CHAPTER VI

DELINQUENCY RATES AND COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS

THE question has been asked many times: What is it, in modern city life, that produces delinquency? Why do relatively large numbers of boys from the inner urban areas appear in court with such striking regularity, year after year, regardless of changing population structure or the ups and downs of the business cycle? In preceding chapters different series of male juvenile delinquents were presented which closely parallel one another in geographical distribution although widely separated in time, and the close resemblance of all these series to the distribution of truants and of adult criminals was shown. Moreover, many other community characteristics—median rentals, families on relief, infant mortality rates, and so on—reveal similar patterns of variation throughout the city. The next step would be to determine, if possible, the extent to which these two sets of data are related. How consistently do they vary together, if at all, and how high is the degree of association?

Where high zero-order correlations are found to exist uniformly between two variables, with a small probable error, it is possible and valid to consider either series as an approximate index, or indicator, of the other. This holds true for any two variables which are known to be associated or to vary concomitantly. The relationship, of course, may be either direct or inverse. In neither case, however, is there justification in assuming, on this basis alone, that the observed association is of a cause-and-effect nature; it may be, rather, that both variables are similarly affected by some third factor. Further analysis is needed. Controlled experimentation is often useful in establishing the degree to which a change in one variable "causes" or brings about a corresponding change in the other. In the social field, however, experimentation is difficult. Instead, it is often necessary to rely upon refined

statistical techniques, such as partial correlation, which, for certain types of data, enable the investigator to measure the effects of one factor while holding others relatively constant. By the method of successive redistribution, also, the influence of one or more variables may be held constant. Thus, it is possible to study the relationship between rates of delinquents and economic status for a single nationality group throughout the city or for various nationality groups in the same area or class of areas. This process may be extended indefinitely, subject only to the limitations of the available data. In the analysis to be presented, both of the latter methods have been used in an attempt to determine how much weight should be given to various more or less influential factors.

Several practical considerations prevent the neat and precise statistical analysis which would be desirable. The characteristics studied represent only a sampling of the myriad forms in which community life and social relationships find expression. The rate of delinquents must itself be thought of as an imperfect enumeration of the delinquents and an index of the larger number of boys engaging in officially proscribed activities. Not only will there be chance fluctuations in the amount of alleged delinquency from year to year, but the policy of the local police officer in referring boys to the Juvenile Court, the focusing of the public eye upon conditions in an area, and numerous other matters may bring about a change in the index without any essential change in the underlying delinquency-producing influences in the community or in the behavior resulting therefrom. If the infant mortality rates or the rates of families on relief are looked upon as indexes of economic status or of the social organization of a community, it is obvious that they can be considered only very crude indicators at best. The perturbing influence of other variables must always be considered.

Certain exceptional conditions are known to limit the value of other variables chosen as indicators of local community differentiation. Median rental has been used widely because of its popularity as an index of economic status, although in Chicago such an

index is far from satisfactory when applied to areas of colored population. The Negro is forced to pay considerably higher rents than the whites for comparable housing; thus his economic level is made to appear higher on the basis of rental than it actually is. Similarly, rates of increase or decrease of population are modified in Negro areas by restrictions on free movement placed upon the Negro population. Thus, in certain areas the population is increasing where it normally would be expected to decrease if there were no such barriers. Likewise, the percentage of families owning homes is not entirely satisfactory as an economic index in large urban centers, where many of the well-to-do rent expensive apartments. It is, however, an indication of the relative stability of population in an area.

Correlation of series of rates based on geographical areas is further complicated by the fact that magnitude of the coefficient is influenced by the size of the area selected. This tendency has been noted by several writers,[1] but no satisfactory solution of the problem has been offered. If it be borne in mind that a correlation of area data is an index of geographical association for a particular type of spatial division only, rather than a fixed measure of functional relationship, it will be apparent that a change in area size changes the meaning of the correlation. Thus, an r of .90 or above for two series of rates calculated by square-mile areas indicates a high degree of association between the magnitudes of the two rates in most of the square miles but does not tell us the exact degree of covariance for smaller or larger areas.

With these limitations clearly in mind, a number of correlation coefficients and tables of covariance are presented. The statistical data characterizing and differentiating local urban areas may be grouped under three headings: (1) physical status, (2) economic status, and (3) population composition. These will be considered, in turn, in relation to rates of delinquents.

[1] See, e.g., C. E. Gehlke and K. Biehl, "Certain Effects of Grouping upon the Size of the Correlation Coefficient in Census Tract Material," *Journal of the American Statistical Association, Proceedings*, XXIX, Suppl. (March, 1934), 169–70.

INDEXES OF PHYSICAL STATUS IN RELATION TO RATES OF DELINQUENTS

The location of major industrial and commercial developments, the distribution of buildings condemned for demolition or repair, and the percentage increase or decrease in population by square-mile areas were presented in chapter ii as indications of the physical differentiation of areas within the city. Quantitative measures of the first two are not available, but inspection of the distribution maps shows clearly that the highest rates of delinquents are most frequently found in, or adjacent to, areas of heavy industry and commerce. These same neighborhoods have the largest number of condemned buildings. The only notable exception to this generalization, for Chicago, appears in some of the areas south of the central business district.

There is, of course, little reason to postulate a direct relationship between living in proximity to industrial developments and becoming delinquent. While railroads and industrial properties may offer a field for delinquent behavior, they can hardly be regarded as a cause of such activities. Industrial invasion and physical deterioration do, however, make an area less desirable for residential purposes. As a consequence, in time there is found a movement from this area of those people able to afford more attractive surroundings. Further, the decrease in the number of buildings available for residential purposes leads to a decrease in the population of the area.

Population Increase or Decrease.—Increase or decrease of population and rates of delinquents, by square-mile areas, do not exhibit a linear relationship. A relatively slight difference in rate of decrease of population, or of rate of increase for areas where the increase is slight, is generally associated with a considerable change in rates of delinquents; while for large differences in rates of increase of population, where increase is great, there is little or no consistent difference in rates of delinquents. Thus, areas increasing more than 70 per cent show no corresponding drop in rates of delinquents, although the relationship is clear up to this point. An adequate measure of the degree of association between

rates of delinquents and rates of population change must take into account the curvilinearity of the relationship. Accordingly, the correlation ratio, η, has been used.[2] When the rates of delinquents in the 1927–33 juvenile court series are thus correlated with the percentage increase or decrease of population between 1920 and 1930, by the 113 square-mile areas for which 1920 data are available, with rates of delinquents as the dependent variable, the correlation ratio, η_{yx}, is found to be .52. For the 1917–23 series of delinquents and the percentage increase or decrease of population from 1910 to 1920, with rates of delinquents again the dependent variable, η_{yx} is .69. (In both these calculations all population increases above 200 per cent were counted as 200.)

The sharp drop in the degree of association between the two series from one decade to the next is very largely due, no doubt, to the rapid increase during this period of the population in the colored district, where rates of delinquents were high. These were the only areas of significantly increasing population which also had high rates of delinquents. Conversely, some of the largest outlying areas, which show a marked growth in population, contain within them small areas near industrial developments where the population is decreasing and where a corresponding concentration of delinquents appears.

The general correspondence between rates of delinquents and population increase or decrease, by five classes of areas grouped according to population change, is presented in Table 41. The classes correspond to the five shadings on Map 3. For comparison, rates of delinquents based on the 1917–23 data are shown for five classes of areas grouped on the basis of population increase or decrease between 1910 and 1920.

It will be noted that in both these comparisons the highest rates of delinquents are in the classes of areas where the decrease in

[2] In each instance the percentage increase or decrease of population will be taken as the independent, or X, variable; and the rate of delinquents as the dependent, or Y, variable. In other words, the regression of rates of delinquents (Y) on increase or decrease of population (X) will be considered. This will be indicated by the symbol η_{yx}.

population is most rapid and that both indicate a consistent decrease in rates of delinquents with increasing population. The variation for the 1927–33 juvenile court series is from 9.5 to 2.0, while for the 1917–23 series it is from 9.7 to 3.4. These variations are presented graphically in Figure 23, *A* and *B*.

TABLE 41

RATES OF DELINQUENTS FOR AREAS GROUPED ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE INCREASE OR DECREASE OF POPULATION: 1927–33 AND 1917–23

Percentage Increase or Decrease of Population, 1920–30		Rate of Delinquents 1927–33
Decreasing:		
20–39	(27.5)*	9.5
0–19	(7.9)*	6.3
Increasing:		
0–19	(9.2)*	4.1
20–39	(28.4)*	3.0
40 and over	(124.2)*	2.0

Percentage Increase or Decrease of Population, 1910–20		Rate of Delinquents 1917–23
Decreasing:		
20–39	(32.5)*	9.7
0–19	(8.4)*	8.6
Increasing:		
0–19	(10.0)*	5.3
20–39	(29.9)*	4.0
40 and over	(87.5)*	3.4

* Percentage for class as a whole.

These correlation ratios and tables establish the fact that there is a similarity between the pattern of distribution of delinquency and that of population growth or decline. The data do not establish a causal relationship between the two variables, however. The fact that the population of an area is decreasing does not impel a boy to become delinquent. It may be said, however, that decreasing population is usually related to industrial invasion of an area and contributes to the development of a general situation conducive to delinquency.

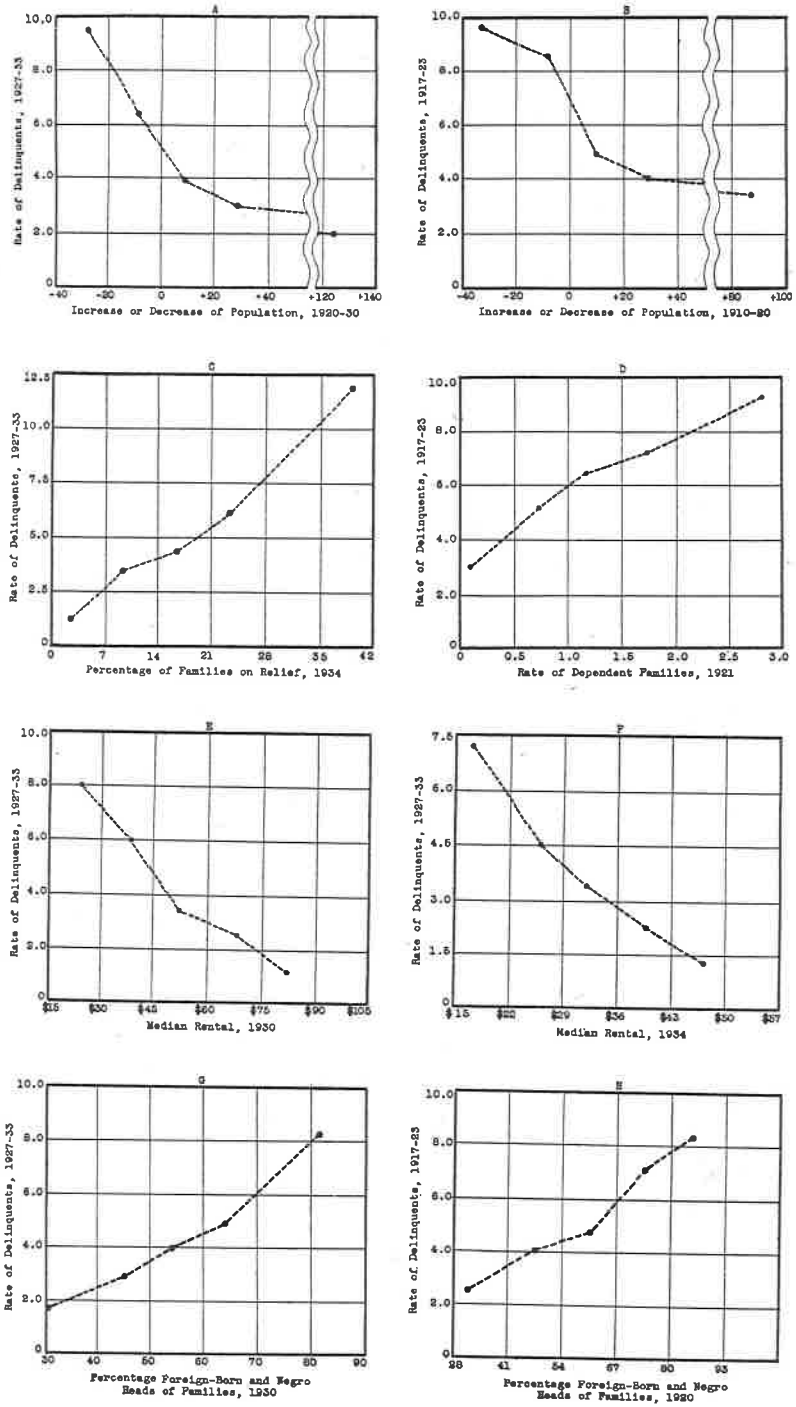


FIG. 23.—Relationship between rates of delinquents and other community characteristics.

INDEXES OF ECONOMIC STATUS IN RELATION TO RATES OF DELINQUENTS

Percentage of Families on Relief.—When the rates of delinquents in the 1927–33 series are correlated with percentages of families on relief in 1934, by 140 square-mile areas, the coefficient is .89 ± .01. The extent and nature of the correspondence between these two variables in Chicago are further indicated by the general comparison shown in Table 42 with rates of commitments added. Comparable data for the 1917–23 series are presented for classes of areas grouped by 1921 dependency rates.[3]

TABLE 42

RATES OF DELINQUENTS AND OF JUVENILE COURT COMMITMENTS, FOR AREAS GROUPED BY PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES ON RELIEF OR DEPENDENT: 1927–33 AND 1917–23 SERIES

Percentage of Families on Relief, 1934	Rate of Delinquents 1927–33	Rate of Commitments 1927–33
28.0 and over (39.2)*	11.7	4.3
21.0–27.9 (23.8)*	6.1	1.9
14.0–20.9 (16.9)*	4.3	1.4
7.0–13.9 (9.8)*	2.9	0.7
0.0– 6.9 (3.8)*	1.4	0.3

Rates of Dependency 1921	Rate of Delinquents 1917–23	Rate of Commitments 1917–23
2.0 and over (2.8)*	9.2	3.2
1.5–1.9 (1.7)*	7.1	2.5
1.0–1.4 (1.2)*	6.4	2.2
0.5–0.9 (0.7)*	5.1	1.5
0.0–0.4 (0.1)*	2.9	0.8

* Percentage for class as a whole.

The smooth variation in rates of delinquents with variation in the percentage of families on relief and rates of family dependency is presented graphically in Figure 23, *C* and *D*.

[3] The rates of dependency are based upon a study made by Professor Erle Fiske Young and Faye B. Karpf, showing the total number of families receiving financial aid from the United Charities and the Jewish Charities.

Median Rentals.—It is apparent from inspection, also, that there is a generally close association between equivalent monthly rentals and rates of delinquents. The areas of lowest rentals as of 1930 correspond quite closely with those of high rates of delinquents, and vice versa, though the relationship is not entirely linear. The zero-order coefficient obtained when median rentals

TABLE 43

RATES OF DELINQUENTS AND OF JUVENILE COURT COMMITMENTS FOR AREAS GROUPED BY MEDIAN RENTAL (140 SQUARE-MILE AREAS AND 60 COMMUNITIES), 1927–33 SERIES

Median Rentals, 1930 (140 Square-Mile Areas)	Rate of Delinquents 1927–33	Rate of Commitments 1927–33
$75.00 and over ($82.88)*	1.1	0.2
60.00–$74.99 (67.56)*	2.5	0.6
45.00– 59.99 (52.72)*	3.4	1.2
30.00– 44.99 (38.60)*	6.0	2.9
Under $30.00 (23.91)*	8.0	3.9

Median Rentals, 1934 (60 Community Areas)	Rate of Delinquents 1927–33	Rate of Commitments 1927–33
$43.00 and over ($47.49)*	1.2	0.3
36.00–$42.99 (40.13)*	2.2	0.6
29.00– 35.99 (32.43)*	3.3	1.4
22.00– 28.99 (26.77)*	4.5	2.3
Under $22.00 (17.31)*	7.2	3.5

* Rental for class as a whole.

and rates of delinquents in the 140 square-mile areas are correlated is $-.61 \pm .04$. The areas deviating most from the general trend are the South Side neighborhoods, where, as a result of special conditions, previously discussed, the relationship between income and rentals is not the same as for the rest of the city. It is interesting in this connection, however, that when the predominantly Negro areas are considered separately, the median rentals are seen to vary inversely with rates of delinquents, just as they do in the white areas. When logarithms of rates of delinquents are

plotted against median rentals, the regression is nearly linear, the coefficient being $-.71 \pm .03$ for the 140 areas.

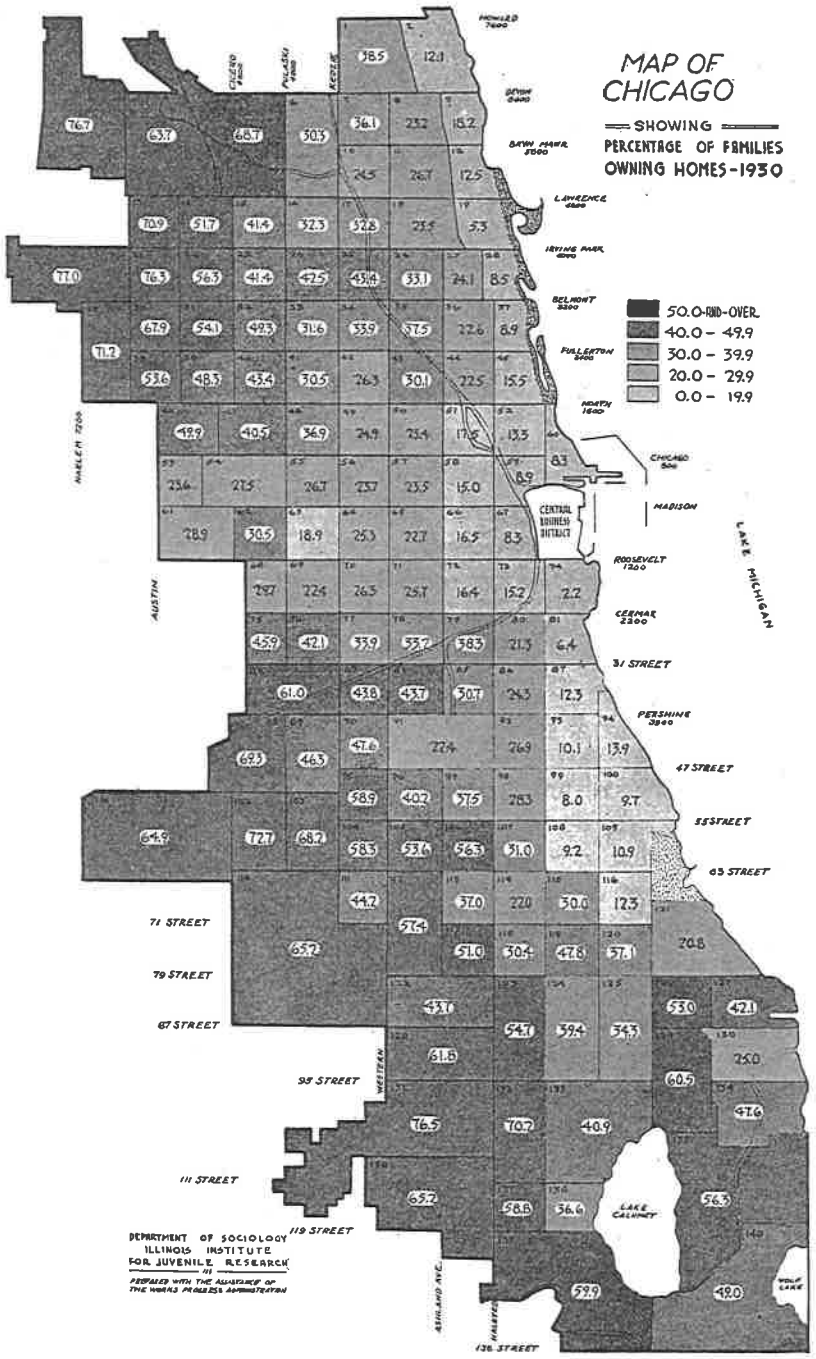
The association between rentals and rates of delinquents is further indicated when rates of delinquents are calculated for the five classes of areas shown on Map 5 (chap. ii). For comparison, the same delinquency data were used to compute rates for classes of areas grouped according to median rentals, by communities instead of by square-mile areas, from the Chicago census of 1934. The results are presented in Table 43.

The data of Table 43 indicate that the rate of delinquents in the lowest rental class is more than seven times as high as that in the highest rental class, when the 1930 data are used, and six times as high when the calculations are based on the 1934 census by larger community areas. These relationships are presented graphically in Figure 23, *E* and *F*.

Home Ownership.—The relationship between families on relief and rates of delinquents, as has been shown, is positive and linear. Median rentals and home ownership, on the other hand, are both inversely related to delinquency; but in the latter case, now to be considered, the relationship is not linear. The correlation ratio has therefore been used. When the 1927–33 rates of delinquents are correlated with the percentage of families owning their homes, in the 140 square-mile areas, as of 1930, the correlation ratio, η, is $-.49$. Similarly, when the 1917–23 rates are correlated with the percentage of families owning homes in 1920, η is $-.47$. Both these correlations are naturally reduced by the low rates of home ownership in some apartment-house areas, where the rates of delinquents are also low. They are high enough, however, to indicate that, generally speaking, low rates of home ownership and high rates of delinquents tend to appear together throughout Chicago.

The general association of home ownership with rates of delinquents is clearly evident when the latter are calculated for classes of areas grouped on the basis of the rates of home ownership, as shown on Map 25. Table 44 shows the rates of delinquents for these five classes of areas and for similar classes as of 1920.

MAP 25



HOME OWNERSHIP, CHICAGO, 1930

As indicated previously, the association appears to be closer when rates of delinquents are compared with each of these variables for five general classes of areas than when the correlations are based on the 140 smaller areas into which the city has been divided for the purpose of this study. This is especially true of the relation between rates of delinquents and percentages of home-owning families. The latter measure is no doubt, at the same time,

TABLE 44

RATES OF DELINQUENTS FOR AREAS GROUPED BY PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES OWNING HOMES: 1927–33 AND 1917–23 SERIES

Percentage of Families Owning Homes, 1930		Rate of Delinquents 1927–33
Under 20	(12.0)*	7.6
20–29.9	(24.3)*	5.1
30–39.9	(33.8)*	3.0
40–49.9	(44.4)*	2.5
50 and over	(62.7)*	2.3

Percentage of Families Owning Homes, 1920		Rate of Delinquents 1917–23
Under 15	(9.9)*	7.7
15.0–24.9	(20.0)*	6.6
25.0–34.9	(30.0)*	4.4
35.0–44.9	(38.8)*	3.2
45.0 and over	(56.2)*	3.8

* Percentage for class as a whole.

an indication of economic level, of the desirability status of an area, and of mobility. When the correlation ratio is calculated for the 140 areas, the coefficient is reduced greatly by the fact that many apartment areas are characterized both by low rates of delinquents and by low rates of home ownership. It will be noted, however, that the inverse relationship between the two phenomena is almost perfect when the data are treated in the five general classes. In this case, it is the trend alone which is clear, since actual differences within the areas are obscured.

Before closing the discussion of economic characteristics in relation to delinquency, it is necessary to ask: What is the meaning of the facts assembled? In view of the marked degree of covari-

ance throughout the city, it is easy to postulate a causal relationship between economic level and rates of juvenile delinquents. The correlation between rates of families on relief and rates of delinquents (indicated by an r of .89 $\pm$ .01) suggests that, where the percentage of dependent families is high, one may confidently expect also a high delinquency rate; yet the former is not in itself an *explanation* of the latter. There was little or no change in the rate of delinquents for the city as a whole from 1929 to 1934, when applications for assistance were mounting daily and the rates of families dependent on public and private relief increased more than tenfold. This would seem to indicate that the relief rate is not itself causally related to rate of delinquents. The patterns of distribution for both phenomena during these years, however, continued to correspond. Rentals, relief, and other measures of economic level fluctuate widely with the business cycle; but it is only as they serve to differentiate neighborhoods from one another that they seem related to the incidence of delinquency. It is when the rentals in an area are low, *relative to other areas in the city*, that this area selects the least-privileged population groups. On the other hand, rates of delinquents, of adult criminals, of infant deaths, and of tuberculosis, for any given area, remain relatively stable from year to year, showing but minor fluctuations with the business cycle. A rise or fall in one is usually accompanied by a corresponding change in the others, as shown in chapter iv, and apparently indicates a change in the relative status of the local area itself.

POPULATION COMPOSITION IN RELATION TO RATES OF DELINQUENTS

In Chicago, as in other northern industrial cities, as has been said, it is the most recent arrivals—persons of foreign birth and those who have migrated from other sections of this country—who find it necessary to make their homes in neighborhoods of low economic level. Thus the newer European immigrants are found concentrated in certain areas, while Negroes from the rural South and Mexicans occupy others of comparable status. Neither of these population categories, considered separately, however, is

suitable for correlation with rates of delinquents, since some areas of high rates have a predominantly immigrant population and others are entirely or largely Negro. Both categories, however, refer to groups of low economic status, making their adjustment to a complex urban environment. Foreign-born and Negro heads of families will therefore be considered together,[4] in order to study this segregation of the newer arrivals, on a city-wide scale.

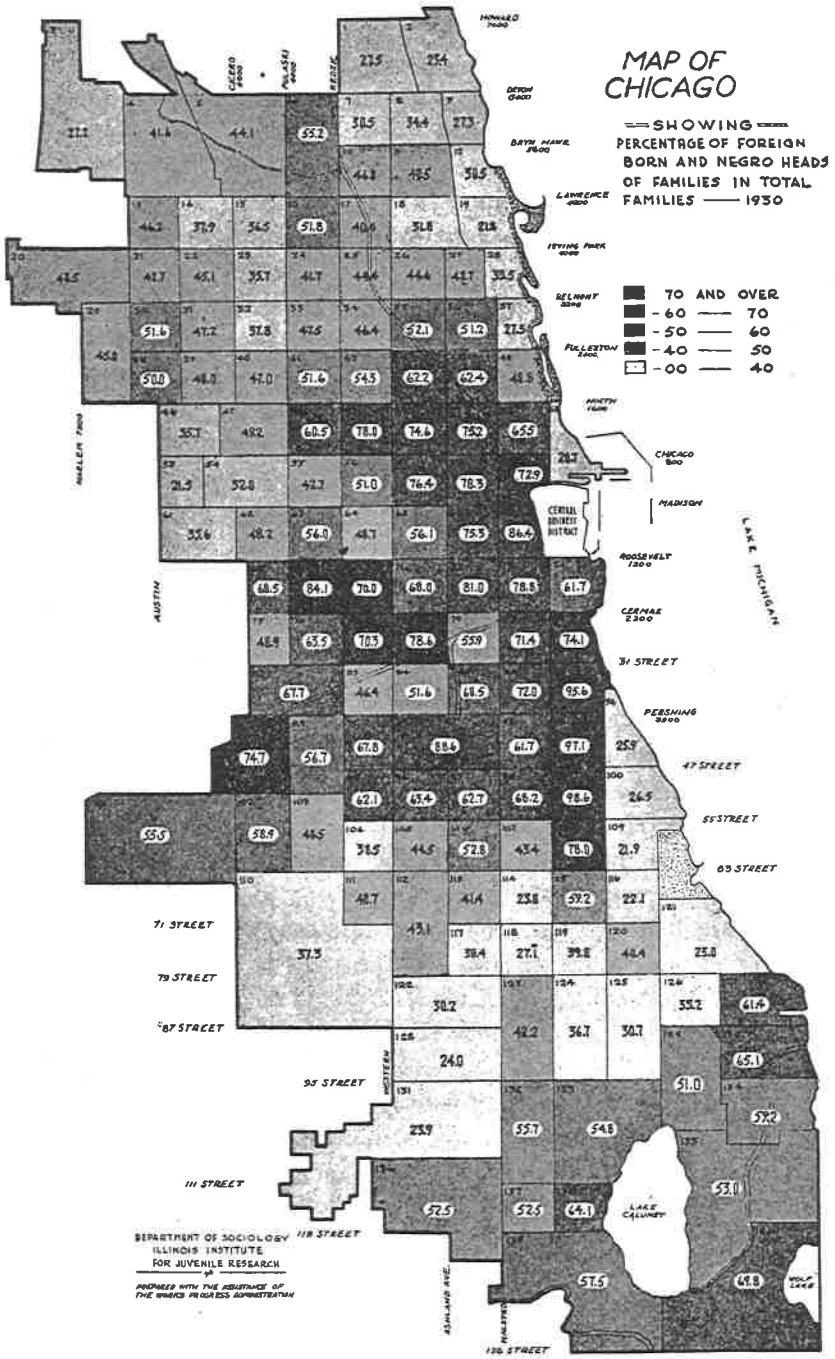
Percentage of Foreign-born and Negro Heads of Families.—When the rates of delinquents in the 1927–33 series are correlated with the percentage of foreign-born and Negro heads of families as of 1930, by 140 square-mile areas, the coefficient is found to be .60 $\pm$ .03. Similarly, when the 1917–23 delinquency data are correlated with percentages of foreign-born and Negro heads of families for 1920, by the 113 areas into which the city was divided for that series, the coefficient is .58 $\pm$ .04.

When rates of delinquents are calculated for the classes of areas shown on Map 26, wide variations are found between the rates in the classes where the percentage of foreign-born and Negro heads of families is high and in those where it is low. These data are presented in Table 45 and in Figure 23, *G* and *H*. Since the number of foreign-born heads of families in the population decreased and the number of Negroes increased between 1920 and 1930, the total proportions of foreign-born and Negro heads of families in each class do not correspond. The variation with rates of delinquents, however, remains unchanged.

While it is apparent from these data that the foreign born and the Negroes are concentrated in the areas of high rates of delinquents, the meaning of this association is not easily determined. One might be led to assume that the relatively large number of boys brought into court is due to the presence of certain racial or national groups were it not for the fact that the population composition of many of these neighborhoods has changed completely,

[4] The categories "foreign born" and "Negro" are not comparable, since the former group is made up primarily of adults, while the latter includes all members of the race. The classification "heads of families" has been used, therefore, foreign-born and Negro family heads being entirely comparable groupings. The census classification "other races" has been included—a relatively small group, comprising Mexicans, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, etc.

MAP 26



FOREIGN-BORN AND NEGRO HEADS OF FAMILIES, CHICAGO, 1930

without appreciable change in their rank as to rates of delinquents. Clearly, one must beware of attaching causal significance to race or nativity. For, in the present social and economic system, it is the Negroes and the foreign born, or at least the newest immigrants, who have least access to the necessities of life and who are therefore least prepared for the competitive struggle. It is they who are forced to live in the worst slum areas and who are least able to organize against the effects of such living.

TABLE 45

RATES OF DELINQUENTS FOR AREAS GROUPED BY PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN AND NEGRO HEADS OF FAMILIES: 1930 AND 1920

Percentage of Foreign-born and Negro Heads of Families, 1930		Rate of Delinquents 1927–33
70.0 and over	(81.4)*	8.2
60.0–69.9	(64.5)*	4.8
50.0–59.9	(53.9)*	3.9
40.0–49.9	(45.5)*	2.8
Under 40.0	(30.0)*	1.7

Percentage of Foreign-born and Negro Heads of Families, 1920		Rate of Delinquents 1917–23
80.0 and over	(85.3)*	8.4
67.0–79.9	(73.8)*	7.1
54.0–66.9	(60.2)*	4.6
41.0–53.9	(47.6)*	4.1
Under 41.0	(32.3)*	2.6

* Percentage for class as a whole.

In Chicago three kinds of data are available for the study of nativity, nationality, and race in relation to rates of delinquents. These data concern (1) the succession of nationality groups in the high-rate areas over a period of years; (2) changes in the national and racial backgrounds of children appearing in the Juvenile Court; and (3) rates of delinquents for particular racial, nativity, or nationality groups in different types of areas at any given moment. In evaluating the significance of community characteristics found to be associated with high rates of delinquents, the relative weight of race, nativity, and nationality must be understood. Therefore, a few basic tables from a more extended forthcoming

study will be presented, dealing, in order, with the three types of data referred to above.

Marked changes in population composition characterizing high-delinquency areas are indicated in Table 46, which shows for 8 inner-city areas[5] the variation, within the total foreign-born

TABLE 46

DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONALITIES IN THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION AT INTERVALS FROM 1884 TO 1930, FOR 8 CHICAGO AREAS COMBINED*

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	PERCENTAGE IN TOTAL FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION FOR EIGHT AREAS			
	1884†	1898	1920	1930
Germany	46.2	35.9	7.2	6.2
Ireland	22.2	18.7	2.8	2.3
England and Scotland	4.8	3.2	1.5	1.6
Scandinavia	16.9	19.8	2.4	2.0
Czechoslovakia	3.5	6.2	2.8	2.8
Italy	0.4	2.4	21.6	25.5
Poland	2.6	4.2	29.2	34.0
Slavic countries	0.1	2.2	19.6	14.0
All others	3.3	7.4	12.9	11.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* These have been areas of first immigrant settlement throughout the period studied.

† Area 91 is not included in computations for this column because in 1884 it was outside the boundaries of Chicago.

population, of percentages born in each specified country, between 1884 and 1930.[6]

It is readily evident from the data in Table 46 that the proportions of Germans, Irish, English-Scotch, and Scandinavians in the foreign-born population in 8 inner-city Chicago areas underwent, between 1884 and 1930, a decided decline (90.1 to 12.2 per cent); while the proportions of Italians, Poles, and Slavs increased. As

[5] These eight areas are 50, 52, 58, 66, 71, 79, 80, and 91.

[6] This tabulation includes most of the adult population, and consequently most of the parents of boys of juvenile court age. For example, in 1920, on the average, the fathers of 87 per cent of all boys 10–16 years of age in these areas were foreign born. The percentage of delinquent boys in the 8 areas in the same period whose fathers were foreign born was very nearly the same (83).

may be seen from a study of the rate maps representing the three juvenile court series, the 8 areas maintained, throughout these decades, approximately the same rates of delinquents relative to other areas. Some increased slightly in rank, others dropped slightly; but no trend in either direction was apparent. This is indicated roughly by the fact that the mean percentile ranks for the 8 areas, in the juvenile court series of 1927–33, 1917–23, and 1900–1906, were, respectively, 83, 85, and 85. It is significant, also, that when most families of a given nationality had moved out of these areas of first settlement, those who remained produced fewer delinquents than would be expected on the basis of their proportion in the population.

These 8 areas are but samples of the high-rate areas where changes in the population occurred. A similar analysis of any one of the inner-city areas in Chicago would no doubt reveal great changes in the nationality composition of the population, without discernible effect on the comparative status of the area as to rates of delinquents.

The second type of data available pertaining to the movement of national groups out of the high-rate areas is seen in Table 47,[7] which shows, over three decades, the changing proportion of delinquent boys whose fathers were born in each specified country.

Following the shift out of the areas of first settlement on the part of each older immigrant nationality, the proportion of their children among the boys of foreign parentage appearing in the Juvenile Court underwent a notable decline. Just as they were being replaced in their old areas of residence by more recent immigrants, so their sons were replaced in the dockets of the court by the sons of new arrivals. Further, no evidence exists which would indicate that the children of the nationalities disappearing from the court records are reappearing as children of the native-born children of the native-born descendants of these newcomers. The rates of delinquents in areas populated by these descendants re-

[7] From Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency*, Vol. II of *Report on the Causes of Crime*, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Report No. 13 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931), p. 95.

main low, and in the Juvenile Court the proportion of boys born of native parents increases less rapidly than the proportion of native-parentage boys in the general population.

Further data dealing with the effect of nationality, nativity, and race on rates of delinquents are presented in Tables 48, 49, and 50. These indicate that the relatively higher rates found among the children of Negroes as compared with those of whites, the children of foreign-born as compared with those of native parents, and the

TABLE 47

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DELINQUENT BOYS BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF THEIR FATHERS, FOR EACH FIFTH YEAR SINCE 1900, JUVENILE COURT OF COOK COUNTY

Country of Birth of Fathers	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930
United States:							
White	16.0	19.0	16.5	16.5	23.0	21.7	19.5
Negro	4.7	5.1	5.5	6.2	9.9	17.1	21.7
Germany	20.4	19.5	15.5	11.0	6.3	3.5	1.9
Ireland	18.7	15.4	12.3	10.7	6.1	3.1	1.3
Italy	5.1	8.3	7.9	10.1	12.7	12.8	11.7
Poland	15.1	15.7	18.6	22.1	24.5	21.9	21.0
England and Scotland	3.4	3.0	2.5	2.6	0.9	0.7	0.6
Scandinavia	3.8	5.6	2.9	2.8	2.3	0.5	0.8
Austria	0.1	0.3	0.9	1.3	0.8	2.2	1.7
Lithuania	0.1	0.3	1.1	2.9	2.2	3.9	3.8
Czechoslovakia	4.6	4.3	5.5	3.0	2.2	2.8	4.2
All others	8.0	4.5	11.8	10.8	9.1	9.8	11.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

children of recent immigrant nationalities as compared with those of older immigrants may be attributed to the different patterns of distribution of these population groups within the city at a given time rather than to differences in the capacity of their children for conventional behavior.

The data in Tables 48, 49, and 50 support three related propositions. First, comparisons indicate that the white as well as the Negro, the native as well as the foreign born, and the older immigrant nationalities as well as the recent arrivals range in their rates of delinquents from the very highest to the lowest. While each population group at a given moment shows a concentration

in certain types of social areas, and hence a characteristic magnitude in rate of delinquents, adequate samples of each may be found also in areas which, for them, are at the time atypical. Thus, as indicated in Table 48, rates for children of the foreign

TABLE 48

NUMBER AND RATES OF MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS, FOR NATIVITY GROUPS, BY CLASSES OF AREAS GROUPED BY RATES OF WHITE DELINQUENTS, 1927–33

Area Rates of White Delinquents	Native White of Native Parentage (NWNP)			Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage (NWFP)			Percentage by Which Rate for NWFP Exceeds Rate for NWNP
	Boys Aged 10–16	Juvenile Delinquents	Rate of Delinquents	Boys Aged 10–16	Juvenile Delinquents	Rate of Delinquents	
0.0– 0.9	15,707	75	0.48	14,684	78	0.53	10.4
1.0– 1.9	17,428	225	1.29	23,218	304	1.57	21.7
2.0– 2.9	11,213	225	2.01	20,840	546	2.62	30.3
3.0– 3.9	8,034	259	3.22	20,021	695	3.47	7.8
4.0– 4.9	4,082	167	4.09	11,567	514	4.44	8.6
5.0– 5.9	2,471	127	5.14	11,095	616	5.55	8.0
6.0– 6.9	1,739	81	4.66	6,805	467	6.86	47.2
7.0– 7.9	1,380	80	5.80	4,925	390	7.92	36.6
8.0– 8.9	505	44	8.71	1,935	162	8.37	− 3.9
9.0– 9.9	747	80	10.71	3,029	276	9.11	−14.9
10.0–10.9	401	32	7.98	1,656	182	10.99	37.7
11.0–11.9	418	50	11.96	1,739	193	11.10	− 7.2
12.0 and over	308	46	14.94	2,654	410	15.45	3.4
City	64,433	1,491	2.31	124,168	4,893	3.94	70.6
City (standardized)*	64,433	2,080	3.23	124,168	4,537	3.65	13.0

* In this redistribution the racial and national groups in each class of areas were adjusted to correspond with their proportion in the city as a whole, as of 1930. The classes used were based on rates of white delinquents. However, standardization by areas grouped according to median rentals or other index of economic status would no doubt give approximately the same result.

born range from 0.53 to 15.45, and those for children of native whites from 0.48 to 14.94. Similarly, the rates for children of such diverse nationality groups as the Poles and the Italians, as well as for all other nationalities taken as a group, display a wide range. Racial comparisons present the same picture, although the variations are not so great. Data presented in Table 50 indicate that rates of delinquents among Negro children, as among whites,

display wide variation. No racial, national, or nativity group exhibits a uniform, characteristic rate of delinquents in all parts of Chicago.

Second, within the same type of social area, the foreign born and the natives, recent immigrant nationalities, and older immigrants produce very similar rates of delinquents. Those among the foreign born and among the recent immigrants who from 1927 to 1933 lived in physically adequate residential areas of higher economic status displayed low rates of delinquents, while, conversely, those among the native born and among the older immigrants who in that period occupied physically deteriorated areas of low economic status displayed high rates of delinquents. Negroes living in the most deteriorated and disorganized portions of the Negro

TABLE 49

RATES OF MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS FOR NATIVITY AND NATIONALITY GROUPS, BY CLASSES OF AREAS GROUPED BY RATES OF WHITE DELINQUENTS, 1927–33

AREA RATES OF WHITE DELINQUENTS	RATES OF DELINQUENTS					
	White	Native White of Native Parentage	Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage	Polish Origin	Italian Origin	All Other Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage
0.0– 0.9	0.50	0.48	0.53	0.53	0.89	0.52
1.0– 1.9	1.45	1.29	1.57	1.98	2.18	1.35
2.0– 2.9	2.41	2.01	2.62	2.97	4.08	2.24
3.0– 3.9	3.40	3.22	3.47	3.97	3.73	3.13
4.0– 4.9	4.35	4.09	4.44	5.22	5.36	3.75
5.0– 5.9	5.48	5.14	5.55	6.11	5.55	4.95
6.0– 6.9	6.41	4.66	6.86	7.34	7.95	5.77
7.0– 7.9	7.45	5.80	7.92	7.16	9.25	7.66
8.0– 8.9	8.44	8.71	8.37	9.43	8.30	7.87
9.0– 9.9	9.43	10.71	9.11	9.46	7.37	9.46
10.0–10.9	10.40	7.98	10.99	12.50	11.46	10.08
11.0–11.9	11.27	11.96	11.10	14.48	10.78	9.20
12.0 and over	15.40	14.94	15.45	11.68	18.40	11.76
City	3.38	2.31	3.94	4.58	7.06	2.95
City (standardized)*	3.53	3.23	3.65	3.99	4.29	3.23

* See Table 48, n., for standardization procedure.

community possessed the highest Negro rate of delinquents, just as whites living in comparable white areas showed the highest white rates.

Third, certain population groups with high rates of delinquents now dwell in preponderant numbers in those deteriorated and disorganized inner-city industrial areas where long-standing traditions of delinquent behavior have survived successive invasions of peoples of diverse origin. By "standardizing" their distribution—

TABLE 50

NUMBER AND RATES OF MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS, FOR RACIAL GROUPS, BY CLASSES OF AREAS GROUPED ACCORDING TO RATE OF WHITE DELINQUENTS, 1927–33

AREA RATES OF DELINQUENTS	WHITE			NEGRO			PERCENTAGE BY WHICH RATE FOR NEGROES EXCEEDS RATE FOR WHITES
	Boys Aged 10–16	Juvenile Delinquents	Rate of Delinquents	Boys Aged 10–16	Juvenile Delinquents	Rate of Delinquents	
0.0–3.9	120,642	2,461	2.04	574	42	7.32	258.8
4.0–7.9	50,095	2,387	4.76	1,065	181	17.00	257.1
8.0 and over	17,864	1,536	8.60	7,600	1,482	19.50	126.7
City	188,601	6,384	3.38	9,239	1,705	18.45	445.9
City (standardized)*	188,601	6,786	3.60	9,239	1,054	11.41	216.9

* See Table 48, n., for standardization procedure.

that is, creating a hypothetical proportionate redistribution of each nativity, racial, and nationality group throughout the city—it is possible to see the effect of the actual disproportionate concentration of each group at present in the high-rate areas. Table 48 indicates that such standardization reduces the delinquency rate for white children of foreign or mixed parentage from 3.94 to 3.65, and raises the rate for those of native white parentage from 2.31 to 3.23. It is interesting to note that in the unstandardized data the rate for foreign-parentage children in the city as a whole was 70.6 per cent greater than the city-wide rate for native-parentage children. Adjustment for disproportionate distribution of

these two nativity groups reduced this excess to 13.0 per cent. The difficulty of securing areas which are uniform with reference to their social characteristics, however, renders the statistical correction sought in the use of the standardizing procedure only an approximate one at best. It is not valid, for example, to assume that the children of the foreign born residing in areas of predominantly native population live in exactly the same life-situation as do the children of native parents. Differences in status, values, and attitudes of associates are known to exist. If these differences could be statistically eliminated (an obvious impossibility), it is safe to assume that the difference in rate between these two nativity groups would approach zero.

Standardization with reference to parental nationality, as indicated in Table 49, lowers the Italian rate from 7.06 to 4.29 and the Polish rate from 4.58 to 3.99, while raising the rate of the "all others" group from 2.94 to 3.23. Similarly, Table 50 suggests the extent to which the Negro rate is a function of concentration in high-rate areas. Standardization here reduces the Negro rate from 18.45 to 11.41 and raises the white rate from 3.38 to 3.60.

It appears to be established, then, that each racial, nativity, and nationality group in Chicago displays widely varying rates of delinquents; that rates for immigrant groups in particular show a wide historical fluctuation; that diverse racial, nativity, and national groups possess relatively similar rates of delinquents in similar social areas; and that each of these groups displays the effect of disproportionate concentration in its respective areas at a given time. In the face of these facts it is difficult to sustain the contention that, by themselves, the factors of race, nativity, and nationality are vitally related to the problem of juvenile delinquency. It seems necessary to conclude, rather, that the significantly higher rates of delinquents found among the children of Negroes, the foreign born, and more recent immigrants are closely related to existing differences in their respective patterns of geographical distribution within the city. If these groups were found in the same proportion in all local areas, existing differences in the relative number of boys brought into court from the various

groups might be expected to be greatly reduced or to disappear entirely.

It may be that the correlation between rates of delinquents and foreign-born and Negro heads of families is incidental to relationships between rates of delinquents and apparently more basic social and economic characteristics of local communities. Evidence that this is the case is seen in two partial correlation coefficients computed. Selecting the relief rate as a fair measure of economic level, the problem is to determine the relative weight of this and other factors. The partial correlation coefficient between rate of delinquents and percentage of families on relief, holding constant the percentage of foreign-born and Negro heads of families, in the 140 areas, is $.76 \pm .02$. However, the coefficient for rates of delinquents and percentage of foreign-born and Negro heads of families, when percentage of families on relief is held constant, is only $.26 \pm .05$. It is clear from these coefficients, therefore, that the percentage of families on relief is related to rates of delinquents in a more significant way than is the percentage of foreign-born and Negro heads of families.

It should be emphasized that the high degree of association between rates of delinquents and other community characteristics, as revealed in this chapter, does not mean that these characteristics must be regarded as causes of delinquency, or vice versa. Within certain types of areas differentiated in city growth, these phenomena appear together with such regularity that their rates are highly correlated. Yet the nature of the relationship between types of conduct and given physical, economic, or demographic characteristics is not revealed by the magnitude either of zero-order or partial correlation coefficients, or of other measures of association.

A high degree of association may lead to the uncritical assumption that certain factors are causally related, whereas further analysis shows the existing association to be entirely adventitious. This is apparently the case with the data on nativity, nationality, and race above presented. That, on the whole, the proportion of foreign-born and Negro population is higher in areas with high rates of delinquents there can be little doubt; but the facts fur-

nish ample basis for the further conclusion that the boys brought into court are not delinquent *because* their parents are foreign born or Negro but rather because of other aspects of the total

TABLE 51

RATE OF DELINQUENTS, INCREASE OR DECREASE OF POPULATION, ECONOMIC SEGREGATION, AND SEGREGATION BY RACE AND NATIVITY, FOR 2-MILE ZONES, 1927–33 JUVENILE COURT SERIES

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS	ZONES				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Rate of delinquents, 1927–33	9.8	6.7	4.5	2.5	1.8
Percentage increase or decrease of population, 1920–30	−21.3	−9.3	12.3	42.9	140.8
Economic segregation:					
Percentage of families on relief, 1934	27.9	24.0	14.8	8.6	5.9
Median rentals, 1930	$38.08	$36.51	$53.08	$65.38	$73.51
Median rentals, 1934	$21.45	$20.44	$29.42	$38.04	$42.52
Percentage of families owning homes, 1930	12.8	21.8	26.2	32.8	47.2
Percentage in domestic and personal services, 1930	14.0	9.1	7.7	7.1	4.7
Segregation by race and nativity:					
Percentage of foreign-born and Negro heads of families, 1930	62.3	64.9	55.9	40.4	39.4
Percentage of Negroes and other races in total population, 1930	9.5	12.8	10.8	4.9	0.3
Percentage of foreign born in white population, 1930	33.2	33.1	28.7	23.5	20.7
Percentage of aliens in foreign-born population 21 and over, 1930	32.9	27.6	20.0	15.4	14.9
Percentage of aliens in white population 21 and over, 1930	15.0	14.2	8.7	5.0	4.5

situation in which they live. In the same way, the relationship between rates of delinquents and each associated variable should be explored, either by further analysis, by experimentation, or by the study of negative cases.

SUMMARY

Variations in Community Characteristics by Zones.—All data presented in this chapter have been tabulated for the same zones used in analyzing the delinquency materials. Table 51 and Figure

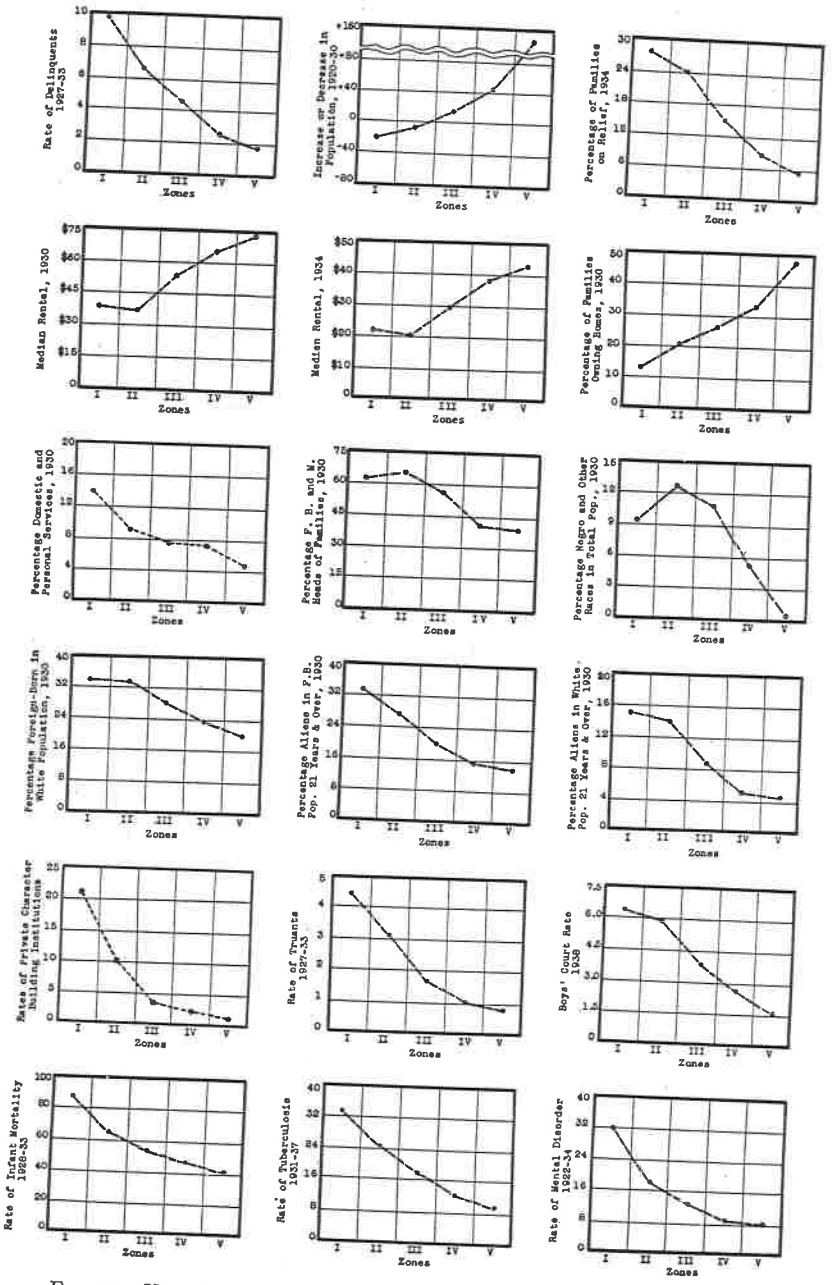


FIG. 24.—Variation in rates of community characteristics, by zones, 1930

24 bring together the phenomena associated with the 1927–33 juvenile court series, and Table 52 and Figure 25 present similar comparisons for the 1917–23 data.

TABLE 52

RATE OF DELINQUENTS, PERCENTAGE INCREASE OR DECREASE OF POPULATION, ECONOMIC SEGREGATION, SEGREGATION BY RACE AND NATIVITY, AND EMPLOYMENT BY TYPE OF INDUSTRY, FOR 2-MILE ZONES, 1917–23 JUVENILE COURT SERIES

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS	ZONES				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Rate of delinquents, 1917–23	10.3	7.3	4.4	3.3	3.0
Percentage increase or decrease of population, 1910–20	−22.8	−2.2	35.3	71.0	124.4
Economic segregation:					
Rate of family dependency, 1921	3.0	1.7	0.6	0.4	0.3
Juvenile court dependency cases, 1917–23	1.7	1.2	0.7	0.5	0.4
Juvenile court, mothers' pension cases, 1917–23	1.7	1.2	0.7	0.4	0.3
Percentage of families owning homes, 1920	11.9	17.5	25.6	31.9	43.6
Segregation by race and nativity:					
Percentage of foreign-born and Negro heads of families, 1920	72.3	69.7	55.1	42.6	40.6
Percentage of Negroes in total population, 1920	2.5	8.3	4.3	1.6	0.4
Percentage of foreign born in white population, 1920	41.0	37.5	30.1	23.6	22.6
Percentage of aliens in foreign-born population 21 and over, 1920	41.9	33.1	22.5	16.6	16.2
Percentage of aliens in white population 21 and over, 1920	24.0	19.0	9.9	5.7	5.6
Employment by type of industry, 1920:					
Percentage manufacturing and mechanical	46.6	50.2	43.3	39.3	40.3
Percentage clerical	6.7	9.5	13.0	15.8	15.5
Percentage professional services	3.4	3.2	4.4	5.7	6.4
Percentage domestic and personal services	10.3	7.2	5.3	4.1	3.3

It has been shown that, when rates of delinquents are calculated for classes of areas grouped according to rate of any one of a number of community characteristics studied, a distinct pattern appears—the two sets of rates in each case varying together.

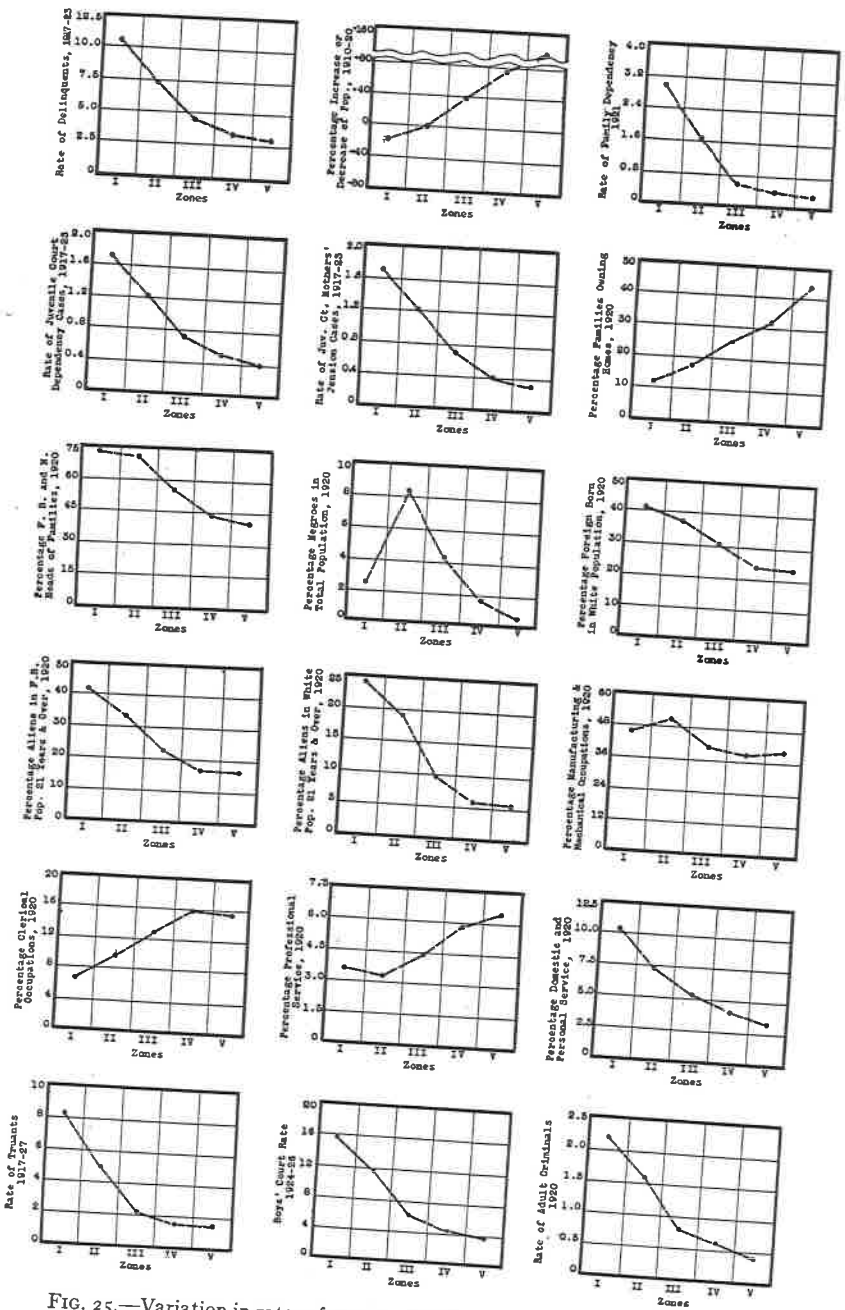


FIG. 25.—Variation in rates of community characteristics, by zones, 1920

TABLE 53

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS, FOR AREAS GROUPED BY RATE OF DELINQUENTS: 1927–33 AND 1917–23 SERIES

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS	RATES OF DELINQUENTS, 1927–33				
	0.0–2.4 (1.5)*	2.5–4.9 (3.5)*	5.0–7.4 (5.8)*	7.5–9.9 (9.0)*	10.0 and Over (13.5)*
Percentage increase or decrease of population, 1920–30†	59.7	28.6	−6.2	−14.0	−11.8
Median rental, 1930‡	$67.96	$54.83	$38.19	$35.58	$36.41
Percentage of families on relief, 1934‡	6.9	11.9	17.1	30.6	40.5
Percentage of families owning homes, 1930‡	35.9	32.0	27.5	17.5	14.9
Percentage of foreign-born and Negro heads of families, 1930‡	37.8	50.5	51.8	69.3	81.9
Rate of truants, 1927–33‡	0.7	1.5	2.8	3.9	5.4
Rate of young adult offenders, 1938‡	1.7	3.0	4.6	6.9	11.5
Rate of infant mortality, 1928–34§	41.8	55.1	72.0	72.9	78.3
Rate of mental disorder, 1922–34§	9.4	12.5	19.0	26.9	23.6
Rate of tuberculosis, 1931–37‖	9.9	13.2	19.7	27.8	64.6

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS†	RATES OF DELINQUENTS, 1917–23				
	0.0–2.9 (2.0)*	3.0–5.9 (4.2)*	6.0–8.9 (7.1)*	9.0–11.9 (10.0)*	12.0 and Over (14.1)*
Percentage increase or decrease of population, 1910–20	67.9	43.4	−0.4	−10.4	−19.2
Percentage of families owning homes, 1920	33.6	28.4	22.7	16.8	10.0
Percentage of foreign-born and Negro heads of families, 1920	43.9	52.4	68.4	75.5	77.6
Rate of truants, 1917–27	0.9	2.0	5.1	7.6	9.8
Boys' court cases, 1924–26	3.1	5.5	11.8	17.1	21.6
Juvenile court dependents, 1917–23	0.3	0.7	1.1	1.6	2.4
Family dependency, 1921	0.2	0.6	1.7	2.1	2.6

* Rate for class as a whole.
† By 113 areas.
‡ By 140 areas.
§ By 120 areas.
‖ By 60 areas.

When values of these other community characteristics, in turn, are calculated for classes of areas grouped by rate of delinquents, the same consistent trends appear, as is seen in Table 53.

The data in this chapter indicate a high degree of association between rates of delinquents and other community characteristics when correlations are computed on the basis of values in square-mile areas or similar subdivisions, and a still closer general association by large zones or classes of areas. In the following chapters an attempt will be made to determine how the community conditions in question are related to delinquency—in short, to describe briefly the mechanisms and processes through which these conditions are translated into conduct.

CHAPTER VII

DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL VALUES AND ORGANIZATION AMONG LOCAL COMMUNITIES

IN THE previous chapter those areas of the city where the rates of delinquents are high have been distinguished from the low-rate areas in terms of physical, economic, and population characteristics. In the present chapter attention is focused upon the more subtle differences in values, standards, attitudes, traditions, and institutions. This discussion will be based upon data already presented and also upon facts drawn from other studies or from personal acquaintance with the communities under consideration.

DIFFERENTIAL SYSTEMS OF VALUES

In general, the more subtle differences between types of communities in Chicago may be encompassed within the general proposition that in the areas of low rates of delinquents there is more or less uniformity, consistency, and universality of conventional values and attitudes with respect to child care, conformity to law, and related matters; whereas in the high-rate areas systems of competing and conflicting moral values have developed. Even though in the latter situation conventional traditions and institutions are dominant, delinquency has developed as a powerful competing way of life. It derives its impelling force in the boy's life from the fact that it provides a means of securing economic gain, prestige, and other human satisfactions and is embodied in delinquent groups and criminal organizations, many of which have great influence, power, and prestige.

In the areas of high economic status where the rates of delinquents are low there is, in general, a similarity in the attitudes of the residents with reference to conventional values, as has been said, especially those related to the welfare of children. This is illustrated by the practical unanimity of opinion as to the desirability of education and constructive leisure-time activities and of the need for a general health program. It is shown, too, in the subtle, yet easily recognizable, pressure exerted upon children to keep them engaged in conventional activities, and in the resistance offered by the community to behavior which threatens the conventional values. It does not follow that all the activities participated in by members of the community are lawful; but, since any unlawful pursuits are likely to be carried out in other parts of the city, children living in the low-rate communities are, on the whole, insulated from direct contact with these deviant forms of adult behavior.

In the middle-class areas and the areas of high economic status, moreover, the similarity of attitudes and values as to social control is expressed in institutions and voluntary associations designed to perpetuate and protect these values. Among these may be included such organizations as the parent-teachers associations, women's clubs, service clubs, churches, neighborhood centers, and the like. Where these institutions represent dominant values, the child is exposed to, and participates in a significant way in one mode of life only. While he may have knowledge of alternatives, they are not integral parts of the system in which he participates.

In contrast, the areas of low economic status, where the rates of delinquents are high, are characterized by wide diversity in norms and standards of behavior. The moral values range from those that are strictly conventional to those in direct opposition to conventionality as symbolized by the family, the church, and other institutions common to our general society. The deviant values are symbolized by groups and institutions ranging from adult criminal gangs engaged in theft and the marketing of stolen goods, on the one hand, to quasi-legitimate businesses and the rackets through which partial or complete control of legitimate business is sometimes exercised, on the other. Thus, within the same community, theft may be defined as right and proper in some groups and as immoral, improper, and undesirable in others. In some groups wealth and prestige are secured through acts of skill and courage in the delinquent or criminal world, while in

neighboring groups any attempt to achieve distinction in this manner would result in extreme disapprobation. Two conflicting systems of economic activity here present roughly equivalent opportunities for employment and for promotion. Evidence of success in the criminal world is indicated by the presence of adult criminals whose clothes and automobiles indicate unmistakably that they have prospered in their chosen fields. The values missed and the greater risks incurred are not so clearly apparent to the young.

Children living in such communities are exposed to a variety of contradictory standards and forms of behavior rather than to a relatively consistent and conventional pattern.[1] More than one type of moral institution and education are available to them. A boy may be familiar with, or exposed to, either the system of conventional activities or the system of criminal activities, or both. Similarly, he may participate in the activities of groups which engage mainly in delinquent activities, those concerned with conventional pursuits, or those which alternate between the two worlds. His attitudes and habits will be formed largely in accordance with the extent to which he participates in and becomes identified with one or the other of these several types of groups.

Conflicts of values necessarily arise when boys are brought in contact with so many forms of conduct not reconcilable with conventional morality as expressed in church and school. A boy may be found guilty of delinquency in the court, which represents the values of the larger society, for an act which has had at least tacit approval in the community in which he lives. It is perhaps common knowledge in the neighborhood that public funds are embezzled and that favors and special consideration can be received from some public officials through the payment of stipulated sums; the boys assume that all officials can be influenced in this way. They are familiar with the location of illegal institutions in the community and with the procedures through which such institutions are opened and kept in operation; they know where

[1] Edwin H. Sutherland has called this process "differential association." See E. H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1939), chap. i.

stolen goods can be sold and the kinds of merchandise for which there is a ready market; they know what the rackets are; and they see in fine clothes, expensive cars, and other lavish expenditures the evidences of wealth among those who openly engage in illegal activities. All boys in the city have some knowledge of these activities; but in the inner-city areas they are known intimately, in terms of personal relationships, while in other sections they enter the child's experience through more impersonal forms of communication, such as motion pictures, the newspaper, and the radio.

Other types of evidence tending to support the existence of diverse systems of values in various areas are to be found in the data on delinquency and crime. In the previous chapter, variations by local areas in the number and rates of adult offenders were presented. When translated into its significance for children, the presence of a large number of adult criminals in certain areas means that children there are in contact with crime as a career and with the criminal way of life, symbolized by organized crime. In this type of organization can be seen the delegation of authority, the division of labor, the specialization of function, and all the other characteristics common to well-organized business institutions wherever found.

Similarly, the delinquency data presented graphically on spot maps and rate maps in the preceding pages give plausibility to the existence of a coherent system of values supporting delinquent acts. In making these interpretations it should be remembered that delinquency is essentially group behavior. A study of boys brought into the Juvenile Court of Cook County during the year 1928[2] revealed that 81.8 per cent of these boys committed the offenses for which they were brought to court as members of groups. And when the offenses were limited to stealing, it was found that 89 per cent of all offenders were taken to court as group or gang members. In many additional cases where the boy

[2] Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency*, Vol. II of *Report on the Causes of Crime*, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Report No. 13 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931), pp. 191–99.

actually committed his offense alone, the influence of companions was, nevertheless, apparent. This point is illustrated in certain cases of boys charged with stealing from members of their own families, where the theft clearly reflects the influence and instigation of companions, and in instances where the problems of the boy charged with incorrigibility reveal conflicting values, those of the family competing with those of the delinquent group for his allegiance.

The heavy concentration of delinquency in certain areas means, therefore, that boys living in these areas are in contact not only with individuals who engage in proscribed activity but also with groups which sanction such behavior and exert pressure upon their members to conform to group standards. Examination of the distribution map reveals that, in contrast with the areas of concentration of delinquents, there are many other communities where the cases are so widely dispersed that the chances of a boy's having intimate contact with other delinquents or with delinquent groups are comparatively slight.

The importance of the concentration of delinquents is seen most clearly when the effect is viewed in a temporal perspective. The maps representing distribution of delinquents at successive periods indicate that, year after year, decade after decade, the same areas have been characterized by these concentrations. This means that delinquent boys in these areas have contact not only with other delinquents who are their contemporaries but also with older offenders, who in turn had contact with delinquents preceding them, and so on back to the earliest history of the neighborhood. This contact means that the traditions of delinquency can be and are transmitted down through successive generations of boys, in much the same way that language and other social forms are transmitted.

The cumulative effect of this transmission of tradition is seen in two kinds of data, which will be presented here only very briefly. The first is a study of offenses, which reveals that certain types of delinquency have tended to characterize certain city areas. The execution of each type involves techniques which must be learned from others who have participated in the same activity. Each involves specialization of function, and each has its own terminology and standards of behavior. Jack-rolling, shoplifting, stealing from junkmen, and stealing automobiles are examples of offenses with well-developed techniques, passed on by one generation to the next.

The second body of evidence on the effects of the continuity of tradition within delinquent groups comprises the results of a study of the contacts between delinquents, made through the use of official records.[3] The names of boys who appeared together in court were taken, and the range of their association with other boys whose names appeared in the same records was then analyzed and charted. It was found that some members of each delinquent group had participated in offenses in the company of other older boys, and so on, backward in time in an unbroken continuity as far as the records were available. The continuity thus traced is roughly comparable to that which might be established among baseball players through their appearance in official lineups or regularly scheduled games. In baseball it is known that the techniques are transmitted through practice in back yards, playgrounds, sand lots, and in other places where boys congregate. Similarly in the case of delinquency traditions, if an unbroken continuity can be traced through formal institutions such as the Juvenile Court, the actual contacts among delinquents in the community must be numerous, continuous, and vital.

The way in which boys are inducted into unconventional behavior has been revealed by large numbers of case studies of youths living in areas where the rates of delinquents are high. Through the boy's own life-story the wide range of contacts with other boys has been revealed. These stories indicate how at early ages the boys took part with older boys in delinquent activities, and how, as they themselves acquired experience, they initiated others into the same pursuits. These cases reveal also the steps through which members are incorporated into the delinquent group organization. Often at early ages boys engage in malicious

[3] "Contacts between Successive Generations of Delinquent Boys in a Low-Income Area in Chicago" (unpublished study by the Department of Sociology, Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research, 1940).

mischief and simple acts of stealing. As their careers develop, they become involved in more serious offenses, and finally become skilled workmen or specialists in some particular field of criminal activity. In each of these phases the boy is supported by the sanction and the approbation of the delinquent group to which he belongs.

The manner in which the boy in the high-rate areas is exposed to delinquency values and assimilates them through his group contacts is most clearly revealed in autobiographical documents. To illustrate this process, short excerpts from the life-stories of three delinquents in widely separated sections of Chicago are presented, essentially as written.

Case 1

My start as a delinquent was as many more fellows started. It started with playing hookey from school. Then I was shown how to get cookies, cakes, and a lot of other things that can make the day nice for a young truant. That was simple, the folks having credit at stores and paying every two weeks or month were the goats. I would go into the store and ask for whatever I wanted and when I got it all I had to say was put it on the bill, and walk out. When the time came for the bill to be payed it was all marked in with the regular purchases and nothing was said. From that it led to taking pennies from mother's purse, stealing junk from yards, etc. Then it started to be a habit of going through the brothers pockets while he was at work and taking change, a dime, fifteen cents, a quarter and sometimes more; it all depended on how much change was there. That served to give me enough courage to prowl a house when the opportunity came one day. I would have never did it alone but being with one of my pals that was different. That led to heaving coal and selling it, stealing pidgeons and sometimes chickens and selling them, also hanging around Hiesler and Junge bakery and crawling through windows and stealing cakes and cookies, and also stealing and selling bicycles. And so it went, always increasing the value of the theft, until it came up to where I was using a gun and had dropped most of the petty things and was going after some real dough.

My neighborhood at the time of my first delinquencies was not the worst nor either the best. The parents living in the neighborhood were respectable, and if there boys or girls were found or heard of doing any thing wrong they were taken care of. There were a lot of ways this was accomplished, for instance, a good paddling, well that came with all the remedys, then there was such a thing as making them stay in the house after supper and hit the hay early while the rest of his or her crowd was outside playing. Then there

was another one, on Saturdays and Sunday afternoons every kid in the neighborhood went to the show but I know plenty of kids that didn't go all the time because they were caught, maybe stealing some little thing, playing hookey, or maybe even breaking a window on purpose.

As a whole, the people of the neighborhood were the right kind of people. They wanted and tried to the best of there knowledge, to keep there kids on the right path. They forbid them to go with the bad actors and punished them when they found out that they were together. In the meantime the folks of the bad actors were just as busy trying to straighten them out.

The feelings of these people is this. Each family thought, well if Jones kid is going bad, let him, thats his peoples lookout, but mines not if I can help it. What somebody elses kid did did not bother them as long as it did not involve there kid or property.

Like in nearly every neighborhood there was a bunch of us younger guys that no amount of beating could keep us going right for over a few hours. Then there was also the big gang, made up of older guys somewhere between 14 and 17 years of age. Then there was also the oldest bunch hanging around in front of the saloon. These guys were mostly men from about 21 to 35 mostly drunkards and who hardly ever worked but they never mixed outside of themselves. My nerve and gameness to get into anything that was going on got me in with this bunch and after getting pinched a couple of times and licking a few of the older lads, I was looked on as sort of a hero by the lads of my own class, and then I started hanging with these older guys steady.

When I first started stealing or at the time of my first delinquency my gang were all little young fellows of my own age more or less selfish as it seems to me now as I look back and of course they did a little bit of stealing but when they did whatever they got they kept to themselves very seldom dividing with anyone else. I was all together different, whatever I had, stolen, or bought, I allways split it. When I stole a few pennies it was spent in the company of my pals and they got as much of whatever I bought as I did. For being so bighearted of course they looked on me as a sort of a leader and thought I was a swell and clever guy to get away with things as I did. This also made me feel like a big guy and so I kept getting a little braver as I went along and kept doing bigger jobs.

After I was admitted to the older gang, through my nerve and gameness I was sort of a flunky. I was easy. They could get whatever I had and I'd do about everything they wanted me to, and not until I licked several of the younger members was I treated as a regular. After that, some other guy had to do the dirty work. I was still easy though, I gave away and let them talk me out of everything I had and nearly allways had to be the lead man. For instance, if a bicycle was standing on some porch it was me that was told to go up and get it and not wanting to be thought yellow I got it. After it was sold I might get a fourth of what I should have and I'd never say anything.

It was this way until after I started hanging with another gang for a while and then came back to hang with the old one again. I got into an argument with one of the new leaders of the gang and licked him and after that it was a toss up between me and the former as to who really was leader. After that I would hang with different gangs, once with this mob, another time with that, and every gang I hung with seemed to think I was the whole circus. I could fight and I would and I was an all around true badman, who wouldn't talk if pinched.

CASE 2

One day when I was about nine, we were caught by the gang that beat me up my first day home from the orphanage. They wanted us to join their gang. I saw we would get the worst of it, so I made a bargain with them. I told them to let James (my brother) alone, and if they did, I would join their gang. They wanted the both of us and I pleaded and begged. Finally, the leader, the fellow that gave me a beating, agreed. I made James promise he would say nothing to ma. The gang was about thirty strong. They would steal milk off porches, bread from bread boxes, steal from peddlers and take kids' lunch money from them. At first I just watched for them.

One day they said they would go out that night and break into peanut slots for the pennies. I told them I couldn't stay out that late, so we made a plan. We would start out about seven o'clock and be back before nine o'clock. Each man would be given a chance to show his mettle. We would travel in groups on each side of the street until we spotted a gum slot or peanut slot. Each of us had stones and pieces of rock in our pockets. The leader would be the first to break into the slot machine for pennies. He would take a hammer and knock in the back of the slot, at the same time holding his hat or cap, whatever he happened to be wearing at the time, so that the pennies would roll or slide right into it. We were on the side lines and in case the proprietor or someone tried to grab him we would let loose a barrage of stones that would slow him up and give whoever was doing the dirty work a chance to get away. Thus we were almost sure of getting what we were after.

When my turn came I wanted to back down. I was shaking like a leaf. They threatened to jump me, so I took the hammer and busted a machine which held gum balls. I was so nervous when I did the penny slot that I hit it in such a manner that I busted the glass with my elbow. I dropped the hammer and grabbed my cap which I had laid under the slot. When I got to the gang my cap held a mixture of glass, gum balls and pennies. My arm was numb, I must have hit my crazy bone. I must have collected thirty pennies, about a dozen gum balls, and some glass. The boys tapped me on the back and told me I did fine which made me feel good. We made about a dollar apiece almost every time. I would go home from these forages and give James a dime to keep his mouth shut. I would tell ma I was playing with the older boys. She believed me.

We got tired of slot machines. One of the boys hit on the idea of snatching purses. My first purse snatching was at the elevated station. I waited alongside the steps on the ground ready to grab the purse. Along came a woman up the steps. She must have been about forty years old. I waited breathlessly, not wanting even to breathe for fear my intended victim would hear it. She came up the stairs slowly. I got a bead on her purse, shot my hand in through the opening in the iron grill work, grabbed the purse, and was on my way. She must have been struck speechless, because I did not hear an outcry until I was about 200 feet from where I snatched the purse. I got away all right. My snatch was worth $37.00. We were not allowed to keep any trinkets or anything that was found in the purse and many times we threw away watches, rings, keys, photos, necklaces, good purses, pencils, and pens. The leader would never let us keep anything for fear we might get picked up and they would find something to incriminate us. It would be too bad as someone was bound to talk. Now that I think of it, this leader of ours was a pretty shrewd guy.

We snatched purses on elevated platforms. We got on the platforms by climbing the adjoining building to the roof, and going from the roof to the station platform. We would wait until a train came and then we would spot our victim. When the train started we would all three of us reach in through the open windows and grab a purse. We were highly successful, but could not play a station more than once. This we could not keep up for more than three days because everyone was on the alert and they had dicks planted on platforms. We were almost caught once and so found out about the dicks.

One evening another fellow and myself were on the D—— Station. We had climbed up an iron ladder. I grabbed a purse and a dick was on the other end of the same platform. The woman screamed and the dick was after me. I dropped the purse over the rail to the ladder. The dicks were not allowed to shoot at kids with short pants in those days, so I got away. We never worked that way any more. We snatched purses in the park by hiding in the bushes. When a lone woman came along and all was clear I would grab the purse and run through the bushes and over streets until I came to where the boys were waiting. We would hide in alleys, doorways, behind bill posters, and in any place where we could snatch a purse.

Then we started stealing from junk men. We would find a shed suitably located near an alley. We made sure the shed was nice and dark. Then we would wait for a junk man and one of the boys would go out and ask him if he wanted to buy some copper. The peddler would ask how much copper he had and the boy would say, "Plenty." The peddler would figure, "Well, here's where I gyp the kid," so he would come in and we would jump him and take his money. Then we would all run out and close the door. We could hear the peddler hollering for help. Many times we would almost split our sides laughing at the antics of the peddler when we jumped him. We got

away with this for about two weeks until the peddlers smartened up. Many times while the rest of us had the peddler in the shed, rolling him, one or two of the boys would steal the horse and wagon, take it in the neighborhood and take out all the junk. Most of the boys would shoot dice with their money, but I used mine to go to the theatre with James and for candy and ice cream. That way James kept his mouth shut and we had a good time.

In the meantime I would play hookey from school and have one of the boys' older brothers write a note to the teacher stating that I was sick. I got away with this for a long time. We finally moved into a nice flat just across the street, but I still hung out with the same boys. Finally, one day I came home with about $30.00 and James got jealous and wanted to join the gang. I told him of the chances we were taking and promised him that some day we would work together, just him and I. This quieted him. I worked with the boys for about four months from my new address. Everyone liked me because I had guts and I finally became the leader's lieutenant. No one objected.

I suggested the idea of breaking into box cars and stealing merchandise. We would go up on the tracks, break the seals and carry out shoes, coats, dresses and anything we could get. One of the boys' older brothers would get rid of the stuff and give us some money. He probably gypped us out of plenty but we were content that we made a few dollars almost every night. Finally one night I had a falling out with the leader. He was a little bigger than I was, but I must have had a knack at using my fists and could take punishment. I beat him until he cried, "You win!" Then I was head man. The boys all liked me anyway. While fighting with the leader I must have been thinking about the time he beat me up when I got out of the orphans' home, because I really fought, not so much to win, but to get revenge and even the score. I sure went to town on his eyes and nose.

As I said before I was head man when I beat the leader. I took the boys to M—— Street and told everyone to steal something. Almost everyone did get something. We met under my uncle's back porch, hid our stuff, and went out for more. We stole shoes, caps, stockings, men's and women's watches, candy, cigars, cards, anything we could lay our hands on. When we got stuff we could not get rid of, we had one of the kids' brothers get rid of it. All the money was divided equally, of course. Now and then I "went south" with a few bucks. We had a lot of narrow escapes, and so I finally quit that gang.

I picked out two brothers to work with me—Rudy and Tom. Their bigger brother was a strong-arm artist, their mother and father made booze and bought bonds with the proceeds. All this I found out later. However, I took these two brothers with me because I liked them and they had more guts than any of the boys. I also added James to my gang and we started snatching purses ourselves. I had James watch for us while we did the work. He wanted to try it, but I made him do what I said. We made good, the

four of us. Rudy and Tom liked dice and cards and they taught James and me all about it. All our money we used for playing cards, shooting dice, going to theatres, ice cream, candy, Riverview, and White City. Mostly we were in White City. We would take in everything at White City until our money gave out. We would then sneak on the L and go home. We always managed to get home about 9:00 or 10:00 P.M. We were bawled out, but that's all.

Case 3

I can only remember the things I done since I was eleven years old. I was going to a school for crippled children. At eight oclock in the morning a bus would come and take me to school. They gave us our dinner there and brought us home at a quarter after three. When I got home I would eat supper and go to the corner and meet some of the kids in the neighborhood. Most of the people who lived there were poor. So we used to get a couple of coaster wagons and burlap sacks and go down to the tracks and steal coal out of the freight car. Then we would take it home. We would go to get coal three or four times every night. On Saturdays we would go into the stock yards and chase cows or pigs. Some days we would go to Mr. G's stable and rent a horse and wagon to ride around with. When I was twelve I went to the hospital and was operated on. I had my ankle stiffened so I would walk straight. I laid in the hospital for eight or nine months. After I came home I walked on crutches for three months before I could use my leg. As soon as I could walk I went out with the boys and started stealing coal again. One day as I was getting coal I was caught. A detective took me into a railroad shanty and asked me where I lived and when I would not tell him, he went to the phone to call the police. I ran out of the shanty and he chased me, but I got away from him.

When I was fourteen my father died and we moved. I had one year of school to finish so I started to go to the school near where we lived. I was there about three weeks when I started to go with a lad by the name of William Jones. We called him Bill for short. He had a fancy for pigeons and rabbits. I started to go out nights and we would steal as high as 100 or 200 pigeons a week. We would sell them at fifty cents a pair. . . . .

We needed something to go to different neighborhoods with so we stole a couple of bicycles and put wire baskets on the handle bars to carry them in. We stole pigeons for about two years and then we quit. We started to go with a lot of lads who were breaking into schools. One day I was in the park with one of the lads, when one of the park officers arrested us. He had been told to watch in the park for the lad I was with. We were taken to the Juvenile home and they asked us a lot of questions about the schools. The lad I was with told them I was not with him and the other lads and they turned me loose. At the time I was arrested I was fifteen and was going to high school. I went there seven months and then I quit. Jones was working for a meat market and I decided I would go to work. I got myself a job in a electrical

shop. It seemed the more money I got the more I wanted so I started to stealing cars and breaking into stores.

When I was sixteen I started to go out with the girls pretty steady and I had to have a lot of money. I would steal a car in the night time and the next day I would go to the high school and take some girls home. I would go there at a quarter after twelve and take two girls home. Then I would go home and eat dinner. After dinner I would wait until a quarter after two and go back to the high school and take two more home. After supper I would meet some of the gang and we would take a couple of girls out riding or to a show. I worked for the electrical shop for three months and was laid off. I went to work for another shop. I was getting eighteen dollars a week then. I was spraying and dipping baskets and it wasn't a very good job.

I started going with a different bunch of lads. We would steal cars and sell them. I use to get as high as $70.00 or $100.00 for one car. I never did know where one of the lads sold them. When we stole a car we had to give the car to him and he would take it and sell it and bring us the money the next day. The lads I was going with were a bunch of burglars and automobile thieves. We were soon taught by the older members of the gang not to ride in one stolen car more than 24 hours and not to ride in the neighborhood we stole it in. When a car is stolen it is never looked for until after twenty-four hours.

I was going with them for about six months. They were all caught one day except me. One of the lads was caught with a car and he turned stool pigeon. Five of them were sent to the Bridewell for ninety days and two were given six months. As I was the only one of the gang not in jail I had a hard time for ninety days sending my seven partners money for eats and cigarettes. You can just about imagine what the other lad who sent them there got, when they got out. As soon as they got out, we started stealing cars again.

A study recently completed[4] gives support both to the notion that there is frequent continuity between juvenile delinquency and adult crime and to the significance of group participation in the perpetuation of criminal activities. Through this study it has been shown that more than 60 per cent of all boys who appeared in the Juvenile Court of Cook County during 1920 were arrested as adults for offenses other than traffic violations in the 15 years subsequent to their initial court appearance. It was found also that the chances of a boy's continuing in adult crime were somewhat greater if he appeared in court as a member of a group than they were if he appeared alone, and much greater if he had one or more delinquent brothers. Of the boys who had no brothers with official delinquency records, 56.5 per cent continued in adult crime, as compared with 72.0 per cent of those known to have one or more delinquent brothers.

[4] "Criminal Careers of Former Juvenile Delinquents" (unpublished study [mimeo.] by Department of Sociology, Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, 1941).

Taken together, these studies indicate that most delinquent acts are committed by boys in groups, that delinquent boys have frequent contact with other delinquents, that the techniques for specific offenses are transmitted through delinquent group organization, and that in his officially proscribed activity the boy is supported and sustained by the delinquent group to which he belongs.

DIFFERENTIAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Other subtle differences among communities are to be found in the character of their local institutions, especially those specifically related to the problem of social control. The family, in areas of high rates of delinquents, is affected by the conflicting systems of values and the problems of survival and conformity with which it is confronted. Family organization in high-rate areas is affected in several different ways by the divergent systems of values encountered. In the first place, it may be made practically impotent by the existing interrelationships between the two systems. Ordinarily, the family is thought of as representing conventional values and opposed to deviant forms of behavior. Opposition from families within the area to illegal practices and institutions is lessened, however, by the fact that each system may be contributing in certain ways to the economic well-being of many large family groups. Thus, even if a family represents conventional values, some member, relative, or friend may be gaining a livelihood through illegal or quasi-legal institutions—a fact tending to neutralize the family's opposition to the criminal system.

Another reason for the frequent ineffectiveness of the family in directing boys' activities along conventional lines is doubtless the allegiance which the boys may feel they owe to delinquent groups. A boy is often so fully incorporated into the group that it exercises

more control than does the family. This is especially true in those neighborhoods where most of the parents are European-born. There the parents' attitudes and interests reflect an Old World background, while their children are more fully Americanized and more sophisticated, assuming in many cases the role of interpreter. In this situation the parental control is weakened, and the family may be ineffective in competing with play groups and organized gangs in which life, though it may be insecure, is undeniably colorful, stimulating, and enticing.

A third possible reason for ineffectiveness of the family is that many problems with which it is confronted in delinquency areas are new problems, for which there is no traditional solution. An example is the use of leisure time by children. This is not a problem in the Old World or in rural American communities, where children start to work at an early age and have a recognized part in the system of production. Hence, there are no time-honored solutions for difficulties which arise out of the fact that children in the city go to work at a later age and have much more leisure at their disposal. In the absence of any accepted solution for this problem, harsh punishment may be administered; but this is often ineffective, serving only to alienate the children still more from family and home.

Other differences between high-rate and low-rate areas in Chicago are to be seen in the nature of the existing community organization. Thomas and Znaniecki[5] have analyzed the effectively organized community in terms of the presence of social opinion with regard to problems of common interest, identical or at least consistent attitudes with reference to these problems, the ability to reach approximate unanimity on the question of how a problem should be dealt with, and the ability to carry this solution into action through harmonious co-operation.

Such practical unanimity of opinion and action does exist, on many questions, in areas where the rates of delinquents are low. But, in the high-rate areas, the very presence of conflicting systems of values operates against such unanimity. Other factors

[5] W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), II, 1171.

hindering the development of consistently effective attitudes with reference to these problems of public welfare are the poverty of these high-rate areas, the wide diversity of cultural backgrounds represented there, and the fact that the outward movement of population in a city like Chicago has resulted in the organization of life in terms of ultimate residence. Even though frustrated in his attempts to achieve economic security and to move into other areas, the immigrant, living in areas of first settlement, often has defined his goals in terms of the better residential community into which he hopes some day to move. Accordingly, the immediate problems of his present neighborhood may not be of great concern to him.

Another characteristic of the areas with high rates of delinquents is the presence of large numbers of nonindigenous philanthropic agencies and institutions—social settlements, boys' clubs, and similar agencies—established to deal with local problems. These are, of course, financed largely from outside the area. They are also controlled and staffed, in most cases, by persons other than local residents and should be distinguished from indigenous organizations and institutions growing out of the felt needs of the local citizens. The latter organizations, which include American institutions, Old World institutions, or a synthesis of the two, are rooted in each case in the sentiments and traditions of the people. The nonindigenous agencies, while they may furnish many services and be widely used, seldom become the people's institutions, because they are not outgrowths of the local collective life. The very fact that these nonindigenous private agencies long have been concentrated in delinquency areas without modifying appreciably the marked disproportion of delinquents concentrated there suggests a limited effectiveness in deterring boys from careers in delinquency and crime.[6]

Tax-supported public institutions such as parks, schools, and playgrounds are also found in high-rate, as well as in low-rate, areas. These, too, are usually controlled and administered from

[6] Rates of private character-building institutions (representing the number of social settlements, boys' clubs, and Y.M.C.A.'s per 10,000 boys 10–16 years of age) decrease from Zones I to V as follows: 21.2, 10.2, 3.5, 2.3, 1.3.

without the local area; and, together with other institutions, they represent to the neighborhood the standards of the larger community. However, they may be actually quite different institutions in different parts of the city, depending on their meaning and the attitudes of the people toward them. If the school or playground adapts its program in any way to local needs and interests, with the support of local sentiment, it becomes a functioning part of the community; but, instead, it is often relatively isolated from the people of the area, if not in conflict with them. High rates of truants in the inner-city areas may be regarded as an indication of this separation.

These more subtle differences between contrasting types of areas are not assumed to be wholly distinct from the differences presented in quantitative form in earlier chapters. They are, no doubt, products or by-products of the same processes of growth which physically differentiate city areas and segregate the population on an economic basis. This economic segregation in itself, as has been said, does not furnish an explanation for delinquency. Negative cases are too numerous to permit such a conclusion. But in the areas of lowest economic status and least vocational opportunity a special setting is created in which the development of a system of values embodied in a social, economic, and prestige system in conflict with conventional values is not only a probability but an actuality.

The general theoretical framework within which all community data are interpreted will be fully stated in the concluding chapter. Briefly summarized, it is assumed that the differentiation of areas and the segregation of population within the city have resulted in wide variation of opportunities in the struggle for position within our social order. The groups in the areas of lowest economic status find themselves at a disadvantage in the struggle to achieve the goals idealized in our civilization. These differences are translated into conduct through the general struggle for those economic symbols which signify a desirable position in the larger social order. Those persons who occupy a disadvantageous position are involved in a conflict between the goals assumed to be attainable in a free society and those actually attainable for a large proportion of the population. It is understandable, then, that the economic position of persons living in the areas of least opportunity should be translated at times into unconventional conduct, in an effort to reconcile the idealized status and their practical prospects of attaining this status. Since, in our culture, status is determined largely in economic terms, the differences between contrasted areas in terms of economic status become the most important differences. Similarly, as might be expected, crimes against property are most numerous.

The physical, economic, and social conditions associated with high rates of delinquents in local communities occupied by white population exist in exaggerated form in most of the Negro areas. Of all the population groups in the city, the Negro people occupy the most disadvantageous position in relation to the distribution of economic and social values. Their efforts to achieve a more satisfactory and advantageous position in the economic and social life of the city are seriously thwarted by many restrictions with respect to residence, employment, education, and social and cultural pursuits. These restrictions have contributed to the development of conditions within the local community conducive to an unusually large volume of delinquency.

The problems of education, training, and control of children and youth are further complicated by the economic, social, and cultural dislocations that have taken place as a result of the transition from the relatively simple economy of the South to the complicated industrial organization of the large northern city. The effect of this transition upon social institutions, particularly the family, has been set forth in great detail in the penetrating studies of E. Franklin Frazier. In this connection he states:

> During and following the World War, the urbanization of the Negro population was accelerated and acquired even greater significance than earlier migrations to cities. The Negro was carried beyond the small southern cities and plunged into the midst of modern industrial centers in the North. Except for the war period, when there was a great demand for his labor, the migration of the Negro to northern cities has forced him into a much more rigorous type of competition with whites than he has ever faced. Because of his rural background and ignorance, he has entered modern industry as a part of the great army of unskilled workers. Like the immigrant groups that

have preceded him, he has been forced to live in the slum areas of northern cities. In vain social workers and others have constantly held conferences on the housing conditions of Negroes, but they have been forced finally to face the fundamental fact of the Negro's poverty. Likewise, social and welfare agencies have been unable to stem the tide of family disorganization that has followed as a natural consequence of the impact of modern civilization upon the folkways and mores of a simple peasant folk. Even Negro families with traditions of stable family life have been not unaffected by the social and economic forces in urban communities. Family traditions and social distinctions that had meaning and significance in the relatively simple and stable southern communities have lost their meaning in the new world of the modern city.

One of the most important consequences of the urbanization of the Negro has been the rapid occupational differentiation of the population. A Negro middle class has come into existence as the result of new opportunities and greater freedom as well as the new demands of the awakened Negro communities for all kinds of services. This change in the structure of Negro life has been rapid and has not had time to solidify. The old established families, generally of mulatto origin, have looked with contempt upon the new middle class which has come into prominence as the result of successful competition in the new environment. With some truth on their side, they have complained that these newcomers lack the culture, stability in family life, and purity of morals which characterized their own class when it graced the social pyramid. In fact, there has not been sufficient time for these new strata to form definite patterns of family life. Consequently, there is much confusion and conflict in ideals and aims and patterns of behavior which have been taken over as the result of the various types of suggestion and imitation in the urban environment.[7]

The development of divergent systems of values requires a type of situation in which traditional conventional control is either weak or nonexistent. It is a well-known fact that the growth of cities and the increase in devices for transportation and communication have so accelerated the rate of change in our society that the traditional means of social control, effective in primitive society and in isolated rural communities, have been weakened everywhere and rendered especially ineffective in large cities. Moreover, the city, with its anonymity, its emphasis on economic rather than personal values, and its freedom and tolerance, furnishes a favorable situation for the development of devices to im-

[7] *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1939), pp. 484–86.

prove one's status, outside of the conventionally accepted and approved methods. This tendency is stimulated by the fact that the wide range of secondary social contacts in modern life operates to multiply the wishes of individuals. The automobile, motion pictures, magazine and newspaper advertising, the radio, and other means of communication flaunt luxury standards before all, creating or helping to create desires which often cannot be satisfied with the meager facilities available to families in areas of low economic status. The urge to satisfy the wishes and desires so created has helped to bring into existence and to perpetuate the existing system of criminal activities.

It is recognized that in a free society the struggle to improve one's status in terms of accepted values is common to all persons in all social strata. And it is a well-known fact that attempts are made by some persons in all economic classes to improve their positions by violating the rules and laws designed to regulate economic activity.[8] However, it is assumed that these violations with reference to property are most frequent where the prospect of thus enhancing one's social status outweighs the chances for loss of position and prestige in the competitive struggle. It is in this connection that the existence of a system of values supporting criminal behavior becomes important as a factor in shaping individual life-patterns, since it is only where such a system exists that the person through criminal activity may acquire the material goods so essential to status in our society and at the same time increase, rather than lose, his prestige in the smaller group system of which he has become an integral part.

[8] See Edwin H. Sutherland, "White Collar Criminality," *American Sociological Review*, V (February, 1940), 1–12.