

A STUDY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN A SMALL CITY IN KANSAS

by

EDNA BLANTON SMITH

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INTRODUCTION

Juvenile Delinquency as a Social Issue

Every community is confronted by many problems, and one of the greatest and most important problems of the present time is that of the adjustments to situations that confront youth, and especially as it applies to juvenile delinquency. Many cities all over the country have become concerned over the increasing number of juvenile offenders and some have made exhaustive studies over a period of years in an attempt to determine the cause of this condition, and an endeavor to develop a constructive program for its cure and prevention.

There has been a growing tendency on the part of the daily press to give publicity to acts of juvenile delinquency and crime, and the efforts that are being made to cope with the situation.

Current magazines and periodicals are giving much space to such articles as "Delinquency is Your Problem," and others dealing with this condition as a social issue.

Such women's organizations as the Federation of Women's Clubs, The Daughters of the American Revolution, and the American Association of University Women are beginning to take a keen interest in the problems that confront the youth of today. Some of them are already beginning campaigns for

studying juvenile delinquency.

Authorities on the subject proclaim that we have youthful offenders today because we have failed to provide them with proper outlets and up-bringing. Only in rare instances of diseased minds can it be said that the first offender commits a crime out of sheer anti-social sentiments. Children are driven to crime because of deep-seated faults in society, such as poverty, degeneracy, and because their elders neglect them. When youth commits a crime, generally it is because older persons have committed a greater crime - it is because of laxity in early discipline, because of apathy on the part of parents, and neglect by those of the community who should help prevent adolescent minds from taking a downward direction which leads eventually to delinquency and crime.

According to Hoover (1938), director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, this condition constitutes a national crisis and calls for a resurrection of that standard of discipline and guidance which does so much to create law-abiding, successful, and forward-looking citizens. It demands that we give of our time, our energy, and contribute our best thought and endeavor toward wiping out the conditions by which such an emergency is created. It means that our children must be taught that adventure lies not along the road of violation, but that there are adventures in honest endeavor. They must be shown that law infraction can lead only to personal dis-

organization and to the weakening, physically and morally, of anyone who follows its practice. They must be urged to fight for honesty and the thought instilled in them that they are crusaders, the volunteers in a new battle for American character and integrity. He pointed out that criminals are not born into this world as such, neither are they made over night. On the contrary they are developed step by step from childhood. Moreover, the problems of youth in crime are not limited to sectional or local boundaries - they reach from border to border and from coast to coast. They are a threat to every home in the nation, and reveal a tremendous responsibility which should be undertaken by every citizen.

Purpose of Study

Present day society is charged with the tremendous task of working out an adequate solution to the problem of juvenile delinquency in all of its complexities. Therefore, it is only to be expected that in recent years interested individuals and influential organizations are becoming more and more conscious and concerned about the accumulative nature and magnitude of the problem.

This study grew out of a growing interest in the problem of unadjusted and so-called delinquent children. It was further augmented by recent studies that have been made concerning

these children, and the great amount of publicity that is being given to the problem of increasing juvenile delinquency as a nation wide situation.

The general purpose of this particular study was to discover, as nearly as possible, the delinquency situation as it exists in Manhattan, Kansas, the city chosen to represent small cities.

More specifically the study attempted to provide information on (1) the extent, the seriousness, and the areas of delinquency in the city; (2) the trends of delinquency rates and types of offenses; (3) the relationship of delinquency rates during the years immediately preceding and those following the beginning of the "war effort"; and (4) the ways in which the community is endeavoring to meet the needs of its children.

Nature of Study and Method of Procedure

This study which covered a five-year period, January 1, 1937 to December 31, 1942, includes only those offenses committed within the corporate limits of Manhattan, Kansas. The age span of the offenders was five to 16 years inclusive.

The cases of juvenile delinquency for this study were secured from the official records in the juvenile journal of the probate court and from the files of the Manhattan police department. The total number of cases from the combined sources

numbered 171, the greater number of which were in the files of the police department.

After obtaining all the information afforded by the records of the juvenile court and police department an attempt was made to follow these children through their school records to obtain additional data concerning their family background, their educational attainment, and their participation in school and out-of-school activities. Those cases which had been referred to the Child Welfare Unit and Riley County Social Welfare Department of Riley County were reviewed from their files.

For further information concerning the delinquency situation in Manhattan, interviews were scheduled with a Justice of the Peace, the Probate Judge, the Mayor of the city, pastors of several churches, individual members of the police department, the Child Welfare worker, the Social Welfare worker, the principals of the Junior and Senior High Schools, and several principals and teachers of the elementary schools. These individuals helped to open new leads, expressed helpful opinions, and in general were of real help in analyzing and interpreting the data as well as giving actual information in a number of cases.

Characteristics of Sample City

Manhattan, the city selected for this study, is the county seat of Riley County, Kansas. Located in the second

tier of counties south from the northern boundary and in the eastern third of the state, Manhattan is the natural market for a rich north-central Kansas farm empire, extending into six counties. Truck farming abounds in the fertile river valleys, and furnishes an important source of revenue.

The population of Manhattan increased approximately 21 percent during the five-year period of this study. According to the 1937 census the population was 11,209, and at the beginning of 1943 it was 13,579, making the average population about 12,000, exclusive of the Kansas State College non-resident students. The sharpest increase has been during the last two-and-one-half years covered by this study.

The fact that the Kansas State College is located in Manhattan brings a large number of people here seeking educational advantages for their children. The college faculty also furnishes the city with a group of people whose educational level is considerably higher than that of an average community in this part of the country.

According to information received at the Chamber of Commerce 95 percent of the population of Manhattan is American born, and 75 percent of its citizens live in their own homes. The relationship of nativity and mobility to delinquency is usually an important social factor in interpreting the cause of maladjustment. However, for Manhattan this would seem to be a negligible factor.

The fact that Manhattan is in such close proximity to Fort Riley and Camp Funston made the city a logical place for the great influx of workers and military personnel to seek residence as early as July 1, 1940. Since then the mobility of the population has greatly increased.

Explanation of Terms

Certain terms used throughout this paper may need to be clarified in order that the reader may not be confused. An explanation of such terms most generally used follows:

The term a "small city" refers to one having a population of 10,000 to 25,000.

By the "war effort" is meant putting into effect certain defense plans about July 1, 1940, and the acceleration of such plans after December 7, 1941.

By "official" cases or records is meant those that have been formally acted upon and recorded in a permanent file or document, such as the Juvenile Journal of the probate court and police files.

"Unofficial" means that they have been informally acted upon and no permanent record is kept.

In this paper "youthful offenders" and "offenses" are terms used interchangeably with "juvenile delinquents" and "juvenile delinquency".

"Probate court" means the same as "juvenile court".

In juvenile research, child-guidance clinics, and sociological research circles, the term "juvenile delinquent" denotes a child who has been acted upon officially by police officers or court authorities and does not signify a type of case generically different from cases of non-delinquent problem children whose problems have not been officially recognized (Reckless and Smith, 1932).

According to the Kansas law, the term "juvenile delinquent" includes "any child under the age of 16 years who violates any law of this state or any city, town, or village ordinances; or who is incorrigible; or who knowingly associates with thieves, vicious or immoral persons; or who is growing up in idleness or

crime; or who knowingly patronizes any pool rooms or places where gambling devices are operated" (General Statutes of Kansas, 1935, Chapter 38, Section 402).

For the purpose of the study of juvenile delinquency in Manhattan, Kansas it seemed advisable to include all children who were 16 years of age and under. Some of those in this study who were 16 years of age had records beginning before their 16th birthday, and were handled by the judge of the probate court which is the juvenile court in Kansas. Most of the others who were 16 were handled by the police or the police judge. No children over 16 were included in this study.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Literature concerning juvenile delinquency is extensive as revealed by an examination of the Readers' Guide and the files of the Kansas State College library. As a preparation for this study the literature consulted might be classified into the following general categories:

As the general public views the situation, found in the daily newspaper editorials, current magazines and periodicals, Federal Bureau of Investigation reports and others.

As interest groups look upon it, for example, welfare and social work agencies, governmental agencies, and social organizations.

As the educator views the problem, found in most

of the books dealing with youth and its problems, and takes into consideration the social factors involved in the home, the school, the church, and the other primary groups in relation to maladjustment and anti-social behavior.

As the experts dealing with the cases view the situation, and includes studies that have been made concerning the causative factors, treatment programs, and preventive measures.

The review of literature which is presented in the subsequent paragraphs is primarily from the standpoint of the experts whose studies have been presented in recent books, government publications, and such sociological magazines as the American Journal of Sociology, and the American Sociological Review, official journal of the American Sociological Society.

The study of juvenile delinquency in America has taken precedence over the investigation of adult crime, and the most outstanding and significant researches have been made in this field. The greatest amount of expert social work and guidance has been applied to the treatment of young offenders. It is now recognized that the beginnings of adult criminal careers have their sources in juvenile difficulties and behavior problems which have accumulated and gone uncorrected since childhood and adolescence. As researches and treatment programs continue to concentrate on children, it is to be ex-

pected that there will be increasing control over this problem (Reckless and Smith, 1932).

The present day treatment of juvenile delinquency represents great progress over the past, but is still far from adequate, notwithstanding the availability of all the modern scientific research in this particular field. That practice has not kept pace with theory was clearly indicated in the report of the Delinquency Committee of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection in 1933.

That it is important that the public recognize the existence of behavior problems in home, school, and community is revealed in a publication by the Children's Bureau. When the public is brought to an understanding and acceptance of its own responsibilities in the prevention and treatment of delinquency it will be more willing to give the needed support to a well-rounded and coordinated community program for the development of constructive, wholesome interests, and the early study and guidance of children presenting problems of behavior and personality. The attitude of the public toward all problem children should be characterized not by irritation, fear, or censure, but by understanding of the child's needs for protection, education, and guidance - in the community if possible, but in a well-managed institution if necessary. Distribution of literature, newspaper and magazine publicity, radio talks, lectures, and study-club work will be

found useful in educating and creating public opinion.

The Child Guidance Clinic had its beginning in the work of Dr. William Healy and his associates, in 1909 at the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago, and since then at the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston. The Child Guidance Clinic had its inception in two very definite modern trends of dealing with the child; First the ever-increasing emphasis upon the study of the child in his total situation, and second, the shift from curative to preventive measures. Its aim is not to rehabilitate the child after he has become delinquent, but rather to "strike at the very roots of delinquency and maladjustment" by correcting minor behavior difficulties (Sullenger, 1936; p. 272).

The Clinic is not supposed to replace the parent, the teacher, or the social worker, but rather to make more effective the work of all individuals and agencies engaged in child welfare work. The work of the Clinic is three-fold; first, it examines and treats children who present serious behavior problems, second, it cooperates with teachers, social workers, and other community agencies, enabling them to meet and handle milder behavior problems more adequately, and third, it adds to the available fund of scientific facts about the behavior and minds of individuals and makes such information available to all social agencies. In conclusion, Sullenger points out that the Child Guidance Clinic is one of the most hopeful and scien-

tific fields of case-work. Preventive in its nature, it offers invaluable contribution to the prevention and scientific treatment of delinquency (Sullenger, 1936; p. 283).

About a century ago it was not an uncommon procedure either in England or the United States to hang a child for an offense, and it was not until the latter half of the 19th century that any definite action was taken to change the court procedure and treatment of juvenile delinquents. The first official step was made by Massachusetts in 1869, when a law was passed requiring the governor to appoint a visiting agent who was to work, not for the punishment of the child, but for his welfare, and the following year separate hearings were required for the trial of juvenile offenders. New York, Rhode Island, and a few other states followed the example set by Massachusetts. While steps were taken in other states to help remedy the treatment of juvenile delinquents, conditions were still very bad as late as 1898. Although many states had passed laws previously to help better the treatment of juvenile offenders, Illinois was the first state to create a juvenile court in 1899. Very few states so far have provided for separate juvenile courts, but in most states one of the regularly established courts has been designated as the court in which children's cases are to be tried (Sullenger, 1936; p. 227).

The juvenile court movement has not been confined to the

United States. It is now a part of the legal machinery of nearly all of the leading foreign countries. The purpose of the juvenile court is not necessarily to discover whether the child has committed a specific crime but to aid him in meeting his needs normally, practically, and in harmony with the higher ideals of the community. The juvenile court and the school should cooperate fully in dealing with juvenile delinquency, and there should be a close functional cooperation between the juvenile court and all child welfare agencies in the community.

Probation is the social worker's most important direct attack upon the problem of crime and delinquency. Not only should it furnish the court with social diagnosis and individual treatment, but it should take an active part in educating the courts and the public to a social and scientific attitude toward delinquency. The ultimate goal of successful probation is to bring about in the life of the child a new outlook and a new set of habits, and a different attitude toward society and those with whom he comes in contact. One of the first steps in the scientific handling of probation should be a study of the environment of the child. Social diagnosis, if rightly carried on will throw much light upon the delinquent's behavior (Sullenger, 1936; Chap. XI).

There is no substitute for home life and intelligent parenthood in the rearing of children. It is in the home that the

child's needs for affection, security, and opportunities for growth and development are met or thwarted. To promote the stability and happiness of family life is, therefore, to aid in solving the problems which result in juvenile delinquency. Parenthood does not automatically bring with it knowledge of the proper methods of rearing children. Parents need more education on the effect of their own attitudes on the development of the child, and of their relations to each other and to the child. Often times they do not realize that manifestations of delinquency and abnormal behavior may be due to their own attitude toward their children. Attention is being focused more and more upon developments in the field of parent education ("Facts About Juvenile Delinquency", 1933; p. 17).

So much depends upon the training and experiences in early childhood that parents should not overlook bad habits and behavior problems which are often symptoms of serious personality difficulties. Parents should learn to distinguish between problems that they should be able to handle and those that require expert service. This is where the child guidance clinic functions most effectively.

The local church has a definite responsibility for the social and moral needs of its community as well as the spiritual needs. Urban churches especially should serve as social centers for young people. They should be equipped with gymnasium, play rooms for parties, club rooms, play grounds

for younger children, and reading rooms well stocked with good current literature. As far as possible trained leaders should be in charge of these activities. Studies made by Sullenger show that juvenile delinquency frequently thrives within a short distance from many of the urban churches where no such provisions as the above mentioned are made. The church program should be arranged so that it gives the young people something to do, something to talk about, and something to enjoy. It thus attracts and holds the children of juvenile court age "by developing the three passions of youth: work, play, and love" (Sullenger, 1936; p. 306).

The fact that most juvenile delinquents are children of school age does not necessarily mean that the school itself is responsible for their delinquency. The fact remains, however, that the school must undertake not only to give them an academic education, but also to train them to fit into society. The school organization must provide for various services to assist in preventing or solving the problems of school maladjustments and dissatisfactions which furnish fertile ground for the development of juvenile delinquency. Special schools and classes should be provided for those children whose needs cannot be met in the regular classes. School authorities are recognizing more and more that such a service is needed to deal scientifically with the particular difficulties of such children. Educational and vocational guidance should be provided, and all teachers and others dealing with behavior prob-

lem children should make the fullest use of the vocational service. Many schools refer problem children to the child guidance clinics where these exist.

As the child grows older his world extends beyond the walls of the home and school, into what is generally referred to as the community. The community, through its various agencies, may help to strengthen the child and fit him to meet life squarely, or it may help to make him dissatisfied with his environment and to rebel against it, and thus become one of the causes of juvenile delinquency. Community environment cannot be held entirely responsible for juvenile delinquency, but it does have a definite responsibility in helping to prevent it. Community resources should provide: recreational facilities, under public auspices; leisure time activities, under private auspices; and protective work through a socialized police force, public and private children's organizations, child welfare departments, and other juvenile protective associations. Even if the home, the school, and the church could claim all of the child's time he would still "not be immune from the spirit of the community".

The next step forward after an attempt to prevent delinquency has failed, should be work with the delinquent himself aimed at finding the causes of his troubles, and at the same time attempting to modify the factors in the family life which may have directly or indirectly produced the delinquent tendencies (Healy and Bronner, 1936; p. 14).

The important thing is to discover just what it was that caused the individual to break the law, and why this particular child yielded to temptations when other children in the same environment, often in the same family, were able to resist them. This can be done only by sympathetic as well as scientific study of the delinquent himself; of his background, environment, associations, mental attitudes, and physical characteristics. It is only by understanding what lies back of the delinquent act that those agencies especially entrusted with the responsibility for those children who do not live in accordance with the laws can attempt intelligent treatment for them in such a way that will strengthen them for social living.

Authorities and students of the problem of delinquency agree that there is no single cause of juvenile delinquency. An understanding of the early life of the individual is essential, since the attitudes of childhood carry over to the attitudes toward teachers, social organizations, protective agencies, society in general and the community at large. The disorganized or broken home is a contributing factor to delinquency. Large numbers of children that come to the attention of the police and juvenile courts are from homes broken by death, desertion, separation, or divorce, and from homes where lack of affection and harmony between parents, and other emotional problems of adults, make it impossible to satisfy the child's fundamental needs for security and development.

According to Hesly and Bronner (1936, p. 141), "whatever is done for delinquents or for their families that is aimed at checking delinquency may be termed as treatment". In accord with their viewpoint Rogers (1936, p. 14) points out that, "we may regard as treatment measures any planned procedures by which professional workers have sought to modify the behavior, or the adjustment of the individual child".

In his introduction Sullenger (1936) points out that the approach to the problem of prevention of crime and delinquency must be made at the genesis of the evil. Conditions must be such that the child will have an opportunity to develop socially, physically, and mentally in a normal environment. A complete outline of a preventive program would include reference to all movements for the improvement of conditions affecting the family and child life.

It has been interesting to note that throughout the literature dealing with behavior problems and delinquency, the authorities have emphasized the study of the individual, and that it is through this approach to the problem that juvenile delinquency may be prevented. Responsibility must be placed upon the adults, and the entire social group must cooperate in the attempt to deal with the delinquent, and to surround all children with those influences which will help to build up in them strength to meet the complexities of modern life.

TABLES AND DISCUSSION OF DATA

The tabular materials in the following pages are presented by way of summarizing the available data on juvenile offenders and their offenses in this particular study. These results constitute the main purpose of the investigation. Tables have been worked out showing certain facts and tendencies, accompanied by a discussion and explanation of each, with a few cases used for illustrative purposes.

In interpreting the data certain inadequacies of the records were encountered, namely, lack of complete records in the juvenile court and schools, lack of information concerning family background, and recording of acts on the police records. Besides these difficulties at the source of the records, there are fundamental differences in the procedure of handling cases, in recording court actions, in defining crimes, and in the general attitude toward the keeping of records.

It was found that in some cases recorded in the Juvenile Journal of the probate court information concerning the child's age, address, duration of institutional care, and a follow-up of those cases that were probated to some agency or individual were lacking. During the past three years those children who were enrolled in the junior high school had much

more complete records concerning their family background, educational plans, and scholastic ability, their school and out-of-school activities, and occupation, if any, than were found in either the elementary schools or the high school, unless the child had been transferred from the junior high school to the high school since the more complete records have been kept. In the junior high school the principal kept a record of all problem situations and attached it to each child's school record. In the elementary schools comments on the child's behavior were found on his record in many instances, but not all. However, no record was kept of the behavior problems after the child reached the high school. In most cases the data and reason for withdrawal from school were lacking on all school records.

It was through the school records that most of the information concerning the child's parents, his siblings and his position in the family, the economic status of the family and occupation of the parents, and other data pertaining to his environment was obtained. From some of the old high school records and Juvenile Journal records, the church affiliation was obtained for approximately one-half of the cases included in this study.

The police records were quite complete concerning the address of the offenders, the place of arrest, the age, and the disposition of the case, whether it was referred to the

probate court or handled by the Police Department. Of the 160 cases on the police records many of them were for more or less trivial offenses, such as riding double on bicycles. Obviously such records swell the volume of cases of delinquency that are really not of a serious nature. On the other hand few of the problems with girls ever reach the police records because they try to avoid having a police record against the young teen-age girl, even though such cases represent the major problem at the present time.

Age Composition

On first thought the age composition of the juvenile delinquent group may not appear to be a significant factor. However, in any study of juvenile delinquency it is important to know whether or not there is a greater concentration of cases within certain periods, for example, those years of physical maturation, and whether or not any significant part of the whole is below ten years of age.

In analyzing the data obtained for the 171 cases considered in the five-year period covered by this study it was interesting to note the age distribution of the youthful offenders by age and by age-groups as well. Table 1 shows the number and percentage by age and reveals the fact that of the total number 56 were under 13 years of age, and 115

were 13 to 16 years of age inclusive. This would indicate that it is in the early adolescent years that boys and girls most generally manifest their anti-social tendencies. Conclusive evidence of this fact is found in recent studies of the Children's Bureau.

Table 1. Number and percent by age of youthful offenders over five-year period 1937 to 1942.

Age, years	Number	Percent
5	2	1
6	2	1
7	2	1
8	6	4
9	8	5
10	12	7
11	15	9
12	9	6
13	23	13
14	24	13
15	29	17
16	39	23
Total	171	100

In considering the age-group distribution Table 2 shows that of the total number of offenders only 12 were in the age-group of five to eight years of age. Of this number all except three were for petty thievery or pilfering. One boy age five was taken into custody by the probate court on a charge of begging for which his mother was responsible. The child was finally placed in an orphanage and later adopted. The other two children, eight years of age, were arrested for destroying property in company with older companions.

Table 2. Number and percent of youthful offenders by age-group of four-year intervals over five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Age-group	Number	Percent
5 to 8	12	7
9 to 12	44	27
13 to 16	115	66
Total	171	100

In the age group from nine to 12 there were 44 cases. Of this number 13 were for destroying and damaging property, and 13 were for stealing and "petty thievery". The remaining 18 in this age group were for various offenses, such as disturbing the peace, riding double, sex irregularities, incorrigibility, and house-breaking. Some of the children in this group had two or more charges at different times. The 13 to 16 age group of 115 cases had a greater variety of offenses, and a greater number had two or more charges against them. The two highest ranking offenses were traffic violations and crimes against property of varying degrees of seriousness.

Table 3. Number and type of offenses committed by 171 offenders according to age-group.

Offense	AGE			Total	Percent
	5 to 8	9 to 12	13 to 16		
Stealing and pilfering	11	27	67	105	34
Acts of carelessness and mischief		5	9	14	5
Traffic violation			41	41	13
Truancy			1	1	-1
Runaway			3	3	1
Ungovernable		2	5	7	2
Sex irregularities		3	11	14	4
Injury to person		2	1	3	-1
Destroying and damaging property	4	21	15	40	13
Use, possession, or sale of liquor or drugs		3	6	9	3
Breaking and entering houses		9	6	15	5
Disturbing the peace*	1	3	9	13	4
Burglary	1	3	4	8	3
Riding double		10	16	26	9
Fighting			8	8	3
Gambling			4	4	1
Total	17	38	206	311	100

* One five-year old charged with begging on the streets

The foregoing analysis suggested a consideration of the number and types of offenses committed by the 171 offenders according to their age-group. The total number of offenses for the five-year period was 311. Table 3 shows the number and type of offenses for each age-group, as well as the tendency for the number and gravity of the offenses to increase with the older age-group.

Of the 12 offenders in the age-group five to eight, 17 offenses were committed, the majority of which were for stealing and "petty thievery". One eight year-old boy was involved in a burglary with several older boys, one of them being his brother. The average number of offenses per child in this age-group was slightly over 1.4.

In the age-group nine to 12 house breaking and crimes against property ranked higher than in the 13 to 16 age-group. Of the 88 offenses committed by this group, 27 were for stealing and pilfering, 21 for destroying and damaging property, ten for riding double, and nine for house breaking. The remaining 21 offenses covered a range of seven or eight different categories. The average number of offenses per offender was two.

By far the greatest number of offenses was committed by the 115 offenders in the age-group 13 to 16. Traffic violations, fighting, gambling, running away, and the charge of truancy on record, were offenses committed by this group

only. Of the 67 charges of stealing and pilfering in this group most of them were of automobiles. The average number of offenses per offender was slightly less than in the nine to 12 age-group, or 1.8.

Sex Differences

Various studies that have been made show that the sexes differ in the type of offenses charged against them. In spite of the short-comings of the mathematical comparisons the results show that more delinquent boys are known as offenders against property and most delinquent girls are known as sex offenders and as generally ungovernable and incorrigible.

It has been suggested that sex maturity at an earlier age, and the biological factor in sex attraction may explain in part the tendency toward sex offenses on the part of girls. Unruliness is also more often present in girls than in boys, and the reason for this may be social in part at least. Boys are earlier out on their own resources, and it is traditional that they manage their own affairs more than girls do. Consequently, they are given more latitude by their elders before they are considered ungovernable or incorrigible (Reckless and Smith, 1932).

The sex difference in delinquency rates seems to hold generally as revealed in Table 4 in this study. Of the total cases of juvenile offenders on record from 1937 to 1942 in-

clusive, 150 were boys and 21 were girls. The offenses for which the girls were most frequently arrested were those involving irregular sex conduct, with stealing ranking second. The sex difference in this delinquency rate is modified by the fact that so many of the girls' cases are handled unofficially, and therefore there is no record against them.

Table 4. Number and percent of male and female offenders over five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Sex	Number	Percent
Male	150	88
Female	21	12
Total	171	100

The Group Aspect

From the point of view of overt delinquent behavior, the most important disorganizing feature in adolescent delinquency is the development of anti-social attitudes. The general pattern of delinquent behavior is made up of a number of objectionable personal habits, which might not be disorganizing as single factors, but when taken all together they make for a thoroughly anti-social individual (Elliott and Merrill, 1941).

The gang itself is a product of disorganized youth, or

anti-social attitudes on the part of the youth of a community, and is an important factor in foetering delinquent conduct. Thrasher (1927), Shaw and McKay (1931) and others who have made studies concerning the causative factors in delinquency, hold that the gang provides the adolescent with a definite pattern of behavior. He may begin by being an innocent by-stander in a situation involving delinquency, but he becomes in turn a minor delinquent, a reckless young sport or a dare-devil; and eventually, if nothing intervenes, he becomes a definite delinquent, and later a seasoned criminal.

The conversation of the youthful gang member is marked by vulgarity, obscenity, and profanity of all kinds. He learns the delight of gambling at an early age, usually through crap-shooting. He learns to smoke and drink when such practices may be very harmful to him physically. By acquiring these and many other unfortunate personal habits, the child is molded by the gang into a thoroughly objectionable little ruffian, ripe for further schooling in the techniques of anti-social behavior.

Through the gang they learn to pilfer cars, procure "junk", rob fruit stands, pick pockets, go on shop-lifting expeditions, steal automobiles, sell stolen goods to unsuspecting prospects, trick the police, and even burglarize a store or filling station. Sometimes, it is true that they get such ideas from the motion pictures, but more often some older member of the gang instructs the younger members in the

arts of becoming a criminal.

According to the data obtained in this study, 53 percent of the 311 offenses committed by the 171 offenders over the five-year period were either in pairs or groups (gangs) of three or more.

Of the total offenses, 24 percent were individual offenses, consisting for the most part of traffic violations, drunkenness, disturbing the peace, being ungovernable, running away, and truancy. Most of these offenses were committed by those 15 and 16 years of age. It was unknown whether the remaining 23 percent of the offenses were committed individually or with one or more companions as the records gave no indication concerning this fact. Table 5 shows the group aspect by number and percent of offenses committed during the period of this study.

It was evident that the gang factor was very strong in the age-group nine to 12 and those 13 and 14 years of age. Many of the offenses committed by these children were destroying and damaging property, breaking and entering houses, riding double, and acts of carelessness and mischief. There were relatively few offenses committed individually, as the records showed that more often two or more children were arrested on the same charge. In the age-group, five to eight, the children were usually arrested with some older child or children. Seldom were they with their own age-group exclusively, and only one was an individual case.

Table 5. Group aspect by number and percent of offenses committed over five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Individual:		Pairs :		Gang :		Unknown :		Total	
Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
75	24	77	24	90	29	69	23	311	100

The influence of the gang is seen again in the comparison of the number and type of single offenses with the repeated offenses committed by the 171 offenders in this study. Table 6 shows that of the total number of offenders that were arrested by the police or taken into custody by the probate court on petition, 96 were for single offenses, and 75 were charged with repeated offenses. It was found through further study of these records that those having the greatest number of repeated offenses were in the gang-age group, and that the types of offenses were usually those such as would have no thrill without an accomplice.

Table 6. Comparison by number and percent of single offenders with repeaters over five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Single		Repeaters		Total	
Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
95	56	76	44	171	100

Recidivism

Recidivism offers a persistent challenge to all who are interested in or who hope to solve the problem of juvenile delinquency. "Repeaters" as they are frequently called, are found in every court that keeps accurate records and there is reason to believe that they occur in every court in the country. Various studies have been made and experiments tried in dealing with recidivists by sociologists, criminologists, and social idealists which have refuted the idea that such offenders are "born that way" and are therefore hopeless cases.

It has been pointed out that not all recidivists may be restored to society with equal facility, due largely to unstable emotions, serious personality problems, and in some instances to defective intellect. The otherwise normal child, who has acquired anti-social habits owing to lack of parental control, desire for excitement, or some other such factor, has an excellent chance of being reconstructed into a useful citizen (Reckless and Smith, 1932).

In this study it was found that of the 150 boys who had police or juvenile court records, 48 percent were repeated offenders, while of the 21 girls their records showed that only 14 percent were repeated offenders. The figures showing the number and percent of recidivism in both boys and girls are given in Table 7. In general those cases having the high-

est rate of recidivism were in the age-group 13 to 16; their offenses covered a number of years of anti-social behavior.

Table 7. Number of times youthful offenders were dealt with by police and juvenile court over five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Number of times dealt with	Boys		Girls	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1	78	52	18	86
2	39	26	2	9
3	18	12		
4 or more*	15	10	1	5
Total	150	100	21	100

* One boy age 14 had nine different police charges against him, and was in custody of the probate court, as well as the Child Welfare Unit.

As an example of the foregoing discussion the following cases are offered, which are by no means exceptional ones. The names used are in all cases fictitious but the facts are taken from data on individual records.

Case 1. Jack's father is a stone cutter, with an eighth grade education. His mother, a housewife, finished the ninth grade according to the school record filled out by the boy. He has one brother two years younger than he, who also has a record of recidivism. Both boys have been known to the Child Welfare Unit, and according to information secured from the worker, the economic status of the family has been very poor for a number of years. During the five-year period of this study the family moved three times, but always in the same

general neighborhood, which is in the least desirable residential section of the city. The church preference of Jack's record was Methodist, and on his brother's it was Lutheran.

There was no indication on the boy's school record that he was a problem in school. His rating in junior high school was "good" and "fair". He had an I. Q. rating of 111. He was active in athletics, but took part in no other activities either in school or out of school. He entered the ninth grade in 1938 at the age of 14, but there was no record as to whether or not he finished junior high school. He did not go to high school, although his accumulative record showed that he had planned to finish high school and become a traveling salesman. According to his junior high school record he did odd jobs such as peddling vegetables and later worked part time for a tinner.

His police record began when he was 15. He was charged with petty thievery, and turned over to the probate judge who reprimanded him in an informal hearing. At the age of 14 he was arrested for second degree burglary in company with another boy, and again turned over to the probate judge, but there was no record of the disposition of the case. At the age of 16 he was arrested for operating a car without sufficient brakes and his drivers' license was revoked for one year. He was required to report to the police station the first of each month. During this period he was arrested for petty larceny, and at 17 served a 60-day sentence in jail on a similar charge with

another boy.

Case 2. Bobby, according to the age given on his police record, was born in 1930. His parents are separated but not divorced. His mother is a devout Catholic, but his father is not a Catholic and his church preference was not learned. Bobby is the eldest of three boys in the family, one brother is two years younger than he, and is always involved in whatever he does. The youngest boy so far has no delinquency record. Both Bobby and his brother attended the parochial school here in Manhattan. Last year, when Bobby was in the eighth grade, he was such a problem to the Sisters and such a bad influence in school that he was dismissed at the end of the year, and his mother advised to send him to junior high school.

His father is considered to be "no good", and the family better off without him. He was very dissipated and was considered a bad influence on the children. His mother is a well educated woman and holds a stenographic position at Fort Riley. Her failure in handling Bobby lies in the fact that she over protects him, and does not cooperate with those who are trying to help him. He has a vivid imagination and is a "born" leader.

Bobby's police record began when he was ten years of age. Within one month he was arrested twice. The first time for petty thievery, the second time for burglary of a grocery store. About a year later he was arrested for pilfering cars.

Two weeks after that he was arrested for selling what was at first thought to be "dope" to junior high school students. Each time he was arrested with the same gang of boys, and each time they were turned over to the probate judge who reprimanded them but made no official record of the offenders. Recently Bobby was involved in a "two-boy crime wave", in which he and another boy confessed to three "break-ins" and three automobile thefts. To prevent his being sent to the Boys' Industrial School, Bobby's mother took him to Boys' Town in Omaha, Nebraska where he is on probation and is apparently making a satisfactory adjustment according to the latest report.

The Race Factor

In considering race as a factor in juvenile delinquency over the five-year period covered by this study, not a great deal was found that provided statistical evidence of it's being significant. The average population in Manhattan for this period was approximately 12,000. Of this number it was estimated that about 380 were Negroes and 20 Mexicans. No definite number of the different races was available, but at the City Clerk's office these figures were given as a fairly accurate estimate. According to these figures 97 percent of the entire population of the city was white, with the remaining three percent Negro and Mexican. Table 8 shows that on a per-

centage basis 89 percent of the offenders were white and 11 percent were of the other two races. The proportion of the Negro and Mexican offenders was somewhat higher than the ratio of these racial groups to the total population of the city.

Of the 18 Negro and Mexican offenders only six of their records were begun since July 1, 1940, and only two with previous records had subsequent arrests since this date. This would indicate that delinquent behavior among the minority racial groups has declined in the past two-and-one-half years. During the five-year period four Negroes and one Mexican were committed to the Boys' Industrial School at Topeka, and one Negro girl was placed in the Girls' Industrial School at Beloit. The parents or guardians of four of the five Negro children committed to institutions requested that they be sent because they were incorrigible. The other had been in trouble with the police over a long period of time.

Table 8. Comparison of white and non-white offenders by percent and number to ratio of population over five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Race	Average :population :1937 to 1942	: :Percent of: :population	:Number :of :offenders	:Percent :of :offenders
White	11,600	97	153	89
Negro	380	3	15	11
Mexican	20		3	
Total	12,000	100	171	100

Increase in Juvenile Delinquency

According to some writers of the present time there has been a marked increase in juvenile delinquency throughout the nation as a whole. Certainly many juvenile offenses and the problems that confront the youth of today have made front-page news in many instances. The data obtained in this study have not revealed as great an increase in the number of juvenile offenses as might be expected, since the study covered a five-year period during which certain changes in the population of the city were taking place. With the city in such close proximity to a military reservation, and a large number of civilian employees as well as army personnel living in the city one might expect a higher rate of increase in juvenile offenses than the police and probate court records showed.

Table 9 shows that the number of offenses committed between January 1, 1937 and July 1, 1940 was 133. This covered a two-and-one-half year period before the influx of army personnel and workers at Fort Riley and Camp Funston. After July 1, 1940 to December 31, 1942 there were 178 offenses committed during the two-and-one-half year period following what might be termed the "beginning of the war effort" in July 1940. This showed an approximate 34 percent increase in the number of offenses during the last two-and-one-half years covered by this study.

This low rate may be partially accounted for by the fact

that the greatest number of the young teen-age girl offenders have no formal charges made against them, and thus do not have police or probate court records of their offenses. Another aspect of the low rate of increase may be due to the fact that the police force has been reduced because some of their members have been called into the service, and they have had to curtail their vigilance of the two younger age groups, and thus much of their anti-social behavior has gone unnoticed during the present war emergency.

Table 9. Percent of increase in juvenile delinquency over five-year period by intervals of two-and-one-half years, January 1, 1937 to June 30, 1940, and July 1, 1940 to December 31, 1942.

Before June 30, 1940:		Since July 1, 1940:		Total offenses:		Increase	
Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
133	43	178	57	311	100	45	34

Juvenile Offenders and the School

In recent years investigators have come to recognize that the delinquent child is essentially a normal child who has been handicapped by a number of circumstances which have resulted in his being adjudged a delinquent. Others have advanced the idea that the well-behaved and well-adjusted child is not acting "naturally", but is instead, the child who has

been successfully trained to conform to the group requirements and to the acceptance of a social point of view. The delinquent child, on the other hand, is one who has not been trained to control his "normal" impulses according to the dictates of the social mores (Elliott and Merrill, 1941).

In final analysis, delinquent conduct is the result of the conflict of the child's attitudes with social values. Thorough investigations of delinquents give conclusive evidence that there is no single factor that leads to inevitable delinquent behavior. On the other hand, the delinquent child is generally a child handicapped not by one or two, but by even seven or eight counts (Elliott and Merrill, 1941).

The school must bear its share of the responsibility for delinquent conduct, since it supervises a larger share of the child's waking day than do the parents, and is often better equipped to discover and deal with personality problems than are the parents of the so-called "problem children". Formal education must be concerned with training children to become good citizens, as well as to understand the three R's.

In analyzing and interpreting the data found on the school records of the 171 juvenile offenders in this study, it was found that the majority of the 141 for which there were school records of some kind, were not retarded in their grades in school. Of the 64 for whom the I. Q. rating was given, 44 were normal, 19 above normal, and only one below normal. Using the above figures as a criterion, it seemed evident that re-

ardation and low mentality were not important factors to be considered in this particular study. This position may be substantiated by the fact that many authorities now agree that whatever relation lack of intelligence bears to misconduct, it cannot be considered "over-whalmingly causal".

According to the school records 25 of the 171 offenders were in the elementary schools, 64 in junior high school, either at the time of their arrest or at the present; 52 were or now are in high school and for 30 there were no school records available (Table 10).

Table 10. Distribution of offenders in junior and senior high school, 1937 to 1942.

School	Number	Percent
Elementary	25	16
Junior High School	64	37
Senior High School*	52	31
No school records	30	17
Total	171	100

* 18 of this number have graduated from high school.

Of the 52 high school age offenders, 18 have graduated from high school. The distribution of offenders in junior high school and high school which is shown in Table 11, coincides with the findings on the distribution according to age of juvenils offenders as shown in Table 1.

Table 11. Juvenile offenders according to grade distribution over five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Grade	Number	Percent
Elementary*	25	16
Seventh	20	11
Eighth	20	11
Ninth	24	15
Tenth	20	11
Eleventh	11	7
Twelfth	21	12
No record	30	17
Total	171	100

* Includes all elementary grades represented.

According to the data available only 52 of the 171 juvenile offenders in this study were definite problems in school; 61 had a high character rating, 28 had no rating, and for 30 there were no school records. There was only one formal charge of truancy on the records obtained from the police and probate court. This may have been due to the fact that there is no regularly employed truant officer. The schools have a system of calling the homes in case of absence to ascertain the cause, and in this way many cases of truancy are probably handled by the parents instead of receiving public notice by an officer of the law-enforcement authorities.

The character or citizenship rating by number and percentage of juvenile offenders in schools is given in Table 12. In considering those offenders who were rated as problems in school, it was found that while there were some cases of mis-

Table 12. Character or citizenship rating of juvenile offenders in school, 1937 to 1942.

Rating	Number	Percent
Problem in school	52	31
No problem in school	61	36
No school records	30	17
No information	28	16
Total	171	100

conduct due to acts of carelessness and mischief, the majority of those who were "sent to the office" were disciplinary problems. In very few instances was it necessary to administer corporal punishment, and that only after all other efforts to straighten out the difficulties had failed. Few disciplinary problems were found in the elementary school records, and since the high school kept no records except those transferred from the junior high school, the greatest number of these problem cases was found in the junior high school. Many of these children did not finish the ninth grade, or if they did complete junior high school did not go on to high school. However, a surprisingly large number of them did go to high school and some of them graduated.

It would seem from the foregoing discussion that the schools in Manhattan have, and are, doing a very good job of helping those children who have difficulties in school to make their adjustments in school more or less satisfactorily, but there is some question as to whether there has been a carry-

over into their out-of-school activities, since the number and type of their offenses increase with their age.

A study of these children's school records revealed little information that was of value concerning their participation in school and out-of-school activities. Of the 150 boys only 18 of them belonged to the Hi-Y Club, and ten of the 21 girls were members of the Girl Reserves. Intramurals and athletics claimed 52 of the total 171, and 17 belonged to the orchestra, band, or some other school organization. There was much overlapping in the participation in these various school activities, since in a number of instances the same child belonged to two or more organizations.

The same situation was found in the out-of-school activities. On their records 34 boys and two girls stated that they were members of the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, respectively. Of the 171 only six designated any participation in programs sponsored by the church, and eight mentioned membership in other organizations, such as the "Southside Boys' Club".

The fact that the type of record sheet used for the above information was not in use until about 1939, and then only in junior high school, may account for the lack of information. Many of the children in this study had either passed or dropped out of junior high school, or had not finished the elementary school grades. Also there were 30 for whom there

were no school records. Considering these facts no evaluation could be made of the number of youthful offenders who actually participated in the activities mentioned.

The following case studies are given as illustrations of the types of problem children in the schools. For comparison two children with very different social and family backgrounds were selected. Both were taken from the junior high school records.

Case 3. Harry, age 14 at the time of his arrest in 1941, was charged with reckless driving. He was turned over to the probate judge who reprimanded him. His father is working in a distant large city, and his mother holds a responsible position in a prominent institution here. There are three children in the family, Harry being the youngest. His home conditions were rated as "excellent", and they live in a very desirable section of the city.

He was working at a drug store soda fountain at the time this record was made. He plans to go to Kansas State College, and wants to be an aviator.

In school he was a disciplinary problem, with records of frequent office conferences with the principal. He showed a good attitude each time and was not punished. He has an I. Q. rating of 125. His only activity, given on his school record, was the Boy Scouts.

Case 4. Jimmy was 13 at the time of his arrest with another boy in 1942 on a charge of shop-lifting. He was turned over to the probate judge, but his record did not show

how the judge disposed of the case.

There are four children in the family. Jimmy is the second child. His father is a laborer, and his mother a house wife. He does odd jobs, such as distributing handbills. The home conditions were rated as very poor, the family having been on relief. The parents were very strict with the children and seemed to have little patience with or understanding of their problems. They live in the southwest section of the city.

His elementary school rating was "fair, a poor student, irresponsible, and untruthful". In junior high school his rating was "good" and "showed improvement". He was guilty of many minor offenses in school and was considered quite a problem. His activities in school were patrol duty, monitor, and others. He was a member of the Boy Scouts. There was no I. Q. rating given on his record, but he was normal age for his grade.

Juvenile Offenders and the Family

When it comes to assigning responsibility for delinquent behavior and delinquent attitudes authorities have pointed out that the family must assume the primary burden. In one way or another the parents have been unequal to their responsibility. Some juvenile delinquents may be products of homes which set up patterns of behavior in which the whole primary educational influence is directed toward producing an anti-

social individual. Because of certain inadequacies as limited income, lack of skill, low-grade intelligence, or unfortunate background, the home often fails to provide the child with desirable opportunities and influences. Often the child is handicapped by the undesirable types of neighborhood in which he is forced to live. Parents often fail to recognize the need for suitable recreation, or they may not be financially able to provide it for them.

Healy and Bronner (1936) have come to the conclusion that the failure of parents to provide adequate emotional security for their children is even more important than economic and social advantage.

Concerning the economic status of the families of the 171 offenders it was found that the majority of them came from homes that were rated as "fair" and "good". The data available showed that 11 percent of them came from homes rated as "poor" that were not on relief, and nine percent of them were on relief or receiving help from the county welfare organization. This did not mean that nine percent of the families were on relief, because in a number of instances several children were from the same family. No information concerning the type of home or the economic rating was available for 15 percent of the cases in this study. The remaining 65 percent came from fair or better homes. These figures are shown in Table 13.

Table 13. The economic status of the families of 171 offenders in the study covering five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Rating	Number	Percent
Good	48	28
Fair	63	37
Poor	18	11
On relief	16	9
No record	26	15
Total	171	100

In considering the economic status of the families of the youthful offenders in this study it was interesting to note that those for whom the address was given, 127 had only one address given, 27 had two or three, and for 17 there was no address. Mobility of the family therefore seems to be a negligible factor in the delinquency situation as revealed by this study. It should be pointed out that most of the moves that were made during the period of this study were within the same general neighborhood or section of the city. These data are shown in Table 14.

Table 14. Family mobility shown by number and percent of different addresses given on records of 171 juvenile delinquents over five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Address	Number	Percent
One	127	75
Two	21	12
Three	6	3
Unknown	17	10
Total	171	100

In considering the occupations of the parents no information was available for the fathers of 41 of the offenders. The largest percentage of their fathers belonged to the "common laborer" classification which included both skilled and unskilled laborers. The non-professional group was next largest and included farmers, dairymen, public office holders, and salesmen. The professional group included college professors, ministers, army officers, and school teachers. The fathers of ten were recorded as deceased, and eight as having no occupation. Several of this number were disabled veterans of World War I, or were suffering from some physical illness or handicap.

Table 15. Occupation of the fathers of 171 juvenile offenders over five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Occupation	Number	Percent
No information	41	24
Professional	18	11
Non-professional	28	16
Skilled laborer	27	12
Unskilled laborer	39	23
Deceased	10	6
Unemployed	8	4
Total	171	100

There was no information available for the occupations of the mothers of 37 of the 171 offenders. Approximately 50 percent of them were classified as housewives, and 25 percent were gainfully employed either in their homes or outside. The gainful occupations of the mothers in their homes were operating boarding and rooming houses, sewing, and laundering. Those outside the home included a number of occupations, such as teaching, nursing, office work, library work, housecleaning, and laundry work. The mothers of seven were recorded as deceased.

Table 16. Occupation of the mothers of 171 juvenile offenders over five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Occupation	Number	Percent
No information	37	22
Housewives	84	49
Gainful employment	43	25
Deceased	7	4
Total	171	100

Various studies have been made with regard to the broken home as a factor in juvenile delinquency and behavior problems. Healy and Bronner (1936) found that almost half of 4,000 delinquents in a study that they made were from broken homes. Data show that delinquent girls are more often the product of broken homes than are delinquent boys. Shaw and McKay (1931) found that the younger delinquent boys were more apt to be from broken homes than the older delinquents, with the highest frequency applying among those ten years of age.

The data afforded by the school records, juvenile journal records, and welfare case studies showed 44 percent of the parents living together, and 21 percent as not living together. Of the remaining 35 percent no information was available for 13 percent of one or the other parent and for 22 percent information was available concerning neither the father nor the mother.

Table 17. The marital status of the parents of 171 juvenile offenders over five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Information	Number	Percent
No information concerning either parent	38	22
Information concerning one parent (only)	22	13
Parents not living together	36	21
Parents living together	75	44
Total	171	100

Due to the lack of information with regard to the marital status of the parents of the 171 juvenile offenders in this study no valid interpretation could be made. One could only surmise that, in the light of the data available, approximately one-third of these children came from homes in which the parents were not living together, for one reason or another. According to the records only 17 showed the father or mother deceased.

According to Reckless and Smith (1932) the size of the family seems to be related to delinquency, and is by no means a simple factor. As a rule delinquents are from families larger than one or two children.

Various studies have been made in an effort to determine the relationship between the size of the family and delinquency. However, the differences were too small to be significant and apparently of little importance.

In considering the size of the family and the position of the child in the family it was interesting to note that of the 106 offenders whose records gave information concerning this factor, six had no siblings. There were 65 for whom no information was given upon the size of the family. The greatest number of offenders came from families having two or more children. The second child was more often delinquent than the first (Table 18).

Table 18. Relationship of position in the family to delinquency by number and percent of offenders over five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Position in family	Number	Percent
Only child	6	4
First child	18	10
Second child	29	17
Third child	19	11
Fourth child	17	10
Fifth child	9	6
Six or more	8	4
Unknown	65	38
Total	171	100

Juvenile Offenders and Law Enforcement Authorities

Although many studies have been made concerning juvenile delinquency, no reliable statistics exist as to the exact number of juveniles who come into direct conflict with the law. However, it is generally estimated that the annual num-

ber of youthful offenders for the country as a whole is around 200,000. In addition there is a large number of cases which the courts handle "unofficially"; that is, without their becoming a matter of permanent record. Court cases and police records, generally speaking, represent those children whose parents lack the cultural and economic resources with which to solve their children's difficulties. Many of the cases that are handled unofficially, are those in which the probation officer or social worker discovers a solution to the difficulty without resort to legal action or court commitment. However, from the point of view of the seriousness of the particular behavior problems, these boys and girls may be quite as representative of youthful unadjustment as the official court cases.

In reviewing the data concerning the disposition of the 171 cases of juvenile offenders in this study, it was found that 160 had police records, and of those recorded in the juvenile journal, only 11 did not have police records. Of this number having police records, 59 were referred to the probate court which handles the juvenile offenders in this state. Approximately 50 of these children were reprimanded by the probate judge and their cases not made a matter of permanent record in the juvenile journal. The majority of the cases were handled by the police.

Table 19. Disposition of cases of juvenile offenders by the police during five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Disposition	: Number :	Percent
Reprimanded	63	40
Referred to probate court	59	37
Fined for traffic violation	18	11
Turned over to parents	8	5
Turned over to sheriff	4	3
Health investigation	3	2
Probated to reliable citizen	3	2
Total	160	100

Of the 75 cases handled by the probate court over the five-year period, only 25 were made a matter of permanent record in the juvenile journal. Of this number 11 were referred to the probate court by a petitioner because of the dependency or neglect of the child which caused his delinquent conduct, or by the parents or guardian because of incorrigibility or other serious behavior problems. In cases of delinquent children due to the neglect or influence of the adults who were responsible for them, the children were in most cases turned over to the Riley County Social Welfare Department and the court dealt with the adults according to the seriousness of the case. Of the 25 permanent record cases 14 were sent to institutions, 11 to the Boys' Industrial School at Topeka, two to the Girls' Industrial School at Beloit, and one to the Home for the Feeble-minded at Winfield.

Table 20. Disposition of cases of juvenile offenders by the probate court over five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Disposition	Number	Percent
Reprimanded by the judge*	50	67
Turned over to Riley County Welfare**	11	15
Sent to Boys' Industrial School	11	15
Sent to Girls' Industrial School	2	2
Sent to Winfield	1	1
Total	75	100

* Not on official record, majority referred by police.

** Four sent to Mariadahl Home at Cleburne.

Information on dismissal or parole from the industrial schools was given in only three cases. Of these three, one, a boy, was placed in the institution on the request of his mother who later asked for his dismissal. The other two were boys who were dismissed for being over age. According to the probate court records only three cases have been sent to the industrial schools during the past two-and-one-half years, one girl and two boys. This fact seems to indicate that the probate court is finding other ways of handling its more serious problem cases, but there has been no valid data available to show whether or not this is true.

Of the cases turned over to the Riley County Social Welfare Department, four were placed in the Mariadahl Home

for children at Cleburne, Kansas which is maintained by the Lutheran church and works with the Child Welfare Unit, Social Welfare, and Probate Court, especially in cases of dependent and neglected children. The factors involved in the following case studies are typical of many such cases.

Case 5. Billy, age ten and his brother, Joe, age 12 were turned over to the probate judge as dependent, neglected, and delinquent children in 1940. Both boys had several police charges of stealing, and petty thievery covering a period of several years. An informal hearing was held by the judge and the boys were turned over to the Riley County Social Welfare Department with the recommendation that they be placed in the Mariadahl Home for the summer. After spending several months there the boys were returned home.

These boys' father was a stone cutter and their mother a laundress. The type of home was very poor, and the family was on relief from time to time. An older sister age 14 was considered a bad influence on the boys. She also was turned over to the probate judge on a charge of sex delinquency and being incorrigible at the same time that her brothers were. She was placed in charge of the Child Welfare Unit.

According to the boys' school records, Joe was the leader of a gang including Billy, that was frequently in trouble. Both boys were disciplinary problems in school, but Billy was the most difficult to manage. Billy's I. Q. rating was "normal" and Joe's was 108. Neither of the boys showed any

retardation in school. The only activity noted on Joe's school record was the Boy Scouts, and there was none on Billy's record.

Their police records show that the boys have continued their anti-social behavior throughout the five-year period of this study.

Case 6. Betty, age 15 and her half-brother Jimmy age five were taken into custody by the probate court as dependent, neglected, and delinquent children. Their delinquency was attributed to their mother whose character and conduct were questionable. She had been married and divorced several times.

Betty was charged with begging, truancy, and irregular sex conduct, while Jimmy's only offense was begging. The children were turned over to the Child Welfare Unit and the Riley County Social Welfare. They were placed in the Meriadahl Home but Jimmy was later transferred to the Orphans' Home at Atchison, Kansas and adopted soon after. Betty has spent most of the past three years in the Home although she was placed in several foster homes. After a few months she always wanted to return to Meriadahl, and did not seem to be satisfied elsewhere. When her little brother was first sent to the orphanage she was very unhappy about the separation from him, but after being assured that he had been adopted into a good home she became reconciled. Recently she has been placed in a home in Manhattan where there are two small chil-

dren, and is apparently making a satisfactory adjustment to life outside of the institution for which she seemed to have developed a complex.

According to her school record no grades were given in the sixth grade due to so much absence, and she did not attend junior high school long enough for her record there to be of much value.

Delinquency Areas and Juvenile Offenders

Any comparison between the differential delinquency rates in various communities shows that they vary greatly, but according to some authorities, it has become practically possible to select the delinquency areas in any community by the earmarks of bad housing, inadequate recreational facilities, low income, and generally deteriorating neighborhood influences. This fact was graphically presented in Shaw's and McKay's ecological study of delinquency areas in Chicago. That the situation in Chicago holds true for other communities is shown by a series of studies conducted by Shaw in six other cities scattered over various sections of the country (Elliott and Merrill, 1941). However, these findings did not appear to hold true in the present study made in Manhattan for the five-year period 1937 to 1942 inclusive.

In interpreting the data secured in this study it seemed logical to divide the city north and south by Poyntz Avenue

according to the street map, and arbitrarily east and west by 11th street. By thus dividing the city into sections and locating the offenders according to their place of residence, there appeared to be no sharply defined delinquency areas in the city. The number and percentage of offenders living in each section are given in Table 21. When more than one address was given the first one was used in making Table 21.

In considering the characteristics of the different sections of the city, the southeast section seemed to be where the families of lesser opportunity, low income, and inadequate recreational facilities were located. In general it is considered a deteriorating neighborhood. The northwest section which includes the college area, seemed to be the most desirable residential section. The southwest section showed comparatively few residences of offenders, and the northeast section only a few more than the southeast, although it covers a much larger area. No figures were available to show the density of population for the different sections.

It was found that the types of offenses differed with the sections of the city in which the offenders lived. Traffic violations, riding double, and damaging and destroying property were offenses more often committed by those living in the more desirable sections of the city. Stealing, sex irregularities, incorrigibility, burglary, and fighting were offenses more often committed by those living in the less desirable sections.

Table 21. Number and percent of offenders living in each section of the city over five-year period, 1937 to 1942.

Section	Number	Percent
Northeast	52	30
Southeast	50	29
Southwest	15	9
Northwest	37	22
Unknown	17	10
Total	171	100

The Community and Youthful Offenders

The researches of such workers as Shaw and McKay (1931) and others have borne out the conclusion that the community has a major responsibility of delinquency. The significance of inadequate provision for recreation in relation to juvenile delinquency has been greatly stressed. When children are happily and wholesomely absorbed in school, play, or part-time vocational activities, they have little time or thought for conduct which is socially undesirable, but it is for their leisure time that they need provision for wholesome, supervised recreation.

In this study no attempt has been made to analyze the types of community organization or community projects that might be factors in the prevention of juvenile delinquency in this city. The only discussion of this phase of the

problems is based upon what some of the community leaders and law-enforcement authorities have had to say about the way in which the community is endeavoring to meet the needs of its young people.

In a letter from one school official in Manhattan the observation was made that there is great need for a well-organized and properly supervised recreational program. While it is true there has been some organized work going on through the scouts, churches, and other organizations, and their work is good as far as it goes, it does not reach many of the very people who need the good influence of these organizations. The writer of this letter goes further to state that the primary objective of a recreation program should be to reach that group of young people from which the delinquents in any community usually spring.¹

Another school official in an address before a civic organization in the city a few months ago discussed the problem of recreation for the youth in Manhattan. Of the good and desirable forms of recreation during the winter months he listed reading, radio, movies, church and young people's groups, school events, and a few dances properly chaperoned. For the summer months he mentioned the city park with its

¹Correspondence with Mr. C. C. Kilker, Principal of the Manhattan Junior High School, May 7, 1943.

swimming pool, tennis courts, ball fields, and other equipment for amusements, together with the various picnic grounds. Among the not very desirable forms of recreation he listed crowded cafes and soda fountains, skating rinks, and bowling alley. Among the questionable forms of recreation he gave dancing at questionable places, beer parlors, and others. He cited one experiment that had been tried in the city which worked very satisfactorily, but was still in the experimental stage at the time this study was made.²

One of the ministers who has been in a local church for over 30 years, and who has been very close to the needs of the youth over a long period of time, was interviewed. He deplored the fact that the children do not get more religious training in their homes and in the schools, and that it is not made a more vital part of their everyday life. He also expressed the opinion that the public school buildings and facilities should be made available to all school age children, under proper supervision, both after school hours and during vacation. He seemed to feel that by making the school the community center it would help to bridge the gap between the home and the school.

One local police official expressed the opinion that nine out of every ten "youngsters" who get into trouble "will take warning if they can be gotten to in time", but that so often

² An address by Mr. H. H. Bishop, Principal of the Manhattan Senior High School.

the parents resent the "interference of the law", while in other cases they fail to cooperate with the authorities in their efforts to help the child. He believes that children who have hobbies are seldom found in trouble; and that those who have plenty of money to spend and too much time get into trouble as often as those who have too little money and no interests.

The following is a quotation from a written statement by a member of the Manhattan police force: "Manhattan, in common with other communities, is finding itself confronted with an ever-increasing amount of juvenile delinquency. Possibly some of this delinquency may be rightly charged to the so-called 'war hysteria', but it is our belief that the greater share of the blame lies in the lack of training, supervision, and control by the parents.

"The greatest problem confronting us at present is to find some means of giving to these boys and girls some legitimate and natural and attractive way in which they may give vent to their natural enthusiasms and have the normal contacts with the opposite sex which is their right. We have the skating rinks, bowling alleys, shows, and other recreations which might be desired, but we do not have the facilities to take care of all the young people in our own city limits and those who come here from outlying communities."³

³Written statement from the Manhattan Police Department, May 6, 1943.

An examination of the records in the Child Welfare Unit for Riley County revealed that 23 of the 171 children included in this study had been at some time under the supervision of the worker. A number of them were children who had been turned over to the Riley County Social Welfare Department, or whose families were receiving assistance from the Social Welfare. The work of the Child Welfare Unit seems to be principally with the supervision and guidance of children who have been paroled from such institutions as the Boys' and Girls' Industrial Schools, and the Orphans' Home, and placed either in foster homes or work homes.

In an interview with the Child Welfare Worker there seemed to be two major handicaps to working with such children as were dealt with in this study. First, the limit to the case load that the unit could handle, and second, the fact that the parents must be willing to accept the help offered by the worker. Many of the parents fail to recognize the need of help in adjustment problems with their children, and others seem to feel that the Child Welfare Unit is principally for the so-called underprivileged children.

The ex-mayor of the city, whose tenure of office covered the period of this study was interviewed. He did not seem to feel that the delinquency situation in Manhattan was particularly serious during that time. He expressed the view point that many of the arrests made were for acts that were not serious enough to classify the offenders as "delinquents",

and that most of the serious offenses were committed by those children living in the less desirable section of the city.

The present mayor of the city expressed a genuine interest in the problems confronting the youth of the city, and especially as it applied to the delinquency situation. He seemed to be much interested in the matter of a year-round supervised recreational program for the age-groups in which juvenile delinquents are usually found.

The data concerning the disposition of cases turned over to the probate court were reviewed with the probate judge. He pointed out that he handled as many cases "unofficially" as possible, because he felt that to have a permanent court record placed a stigma upon a child which he might never overcome, even though he developed into a thoroughly well-adjusted individual and law abiding citizen.

The local daily paper carried an editorial some weeks ago dealing with the younger-teen-age group and their problems, especially as it involves recreation. It suggested that some public-spirited church could throw open its basement to be fixed up for dancing and games by the young people themselves. Such a place would need adult supervision, but the youngsters could be given a valuable lesson in self-government by allowing them to select their own leaders in recreation. The fact was pointed out that the local law-enforcement officers know that something will have to be done about the juvenile recreation problem, and that at least some sort of "teen-town"

would be worth trying.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. A study was made of the juvenile delinquency situation in Manhattan, Kansas covering a five-year period, 1937 to 1942 inclusive.

2. The official records of the probate court and police files showed 171 offenders ranging in age from five to 16 years, and a total of 311 offenses for the period covered by this study.

3. Sixteen different offenses were found on the police and probate court records. Of these, stealing, traffic violations, and damaging and destroying property were most frequently committed. The greatest number of offenders and offenses were in the age-group, 13 to 16 years.

4. Boys tended to be consistently less well adjusted to the regulations of society than were girls, and correspondingly constitute the chief problem for correction and control in the prevention of delinquency. Of the 171 offenders in this study, 150 were boys and 21 were girls. The sex difference in this delinquency rate was modified by the fact that many of the girls' cases were handled unofficially, and hence there were no records against them.

5. Of the 171 offenders included in this study, 44 per-

cent were recidivists. In general those cases having the highest rate of recidivism were in the age-group, 13 to 16 years.

6. Fifty-three percent of the 311 offenses committed by the 171 offenders during this five-year period were either in pairs or groups (gangs) of three or more. Individual offenses consisting for the most part of traffic violations, drunkenness, disturbing the peace, and incorrigibility comprised 24 percent of the total offenses. It was unknown whether the remaining 23 percent were committed individually or with one or more companions.

7. The number of offenses committed during the interval of two-and-one-half years between January 1, 1937 and July 1, 1940 was 133. From July 1, 1940 to December 31, 1942 there were 178 offenses. This showed an increase of approximately 34 percent during the last two-and-one-half years.

8. By dividing the city into sections and locating the offenders according to their places of residence, there appeared to be no sharply defined delinquency areas. It was found, however, that the types of offenses differed with the sections of the city in which the offenders lived.

9. The study revealed that of the 171 offenders, 64 were of junior high school age, and 82 of senior high school age. Of this number, 18 have graduated from high school.

10. It was found that the majority of the offenders for whom there were school records were not retarded in their

grades in school. Of the 64 for whom the I. Q. rating was given 44 were normal, 19 above normal, and only one below normal. Using these figures as a criterion, it seemed evident that retardation and low mentality were not important factors in this particular study.

11. A study of these children's school records revealed that few of them participated in the various school and out-of-school activities. The sociological problem involved in boys' and girls' work is one of reaching those children who most generally manifest anti-social behavior. In other words, such organizations as the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Girl Reserves, Hi-Y, and Boys' Club should also reach the children in areas where the greatest incidence of delinquency is found.

12. Concerning the economic status of the families of the offenders in this study, 65 percent came from homes that were rated as "good" or "fair", and 20 percent were from homes rated as "poor" or "very poor". No rating was given for 15 percent.

13. The majority of the cases of juvenile offenders were handled by the police. Only 25 cases were officially acted upon by the probate court and made a matter of permanent record in the juvenile journal.

14. As a means of preventing and correcting crime and delinquency, probation is the social worker's most direct attack upon the problem. This study has revealed the need for more probation work among the socially unadjusted

children whose records furnished the basis for this study.

15. The interviews with various community leaders revealed the need for a greater community consciousness of the necessity of a year-round recreational program for children and young people in the community. Local institutions, churches, schools, societies, and clubs should work together in a coordinated community program for promoting the welfare of all children, and the reduction of delinquency.

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