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A STUDY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN A
RESTRICTED AREA OF PITTSBURGH

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of the University of Pittsburgh in partial
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F O R E W O R D

The following study of Juvenile Delinquency has as its objective the description, evaluation, and interpretation of those factors in the social environment which, as a result of this investigation, and in the light of similar studies previously made, appear to touch and influence the life and development of the child, and to which the child must make an adjustment.

It is an approach to Juvenile Delinquency from the cultural point of view--an analysis of the social milieu to which the individual responds.

Acknowledgement is hereby made to Dr. Manuel C. Elmer, Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh, for helpful criticisms and encouragement, to the Pittsburgh Housing Association for valuable suggestions and assistance through the use of its maps and charts; to the Kingsley House for invaluable information concerning the lives and activities of the group investigated; and to the other social agencies in the city of Pittsburgh which co-operated so readily and cordially in the investigation.

Elsie Rosalia Clarke

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I. INTRODUCTION

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A. The Cultural Approach

This study, an intensive investigation of the cultural aspects of an area where the occurrence of Juvenile delinquency is relatively high, was undertaken in an effort to discover the relationship between juvenile delinquency and the social factors in the community as they touch, and apparently influence, the lives of its children. The area studied is the "Larimer Avenue District", a community adjacent to the East Liberty business district of Pittsburgh which, as a result of a city-wide investigation by the Pittsburgh Housing Association, was discovered to be one of five areas in the city where, in the light of Juvenile Court records, there appears to be a concentration of Juvenile delinquency.

In accordance with the findings of previous studies, these may be designated "delinquency areas". The findings of studies of delinquency and crime indicate that crime and delinquency characteristically tend to concentrate in areas adjoining large business or industrial centers. Such areas are characterized by population mobility, poverty, a high percentage of foreign born population, and high rates of delinquency and crime. The presence of these conditions implies certain resulting

(1) The term "Cultural" as used here denotes the social situation which surrounds and influences the individual and, hence, performs an important role in the development of his ideals, standards of morality, customs, habits, and his general approach to and understanding of life situations. "Customs, traditions, folkways, are thought of as results of the experiences of the group which have become habitual in the group. These are passed on from generation to generation and are accepted more or less unconsciously. A part of any study of behavior, therefore, must consist of an understanding of this cultural setting of the person or group wh

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phenomena. "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 high percentage of foreign born population, comprising many divergent cultures and types of background, implies a confusion of moral standards, and a lack of social solidarity. Where such conditions prevail, the community is rendered relatively ineffective as an agency of control."⁽¹⁾ The extent to which these "implied" factors correlate with the occurrence of Juvenile delinquency in this area is the concern of this investigation.

"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."⁽²⁾

(1) Shaw and McKay, Report on the Causes of Crime. Vol. II, p. 99
(2) Shaw and McKay, Report on the Causes of Crime. vol. II. p. 109

B. Method and Scope

The study was made in co-operation with the Pittsburgh Housing Association, the agency which made the preliminary survey of the city and at whose instigation the study was undertaken. The entire procedure followed in the collection of data in this investigation is as follows:

(1) The Pittsburgh Housing Association, co-operating with the Western Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs in a study of juvenile delinquency on the East North Side, inspected the residences of Juvenile Court delinquents in that area and noted the physical aspects of the neighborhoods containing those residences. The Housing Association, as a result of this study, found abundant evidence that the concentrations of juvenile delinquency occurred coincident with the existence of factors detrimental to housing, yet found difficulty in pointing out a definite correlation between specific bad housing conditions and the incidence of juvenile delinquency. One evident reason for the difficulty was the fact that it is almost impossible to isolate housing as a factor in juvenile delinquency from the whole fabric of social factors. The Housing Association, therefore, decided to make further study into the relationship of housing and delinquency, hoping to show the distribution of juvenile delinquency in the entire city, and likewise, if possible, the distribution of conditions that might be factors in juvenile delinquency, including housing and the various influences that condition housing.

In order to discover the distribution of juvenile delinquency in the entire city, the Pittsburgh Housing Association, from the records of the Juvenile Court, obtained names and addresses of all juvenile delinquents in the city for 1920 and 1930 and for two of the intervening years. These cases were spotted on a ward map of the city. The areas of greatest delin-

quency-concentration thus revealed included the areas adjoining the business center on the East North Side, the areas just outside the industrial South Side district, the areas immediately adjacent to the main business district of the city--the Hill District--the section adjoining the East Liberty Industrial center--the Larimer Avenue District--and the flat land lying along the Allegheny River and adjoining the wholesale and warehouse location in the second and sixth wards. These areas are all close to business centers or industrial developments and are characterized by physical deterioration and population mobility.

(2) The study in the Larimer Avenue District is confined to an investigation of the cases appearing before the Juvenile Court in 1930. In assembling data in regard to the 46 families and 58 delinquents included in the study, use was made of the records of the Juvenile Court, the Family Welfare Association, the Kingsley House, the City Mental Health Clinic, the Public Health Nursing Association, the Catholic Boy Welfare Bureau, the Confidential Exchange. The Juvenile Court records were copied in detail. Additional and corroboratory information was received from the other social agencies which were contacted personally, by telephone, or by mail. Information as to which agencies had had contact with the families were obtained from the Confidential Exchange.

(3) In order to discover the extent to which traditional institutions and neighborhood organizations influence the lives of the children in the area, use was made of school records (included in Juvenile Court records), Kingsley House records, which included information about neighborhood gangs and gang activities, and objective information about the families as contained the records of social agencies.

(4) Finally, in order more closely to discover the environment as it influences the individual child, personal contacts were had with the families and, in many cases, with the delinquents themselves. It was hoped, in this way, some insight would be gained into the child's most intimate and fundamental social situation in its "natural setting"--into the family relationships as they influence the child, the parent-child relationships and attitudes, home conditions, and, especially, the child's reaction to the "family situation".

"Larimer Avenue District" is the appellation arbitrarily used to designate the area studied. It includes the southwest portion of the twelfth ward, and is bounded on the northeast by the ravine which is Washington Boulevard; on the northwest by the ravine which is Chianti Street and Burpee Street; on the southwest by Hamilton Avenue and Luna Street; on the southeast by Lincoln Avenue beginning at Frankstown Avenue. Larimer Avenue, the main thorough fare of the district, runs directly through the center of the area.

C. Nature of the Material Available from Each Source

(1) Juvenile Court records furnished information broader in scope and more complete in detail than that received from other social agencies. They revealed the nature of the child's delinquency, the child's immediate reaction to the offense, the parents' attitude toward the offense, social information about the family, the conditions of the home and neighborhood, the child's school record, and, in many instances, a comment about the child from the principal. Several records included a personal developmental record of the child.

(2) The Family Welfare Association was acquainted with 25 of the 46 families producing delinquents in this area. Neither the same amount nor the same kind of information was obtainable in all cases. Social data, serving as indices of the nature of family interactions, however, were obtainable in the majority of cases.

(3) Records of the Mental Health Clinic, to whom 8 of the delinquents were known, contained only the results of the physician's mental examination and his recommendation to the court on the case.

(4) The Kingsley House had intimate knowledge of the children. Information received in Kingsley House interviews and from its records (chiefly those of the psychiatric social worker.) revealed valuable data in regard to the cultural aspects of the lives of these children, the nature of the neighborhood gangs, their leaders, and their activities.

(5) Personal interviews revealed little that was new in objective family information. They afforded, however, inestimable assistance in helping one catch the "tone" of the community. Through conversations with

these people, many of whom were illiterate, unadapted, and poverty stricken, an avenue of insight was afforded into their personalities, the nature and meaning of their struggles in an alien world, the tragedy of their reach for something infinitely desirable but impossible in the face of insurmountable handicaps.....One sensed the spirit of a delinquency area.

II. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

A. Formal Characteristics of the Area

In his description of the processes of radial expansion, Professor 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. He characterizes the zones as follows:

ZONE I: The central business district.

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. In this area of physical deterioration and social disorganization studies show the greatest concentration of cases of poverty, bad housing, juvenile delinquency, family disintegration, physical and mental disease.

ZONE III: The zone of independent workingmen's homes--Residents of this zone are those who desire to live near, but not too close to their work. As families prosper they escape from Zone II into Zone III.

ZONE IV: The zone of better residences

ZONE V : The commuters' zone

The East Liberty district serves as the central business area for the East End of Pittsburgh. The areas surrounding and immediately adjoining it, therefore, are subject to the same influences and disturbing factors as those which characterize the areas adjoining the main business center.

The Larimer Avenue District is a sort of diamond-shaped area which,

touching the business area at its southern tip, extends back into "Zone II" and approaches "Zone III". The broadest part of the area is, perhaps, at the border line between the two zones. (1)

The Pittsburgh Housing Association inspected the residences in the area and noted the physical aspects of the neighborhood. Detailed inspections were made on 50 houses in the district (present and former residences of the delinquents studied). The remainder were merely observed for obvious defects.

* * * * *

Of the physical factors which constitute the formal set-up of an area or a neighborhood, the house, with its various uses and functions, basic and intimate for the individual, is, perhaps, the most important. Lewis Mumford, defining the house and its functions, asserts, "The modern house is a biological institution. It is a shelter devoted primarily to the functions of reproduction, nutrition, and recreation. To expand the definition a little, the house is a building arranged in such a fashion that meals may be easily prepared and served, that the processes of hygiene and sanitation may be facilitated, that rest and sleep may be enjoyed, that sexual intercourse may take place in privacy, and that the early care of the young may be opportunely carried on. None of these functions, needless to say, is restricted to the house; but the house is peculiarly adapted to facilitate all of them together. Add to these primarily physiological requirements, the provision of space for social companionship, and play and study and the definition of the house is complete." (2)

In somewhat the same vein of thought, the Pittsburgh Housing Association interprets the functions of good housing: "The shell of the house may

(1) See map page

(a) Mumford, Lewis, "The Biology and Economy of the Modern House", in Modern Architecture, Catalogue of the Museum of Modern Art.

be perfectly good from a structural and sanitary point of view, but unless it is so arranged, so equipped, so maintained, so situated, so surrounded as to make possible the performance of its essential functions, not only is the goal of truly good housing missed, but the functions, habits, and activities of the individuals who inhabit the house are, to that extent, modified. 'One house may, in itself, be a mansion, but three such houses, poorly arranged and associated, may constitute a slum'".

Inspections of the homes of the delinquents in the Larimer Avenue District revealed the houses, as a whole, to be in fairly good condition. Structurally, and from the standpoint of sanitation, the majority of the houses were found to measure up to minimum legal requirements. There is adequate yard space surrounding the houses, but play space is decidedly lacking in the area as a whole. Houses to which access was gained were, in the majority of cases, "lower type" homes, varying in appearance and sanitation from (in one case) a filthy hovel partly below street level, to attractive brick structures. Physical conditions of houses inspected are shown on page 12.

(1)
Immediate neighborhoods in the area are, with five exceptions, adequately paved, fairly clean, and free from accumulations of rubbish and garbage. The five exceptions are streets which are unpaved, dusty in dry weather and muddy in damp weather. They are uneven and full of mud holes in which water frequently stands. Two of these streets are accessible only by descending eight flights of steep, narrow steps.

The area contains stores, shops restaurants, etc., as shown in Table I.

(1) Here used to denote single streets.

A high percentage of the population is foreign born. Of the 46 families studied, 39 were Italian, 5 Negro, and 2 native born white families. Approximately of the members of Kingsley House are Italian. The families included in the study were distributed throughout the area. Kingsley House members are scattered over all parts of the district. These may be considered, therefore, fairly reliable indices of the nationality of the area.

As a result of the inclusiveness and extensiveness of its contacts, the Kingsley House, the neighborhood settlement house, touches more frequently and intimately the lives of the people than any other social institution with which they come into contact. Kingsley House is, therefore, perhaps the most potent social force in the community. Other social institutions present are the public library, the two elementary public schools, and nine churches. Although the majority of the people profess church membership, the records reveal that few of them are regular church attendants. The churches foster no neighborhood or community projects for children or adults in the community. There appears, therefore, to be little opportunity for a carry-over of church values into the lives of the people.

In summary, then, in its external, physical aspects the area is characterized by:

1. Neighborhoods varying in appearance, sanitation, etc., from very poor to adequate.
2. Houses that are, in most instances, within the law in the matter of structure and sanitation.
3. A high percentage of foreign born population.
4. Too little play space
5. A constant shifting of occupants from house to house within the area; an indication of lack of permanency.
6. A dearth of character-building agencies in the neighborhood.

PHYSICAL CONDITION OF HOUSES INSPECTED

1. Condition of Street on which House is located:

Paved 44 Houses
Unpaved 6 Houses

2. Kind of Lavatory:

Bath 32 Houses---Condition) (Good - 32
(Defective - 0
Flush Toilet 18 Houses---Condition) (Good - 13
(Defective - 5

3. Houses with Play Space in Rear -----38
Houses with no Play Space in Rear ----12

4. Houses owned by Occupants -----13
Houses rented by Occupants -----37

5. Building Material:

Brick --- 21 Houses
Frame --- 29 Houses

6. Kind of House:

Single-Family Dwelling - 38
Two-Family Dwelling - 9
Multiple Dwelling - 2
Rooming House - 1

7. Number of Lavatories per Family per House:

Number of Houses	Lavatories per Family Families	per Family Lavatories
37	1	1
4	2	1
1	3	1
1	1	2
5	2	2
1	3	2
1	4	3

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF BUSINESS, SOCIAL, AND RECREATIONAL
FACILITIES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Grocery and Meat Markets.....	35
Stores, Clothiers, etc	9
Lunchrooms	5
Restaurants	3
Confectionaries	9
Drugstores	5
Beauty and Barber Shops	14
Shoe-repair Shops	12
Cleaning and Pressing Shops	12
Plumbing Shops	2
Garages and Service Stations.....	5
Stables or Blacksmith Shops.....	2
Pool Rooms	3
Vacant Houses	49
Vacant Stores	25
Playground	1
Hospital	1
Settlement House	1
Churches	9
Chinese Laundries	4
Schools	2
Library	1

B Social Characteristics of the Delinquents and their Environment.

That the importance of "social environment as a conditioning factor" in delinquency has received widespread acceptance is manifested by the abundance of material on the subject and the increasing number of studies of delinquency which approach the subject from the cultural point of view. This approach is based upon the hypothesis that an individual who is maladjusted is maladjusted not only as an individual, but also as a member of the particular social group which surrounds him. His maladjustment consists in his conflicts with the accepted standards and culture patterns of the social group of which he is a part--his violations of recognized codes of behavior, or his failure to respond in the expected manner to group stimuli. He is a misfit socially.

Properly to understand the factors underlying individual maladjustment, therefore, analysis must be made of the social group which surrounds, stimulates, and influences the individual--the "situation out of which it arises."

"It has long been recognized that delinquency and crime are extremely complex forms of behavior and involve in their causations a great variety of contributing factors. A complete understanding of delinquent behavior necessitates a thorough study of both the individual and the social milieu to which he is responsive."⁽¹⁾

"No single factor can be taken as the cause of crime. There are, however, certain ones which are very frequently associated with crime and

(1) Shaw, C. R., and McKay, H. D., Report on the Causes of Crime, vol. II, p.v.

(1)
hence bear the most careful consideration". Some of the factors most frequently associated with the occurrence of juvenile delinquency are family disorganization, physical and mental disorders in the child, parental neglect or indifference, poverty, ineffective functioning of neighborhood agencies, spontaneous gangs and anti-social groups. Such factors as were revealed through agency records, interviews, with social workers, and conversations with members of the families in the process of investigating delinquency in the Larimer Avenue District are herewith isolated, classified, and interpreted in their apparent relation and importance to the lives of the delinquents studied.

* * * * *

(2)
Perhaps the midst of a prolonged depression period is an unfair time to study and evaluate a delinquency area. The enforced idleness of boys past compulsory school age and unable to find employment introduces for scores of boys the problem of disposing of leisure time. A factor so omnipresent must be borne in mind in attempting to understand the nature of, and contributing factors to juvenile delinquency in this area.

1. Characteristics of Offenders

Fifty-eight juvenile delinquents appearing before the Juvenile Court during 1930 were residents of the area with which this investigation is concerned. Of the 58 offenders, 54 were boys and 4 were girls. Stealing was the leading offense for both boys and girls. Forty-five, or 77.5% of all offenses were group offenses.

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- (1) Elmer, M.C., The Juvenile Delinquent in St. Paul, Minn., p. 17
(2) This study of 1930 cases was made in the latter part of 1931 and the early part of 1932.

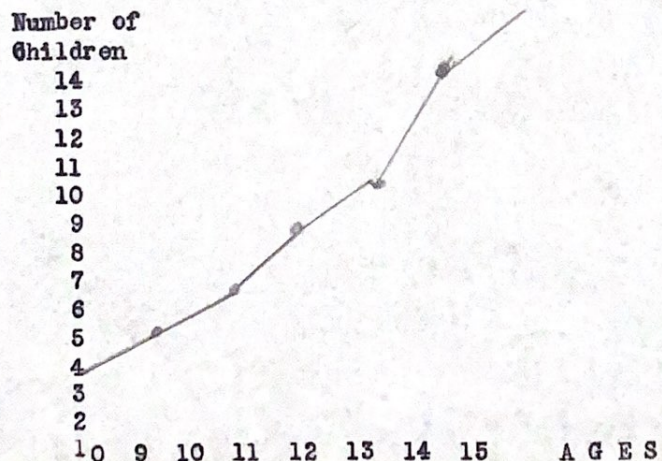
NATURE AND DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENSES

Offense	Delinquents
Stealing	34
Truancy, Stealing.....	9
Truancy, Incorrigibility.....	4
Truancy	3
Truancy, Malicious Mischief, Incorrigibility.....	1
Incorrigible, Dependent, Neglected.....	1
Riding in Stolen Automobile.....	1
Shooting a Person.....	1
Malicious Mischief.....	1
Snatching a Pocketbook.....	1
Forgery.....	1
Runaway; Attempted suicide.....	1
Total	<u>58</u>

NUMBER OF LONE AND GROUP OFFENDERS

	0	5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45
Group Offenders :										
Lone Offenders :										
Group & Lone "										

The delinquents in this study ranged in age from 9 to 15 years as shown in the following chart:



Despite the disagreement as to the extent and importance of subnormal mentality or feeble-mindedness in juvenile delinquency, it is generally agreed that subnormal mentality is more prevalent among delinquent than among non-delinquent children. Definite statements as to the mental status of the children included in this study were received on 46 of the 58 cases. These statements were made by the psychiatrist who examined the children in Juvenile Court, and appear, classified, as follows:

Normal.....	22
Subnormal.....	13
Moron.....	9
Feeble minded.....	1
Dementia praecox.....	1
No information.....	12
Total	<u>58</u>

PHYSICAL CONDITION OF OFFENDERS

Good.....	50
Suffered accident which affected mind..	3
Right side paralyzed.....	1
Left arm and leg crippled.....	1
Very small statue.....	1
Very large for age.....	1
No definite statement.....	1
Total	<u>58</u>

The rate of recidivism among the delinquents was comparatively high. Of the total number of delinquents, 37, or about 63.7% were repeaters.

EXTENT OF RECIDIVISM

	Delinquents					
	0	5	10	15	20	25
One appearance	:					:
Two "	:					:
Three "	:					:
Four "	:					:
Five "	:					:
Six "	:					:

2. Family Organization

The family is probably the most important social institution which affects the life, the development, ideals and morals of the child. It is the first social group in which the child has membership, and it is to the family that the child must make his initial adjustments. "The family as an institution serves both as an agency for the transmission of cultural heritage and for the development of the attitudes and personality of the child." (1)

Much emphasis, in studies of juvenile delinquency, has been placed upon "broken homes". (2) Cyril Burt's study of juvenile delinquents in London showed that broken homes furnish four times as many delinquents as unbroken homes. A study in Omaha, Nebraska in 1925 showed that 44.5% of all cases of juvenile delinquents for two years, 1922 and 1932, came from broken homes. In a study of juvenile delinquency in St. Paul, Minn., M. C. Elmer found that 46% of all cases of juvenile delinquents came from homes where either one or both parents were missing.

Twenty-six of the 58 delinquents in the present study came from broken homes; two were illegitimate. Ten of them came from homes in which there was a step father. In no home was there a step mother.

As Healy and Brommer point out, "The mere fact of father, mother, step father, or step mother in the household is of minor consequence as over against the significance of the character of the parent or step parent." In the same connection, Clifford R. Shaw states: It is apparent that in the study of behavior problems among children there is much need for a

(1) Shaw, C. R., and Mc Kay, H. D., Report on the Causes of Crime, vol. II. p. 261

(2) "Broken homes" as the term is here employed, indicates a home from which one or both parents are absent because of death, divorce, desertion, or separation.

enough have been wards of the juvenile court. Two have served terms in better understanding of the more subtle and intangible processes which constitute the dynamic of life of the family group. "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".⁽¹⁾

Such "subtle" aspects of family life are extremely difficult to obtain in the interviews of the kind undertaken in this investigation. Even more difficult is an attempt to evaluate such aspects in relation to the behavior of the children into whose lives such occurrences make inroads. Some flagrant examples of emotional irregularities, however, were revealed through the records of agencies which had known the families over a period of years. Some of these are cited in the following paragraphs. They are actual life situations. Each citation is from a different family.

CASE I: The father of Sammy is erratic and emotionally unstable. He may be too lenient with his children or he may give them a severe beating. He tells Sammy he is "good for nothing". He is a very demanding person toward his family. He has a bitter, antagonistic expression. Occasionally, he and his wife quarrel in the street, he, blaming his wife for visiting too much. Within the last several years, Mr. X has been unable to work at all--stricken with asthma and an old venereal complication. Sammy is not willing to work. According to school reports he is "quite dull; possibly feeble minded."

CASE II: The minister felt that the father was the only normal person in the household, the others all being feeble minded. Jane was an especial problem. She had moved to depression and despair in which she tore her clothing, pulled her hair, and would bite herself. The principal of the school once had the mother spank the boy in her presence in order that she might see in what manner the woman disciplined her children. At first she spanked him in the orthodox manner, but later took his two hands in hers and began to bite his arms. This family is known to seven social agencies and all the boys who are old

(1) Healy, Wm., and Brommer, A. F. Delinquents and Criminals, p. 17

enough have been wards of the juvenile court. Two have served terms in correctional schools.

CASE III: Although the father was drinking and gambling, he was not abusive. The mother was of an easy-going temperament who thought nothing of moving out of a house at night without notifying the landlord. She had had thirteen children, but was still able to do day work. The neighbors were in arms because the mother's and the oldest daughter's screams could be heard at one or two o'clock in the mornings when the father was becoming violent, and also because they thought he wanted to use the oldest girl for immoral purposes. Neighbors interfered once and man threatened to shoot. Man later deserted the family.

CASE IV: According to the woman's statement there never was any real happiness in the home because she never loved Mr. Y. (her husband). Before the father finally deserted the family he would go off for weeks at a time then come back very penitent and ask to be taken in. He drank and went with other women.

CASE V: Harry is illegitimate. He lived with his mother another common law husband. His mother is now in jail for having murdered her common law husband. According to the neighbors, they were a "happy family", but the man and woman were extremely jealous of each other, and they feel she killed him in a fit of jealousy. In Juvenile Court, Harry said he saw his mother cut his "father" and then stick an icepick in him.

CASE VI: The mother is a mental case. She has been institutionalized several times but each time has run away. She has fought the children with a butcher knife, and whipped them cruelly. The children say she is better now. There is a good family spirit in this home. The father and children have a nice time at home. He dances with them and takes an interest in his family.

CASE VII: A large family group is on rather friendly terms and except for financial worries there seems to be an easy-going atmosphere. Karol (the delinquent) is elected to the stage by the other members of the family. The mother worries less than the other members of the family. She takes the fatalistic attitude, "God will take care of us". One of Karol's brothers is decidedly feeble minded. Karol himself has been diagnosed as suffering from dementia praecox.

CASE VIII: The mother is very superstitious. She believes that a person born, as Tommy (her delinquent son) was, in March, is afflicted in some way. Tommy has a fascinating personality and perfect manners.

CASE IX: Mr. and Mrs. Z. father and mother of Paul, are the most gracious Italians in the district. Paul has a vicious temper which is aggravated when his mother constantly compares him with his older brother who is a "perfect gentleman". Paul is not antagonistic toward his home or his parents.

Case X: The mother of Sue (delinquent girl) is a very poor housekeeper, and a poor manager. When her case first came to the attention of a social agency, Sue had only one of each piece of clothing. There were vermin and bedbugs in the house. The mother has a vicious temper and quarrels with her children, her boarders, and the neighbors. Sue has had two stepfathers. Both of them deserted.

Case XI: The mother is dead. The oldest girl keeps house for father and eight other children. Children are anxious to please the father but they feel he is unreasonable. He does not want them to go on picnics, and to places of amusement, to camps, etc. He criticizes them unnecessarily, and the children resent his attitude. They feel that his dominance and tyranny were responsible for their mother's death.

Case XII: The house is neatly kept and has quite an air of prosperity about it. The mother was not truthful about her eldest boy's earnings and the family was making payments on property at the same time they were asking for relief. The father always drank some and has been abusive to his family. The mother is an aggressive, dominating person who is popular among Italian women and has quite a following.

3. Children's Attitude Toward Home.

Such emotional irregularities as those cited in the foregoing paragraphs at least suggest that emotional tensions and disturbances within the family may be significant in influencing delinquent behavior. "The child's reaction to the family situation" is a factor which, in various studies, seems to reveal varying results. In the study of juvenile delinquency in St. Paul, M. C. Elmer found that 82% of all delinquents were antagonistic or had strained relations within their homes. Says Miriam Van Waters, on the other hand, "All those whose business it is to listen to the troubles of children are surprised to observe how few of them hold grudges. It is not merely that the child feels no ill will toward the parent who has injured him, the injury seems to have left no trace. It has faded out of mind before the bruise is healed. Antagonism of a child to a parent is founded on nothing so tangible as physical injury". (1)

(1) Van Waters, Miriam, Parents on Probation, pp. 169-204

Most of the parents interviewed in this study are foreign born Italians with native born children. In only three cases, however, did there appear to be a definite break between the parents and the delinquent child. A tenacious family loyalty is present. Despite flagrant emotional disturbances in the home it appeared to be the exception, rather than the rule, for the child to be disgusted with his home and anxious to leave. Fifty-one of the fifty-eight delinquent children definitely did not want to leave home. Others were dissatisfied with home or refused to remain permanently in any home. One child said he had no home and "bunked" with friends.

4. Attitude of Parents Toward Children

Parents' attitudes toward their children's delinquencies and toward their children in general, were obtained rather through inference than through actual statements. Conversations with mothers and fathers in their homes, coupled with the information and opinions about them as contained in the records of social agencies afforded a picture, subjective, perhaps, but nevertheless expressive of the attitudes and feelings toward their children exhibited by the parents of the delinquents. Parental attitudes which could be definitely characterized were obtained in 50 of the 58 cases. A negative attitude was revealed in more than half of the cases.

PARENTAL ATTITUDES

Cooperative with authority	22
Cannot control children	9
Nervous; tolerant of child's behavior.....	6
Deceptive; shields children	4
Anxious about child's welfare	2
Despairing; seeks help in managing child	2
Antagonistic; defiant	2
Indifferent; neglectful.....	2
Feels children do not get fair deal	1

5. Transmission of Delinquency

The extent to which delinquency runs through families, transmitted, presumably through personal contacts within the family group, is a subject which cannot escape attention in a study of the social aspects of delinquency. Whether due to lack of parental control, the influence of the general environment, or the effect of the conduct of one child upon another, the fact that families of several children show a decided tendency toward a plurality of juvenile offenders is significant.

Healy and Bronner, in a study of 3,000 cases found that in families where there were more than one child, only one was delinquent in 62% of the cases; all the children were delinquent in 4.4% of the cases. (1) Clifford Shaw, in his various delinquency studies, emphasizes the matter of younger children being led into delinquency through the influence of older brothers.

Juvenile Court records revealed that of the families where there were more than one child, only one was delinquent in 29 cases; more than one were delinquent in 17 cases. The distribution is revealed in the following table.

NUMBER OF DELINQUENTS IN FAMILIES

Total No. Children	One Delin.	Two Delin's.	Three Delin's.	Four Delin's.
1	1			
2	2	1		
3	4			
4	9			
5	7	1	2	
6	3	3	2	2
7	-			
8	2	3	3	
9	1			
	29	6	7	2

(1) Healy and Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals*, p. 103

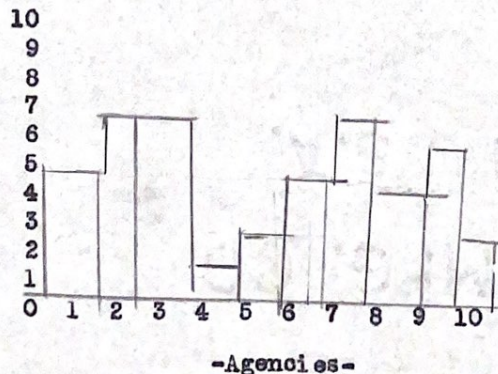
6. Economic Levels

Poverty as a potent factor in delinquency and crime has received careful consideration in investigations into the causes of crime, and in studies of delinquency areas. It has been previously shown how business enterprises, encroaching upon the areas immediately surrounding the central business area, forces the residents of higher economic level farther and farther back, and the resultant lower rents and proximity to work induce the influx of residents of lower economic status. The majority of the residents of the area adjacent to the business district, therefore, are characteristically members of the lower strata of society--the semi-dependent proletariat in whose behalf society organizes for assistance and mutual protection.

Of the 46 families included in the present study, 38 (82%) were known to more than one of the social agencies of the city. Twenty-four (52%) were known to the Family Welfare Association in 1930. (Many more families are receiving aid during the present depression period.) Eight of the families were known to the City Mental Health Clinic. The following table reveals the distribution of agencies among the families of the juvenile delinquents in the Larimer Avenue District.

FAMILIES KNOWN TO SOCIAL AGENCIES IN ADDITION TO THE JUVENILE COURT

Families:



The following listing reveals the income groupings of the families.

INCOME

Per Week:	Families:
\$50 to \$60	2
40 to 50.....	1
30 to 40	12
20 to 30	6
"Income varies"	4
"Unemployed"	6
"No income at present".....	1
No information.....	14
	<hr/> 46

"Number unemployed in 1930:

Employing four of the five categories used by Healy and Bronner (1)
in their Chicago study, the families included in this investigation may
be classified as follows:

Destitution.....	3
Poverty	18
Normal	23
Comfort	2
	<hr/> 46

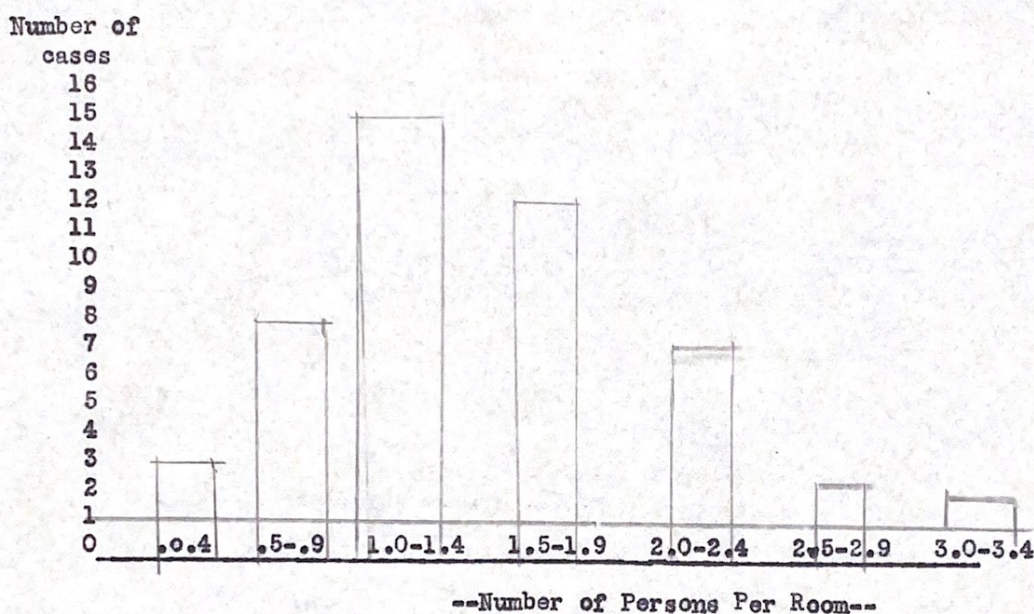
7. Overcrowding

Overcrowding in homes was one of the frequent violations disclosed by the Housing Association's inspections. Most of the families live in overcrowded quarters. In one case, a family of ten was found living in three rooms. By way of explanation, however, it might be inserted that in several cases overcrowding to the extent to which it exists at present is a temporary condition, due to the fact that families, having lost their

(1) "Destitution - where there is real want; for example, insufficient clothes; meeting the barest necessities sometime impossible without aid. Poverty - where there is constant struggle to make ends meet; not going hungry, but being unable to live without serious denial. Normal where necessities are obtainable--Comfort where there is a margin for ordinary comforts including recreations".

regular income through unemployment, have moved into one part of the house in order to rent the other part. Of the 46 families, 26 rented, and 20 owned their homes. The Housing Association inspections showed 34 single family dwellings, 12 two-family apartments; 3 multiple-family dwellings, and one rooming house.

EXTENT OF OVERCROWDING



8. Gangs and Group Delinquency

A great deal of discussion in studies of delinquency has been given to the Gang, or the Companionship Factor. The spontaneous play group is one of the earliest groups with which the child comes into contact. "Through them he is subjected to the influence of an increasing number and variety of personalities, social activities, and moral norms. That these play-groups relationships are important factors in determining behavior traits is indicated in the study of the life histories of both delinquent and non-delinquent boys. They are particularly important as a medium through

which new social values are acquired and new attitudes and interests are defined. 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". (1) Classification of the nature of the offenses, and the manner in which they were perpetrated readily reveals the vastly important place held by group activity in the delinquency of the offenders in this area. (2)

As has been pointed out, 45 of the 58 offenses were entirely or partially the results of gang or group activity. Information concerning the activities of gangs in the Larimer Avenue District was made available through the records of the Kingsley House. There were four well-defined boys' gangs, and one girls' gang in the neighborhood. Their age-distribution and general characteristics are as follows:

<u>Gang</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Characteristics</u>
A	17 - 18 Yrs	Restless, unemployed. Shy of girls but admit occasional sex relations. Polite, regular Kingsley House members. Engage in petty stealing. Four boys.
B	10 - 15 Yrs	Huge gang. Handled by "able leader" (now in Thorn Hill School). Mischievous; let air out of tires; steal for excitement.
C	16 - 18 Yrs	Five or six boys. More a club than a gang. All but one are employed. Serious minded. Attend night school.
D	Senior Boys"	Have sex relations with girls and practice homosexuality, "chiefly because they need the money". They are enticed by men who also attract newsboys in the neighborhood.

E(Girls) 16 - 17 Yrs Adolescent; restless; unstable; create nuisance at Kingsley House.

(1) Shaw, C. R., and McKay, H. D., Report on the Causes of Crime, p. 191
 (2) See page 16

Aside from the clubs at Kingsley House, only one child included in the study belonged to any other organized club. One Negro girl was, at one time, an active member of the girls scouts.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing investigation into the social environment of the 56 children residing in the Larimer Avenue District who appeared, during 1930, before the Juvenile Court of Pittsburgh on delinquency charges revealed, in summary, the following facts:

I. The area:

1. The Larimer Avenue District conforms to the general characteristics of a "delinquency area" in what it contains a high percentage of foreign born population; it is characterized by a high degree of population mobility within the area; there is excessive overcrowding in houses; poverty, and a concentration of juvenile delinquency.
2. In its external, physical aspects, the area studies is characterized by:
 - a. Neighborhoods varying in appearance and sanitation from very poor to adequate.
 - b. Houses that are, in most instances, within the law in the matter of structure and sanitation.
 - c. A high percentage of foreign-born residents.
 - d. Too little play space.
 - e. A constant shifting of occupants from house to house within the area.
 - f. A dearth of character-building agencies in the neighborhood.

II. Characteristics of Delinquents:

1. Fifty-four (93%) of the delinquents in the study were boys; four (6.9%) were girls. Forty-five (77.5%) of all offenses were group offenses. Stealing was the leading offense for both boys and girls.

2. Of the 46 children for whom a report on mental status was received, 22 were mentally normal; 24 were below normal mentally.
3. Fifty of the fifty-eight delinquents were in good physical condition.
4. Thirty-seven (63.7% were recidivists.

III. Family Relationships:

1. Twenty-six of the fifty-eight delinquents came from broken homes. Two were illegitimate. Ten of them came from homes in which there was a stepfather. In no home was there a stepmother.
2. Emotional irregularities within the family were present in the majority of cases studied.
3. Only 7 of the 58 delinquent children were anxious to get away from their homes and their families.
4. Twenty-six parents displayed a definitely negative (indifferent, antagonistic, defiant, etc.) Attitude toward their children. Twenty-four displayed positive (anxious about the welfare of the child's attitudes.

IV. Transmission of Delinquency:

1. Of the families where there were more than one child, only one was delinquent in 28 (83%) cases. More than one were delinquent in 17 (37% cases.

V. Economic Level:

1. Twenty-one of the forty-six families were below the level which is considered the minimum economic standard of existence.
2. Many of the families live in overcrowded quarters.

VI. The Companionship Factor:

1. Forty-five of the fifty-eight delinquents were group offenders.
2. There are four boys' gangs and one girls' gang definitely organized in the area.

VII. Constructive Neighborhood Agencies:

1. Aside from the Kingsley House, there appears to be no actively functioning character-building agency in the area.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

1. The Larimer Avenue District may be characterized a "Delinquency Area".
2. The factors implied by the characteristics which define delinquency areas are present to a significant degree in the area studied.
3. The community does not function effectively as an agency of control. The absence of community organization is accentuated by the personal and social unadjustment of the foreign born Italian residents of the area.
4. Family relationships, i. e., parental attitudes, family organization, emotional set-up, parent-child relationships, loom as significant factors in the lives of the delinquents in this area.
5. Poverty, augmented by widespread unemployment, is not only present to an excessively high degree, but offers an inducement to the adolescent boys of the area to unite in groups and gangs which indulge in anti-social practices.

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