THE EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

by

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CHAPTER I

DELINQUENCY AS AN EDUCATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

It was in 1849 that an educational writer, deploring the evil tendencies of the time, begged his fellow teachers to remember that it was not the learning an instructor might display, but the moral discipline he could instil in his pupils that counted. Youth, he pointed out, were being added to the criminal element and it was the school's obvious task to turn them from crime. To this end, in stilted, flowery language Mr. Ormrod suggested improvements in school books used and gave a list of the qualifications of a good teacher. So, almost a century ago, school men began to realize that juvenile delinquency was a school problem, not merely one for the sociologists.

Delinquency records today, whether in Tucson or in larger cities, begin with the notation, "truant." In almost every case one finds this the first complaint which actually brings the young offender before the juvenile court or its workers. He has probably been truant from both home and school, for a feeling of guilt with regard to one will keep a child from appearing at the other. Safety lies in just not being present. The truant has at various times had his defenders. Witness this from the New

York Sun of 1914: "As a rule the truant is the result of being a boy. He is the delight and pride of life. He is the revolt against respectability. He is the instinct of freedom.......") Another paragraph, almost eloquent in its apology, reads thus: "Can anybody of woman born tell us what in thunder can be learned in a year of school one-three-hundred and sixty-fifth part as valuable, let alone as pleasant, as what a truant of happy disposition can learn out of school in half an afternoon? The truant is the natural 'human boy'." It would seem there is something wrong with a school program which sends its children away to other, unorganized sources for their training.

Once having noted the truant tendency of a delinquent, the case worker in a juvenile court discovers that before the truancy became a habit the child was a "problem" in school. He may have been the aggressive type who continually annoyed the teacher and other pupils or the recessive, or retiring, kind who sat back and never participated. Both may become truant and, later, delinquent. Under ordinary circumstances it is the aggressive boy or girl who is noticed, out of desperation, by the teacher and until recently received his entire attention, part of which should have been given his shy classmate, afraid to take part in class or on the playground. In 1930 the Elementary School Journal

3. Ibid.
reported a study made by William S. Curd, principal of the Franklin Junior High School in Pocatello, Idaho. Five percent of the pupils of his school, he found, committed more than half of all the minor offenses in the school and, further, were the same pupils who were guilty of the major offenses which meant stern disciplinary action or possibly suspension or expulsion. In addition, it was these same students who came before the juvenile court of the city.

Mr. Curd felt there was some significance in these findings. It would be of interest to know what the figures would be elsewhere. Whatever the figures, there is no doubt that delinquents are first noted as trouble-makers or misfits in school.

With the development of the juvenile court and the probation system the age at which a delinquent is still considered a juvenile has been raised. In the early days a seven-year-old was answerable as an adult to charges made against him; this has been raised to sixteen years in most courts, and eighteen in some. This means that offenders are usually within the age limits set by compulsory education laws and the problem definitely concerns the school. In addition to the merely technical point of age, it is a fact that the school is having to assume, for the larger part of the population, the responsibility for the moral training of children. The home, usually, is inade-

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quate or not interested enough to attempt the moral discipline of its younger members. When interested, it feels inadequately prepared to do the task and turns to the school for the doing of what used to be its most important job.

The carrying out of this task is made easier by the fact that a teacher is more aware of the child as a whole today than he used to be. He does not feel that a child's physical and social needs are outside his sphere, not needing his attention. A child brings to school with him all the unhappiness and evil that is part of his home life, the inadequacy of the food provided, the unpleasant conflicts with neighbors, playmates, and the law. He brings his dreams, his abilities, and his aspirations as well. The average teacher is definitely learning how to teach the whole boy or girl but there is still much learning to be done. The school has a very natural entree to the home which aids the teacher in his work with the child as an entity. It is not unnatural for him to call and talk over a child's problems with the parents and suggest possible solutions. This very fact will be of inestimable value to the teacher who feels he must be on the alert for misfits and problem children before their problems become serious. As education more and more takes over the responsibility of equipping its students with moral fiber there will be increased need for teachers to recognize maladjustments of all kinds and know the most effective action to take.
There are other factors which encourage teachers. One of these is that, while in 1907 one superintendent of schools expressed the opinion that the school was the only organization enough interested in childhood to learn of delinquent homes and assist them, now all the social agencies in a community are willing to work together. This desire needs implementing in many communities but where a coordinator has made the attempt the results have been good. In cities where an honest attempt has been made to consider the whole child welfare boards, public health services, truant and attendance offices, probation offices, recreation program, churches, public schools are no longer working separately and independently. Each is contributing its knowledge and experience to the study of particular cases. Since the school is the one agency which meets all children of school age it will need to utilize the willingness on the part of these other agencies to work together for the benefit of the child, rather than a set of independent systems.

One other reason for the consideration of juvenile delinquency as a definitely educational responsibility has been the recent trend in probation treatment. Rather than labeling all juvenile offenders "incorrigible" and sending them to reformatories, probation officers are sincerely searching out the causes of any particular delinquent's difficulties. When they find conditions, even though not the cause of delinquency, that need adjustment, they care for these as completely as possible. The child is placed
on probation and under supervision returns to normal home, school and play life. Thus, most offenders now are being sent back to normal classrooms, though they may have been shifted to other rooms or teachers. The offender must be helped in his adjustment in the classroom, on the playground and among his classmates. The teacher is concerned with the offender's influence upon his classmates and also must be alert to signs of tension at home. The probation officer sees a child perhaps once each week while the teacher is a constant guide and counsellor.

Because juvenile delinquents were once trouble-makers in school, because they are of school age, because truancy is definitely a school problem and leads to delinquency, because schools must take greater responsibility for the moral training of children, because teachers feel an increasing need to recognize maladjustments possibly leading to delinquency early, because there is willingness on the part of social agencies to cooperate in the interests of childhood and because probation methods are sending many cases back to schoolrooms that used to be sent to reformatories, it is fair to state that juvenile delinquency is an educational problem and its implications for the classroom teacher and the school administration should be studied.
CHAPTER II

JUVENILE COURTS AND PROBATION

The germination of the idea that children should be treated as children and the state should act as parent in cases of misbehavior which bring the child to court was slow in this country. Just after 1850 there was recognition of the procedure as carried out in England and here and there someone arose to bespeak the protection of the child. For instance, a Mary Carpenter wrote two long books, reviewed in 1854 in the North American Review on the subject of juvenile offenders. Her reviewer expressed his interest in the subject matter thus: "There is something very touching and beautiful in this protest of the religious conscience against the dark fatalism which to so many minds, seems to swallow up all hope for the future of the wronged and the criminal." Somehow the public seemed to feel that society needed protection from the acts of "bad" children. It was fearful and afraid of the possible contamination of all life by these young criminals. Jane Addams wrote in 1911, "Up to twelve years ago, when a boy often violated the law, he was a 'criminal.' The dignity of the state demanded vindication. The boy was arrested, put in jail, for-
mally indicted and arraigned. He was required to plead 'guilty' or 'not guilty.' A judge and a jury solemnly took up the case of the state against the child.”

There was considerable agitation by social workers, writers and others who came in close touch with boys and girls but there was no leader in the fight for the protection of children and the development of a separate court until in 1891 the Visitation and Aid Society of Chicago introduced in the Illinois legislature a bill prepared by T.D. Hurley. It was defeated as "advance legislation" but the fight went on.

The fight went on - the new court's advocates spoke and wrote profusely. Julia Lathrop, at the time a resident of Hull House, could see the devastating effects of current practice and struck out against them. She felt, for one thing, that dependent children were too carelessly disposed of and, as a result, too often became delinquents. This unnecessary social waste irritated her. The efforts of this pioneer and others were crystallized in a new bill prepared by a commission appointed by the Bar Association of Chicago. The commission was headed by Harvey B. Hurd. The bill was passed and in July, 1899, the newly created juvenile court of Cook County began its work which since then has influenced court procedure all over the country.

The court had severe critics who felt it assumed too much power and left the parents too little. Besides, said they, why engraft on to the law an entirely new procedure which will be difficult to work out? It would be better to "apply the laws as we have them today, authorized by the usage of centuries, sustained by the wisdom of the greatest minds of all time, and be recasting the names of a few of our forms, can we not in the best way protect the child as well as safeguard the rights of the citizens?" But by 1915 several of the larger cities had established juvenile courts and a number of states had modified their methods of dealing with child offenders. There were many differences of opinion, and still are, as to the best methods, but everywhere there was a new concern for youth, an increased appreciation of the state's function when homes had failed. Not always was the court provided with separate buildings and staff; it was often simply a part of the Criminal Court setup. Nevertheless, different methods were used and the atmosphere changed when juvenile cases came before the judge. At present there are about three thousand juvenile courts in the United States, of many different patterns but with the same purpose. Even this number does not begin to touch more than the larger centers, as the judge of the court of Westchester County, New York,

discovered when he attempted to make the facilities of his court available to the entire county. He and his staff traveled throughout the county, holding hearings in each village or township where there were cases. He deplores the fact that these privileges are open to such a comparatively small number.

Interesting personalities were associated with the development of the court in its early days - Ben Lindsey of Denver, Judge Baker of Boston, and Franklin Chase Hoyt of New York. The particular characteristics of each which made him successful with children were permitted free rein for the most part and added their chapter to the tale of this new adventure. Many magazine articles from 1906 to 1915 and after portray the huge sympathy and understanding of the man, Judge Ben Lindsey. Almost unbelievable stories have been told of his absolute fairness, his fine influence not only on boys but also on their parents, and his refusal to betray the confidence of the boys who told him their stories. He inspired confidence by his fair play and kindness. On one occasion he was in possession of information gained from one of his boys that was needed in another case. Judge Lindsey refused to divulge that information, and thereby ran the risk of a fine for contempt of court. Other judges did not always feel as he did.

Judge Harvey Humphrey Baker of Boston had a very different personality but was also an eminent leader in the field. "This success was due to many things - to his sense of fairness, his untiring devotion to duty, his great patience, his firmness when occasion demanded, his judicial turn of mind, his profound legal sense and knowledge of the law, his keen intelligence, his tactfulness - but above all to the beauty, simplicity, and genuineness of his personal character. Such a nature as his conquered by force of its sincerity. All who came in contact with him were ennobled." Although a bachelor, he seemed to understand children's problems as few fathers do. In addition to his concern for the dependent and delinquent who came before him, he could not help but feel there was something to be done about conditions beyond the court which made delinquents. For that reason he threw his strength and influence into several related movements. He also made it a point to know thoroughly the institutions to which he often had to commit boys and girls. He followed with interest their stay there and, later, on probation.

The New York Children's Court was a comparative latecomer in the field but advances had already been made in the way children's cases were handled. Its first judge was Franklin Chase Hoyt whose kindly, tactful way with

children is illustrated in the story of the lad brought before him for distributing handbills on the street, a violation of a city ordinance. The handbills were Socialist in nature; the boy had come under the influence of the Socialists only recently. The judge explained patiently what his United States citizenship meant and thereby turned one boy aside from a probably delinquent career into one of usefulness. Many such stories are told, especially of his work with immigrant youth. Judge Hoyt felt that the court was no longer a criminal court with its attendant stigma but "a definite arm of the Government engaged in the task of protecting and correcting the handicapped children of the community, and of supervising their social adjustments, but not extending its functions over matters which could be administered by other departments of State, or even by semi-public agencies without invoking judicial action."

More recent giants in the field have included Dr. Miriam Van Waters, from 1920 to 1930 referee in the Children's Court of Los Angeles County, California; Dr. William Healy, head of the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston, a child guidance clinic and closely associated with the juvenile court, established as a memorial to Judge Baker; Dr. Sheldon Glueck and Dr. Eleanor Glueck, of the Harvard Law School faculty, careful students of delinquency and particularly

of its causes; Katherine Lenroot and Grace Abbott, both active directors of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor; and the many others, less well known, but sympathetic and kindly in spirit, patient in the study of all phases of the court program, each adding his bit to the structure as we know it today.

While there are many versions of the juvenile court idea and many plans for its setup in different communities, a brief picture of the Tucson court will be interesting. In Tucson complaints to the County Probation Office may come from an offender's family, his neighbors, his school or the police authorities. When policemen apprehend a juvenile he is immediately turned over to the probation department. The cases of all children up to and including eighteen years of age are investigated by the probation officer or his deputy. These two try to become acquainted with the child who has been brought or summoned to the office. Together, in a comfortable place, though often subject to interruptions, the worker, child and complainants talk the matter over. It very often happens that the child has been known before, perhaps unofficially, and the worker will know whether he can return a child to his home until the time for the hearing or whether he must be sent to the detention home. This is a modest, ordinary-appearing home on East Fourth Street presided over by "Mother" Higgins. It is her home and the county pays for the child-
ren's care. In the more serious cases boys are sent to the county jail.

Back at the office statements made by the child are checked with the home, the school, and other agencies, and often correspondence must be carried on with persons who know and are interested in the child in other states. Of course it very often happens that parents have notified the authorities of runaway children and replies are expected. A "petition", rather than a "complaint," is filled out by the deputy probation officer and this is presented to the judge of the Superior Court who hears juvenile cases Monday afternoons after other cases have been cleared. He comes from the courtroom, away from spectators and reporters, into his private chambers. Present are the youngsters immediately concerned in the case, their parents who are invited to attend but who do not always come, a court interpreter, the probation officers and perhaps a visitor or two professionally interested. The children sit or stand across the desk from Judge Hall while he hears the story from the probation officers and their recommendations. The Judge has an opportunity to study the faces of the children or to scan the case material laid before him. The Judge talks with them briefly, they are given an opportunity to add a word, and the suggestions are made for the disposition of each one. At all times the ideas of those who have studied the case are given careful consideration. In just
a few minutes the hearing is over unless Judge Hall finds he needs more information before reaching a decision. In these cases the hearing is continued until the next week.

While perhaps not perfect juvenile court procedure, the Tucson setup at least includes a certain amount of investigation, a patient attitude toward offenders, and an absence of contact with police stations and adult prisoners except in the cases of those delinquents who have committed more serious crimes or for other reasons are not thought good risks for the detention home. Here, as elsewhere, the juvenile court feels, "The welfare of the child, not the vengeance of the law, is the controlling thought. It is a proceeding for the child, not against him." And as Dr. Van Waters wrote, "...... as a minor ward of the state he is entitled to guardianship, protection and wise parental control." This guardianship includes oversight in case of neglect and dependency as well as actual delinquency.

Two streams of thought are expressed when the question of delinquency and its treatment are raised. One is that of penology, the belief that a particular misdemeanor requires a particular punishment. The child is punished according to what he did, not why he did it. The second is gradually pushing the first from the field. It is the belief that case work is necessary to find out why a child

did a certain thing and then help the child to remake himself with the aid of those who are about him. This second belief is the cornerstone of the probation movement.

"In simplest terms, probation is the social work of the courts." And Mrs. Emily E. Williamson wrote in its beginning, "Probably the most practical movement in penal reform is probation...." Dr. Van Waters gives us this definition of probation: "Probation means a plan of social treatment carried out in the community which enlists combined forces of home, school, church, settlements, playgrounds and other available social organizations working under skilled personal leadership for a central, well diagnosed goal. At stages in treatment conferences should be held, and results checked up. New guiding lines should be followed as conditions alter. But above all, no one should lose sight of the child. He should not be buried under statistics, surveys and court reports. He should be the one absorbing reality that would justify the endless words, and weight of social machinery used in his behalf." Thus we see that the probation officer connected with the juvenile court is in reality a coordinator of all agencies working with a single case. It may be necessary to deal with physical disorders which, while probably not the

cause of delinquency, still would hamper the child in making his adjustment. It may be necessary to see the school authorities and arrange a change of curriculum or of instructors. It may be desirable to solicit the aid of churches, boys' clubs or other character-building agency. And in all cases the home must be visited and a spirit of helpfulness engendered on the part of the family. All these contacts are the province of the probation officer. It is really a four-cornered teamwork, as has been suggested by Hans Weiss, involving the court, the probation officer, the child, and the community. Each member of the team must accept its responsibility for the total result.

The personality and character of these probation officers almost determine the degree of success possible with their cases. Without going into the description as fully as Miss Van Waters does, a brief picture of the type of personality can be sketched from her chapter on "Successful Workers with Delinquents" in Youth in Conflict. They must first have the power of inhibition. "Power to say no to one's selfish demands, power to refrain from actions which tend to injure others, power of guidance over fear, anxiety, anger, irritation, resentment, and love, is absolutely essential to a social worker with delinquents." Respect for human life and an ability to place one's self imaginatively in place

of another are founded upon inhibition. Next comes "moderation, willingness to let time bring its own inevitable contributions to human progress." Delinquents need the calming of spirit that comes from contact with this kind of person. A steady current of emotional energy not allowing a word of sarcasm or indifference defeat his purpose is the next requisite. Added to these is "an absorbing interest in human experience. To the virile personality everything is an adventure, a test of strength; to the defeated, everything is dull. Children respond almost immediately to one who is filled with vital interests......" "The normal personality possesses superior durability." This allows him to be content with his rewards and accept the consequences of the type of life he has elected to live as a social worker. "Ability to deal comprehendingly and gently with conduct, ability to set free the speech and emotions of children and those who are repressed, is one mark of a constructive personality." "Humor," Dr. Van Waters goes on to say, "is indispensable." She means not wit or "bright remarks" but true humor that "is founded on genuine liking of human nature and interest in its manifold possibilities. It marks the sense of proportion." In short, the "successful worker with delinquents is a hardy

18. Ibid., p.248
19. Ibid., p.249
20. Ibid., p.251
21. Ibid., p.252
22. Ibid., p.254
23. Ibid., p.254
24. Ibid., p.255
personality who is discouraged with nothing except static perfection."

Probation is of two kinds, direct and indirect. Direct methods are used with the probationer himself while the indirect involve the coordination of community efforts in his behalf as mentioned above. There are three phases of this direct treatment according to Hans Weiss. The child must learn first to face objectively his own difficulties, to know what they are, and at least partially to realize how they happened. This depends, of course, on the child's maturity. Second, he must accept the fact that he must be a good sport and make other adjustments. He has to feel a desire within himself to change or there is little the officer can do. And third, he must have enough confidence in the juvenile court to accept the guidance of the probation officer. This confidence is inspired by the virile personality of the officer apparent during interviews and in other contacts.

The benefits of probation? Judge Baker has expressed these well in the following paragraph: "When boys who have been gambling are made to save money for months instead of being dismissed at once with a warning or a small fine, when boys who have been stealing are made to pay full restitution out of their own earnings in instalments through

25. Ibid., p.256.
a year or more instead of being fined or placed on probation with little oversight and no requirement of restitution, when boys who have been throwing stones or jumping on cars are made to write the ordinances of the city instead of being sent home after a slight reprimand or a small money payment by their parents, when boys coming to court for any cause who are found to be loafing are looked after until well established at work, - there is great benefit in thrift, honesty, lawfulness, and industry to the boys themselves and through them to the community."

How much better this type of treatment than indiscriminate sending off to reform schools that do not reform.

The Tucson plan for dealing with delinquents is outlined in Chart 1 on the following page. Here one may find all agencies which deal in any way with juvenile delinquents from the time they are reported to the Chief Probation Officer or one of his deputies (he has two, one in his office and one in Ajo) until they are placed on probation or are paroled after serving a term in an institution. Through the entire process it is the Chief Probation Officer who executes the orders of the court and makes all arrangements.

There are various agencies which are required by law to report cases to the probation office. Their officers may not commit juvenile offenders directly to the jail or detention home but must deliver all such cases to the chief

CHART 1. THE ORGANIZATION FOR THE TREATMENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN TUCSON
probation officer. In such cases, little, if any, investigation is made by the reporting agency and the probation officer must gather his own information. Those required to report are the Highway Patrol, the Sheriff's Office, the school attendance office, the Police Departments of Tucson and of South Tucson. The Tucson Police Department employs a full-time juvenile officer to whom all juvenile cases are referred by other members of the force. He is of great assistance to the probation department because of his preliminary investigations. A child may be, and often is, referred to the probation department by his own parents or a neighbor. And occasionally a child will report himself.

The probation officer, or his deputy, then investigates the cases that are reported. It may be that in his judgment the case is not serious enough to warrant a hearing before the court and the case is dismissed and listed as "unofficial." This means that there is a record of the case in the probation office but not in the juvenile court files. If a case is to come up for disposition by the court the child is committed until the time for the hearing either in the custody of his parents or to the detention home or to the juvenile quarters of the county jail. Investigations are completed after a visit to the home, the checking of all past records, and a check with the Health Department, the Welfare Board, the public schools and whatever other social agencies may have had contact with the particular case. A petition is drawn as described earlier in the chapter.
The court may follow one of two lines of action. It may place a child on probation under the supervision of the probation officer in the child's own home, a foster home, in the home of relatives in another community, or to the care and custody of the Pima County Board of Social Security and Welfare (Child Welfare Department). Treatment on probation has already been described but since there is a fairly heavy load for two probation officers to carry - two hundred fifty-nine cases at the present time - it is difficult to give as effective supervision as might be given if the desirable case load described by Cooley of New York City were followed, fifty to a worker. Most children on probation are required to report monthly in person or by letter, giving a brief account of their educational advancement and employment. Others must report weekly for a certain period of time.

On the other hand, the court may commit a child to an institution. It will be noticed that boys may be committed directly to the institution, the State Industrial School for Boys at Fort Grant, but that girls must be referred to the State Board of Institutions for Juvenile Care. The reason for this is that there is no state institution for girls in Arizona and the Board is the only agency that may commit a child to a private institution. Both the Florence Crittendon Home and the Convent of the Good Shepherd in Phoenix are private; the state pays for the care of the

Cooperation between the attendance officers of the Tucson school system and the probation department is excellent, far beyond the formality of the reporting of cases to the probation department. For example, the attendance officer is in a position to assist in many ways a child placed on probation and sent back to school. School records are sometimes secured from the attendance officers to assist the probation department in its investigation. The reverse is more often true that the attendance officers request information and assistance from the probation department. The probation officer also has cooperative relationships with churches, the recreation department and other such agencies.

Absences from school are reported by each teacher in each building, morning and afternoon, to the principal of the particular school. Whenever the reason for an absence is known to be illness or other satisfactory cause no report is made to the attendance officer. But if absences need to be checked a call is left for the attendance officer who then picks up the lists left at the various schools. Between fifty and sixty calls are made daily on an average, a few minutes' call being all that is necessary in most cases. Records are kept of all habitual truants but none is kept of these absences discovered to be legitimate. One officer, Mr. Meyer, spends most of his time checking on absences reported by principals while
the other, Mrs. Nugent, makes most of the contacts with other social agencies such as the health department and the welfare board assisting the problem children and their families in making needed adjustments.

The "referee" who appears on the chart between the probation officer and the juvenile court has been allowed by law beginning June sixteenth. If a parent or other person concerned is not satisfied with the disposition of a case by the court a referee may be called in and asked to review the case. The cases where this procedure is most apt to be used are adoption cases which are also under the supervision of the juvenile court.

Difficult though it is to measure the success of probation methods, still the consensus of opinion among probation and other social workers has been that probation helps turn many a boy or girl from more serious delinquencies. But they also go on to plead that not successful treatment after a child has become delinquent, but intelligent, alert prevention of delinquency before it even occurs should be the true standard by which to judge the adequacy of society's provision for childhood. For these preventive measures they look to the school.
CHAPTER III

COMPOSITE CASE STUDY OF DELINQUENTS IN GENERAL

Although the definition of delinquent is often "good boy doing the wrong thing," this does not appear to the writer to give an adequate picture of these maladjusted children; it therefore becomes desirable to study the delinquent in his physical, mental and social background. There have been a number of studies of the background of delinquents in connection with child guidance clinics, juvenile courts, industrial schools, public schools, playgrounds and boys' clubs. While some of these articles were written prior to 1929 most valuable studies of this kind have been reported since that time. This may indicate the growing tendency to apply definitely scientific measures to the field of juvenile delinquency and we may look for more valid results in the future than in the past.

Probably the most important single study made - and it was acclaimed in editorial comment of several journals at the time - was one completed in 1935 by Dr. Eleanor T. Glueck of the Harvard Law School. A preliminary study revealed that from two-thirds to three-fourths of the thousand adult offenders surveyed first showed evidence of delinquency in childhood. Since then several other inquir-

ies have been made and the results found to check with Dr. Glueck's, although nothing on as large a scale has since been reported.

During the course of the later survey of one thousand boy offenders, their nationality, parents' progress in school and employment, size of the families, contact with relief agencies, type of homes, harmony within the homes, delinquency in the homes, school history and mental ability of the delinquent were thoroughly studied. From the data obtained Dr. Glueck presented a composite case record of these boys. It was found, for instance, that over eighty percent were native born although seven out of every ten were native born sons of foreign born parents. The homes of the latter were marked by the conflict of cultures which often makes for delinquency. They are children of large families. Mothers of these boys were young when they married, half being under the age of twenty-one. They certainly were "unprepared for the responsibilities of parenthood." Less than half of their parents had had any schooling, only forty-four percent having attended grammar school and only five percent having even entered high school. No wonder the investigators found seventy-six percent of these families in a condition of poverty, dependent upon relatives and social agencies when out of work. No wonder, either, that in forty-one percent of the homes the mother

30. Ibid., p.52.
found it necessary to supplement the income by working outside the home. This meant, naturally, that children were left all day without supervision. When the parents were available, supervision was either too lax or too exacting. Not only was financial aid needed from social agencies but there was also need for other types of guidance; eighty-seven percent of these families had had contact with various organizations.

Overcrowded homes were the rule among these thousand boys, "dirty, poorly ventilated, shabbily furnished." Their homes were not only overcrowded, but unpleasant socially. Either they were broken by the death or desertion of one parent or else there was constant argument and disharmony. An added element was the actual immorality of many of the parents and older siblings. In fact, "in 84.7 percent of the cases one or both parents and/or one or more siblings were themselves delinquents, so that the pattern of anti-sociality was firmly woven into the family life."

As for the boys themselves, ninety-five percent of them had been trouble-makers in school or had run away from home. They were young when they began showing anti-social tendencies, sixty-two percent of them being under eleven years of age when delinquency was first noted. Only a very small percentage ever belonged to a boys' club or

31. Ibid., p. 53.
32. Ibid., p. 53.
other organization for the constructive use of leisure time, ninety-three percent actually having used their leisure in harmful ways. These patterns of misconduct continued and developed an average of two years and four months between the beginning of this type of conduct and the first arrest of the boy. This delay in treatment made adjustment more difficult than necessary. Actual arrest and the appearance before a juvenile court were followed eventually by mental tests which revealed a far higher proportion of boys of low mentality than in the general school population. The startling fact was brought out that only nineteen of the thousand boys were provided for in special classes when actually 13.1 percent were feeble-minded. In addition to mental inferiority clinical tests showed that sixty percent were "personality deviates." They showed marked lack of emotional control, extreme suggestibility, psychotic tendencies. "When we consider that half of these children (and most of them before they were ten years of age) had been subjected to unusual environmental experiences, such as those resulting from commitment to an institution, placement in a foster home or with relatives, or the frequent uprooting of community ties due to the restlessness of the parents or their escape from landlords, we realize the stresses and handicaps they were under during their school years."

33. Ibid., p.54.
34. Ibid., p.54.
One will assume as a matter of course that the school careers of these boys also followed this disorganized, insufficient pattern. One-fourth of them left school finally in the sixth grade and only seventeen percent of them ever entered high school. One-fifth, only, were in the normal grade for their age while sixty-one percent were retarded two years or more. Various types of dissatisfaction with school manifested themselves in truancy for seventy-five percent of them while ten percent more "presented behavior difficulties of other kinds in the classroom, such as stealing, pugnacity, stubbornness, so that in a total of eighty-five percent of cases indicia of anti-social behavior were evident in school." With so much abnormality in the course of their schooling it is not surprising that Dr. Glueck found eighty percent working irregularly in later years. Over half of these were in street trades and blind-alley jobs.

One of the most serious influences in the life of a delinquent is his companionship. Bad or delinquent companions were associated with nine-tenths of the five hundred children studied at the Judge Baker Guidance Clinic and this figure is corroborated in other analyses.

Despite the findings that indicate no correlation between delinquency and intelligence there are some studies that definitely indicate such a correlation. Dr. Glueck's

35. Ibid., p. 55.
36. Beard, Belle Boone. Juvenile Probation
study bore out this contention as did a previous one by Dr. Schulman of New York, one of the first attempts to study delinquents scientifically. Dr. Schulman and his associates studied forty pairs of brothers. One brother in each case was delinquent while the other was, so far as could be determined, normal. They found a distinct relationship between delinquency, lack of mental ability, incapacity in school subjects and superior mechanical ability. This last was made the basis for a plea for more trade schools for younger boys.

Additional data may be obtained from other accounts of work in this field. From Long Beach, California, comes the statement that maps show delinquency and transiency areas correlating almost exactly while the relief map overlaps more than halfway. The three conditions, therefore, would seem to be very closely related. This would strengthen Dr. Clueck's observation that was mentioned above concerning the general instability of delinquents during their early years.

A very important survey covering thirty years and sixty thousand cases was carried on by Dr. Clifford R. Shaw of the Institute for Juvenile Research of Chicago. The home addresses of all these delinquents were checked by Dr. Shaw and his assistants and it was found that delinquency was very

37. What was Cain's I.Q.? Survey, 63:86-87, October 15, 1929.
definitely correlated with the location of their homes, that bad housing and a "polluted stream of immorality" go on in the same localities. People may, and do, move but somehow this vice and crime continues in the same geographical areas. Other studies showing the effect upon a boy of the location of his home include one from Omaha, Nebraska, pointing out that ninety percent of the homes of juvenile offenders were a half mile or more from the nearest playgrounds.

Another study refers to school success. From Hammond, Indiana, it is pointed out that there are twice as many problem pupils retarded in the elementary schools as non-problem children. This might properly be expected, as is the next observation. Mr. Coleman reported that the majority of the leaders of extra-curricular activities are non-problem boys and girls. Even more interesting is his observation of deficiencies apparent in the problem students. He notes that they lack determination, promptness, trustworthiness and a sense of responsibility.

Along this same line is an article on dominant behavior traits exhibited by delinquent boys measured by Dorothy Kinzer Tyson. Two hundred forty-six boys from the Whittier State School, a California industrial school, were measured.

in their cottages, shops and classrooms. Laziness topped the list in all three groupings. There was more swearing in the cottages than elsewhere and more resentment to discipline in the shops. In the classrooms laziness was by far the most apparent trait exhibited. Besides these, disobedience, inattention, quarrelsomeness, lying, filthy language, instability of mood, and bullying were also dominant.

However preponderant the evidence may be in favor of the theory that delinquents come entirely from poor homes with few cultural advantages, it is well to recall the fact that delinquents also come from so-called respectable homes where parents can be too generous with physical gifts and unconscious of the spiritual values they also need to pass on. The same Mr. Coleman who studied the school advancement of problem and non-problem children found that in his school, a public high school, it was those from homes with more cultural advantages who presented the problems in behavior. He stated that the large majority of those who rode to school in cars were disciplinary problems. Those who worked summers to support themselves in school were much less apt to present such difficulties. Therefore, while a large percentage does come from subsistence level homes or less, there is always a group from socially better homes.

The delinquent, then, is from a home that offers little in the way of mental or spiritual nourishment. His brothers and sisters or parents are or have been delinquent and, in his mind, the line between right and wrong conduct is hazy. For different reasons he is retarded in school and has decided not to bother. He finds himself on the street with companions of like mind, learning to smoke, attending movies, taking elementary lessons at first in the methods of stealing or the picking of pockets. He may be directed by his family to steal coal from the railroad or bring home a certain amount of money - or else! Once begun, his career in crime is not hard to follow - it becomes a contest with school and police authorities.

This "bad-boy" is an interesting creature to observe and get acquainted with, and A.H. Lass of Brooklyn, New York, has analyzed his personality in two spirited articles.

Mr. Lass identifies the "bad boy" as one who worships physical strength, who wants material success above all since he has usually been surrounded by poverty. He worships power, longs for power and has nothing but contempt for law and order - it all seems so futile. Sexy movies, tabloids, gambling, smoking, drinking, billiards - these are his steady diet. He is really a victim of an inferiority complex in spite of all his bravado. Effeminacy, especially

on the part of teachers, he can't stand. In fact, he is keen to size up his teachers, knows which ones are square-shooters and sincere, which are going to approach him on too lofty a plane. He is hard to interest in the classroom but likes best socialized recitations and adventure stories. His relations with classmates are governed by a strict code discouraging squealers, girls and poetry. Among his definite dislikes are school books, long words and people who frown on slang and tough talk. Really he is a sentimentalist but goes to a great deal of trouble to prove he isn't.

Girls present largely the same environmental backgrounds as the boys. Dorothy Dix found it necessary in one article to remind parents that girls will have beaux and dance, that they will go to places of amusement whether forbidden or not. They are very apt to run away when the restrictions become too great. They will also run away when there is trouble with father, especially, or when older siblings boss them too much. They are likely to be ashamed of the homes they live in, and impatient with constant overwork at home. They find themselves misfits wherever they turn, at home, in school and among their friends of both sexes.

COMPOSITE CASE STUDY OF TUCSON DELINQUENTS

In chapter III we attempted to present a picture of what delinquents in general are like, what kind of parents they have, where and under what conditions they live, how they fare in school, what their school difficulties are and in what activities they spend their leisure time. But one cannot well recognize the particular aspects of the delinquency problem in Tucson unless a study is made of actual juvenile delinquents in Tucson. Neither can teachers in the Tucson schools know what especial methods to use to prevent juvenile delinquency unless the factors that make for delinquency here are studied in detail. In order to secure a fairly representative picture of delinquents in Tucson and also to gain some idea of the causes leading to their delinquencies a study was made by the writer of seventy-five actual juvenile offenders introduced to her through the courtesy of the Pima County Probation Office. The files of this office were made available and in every way possible cooperation was offered. The seventy-five cases were selected at random from the probation department files. The children were studied with reference to age, grade, nationality, type of offenses committed and, then, the disposition of each case by either the probation officer or the juvenile court. Finally, in an attempt to
find out the causes of their delinquency, each was given the Cowan Adolescent Personality Schedule which will be described later.

The age range of the Tucson delinquents is apparent from the following table:

**TABLE I**

**AGES OF SEVENTY-FIVE DELINQUENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 - 7.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 - 8.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - 9.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 10.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 11.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 - 12.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 - 13.9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 - 14.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 15.9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - 16.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 - 17.9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 - 18.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>15 years, 14.5 years, 14.66 years</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the boys begin younger but show about the same average age. They range from eight to eighteen years. The average age of the girls is fifteen years and the average of the boys is 14.5 years. The largest number of girls appear at the fifteen year level while the largest number of boys is on the seventeen year level.

An age-grade scale of the delinquents has been compared with a summary age-grade scale for the Tucson schools. Table II, the age-grade scale for the Tucson schools, is on page 39. Of the total 11,300 pupils of the entire Tucson system, the elementary grades enroll 6585 of them, the junior high schools 2697, and the senior high school 2018 of them. The numbers enclosed by the dark lines are the number of pupils of the normal age for that grade as accepted by educational authorities. For instance, in the first grade there are eight hundred ninety-one children at the proper age for that grade and four hundred eighty-six who are overage. In the second grade there are six hundred at age and four hundred seventy-seven overage. One could summarize thus through all the grades.

In the junior high schools one finds 2697 pupils of whom 1484 are of normal age. The total for the high school is not broken down into grades because of difficulty found in securing the grades for the eight delinquents studied who are in high school.
TABLE II
AGE-GRADE SCALE FOR TUCSON SCHOOLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>Ungraded</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>5.5 - 6.4</td>
<td>176</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5 - 7.4</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7.5 - 8.4</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5 - 9.4</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5 -10.4</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>956</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.5 - 11.4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>996</td>
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<td>11.5 - 12.4</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>564</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5 - 13.4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>13.5 - 14.4</td>
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<td>297</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>402</td>
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<td>783</td>
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<td>14.5 - 15.4</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>372</td>
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<td>15.5 - 16.4</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>75</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>396</td>
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<td>16.5 - 17.4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>78</td>
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<td>17.5 - 18.4</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.5 and over</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1377</td>
<td>1077</td>
<td>1042</td>
<td>1103</td>
<td>1020</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>6585</td>
<td>947</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>2697</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2018</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Enrollment 11,300.
TABLE III

AGE-GRADE SCALE FOR SEVENTY-FIVE TUCSON DELINQUENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Elementary Grades</th>
<th>Junior High</th>
<th>H.S.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Un. 1 2 3 4 5 6 Total</td>
<td>7 8 9 Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5-8.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5-9.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5-10.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5-11.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5-12.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5-13.4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.5-14.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5-15.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.5-16.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.5-17.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.5-18.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table II presents the age-grade distribution of the seventy-five boys and girls being studied. Two only of the thirty-seven elementary school pupils are at age while all the others are at least one year retarded. One girl, seventeen years old, had attended only one semester of school, all told, while two boys have attended special classes. Sixteen percent of them have at least been enrolled in high school, a figure close to the seventeen percent of Dr. Glueck's (see page 30).
Tables II and III reduced to percentages are even more clear, as evidenced in Table IV which shows the percentage of the total school population and the juvenile delinquents found in each school grade.

TABLE IV
PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL SCHOOL POPULATION AND JUVENILE DELINQUENTS FOUND IN EACH GRADE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elementary Grades</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ungraded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total School Population</td>
<td>.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile Delinquents</td>
<td>.027</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High School Grades</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total School Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile Delinquents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentage of elementary school pupils is lower in the delinquent group than in the total school population. A much greater percentage of delinquents is found in the junior high school grades. This suggests some interesting ideas. The law does not consider a child under seven years of age accountable as a delinquent and the Tucson probation department seldom has a child on its files.
younger than ten years of age. The normal grade for ten-year-olds is the fourth and we begin to see a greater percentage of delinquents here than non-delinquents. It must be borne in mind, however, throughout the study that a group of seventy-five delinquents is very small compared with the total number of children in the Tucson public schools. The number of delinquents studied comprises only .66 of one percent of the whole school enrollment.

The junior high schools have more than their share of delinquency, forty percent of the delinquent group being in junior high school, as compared with twenty-four percent, while the senior high school figures present a much lower percentage of delinquents than non-delinquents, 10.7 percent as compared with eighteen percent. This lower percentage in the high school may be accounted for in one of at least three ways. Delinquent boys and girls may not be sufficiently equipped mentally to progress as far as high school. Or it may be that some high school offenders are among the two hundred sixty-seven who are over eighteen years of age (see Table II). These would be considered adults legally and thus would not be included in this study of juvenile delinquency. It is also possible that the system of control which includes a dean of girls and a dean of boys in the high school is producing worthwhile results in reducing the number actually reaching the juvenile authorities.
To this observer the first possibility seems the most logical. In addition, girls are often sent to the Phoenix institutions to stay until they are eighteen or twenty-one years of age. This would bar a possible return to the Tucson system during high school years. Boys "caught" at ten or eleven years of age and sent to Fort Grant are very apt to be recidivists although exact figures are not available on this point. Those placed on probation are not always heard from again although they may be. Therefore, it would seem that children with delinquent tendencies either have no inclination to go on to high school, have not the ability necessary or (and often concomitant with the latter) have already reached the age when work permits may be obtained and have left school for the wider field of work since they were not gaining sufficient satisfaction from their academic work.

In connection with this last point Table V is of interest as it shows the percentage of students retarded in both groups, the general school population and the delinquent group. Neither ungraded pupils nor high school pupils are included.

It is to be noted that while only 23.1 percent of the total elementary school population is retarded two years or more as measured against the accepted norm, 91.4 percent of the delinquents are so retarded. About the same proportion (23.2 percent) are retarded one year only in the general school group while only one child (two and nine-tenths percent) in the delinquent group is so re-
TABLE V
PERCENTAGE OF RETARDATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Elementary</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Junior High</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Age</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.0038</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Age</td>
<td>3481</td>
<td>.532</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.057</td>
<td>1484</td>
<td>.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retarded One Year</td>
<td>1515</td>
<td>.232</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>.244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retarded Two Years or More</td>
<td>1506</td>
<td>.231</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>.914</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>.195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>6537</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>2697</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tarded. 38 percent under age and 53.2 percent at the normal age and grade make a total of 53.58 percent or slightly more than half of the total elementary enrollment are satisfactorily advanced in their school work. On the other hand only two children (five and seven-tenths percent) of the thirty-five of elementary age are at all up to grade.

The picture changes when one considers the junior high school enrollment for this is more complimentary to the delinquent group than the elementary grade figures. Here less than half (46.7 percent) of the delinquents are retarded two years or more while thirty percent are actually up to grade. Two of these, girls, are simply runaways from their homes in other states. They were dissatisfied there, good examples of children whose mental ability is good but who are not given enough to keep them busy and alert either at home or at school. "It's no fun there," was their opinion. 1.1 percent of the general school population are under age, most of them being in the ninth grade (see Table II), fifty-five percent are at age and the remaining 43.9 percent are retarded at least one year. The fact that so many are retarded, due in part no doubt to language difficulties, brings up the next subject, division by race and nationality. Table VI which presents this subject will be found on page 46.

The most striking thing about Table VI is the almost complete reversal in figures in the comparison of American and Mexican delinquents on the elementary and high school
**TABLE VI**

DELINQUENTS COMPARED WITH GENERAL SCHOOL POPULATION
ON BASIS OF NATIONALITY AND RACE

| Nationality | Elementary | | | | | Junior and Senior High | | | | |
|-------------|------------|-----------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| American    | 2770       | .42       | 6                   | .162               | 4232               | .898              | 28                 | .737               | 28                 | .737               |
| Negro       | 242        | .037      | 2                   | .054               | 45                 | .009              | 1                  | .026               | 1                  | .026               |
| Others      | 809        | .032      | 0                   | .00                | 29                 | .006              | 0                  | .00                | 0                  | .00                |
| Totals      | 6585       | 1.00      | 37                  | 1.00               | 4715               | 1.00              | 38                 | 1.00               | 38                 | 1.00               |
levels. While in the elementary grades six delinquents are American and twenty-nine are Mexican, in the junior and senior high schools (these figures are officially combined by the Tucson system in accordance with the new school support law) this is reversed, with twenty-eight Americans and nine Mexicans. Thus 78.4 percent of the delinquents in the elementary grades are Mexican and 73.7 percent in the high schools are American. One wonders if this is not due in part to the fact that Mexican children are permitted to roam the streets at a much younger age than American children, that a similar opportunity for American children does not come until they are of junior high age (twenty-one, or seventy-five percent, of the American delinquents on the junior high and senior high levels are on the junior high level).

It may be that police and probation officials, recognizing the conditions in many of these Mexican homes, are more ready to "pick up" a Mexican child and send him to an institution to get him away from his associates and home environment. This is often, also, according to the statement of Jake Meyer, attendance officer for the Tucson schools, the only way of breaking up gangs which are undesirable. At the time the writer visited the State Industrial School at Fort Grant with the deputy probation officer and gave eighteen of the Cowan tests, fifteen of the eighteen tested were Mexicans, one was Negro and two were American. At the same time all seven of the girls
who were in the Convent of the Good Shepherd or the Florence Crittendon Home were Mexican. Another element in this picture is also the fact that many times Mexican parents will ask to have a child, especially a boy, "sent away." On the other hand, American parents are apt to shield their children and plead that they not be sent away. This comes from observation for there would be no way to present exact figures. There is, of course, the possibility of some prejudice on the part of the authorities in favor of American children.

One point to be noticed is that there are eight pairs of brothers or sisters among the seventy-five, with three brothers in each of two families, delinquent at the same time. Another thing to notice is that these delinquents travel in twos and threes. In nearly every case the writer found that the child's best friend was another delinquent. And they seem pleased with the relationship, being willing to take their share of the blame for offenses committed.

Homes of the delinquents varied from one room huts in the Elysian Grove section to fairly comfortable homes. Their parents varied, also, some being extremely concerned about their child, so concerned that the investigator found it necessary to ask them to leave the child alone for a little while. Some paid no attention to the visitor but usually there was a mother or older sister who visited with the writer while the boy or girl took the test. In almost all such cases parents indicated despair, and ability to "do nothing with" the delinquent. One felt
this was not the first time such despair had been expressed before the child. One marked difference between the behavior of the American children and the Mexican children was the fact that in almost all cases the latter were outwardly courteous to their parents while several of the American children "talked back" almost constantly. At least two of the mothers are known prostitutes but several others have had sex difficulties.

When one considers the offenses for which the seventy-five delinquents have come before the juvenile authorities one finds the division about as in Table VII which appears on the next page. However, the reader must again be reminded, not only that these same children have been in trouble for more reasons than one, but also that the seventy-five represent only about one-third of the active list in the probation office.

By far the majority of the boys (seventy-eight percent) have been caught in some type of theft, ranging from small merchandise to bicycles and cars. The girls, on the other hand, are "incorrigible," more than half of them (sixty percent) being involved in sex delinquencies. It is of interest to note the high percentage of runaways among the girls, twenty-eight percent; it will be noticed in Table VIII that these are all but one on the junior high level, ranging in age from thirteen to seventeen.
### Table VII

OFFENSES COMMITTED BY SEVENTY-FIVE DELINQUENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Offense</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbing Peace</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reckless Driving</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runaway</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglected</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table VIII gives a comparison of the school development of the delinquents and their offenses. Slightly more than half of the boys with records of various types of theft are on the elementary school level while the same holds true for the girls in sex difficulties. Eight of these fifteen girls are in the elementary grades but when one goes a bit deeper one finds they are decidedly overage for their school grades (see Table III), ranging from twelve to sixteen years.
TABLE VIII
SCHOOL ADVANCEMENT COMPARED WITH OFFENSES COMMITTED BY SEVENTY-FIVE DELINQUENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Elementary</th>
<th>Junior High</th>
<th>Senior High</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Offense</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgery</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbing Peace</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reckless Driving</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runaway</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglected</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next question naturally asked is one with reference to the trouble these boys and girls have given in school and whether they have been truants or not. According to information given the writer by Mrs. Nora Nugent and Jake Meyer, Tucson attendance officers, and presented in Table IX, 81.3 percent of all the delinquents are known truants. It may also be that some of the 14.7 percent whose record is unknown in Tucson have also been truants. The attendance officers have said that most of the seventy-five have also caused some kind of disturbance
in their classrooms but since no record is kept of such misbehavior by their office no definite report can be made here.

TABLE IX
SCHOOL DIFFICULTIES OF SEVENTY-FIVE DELINQUENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Truancy</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truancy forced by parents</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trouble in classroom</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>.147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals 25 50 75 1.00

It may be that there have been more than four in the group whose truancy was forced by the parents or made necessary by trips to the cotton fields to pick cotton in the fall but the important point is that there is such an imposing number who have been truant for any reason before or during a period of actual delinquency.

Although no more will probably be said concerning the dispositions of these cases by the probation office and the juvenile court Table X will give a quick summary.
TABLE X

DISPOSITION OF CASES BY JUVENILE COURT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disposition</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probation</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The contrast between boys and girls is marked, with seventy percent of the boys being sent to Fort Grant and seventy-two percent of the girls being placed on probation. Part of the reason for this lies in the before-mentioned desire of the authorities to break up boys' gangs by sending a member to the industrial school. Those placed on probation have been placed in foster homes, have been helped to find work or have been sent to their own homes or the homes of relatives in other communities. Fifty-six percent of the total number of boys and girls are sent to one of the three institutions while the remainder, forty-four percent, are being given probation treatment in one way or another.

Through the further cooperation of the Pima County probation office the writer was enabled to administer the Cowan Adolescent Personality Schedule (see Exhibit A) to these twenty-five delinquent girls and fifty delinquent boys. Some tests were given by the deputy probation of-
ficer when the children came in to report. Most of the rest were given by the writer in the homes of the children and a group of eighteen was tested at Fort Grant. Since the Personality Schedule is not a reading test it was explained to each one that he might ask any question on the meanings of words that he wished. Because of language difficulty many tests were given orally and the responses recorded by the tester. The purpose of the test, to find the causes of delinquency in Tucson, was carefully explained to each child taking the test, adding that their accurate answers would help teachers to keep younger boys and girls out of trouble. The boys, especially, responded to this statement of purpose and showed a fine willingness to answer truthfully. One or two boys who were advanced delinquents and who were interviewed in the county jail made remarks about the "silly questions" but otherwise cooperated.

The schedule is composed of two hundred one questions and observations which might call forth an affirmative, a negative or an uncertain reaction. The child encircles a "yes" or a "no" or a question mark to indicate his response. The position of the yes, no and question mark is changed about so that no pattern of response is automatically set up. The questions are mixed with relation to content so the child finds his mind skipping from one type of query to another. this also prevents his answering automatically.

When each child's answers were complete a "maladjustment profile" was outlined in graph form on a profile sheet.
provided for the purpose by Dr. Edwina Cowan who prepared the schedule. (see Exhibit B) From the resultant profile can be read the maladjustments of the particular child, according to a table set up by Dr. Cowan and her associates. The maladjustments were noted and a record passed on to the probation department where they are now a part of the permanent record of each of the seventy-five children.

When the Personality Schedule was analyzed it was found there were nine types of maladjustment that the questions purported to reveal. They were:

I. Fear - of reciting, of deep water, of other people laughing at them, of jails, of hell, of the end of the world, et cetera.

II. Family Emotion - whether parents are happy, whether the child prefers one parent to the other, whether there are favorites in the family, et cetera.

III. Family Authority - whether the mother must work, whether the father dominates the home and there must be quiet when he is at home, whether fathers are stingy with their money, whether siblings are too bossy and parents too strict, et cetera.

IV. Inferiority - how the child feels everyone can do things better than he can, how wicked and different from other children he feels, how his friends are no good, how others constantly tease him, et cetera.

V. Non-Family Authority - child's relationship with teachers, principal and police.

VI. Responsibility - how the child tries to get by in school because it's difficult for him, how tasks are left undone and home duties shirked, how often home duties are not even required, et cetera.

VII. Escapes - child escapes from reality by being alone, reading, day-dreaming, talking to others about his troubles, attending movies, reading
mystery stories and True Story magazine, by wishing to make a new start elsewhere and indulging his desire to pretend, et cetera.

VIII. Neurotic - a child is easily upset, has moods, laughs hysterically, blushes easily, feels his heart pound in his ears, et cetera.

IX. Compensation - likes to hurt people and animals, likes to tease, is a poor sport, plans to get even with someone some day, sticks with the gang no matter what they do, believe people naturally cheat, et cetera.

A quotation from the "Instructions for Interpretation" which is supplied with the schedules will show how the maladjustment profile is interpreted: the "subject's profile sheet now shows both the heavy black line (indicating the average maladjustment score of approximately 1200 children ranging in age from twelve to eighteen years) and the line you have entered on the graph to indicate the particular subject's percentage of maladjustment in each of the nine categories: I Fears, II Family Emotional Maladjustments, III Maladjustment to Family Authority, IV Inferiorities, V Maladjustment to Non-Family Authority, VI Maladjustment to Responsibility, VII Escapes, VIII Neurotic Symptoms, IX Compensations.

"We interpret the subject's profile by first comparing it with the heavy black 'norm line.' The method follows:

"1. Place the enclosed celluloid guide upon the profile sheet so that the GUIDE LINE (upper edge of the Guide) fluctuations correspond with the variations in the 'norm line.'

"2. Move the guide up or down parallel to the 'norm
line' until five of the subject's profile points are above or even with the GUIDE LINE and five of the profile points are below or even with the GUIDE LINE. The GUIDE LINE now marks the subject's own average.

"3. If the guide line is ten points (percentage points on left side of graph) or more below the 'norm line' the profile is considered 'generally low' and if the guide line is ten or more points above the 'norm line' the profile is considered 'generally high.'

"4. Next, we discover the subject's peaks and valleys. A PEAK is defined as a variation in the subject's profile line of six or more points above the guide line and a VALLEY is a variation of six or more points below the guide line. A variation of three to six points above or below the guide line is considered a trend and may or may not be significant.

"5. Having discovered the peaks and valleys, we next turn to the appropriate Interpretation sheet (one lists peaks and the other valleys - see Exhibits C and D) and attempt to find, listed in the columns at the left, a group corresponding to the subject's. If no group is listed, the single profile-point interpretations are used."

When the seventy-five profiles had been completed the next step was to prepare a graph showing a composite profile of all the boys' scores and another, the composite of all the girls' scores. In addition to these, separate profiles were made of the various age-groups, showing boys and girls separately. The age-groups were: eight to ten, ten to twelve, twelve to fourteen, fourteen to sixteen,
sixteen to eighteen. These were then compared with each other and with the Interpretation of "peaks" and "valleys" which had been worked out by Dr. Cowan. These composite profile sheets are Exhibits E to N in the Appendix.

Some rather interesting discoveries have been made as a result of this comparison and are apparent in Table XI. For instance, all the girls and the two youngest groups of boys were found to have "generally high" profiles. This, interpreted, means all the girls and the youngest boys are "unhappy, upset, bewildered, unstable, overwhelmed-with-pproblems."

| TABLE XI |
| COMPARISON OF COMPOSITE PROFILE SHEETS |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profile</th>
<th>Peaks</th>
<th>Valleys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Composite of all girls</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls 12-13 years</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls 14-15 years</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls 16-17 years*</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composite of all boys</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys 8-9 years</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys 10-11 years</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>IV slight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys 12-13 years</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys 14-15 years</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys 16-17 years*</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* One girl and two boys are eighteen years of age.
The peaks are conspicuous by their absence from this table. Peak III is found only among the oldest girls, sixteen to eighteen years of age; it indicates that these girls are "maladjusted to family authority, have different goals from those in authority, lack of understanding in the family."

The only peak among the boys is slight, Number IV, which is evidence of "poor social adjustment, insecure, sensitive, egocentric, poor social rapport" on the part of these boys from ten to twelve years. While none of the age groupings has a low profile, there are several valleys represented and each has its significance for a particular age level. Most important to notice is the fact that all profiles were decidedly low at VIII which, being interpreted, indicates "family trouble, dominant parents, not satisfied with social status." Evidently, both boys and girls in this group of delinquents find their home situation more than difficult. This is difficult to reconcile with the valley at VI in the cases of the oldest girls, fourteen to eighteen years of age, and in the case of the boys who are ten to twelve years of age. VI indicates that the child feels "dependent, craves someone to depend on." Probably in the case of the girls this need is responsible for their companionship with boys under all circumstances. In this companionship they can satisfy the craving to lean on someone. In the case of the youngest girls, twelve to sixteen years of age, one finds a valley at IX, Compensations, interpreted as follows: "Poor social adjustment, immature,
bad home situation, individualistic, weak, unstable, neurotic, and inadequate." This seems to fit in with former observations, as does the valley at V for the girls from fourteen to sixteen years. ("Egocentric, socially maladjusted and feels inadequate, sex maladjustment and family maladjustment are frequent.") The very youngest boys of eight to ten years also have dominant parents. "The child admired the parent so much that he readily fell in with parent's views and assumed they were the same as his own."

It is to be noticed that among these tendencies there is no mention of school difficulties, except for the general references to problems and feelings of inadequacy which may include school problems. The home, then, emerges as by far the most disruptive factor in the behavior of these particular children.

An actual tendency toward delinquency is indicated, according to Dr. Cowan and Dr. R.L. Brigden, if certain questions in the schedule are answered in the manner of maladjusted individuals. The number of these particular questions which a particular child answers in way persons evidence maladjustment is added up and scored against norms "based on five hundred twelve unselected junior and senior high school children! The child is given a "delinquency index" or "D.I." as it is known. For convenience, the table worked out by Dr. Brigden showing the percentile

47. Letter from Dr. Brigden, page 161, Appendix.
rank value of each D.I. score follows:

**TABLE XII**

**PERCENTILE RANKS OF D.I. SCORES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Delinquency Index</th>
<th>Percentile Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, if a child has a D.I. score of four (that is, answers four of the questions — see list in Exhibit 0 — as maladjusted individuals usually respond) there are seventy-four children out of every hundred less delinquent than he is and twenty-six more delinquent than he is. The upper twenty-five percent have five or more as their D.I. score and among the seventy-five being studied the scores ranged as high as twenty-nine. Children with scores of five or six have very strong tendencies toward delinquency while those with higher scores are more and more certainly delinquent, the higher the scores go. From a letter from Dr. Brigden, one might quote this portion:
Those who get a D.I. of 6 are delinquent in 2 out of 3 cases. Those who get a D.I. of 8 are delinquent in 5 out of 6 cases. Those who get a D.I. of 10 are delinquent in 11 out of 12 cases, and those who get 14 D.I.'s are delinquent 70 out of 71 times. So the higher the D.I. the more frequently you find delinquent children. The test does not say: 'This child is delinquent.' It merely gives his chances of being delinquent, and if the chances are great enough, as 11 to 1 that he is delinquent, you apply the law of averages and assume he really is delinquent, and you are correct 11 out of 12 times."

Table XIII presents a comparison of the delinquency indices of boys and girls of all age levels. And Table XIV breaks these figures down into elementary, junior high and senior high levels.

**TABLE XIII**

**DISTRIBUTION OF D.I.'S AMONG DELINQUENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D.I.</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DISTRIBUTION OF D.I.'S ACCORDING TO GRADE LEVELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D.I.</th>
<th>Elementary</th>
<th>Junior High</th>
<th>Senior High</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One is struck by the range of D.I.'s from one to twenty-nine, with the greatest number in the case of both boys and girls between ten and fourteen (34.7 percent all told). The next largest number in the combined group comes at the five-to-nine grouping, and the least delinquent and most delinquent groups claim an equal percentage of cases (18.7 percent) except for three cases who are far above the remainder in the positiveness of their delinquency. According to Dr. Brigden (see page 62): Those who get a D.I. of ten are delinquent in 11 out of 12 cases...." It is of interest to note that fifty-three or seventy-one percent of the total of seventy-five cases are delinquent to this or an even greater degree.

The conclusion might be reached that those who are
so definitely delinquent have been sent to institutions and the other 42.7 percent (.187 plus .24) placed on probation. As a matter of fact this is just about what did happen (see Table X). Forty-four percent were placed on probation and the other fifty-six percent sent to institutions. Table XV shows the exact disposition of these cases.

TABLE XV
COMPARISON OF D.I. SCORES AND DISPOSITION OF CASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D.I.</th>
<th>Probation</th>
<th>Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be assumed from a study of this table that the juvenile court is taking home and other conditions into consideration when it disposes of its cases. Almost exactly half of each of the three least delinquent groups have been placed on probation and the other half institutionalized.
The study of seventy-five delinquents in Tucson has revealed certain tendencies which are common among them. Whether they would be the same in a larger sampling one cannot tell. They are as follows:

1. The girls are on an average fifteen years of age and the boys 14.5 years.

2. The proportion of elementary pupils among the delinquents is smaller than in the general school population, the proportion of junior high grades much greater, and the proportion in senior high much smaller.

3. 91.4 percent of them in the elementary grades are retarded two years or more while 23.1 percent of the general school population are so retarded.

4. Forty-six percent on the junior and senior high school levels are retarded two years or more while 19.5 percent are thus retarded among the general school population.

5. In the elementary grades seventy-eight percent of the delinquents are Mexicans, and in the junior high and senior high grades 73.7 percent are Americans.

6. The delinquents' best chums are also delinquents.

7. Seventy-eight percent of the boys committed some type of theft while sixty percent of the girls committed some sex offense.

8. Elementary boys in the group were more apt to commit theft than the older boys, and the elementary girls some sex offense. Runaways from home are apt to
come from the junior high level.

9. At least seventy-six percent have been truant from school.

10. Fifty-six percent were sent to institutions by the juvenile court and forty-four percent placed on probation.

11. All age-groups showed definite signs of family trouble when given the Cowan Adolescent Personality Schedule.

12. All girls and the youngest boys showed signs of unhappiness and instability.

13. 57.3 percent showed a serious degree of delinquency according to D.I. scores, while twenty-four percent showed a tendency toward delinquency and 18.7 percent were less definitely delinquent.
CHAPTER V

CAUSES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Today thoughtful students of the causes of juvenile delinquency have found almost exactly the same causes for delinquency as were found at the time of the awakening of interest in the subject in the 1850's. Now, as then, these reasons are centered in the home or the school or the community. Chapters III and IV which give a picture of what juvenile delinquents are like also give an idea of some of the factors that cause delinquency.

In spite of the feeling that a child's school or play experience may be making him a delinquent it is believed universally that misguided, inadequate homes are the real cause for the delinquency of most youngsters and this conclusion is reinforced by the data in chapter IV. In one of many possible ways the home has failed in its supreme task of parenthood. Homes broken by the death or desertion of one parent are the cause of many troubles. A long period of sickness followed by death has brought its toll in the fatigue of body and spirit of all other members of the family. Sudden death so often leaves a family without a breadwinner, sending either the mother or some older child out to work. If it is the mother who is taken, then the one who usually has constant
supervision of the children is gone. In either case, the children suffer by being allowed to run the streets and make any friends they choose. The one parent has neither the strength not, more often, the inclination to check on his children's activities.

It may not be death that is the cause of the broken home but, more serious than that, divorce or desertion. In such a case it is obvious that there have already been quarreling and other forms of disharmony in the home, finally having driven one or the other away. Not only is the atmosphere one from which a child wants to escape but it is one from which a child's notion of home life is obtained. And in the cases where one stepmother or stepfather succeeds another, often without benefit of the marriage ceremony, the effect on the child is complete confusion as to the true ideals of family life. Five children, for instance, in one Tucson family have five different fathers. They live in a constant atmosphere of deceit, dishonesty and vice.

It is also true, no doubt, that the parents of some delinquent boys and girls are honest, hard-working men and women, sincerely bewildered by the child's behavior. They have fairly good backgrounds, hold respectable positions, live in comfortable homes, try to provide more than the immediate necessities of life and cannot understand where their boy or girl first became associated with delinquent children and became delinquent himself.
When one considers not the extremes but the average homes of delinquent children one notes certain elements that drive the children away from home in order to find their fun, their friends, and real adventure. Almost always the parents argue and bicker and nag constantly. They add to a child's problems their own social or financial troubles and the child finds himself concerned and worried. Not only do parents argue but they are irritable and excitable, being upset by every little occurrence out of the ordinary. The child is punished quickly, often without an explanation. When this happens the boy or girl loses the respect for his parents that he ought to have according to common standards. Their inconsistency is inconsistent with what they preach to him.

For they do preach, often. They, in soberer moments, can give their child long discourses on the subjects of honesty, truthfulness, self-control, good citizenship, etc. The next time that the father or mother disregards a promise made to a child, or concocts a fantastic story for the benefit of the landlord or the bill-collector, the child remembers the preachments and wonders. A child so often hears a parent or older brother or sister boast of breaking traffic laws, cheating on tax statements or being excused unnecessarily from jury duty. No firm foundation is being laid in his home for his future conduct.

Parents who consider themselves ideal parents are unconsciously driving the child away often by fault-finding.
No child, even if very much repressed, enjoys being told that everything he does or says is wrong. Sooner or later, he is going to learn that there are human beings who will approve and he turns to them. Thus is the gang spirit strengthened. No child, furthermore, wants constantly to be compared unfavorably with a brother or sister. Each child has his own personality; if he is not permitted to develop naturally at home, he finds true companionship on the streets. This is noticeably true in cases where parents insist on a certain academic course for their son for which he has neither the liking nor the aptitude. Another cause for his seeking friendship elsewhere is his parents' daily emphasis on the love and care that have been bestowed upon him, the money he has cost, the sacrifices made in his behalf. He begins to figure, "I didn't ask for it." These latter two elements, lack of opportunity to develop naturally and the parents' emphasis on the sacrifices they had made, were a portion of the reasons given by boys themselves studied by the California Bureau of Juvenile Research. Other reasons for their delinquency, as they analyzed it, were: extremely severe criticism at home, inconsistency in discipline at home, lack of harmony between parents, the way in which their spending money was given them, the failure of their parents to build up in them an adequate feeling of being loved and wanted. Another was the "righteous indignation" aroused within the family group when one member became delinquent. All others in
the family were arrayed on one side against the offender. There was too much emphasis laid on the difference between the "crook" and the "decent" within the family circle.

Many parents feel, as Puritans must have felt, that work is a virtue in its own right and that the need for play is something one will outgrow. They forget that a child needs wholesome play for his physical and mental development; therefore, children are sent to work as soon as the compulsory school law allows. In Arizona it is necessary to show that it is absolutely necessary for the child to work but in some areas of the state the law is not strictly enforced. Work permits may be given to children fourteen years of age if it is necessary; otherwise they are given at sixteen years.

Economic stresses are not inconsiderable. Poverty is often accompanied by other difficulties, having to live in slum areas with their ignorance, filth and crime; the nervous effect on all members of the family; the improper and insufficient food and the inadequate clothing; lack of money for trips or other recreational opportunities; the shame felt, especially by girls, for their home and their reluctance to have friends meet them there, as well as the actual contact with so much that is low, mean and degrading. The home in such circumstances is overcrowded, the families are large and there is little opportunity.

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for real development as individuals. General trends in family life seem to be away from a loyal, closely-knit group toward merely an aggregation of individuals living together under one roof, feeling little affection one for the other. The old bonds are no longer apparent. Parents make their children feel unwanted. They no longer in many cases warn a child of the dangers and temptations that lie ahead of him and do not teach him the accepted modes of behavior. They so often do not take time to know and sympathize with their child's desire to explore new fields. Nor do they often realize, modern club women, for instance, that while they are campaigning for the prevention of juvenile delinquency their own young ones are being neglected shamefully, being less important to the mothers than their "causes."

Rigid discipline in the home makes for almost as much delinquency and running away as does neglect. Children who are not permitted to make friends and mingle freely, who must be at home regularly at an early hour or are not permitted to go out at night at all, or who are forced to turn over to parents the greater part of their wages when they are working, who are constantly forbidden certain amusements with no others offered as substitutes, very soon "kick the traces" and leave for a more glamorous life. This positive action has already been preceded by lying and deception at home on the part of the child. Petty slights, coldness, misunderstandings, ridicule, sarcasm -
these are also part of the home life of today that helps to breed delinquency.

Tucson homes are not very different from homes elsewhere. Definite statistics on home conditions would require an extensive sociological survey of the city; this has not been done here. The homes from which the seventy-five delinquent children come are broken, are overcrowded (several families numbered over eight), are filled with sordidness, crime, unconcern for the physical, mental, and moral or social well-being of their children. One is aware of an undertone of nagging and impatience when one visits. One also realizes that several of the families are receiving either direct relief or W.P.A. assistance with the resultant loss of prestige and vigor. Swimming pools are a definite advantage in Tucson. The pools are all used a great deal as are the few playgrounds, such as the one on Ochoa Street, behind the Cathedral. In several instances children whom the writer had gone to visit were sent for at the pools or playgrounds, and others were just going over. Parents know where the children have gone when they have gone to a pool but at other times will simply give the children money for a movie and send them off, not sure what type of movies they might see, or even that they attend the theater at all.

There is frequent dodging of responsibility on the part of these families, some, for instance, insisting that their children be sent away to be cared for by the state.
These parents, though some of them can preach quite eloquently, also set far from good examples of behavior for their children to follow. In more than one case there is striving for luxury and social position not justified by their income, to the detriment of the real values that have been part of home for centuries. Home life here is not interesting to these young delinquents; their first delinquencies have been met with unconcern or blundering; and both boys and girls, feeling the urge to grow and develop, find satisfaction outside the home, much as boys and girls do in larger cities.

The adequate home is described thus by Dr. Miriam Van Waters: "Home should furnish the child with a clew, a thread, which, mingling later with results of his own spiritual discoveries, will become the guiding line of life, and reveal his place in nature. The home not only furnishes the child with its first knowledge of human personalities, but may open or shut the door to many fascinating interests: nature, adventure, books, ideas, discovery and conquest, failure and defeat. To do these things would be the work of the adequate home." 49 "The child, during growth deserves to be nested securely; he should not know anxiety caused by strife, disharmony or unsatisfied longings of either parent. His parents should be genuinely interested in family-life, throughout infancy, childhood and youth, the child should have the same two love-united parents.

49. Van Waters, Miriam. Youth in Conflict. p. 64
parents. Fathers who lose initiative in family affairs, or become too timid, or too tyrannical; mothers who wish to domineer, or to evade family life, mothers whose desire is not to nourish life and feeling in children, but to absorb it, - tend to produce children who fill our courts and hospitals."

Although the home seems the greatest factor in the causation of delinquency there must be some reason for the large percentage among the delinquents who are also truants from school, fifty-seven children, or seventy-six percent of the group studied in Tucson. Some of the responsibility even for this truancy lies within the home as Dr. Jahr points out when he discusses the fact that if children feel insecure at home they will go from one scrape to another at school. Malnutrition, insufficient rest, worry within the home situation, and other factors having their roots in the home may be factors determining a child's lack of success in school.

The schoolroom, itself, however, has been recognized for years as a source of trouble. Too few curricula are elastic enough to give each child what he needs as training for his life. Every child, whatever his capacity, is given the same courses and expected to compete with all others of his age on an equal basis. As a matter of fact teachers

50. Van Waters, Miriam. Youth in Conflict. p.36.
are more aware today of the special needs and abilities of their children and are putting forth as much effort as is possible with large classes and full schedules to place a child where he belongs. The story is told of "Ruby" who, because of her size, was constantly ridiculed, not only by students but also by teachers. A sympathetic counsellor helped Ruby to improve her general appearance and then saw to it that she was placed among students of her own size in the junior high school. These new teachers, who were coaches really, assisted her and she overcame the feeling of inferiority that had kept her from real development on the elementary grade level. This was a matter of correct placing on the basis of physical size and social development. There are other reasons for changing the placement of a child.

The almost necessary emphasis in school on academic subjects requiring reading, reasoning, and oral and written expression plays havoc with a child whose abilities do not lie along these lines. As has been quoted from Dr. Augusta Bronner of the Judge Baker Foundation: "Special disabilities for certain kinds of school performance lead to hatred of school, this leads to truancy and truancy in turn leads to idleness, bad companionship and delinquency of all sorts." Many of these placement problems are problems

of curriculum and as such are problems of administration, therefore the concern of principals, superintendents and school boards.

A new book on this whole subject of juvenile delinquency, The Child Speaks, by Justice Jacob Fanken of New York City, has this to say in regard to the failure of the schools: "Our school systems, even though some of them recognize that children must be approached as individuals rather than as groups, have thus far failed to develop fully along these lines. We still attempt to fit the child into the school and its studies rather than fit school and its studies to the child. We standardize our teaching. The standardized human being lacks individuality, for he coordinates himself with the mass - he does not stand out. It may not be important that he stand out, but it is important that he be happy. Happiness comes only as the result of giving rein to one's individuality."

There are other ways in which teachers offend. A teacher very often adopts the same weapons used to control children at home - nagging, scolding and ridicule. It is not surprising when children who face criticism and unfair teasing at home rebel when they face it at school as well. "Sarcasm, impatience, egotism, bad temper, favoritism, stupidity, indifference to suffering of others, lack of love for children, are serious faults in parents, but..."

54. Van Waters, Miriam. Youth in Conflict, p. 36
doubly in teachers, to whom the state has entrusted the duty of correcting defects of home-life, and who have the whole business of education in hand." The children know whether the teacher feels a keen interest in each of them. The teacher, also, who is uninteresting in his presentation of subject matter or monotonous in his methods will, if other conditions are right, make truants of his children. This was true in 1898: "If the results of this investigation emphasize any one group of facts more than another, it is the intense fondness for outdoor activities and a spread out, diffused, universal interest in man and nature on the part of the child. Running away and truancy are forcible protests against the narrow and artificial methods of the school room, a hellion against suppressed activity and a denial of free outdoor life, cannot pedagogy take a more practical account of these great fundamental instincts and activities?" It is also true today. As Dr. Van Waters expresses it: "It may be a biological protest against bad air, physical defects, or healthy criticism of a course of study hopelessly dull, heavy, mechanical and uninteresting. Frequently it is an attempt to evade responsibility, to escape meeting an issue; again it is a mode of self-expression, or of taking revenge." The teacher who knows each of his

55. Ibid., p. 98
57. Van Waters, Miriam. Youth in Conflict. p. 90/
children as individuals with special interests and problems and teaches children rather than subjects has not been found a cause of delinquency.

The way in which school difficulties and behavior problems, truancy, for instance, are met by the teacher and the school authorities determine the future course of the particular child, whether it is to lie in the direction of conformity and development, or in the direction of more truancy and even delinquency. Boys and girls respect sincerity and fairness. Teachers who remember there may be more than one cause for a child's truancy and attempts to discover the causes sympathetically are seldom the cause of a child's delinquency.

Unfortunately one cause for delinquency exists in the school as it does in the home. That is the type of example set by the teacher, as by the parent, in his or her personal dealings with others. Even the addition of formal moral training in the school curriculum will not make up for deceptiveness on the part of teachers themselves. Teachers have been known to break promises made to the children and commit other acts that the children have been taught were dishonest. If they should boast, even among themselves, of evading the law or show a malicious spirit toward each other, or evade various types of responsibility, the pupils are aware of such attitudes and form their own judgment of the value of the moral training being offered in the classroom.
The home, the school, and the community are the three vital factors in the life of a child besides his own inheritance of certain physical and mental qualities. The home surrounds the child entirely for the first three or four years of his life but when the child is developed enough to play with other children he is permitted to make his first contacts with other boys and girls. The immediate neighborhood will supply these first associates and will continue to supply them until the child's environment expands to include school-mates from other neighborhoods. His circle will gradually widen, then, depending on his interests. If the neighborhood in which his home is located is poor economically and low morally the child and his associates will reflect that condition in their talk, their play, their attitudes. And not only are there associates of the same age to be considered but there are those adults and older adolescents who, in a community of low repute, have a very definite influence on the younger children.

Men and women who "educate" boys and girls in crime are prevalent in all our cities, not less so in Tucson. Boys who have served terms at Fort Grant and girls who have been sex offenders have taught, and are teaching, younger ones to steal, to pet, to pick pockets, to "pull" various types of "job." It is estimated by the attendance officers that there are ten or twelve fairly well organized gangs of boys in Tucson operating under the direction of former inmates of the industrial school. The older boys
use younger ones to the actual deed and then share the booty. It is to break up such gangs that boys are so often sent to Fort Grant. The difficulty with this procedure seems to be that terms at Fort Grant are so short that they insure neither the re-education of the boy nor more than a short halt in the activities of the gang. His place in the gang is ready for the boy who returns from the industrial school.

Frederic M. Thrasher who has made thorough studies of boys and boys' gangs has the following to say concerning the education thus gained in the streets: "The prime condition for the demoralization of young people in these areas is to be found in the informal education and social contagion of the streets and all the private and commercialized institutions which cater to the pleasure-seeking impulses of these young people. The streets and the institutions of the streets grant no degrees and give no diplomas, but they educate with fatal precision. So effective are these destructive influences that they are likely to bring to naught all the efforts of formal education." 58 Girls learn from older women begging, petting and finally prostitution.

It is not only the fact of association itself with a gang of boys, even with its attendant evils, but it is more than that, the lack of adequate supervision and guidance,

that is the serious cause of delinquency. Gangs may use the facilities of a public playground but without someone of good character to direct their activities the playground is almost useless as a preventive of delinquency. For in these street groups "the boy or young man acquires a feeling of independence, a disrespect for law and authority, an ability to look after himself away from home, a philosophy of fatalism and cynicism, and not least of all, a knowledge of the technique of crime............"

The lack of good recreational facilities under competent supervision is seen by most writers as one of the most important causes of delinquency. It may be that the playgrounds are located too far apart; a study in Omaha, Nebraska, showed that ninety percent of the homes of delinquents were located a half mile or more from any playground. Delinquent acts are proposed and planned during spare time when the boys can congregate and, besides this, many delinquent acts are planned in order to get the financial means necessary to enjoy leisure times. Boys, for instance, steal in order to buy movie tickets or refreshments or gasoline or any one of a score of other leisure-time wants. And much of delinquency itself is merely misdirected play.

Among the seventy-five Tucson delinquents the desire for play and excitement is apparent when one considers the

59. Ibid., p.44
fact that many of the boys stole bicycles and automobiles. They want to ride, to go places. Interestingly enough, the merchandise stolen from stores and service stations was usually tires or other car parts. The girl who has run away from home or who has been out late with boys night after night is also seeking excitement and adventure. Her first thought when she yields to him is not of crime or sin but of pleasure. The boy or girl who protests against un­lovely surroundings at home, unpleasant associations at home or at school, irksome tasks at school still desires what ought to be the birthright of every boy or girl - a place and opportunity for fun and play.

The home, the school, the community - some aspect of each is a cause for delinquency. In Tucson the chief causes seem to be inadequate homes, undoubtedly a certain amount of ineffective teaching, the presence of gangs and other poor companions, and the lack of supervised recreation in most parts of the city.
CHAPTER VI
ATTEMPTS MADE TO PREVENT DELINQUENCY

Realization of the size of the juvenile delinquency problem has found expression in many different plans for prevention, each one attaining some measure of success in some community. The more the causes of delinquency have been discovered and pointed out the more eager have schools and social agencies been to do something effective in the way of control and prevention, rather than treatment to redeem a child after he has offended. Projects ranging from community councils of social agencies to more adequate playgrounds have been tried. This chapter will set down a few of these plans and describe the methods being used in Tucson to prevent juvenile delinquency.

Probably the first move toward prevention of delinquency, outside of the schools, came with the founding of the Big Brothers movement in 1911. It was founded especially to save the victims of the "Fagins." "Fagins," named after the wicked old Jew in Dickens' Oliver Twist, teach boys especially to pick pockets and are numerous in slum areas of cities. They are part of the host of adult "educators in crime" mentioned in chapter V. The Big Brothers, appointed by the court, seek to take boys

under their care, proving themselves real friends. Most of them are business and professional men. They try to discover a boy’s present interests and open up new interests to him. A Big Brother is not expected to expend a great deal of money but to give of his time and his energy, to play with the boy, to read with him, to talk with him, to visit worthwhile places with him, to do anything that will restore the boy’s faith in himself and his fellowmen. The Big Brothers’ first aim has always been to save the child. This has meant, therefore, infinite patience and a willingness to give the boy numerous opportunities to make good. They have given their "little brothers" many opportunities and according to their reports in magazine articles have often been rewarded by success. In answer to a question, "How big shall a Big Brother be?" I.H. Rubinow feels that he should not be too big financially, nor too big intellectually, but must have time for little things. He must be mature enough to view his little brother’s problems wisely but have sympathy for the seriousness of his problems as well. To be a Big Brother means to be able to become interested in boyish interests even when one is confronted by much larger problems oneself. The Big Brother movement is designed to prevent further delinquency after delinquency has already begun.

Other efforts to prevent further delinquency include

such projects as the boys' court which was organized in 1921 in a special room maintained for truants and incorrigibles in a school in a crowded section of Chicago.

The boys' court was permitted to administer decisions without interference from the school authorities. According to the boys themselves they would rather have faced the juvenile court than this court composed of their peers. Similar courts have been set up within settlement houses, some with adult referees. Some are composed of delinquent boys and others of boys elected by the leading boys' organizations of their city. The latter is exemplified by a junior council organized in Webster Groves, near St. Louis, Missouri. It is composed of forty boys elected by other boys; all officers of the council are boys; and laws, such as the bicycle laws, are clarified by boys. Punishments for violations are meted out to suit the offenses and the whole constitutes a pretty thorough course in civic responsibility.

Bureaus for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency have been established in some form in many of the larger cities of the nation. Their plan and their personnel may vary but their aim is the coordination of all forces in the community working against delinquency. In New York City, for instance, where the Bureau is only one year old, Judge Jackson had become impatient with police officers.


who spent their time preparing court cases rather than out on the beat doing their utmost to prevent crime. At his insistence and with the support of others the Bureau for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency was established. Its activities have been varied but all directed toward prevention. Judge Jackson has secured the cooperation of the larger department stores that their employees might be on the alert for unescorted children and keep temptation at a minimum. The Bureau has tightened up on junk dealers' licenses and put more conspicuous signs on junk shops. Abandoned buildings have been placarded and boarded up. These measures eliminate much stealing by juveniles of pipe and other articles to be sold to junk dealers. Cooperative relationships with bus manufacturers have made possible the eliminating of hand-holds on the backs of busses and other improvements to prevent "catching on." Judge Jackson and his associates give many talks in school assemblies on the care of school buildings and property especially. Thus the program of the Bureau reaches out into all areas where there is temptation to delinquency. According to Judge Jackson the program is a "matter of getting down from the bench and out into the community."

Government agencies, it is claimed, have also done much toward the prevention of delinquency among at least older adolescents. Works Progress Administration projects

have cost a great deal but illuminating figures show some worthwhile decreases in juvenile delinquency in New York, Illinois, and other states, due directly, it is believed, to recreational projects sponsored by this government agency. The reduced cost of delinquency more than compensates in these communities for the increased cost of recreation. In Nebraska and Pennsylvania a similar drop in delinquency figures since 1933 has been credited in studies that have been made to the Civilian Conservation Corps which has had for its aim the conservation of both human and natural resources. Another way in which a government agency was made to serve the cause of prevention is illustrated in Philadelphia. There, in 1934-1935, a committee from the Council of Social Agencies decided to try to refer the four thousand boys who went through the juvenile court in a year to the various recreational agencies in their own neighborhoods. The committee secured the services of Civil Works Administration men, hand-picked, to visit the boys in their homes, invite them to the agencies and then meet them at the clubs to assist them to find their place in the activities. During the first year one thousand twenty-three boys were thus introduced to various clubs and recreational agencies. About one-fourth of those so referred have been rated "successful." The others were still adjusting at the time the account was prepared.

A very unique type of activity planned to curb further delinquency was initiated in New York City several years ago. Mayor LaGuardia appointed a committee to compile a list of books suitable for use in children's courts. Mayor LaGuardia and his committee felt that an introduction to good reading would save many children from further delinquency. Justice Panken of the Children's Court there has made particular use of this method. His practice is to use books both in treating delinquency and in preventing its spread. To follow his reasoning let us quote from The Child Speaks: "It is exceedingly important to give the child a contact with life or with humans different from the life or humans who caused his downfall. The practice of using the book therapeutically is, so far as delinquents are concerned, a way of establishing a more lasting contact between myself and the children who come before me. Not only does it forge a link between us, but it also gives me an opportunity to observe whether the Court's decision and the treatments prescribed are bringing results." How does the judge choose books suitable for a particular child? "In court it is done this way. The child is asked what he would like to be, what he likes to read, and what he has read in the past. He is asked what sort of motion pictures he likes, what broadcasts interest him. These bits of information guide me to the type of book which

would be best fitted to his interests, and later in our talk I suggest one or two books which I think might appeal to him and at the same time influence him." "First, the child is made acquainted with worth-while literature, and he develops a preference for good books. Next, good reading helps to build up the proper mental attitude in him. He gets to know an entirely different sort of life from the one in which he has fared so badly. Finally, he is kept occupied. If he develops an interest in reading, his environment changes, the library takes the place of the poolroom; home is given preference to the street corner; the child associates with fine men in the books rather than with the gang crew."

Coordinating councils of social agencies have been somewhat effective in the prevention of actual delinquency and more so in the alleviation of conditions which make for delinquency such as slum areas, inadequate play space, and other dangerous conditions. Over four hundred such councils are active in as many communities at this time. They follow the general plan of the first one, organized in Berkeley, California, by August Vollmer in 1920. The Berkeley Council at present is composed of the responsible heads, and such others as may be elected by the various departments, of the police department, the Research and Guidance Bureau of the public schools, the health depart-

69. Fanken, Justice Jacob. The Child Speaks. p. 110
70. Ibid., p. 111
ment, the Welfare Society, the Department of Playgrounds, Recreation and Parks. The members of the council meet weekly to review problem cases. Cooperation has been so effective that no department feels suspicious of another; for this reason a case may be shifted from one department to another if the other seems better fitted to deal with it.

Such cooperation among social agencies is in some communities attained, not under a community plan, but under a school department. In Jersey City, for one example, all such units as the police, the visiting teachers, the child guidance clinic and the attendance officers have been united under an assistant superintendent of schools. The new unit is called the Bureau of Special Services. The reason for this uniting of the various efforts within the school system is the fact that schools meet all juveniles and, therefore, have a much more natural contact with them than any outside agency. The Bureau of Special Services also houses all health services. When a delinquent boy and his parents enter the building there is no way for a passerby to know that he is a delinquent and not merely going in for a health examination. In this way the heroics are eliminated; the child is no longer a hero in the eyes of his chums. Records kept are complete so that a child is judged in the light of his whole record. He does not

appear in court until his delinquency is chronic. Even in the workers' visits to the homes plain-clothesmen are used, and parents are called in to the bureau for a conference, not summoned to court for a trial. Practical elimination of juvenile cases from the court records is claimed for the Jersey City plan which has served as a pattern for other communities.

The schools have felt the responsibility for the prevention of delinquency for some time. In the early days, after the juvenile court has proved that treating children as children would pay, the schools realized that there were changes they must make. In Muskegon, Michigan, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, for two examples, the schools were having trouble with truancy. A former detective in one city and the assistant police chief in the other, who knew boys, became the new truancy officers. Through the courtesy and patience of their personalities (the opposite of the qualities possessed by their predecessors) they won over the parents to the side of the school as well as the children. Truancy was practically abolished at the time. The new truant officers did more than check on absences. They helped boys and girls to find out-of-school work and also encouraged employers to use them. He checked on factories to be sure none employed children without permits. Thus in more than one way the influence of the new type of truant officer was

felt.

One more interesting school project is being carried out in Topeka, Kansas. A special, private, non-profit school is conducted there to which parents may send children with emotional difficulties. Since the cost is low the benefits of the school are not restricted to the wealthy. Many examples are given of their work showing how the staff tries to straighten out such difficulties by patience. The teachers control by sheer force of will their first desire to punish a child and study him to find out the underlying cause of his trouble. It is suggested that if parents would do the same thing, perhaps cause and symptom would both disappear.

In the schools, the most important effort that has been made toward the prevention of juvenile delinquency has been the provision of special classes of various kinds, for the physically handicapped, for the mentally weak, or for the socially retarded. The classroom teachers, visiting teachers, school nurses and counsellors study the causes of a child's retardation when he is not able to complete his work satisfactorily. If some condition is found that will be helped by attendance in a special class he is placed there. The type of special aid given varies with different communities. These special rooms are planned as part of an entire adjustment program in a school or

school system but are peculiarly effective in the case of the incipient delinquent. In a special class where his abilities are known and his interests are respected a boy or girl who might otherwise be truant or delinquent finds his attention diverted to more worthwhile activities. Even when a child has not been placed in a special room but attends a school in which the teachers are well trained to note children's special abilities and interests he does not feel the urge toward truancy and delinquency he might otherwise feel.

Child guidance clinics to which parents or teachers may refer or take children with all types of maladjustment are part of the solution of the problem of delinquency in many cities. Such a clinic utilizes the services of physicians, psychologists, psychiatrists and other specialists in diagnosing individual cases. A child referred to a clinic is given a complete series of tests to measure mental ability, educational attainment, social experience and to discover causes of the child's problems which may be behavior problems, health problems or problems of personality development. Such clinics are often privately endowed foundations, such as the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston. Often they are connected directly with a large school system. Visiting teachers, school cabinets, and the use of school buildings and playgrounds as community centers are all worthwhile attempts to meet the problem of preventing delinquency among school children.
but these methods will be discussed in chapter VIII. There they will be described with particular reference to the Tucson situation.

Public playgrounds for children are one example of a way in which schools and communities are cooperating in reducing delinquency. It is quite generally agreed by educational leaders and others that adequate play space is an absolute requirement in modern cities, whether large or small. Since in chapter V it was shown that inadequate play space is an important cause of delinquency it is natural that providing such play space will supply at least a part of the remedy. Not only playgrounds are necessary but playgrounds that are adequately supervised. As their share in this project schools in many places have changed the working hours of the physical education director to include after-school and perhaps evening hours. This makes unnecessary the employment of an extra recreational leader and leaves playground equipment in the hands of a responsible person. Such playgrounds not only substitute legitimate activities for the throwing of stones, et cetera, but more than that, help to develop a team spirit in place of a gang spirit. The employment of summer recreational leaders, or supervisors, for all park and school playgrounds is sometimes a cooperative enterprise. In the sponsoring of city-wide tournaments of various types these play-

grounds, whether on school or on park property, widen a boy's interests and give him wholesome activity.

Probably the most publicized type of anti-delinquency program is that offered by the boys' clubs under the auspices of private organizations. These character-building agencies include all types of program from specialized to very diversified activities. Organizations such as the Young Men's Christian Association are planned for just boys while a few, such as the Pathfinders, include both boys and girls. Their activities may be carried on within the school or at an organization headquarters. The largest single organization for boys in the United States is the Boys' Clubs of America which sponsors boys' clubs all over the country. Hundreds of thousands of boys of juvenile delinquent age are enrolled in these clubs for participation in a multitude of various activities. A description of the Boys' Club in Detroit, patterned after the Union League Boys' Clubs in Chicago, presents a vivid picture of the many and varied activities. It shows how hidden talents have been brought out and given a chance. Games and sports of all kinds are offered; vocational training, a club newspaper and specialized clubs give specialized training to interested boys. Dues are low, there are no nationality or race restrictions. As has been said, "The Boys' Club is a belated recognition of the social needs of the boy in our city, accorded him by fellow citizens who are repaid by better service to the com-
munity on the part of the boy." It was claimed in 1929 that no boy who had attended the Detroit Club regularly had come before the juvenile court and that the boys of this club were in demand for employment by the officials of at least one large corporation.

Frederic M. Thrasher, after a four-year study of a new boys' club, felt the friends of the club claimed too much. This is a danger within all such groups. He found that this particular club did not decrease delinquency, even among its own members, that membership was only nominal for hundreds of boys and that there were thousands of boys in the neighborhood not being reached at all. Despite this fact there are in various places definite evidences of a decreased delinquency rate due to participation of boys in boys' clubs. As Prof. Thrasher said in 1939 in a radio address in speaking of a young gang member, "If he had become a member of a good boys' club or settlement - if a good boys' worker had got hold of him, his story would have been very different....; The problem of attacking crime at its roots really turns out to be one of organizing the leisure time of boys." "

Similar to this organization is the boys' program of the Young Men's Christian Associations - the Gra-Y

and the Hi-Y programs - and the Girl Reserve program of the Young Women's Christian Associations. These are planned for boys and girls from the fourth or fifth grade through high school. It is based on a religious philosophy as are similar Catholic and Jewish organizations. They are open to boys and girls of all creeds, however. Boy and Girl Scouts are other, similar organizations. The Pathfinders use an educational, school room approach to both boys and girls, teaching by direct method such virtues as ambition, helpfulness, duty, how to treat brothers and sisters. "What we think makes us what we are because thinking determines our acts and habits." Although there are a number of character-building agencies not all of them can be listed here. One more, however, which has for its specific aim the reduction of juvenile delinquency figures in New York City is the Police Athletic League. The League has recently been imitated in other cities also. Organized under the Crime Prevention Bureau, it assists boys to find their place in the activities of the neighborhood playgrounds. All-city leagues and tournaments sponsored by the League add to the interest. Police are trained to be friends of the boys in their neighborhoods and during the summer months especially a great variety of games and other informal activities are going on under the leadership of the boys' policeman friends.

W.Ryland Boorman offers four criteria by which to
judge either governmental or social agency programs for the prevention of delinquency. They are for the use, he says, not only of contributors but also as a check for the leaders and sponsors of the programs, that they may discover whether the program is as effective as it promises to be. "First, does the program or the workers make the delinquent feel at all times that he is one of the fellows?" "Second, does the program or the workers have actual contact with the youth when the problem is acute?" His judgment is that even boys that border on the delinquent are ousted from most clubs. The clubs, then, are composed of a "high type of youth who would go straight, group or no group." Third, does the program or the worker seek an intelligent understanding of the personality and individual history of the delinquent?" "Fourth, does the program do anything to cope with the fundamental social causes of crime, such as bad neighborhoods, poverty, or even hereditary elements, if such should enter in?"

The author of this article states that because of the emphasis upon numbers in these private organizations it is quite impossible in his judgment for their leaders to deal with delinquents as they should, individually, with special attention to each one's personality and potentialities. Although it is apparent to any observer that these organizations fall far short of their goal which is, in part, to

82. Ibid., p. 36:
83. Ibid., p. 38:
84. Ibid., p. 37.
85. Ibid., p. 37.
prevent juvenile delinquency, at least the national groups have felt a sense of responsibility for the delinquent. As Henry Goddard Leach says concerning the work of these groups, "More power to them." Warden Lewis E. Lawes, until recently of Sing Sing, wrote in 1933: "Delinquency is a group offense; hence it should be treated objectively through group association. Boys' clubs and kindred organizations help to translate the gang spirit into healthful and constructive activities."

Individual organizations and agencies in Tucson seem to be aware of the problem of delinquency and several are working toward its prevention. The city recreation departments, the police department, the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, and various other organizations and groups are working, although not together, in the general direction of prevention. This lack of cooperation is obvious from chart 2 on the next page which shows the organization for the prevention of juvenile delinquency in Tucson.

The Junior "T" Men, the newest organization in the field, includes within its constituency one hundred and fifty of the "meanest boys in town." It was organized at the insistence of the then existent Pima County Coordinating Council of Social Agencies by the city recreation department about a year ago. The "T" Men were to be a group of

Figure 2. Organizational Chart for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency in Tucson
junior police and their program was planned with that purpose in mind. It was not long after its organization that its purpose made desirable its transfer to the police department. The juvenile officer mentioned in chapter II is now the group's adult advisor and meets with the boys once weekly at the Armory. Their activities include ball teams and, more important, minor police duty. They are given lists of stolen bicycles, for instance, and have been responsible for the recovery of most of those lost during the past few months. The boys, who wear an identifying badge, may "spot" a boy entering a motion picture theater illegally. They may not oust another boy for that would encourage bullying, but they report to a theater usher. Boys may make application to join but according to their leaders attendance has been difficult to check in such a large group. The weekly meetings have not yet been satisfactorily provided for because of uncertainty with regard to a meeting place, both adult and boy leadership, and an actual and helpful program plan. The head of the city recreation department states that in spite of the difficulties the Junior "T" Men organization has given the boys involved a sense of responsibility and of helpfulness. It is giving them a friendly contact with the police department, a contact which is proving mutually interesting.

The projects sponsored by the recreation department
with the assistance of the Works Progress Administration leadership are varied in their scope but cover adequately only one-half of the city. The northeast portion of the city can claim only one wading pool and one swimming pool and yet that area has enough children in it to need four elementary schools and two junior high schools. The present recreation director, as were his predecessors, is eager that this situation be improved, possibly through the opening of school playgrounds for after-school hours. He believes that such cooperation between the playground board and the school board will before long make this possibility a reality.

Throughout the remainder of the city there is an extensive program of playgrounds, pools, clubs, leagues, dances and special events. Five playgrounds, lighted at night, open all year and supervised, are the most important deterrent to juvenile delinquency, Mr. Gardner, city recreation head, feels. They are located at Oury Park (near Davis School), at Carrillo School, on Ochoa Street near San Augustin Cathedral, on West Twenty-second Street and Ninth Avenue (Santa Rosa Playground) and at the Armory. These provide various sports in season and equipment for both little children and their older brothers and sisters. Some of the playgrounds have ball teams (football, touch football, basketball, baseball, softball) in season but most of the teams are neighborhood groups, some of them

88. See map of Tucson, Appendix, p.184.
organized as clubs. These teams belong to the various leagues and citywide tournaments keep interest at a high level. Football season, for instance, is climaxed by a "cactus bowl" game in which the two leading teams may compete. The teams, by the way, are almost one hundred percent of junior high age and younger, the ages which need such activities most.

Four municipal swimming pools are in operation throughout the summer months each year. All but one is open until nine o'clock, and the Carrillo pool, due to lack of lights, is open until dark. The Carrillo and Oury Park pools are free and are attended by from three to four hundred children each, every day. The Southside Pool has a small fee and the attendance is about one hundred each day; attendance at the Northside Pool is about the same although the fee is slightly higher. The pools are clean, attractive (though there is no shade yet at the Northside Pool) and well supervised. Swimming teams have an opportunity to meet teams from other cities.

The major responsibility for such citywide projects as the Hallowe'en, Fourth of July and Christmas celebrations falls on the recreation department although it is assisted by various luncheon clubs and fraternal organizations. There are other special events each year depending on the children's interests. The staff tries to be on the alert for new interests but is limited by the departmental budget.
In order to provide a suitable place for young people to dance, the department sponsors Friday night dances for young people over sixteen years of age at the Armory. It is known that many who come are younger than that; they are admitted, however, and the dance is well chaperoned. Parents of the young people may attend and the five or six staff members of the departments are always present. Mr. Gardner states that from one thousand to fifteen hundred are present each week. In order to accommodate younger boys and girls Friday afternoons dances have been organized. These groups are small and ill at ease because of lack of skill in dancing; instruction may have to be offered.

Cooperation with the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Associations in sponsoring the three-thousand-member Knot-Hole Gang which attends university and high school football games at a small fee, and with the Fox Theater in connection with their Mickey Mouse Club, which claims about one thousand children every Saturday morning, has undoubtedly done a great deal toward the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Mr. Gardner feels the latter keeps many children out of mischief that might otherwise be destructively occupied. Progress is also being made with the aid of the federal government in providing a community center for Negroes. While planned largely for the use of soldiers stationed at Fort Huachuca and needing a meeting place on weekends in Tucson it will
be open to townspeople of that race. The gymnasium and pool will go far toward giving both adults and children proper recreational facilities.

The Young Men's Christian Association sponsors Gra-Y and Hi-Y clubs in the schools besides an extensive building program of clubs and athletics. Club programs provide for special interests such as the building of airplane models, woodworking or metal craft. Some meetings are of a discussion type, the boys talking over boys' problems with adult guidance. The Young Women's Christian Association sponsors a similar program for girls, the Girl Reserves. These club programs are designed to keep both boys and girls interested in worthwhile activities and so prevent the delinquency which might be caused by lack of opportunity to make the right kind of friends and become acquainted with new interests.

The public schools have also made some moves in the direction of prevention, principally in providing three special classes and in cooperating, where practical, with outside organizations (see Chart 2, page 101). Two of the special classes are housed at Carrillo School, one for girls and one for boys who are seriously retarded in their academic work. Individual work enables some of them to take their place in regular classrooms while others are given simple vocational training and other practical subjects. Arithmetic sufficient to use a recipe intelligently is given the girls, for instance, and
mathematics for boys to enable them to handle measurements in wood or metal work. The third class, at Safford school, is for those who are definitely handicapped, mentally or physically. Activities are geared to the abilities of each in the class and such training is given as to make them socially competent.

The work of the two attendance officers, described in chapter II is also in the direction of prevention. Their visits to homes may often turn a child aside from truancy and later delinquency. They try to assist those who begin to be truant to become adjusted in whatever ways they find necessary. The work of the school nurses in detecting physical difficulties and assisting in their correction is also preventive. It has been found that many children suffering from eye strain, for example, unable to follow class discussion and demonstration, and thereby encouraged to play truant, have been happily adjusted in other ways when the physical defect had been eliminated.

For several years there was in Tucson a coordinating council of social agencies composed of representatives of the probation and police departments, the welfare board, fraternal organizations and their auxiliaries, character-building agencies, the parent-teacher council, the recreation department, the Red Cross. Meetings were open to anyone else who wished to attend or present a particular problem. Its particular concern for some time was juvenile delin-
quency. It was partially through their efforts that improvements were made in personnel and equipment at the State Industrial School at Fort Grant. The Junior "T" Men were also an outgrowth of this organization's work. In some way, however, member organizations never felt very much interested nor did they feel a sense of responsibility for the projects undertaken. The council never did represent a truly cooperative effort and it was disbanded about six months ago. The schools and the recreation department, therefore, are making the principal efforts toward the prevention of juvenile delinquency at the present time.
CHAPTER VII

RECOMMENDATIONS TO CLASSROOM TEACHERS

As we have seen throughout the discussion of the causes of delinquency in Tucson, the family has failed to prepare its younger members to adjust to the variety of situations they must meet. The family has not provided adequate opportunities for the making of friends and for play. The child enters school in many cases unprepared to take his place on the playground or in the classroom and it becomes the teacher's task to correct damage already done to the child's personality and to assist in his re-education. For this reason definite recommendations will be made in this chapter for the guidance of the school administration and the community as they plan together to meet the challenge of juvenile delinquency, as well as for the classroom teacher who meets the juvenile delinquent intimately. Recommendations come from the brief survey of the Tucson situation, from reading and from personal observation.

In the first place, the classroom teacher's personality should be attractive to the children. Delinquent children in Tucson have so much that is unlovely in their homes and about them that they need the influence of a mature person who loves children, who is cheerful and
enthusiastic, who is patient, tactful and sympathetic. Both men and women teachers should be well groomed, with attention paid to details of dress and grooming. A teacher's voice should be easy to listen to, not loud nor high-pitched. Even in disciplining, a voice that is low will attract more attention than one that shouts above the noise of the class. The teachers should be friendly with his pupils but not familiar.

The teacher's personality should be genuine. Surface politeness, sham of any kind, is apparent to children and they resent a teacher who is not sincere. The teacher's example is all-important in the development of moral character in his pupils. As has been said before (chapter V) children learn more from a teacher's actual attitudes than from what he teaches verbally. A teacher must set an example of integrity, honesty, courtesy, civic interest, concern for others, if he would expect such attitudes on the part of his pupils.

A teacher must have complete control of his emotions. He who bungles a disciplinary case or makes it a personal issue between himself and a child makes it that much more difficult for a child to recover his desire to behave in a socially acceptable way. Emotional instability in other matters on the part of the teacher also makes for emotional instability in the children who are already, many of them, experiencing instability in the home. Irritable parents and older siblings have before this caused uncertainty and
lack of poise in the children.

Sympathy which encourages a teacher to become vitally interested in each of his pupils and to visit their homes is another necessity. Only thus will he know the problems and difficulties in the background of each student and be ready to detect signs of weakness in his adjustment. The teacher who knows a boy's parents and home conditions will understand, for instance, some of the reasons for his bullying or day-dreaming, for his aggressiveness in class or his extreme shyness. Tendencies which might lead later to truancy or delinquency can be deflected in time. It is desirable for teachers to remember that the traditional view of a quiet boy as "good" and the mischievous boy as "bad" is no longer tenable in the light of modern research. The mischievous child often needs more to do while the quiet child presents the more difficult adjustment problem. Children of superior ability are often at the root of much disorderliness in a classroom. They, too, need more to do to prevent their becoming unnecessary behavior problems.

The teacher who fulfills these first four requirements is aware that each child in his class is an individual, that each one presents a different combination of problems and potential problems. He will have the utmost consideration for each personality and in doing so avoid sarcasm (as Thomas H. Briggs says, "When in doubt, be kind." )

fair punishment, the calling of names and nagging. These
too often indicate a lack of poise on the part of the
teacher and a fear of his children. This type of teacher,
who is aware of each child as an individual, gets well
enough acquainted with a boy to know where he lives, what
he likes, who his friends are, et cetera.

Some use has been made of the term "discipline," a
term much maligned for a certain period by certain educators
but prominent in discussions during the past ten years. By
effective discipline is meant such control of the classroom
situation that learning is possible. The teacher is so
often rated entirely on his ability to maintain a quiet
classroom that the tendency is for him to become an auto­
crat. This is not necessary but it is necessary for child­
ren to learn to respect authority and to feel enough of a
sense of responsibility to work together with the teacher
to maintain an orderly, efficient room. A very helpful
recent article on the subject of discipline suggests
methods of providing practice in the proper behavior in
ordinary situations such as the audience situation, how
to behave as a member of a class audience or a theater
audience, for instance. Similar suggestions are made with
regard to study or work situations, committee situations,
recreational situations, social situations and situations
in which, as users of community property, the children
must use it carefully. Some writers have discussed

90. Shriner, William. "Planning for Effective Discipline." Journal of the National Education Association, 39:
8:241, November 1940.
the possibility of self-discipline in the classroom but, as Carl G. Miller points out, even adult groups are not ready for self-discipline and it is difficult to see how child groups can be ready. The methods of probation treatment described in chapter II in connection with the juvenile court were used by teachers and principals before they were adapted and systematized by court authorities. An extension of their use within the classroom might be extremely helpful. It would do away with the revenge motive which underlies much of our discipline at present.

Teachers should avail themselves of opportunities to study the use they may make of mental hygiene methods. There is much that an ordinary teacher may do as a mental hygienist though he should know when to call on a specialist. Since frequently there is no specialist available, however, it is wise for the individual teacher to know something of the technique. He should know when to praise or blame, reward or punish, when to bolster family discipline and when to encourage emancipation, when to give assistance and when to let a child work alone, when to do the most helpful thing for each child. He will also know the danger signals of needed adjustment, such as intense nervousness, excessive day-dreaming, a serious disposition to hate people, constant feelings of inferiority, a tendency toward regression, running away from home,

chronic suspicions, temper tantrums, sex vagaries, truancy, stealing. He knows when a child does not have close friends, has few real interests or does not participate actively in games and sports and he is on the alert to assist him.

A teacher must daily be aware of the fact that he is teaching boys and girls, not subject matter. This awareness will prevent both dullness and inaptness of material. Most writers on the subject of delinquency attribute part of it at least to the unattractiveness of school courses. A teacher who is vitally interested in each youngster before him, who is thoroughly alive to the current scene, who reads much with a keen interest and takes an active part in the life of his community cannot be dull. His enthusiasm is contagious and his students feel an interest in otherwise unexciting teaching material. Another phase of this same problem involves the beginning of instruction at the level of pupils' interest and ability. One cannot begin long division until short division has been mastered. Neither can one teach types of sentences before a sentence can be recognized.

Dr. William Healy of the Judge Baker Foundation feels that not only tools and techniques but also ideas are important. Ideas coming from a child's knowledge of the achievements of men and women of strong character are a real

stimulus to right living even as ideas gained from the lives of bold misdoers and adventurers lead toward misconduct. He urges the schools to give the children more "mental pabulum to be assimilated into their beings which may serve as a basis for the imagination, for the daydreams, and the ideals which are fundamental to the growth of a productive career, even as set in humble paths."

Although it is true that emphasis is to be laid on teaching children, a teacher must have a thorough knowledge of his subject in order either to teach his courses or to command the respect of his pupils. Constant training in his particular field keeps him abreast of developments.

Delinquent children who are returned to the regular classroom after either a term in an institution or being placed on probation present a special problem. In the first place, the classroom teacher should know who they are if he is to assist them. The teacher should sympathize, not condemn, and should show his willingness to help them in every way possible. Success in dealing with them will come through "abundant sympathy, the keen insight, the good sense, the persistent effort of human beings."

During the winter of 1937-1938 a seventh grade class in Sherman, Texas, became interested in the question of

crime and its prevention and wrote, through the class secretary, to the Survey Magazine for suitable study material. The editor of the Survey had no material to send and became interested in the question, "Should seventh graders be studying crime and crime prevention?"

He wrote to a number of penal and educational leaders and received varied replies. Some felt that such study would set up feelings of superiority on the part of children who were not delinquent. Others felt it would be better to teach character positively through clubs than negatively through the study of crime. Still others felt that delinquency should be studied as objectively as health, that it would be wise to invite the local probation and other officers to the classroom to talk to the pupils.

Whether or not the children should study delinquency, the teacher should know the delinquency situation in his community, in Tucson in this case. Teachers could well become familiar with such a chart as chart 1, page 21. They should know with whom they might discuss a case of delinquency, to whom to turn for help, and what is being done about it in Tucson. They should be familiar with the work of the attendance officers also and its value in the prevention of delinquency.

CHAPTER VIII

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION
AND TO THE COMMUNITY

In any city, large or small, there is considerable consciousness of the presence of the school system on the part of the community, and vice versa. The community is painfully aware of the rising costs of education while the school feels the addition of certain equipment or personnel, while expensive, is indispensable. School authorities are aware to a new degree of their responsibility to each child as an individual but helping each child adjust to various situations and conditions calls for new services to better care for health, personality and behavior problems. Since it is difficult to portray the worth of these services statistically and since case material must be very carefully disguised it is no simple task to interpret the work of these new services to the satisfaction of the public. And yet the public must understand and sympathize in order to support them. In times of economic stress they are the first cut off from financial support when perhaps they are needed the most. The recommendations made in this chapter refer especially to Tucson and are made with the realization that there may be other controlling factors which are not readily apparent.
to this writer and which have not been taken into con-
sideration. Recommendations to the school system itself
will be followed by a discussion of one or two ways in
which the school and the community might cooperate more
effectively.

The first recommendation is one which perhaps does
not need to be made in Tucson. Every teacher should be
conscious of the backing of his principal and superinten-
dent. The opposite situation is found in some systems;
the principal, before parents, other teachers, or even
pupils, will criticize a teacher's method or personality.
The principal, of course, discusses a teacher's weaknesses
with him privately but never before pupils. When it is
necessary for a principal to concur in a public criticism
of a teacher he may still defend the teacher's motive if
not his action.

A teacher also enjoys being able to sit down with
his principal and discuss classroom problems in an ob-
jective way without feeling he is admitting weaknesses.
The principal who can thus secure informal opportunities
for encouragement and helpful criticism is a real super-
visor as well as an administrator. This process goes one
step further - principals enjoy the honest discussion of
school problems with their superintendent without having
their school given a lower rating because of it.

Another suggestion concerns the placement of teachers
in view of the percentages recorded in chapter IV, page 46. It will be noticed from Table VI that 78.4 percent of the thirty-seven juvenile delinquents on the elementary grade level are Mexican while 73.7 percent of the thirty-eight on the junior and senior high school levels are of American parentage. It is apparent from these percentages that the most adequately equipped teachers are needed, first, in the first and second grades to prevent delinquent tendencies from ever developing. Then well trained teachers are needed in the elementary schools which include a large number of Mexican children. It is true that well equipped teachers are necessary, also, on the junior high school level in schools which include mostly American pupils, but the percentage of all non-American children combined is small (10.2 percent) and this 10.2 percent is responsible for 26.3 percent of the seventy-five juvenile offenses studied. This makes special work necessary with not only American groups in these grades but also with non-American.

In order to know the most effective placement of teachers and the solution of other problems suggested by a study of juvenile delinquency as an educational problem a school administration must be aware, and through it, the entire school staff, of the local delinquency problem. The superintendent, principals, teachers and special staff members should know the type of cases coming before the juvenile court, what disposition is made of cases (not particular cases but a general knowledge), from what
school neighborhoods they are coming. When a teacher does not know that a certain boy has been placed on probation, for instance, he may unknowingly aggravate certain conditions which were partially responsible for the boy's delinquency. It seems to this writer that if the county probation department would report the disposition of all cases to the school attendance department (without the knowledge of the children concerned) some very constructive assistance could be given by the attendance officers and some teachers. In the same way when a boy returns from Fort Grant or a girl from Phoenix and it is necessary for him to return to his own home, if the probation officer would report such cases to the attendance officers there could be effective cooperation. The attendance officers, after such reports, would notify the principals concerned who would, in turn, notify the classroom teachers if they are the type who could assist, and would assist, in the work of rehabilitation. The danger is that some teachers will look upon such boys and girls unkindly and unsympathetically. Probably the authorities could avoid the rooms of such teachers when placing delinquents.

While on the subject of delinquents it might be well to discuss the school cabinet which has been used in some places for the solution of behavior problems. In Plainfield, New Jersey, a cabinet composed of the principal, classroom teacher, parent, nurse and any others concerned in a particular case meets to discuss behavior and other
problems. Problems are brought before the cabinet in their early stages. In this way the members of the cabinet work together after agreeing on a course of treatment before a problem becomes serious. More serious problems are turned over to a coordinating council which includes representatives of a case study committee and other community groups. In Los Angeles a similar plan has been tried successfully. There, psychologists are part of the school staff and assist in the work of the school cabinet. Where there is no psychologist or other specialist on the staff, as in Tucson, it would be helpful, nevertheless, to use the idea of the school cabinet. The classroom teacher, principal, parent if possible, and such others as an attendance officer or nurse, as they might have a contribution to make, would be included. The handling of each case would improve the methods of each participant in the handling of further cases. Probably the school principal should take the initiative in calling such a group together after a teacher had reported a case. In Tucson it might be very helpful for the elementary or junior high supervisors to be a member of such cabinets.

Probably the plan most meriting consideration is that of the visiting teacher program although this is not to be confused with plans for dealing with juvenile delinquency only. "The visiting teacher assists principals and teachers

in finding out why children are educational problems or behavior problems or social problems and in planning ways to help them. She is an integral part of the school system, but she has special training in methods of social work and devotes her whole time to contacts with individual children, parents, and teachers." She (for it is usually a woman who is appointed as a visiting teacher) may deal with problems of delinquency, therefore, but attempts to help a child to adjust before he reaches the stage of actual delinquency.

In 1921 the Commonwealth Fund organized a National Committee on Visiting Teachers "to establish demonstrations in thirty communities in the United States which presented a wide variety of geographical, social, and educational situations." Tucson was included in this study. With this beginning there was a visiting teacher in Tucson until about 1934. The project was dropped then because of lack of funds. Several who were in touch with the work of the visiting teacher felt that the work itself was fairly successful.

It will probably not be possible to appoint a visiting teacher again until the present expansion program is completed. When this is done and the needed adjustments have been made throughout the system this writer would recommend

the consideration of the benefits that can be derived from employing a visiting teacher.

"A visiting teacher is teacher, counsellor, and friend all rolled into one." She gains the confidence of the children in her school by meeting them informally in all types of situations. She is known as someone who will stand up for them even when they come before a court. She has tact, sympathy, and patience, not only in her relations with children, but also with the classroom teachers who are apt to misunderstand the purpose of her work. In order to get all the facts she needs or enlist the help of others she visits in the homes and becomes thereby a constant interpreter of the school program in the homes of the community. Besides, she makes contacts with all social agencies in the community for both information and assistance. She needs tact in dealing with the representatives of these agencies for she represents the school system officially in her contacts with them. She needs tact, as well as a pleasant personality, when she visits the homes for she depends definitely on the cooperation of other members of a child's family.

Since a small city, such as Tucson, may not be able to afford a corps of visiting teachers at first it is suggested by the national committee that it is wise to

102. Culbert, Jane F. The Visiting Teacher at Work. p.112.
initiate such a program in the elementary schools rather than in the junior high or senior high schools. Of course with both a dean of boys and a dean of girls in the high school a visiting teacher is not as necessary as she might otherwise be. Furthermore, if a visiting teacher deals with behavior problems in the early years her work will be of greater benefit ultimately to the high school than if she works with present high school problems. Rather than establishing an office, centrally located, from which the visiting teacher may work with the more serious cases in all the schools of a system, the committee suggests the advisability of assigning a visiting teacher to one school or two or three small schools with "a total registration not exceeding from 1,500 to 2,000 pupils." "Even in this case, however, it is wise to begin the work in one school and not to add others until each group of teachers has become acquainted with the visiting teacher and with the relation of her service to the general work of the school."

The character of the neighborhood in which the visiting teacher's work should be initiated is also important. "This should represent, as far as possible, the various social and economic strata of the school population. It has been generally found a mistake for the visiting teacher

103. Ibid., p. 115.
104. Ibid., p. 116.
to identify herself too closely at the outset with a neighborhood where problems of foreign population or of economic strain play a major part. On the other hand, she should not be associated exclusively with the wealthy. The aim should be to provide a cross section of the community, if possible, in order to demonstrate that children from all types of homes are in need of the visiting teacher's services." And, great as the temptation might be, the work of a visiting teacher should not be made part of such a department as the attendance department. Such a combination would mark her as a person with authority and make invalid her attempts to gain the confidence of children. Probably the visiting teacher would work closely with the principal of the school concerned but the superintendent should be aware also of all major steps taken.

Since the person first assigned as a visiting teacher may conceivably later have others assigned to work under her supervision she should be someone of supervisory capacity. This position, according to the committee, should command a salary which is equal to that of high school teachers in the system. Actual hours of work must be worked out in each system since evening work is often a necessity as well as Saturday and Sunday work. The manual prepared by Jane F. Culbert for the National Committee on

105. Ibid., p.118.
Visiting Teachers presents other phases of the work of a visiting teacher such as cooperation with the various social agencies, the keeping of records, the interpretation of the work to the community, and the professional preparation necessary. Case material is also given to illustrate methods used by such teachers.

Another recommendation which stems directly from the conclusions in chapter IV has to do with preparation for family life. It is apparent to anyone studying the results of the brief survey of seventy-five delinquents that the homes are very inadequate. Immorality, lack of supervision, poor example set by the parents, lack of proper food and clothing and housing, the poor type of companionship—all leave their imprint on a child and it is not surprising that a number from such homes become delinquent.

If the homes of this generation have failed so utterly as they have in these cases and, we have reason to believe, in many others, is there nothing we can inject into the training program of the schools to keep the homes of the future from being the same type?

The recent literature (and there is much) in this field proposes an "emphasis on homes and family living values in all parts of the school program. There probably will be no new courses in elementary schools called

106. Culbert, Jane F. The Visiting Teacher at Work.
In the opinion of the committee such courses are unnecessary. Though there is "content" needed in educating for happier and more useful participation in home life, it need not be a new course. "Such content is found now in all phases of the elementary school program - in the games which are fun enough to try at home; in the hobbies that start at school but get their real practice at home; in the good stories children find and practice at school to tell to younger children; in the class discussions of what is fair, or honest, or kindly, or cooperative; in the detection of insects that ruin a garden; in the consideration of what types of foods make a balanced day's meals, and so on; There is no dearth of opportunity in a rich school program for the emphasis of home life values."

Definite suggestions are made for the inclusion of all kinds of material on the family and family relationships on the secondary school level, however. "Education for family living has entered the high school chiefly through five fields of study: home economics; the social sciences; biology and hygiene; guidance and mental hygiene; and literature." The chapter goes on to describe ways in which these courses may contribute to an adolescent's understanding of home life and the contribution he may make not only to the home of which he is now a member but also

108. Ibid.
to that home which he will help form in the future.

The last recommendation is concerned with the cooperation of the schools and the community with regard to recreation. As was pointed out in chapter VI the recreational facilities west and south (see map, p. Appendix) of the railroad tracks are much more nearly adequate than those north and east of the tracks. A wading pool at Fourth Avenue and Second Street and a swimming pool at Tucson Boulevard and Second Street are all that are offered. If playgrounds connected with the four elementary schools and the two junior high schools in this area could be opened for after-school, evening, weekend, and summer play under supervision of the City Recreation Department, would this not be of great benefit to the city? It would be a waste for the city to buy sites for playgrounds when the school system has sites already available. There are other ways in which the schools might cooperate with and support the recreational, leisure-time efforts of the city and other agencies but the opening of the playgrounds seems to this writer to be the least complicated procedure possible. It is to be hoped that such a step may soon be taken by the school and community jointly; it would add a heavy burden to the budget of the one which attempted such a project - that of supplying additional playground space - alone.
These are a few of the recommendations which come to mind as one studies the results of this brief survey. Others would follow an enlarged and more thorough survey of home conditions, occupations and economic status, religion, participation in club and playground activities, health conditions, et cetera. Summarized briefly, they include support of the teachers by their principal and superintendent; the placement of the best qualified teachers in the elementary schools, especially those which enroll a large percentage of non-American children; an awareness on the part of the entire school staff of the problem of juvenile delinquency and an interest in it; such a cooperative relationship with the probation department that attendance officers and principals, at least, may know which boys and girls need special help; the adoption of some type of school cabinet to discuss behavior problems; the appointment of at least one visiting teacher; training for family life throughout the grades; and the opening of school playgrounds for use during out-of-school hours, to be supervised with the aid of the City Recreation Department.
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1933: July 9.
1935: June 21.
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1941: May 18.
In Pocket:
1 map
1 envelope with 2 enclosures
A Few Points of Interest in and Around Tucson

- San Xavier Mission
- Picture Rocks
- Bear Canyon
- Sabino Canyon
- Harold Bell Wright Home
- Sahuaro Forest, Ajo Road
- Ft. Lowell
- Indian Training School
- Government Hospital
- Golf Links
- Papago Indian Village
- Tusayan National Monument (Cairns Forest)
- Catalina Foothill Reserves
- Santa Cruz and Mineral Display at School of Mines, U. of A.
- Oracle
- flowing Wells District
- Pima Farms
- Agua Caliente
- Colossal Cave
- Continental
- "A" Mountain
- Carnegie Desert Laboratory
- Oracle
- Tucson Recreation Area and "Old Tucson"

- Saguaro National Monument (Cactus Forest)
- Catalina Foothill Estates
- State Museum and Mineral Display at School of Mines, U. of A.
- Oracle
- Tucson Recreation Area and "Old Tucson"

Catalina Summer Resorts

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Resort</th>
<th>Miles</th>
<th>Elevation</th>
<th>Water</th>
<th>Accom.</th>
<th>Supplies</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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Oracle
- Museum
- 6200
- Mammuth
- 49
- Pepper Square Canyon
- 45
- Oak Grande Road
- 56
- Florence
- 1300
- Benson
- 66.6
- 3000
- St. David
- 45
- Tombstone
- 45
- St. Mary's
- 45
- Sutler's Villa
- 45
- Elgin
- 61
- Ft. Huachuca
- 75
- Hevella
- 38
- Fairbanks
- 43
- Pepper Square Canyon
- 60
- Roseville
- 45
- Humphrey
- 45
- Rattlesnake (via Nogales)
- 45
- Picacho
- 50
- Tumacacori Mission
- 38
- White House Canyon
- 28
- Silver Bell
- 27
- Silver Bell
- 75
- Baboquivari Mountains
- 70
- Tubac
- 35
- Pascoc Reservation, Indian Oasis
- 45
- Silver Bell
- 36
- Red Rock
- 1870

ELEV = Elevation
WATER = Water
ACCOM = Accommodation
SUPPLIES = Supplies
X = Yes
1. Yes？ Do you like to be alone most of the time. No

2. Yes？ Are books better friends than people? Yes

3. Yes？ I want to get away from home right away. No

4. No？ I am afraid to go into a dark room alone at night. Yes

5. No？ I like to work with my mother. Yes

6. No？ I fuss with my brothers and sisters whenever I am with them. Yes

7. Yes？ Do you spend time day dreaming when you should be working? No

8. Yes？ I cry when I get angry. No

9. No？ I am afraid to talk to people. Yes

10. Yes？ Do you ever go off by yourself and talk about your troubles? No

11. No？ I like to entertain my friends at home. Yes

12. No？ Does fire or smell of smoke make you afraid? Yes

13. Yes？ I got a lot of whippings. No

14. No？ Do you cry easily? Yes

15. No？ Before you go to sleep do you ever have a feeling of falling down thru the air? Yes

16. Yes？ Do you ever feel that your parents do not love you? No

17. Yes？ My family embarrass me terribly. No

18. No？ Is it fun to make things sound bigger than they really are? Yes

19. Yes？ Do you sometimes like to hurt a person or animal? No

20. No？ I have definite plans about what I want to do after I am thru school. Yes

21. Yes？ Do you have the same dream over? No

22. No？ Are you usually to blame for your mistakes? Yes

23. Yes？ I chew on something most of the time, pencils, erasers, etc. No

24. Yes？ Do you often leave work unfinished? No

25. Yes？ I am afraid that I will be talked about. No

26. No？ Can you persuade other boys and girls to do things for you that you dislike to do yourself? Yes

27. Yes？ Do you want to do things with the opposite sex that you think are wrong? No

28. No？ Do you feel like fighting when someone gets the best of you in a game? Yes

29. No？ Do you like to talk about your troubles? Yes

30. Yes？ Have you ever been told that you couldn't be good? No

31. No？ Do your brothers and sisters do everything better than you can? Yes

32. Yes？ Can you usually control your temper? No

33. No？ Do you worry over your mistakes? Yes

34. Yes？ Is your mother happy? No

35. No？ Have you ever been told that you were stupid? Yes

36. Yes？ Do mothers have all the work and no fun? No

37. No？ My parents treat me like a baby. Yes

38. No？ I have been teased a lot. Yes

39. Yes？ It is fun to tease little children. No

40. Yes？ I can think of good answers in class but I am afraid to tell them. No

41. Yes？ Does your mother still consider you a baby? No

42. No？ Have you ever been told you couldn't tell the truth? Yes

43. No？ Can you play games as much as most boys and girls? Yes

44. Yes？ Do you think that you are wicked at times? No

45. Yes？ Does nagging make you want to do things you know are wrong? No

46. Yes？ Do any of your brothers and sisters envy you? No

47. No？ My hands and feet feel too big for the rest of me. Yes

48. Yes？ Do you often feel there is just no use to try? No

49. Yes？ I seem to act just the opposite from what I feel. No

**EXHIBIT A**
50. Yes ? Do you like to be with people you can boss? No
51. Yes ? Do you have a hard time going to sleep after you go to bed? No
52. No ? Are you especially different from others in appearance? Yes
53. No ? Mother and father are partial to other children in our family. Yes
54. Yes ? Do your parents ever tell you that you are good for nothing? No
55. No ? Do you have a hard time making up your mind about things? Yes
56. Yes ? Do you feel glad one minute and sad the next without any apparent reason? No
57. Yes ? I am my father's pet. No
58. Yes ? Are you made fun of at home? No
59. No ? I have good-natured parents. Yes
60. No ? Do your parents find fault with you a great deal? Yes
61. Yes ? Do you feel sort of tired a great deal of the time? No
62. No ? Do you often vomit (throw up)? Yes
63. Yes ? My parents are fair. No
64. Yes ? Do you love your mother more than you do your father? No
65. No ? Do you often cry yourself to sleep? Yes
66. Yes ? Do you blush easily? No
67. No ? I earn my own spending money. Yes
68. No ? Do you think you have a happy home? Yes
69. No ? Do you mind going through tunnels? Yes
70. No ? Do you feel free to talk to your parents about everything? Yes
71. Yes ? Do you have stage fright? No
72. Yes ? Do you have regular home duties? No
73. Yes ? Do you dream about your school work? No
74. No ? Do you like most everything to eat? Yes
75. Yes ? Do you have a habit of reading a long time after you go to bed? No
76. No ? Are you afraid of furred or feathered animals? Yes
77. Yes ? Are you afraid of being left behind on pleasure trips? No
78. No ? I find my school work burdensome. Yes
79. Yes ? Are you afraid of deep water? No
80. No ? It worries me when I can't believe what my parents or the ministers say about religion. Yes
81. Yes ? Do you fidget a great deal? No
82. Yes ? I am always scared that I will do the wrong thing. No
83. No ? Do you sometimes feel like doing just anything to get people to notice you? Yes
84. No ? My feelings are easily hurt. Yes
85. Yes ? Do you often feel stupid? No
86. Yes ? Do you think that little kids are a nuisance? No
87. No ? Would you be afraid to go to the principal's office? Yes
88. Yes ? Do you expect to get even with some one someday? No
89. No ? It makes me mad to see stuck-up people. Yes
90. Yes ? Do you feel like running away when things get too hard? No
91. Yes ? Do you feel you are a lot different than other boys and girls? No
92. No ? I hate to meet new kids. Yes
93. Yes ? When my feelings are hurt it is easier to keep it to myself than let anyone know. No
94. Yes ? I have a lot of freinds. No
95. Yes ? Do you mind crossing a bridge over deep water? No
96. Yes ? Are you ever afraid that folks will laugh at you? No
97. No ? Do you have a chum? Yes
98. Yes ? Can you stand pain quietly? No
99. Yes ? Are you afraid of being kidnapped? No
100. Yes ? Do you mind asking questions when you do not feel sure? No
101. Yes ? Do you ever feel mean and like you hate everybody? No

102. No ? Are you afraid to be out alone after dark? Yes

103. No ? Does it make you uneasy to cross a wide street? Yes

104. Yes ? Are you usually able to find your belongings when you want them? No

105. No ? Do you like help with your work? Yes

106. Yes ? Do you like to join and help organize gangs? No

107. Yes ? Is it often hard to resist setting fire to something? No

108. Yes ? Is it better to listen to your friends than to your conscience? No

109. No ? I hate to be nice to people unless they are nice to me first. Yes

110. Yes ? Do your clothes always feel right? No

111. No ? I hate things that are good for me? Yes

112. No ? Do you feel sorry for many of your friends? Yes

113. Yes ? Is it difficult to plan your work ahead? No

114. Yes ? Do you stick to the gang whatever they do? No

115. No ? Is your school principal a flop? Yes

116. No ? I was always whipped for every little wrong I did. Yes

117. No ? Some of my relatives are pests. Yes

118. Yes ? I quarrel a lot with my parents to get to go some places. No

119. No ? Do you go out for the teams at school? Yes

120. No ? Must a school teacher be a very smart person? Yes

121. Yes ? Do you like to study about your body? No

122. No ? Older people do as they please. Yes

123. Yes ? Most mothers and fathers are terribly old fashioned. No

124. Yes ? I have awfully scary dreams. No

125. No ? I like to fight. Yes

126. No ? I like to read the "True Story" Magazine. Yes

127. No ? I have been teacher's pet. Yes

128. Yes ? Modern young people know more than their parents. No

129. No ? I have often been too ill to work. Yes

130. Yes ? I have been badly hurt in an accident. No

131. No ? It is dangerous for a girl to let a boy kiss her. Yes

132. Yes ? I choose my own clothes. No

133. Yes ? School teachers are usually cross and narrow-minded. No

134. Yes ? Big brothers and sisters are bossy. No

135. No ? Mystery stories are good reading. Yes

136. Yes ? Are Sunday school teachers queer? No

137. Yes ? It is better to be careful than to be adventurous. No

138. No ? Do you know many queer people? Yes

139. Yes ? Did your parents ever whip you when you did not deserve it? No

140. Yes ? Are you the favorite child in your home? No

141. No ? Are your parents more strict than other parents? Yes

142. Yes ? My teachers are always bawling me out about little things. No

143. No ? I kick my bed covers around something terrible. Yes

144. No ? I "feel" people following me when I walk alone at night. Yes

145. Yes ? People look strangely at me. No

146. Yes ? I would like to spend all my time in the movies. No

147. Yes ? Are you permitted to have pets? No

148. No ? My dad takes me places. Yes

149. Yes ? I have been told a lot of bad things by other people. No

150. Yes ? I am afraid of some of my relations. No

151. No ? Does your father worry about money? Yes

152. Yes ? I wish I could start all over again in a new place. No
153. No ? Older people are always laughing at me. Yes
154. No ? Is anyone at home willing to help you with your school work? Yes
155. No ? Do you have to be quiet when your father is at home? Yes
156. No ? Do you think your father should be more generous with his money? Yes
157. No ? My mother and father have answered truthfully all of my questions if they knew the answer. Yes
158. No ? Is it fun to bluff people? Yes
159. No ? Do you ever worry about jails? Yes
160. No ? Do you ever worry about the world coming to an end? Yes
161. No ? It seems hard to stand up straight. Yes
162. No ? My father and mother like one another. Yes
163. Yes ? The girls and boys I know are always getting in bad. No
164. Yes ? I feel terribly strange when I give an oral theme. No
165. No ? It is easy to get by parents now. Yes
166. No ? Do you like to talk to your school teacher? Yes
167. No ? Do you fear being up high and looking down? Yes
168. Yes ? Are you afraid when you are blindfolded? No
169. Yes ? I have done wrong to make other people like me. No
170. Yes ? People have told me “scary” things. No
171. No ? It is terribly hard to “go straight.” Yes
172. Yes ? Do you fear meeting hold-up men? No
173. No ? Are policemen watching their chance to get something on a girl or boy? Yes
174. Yes ? Did you ever have the habit of stuttering? No
175. Yes ? Do you think you are more nervous than most boys and girls? No
176. Yes ? Do you get started laughing and are unable to stop? No
177. Yes ? Do you walk in your sleep? No
178. Yes ? Do you get all nervous when you see an accident? No
179. No ? Do you worry about going to hell? Yes
180. No ? Do you ever feel left out of things? Yes
181. Yes ? Do you enjoy most of the things that your friends enjoy? No
182. Yes ? Do you have to watch most people or they will cheat you? No
183. Yes ? Do you mind having your friends see you working? No
184. Yes ? Is there anything you do better than anyone else? No
185. Yes ? Do you ever have any luck selling anything? No
186. No ? Do you think you will accomplish as much as your parents have? Yes
187. No ? All fathers are good for is to earn money. Yes
188. Yes ? It is easy for me to get by in school. No
189. Yes ? I believe that most people are real good. No
190. No ? If I work very hard my back bothers me. Yes
191. No ? I used to be afraid of my father. Yes
192. No ? Kids have made fun of me. Yes
193. No ? Do you sometimes like to pretend that you are somebody else? Yes
194. No ? Does saying your prayers at night make you feel better? Yes
195. No ? Do you make up stories about yourself helping other people out of trouble? Yes
196. Yes ? Do you ever day dream about being adopted by a rich family? No
197. Yes ? Mothers know more than fathers. No
198. No ? Do you break and tear and spoil things more than most boys (girls) do? Yes
199. No ? Does your heart ever pound in your ears? Yes
200. Yes ? Do you ever feel as if you were smothering? No
201. Yes ? Can you find your way about in the dark with very little trouble? No
<table>
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<tr>
<th>INTERPRETATION'S</th>
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<tr>
<td>Generally high profile means:</td>
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<td>Generally low profile means:</td>
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</table>

EXHIBIT D
COWAN ADOLESCENT PERSONALITY SCHEDULE
PROFILE SHEET

Composite scores of boys 8-10 years. Age IQ.

Name

EXHIBIT J

High profile
Profile Peaks
Profile Valleys
III
VIII

100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10

Fear
Family Emotion
Family Authority
Inferiority
Non-Family Authority
Responsibility
Escapes
Compensation

I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
IX

EXHIBIT J
Cowan Adolescent Personality Schedule

Profile Sheet

Composite scores of boys 12-14 years

Profile Peaks

Profile Valleys

EXHIBIT L
Miss Barbara North  
Tucson Indian Training School  
Escuela, Arizona.  

Dear Miss North:

Your letter addressed to me in Topeka, has just arrived here at the Kansas Girls Industrial School.

On the Cowan Delinquency Index, if you get a D.I. of more than 14, just relax and feel confident that your child is delinquent. You have me beat if you have found D.I.'s of 29. I think about 21 is my record. On any of them over 14 (D.I.) the chances are about 144 to 1 or even higher that the child is delinquent.

Judging from your address you are working with Indian children and since the test was not standardized on Indians, it is entirely possible that the results might have a somewhat different significance than when applied to the white children on whom it was standardized. Only one white child in a hundred gets as high as D.I. 14. It might be that 5 or 6 Indians would go that high out of a group of 100. I would expect delinquent behavior to result however.

You seem to have some confusion about the percentile scoring of this test. Notice the bottom part of the Instruction Sheet telling about the Delinquency Index. If you take 100 children at random and test them, 16 will have no delinquency indicators, 36 will have one D.I., 53 will have 2 and so on. You might say therefore that the middle 50% percent of your group would have from 2 to 4 D.I.'s on their test. Most people are not delinquent, so if they get from 2 to 4 D.I.'s you can assume that they are not delinquent. 25% of your group will have less than 2 D.I.'s and they also are not delinquent. But, the last 25% will have 5 or more delinquency indicators, and it will be in this group that your true delinquent children will be found. Those who get a D.I. of 6 are delinquent in 2
out of 3 cases. Those who get a D.I. of 8 are delinquent in 5 out of 6 cases. Those who get a D.I. of 10 are delinquent in 11 out of 12 cases, and those who get 14 D.I.'s are delinquent 70 out of 71 times. So the higher the D.I. the more frequently you find delinquent children.

Most of the new arrivals at the Girls' Industrial School get 10 or more D.I.'s on their tests.... we can assume that most of them are delinquent...otherwise they would not be sent to the school.

The Delinquency Index was arrived at by noting what answers on the questionnaire were answered differently by delinquent children and non-delinquent children. Then the number of these answers on tests of children in the upper grades was computed in order to discover percentile scores.

The test doesn't say: "this child is delinquent." It merely gives his chances of being delinquent, and if the chances are great enough, as 11 to 1 that he is delinquent, you apply the law of averages and assume he really is delinquent, and you are correct 11 out of 12 times.

If you have any more questions about the test, I'll be glad to try to answer them for you. I use the test on the children as they enter the school and again as they leave, to give me an idea of whether or not they will be delinquent again in the future when they leave us. If a girl with a score of 7 D.I. came to us as a delinquent and she has 9 D.I.'s when she leaves, my prediction is that she will still be delinquent. If on the other hand, she drops from 7 to 2, I predict that she will not be delinquent when released. This works out pretty well.

Best luck to you on the thesis.

Cordially yours,

Robert L. Brigden Ph.D. (signed)
Consulting Psychologist for
Kansas Children's Institutions
The Cowan Delinquency Index

Delinquency is indicated if the following questions are answered in the maladjusted manner. The Roman numerals designate the maladjustment category (see profile sheet) and the Arabic numbers refer to questions answered in the maladjusted manner.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
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To discover a child's Delinquency Index (D.I.) count one point for each of the above numbers which appears on his profile sheet. If he has answered one of these questions in the maladjusted manner, his D.I. is one, and the chances are 7 to 1 that he is non-delinquent. If on the other hand 11 of these delinquency indicators appear on his profile sheet, his D.I. is 11 and the chances are 7 to 1 that he is delinquent.

The following Table gives the percentile rank value of each D.I. score. A child with a D.I. of one is in the 36th percentile which means that 36 out of 100 children are less delinquent than he is and 64 out of 100 cases more delinquent. A child whose D.I. is 11 is more delinquent than 98 out of 100 unselected junior and senior high school children.

**Delinquency Index: Percentile Rank**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D.I.</th>
<th>Percentile Rank</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>98</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>99</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

These norms based on 512 unselected junior and senior high school children. There were 5 groups represented.

The quartile divisions of all the groups were identical.
Personality Schedule Key (see page 54 of text)

Celluloid Guide (see page 56 of text)
COWAN ADOLESCENT PERSONALITY SCHEDULE
Revision No. 2

Column 1

| | VII - 1 alone |
| | VII - 2 books |
| | II - 3 leave home |
| | I - 4 dark room |
| | III - 5 work mother |
| | II - 6 siblings |
| | VII - 7 daydreaming |
| | VII - 8 cry |
| | I - 9 people |
| | VII - 10 talk troubles |
| | II - 11 entertain |
| | I - 12 fire |
| | III - 13 whippings |
| | VIII - 14 cry easily |
| | VIII - 15 falling |
| | II - 16 parent love |
| | II - 17 family embarrass |
| | IX - 18 exaggerate |
| | IX - 19 like to hurt |
| | VI - 20 voc. plans |
| | VIII - 21 re-dream |
| | VI - 22 blame |
| | VIII - 23 chew |
| | VI - 24 work undone |
| | I - 25 talked about |
| VI - 26 persuade |
| VIII - 27 sex |
| VII - 28 fighting |
| IX - 29 talk troubles |
| II - 30 can't be good |
| IV - 31 siblings better |
| VIII - 32 temper |
| I - 33 mistakes |
| II - 34 mother happy |
| IV - 35 stupid |
| II - 36 mother no fun |
| III - 37 baby |
| IV - 38 teased |
| IX - 39 teaser |
| I - 40 recite |
| III - 41 mother-baby |
| IV - 42 truth |
| IV - 43 games |
| IV - 44 wicked |
| VIII - 45 nagging |
| II - 46 sibling envy |
| VIII - 47 awkward |
| IV - 48 why try |
| VIII - 49 act vs. feel |
I - 76 animals

II - 77 left behind

VI - 78 school difficult

I - 79 deep water

V - 80 religion

| VIII - 81 fidget |

| IV - 82 errors |

| IX - 83 crave attention |

| IV - 84 sensitive |

| IV - 85 stupid |

| VI - 86 kids nuisance |

| V - 87 principal |

| IX - 88 get even |

| IX - 89 poor sport |

| VII - 90 run away |

| IV - 91 different |

| I - 92 new kids |

| VIII - 93 talk troubles |

| VI - 94 few friends |

| I - 95 deep water |

| I - 96 laugh |

| VI - 97 chum |

| VIII - 98 pain |

| I - 99 kidnapped |

| IV - 100 questions |
VIII - 101 hate

I - 102 dark
I - 103 street

VI - 104 orderly

IV - 105 crave help
IX - 106 likes gangs

VIII - 107 arson

VI - 108 conscience

VI - 109 people

IV - 110 clothes
VI - 111 good for me
IX - 112 pity

VI - 113 plan
IX - 114 gang loyalty

V - 115 principal

III - 116 whipped

II - 117 relatives

III - 118 parent supervision

VI - 119 teams
V - 120 teacher

VIII - 121 body
V - 122 elders

II - 123 parents moral

VIII - 124 dreams
IX - 125 fight

VII - 126 True Story
IX —127 teacher's

III —128 parents innocent

VII —129 can’t work

VIII—130 accident

VIII—131 kiss

VI —132 choose clothes

V —133 teachers

III —134 siblings bossy

VII —135 mystery story

V —136 SS teachers

I —137 careful

IX —138 queer p.

III —139 parents unfair

II —140 parents favorite

III —141 parents strict

V —142 teachers carping

VIII—143 kick covers

I —144 followed

VIII—145 p. look strgly

VII —146 movies

VI —147 pets

II —148 dad takes me

IV —149 told bad thgs.

I —150 relations

II —151 dad worry $

VII —152 new start
V -153 elders laugh

| II -154 help sch. wrk |

III -155 dad dominate

III -156 dad stingy

| II -157 parents honest |

| IX -158 fool p. |

| I -159 jails |

| I -160 world end |

| VII -161 stand strt. |

| II -162 parents congenial |

| IV -163 friends ng |

| IV -164 recite |

III -165 parents gullible

| V -166 teacher |

| I -167 high |

| I -168 blindfold |

| IX -169 over-social |

| I -170 scary things |

VII -171 go strt |

| I -172 hold-up |

| V -173 police |

| VIII–174 stutter |

| VII -175 nervous |

| VIII–176 hyst. laugh |

<p>| VIII–177 somnambulism |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VIII—178</th>
<th>easily upset</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I—179</td>
<td>hell</td>
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<tr>
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<td>p. cheat</td>
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<td>no superiority</td>
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<td>selling</td>
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<td>parents achieve</td>
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<td>get by sch.</td>
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<td>VII—190</td>
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