The Prevention of Delinquency

by

BERNARD LANDER

Consultant to the Maryland Commission
on Juvenile Delinquency
appointed by
GOVERNOR HERBERT R. O'CONOR

Consultant to Baltimore Youth Commission
appointed by
MAYOR THEODORE R. MCKELDIN

January, 1943

The Prevention of Delinquency

by

BERNARD LANDER

Consultant to the Maryland Commission on Juvenile Delinquency

appointed by

GOVERNOR HERBERT R. O'CONOR

Consultant to Baltimore Youth Commission

appointed by

MAYOR THEODORE R. MCKELDIN

January, 1943

This reprint has been made
and will be distributed by the
BALTIMORE YOUTH COMMISSION

THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, *Mayor*
CHARLES E. MOYLAN, *Chairman*
WALLACE REIDT, *Secretary*

Reprint in part from the Report of the Maryland Commission on Juvenile Delinquency to Governor Herbert R. O'Conor.

Members of the Maryland Commission on Juvenile Delinquency

JAMES M. HEPBRON, Baltimore, *Chairman*
HON. WILLIAM C. COLEMAN, Baltimore
JOHN W. FARRELL, Baltimore
MRS. MINIER HOSTETLER, Rockville
HARLAND W. HUSTON, Salisbury

JOSEPH R. BYRNES, Baltimore
Secretary
22 LIGHT ST.

THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY

Introduction.

Every twenty-two seconds, hour after hour, day after day, a crime of desperate proportions—robbery, assault, battery, rape, manslaughter and murder—was committed in the United States last year. Over a twelve-month period nearly one million, five hundred thousand such major crimes were committed—a crime against one out of eighty-four American Citizens affecting one out of every sixteen American homes.[1]

An intensive study of the life careers of one thousand of these criminals revealed that about eighty percent of them first manifested delinquent behavior in childhood —the average age of the onset of delinquent behaviour being nine years and seven months. To cope with this problem of Juvenile delinquency, that so frequently ends in a career of adult crime, the juvenile court and special juvenile training and educational schools were founded. The basic philosophy of the modern juvenile court is that the child must be viewed as a sick patient in need of treatment rather than as a criminal in need of punishment. The juvenile court is primarily interested in the child and its problems and needs rather than in any particular offense. For the purpose of treatment the juvenile court utilizes probation, the child guidance clinic, foster homes, or institutional care.

In recent years several scientific studies have been made for the purpose of evaluating the success of the treatment care dispensed by the juvenile court. A follow-up investigation was made by the Gluecks of the outcome of the treatment of one thousand boys who had been handled by both the Boston Juvenile Court and the Judge Baker Foundation Children's Clinic. They found that during a five-year period following the termination of the treatment prescribed by the juvenile court, out of the nine hundred and twenty-three cases on which the Gluecks had sufficient information, seven hundred and ninety-eight were found to have continued in their delinquent careers. Thus 88.2% of the juve-

nile delinquents failed to make proper social adjustments. Of the seven hundred and ninety-eight repeaters, 75.7% were later involved in serious crimes.[2]

Clifford R. Shaw, the noted criminologist, confirmed the findings of the Gluecks in a study of the success of institutional and probation treatment. He found that 70% of all juvenile delinquents who come into court in a given year, later have records of adult crime despite all treatment; of those who are in court three or more times, 85% have records of adult crime; of those who have come to the juvenile court on four or five different petitions more than 90% have records of adult crime. Clifford Shaw found very little differences in the later adjustment of the juvenile delinquent in terms of the presence of treatment or the type of care prescribed by the juvenile court. The children who were put on probation or sent to institutions did not possess better adult records than those who had no contact with any treatment agency. The only important differentiating factors in terms of adult adjustment were the personal, family and neighborhood back-grounds of the child.[3]

"Treatment for delinquency bears a certain resemblance to the attempt to 'cure' tuberculosis. Treatment in a sanitarium for tuberculosis consists largely of measures designed to build up the patients' natural strength and resistance and arrest the progress of the disease. When a patient is believed to be strong enough to lead a reasonably normal life outside of the routine of the protection of the sanitarium he is permitted to return home. But the ultimate success or failure of the treatment depends largely on factors entirely beyond the control of the sanitarium authorities."[4]

The institution for juvenile delinquents can only provide the child with a certain pattern of living; it may build up some inhibition and resistance to delinquent behaviour, but at best the institution only teaches the child to adjust to an artificial environment, for after a year or two years' stay, the child will ultimately return to his home and his friends. Unless the casual and precipitating factors to juvenile delinquency are removed

from the neighborhood and home, in most instances, the institutional care for treatment is wasted. Behind the delinquent act, there is the home, the neighborhood, and the community conditions that caused the incipient deviations from the conventions of society. It is to these roots of the crime problem that we must address any attempt to reduce the volume of delinquent behavior.

Plans.

Glueck has presented the following summary of some of the principals that appear to govern Crime Prevention work in the United States:

"(a) Crime-prevention programs should take into account the evidence that most criminals show definite antisocial tendency of attitude in behavior early in childhood. The principle above stated implies that crime-prevention programs should function as early as possible in the careers of children. They should operate as far 'up-stream' as possible.

(b) In most instances, children should be kept away from the typical contacts with police stations, courts, and correctional institutions until more scientific and sympathetic efforts have failed.

(c) Whatever agency or institution or group assumes the leadership in crime prevention, it should not attempt to function 'in vacuo'; it should call into play all constructive forces in the community and particularly social-welfare organizations and civic groups. This is necessary in order to provide a large enough net to draw in pre-delinquent as well as delinquent children; to make use of all institutional and human resources for improving the condition of children generally and problem children in particular, and to reduce waste by discovering duplications of effort and needed facilities.

(d) Existing community agencies and institutions should be used to their fullest capacity. The expense of crime-prevention can be kept low by the fuller and more ingenious employment of schools, other public buildings, churches, empty lots, play streets and the

like. This principle applies also to extension of boys' clubs and other facilities to groups at present not served by them. Too often settlement houses, boys' groups, and like establishments somehow fail to draw into their sphere of influence many of the children who need help most.

(e) While much good can be accomplished by whatever qualified agency in a community assumes the leadership in crime prevention, the public schools can play an especially significant role. In several respects indeed, the schools are in a particularly strategic position. They have most of the children under their control for considerable periods of time. They have a natural and continuing reason for contact with parents. They have an opportunity for discovering antisocial attitudes and behavior early in the life of children. The public schools have the responsibility of recognizing physical and mental handicaps of children; determining their dissatisfactions with school curricula; unearthing other reasons for mal-adjustments to the requirements of society; discovering means for making school work more attractive; establishing special classes or schools for children possessing special abilities or disabilities; and generally counteracting the tendency toward an undiscriminating mass treatment of children.

(f) Although not indispensable, a crime prevention bureau in a police department has certain unique values which can be especially useful in protecting children against bad adult influence and against the hazards of city streets; in supervisng community dens, pool rooms and similar crime-breeding centers; and exerting the force of law where necessary. Crime-prevention work in a fundamental sense is not inconsistent with the traditional duties of police departments. The preventive bureau can be a place of genuine understanding, using the best methods of social case work while the other services in the department employ the most up-to-date techniques of detection and arrest.

(g) The psychological and behavior traits of children should be taken into account in planning and carrying out crime prevention programs. To mention but a few:

(1) the personalities of children are more plastic than many suppose; planned attempts to mould them in ways that will result in benefit to society, or will at least counteract antisocial tendencies, are therefore justified.

(2) Patent symptoms or explanations of misbehaviour are not always revealing of its latent tendencies or meanings. The grouping of children is a natural tendency, not in itself harmful or to be discouraged; gang psychology cannot be thwarted, but can be redirected into harmless and even constructive channels.

(3) In the lives of many children there is need for some parental substitute as a means of forming a desirable 'ego-ideal' or source of hero worship and emulation. This opens the way for effective work on the part of 'big brothers and sisters,' 'sponsors,' club leaders and others, in reformulating the ideals and attitudes of children.

(4) The crime-preventive worker should earnestly and continuously strive for insight into the child's work; he should try to put himself in the child's work; he should try to put himself in the child's shoes, as it were.

(h) In intensive work with problem children or delinquents, the attitudes and prejudices of parents should not be ignored. The personality of the child is in large measure affected by the 'family drama,' and the best efforts of social workers, probation officers, and others may be counteracted, consciously or unconsciously, by uninformed and prejudiced parents."[5]

Recreation Plans.

The Crime Commission of New York, analyzing in detail, the back-ground data of one hundred and forty-

five male offenders admitted to state reformatories and penal institutions during a two month period, found that in not more than five instances did these offenders participate in supervised and wholesome recreational and spare-time activities. Their chief recreational interests had been in pool rooms, cheap club life, prize fights and the burlesque. Recreation is of basic importance in the treatment and prevention of delinquency; negatively it is related to delinquency control in the lack of wholesome facilities for the spare-time activities of the child, and as a positive influence for the increase of delinquency through the presence of deleterious influences that are reflected in the pool room, gang hang-out and the tavern. The criminal does not begin his law breaking career as an antisocial creature. He begins as a child living in a slum area without any facilities for supervised and wholesome recreation but filled however, with socially undesirable gang dens, pool rooms, and gangster movies. He begins by playing in the streets, frequenting the pool room, meeting there the seasoned gangster, learning the argot of the underworld, imbibing the criminal experiences of the gangster, learning of crooked politics and police-fixing, accepting the traditional neighborhood cynicism toward religion and law, joining the gang which is the natural play group of the neighborhood, committing acts of delinquency, slowly being hardened by continuing conflicts with the law until the child has emerged into a dangerous adult criminal. In areas of social disorganization the gang is a natural play-group and acts of delinquency are part of the play activities of the child. Stealing activities may be a game among the boys.

> "When we were shoplifting we always made a game of it. For example we might gamble on who could steal the most caps in a day, or who could steal caps from the largest number of stores in a day, or who could steal in the presence of a detective and then get away. We were always daring each other that way and thinking up new schemes. This was the best part and when the clerk was not watch-

ing, walk out of the store, leaving the old cap. With the new cap on my head I would go into another store, do the same thing as in the other store, getting a new hat and leave the one I had taken from the other place. I might do this all day and have one hat at night. It was the fun I wanted, not the hat. I kept this up for months and then began to sell the things to a man on the west side. It was at this time that I began to steal for gain."[6]

A good illustration of the part a gang plays in training the delinquent is the following statement of a hardened criminal who started his career at the age of eight.

"When I was 8 years old I did my first big job in the racket. This job was the biggest thrill I ever got in my life. It happened in April. That day I was hanging around with the oldest brother and his gang. They had been playing baseball all afternoon and I was watching them.

When it got too dark to play ball we all went into the alley to have a smoke and tell stories. The big guys got to talking about stealing and my brother said he had a good place spotted where we would get some easy 'dough' (money). The big guys planned everything, and I only listened. These guys were seven or eight years older than me and had pulled off a lot of big jobs before. They would never let me go with them on big jobs; but this night I went along and they didn't say a word. We all went to the butcher shop about 11:30 o'clock. It was very dark and everything was quiet, and I was nervous and stayed close to my brother. We all slipped around into the alley behind the butcher shop and my brother and another big guy went up to the building to see if the doors were unlocked. My brother had been in the place a few days before to see how to get in and where the cash register was; and so he led the way. I and two other guys waited close to the alley between two buildings. We were going to give 'jiggers'.

In a little while my brother came back and said everything was locked tight. The owner lived over the butcher shop, we couldn't make much noise by breaking the glass or jimmie the door. We all went up to the back door, and then my brother got a box and stood on it and tried the transom—and it opened. It was too little for my brother or the other guys to get through. Then I was thrilled when they said I'd have to crawl through the transom. That was the kick of my whole life.

I was only 8 and always was very little so I could get through the transom easy. I was scared but made up my mind to go through anyway. I was too thrilled to say no.

When we got out, my brother divvied up everything and I got $4 and a lot of cigarettes. I felt like a 'big-shot' after that night and the big guys said I could go with them every time they went robbin'. Almost every night we went robbin' and many times I had to crawl through transoms and one time through an icebox hole. That's why the big guys called me the 'baby bandit'."[7]

The boys' group is one of the measures utilized for the purpose of absorbing the energies of children in harmless and constructive pursuits that take up much of the time that otherwise might have been put to anti-social uses. Boys' groups do not concern themselves merely with the delinquent boy; they open their doors to all boys in the community.

The programs for boys' groups vary: In Los Angeles, the All Nations Boys Group sponsors programs that are very similar to those found in any boys' group. Its distinguishing feature is found in its methods and techniques. The emphasis in the All Nations Boys Group is on the case work approach and personal guidance. In 1931 a child welfare clinic was added as a department of the All Nations Foundation. A staff of psychologists and social case workers augment the recreation program of the group. Charles Thompson, the

managing director, feels that recreational or character building group-work programs are seriously handicapped if they lack clinical service. We are interested in the understanding of the "whole" child. For that purpose it is necessary oftimes to have a complete family and personality history in addition to adequate health examinations and psychological tests.

The clinical service is available to all members of the All Nations Boys Group. A social history is compiled from the information gathered from the members of the boys' group staff. Then a case-worker prepares a life history of the child which includes, in addition to the information about the personalities of the members of the family and their personal relationships, data regarding the socio-economic background of the family. A thorough physical examination is given to the child and the psychological examination includes different types of achievement, aptitude, and personality tests. The combined information is, then, presented and discussed at a case conference at which a planned program is developed in the light of the total needs of the child. The following case is an illustration of this approach.

> "Ralph, a very clever professional pickpocket, always came into a meeting late and with considerable noise. He never passed up an opportunity to be the center of attention. He wanted and needed personal response and recognition. He was given responsibility as sergeant-at-arms, as treasurer, and finally as chairman of the welfare committee. Under his leadership, that committee diverted a gift of turkeys (meant for a boys' 'feed') to distribution to certain very needy families discovered by the boys.
>
> Ralph reported that this was the first kind deed of his life, and that he had discovered more fun out of giving turkeys to needy families than in eating them himself. Later, under his influence the committee asked a service club to cancel arrangements to entertain the All Nations Boys for Christmas

dinner and to make available the money they had intended to spend on the dinner, so that the Boys' Club Welfare Committee could buy food to fill baskets for poor people.

A committee of thirty boys, under Ralph's leadership, had the satisfaction of selecting the most needy families in our district, purchasing food, filling and distributing the baskets. All of this was part of a carefully planned treatment, not only for Ralph, but for certain others in the group. Needless to say, the treatment gave recognition, response, and even new experience to Ralph, and was far-reaching in beneficial results."[8]

In St. Louis the Y.M.C.A. sponsored a crime prevention recreation program in an area which over a period of twenty years had the highest rate of delinquency in the city. This project does not indulge in any case work or child guidance program. The origin of delinquency is found in the street corner gang, therefore, the socialization of the gang and the transformation of its values are the necessary prerequisites to any successful attempt at the prevention of crime. Harold Keltner states: "our approach is unique. We go to the gang, capture it, sponsor it, and encourage its growth." The approach to the gang is made through a well-known man—if possible an individual with local prestige—who makes the first contact and acts as its sponsor. The programs are greatly varied according to the interests of the group and the abilities of the leader. They all have, in common, the athletic and social program, educational activities and fraternization with children from other neighborhoods and groups. The following illustrates the technique utilized by the Y.M.C.A. workers in St. Louis.

"Now the casual observer would rate the Night Hawks as a bad gang, but the police captain of this district had hope for this group. He appealed to us to try our hand with a gang of both boys and girls which was being reported to him repeatedly as bad, with a ruffian program running far into the night.

Our club organizer was dropped from the squad car a block or so away by the sergeant. On a corner against the railroad tracks he found an old saloon, unused save by the gang. At this moment they crowded the place. Being a rough and ready man himself, the organizer pushed his way in. The gang's membership numbered about 25, averaging nineteen years of age. They were not easily won even on the athletic program, but consented to another visit from our representative. It was not long before this gang had two clubs, one for boys and one for girls, each with an older sponsor, using the same saloon for headquarters. Some of these members, of course, had records. In the sixteen months since reorganization only one has been apprehended and effort was made to have him return the stolen car. The club has disavowed his membership and kept its record clean. Another club has developed from this parent group. It comprises those members who think the original group is not progressing rapidly enough, so now we have two boys' clubs and a girls' club under leadership."[9]

Thrasher, in his "The Gangs", gives the following illustration of a successful procedure utilized for the realignment of gang loyalties.

"Some years ago public-spirited members of the Union League Club of Chicago conceived the idea of establishing a club for boys in a district known for its high rate of juvenile delinquency. Included in their plan was the notion of making the boys, many of whom were at that time wasted economic material, valuable workers. In pursuance of this purpose the Union League Boys' Club was established in a large well-equipped building at Nineteenth and Leavitt Streets, and a director of unusual ability was engaged. Within three years the membership was built up to more than seventeen hundred boys and young men, and the director found places in industry and business for more than eight hundred of them. The situation with regard to juvenile delinquency in the area was changed; whereas

formerly it had been the rule for a boy from this district to be brought into the courts, it now became the exception. Juvenile delinquency in this police precinct actually decreased 81 per cent. The judge of the Juvenile Court is reported to have said that twenty clubs like this in Chicago would put him out of business, and the Chief of Police, 'If there was a boys' club in every precinct, juvenile delinquency could be reduced to the minimum.'

The general policy used by the club in dealing with gangs is to break up the natural groups and build supervised clubs in their places. One of the first steps is to enlist the interest of the gang leader. There is danger in inviting the whole gang to come in at one time. The leader in such cases may take the attitude of expecting to run the building. Backed by his gang, any slight objection which he may raise to the procedure of the club may result in his telling the boys' worker to 'go to h——' and in a rapid get-away by the whole gang. For this reason it is not the custom of the club to take in the gang as a group but to enroll its members as individuals and offer them something better than the gang can give. The leader is first interested and put on a team; ultimately the rank and file of the gang follow and are interested in special activities.

One feature of the club which facilitates the method described above is the 'flytrap.' This is a room (close to the vestibule and adjacent to the offices), in which there are five pool tables. Here boys from the street, especially the younger fellows, can play. Two or three men work quietly among these boys, getting acquainted with them, and learning their personal histories and aptitudes. When there is a vacancy in the band or on a team, these men furnish the names of boys with whom they have become acquainted in the 'flytrap.' In this way these boys are drawn into the club and interested in some regulated activity.

The success of the club has been due to a large extent to the dynamic personality of the director,

Robert D. Klees. The characteristic twinkle in his eye betokens a more than ordinary understanding of human nature. He analyzes leadership in a very simple way: it consists, first, in knowing people, understanding them; and secondly, in being a little ahead of them. He is greatly admired by the members of his club, who frequently consult him as to their vocational possibilities. Those who prove themselves to be worthy know that they are sure of his assistance in getting a position with some public utility or large business in the city. It is not difficult to enlist the interest of the most capable members of the gangs in this way and consequently to develop an intense loyalty to the club, to which they are under considerable obligation for their advancement. The director differs from some boys' workers in that he is not a weak apologist for the present economic order, but a partner in it. He shows the boys that it pays to play the game as he teaches it and to play it honestly.

The object of the director is to win the confidence of the boys and to enjoy the friendship of the whole neighborhood. His method is strictly non-sectarian and his hall is open to any religious or other group for a large social meeting.

The policy of the club is not to permit self-government to the limit, not to let the gang come in and run the building. Supervision is regarded as necessary, although the boys may govern themselves if they play fair. The method of securing their cooperation, however, is not compulsion, but indirect inducement.

The interests and activities which serve as substitutes for those formerly promoted by the gangs are many and varied. A band of fifty pieces has been fitted up at a cost of $3,500; an orchestra and bugle and drum corps are also maintained. Each player, with whose parents the club has a written agreement, is intrusted with his own instrument. The club also maintains classes in wood-working,

basket-making, and mechanical drawing. An average of one hundred boys visit the club library each day. The dramatic class presents a number of plays during the year, having recently given 'As You Like It.' The club camp is attended by four or five hundred boys each summer. A scholarship fund is maintained to encourage attendance at college. There are two home visitors, and plans have been made for a dental clinic.

The athletic program of the club is designed gradually to replace the unsupervised type of 'athletic club,' of which there are still a number in the district. The very best athletic equipment is furnished to everybody. Any gang can come in and whistle and sing to its heart's content. During this period occur boxing bouts, which are supervised so as to give the bully an opponent who can lick him if possible. Strong teams are developed in the various sports, especially football, basketball, and baseball, for which excellent coaches are provided. Regular series of games are listed on printed schedules. The club does not permit its team to play for money, as is the custom with the unsupervised clubs. In spite of the lack of monetary incentive, however, the club baseball team played twenty-eight games with the best amateurs in one season and won every game.

By putting the most capable gang athletes on a team, the whole gang is captured. This was accomplished in one case with a rowdy baseball team which always played for money or a keg of beer. The pitcher, a boy of eighteen years, heard of the club baseball team and asked if he could pitch. He agreed to be sportsmanlike and was given a place. This broke up the gang team and led eventually to five of its members becoming regulars on the club squad.

The director's understanding of human nature is indicated in the case of the 'dethroning' of an arrogant gang leader known as 'the king.' A boy was finally found who considered himself sufficiently

skilled in the pugilistic art to whip 'the king.' The occasion soon presented itself and even though it was Sunday, the boys went out of the club and, in the midst of a group of spectators who guaranteed fair play, had their fight. The result was such a drubbing for 'the king' as to completely dethrone him and win his gang to membership in the club. In another case some boys wanted to be thrown out, so they could brag about it to their gang across the street. Instead, the director had them brought to his private office and told them that they could not return to the club until they brought their fathers with them; they could not brag about this.

The result of these methods of dealing with boys has been that ultimately the members come to possess something of their director's enthusiasm and self-confidence and take real pride in their loyalty to their club."[10]

Hardly any thoroughgoing research has been made with the purpose of evaluating the effectiveness of the boys' club work in the prevention of delinquency. One of the few attempts at assaying the boys' club work was made by Thrasher who studied the working of a boys' club program in one area in New York City. He found that this particular boys' club was not an important factor in the prevention of juvenile delinquency. The club was unable to neutralize in the limited time spent by the average member in club activities, the acute behaviour problems precipitated by family disorganizations, school mal-adjustments, association with older hoodlums and underworld characters, and the demoralizing experience on the street and in the neighborhood institutions of commercialized amusement. Thrasher concludes, "that crime prevention is not the function of a single preventive agency, but a problem requiring the concerted attack of a coordinated community program in which the services of all preventive and remedial agencies must be integrated in the achievement of a common end."

Police Programs.

Berkeley, California, under the leadership of its enlightened chief of police, August Vollmer, was the pioneer in the organization of a crime prevention bureau within the police department. As early as 1915, psychologists, neurologists and psychiatrists were invited to conduct courses in the police school and police officers were required to pass examinations on the subjects studied. In 1916, summer-session courses were establisted at the University of California, in Berkeley, for the purpose of studying the causation and prevention of crime. In 1920 as a result of informal meetings between August Vollmer, the Chief of Police, and representatives of the public schools, health agencies and welfare organizations, the first coordinating council was formed. This was the first step toward integrating the efforts of all social agencies for a united attack on juvenile delinquency. All of these successive measures culminated in the organization of the Crime Prevention Bureau within the police department in 1925.

The Crime Prevention Bureau investigates and iterviews children up to twelve years of age and decides upon official disposition or unofficial probation; older children being handled by an inspector of the police, experienced in juvenile delinquency work. The Bureau lays special stress upon the organization of pre-delinquency work in full cooperation with all other interested community agencies. A notable feature of the police program in Berkeley is the special instruction in child problems given to the police. This instruction has been put to use by the police in the organization of the many and varied athletic groups. To the youngster living in the under-privileged neighborhoods of Berkeley today, the "cop" is no longer a natural enemy but his best friend.

In New York City a crime prevention bureau was established within the police department on a permanent basis on June 16, 1931. By the end of the year the staff included Henrietta Additon, a prominent social worker, as Deputy Police Commissioner in charge of the

Crime Prevention Bureau, an inspector assigned as her assistant, a supervisor, twenty-five crime prevention investigators (women), forty-four patrol and policewomen, one hundred and thirty policemen and eight stenographers.

The duties of the crime prevention bureau as outlined in the manual of police were as follows:

> "The Crime Prevention Bureau shall be responsible for: (a) planning and putting into operation of measures for the prevention of delinquency in New York City; (b) helping to secure adequate social treatment for juvenile delinquents and wayward minors. Conditions which might serve as a contributing cause of juvenile delinquency such as improperly supervised dance halls and cabarets, pool and billiard parlors, common shows and motion picture houses, gambling centers, places where obscene literature or pictures are displayed, and places where the morals of minors are likely to be corrupted, etc., especially in localities where the delinquency rate is high, shall be kept under observation and reported, and action shall be taken to eradicate such breeding spots of delinquency. Systematic patrol and investigation shall be carried on to discover individuals contributing to the delinquency of minors, and appropriate action shall be taken against such individuals. All juveniles accused of offenses brought to the attention of the police, where no arrests are made, will be reported to the Crime Prevention Bureau for appropriate action. All wayward minors brought to the attention of the police shall be referred immediately to the Crime Prevention Bureau. Information concerning constructive community influences shall be gathered and kept on file in the various units of the Crime Prevention Bureau. Especial note shall be made of neighborhood resources of use in social treatment including family and children's agencies, recreational facilities, schools, churches, and the various municipal agencies, such as the courts and probation departments, and the Departments of

Correction, Health, and Public Welfare. The Crime Prevention Bureau shall seek to instill in boys and girls a respect for law and an appreciation of good citizenship and shall, through its activities, assist the patrolmen in bringing about an increasing friendly relationship between the Police Department and the youth of New York City so that more and more the police will be looked upon as a protective rather than a merely repressive agency. Reports shall be published by the Crime Prevention Bureau showing the scope and volume of its work and the nature and cause of the delinquency and crime found in the cases coming to its attention. These reports shall also contain information which will be useful both in the development of plans for the prevention of delinquency and in the stimulation of public interest in the subject."

Unfortunately this original form of organization and work was drastically changed with the coming of a new police administration. The main emphasis now is on athletics and police-directed and supervised recreation. Hundreds of baseball teams were organized throughout the city into the Police Athletic League popularly called "pals." During the period 1936-37, one hundred and seventy thousand boys joined the League.

"Complaints were received daily at a police precinct of boys who were stealing off fruit stands, playing baseball in the street, breaking windows, shooting craps, and in other ways making trouble in the neighborhood. These boys were mainly between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one years. It was found that in this precinct consisting of ninety-four miles of streets, with a population of approximately fifteen thousand, the only form of amusement was a single motion picture theatre. The crime-prevention officer assigned to this district was forced to organize his own recreational group. As he was a baseball enthusiast, he first formed a baseball league of eight teams from the group of boys. Permission was given by the owner to use a

large vacant field, but it required filling and leveling. In order to make the field fit for playing purposes it was necessary to dump a hundred loads of dirt into the left field. A construction company, as its contribution, filled in this ground with dirt from a subway excavation. The field was leveled and stones removed by volunteer workers. The owner of the local newspaper agreed to publish the weekly standing of the clubs, batting averages of players, and reports for scores of the games. The interest of the civic clubs, public schools and citizens was aroused in the plan. A local lumberyard donated lumber for the fence, seats, and backdrops. A hardware store furnished the wire for the backstops. The ground keeper of Ebbets Field, the Brooklyn National League ball park, marked off the field and a first-class diamond was the result. A former shortstop of a big-league team, a friend of the crime-prevention officer, gave help in conducting the games and three semi-professional players who lived in the precinct gave their services as umpires. By unanimous consent, the crime-prevention officer was made the Judge Landis of the League. He had conferences with the players about their health—some of them had not enough wind for base running, nor were their hearts in good condition. These he advised to cut out cigarettes and to get to bed earlier in order to get in condition. The players seemed anxious to keep to the training rules mapped out. A physician volunteered to lecture on health and a former Olympic hurdler gave talks on training. Representatives of the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths gave talks on books and ethics and religion. Business men gave advice on opportunities for work and training needed. In the fall football and basketball teams were organized and the Police Athletic League had become a permanent institution of that community. The captain of the precinct reports that it has become a rare, instead of a daily, occurrence to receive complaints regarding the behaviour of boys in that territory."[12]

The Role of the School in Crime Prevention.

Eight hundred and fifty of every one thousand juvenile delinquents were truants or presented serious behaviour difficulties in school. In Baltimore City alone there were over twenty-five hundred cases of truancy last year.

The objections to going to school may arise from a number of causes: from a lack of interest in intellectual pursuits, from deep rooted emotional difficulties and instability that has its root in the home or in some childhood traumatic experience, from frustration or parental inadequacies, from poor eyesight, from dislike of the teacher, from mental retardation, or from parental encouragement of truancy.

Progressive educators no longer believe that the school has fulfilled its duty when it has attempted to teach a bit of mathematics, literature, grammar and history. At the present time there is a growing realization that less emphasis should be placed on purely verbal learning. As the White House Conference put it, the school should be interested in the "forming" as well as in the "informing" of the child. It is the duty of the teacher to help in his character training and proper social adjustment. Progressive school systems have therefore adapted their curricula to meet the needs of the child—academic and personal—for the purpose of encouraging the growth of well integrated personalities in addition to providing the skills of "reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic."

The school, moreover, occupies a strategic position inasmuch as no other public agency has as advantageous a position for the early recognition of delinquency or serious behaviour difficulties. Every child must attend the public school and a large part of the child's day is spent within the school building. The teacher is in position to note the child's behaviour and needs, and in view of the established fact that later antisocial practices begin in childhood, the teacher can be of inestimable help in the prevention of future de-

linquent behaviour. Patently, the younger the child, the greater the chance of successful teatment.

The school building also represents in each city an investment of large sums of public funds. The school buildings can be opened after school hours for the purpose of providing supervised recreational activities to supply the neighborhood children's unmet leisure-time needs.

The Jersey City Special Service Bureau.

The Jersey City Board of Education on February 1, 1931, established a coordinated child welfare unit known as the Bureau of Special Service to handle all cases of juvenile mal-adjustment or delinquency within the school system. The bureau includes an attendance force of twenty-nine officers and one chief attendant officer; nine visiting teachers, each carrying a caseload of fifty, six home instruction teachers, forty-five recreational supervisors, a clinic for physical and mental examinations, three psychologists, a psychiatrist, an otologist, and an ophthalmologist. The Bureau maintains a school for crippled chrildren, reading clinics, and special pre-vocational classes for children who are mentally retarded.

Children who are truant or show definite signs of abnormal physical, mental or emotional difficulties are reported to the Bureau of Special Service with a statement regarding the case. Accompanying this report is a complete statement of the school history on a permanent record card as well as a statement of the child's personality traits and special symptoms or indications of mal-adjustment. The child is then given a complete physical examination; special attention being given to sensory defects for they have been found to have an important effect on the school adjustment of the child. Achievement tests and psychological examinations are given by the psychologist and psychiatric examinations are given if indicated. The case is then referred to a visiting teacher with social work training for complete investigation of the home, neighbors and friends. The visiting teacher's record becomes a cu-

mulative one by means of weekly follow-up visits. Weekly conferences are held for the discussion of the cases in an attempt to formulate a well-rounded judgment upon the basis of all the varied information that has been gathered. This integration is one of the Bureau's chief assets in its attempt to deal with the "whole" child.

The Jersey City Board of Education also maintains ten recreational centers in the public schools throughout the city to provide an attractive and constructive program for children without proper play facilities. An average of four to five thousand children attend the recreation centers, five nights per week, and participate in all types of athletic, musical and dramatic activities. To Thomas W. Hopkins, director of Bureau of Special Service, "the ultimate aim is to extend the facilities of the school so that they will cover all the waking hours of the children and at the same time realize, on the tremendous investment in public school buildings, the greatest possible return in terms of child welfare."

The Jersey City Special Bureau makes a real and substantial advance in the handling of the pre-delinquent. Basic is the thesis that the school should focus its interest on the total needs of the child—academic and emotional. The Special Service Bureau utilizes the clinic, the visiting teacher, the experimental school and the recreation program for meeting the individual child's needs. It emphasizes the early need and effectiveness of an integrated program of prevention. In its child guidance approach it adopts the point of view of many psychologists who emphasize the importance of studying the individual delinquent in terms of his unique life history, problems and needs. The chief limitation of the special bureau lies in its lack of sufficient emphasis on the problem of community disorganization of which, so often, personal disorganization is a mere reflection.

The Coordinating Council.

The coordinating council movement is a result of the inadequacy of the individual agency approach to the problem of crime prevention. It is a product of the post world-war movement of integrating community agencies and efforts which later gave expression to the welfare chest movement.

For many years numerous agencies were working separately in the area of crime prevention without any agency achieving any genuine success. They possessed ambitious programs, adequate funds and staffs and yet crime became even more threatening. They failed because of their "individual" approach; they worked in a vacuum without relating their efforts to the wider community needs. There was no group or agency charged with the responsibility of meeting the needs of all the children in the community. There was very little fundamental cooperation, integration of effort and vital community planning. They were like isolated islands standing fixed in the sea of delinquency and crime.

A study of the recreational agencies supplies an example of the limitation of the "individual" and "institutional" approach. Without doubt the proper use of leisure is of basic importance in the prevention of delinquency. It is generally conceded that without adequate control of the spare time activities of children in crime-breeding areas very little can be accomplished toward the prevention of crime. "The street grants no diplomas and gives no degree but it educates with fatal precision."[13] Research has pointed out a very definite correlation in crime-breeding areas between the lack of supervised recreation and delinquency.

Yet, a study of the New York State Crime Commission found that less than 40% of the children in underprivileged areas were reached by any supervised recreational activities.

> "In a questionnaire to school children, relating to spare time activities, it was found that among the boys, only three per cent belonged to any clubs, and

two per cent were affiliated with the Scouts. One-fourth of the boys spent their spare time in after-school employment. This employment is for the most part the selling of newspapers which keeps the children for long hours on the street away from their homes. Much of this against the law of the State, which forbids children under sixteen from selling after 8 o'clock P.M. The law is simply not enforced. In regard to recreational facilities, 61 non-commercial and 125 commercial agencies were listed. The pool rooms were most numerous where juvenile delinquency was greatest. Many of the motion picture houses were dark and ill-ventilated —a menace to the health and the morals of the children. Yet these poorer houses were most patronized by the children because they were the cheapest. Dancing in the area was mostly an activity in connection with the family festivities, when halls were hired for the purpose. Children seeking the allurements of the commercialized dance halls were obliged to go outside the area. In general, a careful check upon the child's attendance at the public and private philanthropic recreation centers of the area led to the conclusion that less than two out of every five children were reached by wholesome recreational activities."[14]

The pioneering coordinating council was formed in the fall of 1919 when August Vollmer, Chief of Police of Berkeley, discovered that the boys who got in trouble with the police were invaribly the same ones who had been in trouble at school. Vollmer therefore invited Dr. Virgil Dickson, the assistant superintendent of the school department, to lunch, in order to discuss certain cases with which both were concerned. As time went on they gradually included other officials and social workers—Dr. Ball, the director of a psychiatric clinic for children, Dr. Breitweiser, professor of educational psychology at the University of California, Dr. Sheppard, Chief of the City Health Department, and Mrs. Neal, Head of the Children's Welfare Division. After some years of informal meeting, at the sugges-

tion of Chief Vollmer, they organized themselves into the "Berkeley Coordinating Council."

In 1930, under the leadership of Kenyon J. Scudder and Kenneth S. Beam, a coordinating council was organized in Los Angeles, adapting the Berkeley plan to local needs.

In December, 1934 at the attorney-general's conference on crime, Kenyon J. Scudder presented the coordinating council plan to the conference and secured the adoption of a resolution supporting the work of the coordinating council and urging state and national sponsorship of similar councils. From then, the idea spread like wildfire, so much so, that in 1940 a national survey by the American Legion found 598 coordinating councils in twenty-three states and it is probable that there are more than 700 such councils in operation at present.

One of the most extensive and successful coordinating councils is that established in Los Angeles County, California. It operates more than sixty councils and has interested in its work more than 1,500 citizens.

In Los Angeles, the councils have three committees, the adjustment committee, the character building committee and the environment committee.

The adjustment committee itself does no case work. It considers the problem of the child and refers him to the proper agency. The character building committee is composed of representatives of the agencies interested in the development of leisure-time activities and the organization of wholesome recreational outlets for the children. It takes in representatives of the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Y.M.C.A., the churches, schools and playgrounds. Its function is to provide adequate recreational facilities and to interest the child in the particular character building group in which he is most likely to make the proper adjustment.

The environment committee is made up of representatives of civic organizations, parent-teacher associations, men's and women's clubs. It is their responsibility to improve the community and home en-

vironment and to remove the deleterious influences in the neighborhood that contribute to delinquency.

The Chigago Area Project.

Perhaps the most significant attempt at an integrated program of crime prevention, has been developed in Chicago by Clifford R. Shaw. In this project, the emphasis is placed upon the reorganization of the community, the remaking of the neighborhood tradition and spirit and the marshalling for that purpose of the constructive forces and natural leaders of the community.

The theory underlying the Chicago Area Project is that juvenile delinquency is an individual expression and reflection of the social disorganization and the criminal tradition in the community. Shaw has found in a study of juvenile delinquency and crime in twelve different cities that there are certain specific communities in each city that have been characterized by high rates of delinquency for over a period of more than twenty years. These neighborhoods also stand highest in the city in their proportion of adult crime, vice, desertion and divorce. They are generally the low-income and slum areas where delinquency has developed as a part of the social tradition of the local community life.

In the process of growing up, our beliefs and attitudes are defined for us by our parents and friends; we generally accept their folk-ways and mores and we learn to view the world through the prism formed by their direct and indirect teachings and indoctrination. In the conventional world there is one dominant system of values in reference to delinquency and crime; the criminal and the delinquent possess no status in this world and are treated with disdain as social outcasts. A very different social pattern is found, however, in areas of social disorganization. There the child is exposed to a competing system of values in reference to crime and delinquency. The conventional values are embodied in the family, the school, and the church. But

in the streets, the child meets another well organized social world, predatory and criminal in nature, but well organized to give status and protection, companionship and glory.

The following story has been recounted by a citizen, respected in his community, of his childhood gang experiences.

"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 behaviour 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 roughest 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."[15]

The child and his gang come into direct contact with the criminal tradition of the neighborhood. He meets the hoodlum and racketeer in the pool room and on the street corner, and above all, he learns that they occupy positions of prestige in the community. The child then

faces making the choice between two conflicting patterns of moral values.

The scales may be tilted in the favor of a career of delinquency if the child comes from an inadequate home, receives a poor religious and ethical training, or drifts into the companionship of older delinquents.

Shaw found that there was very little correlation between the number of group work agencies in areas of disorganization and the volume of delinquency. A study by the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research has shown that the rate of delinquency, in the areas studied, remained constant over a period of years in spite of the considerable increase of social agencies in these areas.

Shaw insists that "you can't get under a kid's skin with the old probationary and social work method. You can't come at a boy as the functionary of an institution. You've got to meet him as a person. Organize boys into a league, and you'll find they are tickled to death to win games by forfeiture. Throw the bats and balls on the lot five minutes after the game has been forfeited, and they'll play all afternoon. That's the point. We've got to change the emphasis of our approach from organizations and institutions to face-to-face human relations. Existing agencies can't do it. They are all committed to a cut-and-dried program. Each regards itself as tied to its own program. Each one tends to kick the delinquents out. The delinquent doesn't fit in. The ordinary character-building organization, for example, doesn't touch them. Even the playgrounds bar the hoodlums and the troublemakers. The directors have to protect their blessed equipment, you see! You can't get ahead that way. You've got to get the kids with you, get them interested in doing the thing you want done. Then it's their equipment. Let me give you an example. In Denver the toughs had chased several playground directors out of one area. One of my men before he came here went in there in his own way. He lived with them, played with them, and then at the end of a couple of months he told them that he was the new playground director. By that time he had become one of them and there was no trouble at all.

No single agency now takes responsibility for an area. Each tries to do just a part of a job. Consequently you have inefficiency. We have been wasting millions in partial approaches to this problem. We have truant officers, probation officers, physical education teachers, playground directors. Over eight hundred people here in Chicago are on the public pay-roll dealing with boys, to say nothing of the small army of private agencies doing the same thing. When Johnny is truant, one officer gets him. When he steals, another handles him. When he plays, it's still a third. But he's still the same boy all the time.

As we see the matter in these projects, we must focus on the youngsters instead of on the offense, and focus on the youngster in his total environment. In other words, we could take these eight hundred people, assign each one to an area, and have one specialist to every half mile in Chicago. Actually, if we distributed them on a basis of population, we could have in the poor districts one worker to every two or three blocks. With the same money that we are spending now, we could have a worker who would be regarded by the boys and the families as belonging to them."[16]

The Chicago Area Project was undertaken in 1934 under the auspices of the Institute of Juvenile Research and the Illinois State Department of Public Welfare. Three areas in which, over a period of twenty years, fifteen percent of the children between the ages of ten and seventeen had court records, were chosen as demonstration centers.

The directors of the Chicago Area Project sent into the areas chosen, for setting up of crime prevention projects, special workers who in most instances were residents of the community, to interest the local man of prestige in the organization of a Citizen's Betterment League; the function of this League being to plan the development of a community-wide program of recreational, social and educational activities.

The North Side Area Project started around a nucleus of sixty-five men between the ages of twenty-five

and thirty-five who were banded together for more than fifteen years as a social and athletic group known as the Owl Indians Athletic Club.

The first undertaking of the North Side Group was to find and create play facilities for the children in the community. Thirty local young men were chosen to serve as recreational leaders. These men were chosen on the basis of their prestige in the neighborhood and their possession, as well, of the qualities of constructive leadership. These local leaders knew the problems and needs of the neighborhood children; they spoke their language and they possessed their confidence.

An all year-round program of activities was developed for the boys in the neighborhood with the local churches, parks and schools being used as recreation centers. The baseball tournament in this area involved forty-five teams and the softball tournament included eighty-five teams. More than seventy-five percent of the children in the neighborhood between the ages of ten and seventeen participated in the varied athletics and recreational programs.

Another community council was founded in the Chicago South Side in a badly deteriorated Negro area. The South Side Community Council is sub-divided into six districts, each with its local citizen groups, committees and programs of activities. Some of the activities sponsored by the South Side Community Council are as follows:

1. The Athletic Committee organized and gave guidance to a softball league constituted of twenty-two teams and playing scheduled games in three divisions.
2. The play-lot committee was charged with the securing and supervision of play-lots for children. On these play-lots well-rounded programs are conducted by the recreational workers.
3. Funds were secured by the citizens of the community to send boys and girls to their own sum-

mer camp under the auspices of the camping committee.

4. The Young Negro Citizens League has taken as its project the reduction of truancy and the proper maintenance of school property. The Young Negro Citizen's League enrolls children from the ages of ten to fifteen. The League meets twice a week and it sponsors a program of athletics and citizenship training.

5. Special efforts are made to meet the problems and needs of delinquents in the community. Neighborhood committees make every effort to help the child make a satisfactory adjustment; homes are visited and the proper social agencies are contacted if assistance or professional advice is needed.

6. Special committees interest themselves in community improvement, housing and health problems, cooperating as well, with all orgainzations in the area engaged in civic improvement efforts.

The specific activities conducted by the area project are similar to those conducted by the different recreational groups, Y.M.C.A.'s and boys' clubs. The Area's Project Plan differs from previous programs in its philosophy and technique.

(a) All activities and programs are managed and planned by local leaders. The local citizens are encouraged to develop constructive programs for their children, their neighbors and themselves.

(b) The efforts of the professional staff are confined to consultation and planning with the neighborhood leaders who assume major roles in the actual development of the program.

(c) The Area Project Plan emphasizes the development of a program for the neighborhood as a

whole. The Community Council assumes the responsibility of meeting the recreational needs of all the children in the neighborhood.

(d) As far as it is practical and feasible, local social workers are appointed by the school, court, and scouting organization as the neighborhood truancy and probation workers and scout leaders . The local boy who "made good" is chosen as the recreational and club leader.

(e) It attempts to bring together all social, religious, civic and business groups in the neighborhood for the purpose of developing unified program for the welfare of the community.

(f) It attempts to coordinate and utilize the existing facilities, plants and agencies. This procedure makes the area project program a relatively inexpensive plan of crime prevention.

(g) The Citizen's Community Council acts as a training in democracy inasmuch as it encourages local civic interest and pride. It is based on two important pillars of American Democratic thought; communal responsibility and self-reliance.

Conclusion and Recommendations.

Year after year, more than twenty-five hundred petitions of juvenile delinquency come before the Juvenile Court in Baltimore. Very many of these children will later appear as adults in the Baltimore Criminal Courts. We have tried probation, parole, the child guidance clinic, the foster-home, and yet juvenile delinquency has not diminished in volume and youth crime is definitely on the increase.

The present treatment of juvenile delinquency has been, so far, unsuccessful in combating the problem of crime because in the main we have dealt with the symptoms rather than with the disease itself; we treat the delinquent without dealing simultaneously with the conditions of disorganization and mal-adjustment in

the home or in the neighborhood that may have been responsible for the incipient deviation from the law.

Crime, juvenile delinquency, prostitution and truancy are fever symptoms of a social disease. They are found preponderently within certain areas which have been thus characterized over a period of years irrespective of the nationalities that have occupied these areas. These neighborhoods are found in the so-called interstitial areas, between the center of the city and the residential section, and in the deteriorated areas surrounding the industrial section. They are characterized by a high rate of mobility, weak social control, lack of neighborhood spirit, gangs, slums, poverty, and there has grown up a community tradition of delinquency and crime which is associated with the traditional pattern and character of the community. The individuals moving into these areas have adapted themselves to the environment and have integrated into their patterns of life the traditional attitude of distrust and hostility towards law and order.

The probability that a child living in such an area will embark upon a delinquent career is greatly increased if the child comes from an inadequate home, lacks satisfying human relationships, or experiences feelings of inadequacy, deprivation and thwarting.

For any effort at a substantial reduction of juvenile delinquency, truancy and crime, to succeed, we must deal with the virus of the disease, removing the predisposing and precipitating causes for crime and delinquency that are found in the neighborhood and the home. The greatest opportunity for success presents itself when we work in the area of prevention with the near-delinquent and mal-adjusted child. In dealing with the problem of delinquency and crime, the adage that, "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" is a literal truth.

We have examined and evaluated varied plans for crime prevention. We have been most impressed by the Chicago Areas's Project which aims at the re-making of the community patterns and traditions and at the

re-alignment of gang loyalties by marshalling the constructive forces and leadership in the neighborhood and through the coordination of the community resources.

"The Area Project," according to the memorandum of its directors, "is in essence an effort on the part of local residents, working in conjunction with the local agencies and institutions, to create a body of constructive sentiments, ideals, and practices of such scope and vitality as to influence significantly the life of every child in the community. At the present time many of the boys in certain areas grow up under the influence of groups or persons who lead them into delinquency and crime. It is hoped that by enlisting the efforts of local residents in a program to promote the cause of human welfare, constructive values may be made more universal in the community. Perhaps constructive leadership may, in due time, be substituted for the destructive leadership which now influences the lives of many of the children in the neighborhood.

"The Area Project is, in brief, the application of the fundamental principles which are basic to any truly democratic social order, namely: that in the humble environs of the community itself, the good common sense, the deep concern of the parent in his child's future, the mutual respect of neighbor for neighbor, the motivations which all men share to command the respect and admiration of their fellows, the common struggle for the simple satisfactions of life, can be found the necessary strength and leadership for the solution of local community problems."

"The Area Project Plan" in varied and modified forms has effectively reduced the incidence of juvenile crime in Chicago, Cleveland, and Newport News. We believe that the setting up of this type of project in specially selected areas with the coordinated help and resources of the School, the Police, the Family and Childrens' Society, the Criminal Justice Commission,

the Council of Social Agencies and other interested public and private agencies will mark a most forward advance in our fight against Youth Crime.

---

1 Homer S. Cummings, Attorney General of United States. In Public Address in 1938.
2 Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor—1,000 Juvenile Delinquents.
3 Clifford R. Shaw—unpublished study.
4 Bowler, Alida C. and Ruth S. Bloodgood—Children's Bureau Publication, page 3.
5 Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor—Preventing Crime, pages 6-12.
6 Shaw, Clifford R. and McKay, Henry D., "Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency," page 251.
7 *Ibid,* page 252.
8 Gluecks—Preventing Crime, page 442.
9 *Ibid,* page 472.
10 Thrasher—The Gang, page 523.
11 Gluecks—Preventing Crime, page 221.
12 *Ibid,* page 231.
13 Thrasher—National Probation Association Yearbook.
14 New York State Crime Commission Report, 1930, pp. 283-284.
15 Sutherland, Edwin H., Manuscript.
16 Carr—Delinquency Control, page 224.