to Milton's own story he first participated in stealing activities after his contact with the play group:

My new community was destined to teach me a lot of things. First of all to be a good liar, and second to be a clever crook. I am not boasting when I say that in this neighborhood I first learned to steal, and became very clever at it. But I had good teachers, and that is why I learned so quickly and became a leader in the gang.

Soon after we moved to this community I met a group of boys who were different from any boys that I had ever known. They were doing things that I had never heard about. The first boy I met was Jim; he was a regular bum, with torn clothes, dirty face, rough manners, and hard-boiled. Then I met Tom. He was a gay Irish chap, with a good nature. Through these fellows I met Alex, Chuck, Bill, Dorothy, Doris, Elmer, Will, Earl, Carl, and Fred. They composed the gang. I got in with this group and through them was introduced to stealing and many other things that were wrong.

This group was doing a lot of stealing, mostly "Christmas shopping"—that is, shoplifting. They were going on a raiding expedition almost every day. Even the girls in the gang could steal as well as the boys. All these things were new to me, but I soon got acquainted with the members and liked stealing, getting chased, and fighting. It seemed great, for I liked the adventure and thrills. The stealing didn't appeal to me so much as the thrill and the excitement. I never stole for money. It was so much better than staying at home to be bawled out, treated like a sap, or like I was inferior to everybody at home. In the gang I got thrills and pleasure and was on good terms with everybody, but at home everything was cold and formal. Home was more like dog eat dog.

When I would go home I would find my mother ill and my dad sore. If my mother wanted the radio turned off he would want it on. Or he would get a craze for running things in a systematic way, as he

called it. Being dumb on such a subject he couldn't realize that it is best not to tell a woman, especially a young wife, how to take care of the house or kitchen. But he had his own ideas about everything, even about running the house, and nobody could change his ideas.

Milton has a number of play interests. He particularly likes boxing, hockey, fencing, wrestling, tennis, and track racing. He enjoys cooking, and has often cooked for his mother when she was ill. He attends shows two to four times a week. John Barrymore and Douglas Fairbanks are his favorite actors and Mary Pickford and Dolores Del Rio are the actresses he prefers. Because of the restrictions of his activities outside the home Milton reads much of the time. He reads the newspaper each day, especially the boxing scores, comics, sensational news, society news, and advice to the lovelorn. He enjoys *Colliers*, *Sweetheart Stories*, and *Cupid's Diary*. The books he has enjoyed most are the novels by Gene Stratton Porter and Zane Grey. He has been a member of the Boy Scout troop since he was 12 years of age.

#### THE FAMILY BACKGROUND

Materials pertaining to three aspects of the family life are presented in this section of the case history: First, a brief formal description of each member of the family; second, the cultural background of the family as revealed in the life history of each of the parents; and, third, a cross-section picture of the present relationships as disclosed in a verbatim family interview.

#### MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY

This family consists of four members: the father, 38 years of age; the mother, 36 years; Milton, 14 years and 9 months; and William, 13 years.

*Father.*—The father was born in the United States of English parentage. He was an only child, and his father died when he was only 2 months of age. His early childhood was spent in a boarding house in a large city. His mother was employed outside of the home, and he was placed under the supervision of a housekeeper. He was reared under a

strict régime with meager play opportunities and limited finances. The mother did not approve of children's playthings or books; he was not permitted to play with other children. At a very early age he was reading Dickens, Thackeray, and religious books for lack of anything else. When he was 10 his mother remarried, and his step-father gave him his first toy. At 13 his mother died, and he was forced to take care of himself. He attended night school intermittently and completed high school and one year of college. Since then he has worked in the electrical engineering field. He was married at the age of 19 years.

The father is a tall, thin man, with a rather definite and reflective manner. He has had limited recreation and few friends. He spends his leisure time with hobbies directly related to his work interests; does not attend church. He prides himself on his liberal views; has strong aversion to movies, newspapers, novels, and insists upon rigid standards of conduct for the other members of his family. He affects a jovial manner by calling the members of his family such names as "Old Top," "Chick," or "Old Man." He has always begrudged any time or money spent on recreation. He dreads Sundays "because of the anticipation of a day of loafing," and he never takes a vacation because he does not know what to do with himself. Likewise, he refuses to allow his wife to take a holiday to visit her own relatives. He seldom goes to a movie. There are occasional bridge games with his wife (because she likes it) but his favorite pastime is discussing abstract subjects such as "What stimulates thought?" or "What is personality?" He will never, however, accept the opinion of other persons in any of these discussions.

A more detailed picture of the father's experiences, attitudes, personality, and philosophy of life is given in the following verbatim record of a personal interview with him.

#### INTERVIEW WITH FATHER

*INTERVIEWER.* It is certainly very nice of you to come to the office to-day to talk over your son's difficulties. Because of your special training, I am sure you can give us considerable help in understanding his problems

and formulating a plan of treatment. However, before discussing his problems, I would like to become better acquainted with you. To this end, I wonder if you would be kind enough to tell us something of your own experiences, beginning with your earliest memories.

ANSWER. Well, no; not at all. Should I begin at the very first?

INTERVIEWER. If you please.

ANSWER. Well, I was born in the city of X; my father died when I was two months of age and my mother had to go to work to care for us. When I say us, I mean me and herself. She was very proud and independent and refused to seek assistance from her relatives. As a result I was placed in the care of a housekeeper who was very strict with me. We lived in a rooming house and I was kept indoors most of the time. I had no outside associates until I was at least nine or ten years of age.

INTERVIEWER. Didn't you have any contact with other children during that period?

ANSWER. None that I recall.

INTERVIEWER. Now, will you please tell me more about your childhood?

ANSWER. My mother being strict didn't want me to associate with other children, so she arranged for me to get my education under a tutor. I had private instruction instead of going to the public school. I recall that I was fond of blocks, puzzles, and solitary games, but my mother was adverse to children's playthings so I very early took to reading. I can safely say that I had read, at about 10 years of age, all of Dickens, some of Scott, Hugo, and Thackeray, and many other such books. My mother had quite a library of high-class books and was quite adverse to trashy books. It was in this way that I developed my preference for the superior type of literature. She didn't make me read, but I naturally took to it. I was imaginative and entered into the stories that I read. My chief interest was in reading and I think that I spent almost all of my time in that way. I played a little in the yard, but never in the street. When I was 10 years of age, my mother remarried. At that time I began to go out more and had more social experiences and this lessened my reading activity somewhat.

INTERVIEWER. Will you please tell me something about your family life after your mother remarried?

ANSWER. It was most unpleasant (in a very low voice).

INTERVIEWER. What was that?

ANSWER. It was most unpleasant.

INTERVIEWER. Tell me something about it, will you?

ANSWER. Well, mother, of course, felt that there ought to be a father in the house for the sake of my development, and for that reason alone she married. My step-father was an impressive type of person. On first acquaintance you would take him for a bond salesman; but in reality he only had the mentality of a stock clerk. But for various reasons, among them the fact that he had a little fund of money at the time, he created an impression. But his funds were soon exhausted and my mother's savings didn't last long, so they began to have difficulties. She became sickly, contracting tuberculosis, and died when I was thirteen years of age.

INTERVIEWER. Tell me more about your experiences with your step-father. Have you a definite memory of the way he behaved and of your attitudes toward him?

ANSWER. Yes; I felt that he was a chap who had married wrongly. I think that if he had married one of his own type, a woman not as superior as my mother, there would probably have been a very happy family. But as it was, he developed the loafing disposition which was probably an attempt to feel superior to my mother. So in that way, even as a youngster, I felt that he was out of place with my mother.

INTERVIEWER. What were your attitudes toward him?

ANSWER. I was not bitter toward him, but when my mother died, I felt free to leave him. He meant nothing to me. I had no definite attitudes or feelings with regard to him. Consequently, after the death of my mother I went out on my own responsibility, feeling no ties for my home. Since that time I have made my own way without any assistance from anyone. I studied hard and completed one year of college. I became greatly interested in technical subjects, especially electrical engineering, and studied very hard to improve myself in that field. I took a position with a telephone company in the South and it was while working at that position that I met my wife. We became very fond of each other and married in a short time even though her parents were opposed to her marriage, at so young an age.

INTERVIEWER. Will you please give an account of your experiences following your marriage? Did you and your wife have difficulties?

ANSWER. My wife and I have never been exactly happy together. Soon after we married I found that

we had few things in common and had very different views about a number of things. For example, I found soon after we were married that her taste in literature was quite different from what I would like to have had it be. She had a preference for novels, magazines, and very trashy literature. I suggested that she select books that were more elevating. I tried to get her interested in technical books and classic literature. Instead of accepting my suggestion she was provoked. After some discussion in this connection I let things go and in that way we drifted apart in our taste for literature.

INTERVIEWER. Will you please continue?

ANSWER. We had differences of opinion also on the question of religion. As you know, I do not follow the Christian Church, having found something far superior. I was interested in intellectual pursuits. My beliefs, of course, were incomprehensible to my wife. It was difficult for her to accept my ideas so she occasionally reverted back to her early education in the Lutheran Church. When we had discussions about our religious beliefs, they usually ended by her accusing me of being critical. In reality I was only trying to help her.

INTERVIEWER. Will you please continue?

ANSWER. I made attempts to improve her vocabulary, but that led to antagonism also.

INTERVIEWER. Will you give specific examples, please?

ANSWER. More in the matter of her southern accent. I did not try to correct her, but rather her pronunciation of words. I felt that her difficulty was largely a question of lack of training rather than a question of accent. Her poor pronunciation embarrassed me in the presence of other persons, so I tried to correct her, but this only provoked antagonism.

INTERVIEWER. Were there any questions concerning which you and your wife held different views?

ANSWER. Yes; it was difficult for me to accept her friends. I was always interested in selecting friends of intelligence and would associate with them for the educational benefit which I would derive. But my wife seemed to select friends simply because she liked to be with them. Consequently, we never went out much together. I spent most of my time studying my work. I tried to get her to read intellectual books instead of the cheap, trashy novels, and to make fine distinction between the things she read, but my effort in this respect only led to more antagonism.

INTERVIEWER. Were there any points concerning which you had difficulty?

ANSWER. We were quite different in disposition. I am inclined to plan and deliberate before I act, but she acts on the impulse of the moment. I have tried to teach her to act more deliberately. I am inclined to be very precise and accurate and hold to a rational plan of life; on the other hand, she is careless about details and is more emotional and religious. She is likely to be sentimental about the children and make concessions to them while I am inclined to be firm. That has led to much trouble between us, especially during recent years. Her views about children are quite different from what I would like them to be. When I am inclined to punish, she wants to shield them. These differences finally led to a divergence of our interests, and more recently we have had little in common. The tensions are quite strong on many points.

INTERVIEWER. Are there any activities in which the family as a group engages?

ANSWER. I am afraid not. There is too much tension and debating about everything. We never go to church, seldom attend movies or social affairs together. Being more or less of a hermit in type and not being inclined to converse on the topics on which the others are interested, I have little to say. Consequently, we seldom engage in conversation as a family, not even around the table at dinner. I usually more or less selfishly occupy myself with my own interests; my wife with hers, and the boys with theirs. We have had a little common interest in local community work of late, but that is only infrequent. Strictly, we have little common interests at home or outside. If there is a little conversation it usually ends in a heated argument and leads to antagonism.

INTERVIEWER. Now, will you give me a detailed description of the difficulties which you have had with Milton?

ANSWER. The first thing that we noticed was his tendency to run away from home, which began when he was quite young, perhaps five or six years of age. He always seemed to have an overabundance of nervous energy that required some outlet. To think and deliberate is unbearable to him. Since it is necessary for me as a parent to teach him and restrict him, antagonisms follow and frequently he is wilfully disobedient. He replies by saying that he has "a mind of his own" and implies that he feels that he should be permitted to do as he wishes. He has always had a great spirit for adventure. He has read many detective stories and stories of the wild west and underworld stories. At

various times he has undertaken what I hoped would be a hobby, such as chemistry, biology, geology, etc. As soon as he skims the content of the subjects and finds that considerable effort must be made to master the subject, he drops it quickly but after he has dropped it he will pretend to others that he is very conversant with the subject. He has done quite a large amount of acting and impersonating and has built himself a pedestal on which he sits in self-complaisance. But, as I have frequently told him, the pedestal is very frail. Recently he asked to join a radio club. I told him that I would be very pleased, but that he should know something about the technical aspects of the subject before entering the club. But when I have attempted to instruct him in the hope of giving him at least some simple knowledge of technical subjects he has always avoided it. We have obtained books in which there would be information on various subjects, but after a glance of probably not more than fifteen minutes, he would be finished. I have always tried to stimulate his interest instead of forcing him to become interested in technical subjects. But it is usually necessary for me to initiate these meetings and they usually end in difficulty between us. I have not found anything that he will devote himself to. I think sometimes that he realizes some of his difficulties, but in his attempt to feel that he is of more importance, he will associate with inferior companions who cater to him so that he can feel a certain degree of importance.

To go back to the evening when he came home from high school and asked to join the radio club, I tried to show pleasure and at the same time hide my apprehension. I said it would be a very nice thing for him to enter into more activities at school, but suggested that it would be necessary for him to have a better knowledge of the subject of radio before entering the club. Then I carelessly reminded him that it was best for him to gain that knowledge without my assistance. As usual he only evaded my suggestion. I tried to point out some of the problems involved. For example, I said that there was a strong possibility that he might not fit in well with the other members of the club. I did that for two reasons: First, to destroy part of his feeling of superiority, and secondly, I thought it might spur him to investigate the technique of radio. But, so far, he has not consulted a single book on the subject.

He is always searching for big returns without effort and work. I have tried in various indirect ways to find out how he was getting along with his school work, but

he will not volunteer information to me. He will not come for assistance, most likely because his mistakes are certain to be found out. When I point out his errors, he becomes antagonistic. To give another example: He may bring a stone from school and be highly interested in its color, composition, etc. But I try to get him to appreciate the stratification and history of the stone, and in order to lead up to the subject I will open a book and look over the pages on the formation of the earth, at first trying to get his eye interested and then hoping later to lead him to the more technical terms. But he becomes forced immediately when he finds there is so much to be known about the subject. All of which illustrates a discouraging superficiality and carelessness about essential things.

At various times I have tried in subtle ways to discourage his absorbing interest in cheap novels, newspapers, and movies. But when I try to restrict him, he only develops a sulky and snarling expression which usually brings reproof on my part. My wife, due to her own nervous troubles, lacks self-control and a certain firmness which is essential in training children. When I attempt to be firm and to advise and correct in a constructive manner, the boys go to her for direction and that leads to conflict. So any constructive efforts which I make act like sandpaper on the youngsters; it only irritates them. So the youngster is in an awful fix, isn't he? My wife is very adverse to corporal punishment. On several occasions I have suggested corporal punishment, and she has been very resistive, although she continually asks to make the boys behave. On these occasions I have pointed out to her that it was necessary to try new methods of discipline, since all her methods had failed.

INTERVIEWER. Will you tell me more about the methods of discipline which you have used in the family?

ANSWER. Largely I have tried to make our discipline objective, to create a desire within the boys to do right things rather than to force them into it. I have tried to encourage interest in a hobby. For example, at one time he expressed an interest in chemistry. I purchased a set and let him try to develop it. We had all the plans made, but as soon as he opened a book and I indicated some of the more important parts of the subject, he dropped it. I had waited a few weeks to see what he was going to say and began to question him. I asked him what the difference was between a molecule, an atom, and an electrode, and his expression was a perfect blank. Having failed to stimulate an interest in him

by taking a friendly attitude, I then tried ridiculing him. I asked him if he was an infant and wanted to shake a rattle and make a noise, or whether he really wanted to do more genuine work. That caused him to pack up the set and put it away, and he has never had it out since.

A few weeks ago he came rushing home from high school one evening energetic and enthusiastic about a card game which he had learned. Hoping to stimulate a little seriousness I asked him if he had not passed the infant stage and was not becoming a man. We started to play the game and when I pointed out some of the tricks and how much there was to be known about the game, he lost interest and antagonism resulted.

INTERVIEWER. Did you observe that any changes took place in Milton's behavior after you moved into the present community?

ANSWER. Yes; we noticed several very definite changes in his behavior. First, in the tone of voice. He developed sort of a snarling, hard-boiled type of expression. He began to swagger and took a more haughty attitude toward us. There was a tendency toward vulgarity and swearing which we had never noticed before. He was afraid to use such language around the house, but on many occasions it slipped out unconsciously. He began to use such phrases as "The world owes me a living," "I have a mind of my own," "Other children are allowed to go to the movies more often and be out after dark," and such other expressions, which annoyed me very greatly.

After moving into this community he became less particular about the way he dressed. He seemed to take more pride in being dirty and untidy. Also, it was at this time that he began to steal and stay out all night in the dugout with his gang. When we began to learn about his stealing, he became more deceitful and secretive. I tried to influence him against his companions by objective reasoning and pointing out the pitfalls. I told him what a mistake it was for him to pretend to be something that he was not, that he was not only deceiving others but deceiving himself, but it was very annoying to find that he would protect his companions in crime and lie to us. His repeated deceitfulness has led us to distrust him, and at present it is almost impossible to place any confidence in what he says.

INTERVIEWER. Is there any difference between your relationships to Milton and William?

ANSWER. Yes. It is necessary to correct Milton much more and, therefore, possibly he feels that we are par-

tial to William. But, as a matter of fact, William is the one that is given the least credit to as an individual because what he does is done with less effort; just comes natural to him as a product of the formation of the brain. William is, furthermore, very much more deceitful in a sweet and angelic manner. He also gets out of more difficulties and misdeeds because he knows how to cover them more smoothly and provokes less reaction on our part. And Milton, who carries out his misdeeds crudely, probably feels that he is picked on. We try to discuss the matter with Milton and show him that his continued disobedience has made it necessary for us to correct him more. But he, nevertheless, feels abused and that we are very partial—especially me.

INTERVIEWER. Now, I wish to ask you some very personal questions. In the first place, do you feel easy in the presence of other persons?

ANSWER. I usually feel quite uneasy. When I enter a Pullman, for example, I feel at a loss in trying to keep up with the conversation which is usually about athletics, the stock market, and other current events; I try to keep up my end by asking questions. By keeping the others talking I relieve myself of embarrassment somewhat. I have the same feelings in the presence of my employers; that is, it is difficult for me to make conversation and to be sociable. I am all right so long as the conversation is about our work. When it drifts to current topics then I am lost again.

INTERVIEWER. How do you react when other persons attempt to give you advice or orders?

ANSWER. If they appear logical, I am not so likely to resent them; however, on several occasions I have caused ill feelings where I work because I stood too rigidly on my ground.

INTERVIEWER. Do you feel that you are inclined to impose your ideas on other persons?

ANSWER. I am certain that I do.

INTERVIEWER. Have you attempted to regulate your family life according to your own notions?

ANSWER. Yes; I have definite ideas about how the house ought to be run and I try to see that it is run properly. I have wanted to see Milton be more orderly and his mother, too, but that is out of the question.

INTERVIEWER. Supposing your scheme is not accepted readily, what is your reaction then?

ANSWER. I am inclined to stick rather firmly to my position. Speaking broadly, I would say that I am too dictatorial; not so much to have my own way, but for

the sake of the method. I think in most respects I am justified in my attitudes in the home because our family needs discipline.

INTERVIEWER. Do you find it difficult to be sociable and easy in your relationship to your children?

ANSWER. My own lack of ability to be a pal—much as I would like to be—makes it impossible for me to be sociable and to be a mixer with them. Much as I try, my social desires die out. I am altogether too rigid and dictatorial and find it impossible to carry on a free and easy conversation or to show enthusiasm in their (children) interests and activities. By sheer effort of will I sometimes show a little enthusiasm, but with all my trying it only lasts a short time and I revert back to my hermitlike existence.

## SUMMARY

Father was isolated during childhood; never learned to play the usual childhood games nor to participate in social groups. Appears to be self-centered; precise; adversely critical of other persons; has feelings of inferiority although assumes superior attitude toward other persons; particular about personal appearance; resistive to advice and correction from other persons; uneasy in the presence of others; dictatorial and argumentative.

*Mother.*—The mother is 36 years of age and was born of native parentage. She was the youngest child in a family of six children. As a child she lived in a rural community and participated in an active play life. Her parents were strict and exercised rigid discipline over the children. She completed three years of high school and married at the age of 17 years.

The mother is a thin, worried-looking woman who has a very tense and strained manner. She has been in ill health most of the time since her marriage. She takes an active part in various clubs and neighborhood groups. She is sociable, friendly, and interested in people. She likes to read magazines and books of fiction. Her leisure time activities are ridiculed by her husband, who has often remarked to her that she has "poor tastes and fails to comprehend the true meaning of the things that she reads."

## INTERVIEW WITH MOTHER

INTERVIEWER. During the interview this morning, I wish you would give a rather detailed account of your life, including the events of your early childhood, your family life and your experiences with Milton. It is possible that this information will throw some light upon Milton's present behavior difficulties. Will you please begin with a description of your earliest memories. It is not necessary to give specific names of places and persons.

ANSWER. I was born on a farm in the South and had two brothers and two sisters who were all considerably older than me. My oldest brother was married when I was born. For seven years I lived at home with my parents on the farm. They were very strict with all of the children, but yet very just.

INTERVIEWER. Explain what you mean by strict.

ANSWER. My mother was very religious and would not permit me to do the things other children did. Since her childhood things had changed and she thought they were more dangerous for a young girl so I was more protected. I was not permitted to read as freely as other children. For instance, on a Sunday I could only read the Bible or religious books. A novel was not permitted to be read on Sunday and even after I was fourteen years she wouldn't permit me to attend the theatre and shows. I was not permitted to do so because she did not think they were right. She believed in implicit obedience. She wished us and expected us to do everything according to her standards. She did not correct us for everything that we did wrong, but she expected everything to be carried out without a second reprimand. Nevertheless, we were congenial together. My oldest brother was married when I was born and my next oldest brother left home when I was six years of age. My sister married when I was eleven. Being so much younger than my brothers and sisters and my parents being so old, I was petted and made over very much. I started public school at seven years. After that I went to private school for three years and later finished three years in high school. After my three years in high school, I got a job with a telephone company and while working there I met my husband.

INTERVIEWER. What games did you play as a child? Did you play with both girls and boys?

ANSWER. I was a very active child and preferred the company of boys. This was because I had a great

many relatives who live near us; and the majority of their children were boys, so I learned to play all the boys' games such as baseball and other outside sports. I was greatly attached to my father as a child and liked outdoor life more than the other girls of my age in the small town where we lived. On the whole, I had a very happy childhood for fifteen years. Although I felt that I was restricted more than was necessary and was not permitted as much liberty as might have been given, it was not unjustly so. My parents were doing the best that they knew for me.

INTERVIEWER. Did you feel that you were restricted more than the other young people of your age?

ANSWER. Yes; I felt that they were permitted to attend dances and parties more frequently and had more freedom with young men.

INTERVIEWER. Did the restriction lead to any bitterness toward your parents.

ANSWER. None whatever between mother and I; a little between father and I.

INTERVIEWER. Will you please explain?

ANSWER. When I was fourteen years my father had apoplexy. Unfortunately, he never recovered, but was helpless for many years and demanded all of mother's and my time, and would not permit anyone else to do things for him; this restricted me very much. At times I felt antagonistic, because I felt he demanded too much. I wanted to go out with young people and have more freedom, but my many duties at home held me down most of the time. At fifteen I met my husband and started to go out with him but felt too closely watched by my parents. It was no doubt because I felt I was being kept in by my father and that my parents had great fear of my leaving them that led to my marriage. They gave the impression that I must remain single as long as they lived. While I had always a number of friends in school and out of school, I never went with them with the expectation of marriage. But I began to realize that my parents were thinking that I was becoming very serious and that they should do something about it. My father went so far as to go to the county seat to prevent the license from being issued, even before I ever thought of marriage. I didn't even have any intention of getting married. I did not want to get married, but my parents became much more strict about letting my boy friend come to see me, and they just assumed we were engaged. We had no intention of being married for at least two years, because we were

both young and he had considerable way to go to complete his studies. Nevertheless, things became so tense in the home, especially with my father, that it was the best thing to get married, because we decided he might do something to cause a break.

INTERVIEWER. Did your father permit you to entertain your friends in the home?

ANSWER. He did right along until two months before we were married; then he refused. But my mother continued to give her permission. She said she was not going to have me meet him outside of the home, but of course it usually ended up with unpleasantness between mother, father, and I. Of course, we tried to prevent any ill feelings because of father's physical condition. But things became so tense that we eloped and were married. After our marriage, we came back to my sister's home and here my husband called my mother on the telephone and informed her that we were married. But she already knew it, she said, but was very nice about it and invited us to come over to her home. On arriving there, I was, of course, given a lecture by my mother, but in a very nice way. My father was very bitter about it and continued so until his death. He never forgave me even on his death bed. At times he was rather pleasant about things, but on the whole he was bitter and never changed his mind \* \* \*

INTERVIEWER. Will you now give me an account of your married life?

ANSWER. Soon after we were married, we moved to a northern State. Well, after we were married things were not very nice. My husband and I seemed to have different views about almost everything. For example, I had a different way of pronouncing words and talking than he did. I had a very decided southern accent, which, of course, was because of my living in the South. People noticed it a great deal and my husband felt very sensitive about it. He thought it was not the proper thing and tried to correct it. If I pronounced a word one way he would immediately correct me for it regardless of whether we were alone or in public.

INTERVIEWER. In public?

ANSWER. Yes. He would come right out, "That isn't the way you say that; that isn't the proper pronunciation," and, of course, I had never had such a thing done to me before so I would be very badly hurt. Usually I would go into my room and weep about it. He didn't seem to understand how much he hurt me.

INTERVIEWER. What did he do when you would weep?

ANSWER. He would tell me that I was very childish, not being able to take constructive criticism or correction. I would say to him, well, you knew me quite some time before we were married and knew about my accent. If you did not like me why did you marry me? It is too late to complain now.

INTERVIEWER. Did you ever quarrel over this matter?

ANSWER. For a good many years I would usually give in and pretend that he was right. I had to do this to have any peace at all. If I criticized him there was trouble, for there was not any room for criticism as far as he was concerned. Then, I was very fond of reading and had always done a lot of reading as a child. I read novels, biographies, and other such books. But my husband objected to my reading. He wanted to set out a definite course of reading for me and I was hampered in anything that I wanted to do. Never seemed to please him.

INTERVIEWER. What books did he want you to read?

ANSWER. Well, he wanted me to read all of the Dumas books, Hugo, Thackeray, and the like. Of course, there were some of these books that I did not care for because I found them very dull and some of them against my principles. Of course, we always had good books in my father's home and were never given any certain book and told to read it or no other. I was a very rapid reader and my husband found fault with that. He would not believe that I had read the book thoroughly enough, even though I could almost tell him word for word all that was in the book. Then he told me I read superficially and not critically enough.

INTERVIEWER. Will you please continue?

ANSWER. He would spend most of his time during the first years of our married life studying. I realized that it was necessary for him to study considerably to complete his work so that he would become an engineer. But I did not expect him to spend all of his spare time that way. I was not permitted to make friends. He felt that he had no time to spend with people outside of the home and so I shouldn't mingle with people either. If I made friends with other people, I could only be with them while he was not around, for he usually objected to them. Of course, friendships like that are not very satisfactory.

INTERVIEWER. Why did he object to your friends?

ANSWER. He said that he had no time to try to understand such people and that he wanted to spend his time at home and that my friends were not interesting

to talk to. Of course, he really did not know whether they were interesting or not; he didn't mix with them enough to know.

INTERVIEWER. Did he have any close friends?

ANSWER. No; not at all. He made no effort to make friends.

INTERVIEWER. What other difficulties did you and your husband have during the early part of your married life?

ANSWER. There were many times that I would get very tired and disgusted because he put all his time on his work. When I would ask him to go out with me on a visit or to a show, he would accuse me of trying to keep him away from his work. Naturally, I felt that he should give me more of his time, particularly if he would not permit me to have friends. But it usually ended by him feeling abused and in most cases I usually told him that I was sorry, it was all my fault, and that would clear the atmosphere immediately. I believe now that I should not have made concessions in that way, but I would not want to have unpleasant feelings and quarrels so I naturally gave in. Perhaps if I had had an older person to advise me that I was doing the wrong thing, it would have been better. These quarrels would continue for a whole evening and then he would not speak to me for two or three weeks. During these times, if I spoke to him, he would reply in a very curt and short manner.

INTERVIEWER. Did you have any other difficulties with him?

ANSWER. I can only say that he found fault with almost everything that I did and embarrassed me a great many times. He always made me feel that I was very inferior and not very intellectual. In the discussions which we had I always had to let him have his own way and make concessions to him. When I would take a definite stand he would only become angry and not speak to me. Another thing, he never especially cared for children, while I was always very fond of them. He didn't especially say that he didn't want children, but he led me to believe by many different ways what his feelings were. Before my own children were born I had a nephew with me in our home and cared for him a great deal. But my husband never noticed the child, even though I really greatly enjoyed the child.

INTERVIEWER. Did he make any remarks about the child?

ANSWER. He said he did not know why I should spend so much time taking care of the child. I would say,

"Why not, we never do anything together?" I tried to show him that I had to have some companion because he spent almost all of his time at his work. \* \* \*

INTERVIEWER. What was his attitude toward his own children?

ANSWER. He didn't seem very sympathetic with them. He always had very strong views about the discipline of children, and he would discipline them unmercifully for very slight offenses. If they made any noise or interfered with his work in any way, he would feel called upon to discipline them very severely.

INTERVIEWER. How young were the children when your husband began to discipline them severely?

ANSWER. Milton was less than two years, and as a matter of fact he really spanked Milton very hard when he was six months old, when he cried. At these times my husband would accuse me of spoiling the children. Milton would cry when he would see me go out of the house, and then my husband would say that the child was spoiled. We could never agree on any method of discipline. I greatly disapproved of corporal punishment, and often told my husband that if he would be a little more patient with Milton he would find it unnecessary to spank him. When Milton was four and a half years of age he started running away. As soon as he could open the door he would run away. He would just roam on the streets until some one would bring him home.

INTERVIEWER. Did he run away quite frequently?

ANSWER. Yes; he ran away several times before he was six years of age. Of course, I kept very strict watch after the first time, because we were living where the traffic was heavy and I realized the danger. Of course, when he would run away his father would find fault with him and would say that I was not severe with him. He would, of course, have to spank Milton and punish him. Of course, with William, he was altogether different; he was never punished, he was a different type of child.

INTERVIEWER. In what ways were they different?

ANSWER. William was a child whom you could speak to and get obedience. If you expressed a desire he seemed more than willing to do it. He was a much quieter and easy-going type than Milton. Milton was far more sensitive. Milton continued to run away until he was seven years of age. He very frequently stayed away all night. One evening about five o'clock I sent Milton to the store to get bread. He came home and put the bread on the back porch and ran away and

was gone until the next morning. Naturally, I was just worried to death. So, the next morning, I had the nurse call the school and we found that he was there. The nurse told the principal to send him home. Of course, he was the most haggard, and worn-out boy I ever saw. He had been in a friend's back yard where he had remained all night. I asked him why he had gone away. He said that his teacher had read him a story about a little black cat who had gone out for adventure, so he had gone out for adventure, too. The following day I was taken to the hospital and was operated on, so Milton formed the opinion that it was his running away that had caused my trouble. From that time on until we moved into the present community, he never ran away. He has often said, "I used to run away, but I don't now, because they took my mother to the hospital and she might not come back." \* \* \* When the boys were about six years of age, my husband went away to (a foreign country). When he left he said that he would be gone about seven or ten months. But after a year I began to be quite concerned because he did not talk about returning home and I felt that it was too much responsibility for me to take care of the children here without him.

INTERVIEWER. Did you hear from him quite frequently during that year?

ANSWER. Yes; I had on an average of one letter every two weeks. He would always tell me that he expected to be through pretty soon or had the work so arranged that he could turn it over to one of his assistants. Then there was a long period, almost a year, during which I didn't hear from him at all. Milton was not well and I felt that he would have to have an operation. So I sent a cablegram to my husband. That was the first time that I received a reply from my husband in a long time. He seemed to be concerned about Milton's condition. After several months' arrangements were made through the central office of the company for which my husband was working, for the children and I to join my husband where he was working. Although I had not heard from my husband, I prepared to take the children to him. So we went to England. While there I cabled my husband asking him to meet me at (a seaport in the country where he was working). Although I received no reply, we sailed from England. It was not until we were half way to our destination that my husband cabled that he would meet us at the port. When we arrived there no one was to meet us, although it was five o'clock in the morning in a strange country. We were out of the boat

by seven o'clock, and had to wait two hours. Finally, the steward called and said there was someone to meet us. Naturally, I expected my husband; but it was a stranger. My husband had sent a stranger to the boat to meet us. I did not meet him until two days later.

INTERVIEWER. Was he very happy to see you?

ANSWER. He didn't seem to be. Of course, I realized that he had come from a long journey, three days and nights on the train. We spent four days together, and then we went with my husband to establish our home. During that summer my husband became very seriously ill and I had to take care of him during the illness.

INTERVIEWER. Did he express any appreciation?

ANSWER. None whatever. He didn't express any gratitude to me at all.

INTERVIEWER. Was your husband affectionate?

ANSWER. During that time, no. I was taken ill. I was subject to neuralgia and had two very serious attacks of it. He frequently left me alone with the children and went away on trips, sometimes staying three or four weeks. I became very lonely and afraid. Finally, I refused to remain alone and asked to go with him on his trips. Of course, there was quite a scene. It went so far that I told him that if I remained there alone it would have been far better for me to have remained in America. Of course, he became angry and upset. He said that he didn't know why I came out there because I wasn't especially wanted. Anyway I went with him on the trip. It proved to be very well that I did go because he became very seriously ill and it was necessary for me to take care of him.

The main social life out there was in the clubs. The clubs there are very different from what they are here. It is a real social place for both men and women. They meet at the clubs and have dancing, card games, billiard rooms, and so forth. The only good times I had were at these clubs. When I first went to the club with my husband he did not seem particularly anxious to go or have me meet any of his friends there. I think that he was ashamed to have me go to the club, because he became very sulky and fussed with me and said he didn't know why I had to be going out to the club instead of staying home and taking care of the house.

At Christmas time I went with my husband to the club. Most of the people there were strangers and yet my husband made no effort to introduce me. He spent most of his time in the men's club room and when the dancing started, he came out and left me entirely in the care of strangers. Strangers introduced themselves

to me and tried in every way to help me have a pleasant evening. Naturally I resented my husband's coldness. Being a stranger in the place I felt that it was my husband's duty to introduce me to the outsiders because he knew all of them. He finally asked me for a dance. I put it down on the card. He had been dancing with others all evening and when the time came to dance with me, I waited and waited and looked for him and walked off to the room where they served refreshments and looked in. When I looked into the ball room, I saw him dancing with another woman. I didn't mind that at first because I knew it would be quite easy to have someone else come along and carelessly begin dancing. Another man came along and asked me for the dance, and I consented. After the dance we looked for my husband and could not find him, so we went out to where the refreshments were served. He was there with a group of other persons having lunch. Of course, I refused to go to his table and sat down at another table and made no effort to go to him. I glanced in his direction and he smiled and rather raised his hand. I just ignored it. After lunch he came to me and asked for a dance and I refused. He then wanted to know why. I said if you couldn't be considerate enough to remember that you had a dance before and couldn't make any explanation for sitting there at the other table for lunch, I am afraid I better not make any more engagements with you. After we went home that night, we had a terrible quarrel which lasted for a week or two. We went to the club several times during the following weeks, but he would not speak to me. He would speak only when he had to, but he would never initiate conversation.

Late that fall I began to have attacks of neuralgia which lasted for three or four days at a time. A doctor made a thorough examination, including X ray, and told me that I would have to go to the hospital. They put me to sleep with chloroform and extracted five teeth which left me in a very nervous condition and I had to remain in bed for several weeks. During this time my husband didn't come to see me. He was away on trips. I went home as soon as I could and was not home long before I had neuralgia again and my husband insisted on taking me to the hospital again. At the hospital they gave me doses of morphine, sometimes three times a night. I was in the hospital this time about two weeks and then went home. In the meantime, I explained to my husband that the morphine was wrecking my nerves and that it didn't help my pain. At times I had the feeling of falling. Another surgeon

was called. I again was sent to the hospital for ten days. The new doctor was very angry because they had given me so much morphine. He would not give me any more morphine and the pain would become so great that I would become unconscious. I had a nervous breakdown under the strain and it was out of the question for me to be alone for a moment, so the doctor called a nurse, who remained at my bedside for five weeks. At times I would be conscious that some one was near me. But most of the times I was quite unconscious. Naturally, I had no desire to make any effort to take care of myself, so the nurse would dress me and my husband would take me for rides occasionally. I gradually gained strength, but they had to teach me to walk again. I was not able to walk and that seemed to annoy my husband considerably. He thought I should make a great deal of effort and use my will-power more. Because of my sickness, we had many scenes. He even quarreled repeatedly with the doctor, charging him with pampering me. But the doctor explained to him, and my husband only thought that they were encouraging me in not making any effort. He became so annoyed with me that he decided to take me back to America and then leave me there and he would return the next year. On our way home, I was very weak and nervous and had several attacks of neuralgia. All the way home my husband quarreled with me and told me that if I had enough will power and didn't give way to imagination, I would be all right. He said that my condition was purely lack of self-control and he would use himself as an example of a person who always enjoyed good health because of will power and self-control.

If I ever mentioned that I had a headache, he would say, "Well, if you would just get up and dress and make some effort, you would forget about your condition." My attacks were very severe, but I did make great effort to get up and to walk just to avoid quarrels with my husband, but the quarrels kept up until we arrived home. Even on the boat he was very mean. He avoided me as much as possible and went around with groups of other persons. \* \* \*

INTERVIEWER. Will you now give me an account of your family life after moving into the community in which you are now living?

ANSWER. We moved to this community two years ago and our main troubles started when Milton began to run away from home. He went away many times. Every time he would run away, there would be a family scene. His father finally threatened to lock the door

at night and force him to sleep out if he didn't come in by a certain hour. My husband and I quarreled about that. I said that it would never do to force the boy to stay out if he wanted to come home and that it was quite cold and that the child was coming in. My husband also wanted to beat Milton, but I interfered. He would also say very nasty things to Milton. For example, he would tell him that he had the intelligence of a child two years old and no judgment. One night when Milton came home late, his father told him to go into the bathroom and undress that he was going to thrash him. I let Milton get undressed and gave him a hot bath and put him to bed. When I wouldn't let my husband thrash him, we had a serious quarrel.

Milton just went from bad to worse after we moved into this community. He began to stay out late at night and stayed away all night and his whole manner changed. He began to be vulgar and to use vulgar words and to swear; he became interested in sex stories and he also began to talk about gangsters and stealing and underworld life. He also became more hard, in sort of a swaggering attitude. The more he got into difficulty, the more secretive he became. The strain between him and his father became so great that they could not carry on a conversation together without quarreling. My husband was always threatening to beat Milton and talking sarcastically to him and making mean remarks about him. Of course, Milton always came to me for protection and that always led to a quarrel between my husband and me. \* \* \*

INTERVIEWER. Will you please give me a description of your husband's behavior?

ANSWER. He has always been of an extremely sarcastic nature. If you are not inclined to accept his opinion and just what he says, he will start being sarcastic and make remarks about how little you know or accuse you of not wanting to improve yourself in any way. He was not only that way with me, but he had always been that way with the boys. He does not seem to be able to play with them and to be a pal.

If there is any discussion about anything, he always places the fault upon me. When Milton began to get into trouble, my husband always said, "See, I always told you that your methods were no good and that you were spoiling him." He always assumes that whatever training the children have had has been given by him. He has never been an affectionate type of person. Of course, I think that might be explained by saying that his mother never showed him any affection in his childhood.

He has the same troubles at work that he had at home. He takes a superior attitude; and if his way of thinking is not accepted, then he is not satisfied. A friend with whom he works told me that he felt my husband was "extremely childish and that if he would look in himself he would find the cause of all his trouble."

As a rule when he comes home from work in the evening he just barely speaks to us. If dinner is not ready, he usually goes downstairs and works in the shop until I call him to dinner. He will never start a conversation between the boys and himself. For instance, if we are discussing the news of the day or any current event and the boys ask him what he thinks about it, he will usually say that he has no time to waste on such things as reading petty newspaper gossip and thinks that we should spend our time improving our minds. He said if we would do the same things that he does we would be much better off.

INTERVIEWER. Do you go out to social affairs very frequently? If so, how does he get along there?

ANSWER. The people don't know him very well. He makes a good impression at first, but after they come to know him more intimately he shows his natural disposition by resenting their ideas and opinions. He embarrasses me very frequently in the presence of my friends by making sarcastic remarks to them. Just recently a very good friend of mine told me that she didn't care to be around my husband, because he is too sarcastic and cutting.

INTERVIEWER. Does he ever apologize to you?

ANSWER. No; instead of apologizing, he will try to prove to you that you are wrong and he is right. If you have a pretty good argument, then he will try to turn it all off by saying, "Well, my goodness; can't you take a joke?" I think in any situation he is inclined to think that he knows more than anyone else. Just occasionally, he will say that "I don't know a great deal about such and such a subject," but if I were to tell him that, then it would lead to a quarrel immediately.

INTERVIEWER. Is he inclined to be a lonely type of person?

ANSWER. Yes; he does not enjoy social contacts. He would rather spend his time working in his shop in the basement or reading.

INTERVIEWER. Do you and your husband have different views about religion?

ANSWER. We have had so many differences that it isn't possible for us to discuss that any more. I was

brought up to be very religious and I am still very religious. I wanted to send the boys to Sunday school, more for the social contacts than anything else, but my husband would not permit it. If I start to read the Bible, then he begins to pick it to pieces and point out the contradictions and faults. He makes sarcastic remarks about it, saying, "There are many books that one could read which would be far more elevating than the Bible." He always made such remarks in the presence of the children, and I thought that was very bad and we often quarreled about it, but because I couldn't change his opinion, I thought it best not to discuss such things in the presence of the children. Of course, the children have had very little religious training. Most of the trouble with my husband has been in connection with the question of training the children, questions of religion and not wanting to let him dictate just what I should read or what friends I should have, or how I should run the house, etc. I think that I am quite a different person from him. I enjoy people and would like very much to go to church and take an active part in social affairs in the community, but this is not possible if I stay with my husband. We are different on almost every point.

#### SUMMARY

The mother was the youngest child in a family of six children. She enjoyed a wholesome, active playlife as a child. Her parents were very religious and restricted her considerably during adolescence. She was married at an early age and has been quite unhappy in her marriage. She and her husband are incompatible; they are quite different in temperament, personality, interest, and cultural background. She is sociable, friendly, responsive, talkative, interested in novels, movies, current events, clubs, and neighborhood groups and devoted to her children.

*Siblings.*—(1) Milton, subject of the case-study.

(2) William, 13 years of age.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> William was referred to the clinic, because of stealing from home and lying, two years after the case of Milton was referred. He is antagonistic to his brother and mother.

He is a well-developed, normal-appearing boy. The physical examination failed to reveal any serious abnormalities. Stanford-Binet tests showed that he has superior intelligence. Chronological age 13 years, 3 months; mental age 15 years, 8 months; intelligence quotient 118. Basal years, XIV, small scatter. No success in years, XVIII.

William is bright and alert. He is "much more resourceful than his brother, has more constructive interests and is more discriminating in choosing his friends." He defends his father and is hostile to his mother.

Milton's attitudes toward each member of the family and his description of the family situation are given in the following short excerpt from his "own story."

There has always been trouble in our family as long as I can remember. My father and mother quarrel and find fault with each other over almost everything. Most of the time my father nags and finds fault with mother. He nags about her friends, what she reads, her religious ideas and opinions, the way she dresses and talks, just about everything that she does. He says to her, "Why do you go out with such and such a person, she's dumb?" "Why do you read novels and newspapers and cheap trash instead of fundamental books like Wells' Outline of History, and the Book of Knowledge?" "You wear too flashy clothes," "Your ideas are dumb and show you are not well read," "You're too sentimental and emotional about things, be more rational," etc. When he says these things it starts a quarrel. After the quarrel my mother cries and begs his pardon and everything is all right for a while. I can't remember any time that they didn't have quarrels like these. \* \* \*

My dad is very peculiar and not like any other man I have ever known. He is one-sided in his opinions and very dogmatic. He always insists that he is right although he is proved wrong. He is proud of himself, but he is very critical of people and always finds fault with what they say or do. But if anyone should criticize him there is trouble, he doesn't like it. He wants you to do everything just as he says, and sets himself up as a model. He is precise and particular about how he talks and the way he dresses. Once when I started to wash in warm water after he had told me to use cold water, he got mad and grabbed me by the throat with one hand, and started to hit me with the other but my mother took my part and then he got mad at her and told her to mind her own affairs. \* \* \*

I can't figure him out, so I just accept him at face value and let it go at that. He is sarcastic and belittles me in every way. He calls me "a giddy goat," "a silly ass," "a bad egg," and makes remarks about my dumbness and says I have a "child's mind." And the looks he can give you! He makes you feel miserable by just his peculiar, cynical expression. He doesn't approve of anything I do. My friends are all "bad characters and thieves," I read "trashy books," I'm not "dependable or truthful," "can't grasp fundamental things," "have wrong ideas about religion and everything." He thinks everything about me is wrong.

Everything will be nice in the house until my dad comes home from work, then the atmosphere changes. It soon feels like a morgue. He's cold and cynical and turns up his nose at everything. If I say a word about something that happened at school or read in the newspaper, he'll look at me as if to say, "Oh, is that all you've got to talk about? Why don't you get interested in something worth while?" So soon the whole atmosphere is changed and we just sit at the table without saying a word. If there is conversation it's always an argument and dad has to be right or there's trouble. \* \* \*

My mother is altogether different from my dad. She is sympathetic and patient. If I do wrong she scolds like most mothers, but in a nice way. She confides in me and even talks to me about her trouble with dad. She takes my part against him. I usually go out to shows with my mother. The whole family doesn't do things together very often. Usually my dad works or reads, my brother works in his shop, and mother and I go out together. She tells me that she has always had trouble with dad and that when my brother and me get out of school we will leave him. The trouble with the situation is that neither side ever gets together. My mother is religious and wants to go to church, but my dad objects and won't let her go. He thinks he is too intelligent to be religious. She likes movies and novels but he refuses to let her enjoy these things. \* \* \*

Now to discuss the last but not least member of the family, my brother. He is altogether different from me, not only in looks but in disposition. He generally sides with both my father and my mother so as to be safe. I have learned through painful experience that this is a wise thing to do. Our tastes do not agree with each other except in the picking of girls. He doesn't like to work very well except at the workbench where he can work with tools. He is very clever with his hands when it comes to making things. He doesn't seem to be disturbed about the family situation. He cusses at my dad behind his back, and sympathizes with my mother when my dad is not around. We hardly ever play together like brothers.

So our family is not like any other family; it is like dog eat dog, every fellow for himself. We never enjoy ourselves together or do things like other families. My mother has her own ideas and my dad has his, and they never agree. They never get together. I side with my mother, and that makes my dad sore, then he

thinks I am a double-crosser. My brother plays up to both of them and they both think he is a double-crosser. \* \* \*

This short statement from Milton is sufficient to indicate his hostility toward his father and his attachment for the mother. He is quite frank and confidential with the mother, but feels that the father is antagonistic to him and adversely critical of his behavior.

#### PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITHIN THE FAMILY

Having secured, through personal interviews, a description of the background, attitudes, and personality of Milton and his father and mother, the next step was to determine the rôle of each member in relation to each other. This cross-section picture of the attitudes and interrelationships was secured through a family interview in the home. The mother, father, Milton, a stenographer, and the interviewer participated in the interview. The complete interview is presented in the following verbatim report by the stenographer:<sup>4</sup>

INTERVIEWER. I suggest that we have a very frank discussion of the difficulties which you are having here at home. Please feel free to express your fundamental feelings toward each other. It is only by understanding your feelings concerning each other that I can be of any service to you.

FATHER. His (Milton's) difficulties have been too numerous to mention. I can relate a few of the outstanding ones. His outstanding problem is a lack of details and to ignore fundamentals. He is extremely superficial and proved to be flighty and impulsive. He should be interested in the fundamental and technical aspects of a problem.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Although verbatim reporting of family interviews may prove to be impracticable in the routine investigation of cases, it does have tremendous value for research purposes. Among other things, it is complete, giving both the exact questions and responses, and it is objective. In the usual practice of recording interviews from memory, the record is not only incomplete, but its original meaning is necessarily somewhat distorted when translated into the language of the interviewer.

<sup>5</sup> It is of interest to note that the father has very definite notions at the outset as to what the boy's interests should be. Any divergence from the father's preconceived standards is sufficient proof to the father that Milton is stubborn, antagonistic, and has perverse interests.

MILTON (sarcastically). Like you, I suppose? <sup>7</sup>

FATHER (ignoring Milton's reply). Now, for example, at various times he has undertaken what I hoped would be a hobby, such as chemistry, biology, geology, and so forth. As soon as he skims the general surface and finds that considerable hard work is required to master the subject, he loses interest. But afterward he will pretend to others that he knows all about the subject, and talks about it glibly. He is an actor and not a doer. He likes to make impressions on other persons, to pretend profound knowledge, but without merit. He craves admiration rather than knowledge.

INTERVIEWER. Please give specific example, Mr. Walker.

FATHER. Well, after he started to high school he wanted to join the radio club. I said that I would be very pleased to see him do it, but that I felt that he should know something about the fundamentals of radio before entering the club. With this in mind, I got books dealing with the subject of radio and tried to show him the fundamentals, but after a superficial glance or two, enough to see that there were difficulties involved, he gave it up. I have never found anything that he will devote himself to.

MILTON. You always discourage me. You want me to do everything just as you see it, and then you get peeved if I don't like your ideas. You're always right, and I'm always wrong. Nothing seems to please you. You always thought I was a scatterbrain, a giddy goat. I can't be playful like other boys.<sup>8</sup>

FATHER. We want you to be serious and to have a fundamental knowledge of things. You are interested too much in trashy books and magazines. If I may give another example, he (Milton) may bring home a stone, and I would be interested in its composition, its color, and endeavor to look for its stratification and history. Then I get a book and try to get Milton interested in the formation of the earth and the history of the stone, but immediately he loses interest when he finds there is so much to know about the subject.

<sup>7</sup> Milton's answer suggests the high degree of emotional conflict between father and Milton. The latter's aggressive and combative mood reflects a fundamental attitude of antagonism toward the father.

<sup>8</sup> Anticipation of pleasant social contacts through membership in the radio club was the boy's chief interest in joining this group. The father, on the other hand, feels that the acquisition of a fundamental knowledge of the technical aspects of radio should be the boy's objective and utterly fails to appreciate the possibility of other interests.

MILTON. I'd be interested, but I feel that you think I am dumb, and that you know everything.<sup>9</sup>

FATHER. Another thing, he has lied so much that we have been bound to distrust him. We could never trust him. He will not obey.

MOTHER. I feel that is largely our fault. You have never given him a chance. He feels that you are too critical and that you will find fault with him. You always found fault with me the same way.<sup>10</sup>

FATHER. I can not give merit where it is not deserved.

MILTON. You give yourself credit. I know things on you, but I don't want to tell them.

FATHER. Come out with it, old chap.

MILTON. It's a long story. But you spoil everything. If I come into the house singing and whistling, you look at me as if I were silly. You make the place feel like a morgue. Everything seems cold and formal. He (father) acts sore and peeved if we talk about things in the paper, or talk about a good movie. He says these things are trash.<sup>11</sup>

FATHER. I have tried to get you interested in substantial things. Movies and magazines are cheap and trashy. You should spend your time reading worth-while books.

MILTON (sarcastically). The dictionary and encyclopedia? You didn't want me to talk about my girl friends, or be interested in them. That's frivolous, too, according to you.

FATHER. Your behavior is of great interest to me, and of course I observe you closely. I suppose that's why you feel like a caged animal under observation.

INTERVIEWER. Have you ever felt that way, Milton?

<sup>9</sup> Again it is obvious that the father arbitrarily attempts to impose his interest in abstractions upon the boy whose interests are more natural. Milton's normal interests are frustrated by the father's arbitrary attitude and insistence upon conformity to his own viewpoint. The more comprehensive knowledge of the father tends to inhibit Milton and place him in an inferior position.

<sup>10</sup> This indicates that the father's attempt to assert his own personality and assume the rôle of dictator is not limited to his relationship with Milton, and suggests that mother and son have certain common attitudes toward the father which may serve as a basis for a higher degree of rapport than is possible between father and son.

<sup>11</sup> The father's constant and persistent effort to impress Milton with the seriousness of life and the importance of "fundamentals" along with his uncompromising determinism, crushes all spontaneity from the relationship. There is no evidence of sentiment or affection nor recognition of personality differences, so essential to spontaneous relationships in the family. Normal spontaneity thus gives way to rigid formality with resultant misapprehension and tension.

MILTON. I don't know how to put that, but I know they have observed me quite closely as to what I do.

INTERVIEWER. Do you think you have been observed too closely?

FATHER. Perhaps I can state an example that might fit in with your line of thought. Last week we were visiting a friend's house, within walking distance. About 10.30 Milton asked to come home. He quite frequently had asked to leave before, and I asked if he didn't think it was improper to leave when we were visiting, that it was best not to leave in this manner. The glance that he gave me! His expression was sort of a sneer. Is that right, old top?

MILTON. Somewhat; not exactly. You are always catching me up about the waste-paper baskets or the ashes or the ashes for the yard and not having a job. Nothing that I do ever satisfies you. You could always do it better.

FATHER. Well, I only mentioned once about you not having a job.

MILTON. Well, you have mentioned it indirectly and by insinuation.

FATHER. Well, perhaps I mentioned that it would be best if you could remember to do things without being told and get a job and stay out of bad company.

MILTON. Did you mention it quite that way?

FATHER. Well, how did I mention it?

MILTON. Well, sometimes you look in a calm way, and then in a way as to suggest "well, what's the use, he's too dumb to understand."<sup>12</sup>

FATHER. Well, perhaps that is true. Sometime ago I asked Milton if he could take care of sifting the ashes. I took care of the furnace situation, and thought the boy should have established duties, and thought for awhile I would rotate them. It was unsuccessful; the sifting was not done, and there were other irregularities, so I told them to stop and I would do it myself, hoping that they might feel ashamed in not doing good

<sup>12</sup> This is an excellent illustration of the significance of gestures as regards personal relationships in the family. Gestures frequently carry more meaning than the spoken word and play an important part in communication and a significant rôle in the conditioning of attitudes. They are often quite subtle and subject to various interpretations. In this instance the father's facial gesture has a peculiar significance to the boy. It is the boy's interpretation, rather than the father's intended meaning, which is important in understanding the boy's attitude toward the father.

enough for me to trust them, so I took it over myself. A few days ago I asked them to take over the ashes again, and I noticed they were not sifted.<sup>13</sup>

MILTON. I said they were, and you practically told me I was lying. You said it didn't look like it and that at least it was a very poor job.

FATHER. But that is just an incident, and we call it lack of interest.

MILTON. How often do you call it that?

INTERVIEWER. What does he call it, Milton?

MILTON. Well, lack of thoroughness and attention, and dumbness.

INTERVIEWER. How do you feel about it?

MILTON. Oh, sometimes I bear it with good will and just let it go at that, and other times I boil with fury.

FATHER. You notice that he does not seem to express the thought that maybe he is wrong.<sup>14</sup>

INTERVIEWER. How do you feel about that, Milton?

MILTON. Oh, sometimes I know I'm wrong, but it don't seem to mean anything. I was supposed to be captain of the house and told my brother to do his share, but telling him didn't mean anything, so I got the blame. My brother became captain, and I still got the blame for what wasn't done.

FATHER. You seem to forget cases when I came up from downstairs and told brother exactly what was to be done.

MILTON. Once you did and he started an argument.

FATHER. But didn't I make it clear to him on several occasions that if there were any arguments, that you were to come to me, and let me settle it?

MILTON. Just lately, if there was anything wrong—you kept asking what was wrong. He's captain now.

FATHER. Well, perhaps I should have issued a bulletin and pasted it up on the wall. I think, perhaps, that Milton's being out of work and study, etc., causes this

<sup>13</sup> The father's devotion to precision in thought is also evidenced in his attempt to establish certain set rules in accordance with which the family duties must be conducted. Rigid adherence to these rules is required, with no allowance for even minor deviations. His attempt at control through shaming the boy proves ineffective. This is probably largely due to the formal nature of their relationship, from which sentiment and affection have been excluded, with a resultant lack of respect for the father's wishes on the part of the boy.

<sup>14</sup> It is assumed throughout by the father that the unbearable conflict situation in the home has arisen through the behavior of the mother and Milton, due to their lack of intelligence. He fails to appreciate the possibility that their behavior may be in fact a reaction to his own personality.

somewhat rebellious attitude at times. We have to overlook it, but can't let it go too far.

MILTON. You think you overlook things when you don't complain, but I can tell by the expression on your face that you would like to give me a good flogging.<sup>15</sup>

FATHER. Now, do you think I try to play the game?

MILTON. Yes; but you let your temper get the best of you sometimes, and you are always right.

FATHER. What is your explanation?

MILTON. Well, I think things get rather monotonous, and you get riled up about it, and that you are stubborn.

INTERVIEWER. Well, do you not think you are more at fault than anyone else?

MILTON. Well, for not doing things, I am; but he loses his temper for lots of things he needn't. I used some hot water, and I wasn't supposed to, and he lost his temper about that.

FATHER. I think you remember that I explained afterwards that that particular thing itself didn't amount to anything, and usually, as I explained to you, an outburst was the result of a number of small things casually overlooked, but when you continued to overlook these things, then occasionally there is an outburst.<sup>16</sup>

MILTON. Several times I have been told to do things, and I started to speak to you and you wouldn't listen to me.

FATHER. When was that?

MILTON. Well, you biffed me once when I was out a little late.

FATHER. Did I make any statement?

MILTON. I don't know. Did he, mother?

FATHER. Well, remember this? I said, "It is a shame I have to treat you like an animal, but if everything else fails, and I have to treat you like an animal, then by George I will." Talking and discussion didn't seem to do much good because you seemed to think we were just sitting in a pulpit reciting sermons to you, and the sooner you could get away from the lecture the better, but usually when I lecture you, it is in very

<sup>15</sup> This statement illustrates again the manner in which meanings are transmitted through facial gestures. In this case the father's various facial gestures conveyed to the boy his underlying feelings in a much more effective way than his verbal expressions.

<sup>16</sup> Mr. Walker seldom retracts a statement or admits even partial errors in judgment. He maintains his self-conceived rôle of dominance through characteristic defense reactions when forced by the emergency of a crisis situation which threatens the inviolability of his judgment. He usually resorts to rationalization or otherwise circumvents pertinent issues.

few words. I say what I want to, and then drop the matter.<sup>17</sup>

MILTON. I don't know about you dropping it. You don't forget things immediately.

FATHER. About a year ago you made a statement that the world owes you a living. We talked about that quite a bit. Then there are other things that you have brought up, for example, that boys ought to have the right to do as they wish, or something of that nature, and I pointed out that it was up to parents as a duty to train children the best they could, and so long as the children were children and growing up, they had to be trained.

MILTON. But you put it in such a way that I felt that you thought that children were considered to be below their elders, and could not be allowed to speak back or have their own arguments. You said if children acted like dogs, then parents had to treat them that way; but mother said, "He is not a dog;" but you said "animals have to be treated that way, and if he acts like an animal he gets treated as one." You said children were like animals and had to be made to obey one way or another.<sup>18</sup>

FATHER. I didn't put it quite that way. I said it was right to ask them to do things, but if that doesn't work, they should be forced.

MOTHER. You rather stressed the force element when the boys were young, and with me. You are inclined to insist that everyone do things according to your idea. I have the same trouble with you.<sup>19</sup>

FATHER. Children must be treated with force if other methods fail. I have tried every way to get you to be rational with the boys and show an intelligent interest in books and worth-while things. Everything seems to

<sup>17</sup> It is apparent that the father expects Milton to abide by certain rather arbitrary rules. These rules, it should be noted, are not arrived at through a spontaneous and friendly discussion participated in by all the members of the family as situations demanding definition arise. Mr. Walker reserves the privilege of deciding all issues and attempts to coerce the other members of the family into conformity with his plans.

<sup>18</sup> Mr. Walker's attitude with regard to the dominance of parents and subordination of children obviously creates a barrier between himself and Milton, who feels that the expression of his personality is thwarted by the unyielding attitudes of his father.

<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that the mother seldom participates in the discussion. She also is made to feel inferior to her husband and, rather than antagonize him in the presence of other persons, tends to assume a rather passive rôle in the family situation. When she does enter into the discussion, however, it is always to rise to the defense of Milton, in relation to whom she has a sympathetic and understanding attitude.

fail but force. You have not been the best example in the world to the children.

MILTON. Yes; when I was young that was all you did was lick and find fault. I remember that quite well.<sup>20</sup>

FATHER. When you were little you used to run away and I got a switch and used it on you. That was the time that mother's health was pretty bad, and you ran away and that upset her considerably.

MILTON. Have you always considered her health?

FATHER. Not always, perhaps. I see you are searching for slams.

MOTHER. As a matter of fact, when you ran away, I don't think you realized that you were running away. For instance, when you were in the second grade in school I was ill; my husband was out of the city, and I sent you to the grocery for bread. You brought the bread back, put it on the stairs, and that was the last we saw of you. We waited and waited, and when it came around ten o'clock we called the police, and they said most likely you were at a friend's house. The next morning we called the school and found you were in school, and I asked to have you sent home, and asked you why you went away and you said you went out for adventure. You said your teacher told you about a little black cat that went out for adventure, and so you went out for adventure, too. I knew the teacher, and she said, "Yes; it was quite true she had read the story to the class the day before."

FATHER. It is typical of him to do such things. He forms his opinion of the world from what he reads, and he reads outlandish stuff. For instance, he reads detective stories and wild-west stories, and then tries to put the stories into practice. For a lad of his age he puts too much credence in the various facts, for example, what a detective does. He assumes great familiarity with criminals, and is boastful about it. He seems proud of the fact that he has so much knowledge about criminals and underworld characters. His views are very markedly picked up from that type of literature. I think it was just recently (turning to his wife) that you cleaned out a large pile of filthy and trashy literature from his desk.

MILTON. I know you did, and when I saw that the literature was gone, I didn't say anything. [Laughing.]

<sup>20</sup> There is evidence here that the boy's attitude of antagonism toward the father is of long standing. One should bear in mind that attitudes of the description expressed in this interview are formed only over a period of time rather than representing merely emotional reactions to an immediate situation.

I knew dad was going to bring that subject up when he mentioned detectives. He always does mention those two things together.

FATHER. He is putting into practice a great deal of what he has been reading of late. For example, we let him go to the dentist. He went alone and made subsequent appointments. One evening we had occasion to call the dentist, to make inquiries about the appointment, and were informed that no appointment had been made for that afternoon. He had deliberately lied to us, and probably had done it on many other occasions. That shows why we can not trust him. A week or two later he asked to go to a friend's house to get some books. In view of the first incident, we refused to let him go, and there was a tantrum.

MILTON. You misinterpreted my behavior on the second occasion. I simply wanted the books to read, as I didn't have any to read at home. The only way I can get what I want is through little tricks like that.<sup>21</sup>

FATHER. But you will remember that I often said that when you do these things it makes us suspicious of everything you say. I have asked you to try to play the game straight, so that we could get back our confidence in you.

MILTON. Well, the night that I asked you to go to my friend's house to get the books, I really wanted to go to the gymnasium. I knew if I told you where I wanted to go there would be a fuss.

INTERVIEWER. Why didn't you tell your folks that you wanted to go to the gymnasium?

MILTON. Well, I knew that they would refuse. My mother was barking around about the cold weather, and I knew that she wouldn't let me go out that night. But I did feel that they might let me go to get the books, and then I would be free to go to the gymnasium.

FATHER. You see, he takes these serious things in a frivolous attitude. Everything is a joke to him. We have to be stern with him, but when we are he takes a defensive attitude.

INTERVIEWER. Milton, where did you get the notion of telling your family that you were going to a friend's house when you wanted to go to the gymnasium?

MILTON. Oh, I cooked that up from what I had read, and the fellows in the gang use tricks like that.

<sup>21</sup> Inasmuch as his normal interests are thwarted by his father, Milton resorts to the use of various devices and tricks designed to circumvent what he considers to be unreasonable demands on the part of the father. The detection of these tricks irritate the father. They lead him to make a more determined effort to gain a dominant rôle in the situation.

FATHER. Well, most of the difficulty is due to the fact that when we ask you to explain things, you are not frank, and always try to dodge the issue. For example, you won't mention the names of the fellows that you get into trouble with. As you yourself have said many times, you don't want to speak of anybody's names, because that would get them into trouble. I tried to point out to you that in a way that was being a good sport, but it was not the proper thing to do because you were protecting bad elements in not trying to help make matters better. From my point of view, you were throwing yourself in with bad elements and protecting them. It was just the same as admitting, I told you, that you preferred that bad view of life and, therefore, protected your friends that were in with you.

MILTON. Well, I protected them, as I told you, because they were the only friends I had.

FATHER. Well, haven't I pointed out that we have very few friends here, and that it is not desirable for us to make many friends in this community? We can't afford to associate with the people in this community.

MILTON. But that isn't my disposition. I can't be a hermit. I can't live without my friends.

INTERVIEWER. What did you mean, Milton, when you said that these boys were the only friends you had?

MILTON. Well, I simply mean that when I come home I feel that I am not welcome and not wanted, so naturally I want to be with the persons who like me.<sup>22</sup>

FATHER. Maybe I can explain this situation. For quite some time I tried to ignore Milton and to show him I didn't care much what he did. This was to indicate to him that I had lost confidence in him, and that he was a person of indifference to me. I didn't pay much attention to him and permitted him to go his own way; I didn't want to be cordial to him until he was willing to take a different attitude toward the low characters that he was associating with.<sup>23</sup>

MILTON. I knew that you were indifferent to me, but the indifferent feeling stopped as soon as I asked if I could go out at night.

FATHER. I pointed out that you couldn't be out all afternoon until 6 o'clock, and then go out again in the

<sup>22</sup> The absence of such recognition and response as the usual intimacies of the normal family group provides its members, forces Milton to seek contacts outside of the home. The fulfillment of these wishes is dependent upon participation and identification with a primary group in which formalities are largely supplanted by intimate and spontaneous personal relationships. The play group and neighboring gang constitute such primary group relationships.

<sup>23</sup> Mr. Walker resorts to indifference as a technique of control but in the absence of an intimate and congenial relationship with the boy, this device is rendered ineffective.

evening. Why do you suppose that we don't have this trouble with brother? Perhaps you think we favor him and discriminate against you?

MILTON. I don't know where you get the "we." I don't think mother feels as you do about me. I think brother can put things over more smoothly than I can. Perhaps he shows more wisdom than I do.

FATHER. Did you say "wisdom"? Don't you realize that possibly he is not as much of a problem as you are?

MILTON. Well, you have always said that my brother was brighter than me; but I think that he is just a little bit more cautious.

MOTHER. I agree with Milton that brother is just a little bit better liar. I feel that brother is one of those heaven-faced types that can get out of mischief by lying. I put it in that way so as to show that we understand him too. He gets into scrapes, but he looks at you with that innocent expression which would make almost anyone believe him. For example, yesterday afternoon we went to a friend's house. Brother went with me. In the evening he came to me and asked me if he could go over to our home. I said "No; Milton is there alone; if you go over there there will be a scrap on hand." A few minutes later, brother and the little youngster in the family, where we were visiting, went out. In an hour or two he returned, and I asked him "Where have you been—over to the house?" He looked straight into my eyes and said "No; I wasn't over there." I knew he was lying. I didn't want to go into details there, but after we got home I cornered him and he admitted that he had been over to our house. Now, if the average person would have questioned him like that, the way he would look at them and say "No" would have convinced the person that he was telling the absolute truth. So I know that he does get away with a lot of things at school and here at home because of his cleverness.

FATHER. Well, I would almost be willing to see Milton get into trouble, if he would only react in the pleasant and clever manner that brother does. But he always adopts that defensive attitude. Of the two, I prefer brother's reactions.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Our records indicate that in many respects William presents a more difficult problem than Milton. Mr. Walker tends to overlook these problems, however, because William's reactions are not offensive to him. This suggests the extent to which Milton's problems are exaggerated, because of his personal reaction to his father's personality. The clash between these two personalities tends to create tension and conflict over issues which in and of themselves are inconsequential.

INTERVIEWER. Milton, why do you adopt a defensive attitude in relation to your parents?

MILTON. Well, because that is the way they expect me to react. They look at me as if to say, "Is that true?" and then I have a funny feeling that after I have told the truth I should have told a lie.<sup>25</sup> The other day dad asked me if I had a gun. When I told him "No," he said, "Now, is that true?" and I said, "No." I knew there would be an argument if I told the truth, so I just denied it. My brother gets real mean when he can't have his own way, but I usually sit down and read a book with "that amused grin," as my father calls it.

FATHER. If I could only get you to see that if you played the game along with the rest of us, we wouldn't have to be suspicious of you. We could talk things over frankly, but friction only comes after continued disregard of things we say and what we want.

MILTON. It is very difficult to talk things over with you. You feel free to go into details, but when I go into details, you call me names and tell me to shut up.

FATHER. Now, did I ever say that?

MILTON. Well you didn't say it quite so bluntly. How do you describe it, mother? Maybe my words are not wise enough.

FATHER. Well, if you would follow my instructions, and read better literature, perhaps you could express yourself better.

INTERVIEWER. Milton, do you feel that your parents favor your brother and discriminate against you?

MILTON. Well, they find fault with both of us, but I get the worst of most deals. If dad finds ashes near the furnace, he will always ask me, "Did you leave these here?" Even if my brother is in the basement with dad, dad will come all the way up to the kitchen to ask me if I left the ashes on the floor.

FATHER. Well, perhaps you have caused me to develop that attitude. I wonder why?

MILTON. I don't know. Perhaps you think that brother is a little more steady in school and not as mean as I am.

INTERVIEWER. Milton, have your parents ever compared you unfavorably with your brother?

<sup>25</sup> Milton has come to assume a rather definite rôle in relation to the family. He realizes that his father distrusts him and he often plays the rôle expected of him. This further aggravates the situation by irritating the father, who becomes more distrustful and arbitrary in his efforts to control.

MILTON. Well, they used to quite frequently, especially dad. He always impresses upon me my dumbness and my brother's brilliance.

FATHER. Can you mention specific examples in which we did that? I think I have got your thought, old chap, but did we put it just that way?

MILTON. Yes; many times when brother and I would be discussing something at the table, you would call me a silly ass; but when my brother made remarks and I laughed at him, you would scold me for laughing.

FATHER. It is possible that that happened a few times, but I don't believe that you are expressing it correctly.

MOTHER. I do believe that we have given Milton reason to feel that way about the situation; but even in school the teacher often made such statements as this—that brother would be out of high school before Milton would finish grammar school.

FATHER. Well, isn't it a fact, Milton, that time and again I have remarked that brother deserved no special credit for what he did at school, nor for his good behavior, because he made no effort and had a mind like a sponge? Didn't I say many times that the fellow who makes an effort deserves more credit—that if you made an effort you would deserve more credit than brother?<sup>28</sup>

MILTON. Yes; but I think I have made as much effort as brother, but you can't see it that way.

INTERVIEWER (to father). How do you feel about Milton's present associates?

FATHER. They are rather mixed; but I believe he prefers the worst members of his group. He hasn't much opportunity to select good companions because of the undesirable type of neighborhood; but he could exercise judgment in selecting the good associates in the community.

MOTHER. There is one boy, by the name of Alex, with whom Milton associates very much. I have told Milton many times not to go to his house. I pointed out to him that he couldn't afford to get mixed up with boys of that character. I told Milton that I was very sorry for this boy and felt that if he had the proper parents he would be a very nice boy; but since he had no education and couldn't even read or write his own name, I felt that he should not associate with him. A boy who gets ideas about having revolvers isn't a safe companion, especially when he hasn't any home background.

<sup>28</sup> Although not feeling inferior to his brother, Milton resents discriminations intended to imply his own lack of efficiency and intelligence. The father frequently resorts to indirect comparisons and subtle inferences which give rise to further antagonism and negativism in Milton.

FATHER. I think that you [referring to the mother] have always been too lax about the boy's companions.

MOTHER (defensively). I think that is a responsibility for both of us.

INTERVIEWER. Where did you get the revolver, Milton?

MILTON. The boys in the gang gave it to me. I was to keep it for them. We had planned to use it when we went out on crooked jobs.

FATHER. What were you going to do, break into candy stores?

MILTON. Yes; breaking into stores and shoplifting.

INTERVIEWER. Tell us about some of the activities in your gang, Milton.

MILTON. The older fellows in the gang always talked about going robbing and stealing from the stores. I went with them many times; but then I finally made up my mind that I would go straight. The boys asked me if I would go "Christmas shopping" with them—that is, go shoplifting. I told them that I wouldn't go. They saw me every few days and kept asking me if I had changed my mind and would go robbing places with them. They came around every day or two and coaxed me to go, but I told them that I was going straight.

INTERVIEWER. Why didn't you go with them on these trips?

MILTON. I didn't feel that I wanted to.

INTERVIEWER. But why didn't you want to? You had previously gone with them?

MILTON. Well, I wanted to get a job, and you have to go straight to keep a job.

INTERVIEWER. Well, when they suggested that you go shoplifting or breaking into stores, tell me very frankly how you felt about it.

MILTON. Well, I had nothing against going, but I had made up my mind that I was going to get a job and go straight.

INTERVIEWER. When you told them that you were going straight what did they say?

MILTON. They laughed at me and told me that I was afraid. Then one of them said, "Oh, well, he'll come again in a few days."

INTERVIEWER. Were you afraid to tell them that you wanted to go straight?

MILTON. Yes; I worried about it for a whole week and couldn't sleep. I had a fighting speech all made up, but when I met them I was afraid to give my speech. I just

blurted out that I thought that what they were doing was wrong. I couldn't give my speech.<sup>27</sup>

INTERVIEWER. Why was it so difficult for you to tell them that you wanted to go straight?

MILTON. I thought maybe they would think that I was deserting them altogether.

INTERVIEWER. But why were you so concerned about that?

MILTON. Well, because of the way I thought they might feel about me.

INTERVIEWER. What did you think their feelings would be?

MILTON. Well, I thought they would say, "You are yellow and are afraid to go robbing with us any more."<sup>28</sup>

INTERVIEWER. I think that is very interesting, Milton.

FATHER. Yes; I think he showed some courage in standing up for the right that way.

MILTON. Well, there are two kinds of courage—physical and moral courage. I think we need more moral courage here.

FATHER. Well, I think you are getting a little more courage all the time. I have always tried to develop more moral courage in you; but there is much room for improvement yet.

INTERVIEWER. Now, Milton, will you enumerate the things in your home situation that you do not like. What changes in the situation would you recommend in the interest of your own happiness?

MILTON. I don't know whether it is necessary to make any changes—just a little more discretion would help. I don't like the idea of being the goat around the house.

<sup>27</sup> The reader should observe that Milton's loyalty to the gang makes it exceedingly difficult for him to repudiate these traditional delinquent values. In the family group, however, he has no hesitancy in freely discussing his delinquent exploits even though they represent a definite violation of the family values and are quite unapproved by his parents. This clearly illustrates the relative rôles of the two groups as regards his affections and loyalties. The intimate personal attachments obtaining among the members of the gang serve as a basis of control and make any violation of the group code exceedingly difficult. The formal atmosphere of the home on the other hand, leaves little room for sentiments or affection in the family relationships, especially as between father and son. The absence of such personal relationships makes the problem of effective control by the family extremely difficult.

<sup>28</sup> The thing which concerned Milton here was the loss of status in the gang which would necessarily follow his proposed declaration to "go straight." Concerning this point the reader should bear in mind that Milton has no status to lose in the family, at least as far as his father is concerned, due to the manner in which his rôle has been defined. For this reason violation of the family standards does not entail such serious consequences as violation of the gang code.

INTERVIEWER. That is No. 1. What else?

MILTON. Well, another thing, I wish dad would be more frank with me when I ask him if I can go out in the evening and do other things. I wish there would not be so much suspicion and so much questioning as to where I am going, and why I am going, and what I am going to do. It is monotonous to have them thinking all the time that there is something wrong about everything that I do.

INTERVIEWER. Let us suppose that when you want to go out in the evening you ask your parents and tell them frankly what you wish to do.

MILTON. That would be all right if they would believe me. But there is always a big argument, and you would think that I was going to commit a penitentiary offense, by the way they question me.

INTERVIEWER. Well, what other change would you suggest, should be made?

MILTON. Well, I wish they would let me be more playful around the house. When I come in with a playful air, dad looks at me in a disgusted way, and says that I am always in a silly frivolous mood. He calls me a silly ass or a giddy goat.

FATHER. I like to see you boys have a good time, but I think you should be serious also.

MILTON. When I come in with that frivolous air, you look at me as if to ask, "Now what mischief have you done?" The only time I ever feel good is when you are playing bridge and don't pay any attention to me. When you are not playing bridge I know I am going to get full attention.

INTERVIEWER. What do you mean?

MILTON. Oh, dad thinks that I am shiftless and slovenly and have a bad mind. There aren't any compliments in the things that he says about me.<sup>29</sup>

INTERVIEWER. How has your mind been described?

MILTON. Well, he says that I am dumb, silly, and can't be trusted.

FATHER. Perhaps I can illustrate what I mean by those statements. A few days ago I made a remark, perhaps in an indirect manner, about the type of pic-

<sup>29</sup> It has been evident throughout this interview that, so far as the father is concerned, Milton has received very little recognition in the home except in a negative way. The occasional recognition which he does receive is qualified by such statements as "there is still room for much improvement." It has been pointed out that with regard to the desires for response, thrill, and recognition, the gang provides that which the family does not afford, because of the personal and intimate nature of its relationships.

tures that he was interested in. I told him that the pictures that interested him were vulgar and trashy.

MILTON. When I tell you about things that I read you always say, "Your selection of literature shows that you have a base mind."

FATHER. Milton, suppose there was a person walking along the precipice in the daytime. If he were normal, you would probably pay no attention to him. But if he had dizzy spells, you would try to stop him, especially if he tried to climb down the precipice. That illustrates my point. Formerly, I used to cut up around the house quite a lot, didn't I? Well, I have cut out the jokes, because I felt that there was too much frivolity, when you were needing to be more serious. That was another way I had of trying to pull you back the right way.<sup>30</sup>

MILTON. Well, I can be serious when I want to be. I don't have any trouble in being serious with my chums.

MOTHER. I don't think that Milton is frivolous when he cuts up and wants to tell funny stories. He is simply much freer about telling such things than his father ever was, and I think that is why his father is rather free to criticize him. Whenever there were things that Milton did not understand he would come to me and ask me. Many times he talked to me about things that were not very suitable for him to tell his mother. I think you (addressing the father) have been altogether too critical with him just as you have been with me. Brother does not confide in me, but he will tell his secrets to his friends, where if he told them to us, we could help him. I have tried to talk frankly with brother, but he isn't a child one can talk things over with; he will change the subject immediately, or will have some way of getting out of it. I have heard him discussing things that were much worse than the things that Milton discussed. While we find more fault with Milton, Milton talks more freely about personal things than brother does.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> The control technique here resorted to by the father only intensified the conflict by removing the last semblance of sympathetic participation in the boy's activities and substituted a formality which only widened the breach between them.

<sup>31</sup> Again we have evidence of the mother's tendency to display sympathetic insight with certain of Milton's problems, due to their mutual attitudes of hostility to the father's personality. It is also apparent that Milton's deceit and evasiveness are largely restricted to direct dealings with the father. With respect to his mother and gang associates he is quite free, spontaneous, and natural in his reactions. This fact suggests that in so far as the family tensions are concerned the chief problems result from a reaction against the domineering personality of the father.

INTERVIEWER (to mother). Have you any suggestions which you wish to make?

MOTHER. Well, as a matter of fact, I don't believe that I have much fault to find with Milton of late. I realize that since he is out of school and not working, that it is perhaps very monotonous here at home. Since I have been ill he has had to stay in the house all the time, and that has made things worse. I never have felt that Milton has been a very serious problem.

INTERVIEWER (to father). How would you compare the behavior of the two boys?

FATHER. Well, brother is more of a quiet, passive type of youngster. Nothing very much seems to excite him. He is quite happy with his tools in the basement. He is much more interested in things, hobbies, etc., than Milton. In school he has never been a problem, has never had to study—it just seems to come natural to him. On the other hand, Milton is always looking for excitement. If he sees his mother reading a book, he will ask her, "Is that a good story mother? Is it exciting?" If I happen to be reading a book, he will ask "How many people have been killed in the story?" Such things indicate his interests.<sup>32</sup>

MILTON. I have always liked exciting and thrilling stories. For example, *The Outlaw*, by Oliver Curwood. In that story I thought the outlaw was a very good sport, and took good care of the Northwest mounted policeman and even took the trouble to bury him. Dad wouldn't think that an outlaw could do a good deed like that. I was quite excited about it.

MOTHER. On the other hand, Milton can be rather serious when he wants to be. I believe that I see Milton's more serious side more clearly than anyone else in the family does. At times he is very confidential with me, and tells me about the things that he has been doing. I believe that he takes responsibility more seriously than brother does. He really is inclined to shoulder the responsibility of the world. He feels responsible for everything that happens if he is concerned in it in any way.

INTERVIEWER. Are you inclined to worry, Milton?

MILTON. Yes, I worry quite a lot.

INTERVIEWER. What do you worry about?

<sup>32</sup> One should note that the personal characteristics of William, which are considered desirable by Mr. Walker, are precisely those which tend to conform to his own standards, philosophy of life, and personality. Such divergences from the father's characteristic behavior patterns as Milton evidences are, on the other hand, considered intolerable.

MILTON. Mostly about conditions here at home.

INTERVIEWER. Do you worry after you have gone to bed at night?

MILTON. Yes; for a whole week I couldn't sleep.

INTERVIEWER. Why?

MILTON. Well, everything in general.

INTERVIEWER. Specifically?

MILTON. Well, for one thing, I worry about the troubles I have here at home, and the things they say about me.

INTERVIEWER. What else?

MILTON. Well, I worried for several days before I could make up my mind about telling the boys that I was going straight. The main thing was to make up my mind, and then go to it. When I thought about what they would say, I got chicken-hearted.

INTERVIEWER. Was there anything else, Milton?

MILTON. When mother was ill and I did all the work around the house, and when they bawled me out for every little thing I did, I thought that was rather funny.<sup>33</sup>

MOTHER. I think, as I have told Milton, that no doubt I have said many harsh things to him since I have been ill, but they were not intentional. I have been in such a nervous state that I have not been responsible for some of the things that I have said to him.

INTERVIEWER. Now, Mr. Walker?

FATHER. If improvements continue to occur in this young animal (looking at Milton), say, during the next two years, he may be quite a fine specimen of a man. The present irregularities in the curve representing his behavior seem to be becoming less, although the points of the curve are still very sharp at times. No doubt, no small part of these irregularities is due to the tension in the home. That tension might be subdivided into health, finances, and his own personal school and work relations. Allowing for these, I think he is making some progress. But even though we allow for this slight progress in our own mind, we still have to afford corrective influences.

INTERVIEWER (to father). Will you describe a little bit more concretely these irregularities to which you refer?

<sup>33</sup> Such tensions as exist between Milton and his mother are not of a serious character, nor are they based upon fundamental personal antagonisms. In the main these tensions have arisen as by-products of a generalized family-conflict situation developing from specific feeling-reactions to the father's personality. In spite of frequent tensions and an almost constant state of family conflict, Milton has maintained a rather deep-seated affection for his mother and a fundamental loyalty to the family group, the father excluded.

FATHER. These irregularities are clear cut, and may be divided into distinct classes: First, there is an effort to escape repression, as evidenced by his wanting to go out too frequently at night. Although we can understand that these promptings are no other than the feeling of approaching manhood and independence of thought and action, we can not excuse his sulky reactive moods. He feels our corrective measures altogether too keenly. There is also an indifference to detail. Now, when I say "detail," I mean details that a boy of his age might reasonably be expected to pay attention to. For example, when we give him definite duties that are to be done in a clear cut style, he becomes sulky when we bring his errors to his attention. In the third place, a barrier has developed between us, due to the suspicions he has caused us to have. Consequently, we can never fully trust him without questioning.<sup>34</sup> He mentioned that he couldn't go out nights without an intensive questioning. In a way, that is true. But he doesn't realize that we are doing our best to size up what the evening promises, judging mostly by his facial expressions.

MILTON (sarcastically to father). Dad, don't depend on my facial expressions, because, as you have frequently said, I am a good actor when I want to be.

FATHER. Yes, old chap, that is what led us to distrust you. We have learned what a good actor you are. But let me remind you that the better actor you become the worse the relationship between us may become. Think that over old top.

MILTON. Sometimes you can not tell what I mean by my facial expressions. Sometimes I feel amused when you question me about going somewhere. If I don't look you straight in the eye, you imagine all sorts of things. At least, that is the impression you give me.<sup>35</sup>

FATHER. Now I want to mention another of your faults. You are not observing enough of little things. For instance, there was a fruit pit, of some kind, in a

<sup>34</sup> It is obvious in the father's summary description and analysis of the family situation that his insight is seriously restricted by a total lack of appreciation of the rôle which his own personality plays. Formal and reserved in manner, abstract and precise in thought, Mr. Walker insists that all members of the family conform to his own scheme of life, and is entirely unappreciative and intolerant of any variance in point of view.

<sup>35</sup> This suggests again the significance of gestures in communication. The boy's interpretation of the gesture, rather than its intended meaning, serves as the stimulus for his reaction. Milton's hostile attitude toward the father and the latter's formal and arbitrary manners preclude the possibility of a frank and spontaneous relationship between them; consequently the tension and lack of understanding between them is constantly aggravated.

little glass tumbler for a week in the wash room. I left it there to see if you or anyone else [glancing at mother] would be particular enough to take it out, but you didn't.<sup>36</sup> Another thing, you will tear up the papers and leave them on the floor. These things are small, but they just happen to come to my mind. There are many many other things that I could mention which illustrates this point. You say that you do your work well and that you are criticized. Haven't I told you many times how careless you are about cooking our meals and washing the dishes? You may cook all right, but oh what a mess that kitchen is afterwards!

MILTON. Well, I always clean up the mess, don't I?

FATHER. Yes, you usually clean up the mess after I have asked you to; usually there is an argument about it. Other lads, your age, keep their eyes and ears open and, therefore, don't have to be reminded of obvious details.

MILTON (in a sarcastic tone of voice). How many lads' homes have you been in?<sup>37</sup>

FATHER. Why didn't you use your head when the gas man came?

MILTON. I did, but I could never do anything to suit you.

FATHER. Well, I have often wished that you would take an interest in something or other, like a hobby, and learn one thing thoroughly. I have suggested chemistry, biology, and astronomy as fields in which you might develop a hobby. Sometime ago you developed an interest in ranch life, but that fell flat immediately when Mrs. Clark told how hard she and her husband had to work on their ranch, keeping books and taking care of the cattle and so forth.

MILTON. Now, that's where you are off again. I lost interest in ranch life, not because I wouldn't like to keep books and take care of cattle, but because Mrs.

<sup>36</sup> Resort to such childish devices is indicative of the extent to which the father will go in order to test the various members of the family. Trivial matters which would normally be overlooked are a source of much annoyance to him.

<sup>37</sup> It is extremely significant in this case to bear in mind that as a matter of fact Mr. Walker is entirely unfamiliar with the normal interests and behavior of the average boy of Milton's age. Due to the circumstances of Mr. Walker's childhood, he never learned to enjoy participation in social groups. The behavior norms which he sets for Milton are projections of his own personality and are not consistent with what might normally be expected of the average boy. Any variance from the father's standards are interpreted by him as being indicative of divergence from normal behavior, since he regards himself as representing the norm.

Clark said that there was too much of a gamble in it. It didn't seem to be a good way to make money.

FATHER. The thing that is so disappointing about you is that you never have ambition enough to hold you over difficulties.

MILTON. I know that there are some lads that go in for hobbies, but I just haven't found that sort of thing interesting. Not all people are like you.

INTERVIEWER. Have you any more points which you wish to make Mr. Walker?

FATHER. There are some things which seem rather trivial in themselves, but in the aggregate become quite serious.

MILTON (interrupting father). Yes; I noticed that when I lost interest in your radio set downstairs you became very much annoyed because I didn't go in for such things.

FATHER. Perhaps you felt that way, but I hardly think that was the case. Perhaps in your own mind you thought that I was going to have that attitude and then associated everything with it. For a short time you seemed to take considerable interest in salesmanship. But that didn't last long either. How do you feel about that now?

MILTON. Well, you had your own ideas about that.<sup>38</sup> If you could argue in a nice, pleasant way, then there would be no criticism; but you have a way of telling one that he is wrong and suggesting that your own idea is much better. You felt that way about my interest in salesmanship. I got along pretty well selling magazines. I have tried many tricks which worked in selling magazines. Sometimes when I would go up to a house and knock, the woman would close the door in my face. Sometimes I would talk of something that was more interesting, and then maybe I would be able to sell a magazine.

FATHER. Well, supposing a customer asked you for a thirty-day discount, what would you do then?

MILTON. If I understand what you mean, I believe I have already had to do that.

FATHER. Well, suppose you were asked to discuss a discount of ten per cent or five per cent, what would you say?

MILTON. I could if I had a pencil and paper. I can't do it in my head, because I am rather poor at figures.

<sup>38</sup> Regardless of the particular type of interest or activity, Mr. Walker invariably interferes with the spontaneous and natural expression of Milton's personality.

But I don't see that that problem has anything to do with selling magazines.<sup>30</sup> Besides, you have to handle people differently.

FATHER. Well, I see that you have been reading the magazine on salesmanship.

INTERVIEWER. What kind of magazines do you like best, Milton?

MILTON. It is according to my mood. I have always liked ghost stories, weird tales, and detective stories. Recently I have become interested in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* because I like the romantic stories.

INTERVIEWER. What kind of movies do you like best?

MILTON. I used to like underworld pictures and wild west pictures best. I always liked Hoot Gibson in his cowboy pictures. Now, I like John Barrymore because he plays in romantic pictures.

INTERVIEWER. What kind of books do you like best?

MILTON. I always liked books of adventure and romance.

INTERVIEWER. How do you feel, Mr. Walker, about his choice of books, magazines, and movies?

FATHER. Well, any book that tends to remind him of home he will dislike. For example, any book that would have the slightest touch of work in it, or the slightest attempt to impart knowledge, would be rejected immediately. For example, he would never care for the *Outline of History* or the *Book of Knowledge*.

MILTON. Oh, I thought that the *Outline of History* was interesting; but after I slipped up on it, you wanted to go to the encyclopedia and everything else, to show that I was wrong and that you were right. After that we had an argument, which finally ended up in a fight. You always bring up a whole flock of arguments and say, "Now I will prove it to you"; then you get the encyclopedia and twist the word to suit yourself and then think that you are right.

FATHER. Well, I do think that some of the trouble is due to the fact that I have a tendency to be too precise. But yet, it is necessary for somebody to be precise around the house. For example, when you were reading about Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, I raised certain questions in order to impress upon you and Mrs. Walker the precise meaning of the words that were used, hoping that you would thus get the true meaning of the thought, if possible. In my effort to

<sup>30</sup> It is characteristic of the father to circumvent the real issue when his authority and superiority in the situation is threatened.

show you the true meaning, a lengthy argument followed.

MILTON. Well, if you remember, I backed you up at the very beginning. I know you. I have your number.

FATHER. But you shouldn't back out. You should come right to the fore and give your opinion.

MILTON. Yes? For how long? Who could do that with you?

FATHER. It is useful to have arguments like that, because you get more knowledge and keener insight.

MILTON. Yes; if I argue with the right person and one who doesn't think that he is right. That's what makes me angry. He puts me out of the argument before I get started, otherwise I could enjoy it. I have a lot of arguments at school and with my chums, and enjoy them. A few days ago I had an argument with a kid about the idea of gravity.

FATHER. There is one thing that might have given Milton the idea that I must always be right in our arguments. Mrs. Walker over here [indicates mother] has very frequently made this statement in Milton's presence: "Oh you (referring to me) are right before you start." Perhaps that has given him the same impression. I think many of his impressions of me have been taken over from his mother.

MOTHER. I don't think that is true at all. I think he formed his own ideas of your behavior, just as I did.

MILTON. When I argue with you dad, we never settle the question unless I grant that you are right. Maybe you remember the argument we had on Sunday morning, and I was right for once, but you wouldn't admit it. Instead, you just turned up new points and twisted the words to suit yourself. Then you turned the argument to your own favor and considered that you had won it.

This interview reveals quite clearly the respective rôles of Milton, the father, and the mother in relation to each other. The emotional tension between Milton and his father is apparent throughout the interview. It is clear, also, that there is considerable emotional interdependence between Milton and his mother. The interview further indicates the domineering and arbitrary attitudes of the father as contrasted with the more submissive and subdued rôle of the mother.

## BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE CASE

While this case study does not purport to reveal all of the various factors which contributed to Milton's behavior problems and the domestic discord, it is a vivid picture of family conflict and tensions without any formal break in the family relationships. At the time Milton was referred for study all four members of the family were living together. Although the home was subsequently broken by the desertion of the father, both boys had previously become behavior problems. Viewing the family from the functional standpoint, it is clear that the emotional conflicts and tensions which precipitated the formal break in the family relationships were far more important influences in Milton's behavior problems than the subsequent desertion of the father. As a matter of fact, the father's desertion relieved the conflict and tension to a marked extent.

It is clear from the case study that the domestic discord in this case was a matter of gradual growth and development, the result of a long process of summation, which probably had its origin in the fundamental differences in the early experiences, attitudes, personalities, and interests of the father and mother. While the presence of the children was perhaps a complicating influence in the tension between the parents, the fundamental and basic factors leading to the emotional discord existed prior to their birth. They were not only born into a situation fraught with emotional conflict, but it was in this situation that the early conditioning of their personalities took place. There is little question but that their failure to develop a stable life organization was due in part to the constant discord between the parents and the absence of consistent parental discipline and control.

The study of the case suggests very strongly that Milton's feeling of insecurity and inferiority was a reaction to the domineering attitude of the father and the latter's unfavorable discrimination against him in favor of William. What the family failed to provide in the way of stimulation, security, response, and recognition, Milton secured through his identification with the gang and his participation in its activities.

While the statistical data presented in Chapter IX failed to reveal a significant variation between the incidence of broken homes among male juvenile delinquents and a comparable series of school boys in the general population in Chicago, it should not be concluded that the family is not an important factor in the study of human behavior. These formal data do suggest the need for studying the more subtle and intangible relationships within the family group. Detailed case studies such as the one presented in this chapter suggest that the emotional tensions and conflicts within the family may be significant in determining delinquent behavior. At least such relationships appear to be important in the determination of personality problems, offenses against the home, and in the development of the child's fundamental attitudes and personality.

PART V

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF DELINQUENT  
CAREERS

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## CHAPTER XI

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF DELINQUENT CAREERS

Students of the problem of juvenile delinquency and adult crime agree that a large proportion of youthful criminals are initiated into delinquency during the early years of life. Case histories indicate that in many cases the delinquent behavior of inmates of penal institutions, particularly those convicted on charges of stealing, can be traced back to experiences which occurred in the period of childhood and early adolescence.<sup>1</sup> It appears from these cases that the habits and attitudes involved in criminal behavior are formed in the course of the successive social experiences of the individual. They are a product of growth and development, a process of summation, which has its origin in the process of interaction between the individual and the situation to which he is responsive. Viewed from this standpoint, a delinquent act is part of a dynamic life process, which can be understood only in relation to the sequence of experiences of which it is a part.

In the search for factors contributing to delinquency in a given case it is important to secure as complete a record of the successive events in the life of the offender as possible. This record should include not only the various types of

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<sup>1</sup> While there is a certain proportion of inmates of penal institutions whose careers in crime had their beginning subsequent to the adolescent period, unquestionably there is a much larger proportion of cases in which the initial experiences in delinquency occurred during the juvenile period. In a study of the careers of the 509 inmates of the Massachusetts Reformatory at Concord, 393 or 77.2 per cent had experiences in delinquency prior to the age of 17 years, 471 or 92.5 per cent before the age of 19, and 499 or 98 per cent prior to the age of 21. See Glueck, Sheldon and Glueck, Eleanor T., *Five Hundred Criminal Careers*, Knopf, 1930, p. 143.

It should be borne in mind that the proportion of offenders whose careers in crime began during the juvenile period will perhaps vary widely as between different institutions, since there is a selection of cases among institutions on the basis of types of offense. It is probable that the age of offenders at the time of the initial delinquency varies considerably among inmates charged with different types of crime. The statement in the text above has reference particularly to inmates convicted of stealing offenses.

social situations in which the offender has lived but the attitudes and interests which have been developed with reference to these situations. As thus considered, the delinquent act is a product both of the individual and the situation of which he is a part, or as Thomas puts it, of an attitude and a social value.<sup>2</sup>

While considerable material has been presented in the foregoing chapters to show the kind of neighborhood and group situations in which delinquent attitudes and behavior patterns are usually developed, a final case study is presented in this chapter to indicate the long sequence of events involved in the evolution of the delinquent career of a young male offender. Here again the case is selected from a large number of similar case studies. Although this case possesses many features in common with a large proportion of the more serious repeated offenders appearing in the Cook County juvenile court, it is presented here simply for the purpose of illustration.

Jack Bibinski, the subject of the present case study, was brought before the juvenile court at the age of 9 years and 2 months on a petition alleging truancy from school and at the age of 18 years and 6 months was committed to a State penal institution on a charge of robbery with a gun. His career in delinquency shows the usual sequence of stealing offenses from various types of petty stealing during his early years, to the more serious and more highly specialized forms of crime during the later years of adolescence. The case shows quite clearly that his delinquent and criminal habits and attitudes were formed in the course of his successive experiences over a period of many years.

The mother's description of Jack's behavior problems is given in the following statement which she made at the time he was 9 years and 2 months of age:

During the past thirteen days Jack has been truant from school five days. Last week he caught a runaway horse and baker's wagon and stayed away from home two days and one night. On the second day Jack drove the wagon in our neighborhood and one of the neighbors saw him and brought him home. We were

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, Florian, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Knopf, 1927, pp. 1839-40.

so glad to find Jack that we did not punish him. About two weeks ago Jack was placed in the working boys' home after being picked up by the police as a runaway and truant from school. He escaped after two nights and one day, and spent the day with gangs of children on the street. When I was told that Jack had run away, I looked for him and finding him, brought him home again.

Jack is not obedient. I have to tell him two or three times to do a thing before he obeys. During the last eight months I have not whipped Jack, as it didn't do any good anyhow. The only way I can get him to do any thing is by yelling at him. Kind talks don't seem to help. Jack is not considerate of me. He won't do any housework and when he is sent to the store for bread, he will stay out a half a day.

Jack don't fight with other children nor at home, but he is very excitable and when he can not have his own way, he will cry quickly. If Jack tells me "isn't that a pretty horse?" and if I do not agree, he will begin to cry. Jack crys when we tell him we will send him away to school. He don't seem to have any ambition. He uses all his spending money on candy. I don't know what to do.

Jack's delinquencies, in the order of their occurrences, are indicated in the following official record of arrests and commitments.

#### OFFICIAL RECORD OF ARRESTS AND COMMITMENTS

1. Seven years and five months of age: At this time Jack began to play truant from school with a group of boys who had records of truancy.
2. Seven years, seven months: Truant from school.
3. Nine years, two months: Brought to court on a petition alleging truancy from school, stealing junk and pennies from news stands. Committed to Chicago Parental School for a period of three months.
4. Nine years, five months: Released from Chicago Parental School.
5. Nine years, five months: Ran away from home and picked up by police. Placed in the detention home and later returned to his parents.
6. Twelve years, one month: In company with three other boys, Bud Delaney, aged ten years and one month, Jack Mareito ten years, Ted Ziriolli eleven years, four months. Jack was arrested and charged with burglary.

The four boys entered a home, and stole money and articles of a total value of \$34.00. Charge changed to truancy. Case continued. Boy held in detention home for two months.

7. Twelve years, three months: Brought to court and case dismissed.

8. Twelve years, four months: Stole automobile and was arrested in possession of the automobile. Car returned to owner. Jack was committed to Chicago and Cook County School for Boys. Escaped three days later and was returned to the school by his parents. The boy immediately ran away again. The parents did not return him to the Chicago and Cook County School this time.

9. Thirteen years: Ran away from home. Was given \$5.00 to go to store. According to Jack's statement, the money was taken away from him by a group of older boys. Jack was afraid to go home. He slept in hallways and barns for a week. Picked up by the police and taken to the detention home and later released to parents.

10. Fourteen years, four months: Broke in a residence and stole several articles including a pair of ice skates. All articles recovered. Jack was sent to St. Charles School for Boys. Paroled at age of sixteen years and nine months.

11. Sixteen years, ten months: In company with one other boy, stole an automobile. Arrested three days later and returned to St. Charles as parole violator.

12. Seventeen years, two months: Escaped from St. Charles in company with several other boys.

13. Seventeen years, four months: In company of an adult offender, John Matuskey, Jack burglarized several drug, jewelry, and clothing stores. Arrested with stolen property in their possession. Returned to St. Charles as an escapee.

14. Eighteen years: Paroled from St. Charles.

15. Eighteen years, two months: Arrested on the charge of larceny of automobile. Released on bond. Case continued.

16. Eighteen years, two months: Stole an automobile but was not identified until arrested on the charge of robbery with a gun when eighteen years and six months of age.

17. Eighteen years, six months: Arrested on charge of robbery with a gun and committed to Pontiac Reformatory on a sentence of one to twenty years.

This record shows that Jack's career in delinquency began when he was approximately 8 years of age. The first manifestation of a tendency toward delinquency appeared in the form of truancy from school and pilfering in the neighborhood. The various types of stealing in which he was engaged included, in the order of their occurrence, truancy from school, pilfering in the neighborhood, burglary, larceny of automobiles, running away from home, burglary, larceny of automobiles, burglary, and robbery with a gun. During the period covered by this record Jack was confined in five different institutions for the care of delinquent boys. A more detailed account of his experiences in delinquency will be presented subsequently in his own story.

#### BRIEF SUMMARY OF CLINICAL FINDINGS

When Jack was 9 years and one month of age he was referred to a behavior clinic for examination because of his truancy and incorrigible behavior. A second examination was made when he was 12 years and 3 months of age while being held in the detention home pending trial on a charge of burglary.

#### DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY

At the time of conception the father and mother were in good health. The pregnancy was full term and the mother was in good health during the entire period. Jack's birth weight was 15 pounds. He was breast fed for three months. He cut his first tooth when he was 6 months of age, talked at 16 months and walked at the age of 2 years and 3 months.

There was no enuresis, convulsions, or thumbsucking. He had diphtheria at 3 years; measles at 3 years and whooping cough at 4 years. A tonsillectomy was performed at 3 years of age.

#### PHYSICAL FINDINGS

At the age of 9 years and 1 month, Jack was described by the physical examiner as being "normal and in good health." He weighed 66½ pounds, and his height was 4 feet 3⅝ inches. He had numerous carious teeth; heart

sounds normal; lungs normal; vision and hearing normal. He had an enlarged thyroid gland. He had the habit of biting his finger nails. One year previous to this examination, Jack fell backwards into a basement. The back of his head was cut. The mother stated that the boy was unconscious for two hours.

#### PSYCHOLOGICAL FINDINGS

At the age of 9 years and 1 month Jack was described by the psychologists as having "average intelligence." As measured by the Stanford-Binet test his mental age was 8 years and 10 months, with an intelligence quotient of .97. He was further described as being frequently truant from home and school, although there was no indication of lying, stealing, or sex delinquencies at this time. Responses during the tests showed no peculiarities except "dullness in comprehension."

When Jack was 12 years and 3 months he was examined and the Stanford-Binet test showed a mental age of 11 years, 3 months, and an intelligence quotient of .92. He was described as having "adequate intelligence." Jack at this time was reported as making unfavorable school progress, having repeated several school grades.

#### REPORT OF THE PSYCHIATRIST

There has been a long continuation of difficulties and an increasing realization that the boy's problems were unusual ones and demanded special care and study. He has made a good adjustment here in the detention home, but has been apart from the other boys and has given further evidence of his peculiar mental make-up. We believe that this boy can be directed and trained and interested if he can be tided over this beginning adolescence. If there were individuals or an agency which can undertake the supervision of the boy, institutional direction for him may be unnecessary. It is quite essential, however, that at this time something be done to assist the boy in his stabilization.

#### THE COMMUNITY

In 1911, when Jack Bibinski was 2 years of age, his parents moved into an area in Chicago known locally as

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the "Near North Side." There they purchased the building in which they have made their home since that time.

The "Near North Side," which is an area just north of the Loop or business district in Chicago, is described by H. W. Zorbaugh in his book *The Gold Coast and the Slum* as an area of contrasts. On the east side along the Lake Shore is the Gold Coast, which represents the greatest concentration of wealth in the city. In the southeastern section of the area lies Towertown, the Latin Quarter with its artists and struggling students and the hangers-on of Bohemia who seek the life in this area because of its freedom from the restraints of conventional society. In the center of the area is the rooming-house district which is inhabited in part by a "floating" population of hoboes, criminals, and prostitutes. This population is very transient and mobile with the result that there is an almost complete lack of community consciousness or spirit.

Still farther west and nearer the North Branch of the Chicago River is Little Italy, an area of high rates of delinquents and adult crime. It was in this area that the subject of this case spent his entire life, although he played and roamed the entire area described.

"Little Sicily," which is perhaps better known as "Little Hell," has all of the formal characteristics of the areas of high rates of delinquents. (See Chapter III, figs. 2 to 9, inclusive). It is in the first place adjacent to both the central business district and to the heavy industries along the North Branch of the Chicago River. According to Figure 3 most of the area is zoned for either light industry or commerce. It is, therefore, an area in transition and shows all of the physical characteristics of an area that is being invaded by industry and commerce. The buildings are old and have been allowed to deteriorate, the streets and alleys are dirty and neglected, and the absence of improvements in the surroundings make the area generally unattractive and undesirable for residential purposes. It is, furthermore, an area of decreasing population (fig. 5), and an area of high net density of population, and an area where a very small percentage of the families own their own homes. Other characteristics of areas of high rates of delinquents evident

in this area are low rents and low family incomes. These are indicated by the exceptionally high rates of dependency in the three series studied.

Little Italy has for a long period of time been an area of first immigrant settlement with a high percentage of foreign-born population. As in other areas near the center of the city, however, the composition of this population has undergone very great changes.

If for the purpose of study we limit the area under discussion to two census tracts which include Little Italy and about one-sixth of a square mile surrounding the Bibinski home, these changes are very evident when stated numerically. According to the school census of 1898 the foreign-born population in this area was 49.5 per cent Swedish, 19.8 per cent German, 19.6 per cent Irish, and 4.8 per cent Italian. By 1920 the percentage of Italian in the foreign born population had increased from 4.8 to 68.8 per cent, while the percentage of Swedish, German, and Irish had dropped to 12.1, 2.0, and 4.1 per cent respectively. At this time 81.1 per cent of the adults were foreign born and only 4.4 per cent were native white of native parentage.

Similar changes have been taking place since 1920, the most recent of which has been the invasion of the Negroes who are now present in this district in rather large numbers. Jack's own description of the physical characteristics of this neighborhood and of the composition of the population is suggestive of the conditions of the area with which he was most familiar.

The neighborhood in which we are at present living in is known as Little Sicily. It gets its name from the fact that it is more populated by Italians than any other nationality. It is a dirty, squalid neighborhood. The streets are always dirty, because a lot of the illiterate people of the neighborhood always throw their refuse out in the street, instead of in the cans and dirt boxes of which there are plenty. There are several different nationalities in the neighborhood. There are about three German families, about thirty Irish families, about forty or fifty Polish families and the rest are all Italians.

Little Sicily is an area that has, not only the formal characteristics of delinquency areas, but also a tradition of de-

linquency and crime that is not exceeded by any area in the city. This tradition is revealed in a description of the crime situation in this area.

Certain of their Sicilian traditions, however, inevitably brought them into conflict with American custom and law. The corner of Oak and Cambridge Streets long ago became known throughout the city as Death Corner, because of the frequent feuds that were settled there by shootings or stabbings. Little Hell has been long notorious for its unsolved murders. The American courts and police are powerless to deal with the situation. This is due in part to the nature of the American legal machinery. In Sicily the police worked secretly; an informant's name is never known. But in America an informant must appear in court. And to inform is to invite swift reprisals. Consequently the already suspicious Sicilian shrugs his shoulders—"And if I knew? Would I tell?"

Taking advantage of this situation has grown up the Black Hand. Weekly bombings are almost a tradition in Little Sicily. The Black Hand is not an organization. Its outrages are the work of lawless individuals or of criminal gangs. But it trades upon the reputation of the Mafia, the fear of which is deeply ingrained in the Sicilian heart.<sup>5</sup>

Not only is there a tradition of violence and lawlessness in this area, but also a general disrespect for the law or any of its agencies among both the adults and the children.

There is no respect for law in Little Sicily. The law collects the taxes. It takes your children away when they are old enough to work and puts them in school. It batters down your door and breaks open your kegs of wine. The Sicilian fails to comprehend all this. C— came in the other morning \* \* \* "No free country, no free country. I pay four policeman \$16 each a month. Then they bring in police from other district and raid me. No free country."

You can't convince a Sicilian that the police, the courts, or the law are on the square. A gang of Sicilians was arrested recently for stealing butter. One of them skipped. "Police no good. It blow over. New election, I all right. If me know big man, he talk to judge. Judge no want to lose job. He say 'You go home.'" Everyone is supposed to have his price. The "fixer" is one of the colony's most influential men.

<sup>5</sup> Zorbaugh, Harvey W., *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. 170-171.

But the wife of this man wrung her hands, and tears ran down her cheeks: "Oh, he will go to Joliet, he will go to Joliet, even if he did not do." There is no faith in justice. They see the innocent "sent up" while the guilty walk the streets of Little Sicily.

To a large element in the colony the law is a natural enemy. Even to the younger boys, baiting the "cop" is a game, and a ride in the "wagon" is a joy ride. Those who successfully defy the police are among the colony's heroes. Young men openly boast of their "hauls" and of their gun play. When the bands march up Sedgwick during the fiestas, they always stop in front of the house of T—, the moonshine king, to serenade him. A year ago the whole colony turned out, with white horses, and thousands of dollars' worth of flowers, and blaring bands, to march in Rini's funeral. And who was Rini? Formerly the proprietor of a tough dive on Clark Street, and convicted of murder and hung in New Orleans. The hero of the colony.<sup>4</sup>

The presence of high rates of juvenile delinquents in the areas in which Jack lived has been indicated by all of the Chicago series of juvenile delinquency and adult crime that have been studied. Distribution Maps I and II in Chapter II, show concentrations of delinquents in the local area where he lived, and the rates of delinquents in these local areas have been among the highest in the city from 1900 to the present time.

It is interesting that between 1917 and 1923 when Jack was between 8 and 15 years of age, 85 different boys were taken to the juvenile court of Cook County from an area of less than one-sixth of a square mile in which his home was located. Similarly 69 alleged delinquents from this small area were dealt with by the police probation officers during the year 1927. An analysis of the types of offenses committed by these boys showed that while stealing from markets and stores, "jack-rolling" and burglary were common, larceny of automobiles was the most prevalent type of delinquency.

The way in which this behavior has become a more or less permanent factor in the social life of the boys in this area is indicated by a statement from Jack's own story.

<sup>4</sup> Zorbaugh, Harvey W., *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, University of Chicago Press, 1929, Docs. 41 and 64, pp. 173-174.

In the summer the streets are always packed with children playing at their games while their parents are either at work or sitting on their doorstep watching the children and talking with their neighbors. Many are the street fights in which the children engage with the utmost recklessness. Sometimes there are gangs from other neighborhoods trying to scare this little gang, then there would be a battle royal. They would throw stones (or anything they could lay their hands on) at each other. Windows would be broken, innocent bystanders sometimes were injured if they weren't lucky enough to get out of the way in time. As soon as they would see a policeman coming they would all dodge through hallways, areaways, and alleys. All of them nearly always got away, though sometimes one or two would get caught by the policeman who would take them to their parents to punish and sometimes the older ones would be taken to the Juvenile Detention Home. \* \* \*

All the fellows steal everything from an apple to an automobile. The neighbors do not feel bad about it. The majority do it themselves. It's a hoodlum neighborhood. The police never come around here. I have lived here all my life.

#### PLAY GROUPS AND COMPANIONS

In view of the high rate of juvenile delinquents in the area in which Jack lived, it is not surprising that he came into contact with delinquent boys at a very early age. According to the parents and the official records his first contact of this nature occurred when he was about 8 years old. At that time he became associated with a group of delinquent boys who were attending his school. These boys were engaged in a variety of types of petty stealing and playing truant from school, and it was while he was in their company that Jack's initial experiences in stealing occurred.

After his return from the Chicago Parental School at the age of 9 years and 5 months, Jack became associated with a second group of boys who were at that time engaged in the practice of breaking into vacant flats for the purpose of stealing plumbing equipment. Jack became involved with them in these stealing activities.

At the age of 11 Jack was transferred to a school in another section of the area in which he lived. While attending this school he met a third group of boys and became involved with them in the larceny of automobiles and "jack-rolling." It was through his contacts with these three groups of boys that Jack was initiated into delinquency. Subsequently he became associated with other delinquents in his own neighborhood, in correctional institutions and the "newspaper alleys." About the age of 17, he became implicated with adult criminals in burglary, larceny of automobiles, and robbery with a gun.

The activities of the various groups with which Jack was identified are typical of the area in which he lived and probably reflect its spirit and traditions of delinquency.

#### THE FAMILY SITUATION

The family in this case consists of only three members, the father, mother and Jack. The relationships between them have always been harmonious and congenial. There have been no serious emotional conflicts nor economic insecurity. The father has worked regularly, provided fairly well for the family, and owns the home in which the family resides.

*Father.*—The father was 36 years of age at the time of Jack's birth. He was born in Germany of Polish descent and immigrated to Canada at the age of 20 years. After working in a logging camp there for one year, he moved to Wisconsin where he worked on a farm owned by his friends. While there he accumulated enough money to bring his parents and brother to the United States. With the aid of his parents and brother he purchased a small farm in Wisconsin. He married at the age of 30. A few years later he traded his farm for the city property in which the family now live. He became a laborer in the building construction trade and has worked steadily. Both of his parents lived to be almost 80 years of age. There is no record of crime in his family.

The mother has always been in good health. He is deaf, irritable at times, and loses his temper quickly. He is a man of good habits; has never used alcoholic beverages. He is literate, but has had only meager educational advan-

tages. He is not a citizen, although he took out his first papers many years ago.

*Mother.*—The mother was 35 years of age at the time of Jack's birth. She was born in France and came to the United States alone at the age of 27. Upon her arrival in this country she secured a position as a domestic servant with a wealthy family in Wisconsin. While working there she married Mr. Bibinski. Her parents never immigrated to this country. Her father died at the age of 62 and her mother died several years later.

The mother has always been in good health. Her education was meager. She has an easygoing disposition and is careless and untidy in her housework.

The worker investigating the family stated that the "parents are interested in Jack, but can not cope with his difficult problems. They are dull, simple, and seem to be confused and bewildered in the situation. They are eager for advice and assistance in controlling Jack, but have little understanding of his problems."

#### SCHOOL AND WORK RECORD

Jack entered school at the age of 6 years. He passed each successive grade until he reached the fourth grade, which he repeated. Despite the fact that he played truant habitually from the time he was 8 years of age, he graduated from the eighth grade at the age of 16 while he was confined in the St. Charles Training School for Boys.

Jack's work record is as irregular as his record of school attendance. He was employed three times, the longest period of employment was three weeks.

1. Sixteen years, nine months: Errand boy in a printing concern for a period of 3 weeks. He began to go out with girls and left the position as he "could not make enough money." He returned to his old gang and again became involved in jack-rolling and stealing automobiles.

2. Seventeen years, two months: Factory work. He worked two weeks and then quit. He was an escapee from St. Charles at this time and left the job to avoid being "picked up and returned to the school."

3. Seventeen years, three months: Dishwasher in a club for two weeks. He quit and returned to the "newspaper alley" and to his old friends.

It is clear from the study of this case that Jack never had any vocation interests. From a very early age his vital interests and ideals were defined in terms of the delinquent activities of his play groups and neighborhood.

A more detailed description of Jack's delinquencies, neighborhood, group contacts, and interests is presented in the following extracts from his own story.

#### JACK'S OWN STORY

My home for the past fifteen years has been at 840 X Street, in a neighborhood that is known as "Little Sicily." Although in the neighborhood there are Polish, Swedish, Irish, Jewish, Lithuanian, Negroes, and a few German families, the majority of the people are Italian. It is from the Italian people that the name, "Little Sicily" has come into existence. "Little Sicily" is bounded on the west by Halsted Street, on the east by Lasalle Street, on the north by Division Street, and on the south by Chicago Avenue. It is notorious for its Black Hand gangs and for its murders. There are four known death corners in this neighborhood, Locust Street and Milton Avenue, Oak Street and Milton Avenue, Townsend Street and Oak Street, and Townsend and Locust Street. My home is situated midway between the latter two corners.

When I was but seven years old a bunch of boys and myself were playing baseball in the street in front of my home.<sup>5</sup> The game we were playing is popularly known as "bounce out." We made up the rules concerning the game ourselves. One of the rules was that if the ball should happen to fall in one of the nearby basements, or any other place where it was hard to get at, the fellow that retrieved the ball was to have the honor of batting until he was put out by one of his fellow players.

We had played for about fifteen minutes, when the ball was knocked into a basement of a house near by. I being one of the nearest players to this basement, most naturally tried to retrieve the ball before my fellow players. There were no steps leading to the basement so I climbed between the railings and hung from the sidewalk, because the basement was about ten

<sup>5</sup> In this area, as in most of the deteriorated areas of the city, the facilities for supervised play are decidedly inadequate. Although there are more than 11,000 children under 15 years of age living in the square-mile area, only three small playgrounds are provided for their recreational needs.

or eleven feet from the sidewalk. Being anxious to be the first one down I did not go about it as carefully as I should have. The door that led under the sidewalk was open or either there was none, although I can not recall whether there was one or not. I happened to hang right in front of where the door should have been, I started to brace myself against the wall, when my feet not feeling any wall, but vacant space, swung inward, my grip was wrenched loose from the sidewalk and I fell downward on my back. The basement had a cement floor, and across the front of the open doorway a piece of two by four was nailed, with the narrow side up. When I fell my feet swung inward and I landed with my shoulder on this board which caused my head to snap against the cement floor, knocking me unconscious. Why I wasn't killed from the force of this blow is still a mystery to me. A few days after this incident my mother took me to the county hospital to have an X-ray picture of my head taken, to see if there was anything wrong or not with my head. The doctors assured her that there wasn't. But she wouldn't believe that there was nothing wrong with me.

At the age of seven years I began going with the boys of my neighborhood more and more. At my age I was like all the other boys, I had a mania for going to picture shows. When I couldn't wheedle my mother out of a nickle or dime to go to the show with, I did like many of the other boys did.<sup>6</sup> I began cadgin [a term used by boys for begging] from the passers-by. In this way I often made more than just show fare. I used to walk up to a stranger with a penny in my hand, and say "Could you spare me an odd penny, Mister," and he would ask me what I wanted it for. I would tell him to go to the show with. He would then ask me how much I had whereupon I would display one or two pennies, and more often than not he would give a nickle or dime, with which I would rush up to the cashier's cage and demand a ticket and go into the show with the idea that it was easy to make money if one only went about it right. I also helped other boys to gain show fare in this way. I began to crave money more and more.

I then took up junking, going about the streets and alleys, picking up milk bottles, rags, pieces of iron,

<sup>6</sup> This is a rather common practice among some groups of younger boys. Sometimes the younger boys are organized into groups by older boys, who induce them to beg.

and newspapers, which I sold to the nearest junk yard. In this manner I made a little more money.<sup>7</sup>

At this time, about 8 years old, I was going to parochial school, situated on X and Y Streets. While in school I always behaved and tried to study, but a lot of the boys and girls in the rooms that I was in were always mischievous. We played many pranks upon the different members of the room, but the majority of our pranks were directed against the teacher, who was a kindly soul and did not discipline us as we should have been.

I began playing hooky from school with some of the boys.<sup>8</sup> On our way home from school we would harass and tease the girls. Sometimes the bullies of our crowd would hold a girl while another fellow kissed her. I did not like this treatment of the girls, and often got into fights trying to protect them. But constant association with these fellows killed my chivalrous instincts, and I began to do the same as they did. We grew bolder and bolder each day, when we found out that the girls we picked on did not run home and tell their parents or the school teacher on us.

Whenever a fruit peddler came past the school during recess or noon hour, we would stage a sham fight while several of the fellows would steal some of the fruit peddler's wares which we would divide as soon as the peddler had moved on.<sup>9</sup> It was a long time before our parents or teachers found out what we were doing. After they did find out what we had done, some of us received only a severe lecture and then it was forgotten; others were more lucky, they were disciplined and told not to associate with us any more. Some of them didn't and some of them did. Several of these fellows who quit associating with our bunch have a good job, and

<sup>7</sup> Junking, and the various forms of pilfering and petty stealing associated with it, is prevalent among the younger boys in this deteriorated area. Jack's participation in these forms of petty stealing represents an acceptance of the usual practices among the younger boys in his group and neighborhood. We see in these early experiences in petty stealing at the age of eight, the initial steps in Jack's career in delinquency and crime.

<sup>8</sup> Truancy from school is frequently associated with the early experiences in delinquency. The school finds it difficult to compete with the thrill of adventure which the gang is able to secure for itself through outside activities. The boy's loyalty to this play group is often a much more effective control than the school or any of the formal agencies of conventional society. Playing truant from school is frequently a traditional practice in certain areas of the city.

<sup>9</sup> Making raids on the wagons of fruit peddlers is a very common practice among delinquent groups in delinquency areas. Very frequently it is through the boy's participation in this form of group stealing that his first habits of stealing are established and he becomes identified with the delinquent group.

are doing what is right; while the fellows that were in the bunch became nothing but a bunch of rowdies in later life. Several of them in fact have become known as Chicago's worst gunmen, others became hoodlums, thieves, burglars, stick-up men, and pool room hangers-on. I know these cases stated here to be true facts, because I have witnessed the progress and downfall of them from time to time. If these boys had been strictly disciplined as they should have, they would not be rotting and spoiling their young lives in prison to-day.

From the X School I was expelled because of truancy. I was sent to the Chicago Parental School,<sup>10</sup> where I served three months. My mother and dad came to see me on every visiting day, bringing me clothes, and things to eat that we didn't receive there.<sup>11</sup> The food that was served at the table was sometimes good and sometimes bad. The while I was there, our time was divided between school, in the morning, and chores in the afternoon. My work was to help polish the floors, dust, and do other minor jobs. And in the evening we drilled for an hour with wooden guns. When a fellow occasionally let slip a cuss word, the house officer in charge held the boy, while one of the boy officers whom he played as favorite, took a bar of soap and rubbed across the unfortunate's teeth, and then he was given a piece of soap to chew on, while the officer gave him as added punishment the squats, and muscle grinders. It would sometimes be several minutes before the boy was allowed to spit the soap out, and wash his mouth. While I was there I see many of the boys receive this treatment. I myself was unfortunate enough to receive it a couple of times.

When I was released from there I was put in the Z School, located at V and Y Streets. I was a good boy for awhile, but gradually I returned to my old tricks. While attending this school I met boys that did more than I ever expected to do. Whenever they found an empty flat in the neighborhood, they would break in and steal the lead pipes which they would take to a

<sup>10</sup> This was the first time Jack was sentenced to a correctional institution. He was 9 years and 2 months of age at the time of his commitment.

<sup>11</sup> It is important to observe that Jack's parents were not indifferent to his welfare. As a matter of fact, they were greatly concerned about him and tried various methods of control in their effort to forestall his delinquent proclivities. It is clear, however, that the more powerful demoralizing influences in the neighborhood rendered ineffective their corrective efforts in his behalf.

junk yard and sell. The boys I now associated with were a tougher bunch than the ones at X School.<sup>12</sup> We used to enter basements and steal everything that we could possibly sell, and sometimes articles that we could not sell, which we would throw away. I remember entering the basement of a janitor one time, looking around to see what I could pilfer (I was alone at this time), when a door opened from the janitor's quarters which were situated off of the furnace room; I hid behind a pile of bundled papers, not wanting the fellow to see me. I watched him closely and saw where he hid the key to his quarters. When he was gone I, too, left. I went to where our crowd hung out at, and told the fellows about where I had been, and what I had seen.

They wanted to return, and rob the place. I told them to wait until we knew for sure a day when we knew the janitor would probably be gone long enough for us to enter the flat with some sense of surety.

I was about nine years old when we entered this janitor's home. It was on Saturday morning. We watched the basement until we seen the man leave. We went down the stairs one by one a few minutes apart. I had seen this done in the movies, and as I was the leader of the boys, they naturally followed my advice. There was six of us. I showed them where the key was, and after rummaging around the furnace room for a while to see what we could find, we then entered the flat, where we took a typewriter, some masquerade costumes, and other articles. When we got to the kitchen, we started to frying eggs and ham which we found in the pantry. After having eaten, we began destroying things that we could not use. Behind a clock on a mantelpiece, I found two one-dollar bills and a ten-dollar goldback. At the time I did not know that it was money because I had never seen a ten-dollar goldback. I, at first, thought it was a coupon. In this flat I found an Army medal "The Distinguished Service Cross," which I have at home to this day. After we had left, we started buying everything in sight with the money that we had stolen. We bought hot dogs, candy, went to the movies, and each of us bought a pair of corduroy knee pants. We then got the typewriter and other things which we had

<sup>12</sup> At the time of his parole from the institution, Jack was transferred to another school in the same general district in which he lived. Here he met a second group of delinquents, who were engaged in the practice of breaking into empty buildings for the purpose of stealing lead pipes and iron to sell to the local junk dealer. Very often, as in this case, the burglarizing of residences is an elaboration or further development of the first practice of plundering old empty buildings for junk. The latter very frequently leads to the former.

hidden, and sold them all for three dollars, because that was all that we could get for them.

Many times do I remember, when we came home from the movies we would play coppers and robbers. The difficult part of this game always was getting some one to play the part of the copper. There would always be more robbers than coppers, because the boys did not relish the idea of being the copper. Chasing the robber was a hard job, because the robber would climb up the fire escape of a five-story building and run across the roofs duplicating the robber's part that he has seen in the movies.<sup>13</sup>

I can also recall another time when a boy friend of mine asked me if I wanted to ride in a car. I did not know that he had stolen it at the time because he claimed that it was his brother's car. When we were arrested he tried to place the blame on me. We appeared in the juvenile court and were placed on probation. After we were released I looked this fellow up and asked him why he tried to put the blame on me. He offered some poor excuse, and then we had a real good fight over the incident. He gave me a black eye and a bloody nose, receiving in return, two black eyes, a broken nose, and four teeth broken, and getting knocked out to boot. He was no match for me because I was about four inches taller than him, and was a better fighter, because ever since I can remember I had to fight for what was mine.

From the Z School (about 11 years of age) I was transferred to the W School which was much nearer to my home, being only a half block away. Then I became acquainted with the toughest lot of older boys that can be found anywhere in Chicago.

Every Saturday and Sunday they would split into groups of three and four and hang around the moonshine flats, waiting for the drunks to come out to go home. They would pounce upon the poor drunkard, take his money and valuables away, and if he offered any resistance they would beat him unmercifully about the head and body until he was forced to submit to

<sup>13</sup> As illustrated in this paragraph the games participated in by the boys in delinquency areas often reflect the delinquent spirit prevailing in the area. Note, for example, the fact that in Jack's groups the boys had a strong aversion to playing the rôle of the "copper" and strongly preferred the rôle of the "robber." It is possible that the aversion to playing the rôle of the "copper" reflects the general attitude of hostility toward the police prevailing among the older delinquent boys with whom Jack had contact. In this connection the reader is referred to case 26, Chapter VIII.

their demands.<sup>14</sup> They taught me how to do this but I always tried to avoid beating a helpless man up. We at times went to some public swimming beach, to steal clothes and money which would be lying around. With this gang I started to steal automobiles.<sup>15</sup>

At the age of twelve years old I was sent to the Cook County School, where I was interned for three days.<sup>16</sup>

On the third day I escaped during a fog and walked for miles before I ventured upon a public highway. I asked a truck driver for a lift at Harlem Avenue and Roosevelt Road, and from there I rode to Halsted Street, and caught a truck going north to Chicago Avenue, from where I walked home. As soon as I got home my parents asked me why I came home so soon and when I told them that I had escaped they gave me a good beating, and took me right back. I tried to plead with my mother to not take me back. But she said that it was for my own good that I go back. It was dark by the time we started to go back. I tried my best to misguide my parents who had never been there before. I took them several miles away from the school, when they asked the conductor of the La Grange car on which we were riding how soon we would arrive at the school, he said that we had passed it, and that we would have to catch the next car back. When we got off of the car it was quite dark. I tried my best to escape from them, but they held me too tight. When we finally got to the school, we went up to the superintendent's cottage where my mother told him that I had escaped and that she had brought me back, to keep them from the trouble and expense of looking for me. The superintendent gave me a good lecture, and sent me to the cottage where I had been interned before I made my escape. Unfortunately he did not send anyone with me, so I never stayed there. I again went A. W. O. L. I followed my parents back to the car

<sup>14</sup> The new school to which Jack was transferred is located near one of the large rooming-house districts of Chicago. The practice of "jack-rolling" is one of the very common forms of stealing in this type of district. When Jack was transferred to this new school, he became associated with a group of boys who were engaged in "jack-rolling" and acquired the pattern of this type of stealing through his contacts with them. For further material on this form of stealing, see "The Jack-Roller, a Delinquent Boy's Own Story," by Clifford R. Shaw, the University of Chicago Press, 1930, Chapters VII and XI.

<sup>15</sup> Jack's complicity in the larceny of automobiles marks a significant step in the sequence of events involved in the formation of his criminal patterns of behavior. This delinquency represents an adjustment to the criminal patterns prevailing among the group of older offenders with whom he was associated.

<sup>16</sup> According to the record in the juvenile court, Jack was committed to the Cook County School at the age of 12 years and 4 months on a charge of larceny of automobiles.

line, where I got on the same car with them having a little money which I had taken from my bank while at home. They did not see me all the while I was on the car because I took great pains that they shouldn't. On arriving at the 22d Street carline, I jumped off before they could catch a glimpse of me. Fortunately there was a street car just pulling out which I knew they could not get to in time. I caught the car and went right straight home again, not being used to staying away from home. A half hour passed before they arrived and in the meantime I had fallen asleep in front of our door where they least expected to find me, thinking that I was safe at the school. I got another good beating that night and was sent off to bed. My mother said it was too late to go back again that night. In the meantime my dear old grandmother who always took my part in anything I did, right or wrong, pleaded with my mother and father not to take me back. To please my dear grandmother, they consented to keep me home.

One day my mother gave me five dollars to go to the store to purchase some groceries. On the way to the store, a bunch of boys, jumped me and took the money away from me. I was afraid to go home that night, because I knew my parents would give me such a beating as I had never before received, they would think that I had squandered the money. So I did not go home for about a week. I slept in hallways and barns, whenever I got hungry I would go to some bakery or delicatessen store and beg them for some stale cakes and bread. In this way I managed to get about three square meals during the week I was away from home.

In the meantime my mother and father were looking all over for me. They finally caught me as I was coming out of a show. They took me home and gave me a good beating and threatened to send me to the juvenile home. Many times I was too scared to go home on account of something I did but didn't mean to do. They would always come looking for me, in places they knew I always frequented, and they always caught me. At times when I was away from home, I would get up with the milkmen and I would go out and steal me a couple of bottles of milk from the back porches. I would watch for a bakery wagon to deliver the bread and cakes to the stores, after he had left I would go over to the breadbox, force the lid, take a pan full of cakes, and go back to where I had hidden the milk

and have a feast. I would save some of the cakes to eat during the day.<sup>17</sup>

One day one of the fellows said, "Let's go for an elevated ride." We went over to the elevated station on Oak Street, where we sneaked in on the elevated by climbing up the sides. We rode to Evanston, where we went over to where the university is. We expected the students would cut up all kinds of tricks like they do in the College Humor and College Life, but we were sadly disappointed. So we each stole a bicycle, there being five of us. We rode back to our neighborhood, where we kept the bicycles for a couple of days and then sold them to a fence.<sup>18</sup>

One day during the winter I asked my mother to buy me a pair of ice skates. She said that she did not have the money to spare. Late that night I went out and broke the window of a hardware store and stole a pair that was on display.

I had learned to drive a car when I was twelve years old. One day a Ford touring car was parked a couple of doors away from my home. The Ford was being used as a delivery truck. When the driver entered the house to deliver his wares one of the boys dared me to drive the car around the block. I told him I would do it if he would get into it with me. He did, and instead of driving around the block I drove to a friend's house, intending to show off. As I entered the alley behind my friend's home, the police squad spotted me and started to give me a hot chase. In the meantime the fellow who was riding with me had gotten out in front of my friend's house, intending to call him. The police car chased me seven blocks before they caught up with me. They did not want to shoot me because they could see I was only a boy. They drove alongside of the car I was driving and tried to force me over toward the curb. I put on the brakes of a sudden, turned the car around, and headed the other way before the police knew what had happened. As luck would have it the driver had not come out of the house yet. I thought he was probably getting a couple of drinks, because the place that he delivered the groceries to was a beer flat. I parked the car in a hurry, ran across

<sup>17</sup> As revealed in other case studies, this is a common practice among boys who have escaped from institutions.

<sup>18</sup> It should be observed that Jack and his companions found a ready sale for the bicycles which they had stolen. In this area, as in other delinquency areas of the city, there are "fences" who buy stolen articles from the boys and who often induce them to steal. As suggested earlier, the presence of "fences" in these areas is a positive influence leading to delinquency in many cases.

the street, and hid in a hallway to watch what the driver would do when he came out. When he came out, he was pretty drunk so he didn't notice the groceries spilled all over the back of the car. But I'll bet he sure was mad when he found out.

One day a couple of boys had stolen a motor cycle and brought it over to my house. I had never before driven a motor cycle, but I got on this one, looked over the shifts and finally looked in the gas tank; there was hardly any gas in it, so we each went to our homes and asked our mothers for some money. When we came together we had about 48¢ between us and with this we bought gas. We all got on the motor cycle and after several efforts I got it going, but we didn't go very fast because it was too hard for me to steer it as I was scared of wrecking it. As we were going down a certain street the owner of the motor cycle saw us, and he chased us for about a half block; when he caught us he gave each of us a good kick in the pants, and told us to "get the h— out of here."

Another time we stole a Ford and I was the only one to get caught.<sup>19</sup> I was sent to the juvenile home, where I was kept for three months before I made my escape out of the sick ward by climbing between the bars and the top of the window sill. I was never apprehended on this charge.

When I was thirteen years old I began hanging around the newspaper platforms, helping the drivers load their trucks and riding with them. I was soon given a news stand where I was to sell papers from 9 p. m. until 2 a. m. In this way I often made one or two dollars a night which when I got home I gave to my mother to help her along. More often than not I would stay at the platform watching the trucks being loaded. Then I would ask a driver if he needed a helper to help him deliver the papers. In this way I made a little more money, all of which I turned over to my mother. But whenever I stole any money I would always have it spent before I had a chance to give it to my mother. I finally became what is known as a "kipper," which means a fellow that continually hangs around the newspaper concerns. In this way I became known with some fellows who after they got through selling papers would go out and burglarize stores. I soon became one of them, and about six

<sup>19</sup> By the age of 13 years, Jack had been involved in the larceny of automobiles so many times that he was known at the local police station as the "Baby Auto Bandit."

months afterwards I was never without spending money. I had a good excuse for staying out every night.<sup>20</sup> So, instead of selling papers or working with the drivers, I would go out with a couple of fellows and break into stores. I never went out by myself until I became better acquainted with the different ways of entering them; then I went out about once a week by myself. Every night I would bring home some money, telling my mother I had earned it selling papers and helping drivers. At times I would have a falling out with my parents about staying out so late, and then I wouldn't come home until they came looking for me. I always rode to the garage with the driver, and when the truck was put in its place I would crawl into the back, spread out some newspapers, and go to sleep. Gee, when I woke up in the morning, I would feel lousy, and be as dirty as a pig just coming out of a mudhole. Whenever I was not staying home and didn't have any clothes to change, I would feel ashamed of myself, and go back home and change my clothes. And probably do the same thing all over again.

In the winter of 192X I wanted a pair of ice skates badly, and not having money at the time with which to buy them, I broke into a house and stole a pair. I was seen breaking into the house by some fellows who knew me. They squealed to the owner, who told the police. That very same night I was arrested in a poolroom on Clark Street. I was convicted on this charge and sent to the St. Charles School for Boys at St. Charles, Ill.<sup>21</sup>

After I was there a month I became a cook in the administration cottage. While there I met quite a few boys, and over half of the boys I knew said that when they got out they would know more about the racket, because they had asked all the boys that they knew why and how they got caught in their crimes. They said that they would profit by the other's mistakes.<sup>22</sup> The food that the boys in the cottage got was pretty fair. It was generally known as mulligan. I can not say as

<sup>20</sup> Some of the "news alleys" in Chicago are often congregating places for youthful offenders. Through the contacts established here the boy is frequently brought under the influence of older delinquents. See *Kindergartens of Crime*, by F. Zeta Youmans, *The Survey*, September 15, 1928, Vol. LX, No. 12, pp. 581-588.

<sup>21</sup> This is the third institution to which Jack was committed. According to the court record he was committed to the St. Charles School for Boys at the age of 14 years and 4 months.

<sup>22</sup> The study of case histories indicates that the contacts between delinquents in institutions often serve as a medium through which knowledge concerning delinquent practices is transmitted from one boy to another.

to its quality because I only ate it a month, during which time I found nothing wrong with it.

After the first month I always ate officers' food and plenty of it, as John Smith of the administration cottage kitchen will tell anybody who should ask him. I became acquainted with some of the teachers who often had me come up and clean their room out for them. They would put money into the commissary under my name for the services I had rendered them. The boys were not allowed to smoke but I know several of the officers who gave the boys cigarettes. During the latter part of my first term, the office boy broke into the commissary and stole some cigarettes and candy. I was accused of having told the office boy to steal them, and also of giving him the tools to do it with. I was given three months bad time. John Smith, the officer in charge of the kitchen, went up to see Mr. Blank who was Superintendent of the school while I was there. John Smith told Mr. Blank that it wasn't true about me and the office boy, because the office boy always came down to try to get something to eat from the kitchen, and I always chased him back upstairs which was absolutely true. I was called up to see Mr. Blank, who asked me if I would do what was right, if I was given a parole. All I said was, "Give me a chance and I'll try to prove to you that I have some good in me, just because I have been given a bad name is no sign that I am as bad as I am painted." He said that he would give me a chance to prove what good there was in me. So on Saturday, June 2nd, 192-, I was paroled.

When I left the school, I sincerely intended to prove to Mr. Blank that I really had some good in me. As soon as I got home I went to see my parole officer, who gave me a letter of introduction to an employment agency. I went to the agency, where they told me to go to a printing concern on Wabash Avenue and Congress Street. I was employed, and told to come back in the morning. I came down at eight o'clock, bringing my lunch with me, as I did not have any money with which to buy myself a meal in a restaurant, as I intended saving all my money, and to see what I could do in persuading my parents to move out of the squalid neighborhood in which we were and are still living.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Jack was paroled into the same situation in which he lived at the time that all of his previous delinquencies occurred. Aside from securing a position for him, the officers made very little attempt to effect a modification of Jack's behavior at the time of his parole from this institution.

I was given a few errands in the morning, and after I had eaten my lunch, the woman who was acting as telephone operator and stenographer, came over and asked me if I would run out to get her the racing sheet (horse racing). Being new I naturally wanted to get into the good graces of my employer, and the other employees, I went out and got her the latest racing sheet. When I came back she was sitting at one of the empty desks overlooking the elevated on Wabash Avenue. She hastily glanced through the sheet and then asked me if I would go out and place a couple of bets for her. She gave me a note and ten dollars, and directions to her booking agent. I went and placed the bets, and when I came back I still had about 15 minutes left from my lunch hour, so I went over and sat down at one of the other empty desks, and started reading a magazine which was lying on the chair. After a while the woman or rather girl, because she was only 20 years old, came over and sat on the table facing me. We talked on different things concerning the routine work of the office and after awhile the talk became kind of personal.

After work that evening I went home, ate supper, and intended to call on a friend of mine, with whom I had intended to pass the evening. While there I told him about my job, and the girl which was working there. He said, "You fool why don't you get next to yourself." Then he told me that the girl wanted me to take her out and I might never get another chance like that. About three or four days later, the girl again broached the subject. And that night she asked me if I cared to spend the evening at her home, I told her I would have to let my parents know before I consented. She said, "alright," so I called up one of the neighbors who had a telephone, and asked her to call my mother to the phone. She did and when I told my mother my intentions she gave me her consent, and told me to behave myself, and not to come home too late. I said I would be home not later than 1 o'clock, which was an hour after my usual bedtime. So I took the girl home and met her mother who was a charming lady, she made me feel as though I belonged there. When the girl invited me into the kitchen for supper I was bashful, because I had never before eaten in a stranger's home, especially with just a girl and her mother. Her mother soon dispelled my fears and made me feel right at home. I soon began to eat with a relish because I had a good appetite. After supper Lora (Lora was the girl's name) and I, were chased into the front room by her

mother, who wanted us to enjoy the evening. We sat on the sofa, in silence for about five minutes, when she moved closer to me. She had a queer look on her face and she asked me if I didn't care for her just a little bit. Naturally I grew bolder, and put my arm around her. She snuggled up to my side (I was a pretty big lad at sixteen). That night I learned something which I should have learned after I was married. I went to Lora's house for about four days straight. I then quit going to her house because my mother did not want me to stay away from home every evening. So when I told Lora this, she said, "What's the matter aren't you old enough to do what you want to?" When she said this, and the way she said it, made me feel like a two year old child. I began staying out late at night, taking her to shows and cabarets. Consequently the twelve dollars a week that I was earning was not enough to spend, and take home. I began looking around for easy money, because I did not want her to think that I was a pauper. Several nights a week when I wasn't taking Lora out or spending the evening at her home, I would hang out, with a bunch of fellows, known as the junior 42 gang, of which I became a member, through some of the fellows I had met in St. Charles.<sup>24</sup>

We went jackrolling, burglarizing, stealing automobiles, stripping them to sell the parts. In this way I managed to get more money, which I spent lavishly upon this girl.<sup>25</sup>

One day in August, 192X, I stole a Packard sedan, in company with another boy. In this car we found two automatic pistols, of the twenty-five calibre variety. I sold each of them for five dollars. We kept the car for three days and three nights. I had quit my job about a week and a half before on account of the girl. On the third night that we had the car, we were caught sleeping in it, about 5.30 in the morning. We were taken to the Racine Avenue station, from where my parole officer was notified, and I was taken back to St. Charles as a parole violator. I was taken back just three days before Mr. Blank had left and Mr. Hand was then superintendent. I was brought back on August the 18,

<sup>24</sup> Sometimes the relationships established between boys in correctional institutions and reformatories persist after the boys are paroled from the institution and become the basis of group organization for subsequent delinquent activities.

<sup>25</sup> The gang referred to here was part of one of the most notorious delinquent and criminal gangs in the city of Chicago. At the time of Jack's contact with it, this gang was specializing in the larceny and stripping of automobiles.

192X, barely a month and a half after I had been paroled. I tried to get back into the A. C. kitchen, but I was unsuccessful. From Harding cottage I was transferred to Harrison cottage.

I was put on punishment for two weeks. The punishment consisted of sitting on stools 2½ feet long, 12 inches wide, and 5 in. high. We were forced to sit on them with our legs outstretched and our arms folded in front of us shoulder high; if we move out of this position we were hit across the arms or legs whichever we tried to relax. If you think it wasn't a grueling punishment just try to sit in the position mentioned all morning from 7.30 to 11 o'clock, and from 12.30 to 4.30. After two weeks on punishment I was put on the coal pile for a month, all this just because I had violated my parole. After my month on the coal pile was up, I was put on as a cottage boy, whose duties were to wash windows, straighten up clothes, sort the laundry, and finish the work left by the boys who went out and left their work unfinished. After being there three months, I decided to run away, as I was always getting the rear end, because I did not curry favor with the house officers, and the boy officers. The house officers and boy officers always played favorites, and if you weren't one of the favorites, you were naturally made to lead a dog's life.

I confided my escape plans to some fellows with whom I was on good terms; they all said my plan was a good one. My plan was to unfasten the catches on the outside of the window, which kept the window from going up too far. I unscrewed the catches and put match sticks in to hold the iron in place, so that nothing would be suspected. The next morning at 5.30 a. m., at which time we always get up, I rushed downstairs, washed myself, and went up to the kitchen. It was one of the cottage boy's duties to help put the meals on the table. I waited until the other fellows came up; there were nine in all, including myself. We climbed out of the scullery as soon as the guard had made his last round. Then we streaked north across the fields. One of the fellows became separated from us and was caught in St. Charles that night at about six or seven o'clock. After we had traveled north for about a half a mile we started going west. I was naturally the leader, so they followed me. After going west for about two miles, we turned and went south and then a little east; after crossing the Lincoln Highway we stopped at a large haystack. We climbed up to the top of it and started burrowing into it with the intention of sleeping

all day because the air was kind of chilly. During the day a farmer came out to the field and started plowing. We were all nearly frozen, so I asked them for a volunteer to go down to the farmer and ask him for some matches. None of them wanted to go, so I went down and asked the farmer for some matches and a couple of cigarettes. I explained our plight to the farmer, and he felt sorry for us; he told us to go into the adjoining woods, make our fire there, and he would let us know if anyone came looking for us. At noon we went to the farmhouse to eat, and we thought he might inform the authorities as to our whereabouts. He didn't, and when he came back he gave us each a sandwich and three packs of cigarettes. He told us that the institution officials were in the neighborhood looking for us and advised us to lay low and not leave the woods or we might be seen and bring a flock of trouble down upon him. That night we left the woods and wandered towards La Fox, where we bummed an old overcoat from a Mexican. We then caught a freight train to the West Lake Street railroad yards, where we got off. We walked about two miles along the Northwestern Railroad tracks at Lombard, Illinois, when we were chased by a State highway policeman. We all separated. As I was climbing the fence, after disregarding his yells for me to halt, he started shooting after me. He shot me in the leg, but I doubt whether he knew that he had shot me, because just then he had captured one of the other boys, so he had his hands full and didn't see me collapse.

I had fainted from loss of blood, but about a minute afterward I felt revived. For a minute or two I didn't know where I was and started crawling, and having lost my sense of direction I crawled back toward the railroad. When about twenty yards away I first became aware of my direction, so I turned west. I couldn't be seen because of the weeds which were about two and a half feet tall. I soon came to a road, there were motor-cycle police, riding backward and forward, looking for fellows that had escaped. As soon as the road was clear, I dragged myself across the road into the weeds, on the other side. About twenty feet from where I lay were the Chicago, Aurora and Elgin tracks, and the station was right by the road, which I had just crossed. I laid in the weeds from 10.30 o'clock in the morning until about four o'clock in the evening. I then ventured out upon the elevated platform and soon a lady came along. She noticed my bedraggled appearance and asked me who

I was and where I came from and I told her. She took pity on me, gave me a half of a dollar and a ticket on the Aurora and Elgin. We got on the car and went as far as Clark and Lake Streets, where she got off, and I continued my way alone. I went directly home.

After a few days I became acquainted with a fellow who is now doing ten to life at Joliet. I could not stay home on account of the search which was in progress, to have me apprehended. So I stayed with this fellow (John Matusky) from the third of December, 192X, to January 13, 192X, when we were apprehended with stolen property which we were in the act of selling.<sup>26</sup>

Ever since I became acquainted with this fellow, I noticed that he was usually sad and melancholy. One day I asked him what the trouble was. He said, "My mother is in the poorhouse, my two young brothers and sisters are staying with an aunt, and my oldest sister is married to a drunkard and my father is dead. My sole reason for leading this life, stealing and burglarizing is to get enough money together, so that I can get my mother and sisters and brothers united again." I helped him get money together, every bit that we stole we would divide the profits. Out of my share I would give him between five, and twenty-five dollars, according to the size of my share. This money he intrusted to his married sister to keep for him until he had enough for his mother to be taken out of the poorhouse, and set up in an apartment. About the third of January, 192X, he had about \$4,080 saved up, so he went over to where his sister and husband lived and told them to have the money ready the next day, that he was intending to surprise his mother by taking her out. The next day when we went over to his sister's house we found that they had packed a couple of suitcases and left for parts unknown with the money that my friend has accumulated through danger and hardships. \* \* \*

I told him to forget his troubles and that we would go out, make up the money which he had lost. So we stole everything that we could possibly sell. In this way we managed to get together about \$1,400 between January 5 and January 13. This we gave to a fellow whom I knew could be relied on. On January 13,

<sup>26</sup> The man referred to above was an adult criminal on parole from a State penal institution. He lived in the vicinity of Jack's home. That Jack lived in an area of delinquency is obvious from the fact that he was constantly having contact with delinquents and criminals who lived near his home. This fact must be borne in mind in any attempt to explain his delinquent behavior.

192X we were trying to sell some stuff that we had stolen to a fence. As we started to enter the store, which he used as a blind, the detective squad came along and raided the place. He was sentenced, on four charges of burglary, to Joliet to serve a term of from ten to life.

I was taken back to the St. Charles School for Boys. When I got back I was put into the guardhouse, and given 72 licks with a strap that was about one-fourth of an inch thick, 1½ or 2 inches wide and about 2 feet long. I was then put on the coal pile after 11 days on one slice of bread and a piece of meat a meal. This was the new punishment installed under the new superintendent.

I was made cook in the cottage which was known as the bad cottage, because the boys after coming out of the guardhouse were put into it. They worked on the coal pile for three months before they could get another job. After they were in the cottage for four months or more they were transferred to the good conduct cottages. My reputation as a cook is what took me off of the coal pile in three weeks. I was paroled September 7, 192X, at the age of 18 years.<sup>27</sup> When I got home I got myself a job, and tried my best to go straight. I got tired of the monotonous work and on November 28, 192X, I stole a car, which I intended to sell but was caught and locked up, but I made bonds on December 7. The Xmas of 192X was the second I had spent at home in six years.

One day while going to a show I met a fellow I had met in St. Charles.<sup>28</sup> This fellow asked me where I could find some of his friends. I knew the fellows he was looking for but I did not associate with them very much. When I told him where to find them, he said, "Why don't you come on over with me?" I told him I had a date, so he said, "All right, I'll see you here this evening." That night I met him and we went down to the club where the fellows he was looking for hung out. That night I was carrying a gun which I had stolen and was trying to sell. When I had taken my coat off to dance with a girl that was there, I forgot all about the gun in my hip pocket. The first thing I knew, one of the fellows came over and said, "Let's go out and stick somebody up."

<sup>27</sup> The boy was again paroled into the same situation in which he had previously been delinquent.

<sup>28</sup> This is another example of an association with an accomplice in crime which was formed while Jack was in a correctional institution.

That night, or rather about 2 o'clock in the morning, we went out and stuck up the elevated station at Schiller Street, the next night a cab driver, and the next night two pedestrians.<sup>20</sup> On March the 13th, 192X, I was arrested after having stuck up the last-mentioned parties. I hid the gun but it was later found. When taken to the X police station I was beaten up, because I wouldn't tell them who my associates were that had escaped. They finally raided the club, and all the fellows that were in the stick-ups with me had the finger put on them [finger meaning identified]. We stood trial together at first, but after we were bound over to the grand jury, I was granted a separate trial. I was convicted on my old charge of larceny of automobiles; the robbery charges were nolle prossed.

I received a sentence of one to twenty in Pontiac Reformatory. When I was sentenced I only expected to serve at the most two years. But after I received my papers from the parole board I was given five years, but I am eligible for parole in July 19th, 19XX; that is, providing I have earned all my good time. I have fully learned my lesson now. I know I have, but the board doesn't believe me.

My help is needed at home. My father has been laid up in bed with a swollen foot, my mother is unable to go to work, on account of having to take care of my father and the house. There is no one else but myself for them to depend on, and here I am in jail, without being able to raise a hand to help them. Now that I want to do what is right, I have not the chance to because society, which is represented by the parole board, will not give me my chance. If my father or mother should die I could blame no one but the parole board and society.

Would any right-minded person blame me if I took revenge on society when I got out? It is society's own fault if I become a criminal when I am released. I know many fellows, who given the opportunity, would become law-abiding citizens. But when they are given a lot of time, they begin to bear a grudge on society. In fact I know many fellows who have taken an oath that they would revenge themselves as soon as they have

<sup>20</sup> This is the first episode of robbery with a gun in which Jack was involved. For this offense he was committed to an institution for adult criminals. During the period of 10 years, from the age of 8 to 18, he had been involved in a long sequence of delinquencies, which ranged from pilfering and truancy to robbery with a gun. He had been placed in four successive institutions—the detention home, the Chicago Parental School, the Chicago Cook County School, and the St. Charles Training School for Boys.

their freedom given them. I know I have learned my lesson, but God what a price I must pay for my experience. I do not know what will become of me when I am turned upon society. I know many fellows who have worse charges than myself, yet with money and a political pull they gain their freedom within a year. It is not fair. Do the State officials think that they and the police can stop crime by having a person locked up for five or six years? If they do they are mistaken. Because one criminal relates to another criminal just how and why he was caught, and five or six years instead of making a law-abiding citizen, makes a hardened criminal, who, if given his chance at the beginning would have become a respectful law-abiding citizen. Society thinks that incarceration makes law-abiding citizens, but I fear they greatly misunderstand the crime question.

For instance, a fellow gets caught robbing something from a large company or corporation, he is imprisoned for an indefinite term. When he might be given a parole in a year, this large firm thinks that he hasn't done enough time, so instead of giving him a chance to prove that he has, they send a representative to the board to make this poor fellow's case harder to appeal, and consequently the fellow is given more time, which keeps him in contact with some hardened criminals, and finally is himself become hardened. \* \* \*

#### SUMMARY

This case study sums up in a concrete manner many of the major points brought out in this report. It shows the successive steps in the development of a criminal career, which had its beginning in various forms of petty stealing in the neighborhood and truancy from school. These early patterns of delinquency were acquired through the boy's contacts in his play groups and community. As far as could be ascertained, he never became incorporated into any conventional group in the neighborhood which might develop socially accepted types of behavior or correct his early tendency toward delinquency. While his relationships to his parents were congenial, the family control was not sufficiently effective to counteract the more powerful demoralizing influences in the area in which he resided.

This case history suggests that the attitudes and habits underlying Jack's later delinquent and criminal behavior

developed gradually in the course of his participation in the various activities prevailing in his play groups and neighborhood. They were, presumably, the end result of a long succession of social experiences extending back into the period of his early childhood. It is clear that an appreciation of the factors involved in a criminal career such as Jack's necessitates an understanding of the early childhood experiences of the offender and the situations in which these experiences occur.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> For a very suggestive discussion of the process involved in the formation of delinquent behavior patterns, see L. Guy Brown, *Social Causes and Cures for Delinquency*, Proceedings of the National Probation Association, 1930, pp. 9-31, and *The Social Process by Which Delinquent Behavior Patterns Develop*, paper delivered at the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies, Kansas City, Mo., October 3-6, 1928.

PART VI  
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SUMMARY

## CHAPTER XII

### SUMMARY

The present study of *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency* has been concerned with the relationship of delinquent behavior to the social situations in which it occurs. More specifically, delinquency has been studied in relation to the community, the play group and gang, and the family. An effort has been made to describe not only the objective situations in which delinquency occurs, but also to present through case materials, the attitudes of the delinquent with reference to these situations and the meaning which they have for him. In this way we have attempted to present both the objective and subjective aspects of juvenile delinquency.

The findings in this study have been presented in considerable detail in the introductions and conclusions of the separate chapters. In this summary, therefore, we shall confine ourselves to a statement of the general findings resulting from the study.

#### **1. JUVENILE DELINQUENTS ARE NOT DISTRIBUTED UNIFORMELY OVER THE CITY OF CHICAGO BUT TEND TO BE CONCENTRATED IN AREAS ADJACENT TO THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT AND TO HEAVY INDUSTRIAL AREAS**

Spot maps were prepared to show the geographic distribution of various series of alleged delinquents dealt with by the Juvenile Police Probation Officers of Chicago and by the Cook County Juvenile Court. These maps show the same typical configuration. Each map shows areas where there are few delinquents and other areas where there are very heavy concentrations. These areas of heaviest concentrations, which are in the same parts of the city regardless of the types of cases included in the different series, are almost without exception near the central business district or centers of heavy industry.

## 2. THERE ARE WIDE VARIATIONS IN THE RATES OF DELINQUENTS BETWEEN AREAS IN CHICAGO

Rates of delinquents showing the ratio between the number of delinquents and the aged 10 to 16 male population were calculated for each of the 113 areas into which the city was divided for the purposes of this study. Rates were calculated for a series of boys dealt with by the police probation officers, a series of boys in the juvenile court, and a series of boys committed to correctional institutions. In each of these series there was a wide range of rates, some areas having rates of delinquents many times higher than the rates in other areas. In each series also the areas with the highest rates of delinquents are near the central business district and the heavy industrial centers, while the lowest rates are in the residential areas near the periphery of the city. The similarity of variation in the different series is indicated by the high coefficients of correlation secured when the rates of delinquents in each series are correlated with the rates in each of the other series.

It should be remembered that these rates are presented as indices of the relative number of delinquents, rather than as measures of the actual number of delinquents in the several areas of Chicago. Undoubtedly the actual number of delinquents is much greater than is indicated by the rates of delinquents even in the police series, since many boys engage in delinquent activities who are not apprehended.

## 3. THE RATES OF DELINQUENTS TEND TO VARY INVERSELY WITH DISTANCE FROM THE CENTER OF THE CITY

This general tendency is quite evident when the rates of delinquents are studied along lines radiating out from the center of the city. In most instances the highest rates are just outside of the central business district and the lowest rates in the outskirts of the city.

This tendency of the rates to decrease outward from the center of the city is more obvious when rates of delinquents are presented more idealistically in large zones constructed by drawing concentric circles with a focal point in the

central business district. In each series the highest rate of delinquents is in the first or central zone with a regular decrease out from the center in each successive zone. The percentage decrease for the four full zones in Chicago is almost the same for the three types of series presented.

## 4. THE AREAS OF HIGH RATES OF DELINQUENTS IN CHICAGO HAVE BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY HIGH RATES FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME

A comparison of the location of the areas of high rates of delinquents in a series of cases brought into the Juvenile Court of Cook County in the period 1900-1906 and a similar series brought into the court in the period 1917-1923 reveals that, with little variation, the areas of highest rates in the early series were identical with those having the highest rates in the more recent series. A comparison of the distribution maps for the two periods reveals that the heaviest concentrations in the more recent series are somewhat farther extended from the center of the city due to the fact that the central business district has expanded. The rate maps, however, are very similar as indicated by a very high coefficient of correlation.

Similarly, a comparison of the rate of delinquents in a series of boys committed to correctional institutions by the juvenile court between 1900 and 1906 and the rates based upon boys committed between 1917 and 1923 indicate further that the same areas were characterized by high rates of delinquents during these two periods.

## 5. IN AREAS OF HIGH RATES OF DELINQUENTS A HIGHER PERCENTAGE OF DELINQUENT BOYS BECOME RECIDIVISTS AND THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF TIMES RECIDIVISTS APPEAR IN COURT IS GREATER THAN AMONG BOYS IN AREAS OF LOW RATES OF DELINQUENTS

Among the 8,141 juvenile delinquents included in the 1917-1923 juvenile court series, 43 per cent more delinquents became recidivists in the areas with high rates than in the areas with low rates. Likewise, beyond the second appearance in court the average number of times recidivists

appeared in court was more than twice as great in the areas of high rates of delinquents as it was in the areas of low rates. Similar variations were found in the 1900-1906 juvenile court series.

Therefore, certain areas of the city produce not only a high percentage of delinquents, but also a disproportionate percentage of recidivists among these delinquents. This suggests that the factors in the situation that make boys delinquent tend also to perpetuate their delinquency.

#### 6. THE LOCATION OF DELINQUENCY AREAS IS CLOSELY RELATED TO THE PROCESSES OF CITY GROWTH

In the processes of city growth differentiation between areas of the city takes place. The invasion by either industry or commerce tends to deteriorate the immediately adjacent residential areas and causes the population to move out. The dwellings thus vacated, and not needed for business, become undesirable and the rents in these areas are driven down to a point which forces into these areas the group with the lowest economic status. It is in these areas that the highest percentage of delinquency is found. They appear to be characteristic of most American cities and are known as "slum" areas. Their location near the business center of the city is not, therefore, accidental but is the product of the process of unregulated expansion in the city growth.

#### 7. DELINQUENCY AREAS IN CHICAGO ARE CHARACTERIZED BY PHYSICAL DETERIORATION, DECREASING POPULATION, HIGH RATES OF DEPENDENCY, HIGH PERCENTAGES OF FOREIGN AND NEGRO POPULATION IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, AND HIGH RATES OF ADULT CRIME

By means of these formal characteristics it is possible to differentiate the areas of high rates of delinquents from the areas of low rates, and to predict roughly, the rate of delinquents that is to be expected in a given area. Generally speaking, the areas of highest rates are in the districts that are subject to invasion by industry and commerce and the areas with the lowest rates are in the outlying residential communities.

#### 8. THE COMMUNITY FAILS TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY AS AN AGENCY OF SOCIAL CONTROL IN THESE AREAS OF HIGH RATES OF DELINQUENTS

There are few, if any, spontaneous self-supporting community or neighborhood institutions or organizations fostering community programs in these areas. Concerted collective action toward the solution of common problems is virtually nonexistent. The high rate of movement of the population and the fact that the social and cultural backgrounds of the groups are so widely different prevents either the establishment or the perpetuation of community spirit. There are few common interests or common objectives among the people.

This breakdown of community control is accentuated by the social and personal disorganization among the immigrant groups who are forced to make their adjustment to a new culture in these areas of high rates of delinquents.

#### 9. THE GREATEST CONCENTRATIONS OF DELINQUENTS OCCUR IN THE AREAS OF MARKED SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

In the process of city growth, the neighborhood organization, cultural institutions and social standards in practically all of the areas adjacent to the central business district and the major industrial centers are subject to rapid change and disorganization. The gradual invasion of these areas by industry and commerce, the continuous movement of the older residents out of the area and the influx of newer groups, the confusion of many divergent cultural standards, the economic insecurity of the families, all combine to render difficult the development of a stable and efficient neighborhood organization for the education and control of the child and the suppression of lawlessness.

#### 10. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IS TRADITIONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE DISORGANIZED AREAS OF THE CITY

In the absence of social solidarity, neighborhood organization, and public opinion in the disorganized areas near the central business district of the city, crime and delinquency gain a foothold, persist over a period of years, and become more or less traditional aspects of the social life. These traditions of delinquency are transmitted through personal and group contacts.

**11. THERE ARE MANY POSITIVE INFLUENCES LEADING TO DELINQUENCY IN THE DISORGANIZED AREAS**

The disorganized areas not only fail to provide effective neighborhood agencies for the development of socially accepted types of behavior or the correction of tendencies toward delinquency among the children, but they present many positive influences which lead directly to delinquencies among the boys. We refer specifically to the highly organized and powerful criminal gangs, the prevalence of "fences," who induce the boys to steal for them, the general attitudes of indifference, or the low neighborhood resistance to crime, and the widespread knowledge of political corruption and the alliance between crime and politics.

**12. THE RACIAL AND NATIONALITY COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN THE AREAS OF HIGH RATES OF DELINQUENTS CHANGED ALMOST COMPLETELY BETWEEN 1900 AND 1920, WHILE THE RELATIVE RATES OF DELINQUENTS IN THESE AREAS REMAINED PRACTICALLY UNCHANGED**

At the beginning of the present century these areas of highest rates of delinquents, which are for the most part areas of first immigrant settlement, were occupied by the older immigrant groups, such as the Germans, Irish, and Scandinavians. Since that time, these nationalities have almost disappeared from these areas and they have been succeeded by the newer immigrant groups, such as the Polish and the Italians. This change which took place, both in the areas adjacent to the central business district and to the large industrial developments, did not bring about any appreciable change in the relative rates of delinquents in these areas.

**13. AS THE OLDER IMMIGRANT GROUPS MOVED OUT OF THE AREAS OF HIGH RATES OF DELINQUENTS THE RATES OF DELINQUENTS AMONG THE CHILDREN OF THESE GROUPS DECREASED AND THEY TENDED TO DISAPPEAR FROM THE JUVENILE COURT**

When the German, Irish, and other immigrant groups lived in the areas of high rates of delinquents they constituted a large proportion of the population in the juvenile

court. As they moved out of these areas of high rates into areas of second and third immigrant settlements their children disappeared from the juvenile court at a rate far greater than the decrease in these nationalities in the total population of the city. They were supplanted in the juvenile court population by the Italians, Polish, Negroes, and other groups, all of whom moved into these areas of high rates of delinquents.

The same fact is indicated by the lower rates of delinquents in the areas of second and third immigrant settlement.

**14. THE FACTS CONCERNING THE DISTRIBUTION AND VARIATION IN RATES OF DELINQUENTS REVEALED IN THE CHICAGO STUDY ARE CONFIRMED BY THE STUDIES IN THE SIX OTHER CITIES**

In each of these six cities there were concentrations of delinquents in the areas adjacent to the central business district and industrial areas. Likewise there were wide variations in the rates of delinquents in the different areas into which these cities were divided. As in Chicago, the areas with the highest rates tended to be near the central business district and the areas with the lowest rates in the outlying residential communities. Very similar variations in rates were found in these cities even though the cities vary in size, type, and composition of population.

When the rates of delinquents were calculated by large zones drawn with focal points in the central business districts, the highest rates in each city were in the first or central zone. With slight variation these zone rates decreased regularly out from the center of the city.

**15. THE AREAS OF HIGH RATES OF DELINQUENTS IN OTHER CITIES HAVE CHARACTERISTICS SIMILAR TO THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AREAS OF HIGH RATES IN CHICAGO**

The characteristic configuration of spots on the maps showing the distribution of delinquents and the location of the areas of high rates in each of these six cities indicate their relation to the processes of expansion and segregation in city growth.

Facts on the physical and social characteristics of the areas of high and low rates were not presented for these cities. They are available, however, and they indicate that these areas of high rates tend to be the districts of physical deterioration, decreasing population, poverty, high percentage of foreign born and Negro population, as well as areas where the community functions least efficiently as an agency of social control.

#### 16. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IS GROUP BEHAVIOR

A study of cases of boys brought before the Cook County juvenile court during a single year showed that only 25.6 per cent were alone in committing their initial delinquency. When the analysis was restricted to offenders charged only with stealing, the percentage of lone offenders was much smaller, namely, only 11 per cent for offenders brought to court, and only 6.9 per cent for all offenders officially known to have been involved. The groups of participants having the highest frequency are those involving two and three boys.

#### 17. DELINQUENT TRADITIONS ARE TRANSMITTED THROUGH GROUP CONTACTS

A study of the play groups and gangs of delinquent boys shows that these groups serve as an agency for the transmission of the traditions of delinquency in the high rate areas of the city. Through his participation in the activities of the delinquent groups the boy acquires the knowledge and techniques that are essential in delinquent practices. It appears that the patterns of delinquent behavior, especially the various forms of stealing, are acquired through group contacts just as any cultural form is disseminated and transmitted through social groups.

#### 18. THE DELINQUENT CODE IS ACQUIRED THROUGH CONTACTS WITH DELINQUENT COMPANIONS AND GROUPS

The delinquent group tends to develop standards of conduct by which it seeks to control and regulate the behavior of its members. The traditions and codes of the delinquent groups emphasize as desirable qualities in their

members, ability in delinquency and a record in one of the correctional institutions. The "big shot" is respected; the traitor is stigmatized as a "rat" or "stool pigeon"; and, the petty thief is regarded as inferior. These characteristic attitudes are built up in the course of the boys' personal contacts with delinquent groups in the neighborhood and with older offenders in correctional institutions.

#### 19. PARTICIPATION IN THE ACTIVITIES OF DELINQUENT GROUPS OFTEN SERVES TO SATISFY THE FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN DESIRES OF THE BOY IN THE DELINQUENCY AREAS OF THE LARGE CITY

In the deteriorated and disorganized areas of the city, where the facilities for training and supervision of the boy are meagre, the possibilities for the satisfaction of the boys' desires for recognition, stimulation, companionship, and security are limited largely to the spontaneous and undirected play groups, whose standards and activities are often delinquent in character. In many cases it is by means of his delinquency that the boy is enabled to achieve the recognition and esteem of his fellows, or to defend his status and honor in the group. It may serve, also, as a source of thrill, adventure, and stimulation. Presumably in the outlying neighborhoods these same desires find their expression through the supervised and controlled groups, whose activities and standards are more in keeping with the norms of conventional society. While the standards and values in the two situations may be widely divergent, or even reversed, the human motives and desires underlying the boys' participation in the activities of his groups are perhaps identical in the two neighborhood situations.

#### 20. THERE ARE WIDE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE RATES OF BROKEN HOMES IN DIFFERENT RACIAL AND NATIONAL GROUPS, AND SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE RATES OF BROKEN HOMES AT DIFFERENT AGES, AMONG UNSELECTED SCHOOL BOYS

A study based upon interviews with 8,278 boys in 29 public schools reveals that the rates of broken homes in some racial and national groups are more than three times as high as the rates in other groups. Likewise, the expected rate of

broken homes among boys 17 years of age is 42 per cent higher than the expected rate among boys 10 years of age. These facts emphasize the importance of an identical control group in the study of the incidence of broken homes in any series of delinquents.

**21. THE RATES OF BROKEN HOMES AMONG DELINQUENT BOYS IN THE COOK COUNTY JUVENILE COURT AND THE RATES OF BROKEN HOMES AMONG BOYS OF THE SAME AGE AND NATIONALITY IN THE SCHOOL POPULATION ARE NOT WIDELY DIFFERENT**

The rate of broken homes among a group of 1,675 delinquent boys was found to be 42.5, while the expected rate of broken homes in a control group of the same age and nationality composition was found to be 36.1. This general finding was substantiated by a more controlled comparison in one area where the rate of broken homes among all of the boys in the public schools was found to be greater than the rate of broken homes among the delinquents.

This small variation between the rates of broken homes among delinquents and the control group suggests that the broken home, as such, is not an important factor in the case of delinquent boys in the Cook County juvenile court, and that attention should be focused upon inner personal relationships, rather than on the formal aspects of family life.

**22. NO CONSISTENT VARIATION WAS FOUND BETWEEN RATES OF BROKEN HOMES AND RATES OF DELINQUENTS**

Very little correlation was found between the rates of broken homes in the 29 schools and the rates of delinquents in the areas in which the schools were located. Similarly, when the 8,278 school boys and the 1,675 delinquents were grouped into three divisions on the basis of the rates of delinquents in the areas in which they lived it was found that there was little variation between the rates of broken homes among the boys in the areas of low, intermediate, and high rates of delinquents. Neither was there any consistent relationship between the rate of broken homes in a racial or

national group and the prevalence of delinquency in that group.

**23. CASE STUDIES SUGGEST THE NEED FOR GREATER EMPHASIS UPON THE STUDY OF THE SUBTLER ASPECTS OF FAMILY SITUATIONS IN RELATION TO DELINQUENCY**

While our studies failed to reveal any consistent relationship between "broken homes" and delinquency, it appears that the subtler aspects of family life—the attitudes and personal relationships within the group—are probably important in the development of tendencies toward delinquency, and are of particular significance in the formation of the child's attitudes, personality, and conception of his rôle in relation to other persons. These aspects of family life are illustrated in the foregoing verbatim reports of family interviews. Apparently the emotional attitudes and personal relationships, which after all constitute the essence of family life, are more significant and formative in the development of the attitudes and behavior patterns of the child than the formal and external aspects of the home or any formal break in the relations between its members.

**24. A DELINQUENT CAREER IS THE PRODUCT OF A NATURAL PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT**

Many students of the problem of delinquency and crime agree that a large proportion of habitual offenders commit their first delinquencies during childhood, youth, or adolescence. Our detailed case studies, as illustrated in the case presented in the last chapter, indicate that criminal patterns of behavior develop as a product of a long process of interaction between the individual and the successive social situations in which he lives. This process in which criminal habits and attitudes are formed usually involves a continuity of experiences, extending over a long period of time. From this standpoint, a delinquent or criminal act is a part of a dynamic life process and should be considered as such in the analysis and treatment of cases.

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