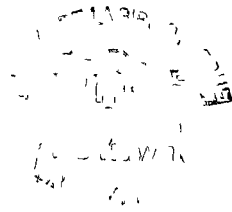
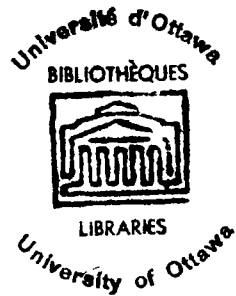


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UNDER THE EYE OF THE LAW
BY JOSEPH EUGENE SCHIEDER

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA



JUNE 1945

AN ESSAY ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE BUFFALO
CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of Arts
University of Ottawa

In View of Obtaining a
Doctorate in Philosophy

by
Joseph Eugene Schieder
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INTRODUCTION

What is "Juvenile Delinquency?"

What is the meaning of this term that one hears so frequently throughout the Western Hemisphere. True, this term has been in existence for many years but never has it been found on the lips of every man, woman and child, as it is today.

It is defined officially as "any act or omission, committed by a person over the age of seven years, and less than sixteen years of age, which if committed by an adult would be a crime not punishable by death or life imprisonment."

In substance this definition means that any act or omission committed by a boy or girl under sixteen, not including murder, treason or kidnaping, which are punishable by death or life imprisonment, is not a crime, as would be the case with an adult, but is Juvenile Delinquency. The designers of our laws saw fit to make this provision for the purpose of preventing boys and girls from becoming stigmatized as criminals. Furthermore, the law states that a child of seven years or less is incapable of committing a crime. It further states that a child of more than seven and less than twelve years of age is presumed to be incapable of committing crime, BUT that presumption can be removed by proof that the child had sufficient capacity to understand the act

or neglect charged against him and to know its wrongfulness. This means that a child of more than seven and less than sixteen years of age, under ordinary circumstances, is considered incapable of committing crime. But if it can be proven that he was intelligent enough to understand the act or neglect charged against him and to know its wrongfulness, he can be declared capable of committing crime. Moreover, a child of twelve years and less than sixteen years of age, is capable of committing crime, and if he committed a murder, treason or kidnaping, which are crimes punishable by death, or life imprisonment he could be convicted and executed or imprisoned for life.

While Juvenile Delinquency is not a crime, nevertheless a youth can be arrested and taken to Children's Court, found guilty and punished accordingly. A conviction of Juvenile Delinquency is not a conviction of crime, and should not be considered a matter of Police Record but nevertheless the fact remains that records are made of it and in later years, these records are held against the offending youth.

It will be the purpose of this treatise to consider first the general problem of Juvenile Delinquency, its phenomenal rise as the outcome of abnormal conditions,

the comparative increase of the problem among boys and girls, the manner in which the whole difficulty is viewed by City, State and National authorities. Next the problem will be considered as it is handled by the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Buffalo Police Department, bringing to light a somewhat unique approach to a delicate undertaking. Facts and figures will be set forth showing the success of this Bureau over a period of several years. From the files of the Bureau itself the circumstances of individual cases will be set forth. The approach, the remedy, the results and the success or failure pertaining to the particular case will be noted. Obviously the names used in the various cases will be fictitious but all of the circumstances and details will be related exactly as they took place in the case in question. Finally, conclusions will be drawn, suggestions will be made as to how to cope with this insidious monster which is slowly but surely devastating the flower of American civilization - its youth. One of the recommendations will concern the American Home since today it presents one of the greatest fields of battle for the survival of decent youth. There indeed, is a place of endeavor where education against Juvenile Delinquency should be carried on. It is a terrifying fact that many parents must turn to the mirror to find the true reason

why their boy or girl has been engulfed in crime. All too often, in the solitude of sorrow, when the heavy hand of law has descended and the chair is empty at the family table, man and wife, if they be honest, must look to each other and they must say, "Where did we fail?" For indeed, they have failed!

It is the fond hope of the author, who has spent years working in the field of youth, that the following pages may in some small measure be helpful to parents, educators, members of law-enforcement bodies, clergy and others in directing the destinies of youth, for whom they are responsible. If as a result of this work, only one youngster is saved from becoming a Juvenile Delinquent, then the labor poured into its pages has not been in vain.

CHAPTER I

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN GENERAL

The guiding of youthful behavior into proper channels is a continuing social responsibility. In addition to the home, many organizations are actively at work in the field of youth. Various youth organizations encourage the interest and participation of boys and girls in socially improved activities. Public and private social agencies are laboring to improve home conditions. The schools strive to develop the best in our children. The various Police Departments are trying desperately to keep the good child good.

Delinquency did not begin with the war and it will remain when the war is over, but maladjustments, abnormal conditions as by-products of the present war have intensified the difficulties among young people. Public attention has been focused on the problem by spectacular examples of delinquent behavior and community agencies have been stimulated to greater efforts at prevention. Despite much excellent work now being done, the many competent people engaged in this work, and the vast quantity of available knowledge, delinquency prevention is not effective as it should be.

Delinquency, like sin, is something that everyone is opposed to, on the record. On the job, when concrete decisions are being made, unified opposition is less evident. Too frequently, ways are found of avoiding the

issue, and putting off the action that might be effective in preventing delinquency. By some strange paradox, a certain amount of delinquency seems to be a price the people are willing to pay in modern society, just as the death and injury toll of automobile accidents is a price we pay for that phase of modern transportation in its present form. Strange as it seems, society is still willing to consider a certain fraction of our population "expendable."

Most decent people consider the price much too high, especially when the knowledge and means are available to reduce it.

When a war has reached the proportions of the present world strife, it is bound to take its toll on the home front, as well as on the war front. We are suffering a war time casualty in the general increase of various offenses on the part of adults against society. This increase in the senior division is bound to influence and has influenced the actions of the youth of our day.

Since the crimes of adults necessarily affect the actions of youth, a close study of the number of crimes committed by adults will be both helpful and significant, in understanding the problem of youth. The following figures and graph were compiled from the records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation at Washington, D.C.

Crime trends were generally upward during 1944, with all offenses except robberies and larcenies showing increases, according to the reports of 318 of the Nation's largest cities.(1) As a group, crimes against the person displayed an upswing amounting to 10.0 per cent in 1944, while property offenses were up 1.5 per cent. For the total of all offenses reflected in the graph, a 2.0 per cent increase was recorded over 1943.

In examining the figures for individual offense classes, increases were noted during 1944 in the number of murders and negligent manslaughters to the extent of 3.8 per cent and 10.3 per cent respectively over 1943, while rapes rose 4.2 per cent and aggravated assaults, 12.0 per cent.

Auto thefts in 1944 were up 9.2 per cent and burglaries showed a 1.5 per cent rise. Robberies declined 2.1 per cent and larcenies showed practically no change from 1943 to 1944 (--0.2 per cent).

Rape, aggravated assault, and auto theft offenses have shown the most significant increases since the war began. Rape offenses have increased steadily with the

(1) UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS FOR THE UNITED STATES AND ITS POSSESSIONS, issued by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., Volume XV Number 2, 1944.

result the 1944 figure is 27.0 per cent in excess of the average pre-war year (1939-41). The 1944 rape figures were up in six of the nine geographic divisions, with decreases reflected in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and Mountain States.

Aggravated assaults have followed generally the trend in rape offenses, except for the year 1943, when the figures remained practically unchanged from 1942. In 1944, however, the sharp rise in aggravated assaults put the figure for this offense class 19.9 per cent over the pre-war average year. Increases in 1944 were reflected in all sections of the country, except in those States comprising the New England, West North Central, and West South Central geographic divisions.

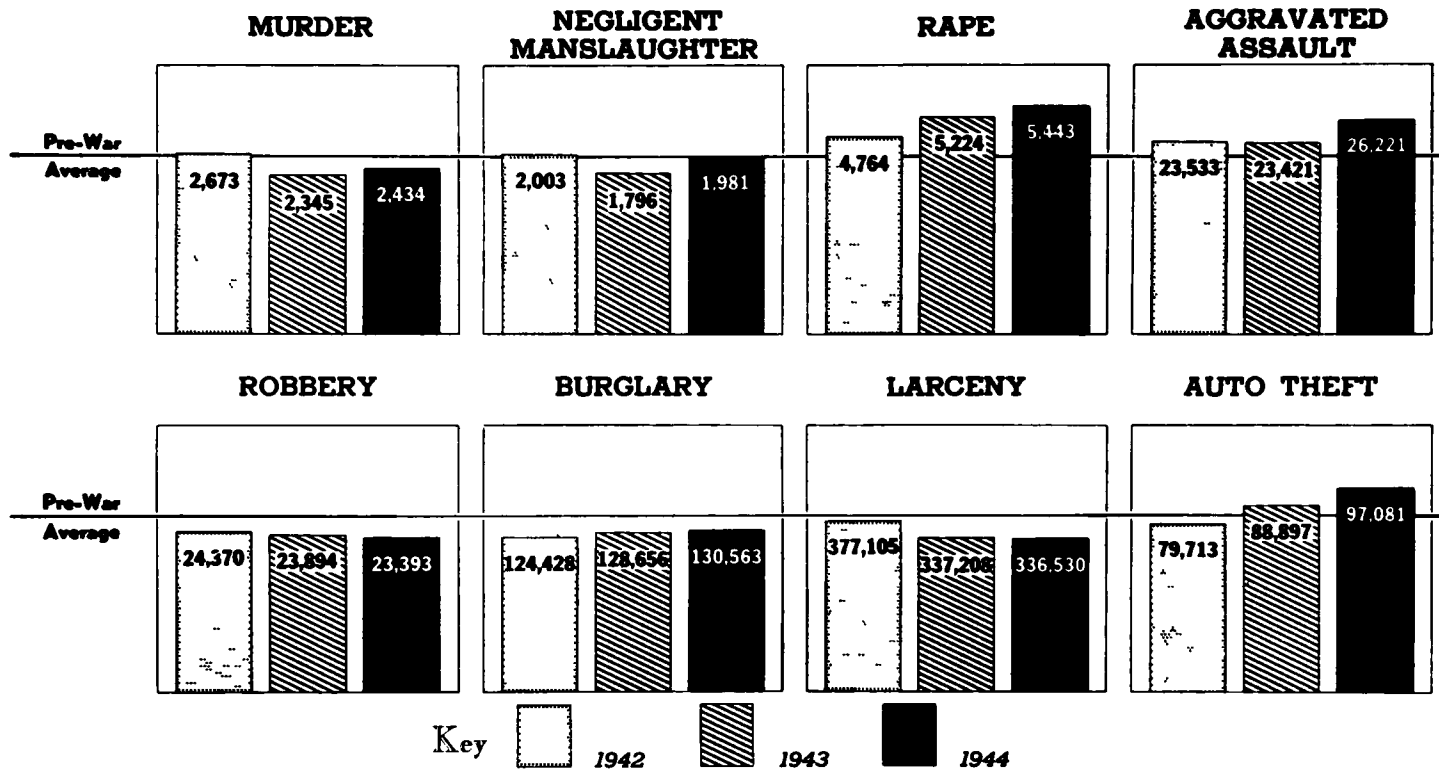
During the first calendar year after Pearl Harbor auto thefts declined, but during 1943 and 1944 significant and steady increases have been recorded despite the decrease in the number of automobiles in use during those years. The auto theft figure for 1944 exceeds the pre-war average by 15.2 per cent, and the increase was general in all sections of the country, except in the Mountain and Pacific States where decreases were reported.

In the following instances the 1944 figures were below the pre-war average to the extent indicated: Murder, 7.5 per cent; robbery --13.2 per cent; burglary, --8.9 per cent and larceny, --13.3 per cent.

ANNUAL CRIME TRENDS

1942-1944 vs. Average 1939-1941

OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE - 318 CITIES, TOTAL POPULATION 45,062,198



As has been stated, the criminal record of adults is bound to influence the actions of youth. The increase of delinquency among adults as clearly indicated by the foregoing figures and graph, must of necessity have some bearing upon the wave of juvenile delinquency now sweeping the country. Since youth is vitally interested in and terrifically swayed by the generation which precedes it, the mistakes of this adult generation will be duplicated in some degree by its children and youth. Inasmuch as this is a fact beyond contradiction we must come to the realization that the delinquent must be studied not only as an individual, but as an integral part of his environment: his family, his school, his church, his job, the influences of his community, and in relation to all the abnormal by-products of a world war. Responsibility must be placed upon the adult in society, the entire social group must help in the effort to deal with the delinquent and to surround all children with those influences which will help to build up in them the strength to meet the stress and strain and complexities of modern life.

The problem of delinquency is not a superficial mark which can be removed with ease. It is an indication of weakness and maladjustment in the whole social

framework. We are given over to wishful thinking if we hope that it will be eliminated in this generation or the next. In fact post war conditions may even tend to increase it. This generation may make important contributions to its solution by continued scientific research in problems and methods of treatment, by education of the general public in the nature, causes, and extent of delinquency, or by such preventive agencies as the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Buffalo Police Department, whose operations will be explained at length in the following chapters. If these things are done, then perhaps much unnecessary delinquency may be prevented.

The first step in prevention is to consider carefully the causes of the problem. Thus far, we have dealt only with the influence of the crimes of adults upon the actions of youth. We must of necessity go much deeper into this phase of our study. And as we go deeper, we will realize all too well that there is no single cause of juvenile delinquency.

The foundations of delinquent behavior are usually laid in very early childhood, the period which students of child-life regard as the most important in the shaping of personality and character. It is true many factors may contribute to produce the delinquent, but the central problem in any case is, after all, the delinquent himself.

Why do children react in such different ways to their surroundings and their environment? Why are some powerful enough to resist the influences of bad companions and the temptations provided by unlocked automobiles, easily entered windows, alluring displays of finery, suggestions derived from newspapers and movies, or unhappiness and poverty at home, and countless other factors which contribute to make other children delinquent? Why are other children unaffected by these "temptations to right-doing" which should serve to immunize them against possible stimuli to bad conduct? Clearly it is only through scientific study of the delinquent himself that we can ever learn how to check delinquent trends as they become known or how delinquency in general is to be prevented. A near approach to the scientific study of youth is the personal investigation of every delinquent that comes to the attention of the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Buffalo Police Department.

Among the major contributing factors are unhappy home-conditions. Large numbers of children coming to the attention of Juvenile Courts are from homes broken by the death, desertion, separation, or divorce of the parents, and from homes in which lack of understanding and harmony between parents and other serious emotional problems of adults make it impossible to satisfy the child's fundamental needs for mental security and development. Another

important factor is failure of parents to understand the child, and parental ignorance of methods of child training and character development. "Naughtiness" among little children is frequently passed over as something of little importance except for the inconvenience it causes to those with whom the child comes in contact. Feelings of inferiority, jealousy, fear, anger, temper tantrums, precocious sex-interest and bad sex-habits, disobedience, lying and stealing are among the common problems confronting parents of very young children. If not rightly handled, these habits may, and often do, lead into defects of personality and character which will greatly limit the individual's usefulness and happiness and may bring him into conflict with the law.

One of the strongest factors in influencing the lives of youth today is the everyday current motion picture. Sometimes this influence is for good, but more frequently it tends to lead astray the individual of juvenile age. There are many individuals today who hold the motion picture industry responsible in considerable measure for present-day crime and delinquency among youth. The fact that we have official censorship, state and municipal, as well as the denunciation by some groups of the showing of crime pictures are expressions of this belief. Many decent people decry the production of "crime" or "gangster"

pictures, as fraught with dangerous possibilities of disposing youth to crime.

On the other hand, we have the belief of many people, particularly partisans of the movies, that motion pictures in general and crime pictures in particular, do not dispose to crime; that quite the opposite is true, for emphasizing the eventual punishment of the criminal, motion pictures discourage crime and incidentally deter many who have criminal tendencies.

Another strong point of disagreement is whether the movies tend to inspire a youth to easy living, and easy money, whether lawfully gained or not. Along this line of discussion, let us introduce the following statistical information. (2)

"Forty-five per cent of a sample of 139 truant and behavior-problem boys, 39 per cent of a sample of 184 grade-school boys in a high-rate delinquency area, 29 per cent of a sample of 181 boys in a medium-rate delinquency area, and 19 per cent of a sample of 75 boys in a low-rate delinquency area indicated that motion pictures made them want 'to make a lot of money easily. '"

One should note the increasing percentage of those who speak of this influence, as one compares areas where delinquency is little to areas where it is great. In the areas of high-rate delinquency the absence of wealth is

(2) MOVIES, DELINQUENCY, AND CRIME, by Herbert Blumer, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago, and Phillip Hauser, Instructor in Sociology, University of Chicago.

generally greatest, and the opportunities of getting it legitimately are fewest. With such a background the attractive portrayal of wealth, the implication that it may be acquired easily, and the suggestion of ways of securing it quickly are all likely to make a definite impression. This suggests why a given run of pictures may have no noticeable effects on people whose modes of living permit them certain privileges and enjoyments; whereas they may reinforce delinquent inclinations in others who do not have such privileges and opportunities.

Yet it is not true that motion pictures showing lavish wealth and luxury, as in the instance of society dramas, are the kind that arouse desires to make money easily. The pictures that seem to do this are rather those of the "gangster" or "crook" type. The reason for this seems to be due in part to the fact that the themes of such pictures are more familiar to the people concerned, more within their observation of experience. But it seems due, also, to the fact that such pictures suggest definite and feasible possibilities of attaining such wealth. The display of riches in a "society" picture is likely to be remote to the experience of many people; further the picture is scarcely likely to present the impression that such a life may be immediately available. This accounts probably for the significant connection between gangster pictures

and desires for easy money. Let us now return to the questionnaire responses.

In response to the inquiry as to what kinds of pictures make them "want to make a lot of money easily" 55 per cent of the truant and behavior-problem boys, 34 per cent of the grade-school boys in the high-rate delinquency areas, 20 per cent of the boys in the medium-rate delinquency areas, and 17 per cent of the boys in the low-rate delinquency areas indicated in free response that pictures of the gangster, fighting, and gun-play incited such desires. In contrast to this distribution, it was found that only 5 per cent of the truant and behavior-problem boys, 9 per cent of the boys in the high-rate delinquency areas, 8 per cent of the boys in the medium-rate delinquency areas, and 12 per cent in the low-rate delinquency areas indicated wealth or rich type of pictures as provoking them to "want to make lots of money easily." Four per cent of the truant and behavior-problem boys, 2 per cent of the boys in the high-rate delinquency areas, 5 per cent of the boys in the medium-rate delinquency areas, and no boys in the low-rate delinquency areas indicated fast life and sex pictures as arousing such desires. Nine per cent of the truant and behavior-problem boys, 3 per cent of the boys from the high-rate delinquency areas, 9 per cent from the medium-rate delinquency areas

and 7 per cent from the low-rate delinquency areas indicated other types of pictures as creating such desires; while 48 per cent of the truant and behavior-problem boys, 53 per cent of the high-rate area boys, 58 per cent of the medium-rate area boys, and 64 per cent of the low-rate area boys left this question blank, implying apparently that no pictures had such an effect.

Let us now give some data, referring to this discussion from the responses of a sample of 110 inmates of a penal institution. Forty-five per cent felt that motion pictures developed a desire for easy money; 39 per cent felt that they did not; and 16 per cent did not express themselves on this topic. Forty-five per cent of this same sample feel that the movies suggest ways of getting money easily; 40 per cent feel that they do not; while 15 per cent did not venture an opinion when asked to respond freely. Forty-four of the group, or 40 per cent, indicated specific ways in which the movies suggest making money easily. Of these that indicate specific ways:

1 (2%)				indicate movies suggest the stock market;
3 (7%)	"	"	"	work;
3 (7%)	"	"	"	"several ways;
1 (2%)	"	"	"	"fast life";
1 (2%)	"	"	"	not working;
11 (25%)	"	"	"	holdups;
2 (4%)	"	"	"	confidence games;
1 (2%)	"	"	"	gambling;
9 (20%)	"	"	"	crime;
4 (9%)	"	"	"	burglary;
1 (2%)	"	"	"	bribery;
5 (11%)	"	"	"	stealing;
2 (4%)	"	"	"	bootlegging.

It is worthy of note that 35, or 80 per cent, of this sample of 44 indicated that the motion pictures suggested some form of crime as a means of obtaining money easily. (3)

In light of the above survey, the motion pictures are unquestionably an extremely important agency in determining the ideas and behavior of people, especially of children. This effect is due to the visual vivid imagery. On account of this effect the pictures are likely to be accepted as correct and authoritative. Children impersonate

(3) MOVIES, DELINQUENCY AND CRIME, by Blumer and Hauser, p. 44.

the actors in their play and in other ways imitate them in peculiar behavior. They day dream about the scenes which are depicted. The emotions are affected, including fight and terror, sorrow and pathos, and excitement and passion. The pictures provide people with schemes of life, with ideas of rights and privileges, and standards of behavior. (4)

In conclusion it must be said of the movies that they have certain beneficial influences but it cannot be denied that they are all too frequently detrimental to the conduct of youth. So long as we have the present type of motion pictures they will be one of the contributing factors in juvenile delinquency.

Another potent cause of disorder among youth is truancy. One statement rarely challenged is that truancy is the first step on the downward path. While it is true that some studies have indicated that delinquents were often truants, it does not follow that truants necessarily become delinquents.

That truancy opens the gateway to other delinquency is concluded from the theory that children who are truant probably engage in unlawful activities. Equally correct is the possibility that children who stay out of school

(4) Herbert Blumer, MOVIES AND CONDUCT, New York, 1933.

do so not necessarily for illegal purposes, but to carry on activities which interest them more deeply than the rather formal, academic school curriculum. Some stay out with the help of their parents. If they were not, unfortunately, disobeying school regulations their activities might be considered quite harmless, perhaps even constructive.

The assumption that truancy is potent in the problem of delinquency has motivated several of the studies of the New York Crime Commission. In one of the earlier studies the claim is made that offenders begin as school truants and come from slum areas.(5)

As a result of this finding, the Commissioner took a survey of 251 truants released from Parental School and found that,

"among the cases studied, chronic truancy was in a disquieting number of cases, the first step in a criminal career. 51 per cent of the boys required the attention of the Police and Courts during the 6 to 8 year period subsequent to their release from the Truant School. Whether truancy is the first step in criminal careers and whether, as in the case of the New York State Crime Commission Study it is correct to credit the subsequent delinquencies of these 251 truants released from the Parental School to their early truancy, and not, possibly, to their experience and their treatment following the first

(5) INDIVIDUAL STUDIES OF 145 OFFENDERS, by the Sub-Commission, on Causes And Effects Of Crime, Crime Commission of New York State.

apprehension, are questions which have not yet been satisfactorily answered." (6)

In treating with this problem of truancy, it might be well for us to consider the official stand on attendance at school and truancy therefrom. This official stand is indicated by the following excerpts from the regulations of the Board of Education of New York City:

Regular uninterrupted attendance at a full-time day school or upon equivalent instruction is required of every child from 7 to 17 years of age, who is not regularly and lawfully employed, unless suspended from attendance. Every such child is required to attend the entire time the public schools are in session of the city or district where he resides. (7)

When a pupil is absent except for such known causes as severe storm, personal illness, quarantine, death in the family or religious observance, the principal shall notify the parent or guardian of said pupil by mail or otherwise on the day on which such absence occurs; if the pupil is not promptly returned to school by his parents or guardian, or if a satisfactory explanation of his absence is not made, said principal, if possible shall

(6) FROM TRUANCY TO CRIME: A STUDY OF 251 ADOLESCENTS, by the Sub-Commission On Causes and Effects Of Crime, Crime Commission Of New York State Page 8.

(7) From "Instructions to Principals for the Admission, Transfer and Discharge of Pupils, for the Reporting of Absence and Related Matters," Section 60.1

interview the parent or guardian, either in person or through a teacher. On the third day of absence, if a satisfactory explanation has not been made, said principal shall forthwith report the case to the Bureau of Attendance. In case of unexplained absence of a pupil known to have been a truant, or where truancy or illegal detention of such pupil is suspected, immediate notification shall be given to the Bureau of Attendance on the day on which such absence occurs. (8)

"Truancy," Doctor Van Waters points out, "may be a misplaced virtue. May be a biological protest against bad air, mental or physical defects, or healthy criticism of a course of study hopelessly dull, heavy, mechanical and uninteresting. Frequently it is an attempt to evade responsibility, to escape meeting an issue; again it is a mode of self-expression, or of taking revenge." (9)

After much research in the field of truancy, as a cause of juvenile delinquency, it is the sincere opinion of the author that sometimes it is the cause of delinquency, but more frequently the result of delinquency. All too often, a youth has a mark against him in Childrens' Court because of the offense of truancy. Actually, the case of truancy should never have reached the Court and the youth should never have been labeled a delinquent. In most cases

(8) Ibid., Section 61.1

(9) Miriam Van Waters, YOUTH IN CONFLICT, p. 90; also E.K. Wickman, CHILDRENS' BEHAVIOR AND CHILDRENS' ATTITUDES.

truancy and school misbehavior should be handled by the Welfare Department of the schools, without Court intervention. If there is nothing wrong with a child except his failure to attend school the curriculum should be analyzed and the child examined mentally and physically to make sure that it is a case in which nothing else will serve except Court action.

In conclusion let me state that while truancy is not too frequently a cause of delinquency that definitely it is a potent factor in the problem of youth and that at least some of it could be removed by more intelligent understanding of the problem on the part of those responsible for the handling of it.

Another form of truancy which contributes largely to the problem at hand is truancy from church and religious services. John Miner in his study of "Church Membership and Commitments to Prisons," indicates that fewer people who maintain membership in churches are committed to prison than those who are not members. (10)

(10) HUMAN BIOLOGY, III, 429--436

E. W. Burgess reports that the Committee of the workings of the Indeterminate-sentence Law and Parole in Illinois found that:

"Only a small fraction of the inmates had been regular in attendance prior to commitment."

The Reverend J. H. Ryan, Protestant Chaplain at Pontiac, in an interesting and detailed study, found that of a group of one thousand youths questioned only ninety had been attending religious services, six hundred and eighty nine had at one time attended, but had left the church, and that the others, numbering one hundred forty-six, had been very irregular in attendance, while seventy-five had never attended any services. (11)

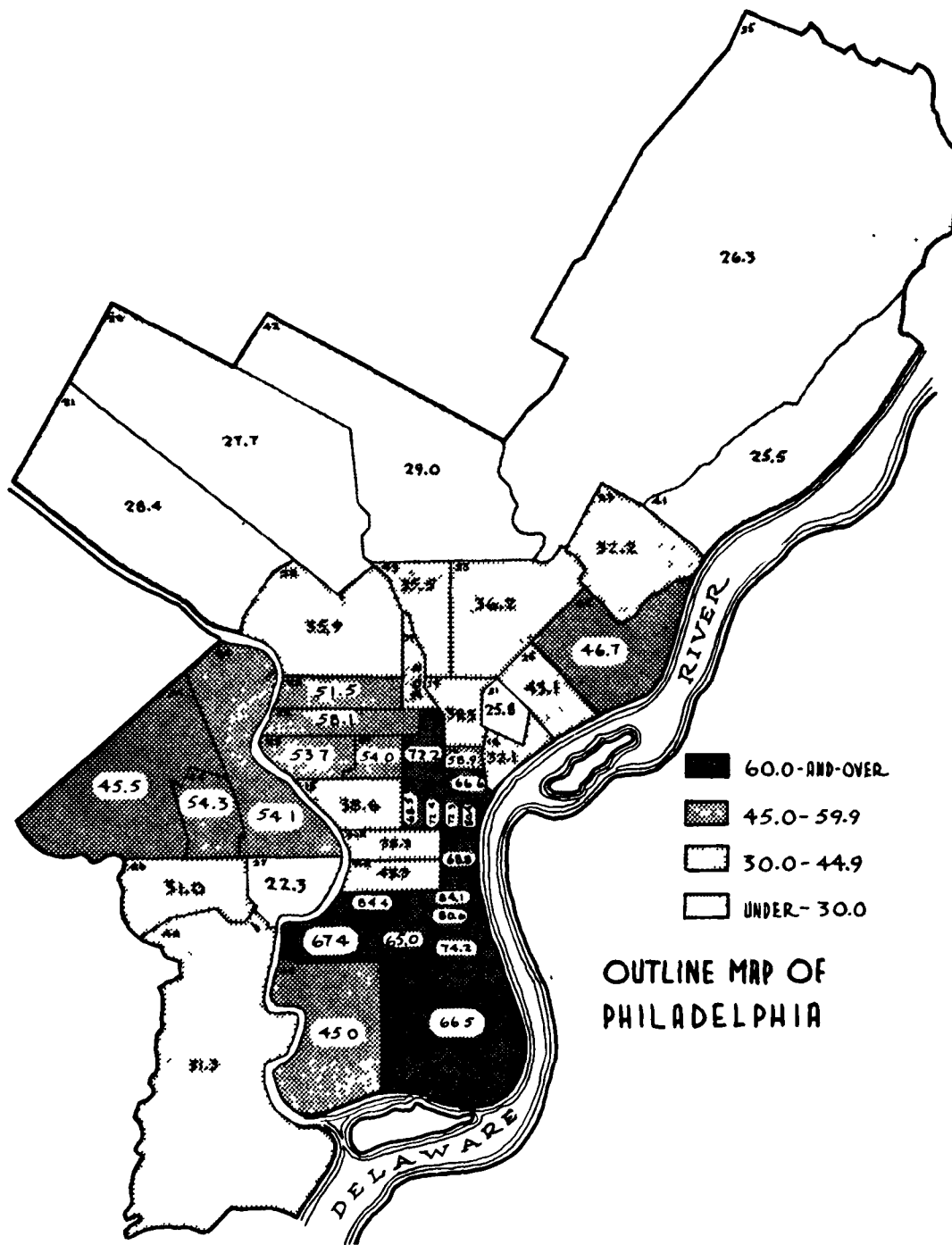
The question may be raised as to the proportion of youths in the general population who are attending church regularly, irregularly, or not at all, but from experience the author has found that a survey of this type to be in any way accurate, and covering all the three great religions is most difficult to obtain. Elio D. Monachesi, in his exhaustive study of, PREDICTION FACTORS IN PROBATION (see p. 620), found that "individuals who do not attend church are poor probation risks."

An interesting sidelight on this matter are the

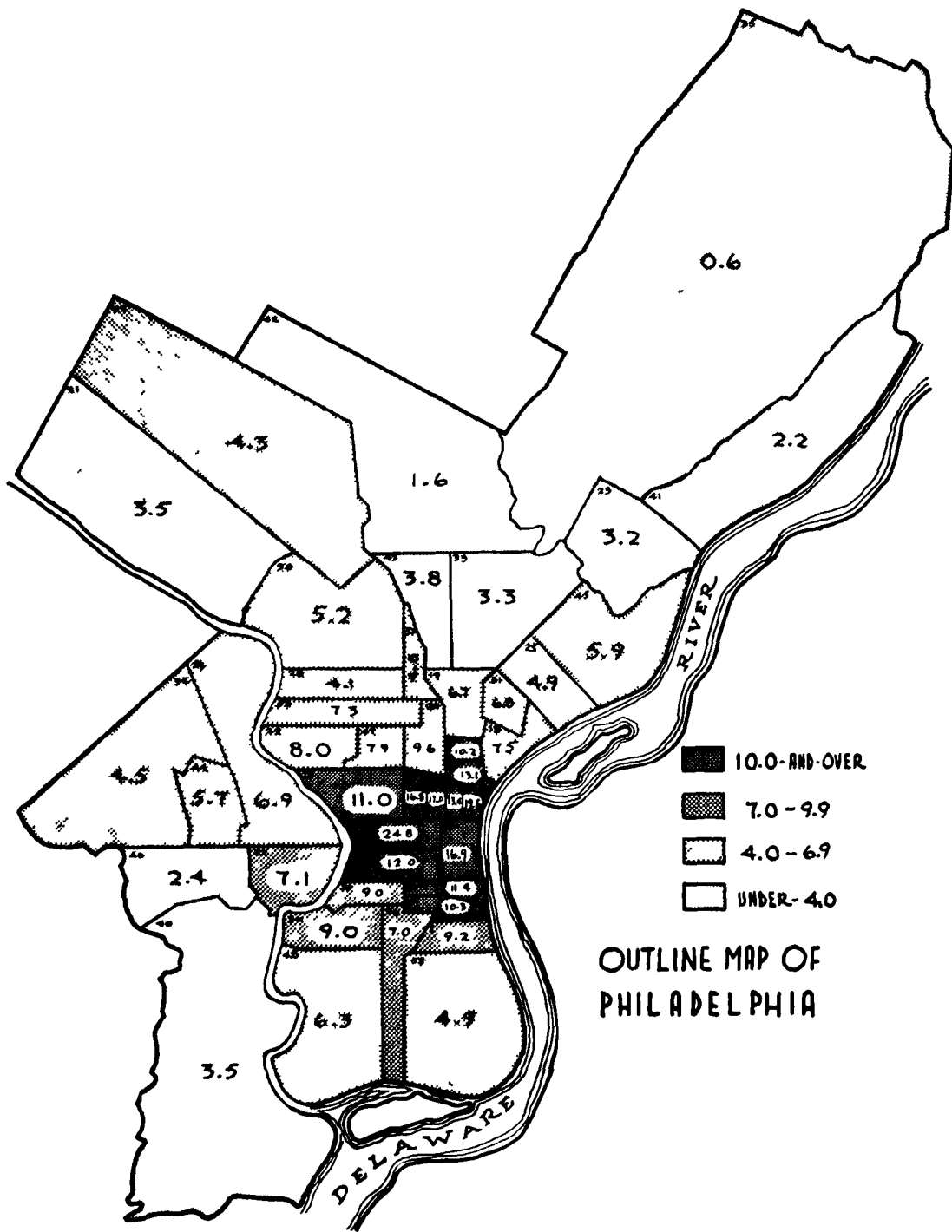
(11) "Factors Making For Success Or Failure On Parole, " PAROLE AND THE INDETERMINATE SENTENCE, p.233.

figures by religion of youth committed to penal institutions. These figures are interesting but all too frequently do not give a true pro-ratio picture of actual conditions. For example in America the Baptists and the Catholics have the highest rate of commitment to those institutions which report religious affiliations. This is easily explained since most of the Negroes are Baptists and most of the families of recent immigrants are Catholics. (*)

(*) This is indicated by the comparative maps by wards of Philadelphia, shown on the following pages.



PERCENTAGE FOREIGN BORN AND NEGRO HEADS OF FAMILIES, PHILADELPHIA,



RATES OF MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS, PHILADELPHIA, BY WARDS

An intensive analysis of the differences in crime rate of the several denominations in Hungary resulted in the definite conclusion that these differences were not due to the differences in creeds, but to the differences in the economic, educational, and family status of the members, to the difference in the places of residence, and to the differences in age and sex. Doctor Van Waters (12) shows keen insight into the problems of youth in their relation to the church:

"Today the some two hundred thousand delinquent boys and girls in correctional schools, hundreds of thousands before courts and social agencies, know little about religion, art and science. The young people in dance-halls, cabarets, resorts, millions who throng city streets in a ceaseless, unhappy quest for "something to do" have certainly not been reached by any valid adventure of the spirit.

The social worker hesitates to criticize the church, but viewing prisons, hospitals, reformatories, and courts, with one's ears echoing stories of drab lives, unlit by warmth of any genuine religious experience, children whose hearts have never beat faster for the mystic presence of any spiritual being, youths by hundreds who believe in nothing, know nothing of the feeling of an enlarged, creative power except that which may somehow come to them from their luck charms, "hunches", and innumerable modern idols and fetishes; the social worker seeing all this and knowing that to these half-starved, bewildered young spirits the least drop of living water would be as a miracle, questions whether it is essential for churchmen to busy themselves with talk of Fundamentalism versus Modernism. If clergymen cannot awaken youth to faith, humility, and gratitude, or

(12) YOUTH IN CONFLICT, pp. 140--141.

quicken his enthusiasm for life beyond himself, the church cannot cope with delinquency. Doubtless the modern church is reaching many young people with its classes, organizations, brotherhoods and sisterhoods; one cannot praise too highly the work of some of its protective bureaus and committees.

This proves that the church is concerned for the welfare of erring youth, but it is church turned social worker. Social activities within the church do not fulfill the whole need, nor supply authentic spiritual leadership. In spite of friendly visitors, campaigns, drives and educational movies in churches, it is evident that lives of the young delinquents have been left singularly untouched by religion. Not only are juvenile court boys and girls ignorant for the most part of the history of religion, its dogmas, creeds and ritual, but its literature, festivals, its great personalities, its warm and vivid experiences are unknown. If you ask: "What saying of a clergyman has most impressed you?" the average young delinquent stares and is blankly unable to answer anything at all. Nor is this state of affairs due to callousness, or stupidity on the part of youth. The fact is they have not heard anything from the church that is memorable, moving, soul-stirring or liberating in all their lives. The social worker does not question that there exist religious personalities today who are capable of uttering truths precious to youth; the pity is that the vocabulary is either too technical, or the isolation too complete. They fail to make connection with ideas and emotions of the young who are to become delinquent.

Religion does not flow from the church into the community in which the young delinquent moves, hence the church has no authoritative voice in those social standards which are today most powerfully in conflict with the moral code."

It is difficult for any clear-thinking individual to say that children who are affiliated with some religion are more inclined to delinquency than those who have no religious attachments whatsoever. It is the opinion of

the author, who is at one and the same time a clergyman and the Civilian Head of the Crime Prevention Bureau, Buffalo Police Department, a Bureau dealing exclusively with delinquent youth, that seldom in his experience has he found a boy or girl true to their religion and at the same time untrue to the laws of society. It is his firm conviction that true religion as mentioned above by Doctor Van Waters could be one of the most powerful weapons in the war on juvenile crime, throughout the world today.

The gang and gang spirit will always be contributing factors to the waywardness of youth. Among the influences in the neighborhood mutual stimulation of children in association is one of the most important. A study of the juvenile court records in Chicago indicates that 88.2% of the boys had been engaged in delinquencies in company with others and that 93.1% of those engaged in theft had associates with them at the time. In the more delinquent areas of Chicago the boys are organized for the purposes of theft in definite working groups, which they call "cliques", in which the work of the particular burglary is equally divided. One of the boys makes a survey of the place picked for the holdup, another acts as guard, still another carries on any acts of violence while his friend procures and carries away the loot.

The term "gang" is generally used for a somewhat larger and less definite group. The definition of the gang is not clear. An inquiry made by the author in six adult study groups showed that many of the men were members of so-called "gangs" when they were young and one-third of the women had such memberships. Most of these gangs were innocent in purpose and at no time were any of their members victims of the law. These, however, are essentially different from gangs in a delinquency area. All too often the boys who live on one street or the boys of one national group in a neighborhood, belong together for purposes of fights and are known by a common name. Frequently a portion of the boys in a neighborhood of about the same age and of somewhat similar attitudes towards delinquency or towards play, have a common meeting place on a corner and engaged in many common activities without any other formal organization. Many other groups are more formally organized with names, meeting-places, etc. It is the partial help of each member of a gang which eventually brings the whole group before the juvenile court. How easily a good boy might become a delinquent is clearly indicated from the following case study: (13)

(13) Judge Baker Foundation, CASE STUDIES, Series 1.
No. 1

"For the first ten years of my life I lived on Fourteenth Place, had only one companion; was much interested in school work; made good grades and had great respect and admiration for my parents. Then we moved about three blocks away and the leader of a gang of Irish boys took me under his wing though I was Bohemian by parentage. During the course of this friendship I learned all the lessons this gang could teach me in making myself a nuisance to the community; making kerosene-soaked soot-bags for smearing clothes; breaking windows; organizing assaults and gang-fights, especially on the Jews; organizing raids on back porches and stores. The result was that I lost interest in school, my grades dropped, I began to play truant, I became sullen and disrespectful at home. I preferred the approval of this gang to the approval of my parents. Then my parents moved to a suburb where I found entirely different sentiments prevailing. With the other children of the suburb, I began to be interested again in school work, in organized athletics, in Boy Scout work and took much greater pride in my behavior at home. Every man in the gang which I left is now a "gun-toter," every one has a police record and most of them have served prison terms. The gang has the reputation of being one of the toughest in the city at present. I have no doubt that I would have continued to behave like the rest of them if we had continued to live there. "

It is quite obvious that the organized "gang would be one of the strongest obstacles in the path of law enforcement agencies in reaching a solution of the delinquency problem. The most powerful antidote that any community has to this difficulty is well organized boys and youth clubs, arranged and directed by capable management. The removal of the so-called gangs will have many desirable effects upon a community.

The average citizen takes for granted that boys far outnumber girls in the field of juvenile delinquency. This supposition which is frequently true in peacetime has been quite untrue in recent months. This change is due directly and solely to the present war conditions.

The so-called "Victory Girl" has come into being. This is the youngster, who, captivated by a uniform, and lacking parental supervision, takes delight in boasting that she is helping the war effort by being indecently nice to the members of the armed services. This evil has grown to such an extent, that military authorities frequently are made to declare out of bounds certain taverns and places of recreation, where these so-called "Victory Girls" are found in large numbers.

Another major factor contributing to the rise in delinquency among girls is the apparent ease with which they visit taverns, wherein young and old are able to purchase intoxicating drinks, sometimes without even being questioned. The fact of girls promiscuously visiting taverns and bar-rooms, has done more to lower their dignity than any other mistake they have made in years.

It is common knowledge that parents because of the fact that they are busily engaged in the war effort or, because they find themselves with large quantities of money

have become oblivious of the welfare of their children. This neglect is more harmful to the girls, since they by their very nature are more in need of protection, than the boys. Taking into consideration these factors, and many others of less moment, one more clearly understands why, at the present time, the delinquency among girls is rising much faster than among boys.

This change in the number of girl delinquents is the source of great alarm among City officials throughout the Nation. In many localities, in trying to cope with the problem, Police and City authorities have been forced to bring into play the curfew law. Whereby adolescents, particularly girls, are restricted as to the time in which they might be found upon public streets. It is thought by many that the heaviest toll taken by the war on the home front is the serious rise in delinquencies among girls. To adequately meet this problem, it will require the united efforts of every decent person in this country.

In studying the problems of youth, an interesting fact is that between the ages of 17 and 18 more crimes are committed per year than at any other age between 15 and 25. This should be particularly significant to anyone interested in the juvenile problem. For while the 17 and 18 year old's are not strictly considered juveniles, still, nevertheless

they are youths of tender years and have just left the category of juveniles. Hence it is only honest to presume that since so many crimes are committed in these years, the offenders must have started their delinquency, while they were still in the juvenile division. Prevention, then, is one of the urgent needs in working with the juvenile. The following chart as taken from UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Volume 15, page 96, accurately shows the great fluctuation in the number of crimes committed by individuals between the ages of 15 and 25.

ARRESTS BY AGE GROUP, MALE AND FEMALE, JAN. 1 - DEC. 31, 1944.

OFFENSE CHARGE	A G E:										
	Under 15	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Criminal homicide	24	28	66	135	154	124	132	149	164	173	166
Robbery	48	76	426	889	984	775	666	679	672	622	557
Assault	45	90	490	873	1,071	986	1,002	1,215	1,210	1,271	1,324
Burglary- breaking or entering	1,072	851	2,495	3,177	2,490	1,647	1,231	1,114	992	896	826
Larceny-theft	812	752	2,434	3,919	3,354	2,654	2,128	1,974	1,796	1,727	1,489
Auto theft	307	531	1,647	2,141	1,735	1,283	917	795	686	537	408
Embezzlement and fraud	13	25	95	199	283	259	246	255	308	289	281
Stolen property, buying, receiving	14	2	66	121	116	97	87	71	92	86	85
Arson	20	13	36	48	33	15	17	16	19	10	13
Forgery and counterfeiting	32	46	111	214	226	219	192	177	178	183	158
Rape	27	42	184	452	446	406	327	299	294	247	231
Prostitution and commercializee	11	25	137	235	571	649	533	628	681	612	535
Other sex offenses	25	45	197	347	488	467	409	448	482	444	398
Narcotic drug laws	1	0	3	21	37	45	49	64	61	72	63
Weapons, carrying, possessing,	6	19	189	345	340	253	266	241	222	258	228
Offenses against family and chn	1	0	16	38	73	126	183	258	275	295	349
Liquor laws	5	18	58	108	128	133	142	176	164	190	170
Driving while intoxicated	4	11	40	124	144	212	221	297	308	389	353
Road and Driving laws	2	14	69	238	223	200	186	204	200	214	187
Parking violations	0	0	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	4	3
Other traffic and motor vehicles	7	29	113	247	263	252	170	202	206	192	168
Disorderly conduct	78	134	591	1,345	1,767	1,625	1,428	1,731	1,710	1,527	1,429
Drunkenness	17	71	280	841	1,261	1,351	1,400	1,946	2,041	2,107	2,155
Vagrancy	77	155	783	1,896	2,534	2,220	1,734	1,728	1,639	1,412	1,192
Gambling	8	10	74	157	205	189	185	260	270	291	348
Suspicion	450	531	1,518	3,015	2,553	2,001	1,792	1,764	1,658	1,504	1,386
Not stated	10	17	54	118	164	143	119	150	127	150	150
All other offenses	1,074	1,018	2,021	2,509	2,103	1,712	1,426	1,434	1,283	1,238	1,059
Total	4,190	4,553	14,194	23,753	23,749	20,134	17,189	18,276	17,239	16,940	15,711

The United States of America, through its various Cities, has offered as the major deterrent to youthful crime, the juvenile courts. These have been established in practically all of the States, but the full depth of the part they may play in the prevention of delinquency has not yet been fully or generally understood. Sometime ago, in the WHITEHOUSE CONFERENCE report on THE DELINQUENT CHILD, this observation was made, "Their primary function hinges on the fact that they are not looking outwardly at the act but, scrutinizing it, are looking forward to what the child is to become. " The object of the court is not one of leniency or mercy; it is one of ascertaining what is needed and acting accordingly with definite justice. The court is interested to understand why the particular child is delinquent, and, on the basis of this understanding, to start intelligent treatment for proper adjustment for responsible future living.

One of the drawbacks in the advancement of juvenile court work is that old theories still persist along with the new. The mild offender is handled quite well, but the youth guilty of more serious offenses is frequently treated with severity without any consideration of the causes of his mistakes or without intelligent examination of his background and previous life.

A juvenile court should be available to every community. In many of the States the courts handle cases up to and including offenders of 18 years of age. Some few even go beyond this age range. From parallel experience this long range of age makes the power of the courts less effective. It is the opinion of this author that jurisdiction of the juvenile courts should cease with the 16 year old offenders. In no case should it go beyond 17 years of age. Much more effective work can be accomplished if this is adhered to.

The basic features of juvenile court organization and the essentials of juvenile court work have been outlined in the publication of the United States Children's Bureau entitled "Juvenile Court Standards," and these basic features are re-stated here in the hope that they may be of some value to communities in bettering their juvenile court structure. They are as follows:

QUALIFIED JUDGES AND PROBATION OFFICERS.--The first essential for a juvenile court is to have judges and probation officers duly qualified in equipment and devotion for this exacting work, open-minded and alert, interpreting what has happened, understanding what lies behind, looking and thinking towards what is ahead. With such judges and probation officers seeking to understand the deeper significances presented by the problem, there

is prospect of worth-while endeavor to bring about whatever training and education is necessary, using to that end the parents and agencies of the community.

INTIMATE PROCEDURE.--The second essential is for a court atmosphere of intimateness, where the delinquent and his parents, usually shocked and in dread, may find that each has the right and the opportunity to speak freely with the judge.

INVESTIGATION FOR BASIC NEEDS.--The probation officer makes a more intelligent social investigation when there is realization of the importance of discovering the basic needs of those involved. No longer is a report limited to making an inventory of the number of rooms and beds, amount of sun and food, the number in the household of the delinquent. Now, the nature of the relationship of one member of a family to another, their respective feelings and attitudes, the needs of each, and of the family as a whole, become vital matters for inquiry, often disclosing the most significant factors to be dealt with.

The findings of this case-work and clinic study are brought to the judge . They include an analysis of the physical, mental and emotional make-up of the delinquent himself, and in all his relationships, his needs for development and growth, how far they are met or thwarted,

and how it is believed they may be met more fully or dealt with on the basis of compromise with the needs and forces about him. The purpose of all this is that there may be as full an understanding as possible, and that in the light of that understanding worth-while plans may be made for necessary training and education.

EXPERIMENTAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS PROBLEM.--

Obviously, as the case progresses and greater confidence is established, more accurate understanding is gained and more effective treatment attempted. While all this is going on, forces, or lack of forces, in the delinquent and those about him may result in further acts of delinquency and complicate the problem still more. Whether there are such acts or not, the child is changing from day to day, and the total situation changes.

CONSTRUCTIVE USE OF SEGREGATION.--Approaching the problem with the keenest and most sympathetic study, the court will now and then find some delinquent who is so defective physically, mentally, or emotionally that segregation from the community in an institution equipped to deal with such an individual is the only proper treatment, both for his own sake and for the sake of the community. When segregation is necessary, for such reasons, and only then, should it be carried out. When the State, through its courts, so segregates an individual, it has

the duty of providing the treatment and training the individual needs for living out his life as completely as possible, and for return to the community as a strengthened person, whenever possible, with such supervision as may be necessary.

CHANGE OF ENVIRONMENT TO MEET NEEDS. -- The particular problem may be one which indicates a change of environment; but it always should be kept in mind that this uprooting, to some degree, often greatly, means abruptly breaking the present sense of security--the essentials of belonging, loyalties, and affections. Conscious consideration of the fundamental need of the child for security is necessary in weighing all the reasons for and against the uprooting.

In most cases the solution does not require segregation or uprooting. The court can cause the needed training and education to be carried out in other ways.

PROBATION TO ESTABLISH RIGHT RELATIONSHIPS.--The delinquent may be put on probation; that is, he may be made the center of a cooperative endeavor to supply, so far as possible, what is lacking in his security and development needs in his many relations to himself, to his family, his school, his work, his church, and his community, while at the same time due consideration is given to the basic needs of those about him.

The probation officers seeks to bring about the needed right relations. It is not his task to do this for the child but to make it more possible for the child and those about him to do it for themselves.

These foregoing features must be present if the juvenile court is to function in its true spirit. It will be noted that they are somewhat contrary to senior court procedure, where the traditional administration of criminal justice- prosecuting machinery, courts, bar and penal procedure--is based on theories of retribution, on deterrents, upon a specific body of rigid laws which govern in advance the decisions to be rendered regarding specified violations committed under various circumstances. Justice is characterized as impartial and impersonal in rendering decisions regarding acts which have been committed; but as Professor George H. Mead points out with keen insight, it makes no provisions of principles for the prevention of criminal acts, for returning the wrong-doer into a normal community, maintaining normal social contacts, nor for "stating the transgressed rights and institutions in terms of their positive social functions." (14)

(14) THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PUNITIVE JUSTICE, American Journal of Sociology, Roman 23, Arabic 590.

These theories are "the causes of many absurdities and distortions in the Criminal Law. They accomplish neither legal justice nor social good. This is why the traditional administration of criminal justice spectacularly fails in the repression and suppression of crime. "(15)

Roscoe Pound, perhaps more than any other individual, has directed the thoughts of jurists to the end that "Law can no longer be regarded as a self-centered, self-sufficing science, isolated from other social sciences," but is a definite part of all social sciences of which Law is one division. In an article on "The Scope and Purpose of Sociological Jurisprudence," he states that "the new conception of Law points towards social justice which takes into account social causes, social effects in relation to prevailing social conditions." (16)

The sociological school of Law has had slow growth in the Criminal Courts. The founders of the juvenile court cooperated with modern social justice and have regarded law as a living, progressing social institution influenced by and in accordance with, the changing conditions of life and scientific thought.

(15) LOU, op. cit., p. 1

(16) HARVARD LAW REVIEW, XX 25, 140--168.

Medicine, psychology, and sociology were thought of as handmaids to the court in reaching a just decision. Justice in the court of youth is not only impersonal and impartial, but objective, scientific, and dispassionate. In the juvenile court we find the presiding justice looking at the sordid social conditions, crime-littered areas, social and physical disease, child labor, ignorance and many other causes of social disorganization. As a result of this, the judge comes to the conclusion that the Law unaided by the social sciences is incapable of deciding a course of treatment for the unfortunate, wayward, and delinquent children who come before him. The philosophy of juvenile court procedure is also founded on the thought that every child has a right to a proper rearing, and where parents do not or cannot produce such a rearing, the court must, at least for a time, assume the role of parent. Moreover, the court reasons that a child is not a fit person for correction in a prison or penitentiary, since during his young and impressionable years, he learns the habits of the underworld easily and without much concern, and that the atmosphere of such an institution curbs his physical development; and that he progresses best separated from fear and punishment and in the presence of encouragement, love, security and recognition. It is assumed that the proper social surroundings of youthful

offender is his own community and his own home. The success of the juvenile court in combating the failings of youth will continue to be present so long as a humane attitude is taken toward the offender. Governments of larger cities should endeavor to see that politics in no way enters the children's court. And finally, that only men who have a deep insight into the souls of modern youth are selected as presiding judges. These things being carried out, the court will meet with continued success.

The most important adjunct to the juvenile court is perhaps juvenile probation. Probation, as such, consists of disciplinary and instructive process which attempts to adjust behavior of the offender in his own home, or what is sometimes more suitable, the surroundings of a foster home, and at the same time it safeguards the integrity of society.

Contrary to common belief, probation began in the adult court and later was adopted in the work with juveniles. It came into being as a protest on the part of decent human beings against the penal methods in vogue. Punishments and atrocities of the most unbelievable nature were sometimes used as methods of correction. These means were intended to deter others from doing wrong. As early as 1786 the Quakers opposed capital and bodily punishment

in the treatment of criminals. This austere procedure caused many children's organizations and volunteer societies to keep a constant watch over children being tried in court. It was their vigorous protest that frequently kept youngsters from severe beatings at the hands of law enforcement agencies.

Since its early days until the present time probation has come a long way, and has been a major factor in the correction of criminals. Its interesting history is briefly summed up by William Ballentine Henley as follows:

- (17) "The first work was unofficial and was concerned chiefly with the placing of children in homes or special institutions. In 1869, Massachusetts adopted a law creating a visiting agent of the State Board of Charities to investigate cases and to be present at children's hearings. This agent was empowered to receive the child for placement if the court so ordered. In 1873 the State of Michigan created a public officer, known as the 'county agent' for each county in the State, who was to investigate, to place out and to visit delinquent children. With the establishment of the juvenile court as a part of the legal system the principles of probation were recognized. A foundation was thus laid for further work in their application in adult cases. . . .

A similar modification of treatment was going forward in dealing with adult offenders, based largely upon an extension of the principles of judicial discretion. Legal devices for mediating and for avoiding rigid and severe punishment for crime had developed even under the

(17) HENLEY, op. cit. p. 35.

common law of England. The suspension of the sentence or the postponement by the court frequently was used, as was release of the offender on good behavior. Under the common law system, the court could suspend the sentence temporarily for various reasons. Convicts were permitted to remain at large on good behavior from an early date. Sir. Walter Raleigh was executed under a sentence pronounced against him fifteen years before, after having been put, in the interim, at the head of a fleet and an army. Early America knew this instrument as "binding to good behavior." Many of the States in America have upheld the power of the court to suspend a sentence indefinitely. . . .

The legal system as such began in Massachusetts with the passing of the Massachusetts law of 1878, providing for a paid probation officer for the criminal courts of Boston. Massachusetts courts, however, long had practiced what was known as "bailing on probation." By this procedure the case was adjourned before sentence was imposed and the defendant was released on bail. Under this system the probation officer became the surety and was charged with the duty of bringing the probationer back to the court at the end of a specified period. The court could discharge the defendant at the time of

adjournment or otherwise dispose of his case. (18)

The Massachusetts system soon became state-wide. The appointment of probation officers was transferred to the court in 1891, and was made mandatory in all district, municipal and police courts. The Superior Court was given power to appoint probation officers in 1898.

It was twenty years before another State followed the example of Massachusetts. In 1889, Vermont enacted a state-wide law requiring the appointment of a probation officer by a county judge of each county.(19). . . .

Since then forty-six States, as well as Alaska, Puerto-Rico, Hawaii and the District of Columbia, have made provisions for probation in their juvenile court laws. Adult or general probation laws are provided for in thirty-two States and the District of Columbia. Probation in juvenile cases only is provided in sixteen states, Alaska, Puerto-Rico, Hawaii and the Phillipine Islands.

Probation, as a rule comes into being only after the juvenile court is well-established. Hence it is found more frequently in those places which have a good

(18) CHARLES L. CHUTE, "Progress of Probation and Social Treatment in the Courts," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXIV, No. 1 (May--June,) 60-73.

(19) JUSTIN MILLER, "History of Adult Probation," Christopher Ruess (Editor) in *Adult Probation*, p. 2.

court arrangement. But in places where the City officials have given no special thought to the problems of juvenile delinquency, or where there are no trained social workers or psychiatrists, the child, very frequently, is either dismissed or sent to an institution. In some cases where a child is placed on probation under these conditions, it usually means nothing at all. This is clearly brought out in the following table showing a comparison between the Chicago Juvenile Court and the Rural Area Courts of Illinois. The former has a very well organized court, the latter are not so well arranged. (20)

COMPARISON OF THE DISPOSITIONS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY CASES IN THE CHICAGO JUVENILE COURT AND 62 RURAL JUVENILE COURTS IN ILLINOIS.

	Chicago	Rural Courts In ILLINOIS
Number of cases	3,007	974
Dismissed, per cent	6.4	19.0
Probation, per cent	45.6	28.0
Committment to insitutions, per cent	25.5	46.9
Other treatment, per cent	22.5	6.0

The offense of the juvenile is frequently one that is not sufficiently serious to warrant imprisonment or detention but still of such a nature that an outright

(20) BELDEN, op. cit., p. 41

dismissal could be harmful. In these cases, probation has proven invaluable. It proves to the delinquent that there is a degree of seriousness to the offense committed, and it opens the way for a contact which is an understanding probation officer and the youth, who at that particular moment, probably needs advice and guidance, more than at any other time, in his life.

Modern juvenile probation, has helped the youthful offender as much as any other single factor. With a corps of well trained probation officers who are able to understand and forgive the mistakes of youth, the juvenile delinquency problem is sure to lessen in intensity and the splendid results are bound to be observed.

In most instances, this valuable work of the juvenile court and probation has progressed slowly in rural areas and in some of the smaller cities. It is apparent to the most casual observer that there is a need for State assistance in carrying out a comprehensive program for the youthful offender. If the State is to be of any help, it must aid the community financially, physically, and in various ways. According to PUBLIC CHILD-CARING WORK, by H. Ida Curry, State assistance should include at least the following provisions:

- " 1. Education of the public as to the meaning of juvenile delinquency, the conditions contributing to it, and the resources that should be developed for its prevention and treatment.

2. Assistance in local organization through consultation service with reference to the kind of facilities needed, development of standards for the selection of personnel, provision of training facilities for prospective employees and persons already in the service, and advice in selection of workers.

3. Consultation service to local workers in problems encountered in work with individual cases or the correction of destructive community conditions.

4. Provision of specialized services and demonstrations such as psychiatric and psychological service, expert leadership in developing recreational resources, and demonstrations of the value of social work in the schools and of probation work.

5. Assistance in developing adequate record keeping, and statistical service in assembling and interpreting the facts as to the extent and character of the delinquency problems of the State.

6. Provision of financial aid that will enable the poorer as well as the richer counties to develop more adequate programs."

In places where the State and local governing bodies have worked out a cooperative plan, in this direction, we find a strong bulwark established against the wayward youth. The Federal Government can materially aid this splendid work, by making Federal financial grants, and seeing that they are properly allocated to needy and worthy areas. Federal and State finances properly handled, will have among their ultimate aims that of substituting constructive for destructive interests in the lives of children and of building up for them a wholesome social existence that will safeguard them against the sort of

dangerous activities which lead to the necessity for juvenile-court procedure.

In short, the youth of today, will be the better America of tomorrow.

CHAPTER II

DELINQUENCY AND THE BUFFALO CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU

In studying the history of crime prevention work in the field of youth, we find that Los Angeles and Seattle were among the first cities to establish (in 1909 and 1912, respectively) special juvenile departments to deal with boys or girls who had been placed under arrest by any police officer or against whom charges were brought by parents, schools, or citizens.

In developing our thesis, the following summary will be both enlightening and helpful in comprehending the complete picture of crime prevention work. This summary, taken from the office of Justin Miller, Chairman of the Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Crime (21), and prepared by Miss Helen Fuller, indicates the recent work of various crime prevention bureaus in this country:

Police Departments in most cities engage in some type of preventive work, ranging from one officer assigned to juvenile duty to a well-organized Crime Prevention Bureau. One of the most popular types of programs has been an athletic team or a boy's club, under sponsorship of the police officers. Crime Prevention Bureaus have a wide range of activities including inspection and supervision of commercial amusements, case work with individual delinquents, building constructive forces into the life of the community, sponsoring Coordinating Councils and recreation projects, and developing friendly attitudes on the part of youth and the community toward the law and law enforcement agencies.

There are two distinct ideas which have been attached to the meaning of the term crime prevention

(21) KATHERINE F. LENROOT and EMMA O. LUNDBERG, "Juvenile Courts at Work," U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 141, pp. 43--51.

in regard to police work; first, preventing criminals from operating, and second, removing temptations and situations provocative of crime and guarding the young against criminal influences and tendencies. This first phase of crime prevention has received greater attention than the second, and action arising from this concept has generally proved manageable through the existing administrative set-up. The second phase in many cases, requires the more specialized handling of a division or bureau especially designed for such work. Since research has shown that a large percentage of criminals begin their careers as juvenile delinquents, most of these special divisions center their work on the prevention of such delinquency. Departments which are engaging in this work have found it necessary not only to secure properly trained personnel for the prevention division, but also to re-educate the whole force in their attitudes towards young offenders and toward the prime importance of crime prevention.

We have obtained reports from the following cities that are doing special work in the field of crime prevention. (22)

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA--CRIME PREVENTION DIVISION.-- This division was organized under the leadership of August Vollmer in 1925. One of the features of its work is the close cooperation between it and other community organizations. The policewoman in charge is a member of the Berkeley Coordinating Council, and through the Council often obtains follow-up contacts of school counselling, guidance clinic and health center attention for the child who has been under police surveillance. Many juvenile cases are disposed of in an unofficial manner, adopting something like a clinic procedure. The results of psychiatric and other investigations are made available to probation officers and the Detention Home.

(22) See also HENRIETTA ADDITION, "The Crime Prevention Bureau of New York City Police Department," in Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (Editors), CRIME PREVENTION, pp. 215--236, and ELIZABETH LOSSING "The Crime Prevention Work of the Berkeley Police Department," in Glueck and Glueck, *ibid.*, pp. 237--263.

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SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA--CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU AND BIG BROTHER BUREAU. -- Police officers of the San Francisco Police Department were detailed to a special study of forty problem boys of the juvenile court, and out of their activities grew a Big Brother Movement. Chief Quinn is visualizing his policement as future boy workers with personal contacts forming the basis of a crime prevention program.

DENVER, COLORADO.--CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU (Founded 1931). -- An outstanding feature of the work of this division is the emphasis which it places on the importance of cooperation with existing crime prevention agencies. Through its part in the Denver Coordinating Council, the Police Department has established close working relations with the Probation Department, private social agencies, the School Attendance Department, and the Bureau of Public Welfare, helping them to remove influences which hinder their work. All juvenile cases handled by the Police Department are cleared through the Crime Prevention Bureau which works in connection with the juvenile court on these cases. A large program for community recreation has been begun under police auspices through FERA and WPA.

WASHINGTON, D.C. --WOMEN'S BUREAU AND METROPOLITAN POLICE BOYS' CLUBS. -- Many athletic teams and recreation programs, as well as a band, are being sponsored through the Metropolitan Police Boys' Clubs. The Women's Bureau deals with conditions conducive to crime and delinquency, and by its patrol and inspection service seeks to improve these conditions in parks, places of commercial amusement and near schools.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS--CRIME PREVENTION DIVISION.-- All juvenile cases coming through the Police Department are referred to the Crime Prevention Division, and the personnel of the division includes juvenile officers, police-women, motion picture censors, etc., who investigate all cases of juvenile delinquency and pay particular attention to places of public amusement where children may be found. The Division tries to develop cooperation with the schools, recreation centers, and other social agencies in the community which may facilitate their work.

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WICHITA, KANSAS--CRIME PREVENTION DIVISION. -- In addition to investigation and probation work on juvenile delinquency cases, the division sponsors a Boy Scout Troop and a Junior Traffic Control, and attempts to better community conditions which may cause crime by encouraging individuals and organizations to act upon them through such mediums as visiting teachers and child guidance clinics.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN--Women's Division(Organized 1921). -- All cases involving women and children are referred to this division of the Police Department. Cases are treated from two angles, that of the individual's needs and community conditions. Inspection of amusement places and similar activities consumes the time of about half the staff. The division tries to provide examination and treatment for many individuals who cannot be taken into court. The regular police officers approach the problem of prevention through work in boy's clubs and the sixteen scout troops sponsored by the department.

SAGINAW, MICHIGAN--JUVENILE DIVISION,POLICE DEPARTMENT. -- This division identifies itself as a "citizenship clinic" for individual treatment of juvenile delinquents. Complete examinations are made and records kept on every case as regards the child and his environment, and progress reports of his development are submitted from time to time. Social adjustment work is done with those boys who have not yet committed any act of an officially delinquent nature, and close follow-up relations are maintained in all cases.

NEW YORK CITY--JUVENILE AID BUREAU(Founded in 1930).-- This division of the New York City Police Department assumes the same task of investigation of particular localities as has been described in relation to other large cities. In addition, this Bureau has assumed an important function in attempting to seek out the problem child prior to his becoming officially delinquent and offer constructive outlets to him as a means of crime prevention. This work is done with the cooperation of the schools and courts in providing the "trouble list" for the attention of the police officers. A third phase of the work in New York is concerned with creating recreational facilities and leisure-time activities

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through stimulating other agencies to act, or conducting programs by their own officers. Several hundred WPA workers supervise dozens of street and play center programs throughout the city, and many new community centers are to be provided through the winter. Activities of the Police Athletic League are also being expanded. Organization of 150 out of a contemplated 300 neighborhood Councils has been completed for the purpose of examining and improving community conditions detrimental to the proper development of youth.

CINCINNATI, OHIO--JUVENILE REGISTRY AND FRIENDLY SERVICE BUREAU, DEPARTMENT OF SAFETY. -- Through the Juvenile Registry of this department, the delinquent child whose case does not warrant an arrest is handled by a social case work procedure. The Department of Safety is also cooperating in the establishing of Community Councils to consider the problems surrounding this delinquency. The Friendly Service Bureau deals with the problem of Negro crime in Cincinnati. The job of the Negroes employed in this division is to ferret out potential crime breeders in the Negro districts before crime develops, and to coordinate all the social and religious forces in this district with a view toward better citizenship. Another form of prevention undertaken by the department is the enlisting of public cooperation for care in the protection of property in order to prevent criminals from operating.

COLUMBUS, OHIO--FRIENDLY SERVICE BUREAU(Founded in 1925). The purpose of the Bureau is to assist the migrant and maladjusted to become adjusted to city life. During the lifetime of this division the number of arrests among the Negroes in Columbus has decreased 60 per cent. The basis upon which the work proceeds is that of acquaintance and friendship between the families and groups in the problem areas and the social workers and the volunteers connected with the Bureau. Community surveys determine neighborhood conditions, and organizations, social agencies, and industries are called upon to assist in remedying them. The Big Brothers Council with fifty members copes with the problem of delinquency among these unadjusted families.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA--CRIME PREVENTION DIVISION AND CIVILIAN CRIME PREVENTION UNIT.-- The work

of this division is with the "older boy" group between the ages of 16 and 21, and its aim is to get the boy off the street, on the job and teach a useful trade and wholesome play. Officers work with parents, employers, and school and recreation authorities to effect these ends. Several thousand boys have been enrolled in supervised clubs, many of them organized by the police, and arrests among this group have steadily decreased since the beginning of the program. Lately, various agencies have provided a large group of workers known as the Civilian Crime Prevention Unit which has materially broadened the scope of the work. The division has a section devoted to social case work with the individuals and another devoted to contacts with the public in relation to community development. "

One of the most important factors in crime prevention work is the temperament and character of the police officer detailed to this division. It is evident from the foregoing summary that the juvenile police officer is occupied with more than the immediate needs of the delinquent and the fact of safeguarding society. Many of the officers in this work that are doing a satisfactory job, are concerned not only with the child brought before them, but they are equally concerned with his family background, his I.Q., his environment, and any maladjustments that might be present in his life.

Invariably the first individual to handle the delinquent, after having committed an offense, is the police officer. Truly his is an important and strategic position. Usually he has the offender while he is still in the state of fright from his experience. The right psychological

approach at that moment, might make the youngster a good citizen for the remainder of his days. It is equally true that the wrong approach, might imbed in the individual a hatred for police and the law, that will continue him along his road of mistakes. To attain success in this work, it is imperative that the men assigned to it, possess a deep insight into the problems and attitudes of youth, and should, if possible, have a background in the field of psychology and sociology. Any given crime prevention bureau will be just so good as the quality of the men attached to it.

Thus far, we have viewed the general problem of juvenile delinquency, its causes and extent. Then we have gone on and touched very briefly the crime prevention bureau, and its history and makeup in a few cities throughout the United States. Now we are going to consider the youthful delinquent, as he is treated under the eye of the law, in the Crime Prevention Bureau of the City of Buffalo. In taking up this particular phase of the dissertation, it might be well, at the outset, to give a thumbnail sketch of the industrial city of Buffalo.

Located at the southeastern tip of Lake Erie, the shallowest of the Great Lakes, where the waters from the Lakes Huron, Superior, Michigan and Erie pour into the

Niagara River, from whence they move approximately 25 miles to Niagara Falls through the Niagara Gorge and empty into Lake Ontario, which in turn flows into the Saint Lawrence River, connecting with the Atlantic Ocean, Buffalo is an industrial city of approximately 601,000 people, to which has been added an estimated 150,000 defense-workers from the four corners of the earth engaged in the airplane and industrial plants in the Buffalo area. The following facts give a clear picture of Buffalo:

It is the fourteenth largest city in the United States in population, and the eighth in industry, with an area of approximately 42 square miles and is the largest City in New York State, outside of New York City.

It is the second largest inland port in the United States.

The sixth largest of all Ports in the United States.

One of the ten largest Ports in the world.

It has 700 miles of paved streets,

37.4 miles of waterfront.

A breakwater 33,600 feet long protects the outer harbor and approximately 10,000 boats arrive and depart from Buffalo in an average year.

It contains approximately 96,000 dwellings,
106,000 buildings.

40 per cent of homes are owned by residents.

Western terminus of New York State Barge Canal System 540 miles long connecting the freshwater Great Lakes with the sea.

The assessed valuation is in excess of One Billion Dollars.

Within a radius of 500 miles live 60 per cent of the people of the United States.

In the same radius live 80 per cent of the people of Canada.

The 1940 United States Census lists 340 lines of manufacture, of which Buffalo has 60 per cent, a larger diversity than any other City.

The Mills at Buffalo have a capacity of approximately Three Million Tons of Pig Iron, annually,

Nine docks have a capacity of approximately Seven Million Tons of Ore, per annum.

Thirty blast-furnaces are located at Buffalo.

It is the greatest milling center for flour, feed, and grain-products, in the world.

Thirty grain elevators are at Buffalo, with a handling capacity of Fifty-seven Million bushels per annum.

It is the second largest railroad center in the entire world, no less than fifteen trunk-lines and three

switching-lines operating within the City.

In the surroundings, as just outlined, the Juvenile Crime Prevention Bureau of the Buffalo Police Department, came into being in February, 1938. At that time, an ever-increasing number of youths were flowing into the Children's Court of Erie County, and establishing for themselves, at least a written record, that might, in the due course of time rear its head against them. It was apparent, also, that the natural breach that frequently exists between police officers and youth, was getting wider and wider. As an antidote to both of these conditions, the Crime Prevention Bureau was originated, and has grown in stature and prestige each year down to the present time. Perhaps the main purpose of the Bureau is to consider the offenders brought to its attention, with the purpose in mind of admonishing them or returning them to their parents: without having the stigma of going into Children's Court.

At the present time, the personnel of the Bureau consists of a Lieutenant of Police, a Civilian Director, a Detective, a Desk Lieutenant, six Patrolman, and a Policewoman. The Lieutenant is the Director and is in full charge of the Bureau. The Bureau has a civilian head, in order to take away the complete aspect of a Department of the Police, and to afford a liason agent

between the Police and the citizen, or between the Police and the youths that come to the attention of this Department. At the present time the civilian head, the author of this thesis, is the Reverend Joseph E. Schieder, acting in a non-sectarian capacity. All of the policemen attached to the Bureau are married men with children of their own.

The police officers work continually in civilian dress. The police cars which they drive bear no insignia whatsoever of the Police Department. They work quietly and without fanfare, never engaging in any publicity, lest perchance the offenders' reputation should be jeopardized in his neighborhood or among his companions,

All youths that get into trouble with the law, up to the age of 16 years are handled by this Bureau. Acting under express orders from the Commissioner of Police, the Captains of the seventeen Precincts, and the heads of the various Police Bureaus are instructed to immediately refer to the Crime Prevention Bureau, any offender in a Precinct who is under sixteen years of age. When there is need for immediate attention, this referral on the part of the Police Captain is made by telephone, otherwise the complaint is detailed on a 4" X 6" card that is forwarded immediately to the Director of the

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Bureau. This card contains all the necessary information for the Officer of the Bureau to proceed with the case. In order to show the exact make-up of this card the following figure of it is submitted.

C.P.B. Card No. 2

Nº

Name.....**Age**.....

Address.....**Date of Birth**.....

Attends School No......

Reported For What:.....

.....
.....
.....

Action Taken:.....

.....
.....

Investigating Officer.....**Precinct No.**.....

Date.....

RETURN TO CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU

Captain

Upon receipt of the foregoing card, a policeman is detailed to the case. His first step is to contact the complainant, and thereby gain a more comprehensive knowledge of the case in question. He then proceeds to visit the home of the offender, and there, in the presence of the parents states the case. If the accused denies the guilt of the accusation, a further investigation is carried on. On the other hand, if he admits to it (and he usually does) then the officer proceeds to give a touching lecture to the child and frequently to the parents as well. It is brought home, how easily he might have been sent to the Childrens' Court if it were not for the fact that the Crime Prevention Bureau does exist. He is reminded of the seriousness of his offense, and encouraged, in some cases, to seek new companions, but in all cases to become more loyal to his school and church, and to attend the church of his faith, whatever that might be.

In some cases, the offender becomes a repeater, and finds himself repeatedly before the bar of justice. When this happens, he is then petitioned, and sent to Childrens' Court, for a little more severe treatment.

Since many of the offenses have to do with burglary and property damage, restitution is necessary

This restitution is always insisted upon by the members of the Bureau. It has a two-fold effect; first it invariably satisfies the complainant, and secondly, acts as a strong deterrent to further crime on the part of the offender.

The officer in visiting the home of the child, takes into consideration the condition of the parents and the home, and the surroundings. If he deems it necessary, then the case is referred to the Childrens' Aid Society, or Catholic Charities, or the Council of Churches, or the Jewish Federation, or to some other organization that is capable of bettering conditions.

The officer in making the investigation, approaches it from the viewpoint of a parent rather than a police officer. He is instructed to keep before him at all times, the welfare, and the eternal salvation of the child. This careful approach on the part of the members of the Bureau has done much in attaining the success now enjoyed by this Department.

Cases of a more serious nature, are frequently referred to the Civilian Director. It is the duty of the Civilian Director to not only admonish the child, but to pay a visit to the parents, if this is possible. In some cases the offender gives his confidence more readily to the Civilian Director than he will to the

Police officers. Since it is coincidental that the Civilian Director is also a priest, he has been able to encourage many Catholics that are negligent in their religious duties to become more faithful. More than occasionally after the case is cleared the offender seeks his advice and help in the confessional.

After all the facts in the case are made known, they are then recorded on a white sheet $8\frac{1}{2}$ "X 12" in size. This sheet takes in every detail of the case and is filed very carefully. These sheets are given a consecutive number at the office, which number corresponds with the number on the original card of complaint. These records, both the card and the sheet, are kept absolutely secret. No one under any circumstances, ever has access to these records, excepting the members of the Bureau. The completeness of this record-sheet is indicated by the duplicate copy which is shown here.

POLICE DEPARTMENT, BUFFALO, N.Y.
 CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU

Case No. _____
 Date _____
 Opened _____
 Closed _____
 Re-opened _____

Precinct or Bureau _____ Date _____ Age _____

Name _____ Sex _____ Date of birth _____

Alias-Nickname _____ Address _____ Nationality _____

School _____ Grade _____ Attendance _____ Conduct _____

If not attending give reason. _____ Grade reached & date _____

Description (color) _____ Complexion _____ Hair (color) _____ Type _____

Ocular defects _____ Eyes (color) _____ Weight _____ Height _____

Apparent mental or physical disability _____

Religious affiliation _____ Attitude _____ Attendance _____

Remarks _____

Parents or Guardians	Birth date	Where born	Citizen	Apparent mental or physical disability
Father				
Mother (Also maiden name)				

Complaint
 (Give time-date-location) _____

Other data _____

Complainant _____ Address _____ Phone _____

Time & date complainant interviewed—Before investigation _____ After _____

Circumstances of apprehension (Give time-date-exact location). _____

Officer making C.P.B. card No. 2 _____ Precinct _____

Action taken	Warned	Released to parents Petitioned & placed in detention	Not involved
	Referred to Children's Aid	Other agency	

Charge, if an adult, would be _____ Offense No. _____

Judge _____ Court _____ Disposition _____

Respectfully Submitted

It is evident from this procedure, that cases which might be given little or no attention by Precinct Officials are carefully handled and detailed in the Crime Prevention Bureau. As a result, the child has a much higher regard for the law and invariably is impressed by the remarkable way in which he was handled by the police officer or the Civilian Director.

The work of the Bureau is not confined solely to the individual cases brought to its attention. There is another important phase of the work that is carried on the year round by the officers, when they are not occupied with an individual offender. This work consists of visiting public places, wherein juvenile delinquency might be encouraged. Theatres, skating rinks, pool parlors, bowling alleys, and other places of amusement are visited with the express purpose of seeing that juveniles are not employed contrary to the Labor Laws, or are not present under adverse conditions or after hours as prohibited in the license governing the particular place. A close watch is kept on all taverns, lest perchance drinks are served to minors, or the so-called "Victory Girls" are plying their trade.

There exists a close working agreement between the Bureau and the various Social Agencies, cases are interchanged, and much good comes from this arrangement.

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Principals of schools and Pastors of the various churches are familiar with the work of this Department. They do not hesitate to call the Bureau at any time, for they are confident that the case will be well handled, and that no unwarranted publicity is apt to follow. This confidence on the part of key people has aided immeasurably the success of the Crime Prevention Bureau.

The directors of the Bureau, at all times, graciously consent to speak at any public function. Their appearances before luncheon-groups, womens' clubs, parish societies, school organizations, etc. have made the people of the City of Buffalo conscious of the existence of this Bureau, and have encouraged them to make use of it at all times.

Even though the Bureau is but little over seven years old it handles many hundreds of cases a year. The offenses brought to its attention are of great variety and broad extent. The scope of the Bureau's activities is indicated by the following table, which gives a survey from 1941 to 1944, inclusive, of the number of offenders handled and the variety of offenses committed. It might be stated at this time, that all sex-cases up to the age of 18 are handled by the Crime Prevention Bureau. These cases are included in the following table.

BUFFALO POLICE DEPARTMENT
 CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU
 TABLE SHOWING TOTAL NUMBER OF OFFENDERS HANDLED BY THE
 CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU TOGETHER WITH THE OFFENSES COM-
 MITTED DURING THE YEARS 1941--1944, INCLUSIVE.

<u>O F F E N S E</u>	<u>Y E A R</u>			
	<u>1941</u>	<u>1942</u>	<u>1943</u>	<u>1944</u>
Arson	-	8	2	-
Assault- Deadly Weapon	7	3	6	-
Assault- Battery	188	114	103	58
Burglary-Residence	65	39	79	54
Burglary-Non-Residence	74	85	161	99
Carnal Abuse of Child	-	1	1	-
Carrying Weapons-Revolver	8	13	5	4
Carrying Weapons-Other	1	7	5	15
Discharging Firearms in City	4	8	9	2
Disorderly Conduct	889	798	1077	806
Intoxication	4	2	4	2
Escape	12	17	17	17
Extortion	-	-	10	-
Forgery	1	1	7	-
Gambling	11	7	17	-
Grand Larceny	11	19	40	29
Grand Larceny-Auto	63	61	78	63
Grand Larceny-Attempt	-	-	3	2
Impairing Morals of Child	45	72	41	12
Indecent Exposure	11	-	4	2
Insane	-	-	-	2
Lost or Abandoned Child	40	61	41	21
Material Witness	6	1	-	9
Miscellaneous	39	57	65	73
Parole Violation	1	2	2	-
Petit Larceny	721	580	641	410
Probation Violation	3	5	14	14
Purse Snatching	12	5	-	-
Possession of Air Rifles	116	126	62	28
Rape	1	2	1	2
Receiving Stolen Property	34	48	32	34
Robbery	7	9	8	1
Runaways	133	363	354	138
Sodomy	4	2	1	7
Stealing from the Mails	15	10	6	4
Truancy	52	61	52	85
Turning in False Alarms	33	18	24	17
Ungovernable Child	46	72	72	72
Unlawful Entry	112	68	50	21
Unlawful Intrusion	203	252	372	214
Vagrancy	9	4	18	17
Violation of Traffic-Bicycle	19	210	19	3
Violation of Traffic-Automobile	9	9	21	14
Total	<u>3010</u>	<u>3220</u>	<u>3524</u>	<u>2352</u>

Sometime ago the Crime Prevention Bureau undertook an experimental project in a particularly "tough" section of the city. In this locality, known as the "Riverside" section, a number of teen-aged boys ganged together and started a wave of property destruction. One night they would strike in the North section of this area, the next night in the South section, and so on during the week. This change in the scene of their activities made it difficult for the Police to make an arrest. Furthermore when arrests were made, the intervention of the Police seemed to tend to aggravate the condition all the more. In desperation, the Crime Prevention Bureau made a survey of the section and found that recreation facilities were practically nil. In the survey an abandoned office-building of one of the industrial plants was observed. In due course of time the plant was approached and after hearing the plea of the Police officers gladly donated the building as a Youth Center. Various types of athletic and amusement equipment were solicited and finally the place took on the appearance of a fairly decent club. By means of the "grapevine", the identity of the leader of the so-called "gang" was discovered. He was contacted and brought to the Crime Prevention Bureau. Here, to his utter amazement he was offered the position of President of the newly established

Club. He refused absolutely to accept unless he first had an opportunity to discuss the appointment with his pals. This opportunity was afforded. Three days later he returned to the Bureau to say that he would accept the position, and brought along with him six other individuals who later turned out to be charter-members. The organization was run by the boys themselves, with a business meeting being held every Tuesday night. A Police officer from the Bureau was always present at these meetings, but never took an active part excepting when his advice was asked for. The club grew in membership and juvenile delinquency in the neighborhood decreased. To say that it was a successful venture on the part of the Crime Prevention Bureau is putting it mildly.

A question frequently asked in relation to juvenile delinquency is this: "What factors influence the lives of young people so as to make some delinquents and not to affect others?" An interesting answer to this question is afforded by the records of the Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau. The following table showing by Precincts the total population of each Precinct, the cases handled by the Bureau in that Precinct, and the rate of cases per 1,000 population indicates as we will show, a variety of causes, in a single city, of delinquency.

BUFFALO CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU

RATES PER 1,000 TOTAL POPULATION BY PRECINCT OF RESIDENCE 1944

CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU CASES

PRECINCT NUMBER	TOTAL POPULATION	CASES HANDLED DURING 1944	RATE PER 1,000 TOTAL POPULATION
1.....	7,929	57	7.2
2.....	18,901	130	6.9
3.....	21,924	101	4.6
4.....	27,543	206	7.5
5.....	47,407	190	4.0
6.....	51,270	174	3.4
7.....	12,546	146	11.9
8.....	42,681	258	6.0
9.....	33,090	99	3.0
10.....	34,180	137	4.0
11.....	39,842	106	2.7
12.....	55,967	132	2.4
13.....	37,828	143	3.8
14.....	29,088	72	2.5
15.....	32,259	94	2.9
17.....	54,627	115	2.1
17.....	28,819	75	2.6
Buffalo Area.....	26,000	117*	---
Totals.....	601,901	2,352	3.9

(*) Partial.

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The lowest number of cases of juvenile offenses per 1,000 population during the year 1944 was in the 16th Precinct. This is a community somewhat by itself in the City. It is made up of rather high-type middle-class people. Many school-teachers, policemen, firemen, etc. own their own homes in this neighborhood. It has its own business section, and a modern well-run public high school. Many churches are located here. Population is mixed mostly of German and Irish descent.

In second place we find the 12th Precinct. Located somewhat on the East side of the City, it is heavily populated. It is one of the older sections of the City, consisting of a strong German population, descendants, in many cases, of home-loving ancestors. A beautiful park with facilities for wading, skating, picnics, modified games, is located right in the midst of the Precinct. A Museum of Natural Sciences visited by people from all parts of the City is also located here.

The 14th Precinct is in third place. This is a neighborhood of fairly wealthy families. A good portion of it is made up of new homes. What is considered the highest-class Public High School in the City is located here. Its population is comparatively light, in fact it is only about half the size of the 12th Precinct. Many of the boys and girls from this neighborhood attend private

schools, and a fairly large number are out of town in boarding-schools.

The fourth place goes to the 17th Precinct. Like 14, it is a community of quite wealthy people. Central Park, the area of the wealthiest people in the City, is located in this Precinct. We find here the largest public Park in the City of Buffalo. Delaware Park with over 500 acres has an 18-hole golf course, tennis courts, lake for canoeing, baseball diamonds, and a Zoo. Several private schools are in the neighborhood.

Close behind the 17th Precinct is number 11, and surprising to say, an entirely different neighborhood. An old section of the City, it is made up of German and Polish people. Located there are the Pullman Car Shops, and many of the railroad lines passing through into the City. It is somewhat an extremity of the City, giving the youth country territory for their recreation. The record of 2.7 is amazingly low when one considers the surroundings of the Precinct.

In sixth place we have the 15th Precinct, located in the South Park area, its population is for the most part Irish. Here again, we find a beautiful Park with golf, baseball and swimming facilities. Churches abound in the neighborhood. There is little or no business section in the area. The people have positions

that afford better than average income.

The 9th Precinct is in seventh place with an average of 3.0 per 1,000. One might find every nationality of the City of Buffalo located in this one Precinct. Deep in the heart of the railroad section, its homes are sub-normal and the inhabitants are in the lower-bracket income group. There are no Parks, but the school system is quite modern and up to date. For years, one of the most thriving Boys' Clubs in the City has operated in this neighborhood.

In eighth place, we find the 6th Precinct. Formerly a territory embracing very substantial homes and families, it has deteriorated in recent years. In one small section of it, a fair number of colored people are moving. A large business section is found right in the midst of it. One corner of it is composed of the Delaware Avenue District, which is a wealthy neighborhood. Its schools are of the older type, but little or no industry is to be found in the entire district.

The 13th Precinct is in ninth place. Perhaps the most industries of any Precinct in the City are to be found here. Located on the waterfront, it is one of the thriving parts of several railroad lines. Its population is mixed, but predominantly Polish. A very modern high-school and splendid Park are to be found here.

It is far removed from downtown Buffalo.

Tied for the tenth place is Precinct number 5 and Precinct number 10. These two Precincts are side by side, but differ in many respects. The Tenth Precinct is made up almost solidly of Italian people. Its housing conditions which were formerly very sub-standard, are now remedied to a great extent by the addition of a Municipal Housing Project known as Lakeview Houses. It is one of the largest Projects in the City of Buffalo, housing 668 families in 70 buildings, covering an area of approximately 20.2 acres. The schools in the neighborhood are quite modern and more than adequate for the number of students. Little industry is to be found here and the Front Park bordering on Lake Erie provides a glorious means of recreation. Several Boys' Clubs and Youth Units are in the Precinct. One of the largest Catholic Parishes in the Diocese of Buffalo is located in its midst.

The 5th Precinct is about fifty per cent Italian population and the rest a mixed group. Located along the River front it is made up partially of very old residential sections and also of an old and somewhat changed wealthy section. No parks or adequate recreational facilities are to be found here. A very fine caliber business section is right in its midst. Schools and churches

are average.

The 3rd Precinct is in eleventh place. This is one of the smallest in point of population, but is located practically in downtown Buffalo. The homes here are almost ancient in makeup and poor in quality. The evils of a downtown section in a metropolitan City the size of Buffalo are to be found within the confines of this Precinct. Time and time again, houses of prostitution and places of gambling have been raided here. Its schools are old and its parishes of different faiths have disintegrated. A large Public Market is in the Precinct, and absolutely no Parks or recreational facilities are available. Small places of Industry and business houses are in the area. Traffic is heavy and congested most of the time.

In next position, we find the 8th Precinct. Quite large in population, its homes are of a fair quality. Population is almost solidly Polish. Once known as the "Bloody Eighth" it was for a long period of time considered the toughest Precinct in the City of Buffalo. This has changed to some extent. Education is popular with the people of this section and a very new modern High School is near its confines. The second largest business section in the entire City is located here. The New York Central Terminal, the largest railway station in the City is in the

8th Precinct. The stockyards, slaughterhouses and minor industries go to complete the picture. The presence of so many miles of railroad in the neighborhood has encouraged the youth from time to time to robbery, especially in the days of depression when many of the families were in need.

In thirteenth place, we find the 2nd Precinct. Here is the oldest and perhaps the most dilapidated section of the City. Industry and railroads are numerous. High Schools are far removed from the section. The population is mixed but predominantly foreign. Parks, recreational centers and wholesome places for the youth are unknown to this section. The Lackawanna and the Lehigh Valley Railroad Terminals, together with the Memorial Auditorium, the largest Convention Hall outside of New York City in New York State, are to be found here.

The 1st Precinct is in fourteenth place with a 7.2 rate per 1,000 population. This is the downtown Precinct of the City of Buffalo. Located here are very few homes in a very small residential section. While its rate of arrests is high, still this does not reflect upon the people of the Precinct, since 95% of these arrests are made of individuals from other Precincts who are lured into the downtown area by all this neighborhood has to offer. Within its borders are all types of stores

and shops. Various shows including a vulgar house of burlesque are here. Many of the City and Federal buildings are to be found here. Parts of the tenderloin section of the City are in this neighborhood. It is the typical downtown area of a large City.

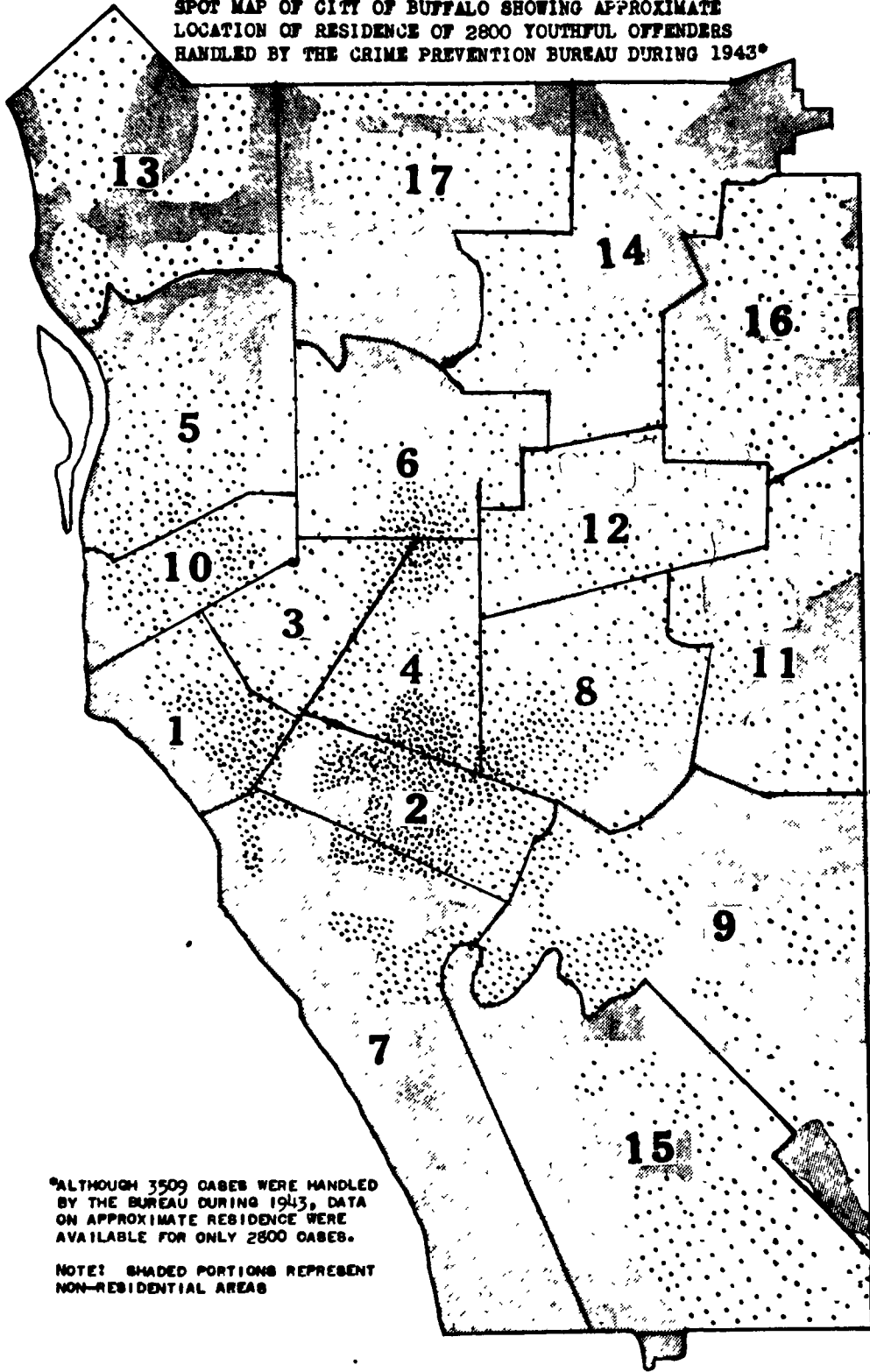
The fifteenth position goes to the 4th Precinct. Many nationalities are to be found here, but it is by far and large a colored section. The Willert Park Housing Project, consisting of 473 family dwelling units is in this Precinct, being the largest Housing Project occupied exclusively by Negroes in this part of the country. Many of the homes are crowded with far too many occupants. Prostitution of the lowest rank is found in the neighborhood. The inhibition of the Negro for carrying and using a razor makes the locality quite a place of terror. Schools are fair. High Schools are somewhat far removed. Religion is mostly the bizarre Negro type of worship, one of the lowest types of business section, made up of the cheapest stores in the City is to be found here. Several Negro Youth Centers are located in the area, but they have been able to do little because of inadequate facilities and backing. A new source of worry to the Police is a group of immigrant Southern Negroes, brought here by the lure of big paying jobs in the war factories. Among other things, they have added tremendously to the housing problem. Riots between the

Southern and Northern Negroes in this section, are not infrequent.

In last place, we find the 7th Precinct. The second smallest in population, it is, none the less, the highest in juvenile crime. This figure is not altogether indicative of the caliber of the neighborhood. It is due in great measure to a gang of youthful thugs who banded together and assume the popular title "Dead End Kids." They defied the laws and Police interference. They stalked the neighborhood with but one thought in mind, and that was to offend Society. Arrested repeatedly, they seemed to be able, in some manner or other, to be acquitted most of the time. This condition has boosted the rate of crime per 1,000 in this area. The neighborhood is an older section and houses the Commodore Perry Housing Project consisting of 773 dwelling units. Some Boys' Clubs and a fair amount of churches are to be found here. Parks are not too far removed from the Precinct. Population is mixed for the most part. It is close by the downtown section.

The above is a comprehensive picture of the City of Buffalo and its youth in crime as shown from the records of the Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau. It is felt that this survey will be helpful to others in considering Juvenile Delinquency in relation to the community. The following map more vividly portrays the above resume:

SPOT MAP OF CITY OF BUFFALO SHOWING APPROXIMATE
LOCATION OF RESIDENCE OF 2800 YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS
HANDLED BY THE CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU DURING 1943*



*ALTHOUGH 3509 CASES WERE HANDLED
BY THE BUREAU DURING 1943, DATA
ON APPROXIMATE RESIDENCE WERE
AVAILABLE FOR ONLY 2800 CASES.

NOTE: SHADED PORTIONS REPRESENT
NON-RESIDENTIAL AREAS

The Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau has found it advantageous to work in close harmony with all of the other organizations in the City, that deal with delinquent children. It has endeavored to adjust the problem child in his own neighborhood, through social work in the school, child-guidance clinics, probation and other forms of public and private social service. The Children's Aid Society, Council of Social Agencies, and Catholic Charities, the Travelers' Aid Society, and other Agencies have greatly enhanced the work of this Bureau. As a result the tendency is to leave only the most difficult cases open to commitment to correctional institutions, or for placement in foster homes.

When a child lacks supervision at home, and when he has no serious mental, personality defects, and when he has come to the attention of the Crime Prevention Bureau for perhaps the third or fourth time, it is deemed wise to commit him to a foster home. If this is to be done, the following procedure is followed. The child is petitioned into Children's Court and a date for his hearing is set. Before the hearing, he undergoes physical and psychological tests, the reports of which are submitted to the Judge. At the hearing, a member of the Crime Prevention Bureau is present, and makes recommendations that usually are followed. In Buffalo, it has been found

that for most problems of school age boarding-home care offers far greater possibilities than care in free homes, where the assistance the child can render in lieu of board and lodging is likely to be a major consideration. The Bureau from time to time, has come across children who cannot be provided for satisfactorily in their own home have been placed with relatives. The reason is because placement with relatives maintains family ties and a sense of "belonging", - the security needs of the child are better served than by placing with strangers. This should be used, however, only after careful study to determine whether or not the relatives will cooperate whole-heartedly in the treatment and will be able to provide a home adapted to the child's needs.

From the many cases handled, the Officers of the Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau, feel that the following considerations should be observed in the placement of children in foster homes.

1. As a rule, such service should be rendered by a public or private child-placing agency working in close cooperation with the juvenile court.
2. The decision to place a child in a foster home should be made only after thorough study of the child, including social investigation and physical and mental examination.

3. The foster home should be selected with a view to the special needs of the child and the ability of the foster parents to give him the time, unselfish effort, and attention, and discipline that he needs for proper adjustment and development.

4. Supervision of children placed in foster homes should include frequent visits by properly qualified visitors who understand the child's problems and are able to interpret them to the foster parents and guide the latter in helping the children to overcome their difficulties, and who can help the children themselves to make the necessary adjustments.

The Crime Prevention Bureau resorts to institutional guidance as the extreme means of correction for the youth brought to its attention. The procedure leading up to the commitment, is the same as used for the placement of an offender in a foster home. The members of the Bureau realize that the purpose of present-day institutions, for youth in New York State is to adjust those boys and girls who, for one reason or another cannot obtain through any other Agency the needed opportunity for development during the formative period of their youth. It also realizes that the latest purpose of the institution is to deal with the child on the basis of careful, scientific, and understanding training and education to prepare him to return to the

community as soon as there is assurance that he can fit into community life again.

While the primary purpose of the Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau, is to handle cases in such a way as to avoid being committed to an institution, still, nevertheless, it has, on occasion, viewed the institution as a place of first choice for treatment of certain types of children, particularly those with inborn defects in will power and responsibility, and not as a place of last resort for children who have failed to respond to other types of treatment. It realizes that no institution, however good or understanding, can ever be made an adequate substitute for a child's own family in the general social order. However, it advocates placement in an institution when study of definite, positive psychological leads indicates that institutional treatment can do more for a particular youth than can be done by his own family or by any supervision on the part of the Crime Prevention Bureau.

The majority of cases referred by the Crime Prevention Bureau to the Childrens' Court are boys, but the proportion of girls is increasing. Girls now account for 17 per cent of the cases as compared with 13 per cent in pre-war years.

While some of the cases are only 7 years of age,

the typical child is 14 years old, has a normal I.Q., and has reached the eighth grade. In nine out of ten cases he is white, and in six out of ten cases he is living at home with both parents. The chances are three to one that the parents are native-born.

The majority of the boys are charged with larceny or burglary, either real or attempted, while the girls are ungovernable, runaways or truants.

A very attractive feature of the Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau is its system of detention. Youthful offenders are generally permitted to remain at home after complaint is made against them, they, if they are to be petitioned to court, a summons is issued for the parents to bring the children to the court at an appointed time. Sometimes it is necessary to detain children because of the seriousness of the offense, condition of the home, or the possibility that the child will try to escape from the jurisdiction of the court. Then detention is used.

While in some Cities, juveniles are detained in jail, this is absolutely forbidden in the City of Buffalo. In connection with the Crime Prevention Bureau, and the Juvenile Court, several privately owned and operated detention homes are maintained. These homes are located in very respectable, residential sections of the City. The interior and exterior of the homes are in every way, shape and manner similar to the house next door, or

across the street. A child taken into custody by the Crime Prevention Bureau, gets no further into Police Headquarters than the office of the Bureau, which is located on the corner of the ground floor. It has the definite appearance of a well-arranged business office. If the offender is to be detained, he is taken directly from here to one of the residential detention homes. At the home he is given a pair of pajamas and his clothes are locked up. This minimizes his chances of escape to the greatest degree. It further affords the opportunity of having a home without bars or bolted doors. Those in charge of the home, are usually a man and his wife, whose character is beyond reproach. The house is immaculately clean, the meals are wholesome and nourishing, and the beds are as well kept as in the average home. A well equipped play room is available for the use of the inmates at all times. The advantage of this arrangement is that it leaves no stigma or nightmare of jail with the juvenile delinquent, who in all probability has committed his first and last offense against society. These homes stand ready to receive young offenders, twenty-four hours out of every day. This arrangement, is made full use of by the Crime Prevention Bureau, and can be said to be one of the primary factors in the battle against delinquency, in the City of Buffalo.

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In concluding our resume of the matter of detention as handled by the Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau, Florence M. Warner's (23) comprehensive study of juvenile detention service in the United States, is found to be most interesting and helpful, she says in part:

"In determining whether a particular child should be released or detained many factors are to be considered. Runaways, older children, federal offenders, and delinquents whose offenses are serious are most likely to be held. Children apprehended at night are also held as a general rule, and material witnesses are detained in many places, frequently without adequate justification. The distance of the detention home from the place of apprehension sometimes is a factor in the decision. . . .

Detention is also affected by social factors. Children from families of known good standing, in which the parents have money enough to pay the bills for damage done, are not likely to be held. An investigation was conducted concerning four boys whom the investigator was told broke into a house in the process of construction, damaging it to the extent of more than two thousand dollars. In this city it is the rule that all children apprehended by the police are taken to the detention hoje, but in the case of these boys this was not done, nor were they even brought into the juvenile court. The police took them to their parents and private arrangements were made in payment of the damage. Children from poorer neighborhoods in this same city are detained when their offenses involve only a few dollars of property damage.

Court plicy in regard to dependency and neglect cases varies according to the resources of the community. Sometimes, as in the Boston Juvenile Court, the private or public children's agencies have the entire case-work responsibility for dependent and neglected

children, the court functioning simply in legal decision and disposition. Detention in such circumstances rests on agencies other than the court. When responsibility for investigation and supervision of dependency cases is in the hands of the court, the public detention home is extensively used, but this does not preclude the use of other institutions, public or private, for special cases. A policy agreement or a tacit understanding between the court and these other agencies frequently permits them to enter children in the detention home or to secure their release without recourse to court order. . . .

Detention is usually presumed to be the care of children pending disposition by the court. It is the method of caring for children which was inaugurated when children were taken out from under the old criminal law and given into the jurisdiction of the juvenile court with chancery proceedings. . . .

While detention is presumed to be a method of caring for children for the court, yet it appears that many children held in detention never have formal court hearings. In some communities the detention home has degenerated into a sort of 'parking station' for children, and almost any person can bring a child to the detention home and leave him until called for. A plan not involving formal court hearing is more probable for girls than for boys, and for white than for Negro children. It is evident that the probation officers have more facilities for treatment for certain groups than for others.

Boys predominate in all types of detention facilities, except in private orphanages or homes, where girls slightly outnumber them. The ratio of boys to girls in jails and police stations is four to one, and in public detention homes, seven to three.

Negro children appear to be detained more frequently than white children. Whether they actually commit more offenses than do white children in the same economic group and living in the same type of neighborhood is not known. All that can be said is that the Negro children are detained away from their homes two and a half times their proportion in the general population. Especially in the jails is the proportion of

Negro children high, for approximately one-half of the children detained in jails are Negro children. It was also found that there is a much larger proportionate use of northern detention facilities for Negro children than of southern."

One of the main reasons why the Officers of the Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau, wish to dispose of as many cases as possible, within the Bureau itself, is because they realize the deficiency of the juvenile penal system in the State of New York. For example, one of New York's more recent institutions for youthful offenders is an over-sized reformatory designated by the agreeable-sounding name of State Vocational Institution, which is located at West Coxsackie. Boys are committed to Coxsackie from all parts of the State. Commitments are made by children's courts and by every kind of court having criminal jurisdiction from Police Courts to the Supreme Court.

First offenders are mixed with repeaters in crime at Coxsackie. Appropriate grouping of boys for training according to their personal characteristics or even their record of criminal experience is impossible. Eighty-one boys were committed as wayward minors, technically not even first offenders, without conviction on a criminal charge of any kind. Of course some of the wayward minors were doubtless less worthy and dependable than some others

who entered the institution bearing the label of an infamous offense.

Great differences are found in the arrest records of the 587 boys gathered together in these vocational school surroundings. Nearly one hundred(94) had never been previously arrested, 171 had been arrested once before, 291 had been arrested from two to four times, and 41 had been arrested five times or over. More than two hundred had been previously committed to peno-correctional institutions both in New York and in other States. In addition to the new commitments during the year, 80 boys were returned to the institution for violation of parole. A common environment is provided for first offenders, repeaters and parole violators.

Important differences are to be noted in the mental make-up of the boys sentenced to Coxsackie. The boys as graded by intelligence tests, ranged from the very superior, superior, and average down to morons and imbeciles as shown in the following tabulation:

NUMBER OF NEW ADMISSIONS TESTED WITH INTELLIGENCE TESTS DURING PERIOD OF ONE YEAR(24)

	I.Q.	NO. CASES
Very Superior.....	<u>121-140</u>	<u>1</u>
Superior.....	111-120	16
Average.....	91-110	161
Dull Normal.....	81- 90	142
Borderline.....	71- 80	139
Moron.....	51- 70	124
Imbecile.....	21- 50	3

Of the feeble-minded boys improperly sentenced to Cocksackie, a few are transferred to Napanoch, a few returned to courts for modification of sentence, while the majority remain at the institution.

Aside from irregularities and disparities noted in sentencing practices, Cocksackie's problems have been swiftly aggravated by abnormal growth and over-crowding of population. Opened in March, 1935, with 287 inmates,

the number rose to 600 in two years' time. A year later the population had mounted to more than 700 accommodated in a plant designed for 504. The Superintendent wrote fearlessly of the situation in his third annual report:(25)

"Due to this overcrowded condition it was necessary on two occasions to buy additional beds which are further supplemented by army cots set up at night and taken down during the day. The over-crowded conditions introduce many problems, including those of discipline, health and sanitation, and the general inmate morale has suffered considerably in those sections of the institution where it has been necessary to house 70 inmates in a space provided for only 42. "

A judge sending a first offender to Coxsackie in the belief that a period of training would be a beneficial thing for him has no way of knowing that the boy may be admitted with a seasoned, hardened offender sentenced from another court. Scores of mental defectives are sent, as we have seen, by numerous judges to take up residence for vocational training with normal boys of average intelligence. More than 500 newcomers are received at Coxsackie every year, ill-assorted, of widely unequal capacities, and of varied prognosis as to likelihood of rehabilitation and of the time required for it.

(25) THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NEW YORK STATE VOCATIONAL INSTITUTION, NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION, JUNE 30, 1938, p. 2.

The institution is expected to undertake a service of individualized correctional treatment for a standing population of around 700. Here again individualization is the State's announced aim and mass treatment is the raw fact of daily consequence. The boys are treated individually to some extent by the institution's instructors, but the treatment of greatest significance is that imposed by the mass, the treatment that hundreds of boys give one another. In such a setting it is almost impossible for a boy to grow in virtue and good character; it is easy for him to suffer in a poisonous atmosphere. It is an inefficient and cruel system that concentrates young boys in all degrees of reclaimability, seven hundred of them, in a single institution for vocational training.

The Borstal system of England stands out in sharp contrast to our own. That system is admirably described by Healy and Alper in their "Criminal Youth and the Borstal System," published recently by the Commonwealth Fund of New York. There are four somewhat recently established open, un-walled Borstals, the largest receives 180 youths, another 120, and the other two care for smaller numbers down to 75. The boys are studied after conviction, at a central diagnostic center, as a preliminary to their allocation to the different Borstals, nine in all. The tougher youths are sent to one place, the

older recidivists to a second, the intermediate group to a third, the more dependable to a fourth, those of the more favorable prognosis to another and so on. Parole violators are not returned to the institution from which they were released. Transfers are made in the light of experience with the boy's response to treatment. Compared to that plan, we in New York State are working in the dark. We have about 300 more youths and young men in two massive institutions, Elmira and Coxsackie, than England and Wales provide for in nine decentralized training centers, each of which is adapted to the treatment needs of carefully selected groups.

Instead of establishing a new training camp or school where a comparatively small number of boys of like characteristics and capacity for reclamation could be sent, New York State has added costly new wings of cell blocks to relieve the doubling-up in already over-sized reformatories. Elmira has about one thousand three hundred too many youths for effectively serving its intended purposes. Coxsackie has about five hundred too many.

In drawing this chapter to a close, it is a conviction of the staff of the Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau, a staff that has handled the problems of thousands

of juveniles, that society if it wishes to lessen its toll on human life, to decrease its bill of from three to ten billion dollars annual cost of crime, to lower its insurance rates by decreasing the amount of robbery and embezzlement, to safeguard its children, it would do well to dig at the very roots of crime, that is, to discover and cure the criminal in the early stages of his development.

Undoubtedly what is needed most of all is a high sense of honor in all things, an unwillingness to tolerate discrepancies of conduct. This means a more careful investigation of our own morals, a demand of honest service from public officials, and as a result of this war, a new valuation of national and civic as well as personal ideals.

One of the most important steps in the prevention of delinquency is the alteration of public opinion in regard to the young offender, more sympathetic understanding of his problems, more appreciation of his natural needs and desires, and a definite effort on the part of Parents, Teachers, Youth Leaders, Employers, and Society in General to give sufficient opportunity for advancement of proper social habits and attitudes. Society could undoubtedly prevent delinquency in many cases by the

utilization and development of social institutions and practices already in existence and already used to a limited extent. Furthermore, the author and Officers of the Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau feel that any decent community should endeavor to provide measures, for its Youth, of the following order:

1. Parental education that will prepare mothers and fathers for the responsibilities of parenthood. For example, the course offered by the Catholic Action Center of the University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Canada.

2. Adequate family income to provide the physical necessities for proper development.

3. Periodical medical examinations for all children, and free treatment, where needed, for physical and mental diseases.

4. Adequate recreational facilities so that children during their leisure hours need not be subject to vicious influences.

5. A school curriculum sufficiently flexible to meet the needs of the individual child and clinics connected with the school for diagnosis and treatment of educational, behavior and personality problems.

6. Vocational guidance for all children and a system of follow-up that integrates school life with work experience.

7. The use of the school building, for an out of school social and athletic program for Youth.

8. More adequate court facilities providing quick action, first in the investigation of anti-social trends, second in the treatment of offenders. Smaller case loads for Probation Officers, giving them opportunity to keep in very close touch with children, and to maintain a more personal contact, where it is deemed necessary.

9. A better working relationship between the juvenile courts, law enforcement agencies, social organizations and churches.

10. Better housing conditions, such as the various projects recently erected in the City of Buffalo.

CHAPTER THREE

CASES OF THE BUFFALO CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU

The staff of the Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau in examining the human actors involved in the youth-crime **problem** find certain personal characteristics which set them apart from other offenders. There is no question that at this age youth is poised between childhood and manhood making one of the most difficult adjustments of life. Doctor William Healy, long a student of human behavior problems and a gifted practitioner in measures of rehabilitation, in discussing juvenile offenders observed that:

"This life-period presents unique problems. As a whole it is an age group fairly well differentiated from all others. The type of offenses begins clearly at late teen age to show more desperate trends. It is the period of development of new adjustments, contrasting with those of school age and of maturity. Emancipation from childhood ties comes now and the increase of independence is not accompanied by the feeling of responsibility which generally develops later. . . .

It is the age of physical changes with all their concomitant needs and urges that develop between the early years of adolescence and full manhood. . . .

Psychologically considered, it is often a time of confused ideas, desires and impulses. We may occasionally note a case in which the confused mental state suggests a mild psychosis. It is the period of vocational adjustments which unfortunately are frequently so difficult to make. These older juveniles often find themselves at sea in making their social contacts; they have not had the stabilized situations that have been experienced earlier or will normally be found later. "

Acknowledging the fact that youthful offenders present special problems, the Bureau recognizes the need to adopt special methods of dealing with them. Hence, its course of action, in cases of juveniles, since its foundation.

The following cases, taken from the files of the Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau (in all instances the names and addresses are fictitious) are submitted, to show more clearly to the reader the actual operation of the Crime Prevention Bureau.

CASE OF RICHARD TRAVERS.

Richard Travers the eight year old son of Irene Travers, whose husband is dead, was brought to the Crime Prevention Bureau in November, 1944. A large automobile repair shop on Main Street was damaged by fire, to the extent of fifty thousand dollars. Richard and his friend Albert Lyons, aged ten, were seen in the vicinity of the fire, shortly before the alarm was sounded. Richard was questioned in the presence of his mother, and told the following story.

He and Albert went into a would-be shack, in the rear of the garage, with the purpose of sneaking a smoke. While there, Albert lit a piece of paper with a match making a torch out of the paper, Richard proceeded to apply some excelsior to the torch. In a short while, the

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fire was much beyond what they had anticipated, they closed the door of the shack, and ran for home to await the arrival of the fire department. The result was a devastating blaze, with a loss of fifty thousand dollars to the building and its contents.

The very young age of the defendants was taken into consideration. They were warned and impressed with the seriousness of the matter. For the next two months, they were made to visit the Lieutenant in charge of the Bureau. The mothers of both boys were reprimanded severely.

CASE OF KENNETH TESMER.

Kenneth Tesmer is the twelve year old son of Mary and John Tesmer. He, together with seven other boys entered the home of Mr. X. In going through the belongings in the house, the boys came across a .22 revolver, Kenneth appropriated this as his own. Outside the house, as the boys gathered around them, he removed the barrel which contained several bullets, from the gun. In the excitement, the barrel was dropped and one of the bullets exploded, causing a severe leg injury to one of the other boys. Kenneth was taken into custody, warned, and his actions were watched very closely for some time. Three years have now gone by, and no further difficulties have been noted.

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CASE OF STANLEY GORSKI.

Stanley Gorski the fifteen year old son of Jacob and Eugenia Gorski, was apprehended in October of 1942. At that time he was a seventh grade student in Public School. His reputation in the school and in the community was quite fair. Accused of having entered the home of the complainant and of taking a ladies' dinner ring from the dresser, he readily admitted to the charges. Upon further questioning, he divulged the fact, that he had entered eleven different homes and stolen property worth approximately one hundred dollars. At all times he insisted that no one accompanied him to any of these places. He was petitioned to Children's Court, tried, and placed on probation. A recent checkup revealed that his conduct has been quite exemplary.

CASE OF LOIS PARKER AND PATRICIA DIPSON.

The following is the somewhat unique cases of two girls having stolen an automobile. Sworn testimony of all concerned is hereby submitted for a two-fold purpose. First, to accurately place the details of the case before the reader, and secondly, to show the thoroughness of the Crime Prevention Bureau in handling this type of case.

The following is the statement of Ernest Smith, aged 17, taken by Desk Lieutenant Raymond J. Smith, at

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the office of the Crime Prevention Bureau:

I am seventeen years of age, single, I live with my parents at 502 B Street. I am in temporary possession of a 1930 Ford roadster, license 2 B 8149, which is the property of Howard -----, a friend of mine who is in the United States Navy. Howard was home recently, in May, and he gave me permission to use this auto. I started to use it about a week ago. I operated under a Junior Operator's License. I am employed as a full time clerk at Jones' Drug Store which is located at 169 F Street. At about ten A.M., Monday, June 3rd I parked the above mentioned car on the West side of C Street, just south of F Street and went into the drug store, to work. When I went to lunch, at about eleven-thirty A.M., I went out to get into my car and found that it was not where I had placed it. I looked around and inquired in the neighborhood, trying to locate it but could not, so I called the Police and reported it stolen. Then I went back into the drug store. At about noon, a girl whom I believe is Patricia Dipson called me on the telephone and said that "We've got your car." I told her that she had better get it right back because I had reported it stolen to the Police. Then I left the store and when I returned, the baker was there. He told me he had seen my car in an

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accident at the corner of F and W Streets. I went there and could not locate the car. I returned to the store and sometime between twelve thirty and one P.M. a friend of mine came into the store and told me about the girls (Lois and Patricia) having been involved in an accident with my car. A little later, Officer Fisher from Number Fourteen Police Station came to the store and told me that he had located the girls and the car, that they had gone through a stop signal. He said he would keep the keys to the car. He went away and returned later and we carried on another conversation relative to the case. At about two P.M. the Captain and several Officers from the Seventeenth Precinct came to the drug store and asked me to go with them to their station house. On the way we went to Number Fourteen Station and picked up Patricia and Lois and we all went to Number Seventeen. Then Officer Fisher came in and he said that he had tested the brakes on the car and that they were not up to standard and proceeded to give me a Summons. I have known these girls for a short time, from seeing them come into the drug store. At no time did I give any of these girls permission to operate my car.

The following is the sworn statement of Lois Parker.

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STATE OF NEW YORK)
COUNTY OF ERIE) SS:
CITY OF BUFFALO)

Lois Parker, being duly sworn, deposes and says
the following:

I am fifteen years old, born December thirteenth
1924. I live with my mother and father, Frederick and
Irene Parker, at 806 S Street. I attend ----- High
School and am in the third year. I am making this state-
ment to Mrs. Sarah Conners, the policewoman, in the
presence of my parents, at the office of the Buffalo
Crime Prevention Bureau.

On June third, about eight-thirty A.M., I met
Patricia Dipson at school. After the first period, which
was about ten A.M., I met Patricia in the hall and we
decided that we were not going to finish the day at school.
We left the school together and went down on F Street,
and went into the corner drug store and had some birch
beer. We know a clerk there by the name of Ernest Smith.
We left the drug store and walked around the block. While
we were walking, we saw Ernest's car. The two of us got
into the car and sat down. The keys were in the car.
We sat there for a short while, then I turned the keys on
and started the motor. I drove North about three blocks
and in the front of our girl friend's house, Betty -----,
we stopped and called to her. When I stopped the car it

stalled. Betty got into the car, on the driver's side, and started the car again. Betty drove the car as far as D Street. Then she turned around and came back to a place near her house. Then Betty and Patricia went into this house to call up Ernest Smith at the drug store, to tell him that we had the car. Shortly after, they came out of the house, and Patricia told me to drive the car back to the drug store. I drove for about a half a block, then changed with Betty who drove as far as her home. She seemed to get scared when we got to the corner, so I got back of the wheel again. I drove the car across F. Street. Betty grabbed the steering wheel when she saw a car coming toward us, from the side street. The car that I was driving struck this car coming toward us on the left front fender near the bumper. Both cars stopped. All three of us got out of Ernest's car. The driver of the car we collided with asked me for my name. I told him a wrong name and address. The three of us got back into the car, and I drove about three blocks, when the car stalled again. A young man drove up in another car and he offered to help us to start our car. He started it but it stalled again. Then he got out of the car and Betty and he drove away in his car, leaving us standing there. I finally started the motor again and proceeded for another few blocks. At the

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intersection there was a school "Stop-then-Go" signal. I slowed up for this signal but did not stop. Later a car pulled up. There were two Officers in the car. One Officer got out of the Police car and asked me for my license. I told him I had none. He took the keys out of the car and took Patricia and myself to the Fourteenth Precinct. After being there awhile we were taken to the Seventeenth Precinct. This statement is the truth. I have read it and now sign it with a full knowledge of its contents. . . .

The statement of Patricia Dipson was in substance identical with the above.

The following is the statement of James B. Gardner, thirty-nine years of age, of number 187 N Avenue, taken in long hand by Officer Joseph A. DeCillis, and typewritten by Desk Lieutenant Charles A. Wacker, at the office of the Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau at Police Headquarters:

On June 3rd, at about eleven A.M., I was driving a 1935 Oldsmobile Coach South on W Street, and about twenty-five feet North of F Street the car was struck by another automobile. This car, a 1930 Ford roadster was driven by a girl accompanied by two girl companions. She informed me that she was Betty ----- of 124 L Street, but I did learn that she had given me the wrong name; she is in

reality Lois Parker. I questioned the girls after they got out of the car and found that they did not have a driver's license, and that they had jumped school and were driving a car which they had taken from a boy friend. I advised these girls to stop driving the car and leave it there.

Through information given me at Number Seventeen Police Station and the Crime Prevention Bureau at Police Headquarters, I learned that these girls continued on with their escapade. It seems to me that they should receive some treatment to impress them with their mistake. However, from this information given me, I assume these girls come from respectable families and I do not wish to carry the case into court as long as I am paid for the damage done to the car, which is owned by my sister who lives in New York City. . . .

After consultation, at the Crime Prevention Bureau, it was decided not to petition the girls into Court. They were brought before the Commanding Officer and given a severe lecture. They were made to understand that another disturbance like the one they had caused, would definitely bring them into Children's Court, and possibly into a Reform School. The disposition of the case was evidently satisfactory, for on several occasions, the girls have

visited the Bureau to tell of their good behavior.

CASE OF CHARLES HUDSON.

Charles Hudson the son of Charles and Esther Hudson is ten years of age. On the night of May 4th, he was found sleeping in the hall of the Willert Park Project. Upon questioning, it was discovered that he had not attended school the day before. An interview with the principal of Public School No. 32, revealed that Charles was highly irregular in attendance at school. Frequently when he was present he was noticed to be in a sleepy condition. The parents of Charles were sent to the Crime Prevention Bureau. Upon investigation, it was found that the father was working, and making approximately sixty dollars per week. The mother also was found to be employed, alternating between the four to twelve and the twelve to eight shift. The oldest girl, seventeen years of age, was left to care for the children. Neighbors living near the Hudsons' informed the Police Officers that the children are abroad at all hours of the night, and when the mother is working. It was quite apparent that if these conditions continued, eventually the children would end up in serious trouble. After discussing the case with the parents, it was decided to release Charles, providing that the mother quit her job. This she promised to do, and the child was released.

CASE OF MILTON MEYER.

Milton Meyer a first year high school student, one of Buffalo's large vocational schools, was the son of Louis Meyer and Mary, who is deceased. School records and reports taken in the neighborhood, indicate fair deportment and behavior on the part of Milton. About a year ago, Eugene, the eldest married son of the family was inducted into the Navy. The furniture from Eugene's home was placed in the attic of the Meyer house. Unknown to the rest of the family, Milton consulted the want-ads in the daily paper, and disposed of the furniture as follows:

One 9 X 12 figured rug was sold to Raymond -----, for eight dollars, it was valued at approximately eighty dollars.

A Zenith radio valued at one hundred and twenty-five dollars was sold to Mr. H, owner of a large radio store. Another 9 X 12 rug was sold to a salesman, Mr. L of the Stark Rug Company.

The first rug sold to the private individual was retrieved. The owner of the Stark Rug Company claimed that Mr. L had no authority to purchase the rug, and that it had already been re-sold. He was willing to have the Meyers' buy a new rug at his expense.

The same is also true of the radio. It had been

sold, but the purchaser was willing to replace it with another used radio.

Taking into consideration that this was Milton's first offense, the members of the Bureau, gave him the opportunity of getting employment, and refunding the money for the stolen articles. To date all money has been returned, and Milton apparently has an entirely different viewpoint on appropriating other people's property.

CASE OF ARLENE WATKINS.

The following case is submitted because it shows the value of the foster home, working with the Bureau. Furthermore, it is a good illustration of how well established habit of stealing was overcome in a girl through kindness, confidence, provision of attractive clothes, and other wholesome amusement. Arlene Watkins, the daughter of a shiftless mother and a drunken father, was petitioned to the Juvenile Bureau.

The child had been known to the Bureau on more than five separate occasions, after having been apprehended for burglary, stealing suitcases, and money; and on the occasion of the last theft of sixty dollars, her partner, a boy, was also petitioned. The parents had been inefficient and disinterested; although repeatedly

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warned against it they had allowed the child to roam the streets at all hours; sometimes she had been selling newspapers. She had been described by the Police as a "regular bandit." The neighbors made numerous complaints to the Police who felt that nothing further could be done by their department, as the child needed supervision which could not be given in that home. She was brought to the attention of the Police several times when her uncle reported her missing. The first time she was found at midnight by soldiers, sleeping in a truck. Later in the company of a boy, she took a suitcase and other articles valued at thirty-one dollars; on the occasion of the sixty dollar theft, she and the boy had seen a ring on a dresser through a bedroom window. He helped her open the screen, and she went in, found a wallet in the top drawer of the dresser, and took it, but did not take the ring. The boy took the wallet from her, and went to his own home. He later spent part of the money, but Arlene spent none of it.

The following reports were taken:

PHYSICAL EXAMINATION. - General appearance good.

Small denuded area on lower lip, probably a herpes(cold sore). Throat slightly inflamed. Temperature 100 degrees at 11 A.M. Hymen edges inflamed, but no evidences of gonorrhoea. Hymen not ruptured. Wasserman negative. Smears U--negative.

PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION. --Stanford-Binet.

physical age 10:6, mental age 8:4. I.Q. 79. Below border-line or sub-normal. Reads fairly well, but too slowly to pass the ten-year test. Very poor memory. Unable to give the day, month, or year correctly. Fails ninth-year arithmetic problems badly. Poor comprehension, necessary to repeat most questions; follows directions poorly.

BEHAVIOR REPORT. - The defendant is apparently an untrained child who has grown up without constructive influences, or any environmental advantages. She seems crude and somewhat sophisticated. Has an independent manner, and has no doubt been much "on her own" without supervision. From the child's manner and statements it is inferred that she runs about as she pleases, without supervision or plans for her leisure time. Has been associated with various stealing episodes, but has ready alibis or excuses which show her incidental connection with these escapades. She has in all probability felt much deprivation in the home, has lacked satisfactions, and has reacted to this by unconsciously seeking other compensations, which have been proved socially unacceptable.

SOCIAL HISTORY AND HOME CONDITIONS.-(Mother's statement.) - Arlene and her oldest brother, Fred, are the woman's children by a former marriage. Their father died after an operation when Arlene was two months old.

Woman married not long afterwards, and there are three children by the second marriage. Mother's statement and Arlene's agree on the stepfather's behavior. He is continuously drinking, and very often brings drunken men into the home; demands food at all hours for himself and his drunken friends; he is very ugly toward woman and children; curses a great deal; is untidy about his person and about the house; is so rough and unreasonable with the children that they dread being at home when he is there. Woman's relatives come only when they do not expect him to be there. He is suspicious of woman and often accuses her of being immoral with other men, and threatening to take the children from her, although she cannot understand why he would want them, when he is so abusive toward them. Woman has several times left her husband, but comes back on promises of good behavior, which are never kept. She has had him before the City Court on charges of nonsupport, but his contributions to the family's support have always been very irregular, despite his regular \$175 per month income from work in the lumber yards. Spends much money on liquor and some on other women. Mother feels helpless to cope with Arlene's stealing and other bad habits.

In September, Arlene was placed on probation in

the home of her maternal grandmother, with her mother's home only a short distance away. In December, she, in company with a seven-year-old boy, entered the Richfield Warehouse, and took from the open safe thirty-five dollars, much of which was recovered. Further contact with all relatives showed none able to assume the responsibility. As the stepfather and mother were again living together, the child was returned to them after the hearing. In July, Arlene was brought to court on a new petition. She had remained away from home the greater part of the night, in the company of three boys, aged twelve and thirteen years. The children had broken into a garage, stolen a rifle valued at five dollars; the same day they had broken into a store, and took canned goods valued at five dollars; they then went to a garage at the rear of a court, where they slept all night. However, no physical injury seems to have ever befallen the child at the hands of the boys with whom she played. She herself was more like a boy than a girl in mannerisms and behavior. When asked once if she wasn't afraid one of the boys would hurt her sometime, she replied that they wouldn't dare so much as lay a hand on her.

At the hearing that followed the last escapades, foster-home placement was recommended and she was placed

with Mrs. Florence Jones. She is still there, and making a very remarkable adjustment. She is happy, and shows signs of improvement in many ways. The school reports that the child is doing as well as she is mentally capable of. The only outstanding trouble has been some disobedience and soiling clothes, which is gradually being corrected. There has been backsliding at times, but on the whole continued progress. She still tells some stories, and is a bit careless about her person, but there is a marked improvement. Arlene has adopted the name of her foster-mother, and calls herself "Arlene Jones," and arranged for the school records to be changed accordingly on the approval of Mrs. Jones and the probation officer. Her mother is a little hurt by this change of name, but it seems to have had an excellent effect on Arlene. She thinks of herself now as a different person, and occasionally says, "Well, when I was Arlene ----- I could do that, but since I am Arlene Jones, I can't. "

Mrs. Jones states that she has had Arlene with her since August, and has noticed improvement all along the line. At present, Mrs. Jones has only two girls with her, both aged thirteen years. During the past year, she has also had two older girls, but they were there only for a short time.

Only once since her arrival has Arlene been known to take anything that did not belong to her. Shortly after her arrival, the girl was visiting Mrs. Jones' married daughter, who lives nearby. On this occasion, the daughter was making a quilt of some very pretty material. A few days later, a square of the material was found among Arlene's personal belongings in the bedroom. When questioned, she repeatedly denied knowing anything about the material, where it came from, and how it had got into the girls' bedroom. After the foster mother had failed to get any response but denials, Mr. Jones talked with her long and earnestly, telling her how much they were trying to help her, and the trouble that comes of stealing. She seemed to be touched by his kindly manner, and cried, but still did not admit the theft. Then Mrs. Jones said, "Now, Arlene, we aren't going to say anything more about this mistake that you have made. Just take the cloth and go back to the place where you got it, and lay it down where you found it. You needn't say anything at all to the lady, and she will understand." The daughter reported to her mother that little Arlene entered the house and laid the material on the sewing machine, where it had been on the day of the child's visit. The incident was never again mentioned to Arlene.

The little girl has been several times taken into stores by Mr. and Mrs. Jones, turned loose and told to look around at things, but to keep her hands in her pockets..... if necessary, to keep from picking up things. If she saw something that she felt she had to have, and couldn't get along without, to come to them, and tell them about it. If they could possibly afford to get it for her, they would; if not, they would get her as good a substitute as they could afford. On several occasions, they have had to buy for her attractive clothes that had caught her eye in stores, but the urge to steal seems to have been conquered. Temptation is removed in many ways. Fruit and the wholesome candies and sweets are kept in the house at all times, and given in moderation to the children; ice cream is frequently bought. Other things that they desire may be had as rewards of good behavior and something to work for. The children go to shows once a week, but recently have they been allowed to go alone in the afternoon. This they consider a great honor, and quite grown-up.

The girl's bedroom opens into the hall, and until a short time ago, it was always kept open. Now the door may be closed at night on good behavior. If they have misbehaved, it is a sign that they are still just children, and must be watched over at night, so the door is left

open. They both feel the disgrace now if the door is left open some night because of what they have done that day. Washing dishes is a special privilege.

Both children go by the name of "Jones" providing that they live up to the good name of the family. They are told that the Jones family is well known and respected in the community and the children that are known as theirs must be a credit to them. They are very proud of their new name.

The general improvement is most encouraging.

CASE OF HERBERT GENTRY.

Herbert Gentry the fourteen year old son of Herbert Senior resides at 230 W Avenue with his grandmother and father. Neat and intelligent in appearance, he in no way indicates tendencies towards delinquency. The following statement, sworn to by him, taken from the files of the Bureau, adequately summarize this boy's propensities:

STATE OF NEW YORK)
COUNTY OF GENESEE) SS:
CITY OF BATAVIA)

HERBERT GENTRY, deposes and says: I am fourteen years of age, single and reside with my father Herbert, Sr. and grandmother at number 230 W Avenue, Buffalo, New York, and attend B High School. Further deposes and says; I

have known Arnold ----- of 180 S Road, Buffalo New York since school started in September. Wednesday night October 4th, I met Arnold ----- at W and T Streets, this being pre-arranged that we were to meet this night and burglarize the L grocery store which is located on H Avenue, Buffalo, New York. I rode my bicycle and at about six-thirty P.M. I met Arnold and he was also riding a bicycle, we both rode our wheels to a church which is located on S Street and here we left the bicycles and walked to the rear of the L store. I had a hacksaw with me which I had brought from my home. We both sawed on the bars which protected the windows in the rear of the store and after cutting the bars I remained outside while Arnold went inside of the store to steal some things. I kept watch outside in case anyone showed up. Arnold was inside for a few minutes and finally returned to the rear window with a large box in his hand which contained several cartons of cigarettes which were of various brands to wit;-Camels, Lucky Strikes, Wings, Old Golds, etc. I would imagine there were at least fifteen cartons, also had about thirty packages of Life Savers, and twenty or twenty-five packages of gum. Also had eight to ten single packages of cigarettes and a carton of wooden matches. I took the matches to my home and left same in the garage and Arnold kept the rest of the property

in his possession. I did not receive any money for the cigarettes which he sold, but I did later receive some food, etc., from the money which Arnold had collected for the tobacco money. Friday P.M. October sixth, at about four-thirty P.M. I went to Arnold's home after coming home from school, and about five P.M. this date the two of us left Arnold's home, Arnold having in his possession a rifle, one bed blanket, some cigarettes, a hunting knife and some extra clothing which was all wrapped in the blanket which he sneaked out of the back door of his home. We had decided, or rather, Arnold had told me that we would try and find an automobile and steal it and travel Southward. We were unable to find an automobile to steal and we walked to some railroad tracks near Kenmore and the City Line, and continued to walk to the railroad yards where we found an empty box car and after laying the blanket on the floor of the car we walked to a grocery store and purchased some food, then returned to the box car, etc. and slept in the box car the rest of the night.

October sixth, in the morning we attempted to catch a ride on a freight train and were chased off by one of the train crew. We then walked out S Street a short distance and caught a ride in an old truck --we rode as far as DeMar, New York and then walked a short

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distance out of the village, or rather, we bought some food before leaving the village.

A short distance out of the village we came to an old barn located next to the main highway. There was some hay in the barn but no stock. We remained and slept in this barn overnight and woke up around six A.M. October eighth at which time we ate some bread and jam which we had bought. At about eight or eight-thirty A.M. Arnold took the rifle which he had and started shooting at automobiles as they passed by the barn. He shot at four or five of them and I also shot at two or three of them and I know that we struck at least two or three of them. We were doing this just for fun. At about ten A.M. we went to a house which was located almost directly across from the barn in which we were and after going around the house, we opened the rear door which was not locked and went inside.

We ransacked the entire downstairs and took from some of the drawers some property, to wit:- a pair of leather gloves, one Bible, one women's linen dusting coat, one pair of men's socks, one woman's ring with a setting in same, some thread, adhesive tape, and other small articles. After obtaining this property we went back to the barn and soon after left and walked to a railroad bridge at which time it was beginning to rain and was there just

a few minutes when a State Trooper and two other men came to where we were and took us to an office at DeMar, New York and questioned us. . . .

Herbert was petitioned into Childrens' Court, and his case was heard. After consultation with the Crime Prevention Bureau, the Judge placed him on indefinite probation. Nothing new has developed, after some months, and the progress of the case is quite satisfactory.

CASE OF ROBERT MARTIN(26)

Thus far, the cases we have considered have shown an agreeable disposition. In crime prevention work, while satisfactory results are obtained in the majority of cases, still there are more than a few that end up far from successful. In the Buffalo Bureau, this percentage of failure is extremely small. The case of Robert Martin is being used here, first, because of its interesting developments, and secondly, because it shows the failure that any Crime Prevention Bureau might encounter. It has been summarized from Glueck.

Robert is an illegitimate and only child. His father, although intelligent and well educated, was alcoholic, immoral and a gambler. The parents never

married, but lived together for some time after Robert's birth. The father frequently deserted, however, and when Robert was 4 he finally disappeared. Robert's mother, a Canadian by birth, is refined and intelligent. She is sincere and hard-working, but somewhat neurotic, and at times hysterical. She has always been greatly disturbed over Robert's delinquencies. There is a history of instability among the mother's siblings.

After Robert's father disappeared, his mother married a Canadian soldier. He was also alcoholic and very soon deserted her. From that time on she has been working as a dressmaker, barely earning a living, and unable to give Robert adequate supervision. For a time he and his mother made their home with his maternal grandmother and later with a maternal aunt.

Aged 16 at time of J.B.F. examination.

Offense. Larceny of \$85 from employer.

I. Summary of prior misconduct-

(a) Court record:

Larceny of bicycle	Savannah, Ga.	Returned to Boston authorities as runaway
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(b) Unofficial misconduct: Frequent runaways from home in search of adventure, since 9 years of age; stealing since 7; bunking out, gambling, late hours;

has been returned by Police on many occasions from cities as far West as Chicago and as far South as Florida, having surrendered himself as a runaway and asked assistance to be returned home.

II. Summary of prior treatment.

Robert's mother, a fairly intelligent woman, had made numerous efforts to satisfy the boy's love of adventure. When he was 14 years of age, she sent him to live with an uncle in Chicago, where he was given ample opportunity for constructive recreation. However, he soon ran away, and was arrested and taken to a detention home for several weeks. The boy's plight was reported in the newspapers and a man of wealth took him to his home and offered to adopt him. Robert soon ran away and returned to his mother. Some time later he was picked up in Savannah, returned to the Police authorities in Boston, and then given a mental examination at the Massachusetts Home for Little Wanderers, which found him to be of borderline mentality and very unstable. It was arranged that he be given supervision in his home by a male worker of the Home. Robert continued to run away, however. Finally when he was brought to the Boston Juvenile Court, he was sent to the

J.B.F. clinic for examination.

III. Summary of the J.B.F. findings sent to the Court:

Causative factors. (a) heredity: Boy illegitimate. Father thoroughly bad man, very immoral. Moderately alcoholic. Deserted boy's mother. Selfish. As a boy left a good home--the black sheep of a good family. Paternal aunt some sort of mental and nervous troubles. Mother hysterical, neurotic, insomnia. Maternal uncle earlier moderately alcoholic and as a youth runaway. Maternal uncle 'odd stick,' selfish.

(b)Developmental: Pregnant mother much worried. Slow in walking. One convulsion in childhood and temper fits which approached convulsions. Four years ago some sort of attack said to have been a fit. Enuresis till 12. Question about some sort of night attacks at one period several years ago. Signs of congenital defect, probably luetic.

(c)Love of adventure very marked. See details of beginnings in childhood.

(d)Definite impulsions, perhaps on the basis of his love of adventure. This seems to be a fact based on history given by mother as well as boy's statement. Impulse to steal seems to be always secondary to this. It seems probable that this boy has never

stolen except to satisfy wandering impulse. (have looked in vain for mental conflict in this case, or for causative early experiences. Of course the constant reminders in the family about his father and being like his father may have had an influence and the boy has thought considerably about his parentage and this may well have developed a certain sense of irresponsibility.)

(e) Delinquencies. Many times running away, even as long as five months. Had its beginnings in early childhood. Stealing many times for funds with which to travel. Recently stealing considerable sums from employers and earlier from members of the family. Out late nights sometimes. Reported to gamble sometimes. Bad-tempered sometimes at home.

Physical. Fair development and nutrition. Modified Hutchinson teeth. Tremors. Lively reflexes. Other signs of poor nervous control. Tonsils moderately plus. Signs of congenital defect, probably luetic.

Mental. Good general ability, specially good in language considering his training. Attempts to write poetry and prose. Impulsive. Active, rather impatient, interested in analysis of his situation. In many ways

intelligent young fellow. Sociable, likeable, pleasant smile and address and good savoir faire. Is certainly for the most part frank and truthful.

IV. Recommendations made by J.B.F. to the Court for treatment.

" Of course this is a most important and difficult case. The boy has certainly kept himself very nice as compared to his temptations and his wanderings. It is doubtful if, considering his impulses his wandering is to be considered as much of a delinquency. Very significant that all of his stealing has so far as we know, always been to further his impulse to wander and he began the latter long before he took anything. Sometimes did not even spend the money. One wonders if repressing can possibly do this case any good. Never heard of institutions improving this type. On the other hand, boy needs to learn the natural consequences of stealing. Prolonged discipline, with travel, as in the navy, would be best, but on canvassing the situation it seems impossible for him to get in anywhere. Further attempts will be made for Merchant Marine, etc. But this is not such a good adjustment. Perhaps will have to be tried, although boy can run away and probably will. Best would be if

he goes there, to interest him at once in furthering his study of English. Boy really has considerable ability and desire for self-expression. Wasserman might be done, although probably negative.

Of course we believe there is no cure for this boy's tendencies, they need chance for expression. When a little older if they persist he can go to sea. Chances are that he will become more stable.

In other words:

- (a) Preferably enlistment in Merchant Marine, for discipline and as outlet for love of adventure; otherwise sentence to Shirley.
- (b) Development of his literary interests while in institution.

V. Summary of treatment actually given by the Court.

Robert was sent at once to the Shirley Industrial School, the principal at the same time receiving from the J.B.F. a full report emphasizing the boy's impulses in regard to running away, and urging that, as friendliness and good opportunities had hitherto failed, he be given constructive help, such as training in writing, which might hold his interest and offset his innate love of adventure.

VI. Limitations to the carrying out of the recommendations by the Boston Juvenile Court.

Although enlistment in the marine was deemed advisable, this could not be brought about at the time of the clinical examination, because the boy was under age. The clinic was more or less forced to recommend sending him to Shirley, because of paucity of treatment alternatives, though realizing that he would probably run away.

VII. Summary of later conduct.

Robert did well at the Shirley School except for one attempt to run away, when, while being returned by an Officer, he broke the train window with his handcuffs and tried to jump out. After this he became more stable, proved absolutely trustworthy and clean-minded, and the principal said he "would be dumbfounded if Robert did not turn out well." Once, feeling an impulsion to run away, the boy came to the principal, as the latter had suggested, and after talking the matter over, decided to settle down. After seven months he was paroled home, and, as he was still not quite 16 years old, was obliged to wait three months before enlisting in the navy.

Thirteen months after his release on parole, and during his service in the navy, he was in the

Rosbury Court for breaking and entering at night but was found "Not Guilty" in the Superior Court. After deserting three times, he was dishonorably discharged but enlisted at once in the army and was sent to San Francisco. No sooner had he arrived there than he took unauthorized leave, apparently without any definite purpose, and, fearing arrest, held up an automobile at the point of his revolver and ordered the driver to take him to the nearest town, where he fired several times into the air to frighten the inhabitants and facilitate his escape. When apprehended two days later he was sent to a hospital in San Francisco, for mental examination. For three weeks he feigned insanity, then made a full confession and his mother was notified. She reported this to the J.B.F., telling also of Robert's extreme nervousness and erratic behavior while on leave (as she thought, from the navy, though he was actually a deserter), and with her approval a letter was sent urging that Robert remain in the hospital, where with training he might become more stable but would in any event be kept from further outbreaks. Two months later another letter was sent to the same effect. The hospital reported to the J.B.F. that

a diagnosis had been made of "constitutional and psychopathic state" and that as the boy was considered irresponsible and "a menace to the public safety" he had been discharged from the army and sent to the Veterans' Hospital in West Roxbury, Massachusetts. From here, however, he twice ran away to his mother, owing to his dislike of confinement in a closed ward and to his chance meeting with a fellow-deserter from the navy. He was arrested in Pennsylvania for breaking into a garage with a companion in the attempt to steal a car, and was committed to the penitentiary there for two years. He was paroled to his mother, and, as at that distance supervision was impossible, the parole officer received no reports from him after the first two months.

Nothing was known of him until a year and three months later, at the age of 22½, when the Massachusetts Boys' Parole Branch called the attention of the J.B.F. to a newspaper account of the attempted robbery of a soft-drink saloon in Indiana, by Robert and a companion who together shot seven men, killing two of them, and engaged in a running battle with Police, sheriffs, and citizens. No sooner had this report been received than the J.B.F. learned

from Robert's attorney that he was being held for first-degree murder, but that, although the townspeople were demanding vengeance, the circumstances of the case suggested insanity and several of the clergy were interested in securing him a fair trial. After receiving assurance that in Indiana it was not usual for a trial judge to request an investigation of this sort, the J.B.F. furnished the attorney with a full report of the findings at the time of Robert's examination and of all that was known of him subsequently. As a result, he was sentenced to the Indiana State Prison for life. At the last report, after serving over two years he was considered by the prison physician to be "slowly developing dementia praecox" and the necessity for later transferring him to the Indiana Hospital for the Criminal Insane was thought probable. . .

The foregoing cases have been submitted, because of their inestimable value to anyone hoping to appraise the problem of juvenile delinquency, or to better understand the difficulties of modern youth. It has been felt that to gain a conception of the traits of "the individual delinquent,"(27) case-histories of different types of

(27) This phrase, which occurs again and again in the literature on delinquency, is largely attributable to Doctor William Healy, whose best known work is THE INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENT.

offenders should be presented. In this way, we can more fully appreciate the finer mechanisms of misconduct and its treatment by foster home, court, prevention bureau and community. From an analysis of the foregoing case-histories we may expect also, to glean further hints about the weaknesses of society's elaborate equipment for coping with delinquents. The facts revealed in these cases are not at all unique, nor are they anything extraordinary, but they tend to make a vital problem of humanity much more real.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS, SUGGESTIONS AND CONCLUSION

Out of the mass of facts, figures and inferences presented in preceding chapters, certain of our findings call for analysis or study before any concrete suggestions and recommendations are made.

It is to be observed that but frequently the delinquents are native-born sons of foreign-born parents, a condition likely to make for friction in society. The parents of these youngsters have, for the most part, a very meager education. The boys are members of unusually large families, which even in better times border on the brink of poverty. The families have become disorganized; frequently the parents have separated or become divorced, or because of other difficulties the whole life has become disjointed for lack of care and discipline of the children. The norm of thrift, temperance, and moral decency is very low, and delinquency on the part of older brothers and sisters, is a rather frequent occurrence.

It is, therefore, not amazing that the delinquents with whom the Crime Prevention Bureau and the Childrens' Court have had to deal, were compelled to leave school before they were finished, usually because of economic necessity; and they began their working life and together with it their delinquent life on the street corner. Nor is it any less amazing that many of these individuals spend

part of their childhood in foster-homes and correctional institutions. As one might conclude, they spent their free time in the crowded streets of the large city of Buffalo. We find that a few of them were ever enrolled in supervised play groups or clubs. In many instances, they were frequently truant from school. Most of them were not yet twelve years of age when first brought to the Bureau, an age still young enough to warrant the most extensive correctional methods. All too frequently a long period of time had elapsed between their offenses and their interview by a member of the Crime Prevention Bureau.

The majority of them were in good physical condition when examined. Many of them, however, were either of sub-normal intelligence or held back by marked emotional and personality handicaps.

To what extent these handicaps were the cause of delinquency, will always be difficult to estimate. The course of anti-social behavior is difficult and involved, (28) and usually it is only in the individual case that this course can adequately be followed.

The experience of social workers, Police and others who have to do with delinquency indicates that the more

(28) C.R.SHAW, "HOUSING AND DELINQUENCY", in HOUSING AND THE COMMUNITY, J.M.Gries and J.Ford.

handicaps as stated above, the more difficult it is for the individual to become acclimated to his proper place in society. Hence it is reasonable to say, these conditions must be recognized and worked out by the proper handling of the individual. The Crime Prevention Bureau and Juvenile Court are expected to do much toward changing the attitude of those who come to their attention, but their ability in this field is limited, and to expect too much from them, is like expecting a miracle. To what degree, a Crime Prevention Bureau can bring about transformation of character and conduct must, depend upon social conditions and general improvement in the mental and physical equipment of the delinquent. In the main, however, many things are beyond the scope and control of the Bureau and the Court and present grave and deep problems that must be met by society, itself.

One responsibility, of the Bureau and Court is an investigation of the institutions, and community agents to find that they have investigated sufficiently in their limited field of endeavor. This brings us to a recommendation of the Bureau to Juvenile Court. It should be recalled that as a rule the Bureau had but one contact with a delinquent boy and with the members of his family. Its work was limited to examining him, securing the necessary information

from some member of his family, and sending to the Court, or the interested agency, a summary of its findings and recommendations for treatment. The Bureau had little part in the actual carrying out of treatment; that was left to the court or responsible individual, or to the probation officers, institutional authorities, and those social workers who were called upon by the probation officers for assistance.

What kind of suggestions does the Bureau usually send to the Court? After consulting records of the Crime Prevention Bureau let us call to mind its recommendations as to the basic problem of where the delinquent should reside. Most frequently the Bureau recommended that the boys be kept in their own homes under such supervision as could be given by a probation officer; but in an appreciable number of cases it advised placement in the country, or in a foster-home, or sentence to a correctional school; the bottles in the Bureau's medicine-chest were few in number. As a rule the Bureau made two or three additional suggestions for treatment; these usually dealt with improvement of health, educational needs, and vocational adjustments, and with a miscellaneous assortment of matters designated as "other constructive supervision." Though, as we have already seen, our young delinquents were in great need of

wholesome recreational outlets, it was the exception rather than the rule for the Bureau to make any suggestions in this regard.

To what extent were the Bureau prescriptions put into effect? In a fifth of the cases, the place-of-living recommendation was not followed at all; in more than an additional third the recommended treatment was in effect for six months or less-- hardly a sufficient time in which to bring about enduring transformations in habits and attitudes. If we consider a period longer than six months as indispensable to a deep-seated adjustment, two-fifths of the young offenders were under treatment for an adequate period of time, two-fifths were not, and one-fifth were not treated at all. Least often carried out by the Court were the recommendations for placement of the boys in a foster-home, with relatives, in the country, or in a school for the feebleminded; most often followed were those dealing with residence at home under probationary oversight and with sentence to correctional institutions.

The recommendations pertaining to other matters than where the boy should live were not followed at all in two-fifths of the cases and fully carried out in but a fifth while in the remaining two-fifths they were only partially put into effect.

Least often carried out were the recommendations dealing with the recreational needs of the boys, with improvement of their family and living conditions, with the advisability of further examination, and with attention to health matters. Most often put into effect were the recommendations concerning vocational and school adjustments, and problems of discipline.

Of the total recommendations the Bureau made in these cases, over half were not carried out at all and only three-tenths were fully executed within the treatment period. In only 195 of one thousand cases were all of the Bureau recommendations followed.

The principal reasons for non-compliance with, or modification of, the Bureau recommendations appear to have been these:

- (1) Various unrecorded differences of opinion between the Judge and Bureau experts;
- (2) Legal or administrative obstacles;
- (3) Lack of cooperation by parents;
- (4) Non-cooperation of the delinquents;
- (5) Refusal or inability of various social agencies to assist the court in the placement of delinquents;
- (6) Refusal or inability of public institutions and authorities to aid the court in carrying out the recommendations;
- (7) The limited understanding and skill of certain probation officers and social workers;
- (8) Paucity of community facilities needed for coping with delinquency;
- (9) The experimental or unrealistic nature of some of the Bureau recommendations; and
- (10) In certain cases rapid transformations of the original delinquency and family situations, resulting in the obsolescence of the recommendations.

These findings lead to the conclusions that the working relationship between Bureau and Court might be considerably improved; that the success of both institutions is greatly dependent upon the adequate collaboration of other social agencies; that the work of all organizations concerned with various aspects of the prevention and treatment of delinquency needs to be effectively integrated; that additional specialized community facilities for coping with delinquency are necessary, and that the Court needs to have greater power over the families of delinquents.

Honesty, candor, and realism toward the delinquency problem inspired the following question:

Are Crime Prevention Bureaus and Juvenile Courts worth the great effort and expense that have been lavished on them?

This question cannot be dismissed simply by the statement that conditions have improved since these two divisions of law enforcement agencies have come into being. It is true that while the Crime Prevention Bureaus have accomplished great strides, they have by no means revolutionized the problem of youth. Hence a fair response to the question asked above, is dependent upon several very important considerations. In the first place, if only the test of post-treatment conduct be utilized it cannot be

concluded from the researches thus far made that Courts which do not employ the more modern methods of Juvenile procedure have just as much success with their cases as those which do. Only an investigation of an intensity at least equal to the one developed in this thesis, into a fair sample of cases treated by the older, more mechanical method will provide a conclusive answer to our question. Without intensive study of the effectiveness of ordinary Courts which are unaided by Crime Prevention Bureaus it is unfair to compare the success rate obtained by the older and the newer methods of dealing with delinquents. (29)

In the absence of reliable figures respecting ordinary courts, we may, however, conclude that the Crime Prevention Bureau and the Juvenile Court methods of coping with delinquency are far superior to the older methods. Why? Because at least much more time and thought are devoted to the problem of the individual delinquent by such organizations as the Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau and the Juvenile Court. However, the inference in this research as to the value of the Crime Prevention approach is partially supported by the findings that where the Buffalo Court followed the recommendations of the

(29) See S. and E.P. Glueck, 500 CRIMINAL CAREERS, pp. 4 et seq., wherein some inadequate followup studies are discussed.

Crime Prevention Bureau the outcome was much better than in other cases.

The second point to be taken into account in answering the basic question is the fact that the appraisal of the value of the Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau cannot depend solely on the test of post-treatment results. A physician who makes a thorough-going diagnosis and carries on an intelligent program of treatment is not judged by the percentage of his patients who fail to recover. For in the first place, a scientific and sympathetic attitude with which he approaches his problems is in itself a valuable thing, and secondly, there are forces operative in many cases which are as yet beyond human control. The analogy is, of course, not perfect, but it is of sufficient validity to be taken into account in attempting a fair and objective answer to our question.

One of the main values of the Crime Prevention Bureau is the cultivation of a trained attitude toward problems of delinquency and criminality. The Crime Prevention Bureau approach in examining the misbehaving child, is but a special instance of the recognized need of unbiased study of as many pertinent details of a problem as possible before acting upon a solution.

It is a known fact, how often the danger-signals of delinquent trends are recognizable at a very early age

in the individual's development. This important clue to human control should not be left to the mercies of ordinary policemen or even judges. It must be cultivated by specialists in this field. Society does not sufficiently comprehend how very early in life begin the misbehavior manifestations and the associated emotional and intellectual distortions which in later life we condemn and punish holding the offender definitely responsible for. Yet among those who are criminals it is not at all uncommon to find such early manifestations of mental pathology a revolt against authority as truancy, staying out, running away from home, abnormal sex practices, stealing, and the like, beginning at the tender age of six or eight, if not earlier and associated with subsequent criminology.

To the trained eye of the individual associated with the Crime Prevention Bureau, childhood aberrations of intelligence, temperament, and conduct, and moral behavior are particularly significant. He notices in them the flowerings of early-sown seeds of bad parental management and habit-training, poor teaching, and emotional involvements, not to speak of possibly hereditary taints that are as yet hardly susceptible of elimination. To this worker, the child is indeed the parent of the man. But more than this, the child is highly important because he

is at that plastic stage where his future can be moulded into good or bad.

Such, in short, are the components of a realistic and dispassionate attitude toward crime-causations and crime-therapy which are typical of a Crime Prevention Bureau. This attitude may not immediately translate itself into practical issues, recommendations, or cures; but it is much more likely to do so in the long run than the traditional attitude which deals only with such surface manifestations as the criminal act, and is highly colored by notions of guilt, blameworthiness, punishment, "to set an example," and the like.

One of the major values of crime prevention bureaus, frequently displayed by the Buffalo Bureau, is their educational effect upon parents and teachers. (30)

The case-records of such Bureaus are filled with instances of the illuminating advice given to shiftless parents or teachers regarding the care of children. Some organizations in society must assume the responsibility

(30) One of the most convincing sets of case-histories in which this is attempted is found in THREE PROBLEM CHILDREN edited by M.B.Sayles in which the analysis and treatment of juveniles with behavior and personality problems is clearly evidenced as a DYNAMIC process. The psychiatrist in these cases was DOCTOR BERNARD GLUECK, the then Director of the Bureau of Children's Guidance, New York. See also M.B.Sayles THE PROBLEM CHILD AT HOME, A STUDY IN PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS.

of guiding adults in whose hands so much of the destiny of the next generation rests, and who all too frequently have failed miserably in their responsibilities; and so in the absence of other agencies, crime prevention bureaus must be credited with their work of great social value in taking up the burden of educating parents in the fundamentals of child-care.

A delinquent child brought before the Crime Prevention Bureau is invariably the son or daughter of delinquent parents. More and more the question comes to the author's mind, is our delinquency a problem of youth or a problem of adults? From the many cases handled by the Bureau it is becoming more evident that distorted youth may be regarded, as Mary Sayles puts it, as "no more than a ship in the troubled sea of family life," (31)

It might be annoying to repeat that the problems of youth very often have their foundation in the problems parents face in a modern social-economic order or in the conflicts of the mother or father, or both, which at times have remained unsolved since their own youth. As Doctor Thom points out: "in our contact with maladjusted children we find that all too frequently we are dealing with problem

(31) THE PROBLEM CHILD AT HOME, p. 148

parents and with problem environment rather than with problem children." (32)

Doctor Belle Boone Beard, (33) who has made an exhaustive study of five hundred cases dealt with by the Judge Baker Guidance Clinic of Boston says:

"One might think, to read the list of factors contributing to juvenile delinquency that the parents of the children studied had memorized Doctor Miriam Van Waters' 'nineteen ways of being a bad parent' and had tried them all. Lack of parental control was considered responsible for the delinquency of almost one-half of the children (176 boys and 50 girls.) School teachers, club leaders and social workers are often heard to say, 'It is not the child but his parents who need treatment.' What can the probation officer do to reform ignorant, lazy, immoral, cruel, selfish, or thoughtless parents? Can the parents be put on probation? "

William Ogburn in his article on the "Family" (34) notes that "in earlier times, when life was much the same from generation to generation, rules for bringing up children were developed in detail and readily disseminated. But the new and changing perplexities of modern life require education for parenthood. . . . Education of parents is truly as broad as education for life, since it requires

(32) Douglas A. Thom, EVERYDAY PROBLEMS OF THE EVERYDAY CHILD, p. 11

(33) JUVENILE PROBATION, p. 51

(34) THE CHILD IN AMERICA, Chap. VII.

fundamentally the development of the total personality. But certain specific subjects may be taught. . . . "

"Being a parent is the biggest job on earth," points out Doctor Thom, and it might be well to add Doctor Meyers' statement that "Parents need a good dose of preparedness in facing life for their children."

Some educational systems are offering courses in parental education. The NATIONAL COUNCIL of Parent Education, which is located in many places in America, is offering courses through discussion groups in parent education.

Oftentimes it is necessary to have the reticent parent or the more delinquent parent brought to the discussion club by some friend. This friend has perhaps interested the other person by an explanation of what goes on at the meetings.

Leroy E. Bowman, Director United Parents' Association, New York City, Inc., touches an important factor when he says that his organization attempts to place leadership in the parent groups: (35)

"The general idea of the work in the United Parents Associations is included in the phrase 'education through organization.' It means that we are trying to get real educative value out of everything that is done in committees or in any way by parents in parent associations. We, therefore, are not so much concerned with the

(35) THE CHILD IN AMERICA, Chap. VII.

"perfection of our work as with the way we do it. The other main idea is that we are working with people in their neighborhood habitat and neighborhood complex relations. We do not use experts to tell parents what to do except as the experts act merely as resources for the lay people to refer to occasionally for facts or expert opinion. Leadership, initiative, responsibility, these are all centered in the lay people. This works out in very many ways. First, of course, the study groups. We have about 80 of them in our more than 200 associations led by lay leaders. Each leader is being trained in the technique of discussion and in the method of analyzing problems as well as in the way of finding out expert answers. Hence each leader is helped by a resource secretary who makes contacts with people who know the facts and the procedures in very many realms in which parents are interested. There is a third leader in each study group who helps the parents to follow their individual problems. . . .In general, our idea is in all our work; to start with experience of the individual; to get him to understand the implications back of his own appreciation of his problems; we offer no solutions but require responsibility and initiative on the part of parents. Our general method is the discussion method and democratic organization."

In connection with the matter under discussion, The Institute of Family Relations in Los Angeles, California (36) is most significant in that it shows to what extremes public clinics are developed and raises the question, how ethically sound are these clinics:

"The Institute of Family Relations has for its purpose the bringing together in one place and making available to anyone

(36) From statement by Doctor Papenoe.

"interested as much as possible of the existing scientific information that will make for success in marriage and parenthood.

Counselling is offered on problems involving sex, heredity, marriage and parenthood through the Department of Personal Service. . . . The Department of Research has made numerous minor studies and as at present collaborating in the most extensive study yet undertaken of the factors that make for success or failure in marriage. The Department of Education cooperates closely with other societies in related fields and with state and local boards of education, in offering lectures, conferences and discussion groups. It also offers a correspondence course in the technique of counselling, including a specially prepared handbook. . . .

Due to the wide variety of problems presented, there is little standardization of interviewing procedure. The client is allowed to tell his own story in his own way, and the interviewer then develops the history according to his own judgement. Pre-marital causes may involve a study of the personal and family history, a study of the personality (through a battery of standard psychological tests), a physical examination, and special assistance in securing needed educational preparation. To save the time of the staff, the client is encouraged to read appropriate material available in public libraries. When his problem involves sexual maladjustment he is given a pamphlet specifically prepared by the Institute. Clients with medical or legal problems are referred to their own physicians or lawyers, or if necessary to public or charitable agencies in those fields. Most cases extend through the preliminary interview and four counselling periods.

Clients are referred out of the office to collaborators in home economics when necessary, and the cooperation of many other professional persons, such as clergymen, recreation officials, and educators, is freely called upon when needed. The Institute has a particularly close working partnership with the Southern California Society of Mental Hygiene.

The average client belongs to the white collar

"class or to the upper levels of skilled labor; he has a high school education or better. Clients seeking premarital service are definitely highest in socio-economic status. Some clients are referred by charitable agencies, but the number of referrals accepted is limited, as the Institute has no endowment or regular financial support, and is dependent on its earnings from fees, sale of publications, payments for lectures, and the like. . . .

The general director of the Institute is a biologist who has specialized in heredity, the medical director is a gynecologist. The medical counsellors (whose function is mainly to counsel the staff, not to counsel the clients) include specialists in dermatology, obstetrics, genito-urinary diseases, and psychiatry. Family relations counsellors are trained in psychology as a background for specializing in the field of family relations. All the Institute's counsellors give their services on a part-time basis, the only full-time members of the force being the staff secretary and office manager."

Other organizations and professions, have attempted to give advice on marital problems. The clergymen's viewpoint is, perhaps the most important, although the physician, teacher, lawyer, may be included for their specialized services. John Oliver reports that life-adjustment clinics have been created in some of the Protestant congregations.(37)

The Reverend Oliver M. Butterfield, a Bachelor of Divinity and a Doctor of Philosophy, gave up being a practicing clergyman a few years ago to devote his time entirely to the Family Guidance Service which he founded

(37) PSYCHIATRY AND MENTAL HEALTH, pp. 13-14.

in New York City. He says: (38)

"The Family Guidance Service is a private professional service organized to assist people in solving a wide variety of intimate, personal and family problems. All cases are strictly confidential and in no way connected with research or charitable organizations.

While such work is best done by a series of personal interviews, some cases can be successfully handled by correspondence. . . . Our cases cover the general field of family case work exclusive of economic relief. Our clients are mostly of middle class and well-to-do people who consult us on social and psychological problems just as they would physicians or lawyers for medical or legal advice.

Our work is fundamentally educational. We use medical and other specialists in diagnosis and treatment--several prominent experts being on our reference list. Most of the guidance work is done in personal interviews and we see as many of the persons concerned in a situation as it is possible to manage.

In child behavior problems we secure school, home, and recreational observation reports, so that we have no guess work. . . . The success and effectiveness of such a private professional service depends in part on the skill and personality of the consultants, and partly on the acceptance by the public of such work as a legitimate and useful service. This latter factor is slowly being achieved both locally and generally quite apart from our particular activities. Whether it ultimately proves to be a successful venture and becomes financially self-supporting remains to be seen. "

A Domestic Consultation Service for broken families has been established for sometime in Chicago by the Jewish Social Service Bureau. A Mrs. Mowrer acting as consultant for this Bureau has done a great deal of research in this particular field.

(38) "Two Live Happily Ever After," Reader's Digest XXVIII.

It is the candid opinion of the author that until the psychology of frivolous living, held by modern parents, is dissipated the problem of delinquency will never be solved. The sanctity of marriage must be maintained, and the God-given obligation of parents to their children must be fully understood by young couples about to enter marriage.

One of the finest remedies for this problem this writer has observed in years, is a marital service maintained by the Catholic Action Center of the University of Ottawa. A couple, after they become engaged, write to the Center for this service. Their engagement is verified by their local Pastor. Weekly pamphlets on the sanctity and seriousness of marriage, and dealing with the problems and practical side of this great undertaking, are sent to the engaged couple. A periodical examination is given them by their Pastor. At the completion of the course, and at their wedding they are awarded a certificate. More practices such as this would tend to remedy the modern day problems of divorce and separation in married life.

The Parent-Teacher Associations to be found in almost every large school, in the city and country districts are organizations of Parents and Teachers, their aim is to study the interchanging problems of the child,

the home, and the school and the relation of each to the community and state in order that our whole national life may be strengthened by the making of better, healthier, more contented and more intelligent citizens.

An organized campaign of publicity against youthful lawbreakers is being sponsored by the Buffalo Crime Prevention Bureau. It is the thought of the Directors of the Bureau that this campaign has met with more than ordinary success. Qualified speakers are sent to schools, youth organizations and before adult groups. Using the records of the Bureau, they prove the danger of a juvenile becoming a lawbreaker. A motion picture showing a good boy turned bad has met with a hearty response in all of the schools and youth groups where it has been shown. Pamphlets telling various stories of the failures of young lawbreakers, are distributed in all parts of the city. Posters depicting youths after they have been convicted for various offenses, are sent to many places throughout the city. (See figure on next page)

This system of publicity, which has proven so successful, will be enlarged, to the greatest degree, in post war days.

“One Hundred and Ninety-nine Years” — is a Long Time



“THINKING IT OVER”

“Gee, 199 years in prison. That’s a long time — that’s all our lives.” Such is the word picture here as Frank Tallach, left, and William Miller, right, mull over their fate in Chicago after being given that sentence for murder. The boys, it is alleged, shot and killed Martin Damanakas who had surprised them in a burglary attempt. They, too, started as pilferers.

In the final analysis, the problem of juvenile delinquency is a community problem. With the modern trend of youth, no decent community can conscientiously close its eyes and ears and say, "This can't happen here!" Or can say, "These boys and girls are the ones who would be getting into trouble, anyway."

The community's answer to this problem is a system of supervised recreational activity, under trained leadership.

We can get very indignant, and blame everything on lack of police control. We can institute curfew laws. We can demand passes signed by parents for any youngster out on the street at night. But where will they go when they're not on the street? We can make laws to keep minors out of dance halls, and honky-tonks and **taverns** but how can we enforce these laws? How can we tell, instantly, whether a boy or girl is seventeen years old, or eighteen? What can we do about the parents who will say that fourteen-year-old Mary is seventeen years old, so that she can attend the USO dances?

These are not remedies--they are merely makeshifts that do nothing about attacking the root of the problem--the lack of recreation facilities and trained leadership for the younger boys and girls still in school, the group with part-time and Saturday jobs, and the sixteen to twenty

age group out of school and working full-time.

This problem is one that needs the combined efforts of the whole community. It needs a real study of existing conditions to discover the facts and find the answers to such questions as these:

Have all the social, educational and recreational agencies met together to consider the teen age problem?

Have the youngsters been given a share in any such planning?

Has any effort been made to find out what activities the young people would like to take part in?

Have they been given any opportunity to help organize activities for themselves?

Have they been given any special training to make them a part of the war effort in your community?

Has there been any increase in juvenile delinquency?

What age group shows the greatest rise?

Are there any examples of illegitimate births, and sex delinquency in the community?

How many high school marriages?

How many junior high school and high school students are working part-time?

Full time?

Week-ends?

How has it affected their school work?

How many have dropped out of School?

What are the truancy figures?

Have there been instances of vandalism on school or community playgrounds and buildings?

Of local disturbances during the noon-hour?

Have there been studies made of all the recreation facilities and programs in the community?

If they are not adequate, has a list been made of possible additional play-space in churches, lodges, clubhouses, schools, vacant stores and vacant lots?

Does the community know all the facilities available for recreation?

Has the recreation program been publicized adequately?

Are youngsters on the streets at night?

Where do they go?

What commercial amusements and recreation are in the community?

Are there city ordinances governing the operation of these places?

Are these laws enforced?

Which ones serve liquor?

Can a teen-aged youngster buy liquor anywhere in the community?

Like the old advertising slogan, "Ask the man who

owns one," we can find out what works and what doesn't work by asking the communities that are facing the problem, and are trying to lick it. From all the different sections of the country comes the same essential pattern. Methods may vary, emphasis may be different, but the fundamentals are the same -- east, west, north and south.

Outstanding in all the reports is the emphasis on planning. One large Eastern city expresses its belief very concisely:

"We believe that unified action upon the problems of the teen age boy and girl in this period, with all the agencies within the community that are interested in or touched by the problem working together in coordination, will have greater and more far-reaching effect than each of us going down our own little groove in our own way."

It doesn't matter so much who the leaders in this planning are. They may be individuals concerned with the welfare of school children. They may be leaders in the recreational department. They may be the board of education, church workers, or representatives of social and welfare agencies. They may be the cops, the merchants, or the chamber of commerce. The main thing is that whoever starts the movement must see that it becomes community-wide -- that it includes such groups as those mentioned above and any other youth-serving organizations that exist in the community.

This planning may, particularly in rural areas, take in more than one community. But however wide its territory, members should be representative of all social forces, including youth itself.

Out of this planning will undoubtedly come the realization that present facilities and leadership are inadequate, that commercial recreation is flourishing, and that the community really does not know what activity would be most attractive to the teen age group. Also it will find that there are no funds with which to enlarge the present program or to plan a new program. In this case the community must so study the facts and publicize them so adequately that there is no question as to whether or not funds must be raised. Investment in youth should certainly be as secure as investment in war bonds and should pay an even greater rate of interest. This means that a good publicity campaign may be imperative, and here, too, every agency including the merchants, newspapers, radio, bus and street car companies, public and parochial schools, and recreation department should be enlisted.

The results will be surprising. In a small town in which the population has been tripled by a large camp just outside the city limits a planning group discovered that there had never been enough recreation leadership, and

truancy rates were shockingly high. A youth committee was appointed to get all possible volunteer talent and to find recreation quarters. Groups of boys and girls of high school and junior high school age met to plan and promote the activities they knew young people wanted. An old garage was renovated by two high school boys for a community craft studio. Two churches offered their basements for game rooms. A vacant grocery store made a spacious first aid center.

Out of these efforts came tea dances for the junior high school crowd -- soft lights, carefully prepared decorations and the newest recordings. For the high school girls employed after school hours, activities were arranged for early evening hours. Supervised evening parties were held for high school girls with their own high school boy friends or groups of carefully selected younger service men.

And while the young people were enjoying their new found space and programs the local youth committee conducted discussion groups for parents on the problem of parenthood, using a local minister and his wife as discussion leaders.

With the ever-increasing need for better leadership -- at home, at school and in the recreation programs--

and with ever-decreasing trained personnel available, the necessity for leadership training is apparent in every direction. This training embraces not only in-service training for already trained leaders whose work has to be expanded and the training of leaders employed in other fields of work such as teachers, but also the training of volunteers, both adolescent and adults.

This leadership training can be most profitable if given in cooperation with as many as possible existing agencies such as the Holy Name Society, Parent-Teacher Association, Civilian Defense Volunteer Organization, Federation of Churches, Council of Social Agencies and the like.

Over and over come reports that the teen age boys and girls can be trained not only to conduct recreation programs for younger children in their own homes, on the playgrounds, and in the community centers, but also can be trained to conduct programs for their own age group successfully and proudly. One city has trained a group of high school girls so well that they are now doing valuable volunteer service training in settlement houses. Another group, after some basic training, did volunteer work on the playgrounds last summer.

The recreation department of another city found that few, if any, activities had been planned for the high school girl who was willing and anxious to participate in the war effort. As a result a course was started so that the girls could be trained as volunteer playground directors and group leaders. This was done in cooperation with the YMCA and other organizations and group work agencies. Such training should have the twofold effect of assisting with the supervision of the younger children and at the same time giving the girls a wholesome outlet.

Another city finds that it is most important at this time to give teen age boys and girls responsibility and the sense of being a part of the war effort. Its recreation department has set up a system of junior leadership on its playgrounds and in its recreation centers.

Any such training must be practical and realistic, simple enough for the teen age boys and girls to do efficiently, and important enough to make them feel a direct sense of responsibility and pride in accomplishment.

No matter how well trained the teen age youngsters may be it is still important that they be given adequate leadership and supervision. Trained personnel is best for this. In order that such personnel be released for youth activities, it may be necessary to train adults to replace

them in other phases of the program. Sometimes this recreation training is planned and conducted by the recreation department in cooperation with the Parent-Teacher Association; sometimes it is given by the recreation department leaders from churches meeting together to work out their community recreation problems. In one city seven social agencies including the city recreation department planned and conducted a leaders' training institute at the invitation of the Office of Civilian Defense in order to recruit leaders for the youth groups.

A very interesting variation of a training program is being worked out by one recreation department. The recreation director meets the grade teachers at regular intervals and discusses and demonstrates activities which are carried back to the playground and classroom. We have been using teachers on the ration boards. Now we find how useful they can be in recreation!

Many recreation departments are giving training courses to parents, teaching the various activities that come under the heading of home play. Planning indoor and outdoor play space, learning various types of games and puzzles, and making simple homemade toys and equipment are part of such courses. The importance of hobbies, and the technique of storytelling and reading aloud, home

music, and simple dramatics in the form of charades, pantomimes, and puppet shows are also included.

Such courses might be followed very profitably by city-wide contests in which prizes are given for the best arranged and equipped play yards. The present priorities on certain types of equipment and metals will mean that the families, led by the recreation departments, will have to exercise ingenuity and imagination in improvising equipment and toys out of non-priority materials.

The importance of such parent education cannot be overestimated. Almost every report from cities in which juvenile delinquency has increased has laid the blame largely upon the lack of normal family life in which home play is an important part.

Recreation departments have found that the most popular programs for the teen age group are those offering social activities -- parties, dances, socials, clubs, and boy and girl "get togethers" of all sorts. This is verified by a survey of American high school youth conducted by "Fortune," and issued in November, 1942.

"Ahead of any specific sport came dancing and movies for both boys and girls. After these the favorite pastimes are running around with friends, gab sessions, and the like. "

Many changes and adaptations have to be made in

such programs, however, to meet the present situation-- the problem of dimouts, difficulty in transportation, competition of commercial amusement places, and the working boys and girls. Outstanding among these adaptations is the trend toward taking such programs into the immediate neighborhood. A city in the west has started Friday night dances for the teen age boys and girls in eight different districts in the city. If they are successful, school buildings in other districts will be used for such dances. The responsibility of the dances is being placed fairly and squarely on the boys and girls themselves and they are doing a splendid job. The object is to keep the boys and girls in their own neighborhood with their own neighborhood group.

The advantages of this are very clear. It will discourage the wandering around on the streets in the afternoons and evenings. It will keep the boys and girls out of places of doubtful recreational value, and at the same time satisfy their desire for gaiety and amusement.

Recreation leaders are finding also that the teen age grows up and becomes interested in adult activities as soon as it gets jobs or part-time work that provides money to spend. Over and over again the recreation departments emphasize the fact that programs must be very

attractive in order to keep this group interested.

The schedule for social recreation programs, must also be planned carefully. For example, Friday night was formerly the best night for the teen age group, but in many cities most of these youngsters are working at that time. Chain groceries, dime stores and neighborhood stores that frequently close on other evenings remain open on Fridays until 9 p.m. One community center begins social dancing at 7 p.m. for the thirteen and fourteen-year olds, who stay until 9:30 p.m. At 9:30 p.m., the younger group leaves, and the dance is continued for the older girls who come to it directly from work.

One city that formerly conducted activities for boys and girls under sixteen years old in the afternoons only is now providing activities on Friday nights as well. Still another recreation department has organized quite a number of mixed social clubs who select their own names and plan their own social activities.

Dancing is far and away the most popular of the co-recreation activities and for this reason offers one means of competition with commercial amusements. Roller skating is another such activity. One city, for example, allows the boys and girls to bring their roller skates

and to skate free of charge during several early evening hours in the gymnasium. This has been very popular and has encouraged the planning of skating parties lasting an entire evening for this age group.

The desire to be a part of the soldier-entertainment which makes the younger teen age girl such a problem is handled wisely in several cities by organizing special entertainment units -- groups that develop one-act plays, skits, choruses, or puppet shows and are scheduled regularly to present such entertainment to uniformed groups.

Several cities have worked out very carefully ways of inviting the younger soldiers -- the eighteen and nineteen-year olds to the community center dances. Through this means, the youngsters are under the proper supervision and the problem of the girl-too-young-for-the-soldier is temporarily controlled.

Other activities offered to this teen age group include picnics, Sunday afternoon open houses, matinee dances, social clubs, dramatic programs, music programs, including choruses, orchestras, and bands, motion pictures, radio plays and cook-out suppers.

Closely tied up with social recreation is the necessity for providing specific space in which these

boys and girls can meet each other in informal and attractive surroundings. The teen age is the age in which boys and girls are gradually becoming weaned away from family dependency and are growing more and more interested in being one of a large group of their own age. The attraction of "cider stukes" and "juke joints" lies largely in the fact that they offer an opportunity for meeting, laughing, talking, and having a good time all by themselves.

Communities are realizing this more and more and are competing with the corner drug store, the piccolo joints, and the candy store by offering glorified "hangout" rooms for these boys and girls. One city says definitely, "We try in each center to have one room that is attractively furnished where the boys and girls can meet and enjoy themselves."

In these game centers which are being opened up in school and recreation buildings the boys and girls may play quiet games, badminton, table-tennis, sing popular songs around the piano, dance, look at current magazines, and listen to the radio. Such centers may be improvised from empty stores or lofts if no schools or recreation buildings are available, but again, they should have efficient and unobtrusive supervision. They need not be

elaborate. In fact, the boys and girls will enjoy decorating and equipping these rooms themselves and will do a surprisingly good job of it, if given the opportunity.

This provision of a place in which boys and girls may learn to talk and to have fun together with each other without self-consciousness has an advantage not only in providing a wholesome setting for the boy-crazy girl or the girl-crazy boy, but also it provides an opportunity for the group which does not get very much publicity.

This group is the group that has never had very much chance to meet youngsters of the opposite sex in an informal and pleasant way. Because this group is usually quiet and well-behaved, it is very often neglected, and these boys and girls are allowed to grow up shy and ill at ease with each other, easily embarrassed and self-conscious. In this group the foundations of unhappiness and maladjustment are being laid for adult life.

Any recreational program in order to be adequate must be on a community-wide basis. In fact the problem of juvenile delinquency will remain a problem unless all the agencies of the community unite in friendly and progressive cooperation. A great measure of success will be realized when the church, the school, the home, the police, the probation department, the juvenile court, the

Prevention Bureau, the recreational department, the social agencies, and other helpful unites unite as one to meet a common foe.

In conclusion, it can be said that above all, the teen age boys and girls must be shown for themselves that decency really works; that it is a priceless heritage that was fought for and won by our forefathers, and must never be taken for granted. They must be made to understand that they are a great and indispensable part of our nation, destined to play the main role in setting up and maintaining any new world order; and that such a role calls for intelligence, hard work, and a deep sense of loyalty from each one of them toward their home, their church, their school, their community and their friends.

In our relationships with them, in various activities, we must be friendlier, more patient, more understanding, more interested in them as individuals, more willing to give them responsibility- and to help them carry it.

No teen age boy or girl in America should grow up afraid of the future. We must help them to meet it and to know how to face it as it comes- realistically and intelligently.

The "terrible teens" of today will weave the pattern of the world tomorrow. We want the warp and the outline of that pattern to be strong and beautiful.

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APPENDICES
OF
BUFFALO CHILDRENS' COURT
Showing Intelligence
Classification of the
children, their school
grade, their whereabouts,
and the status of their
parents at the time of
their appearance in Court.

APPENDIX

BUFFALO CHILDRENS' COURT

INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION

CHILDREN

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

	<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
140 and Over (Gifted)	1	0	1
120 - 139 (Very Superior)	13	9	22
110 - 119 (Superior)	56	18	74
90 - 109 (Normal or Average)	245	55	300
80 - 89 (Dull Normal)	124	26	150
70 - 79 (Borderline)	51	3	54
Below 70 (Feeble-minded)	<u>33</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>43</u>
Total	523	121	644
Not classified	<u>321</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>359</u>
Total	844	159	1003

APPENDIX

BUFFALO CHILDRENS' COURT

SCHOOL GRADE REACHED BY CHILDREN

	<u>JUVENILE DELINQUENCY</u>	
	<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>
1st Grade	3	0
2nd Grade	18	1
3rd Grade	28	1
4th Grade	57	3
5th Grade	83	9
6th Grade	101	13
7th Grade	129	28
8th Grade	122	28
1st Year High School	109	31
2nd Year High School	58	28
3rd Year High School	8	3
4th Year High School	0	1
1st Year College	0	0
Special Class	83	5
Vocational	43	2
Girls' Preparatory	0	5
Opportunity	2	0
Continuation	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	844	159
Not at School	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	844	159

APPENDIX

BUFFALO CHILDRENS' COURT

WHEREABOUTS OF CHILDREN WHEN REFERRED TO COURT

	<u>JUVENILE DELINQUENCY</u>	
	<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>
With both Own Parents	509	65
With Mother Only	147	36
With Father Only	41	6
In Institution	19	7
With Mother and Stepfather	49	12
In Boarding Home	38	10
In Other Family Home	19	13
With Father and Stepmother	19	10
With Stepfather Only	2	0
With Stepfather and Stepmother	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	844	159

APPENDIX

BUFFALO CHILDRENS' COURT

STATUS OF CHILDREN'S OWN PARENTS WHEN REFERRED TO COURT

	<u>JUVENILE DELINQUENCY</u>	
	<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>
Own Parents Living Together	533	72
Parents Living Apart for Other Reasons	79	18
Father Dead	93	22
Mother Dead	62	24
Mother Deserted by Father	45	12
Parents Divorced	26	8
Father Deserted by Mother	0	0
Both Parents Dead	3	2
Both Parents Deserted	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	844	159