

CHAPTER XIV  
THE JUVENILE DELINQUENT

*By*

CLIFFORD SHAW AND  
EARL D. MYERS

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## CHAPTER XIV

# THE JUVENILE DELINQUENT

### PART A

#### QUANTITY OF DELINQUENCY IN COOK COUNTY

In the following report an attempt is made to bring together certain statistical and case materials relating to the problem of juvenile delinquency in Illinois. Throughout the study the primary purpose has been to present as objective a picture of the situation as possible with the materials that were available, with the hope that a more satisfactory method for the treatment of the delinquent child may thus be developed.

The first part of the report is concerned with the numerical extent of delinquency, the geographical distribution of places of residence of juvenile delinquents, and the distribution of offenses by police districts. In the second part statistics relating to the social status—age, nationality, religion, types of offenses, number of offenses and number of appearances in court—of offenders are presented.

1. *Numerical Quantity,  
in General.*<sup>1</sup>

The following statistics, upon the numerical extent of juvenile delinquency in Chicago and Cook County, have been compiled from the records of the Juvenile Court and the monthly reports of the juvenile police probation officers assigned to the various police stations in the city. Statistics compiled from these sources are necessarily incomplete, since they pertain only to those offenders who have been apprehended and either brought to court or adjusted by the police probation officers without court action.

It is well known that there are offenders, even some who persistently engage in delinquent practices, who are never known to the police or the Juvenile Court authorities. Furthermore, in some communities certain types of offenses are so prevalent that there is very little intervention on the part of the police. This is especially true in certain districts contiguous to railroad yards where stealing from freight cars is more or less accepted by the community and police. It is obvious that in such districts the number of cases brought to court or handled by the police is only a small proportion of the total number of children actually engaged in delinquency. It is known, also, that there are apprehended offenders whose names are omitted from the police records and a much larger number who are never brought to court because of the intervention of friends and relatives. In view of these conditions it is apparent that the following statistics are, at best, only partial indices of the extent of juvenile delinquency in Chicago and Cook County.

The numerical quantity of delinquency may be based either upon the

<sup>1</sup> The author is greatly indebted to Mr. Henry D. McKay for his assistance in the preparation of tables presented in this study.



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number of cases of delinquency or the number of individuals known to be engaged in delinquent activities. Since an individual may be brought to police stations or to the court many times during the year, the number of cases will always exceed the number of individuals. Thus it should be remembered that the statistics presented in this study pertain to cases rather than individuals.

2. *Number of Cases.* We shall present first, as an index of the extent of juvenile delinquency in Chicago, the total number of cases<sup>1</sup> of alleged delinquency investigated by the police probation officers each year. These cases constitute the most inclusive series available for statistical study, since they include practically all cases brought to court, most of the cases known to the private agencies, as well as a large number of young offenders who have not appeared in the court. It is true that some children not seriously delinquents are included in this series of cases, yet a careful study of the records indicated that even many of these children presented serious behavior problems.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF CASES OF ALLEGED DELINQUENCY OF BOYS AND GIRLS INVESTIGATED BY POLICE PROBATION OFFICERS 1910, 1920-26

Year	Number of Cases Investigated	Number Per 10,000 in Total City Population	Number of Cases Adjusted Out of Court	Per Cent of Cases Filed to Bring into Court	No. of Petitions Filed to Bring into Court	Per Cent on Which Petitions Were Filed to Bring into Court
1910 .....	10,009	45.8				
1920 .....	16,488	61.0	14,316	87.1	2,132	12.9
1921 .....	15,611	56.5 <sup>2</sup>	13,641	87.0	1,970	13.0
1922 .....	16,110	57.1 <sup>2</sup>	14,372	89.2	1,734	10.8
1923 .....	16,004	55.5 <sup>2</sup>	14,149	88.4	1,855	11.6
1924 .....	16,640	55.6 <sup>2</sup>	14,544	87.4	2,096	12.6
1925 .....	17,758	59.3 <sup>2</sup>	15,927	89.7	1,831	10.3
1926 .....	19,566	64.2 <sup>2</sup>	17,922	91.6	1,644	8.4

Table 1 shows the total number of cases of alleged delinquency of boys and girls investigated by the police probation officers in 1910 and each year between 1920 and 1926, the number of cases per 10,000 total city population, the per cent of cases adjusted out of court, and the per cent of cases on which Juvenile Court petitions were filed. It will be observed that the number of cases per 10,000 total city population increased 15.2 (45.8 to 61.0) during the period from 1910 to 1920. Because of the inadequacies of the police records it is impossible to determine whether this increase was due to changes in the policies and activities of the police or whether it indicates that there was an increase in the number of behavior problem children in the city during that period.

The absolute number of cases handled by the police in 1926 showed an increase of 3,078 over 1920. From the standpoint of child welfare this increase presents a rather serious problem, since it is not infrequent that the

<sup>1</sup> Refers to the total number of complaints alleging delinquency investigated by the police probation officers.

<sup>2</sup> United States census estimates.

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experience of being brought to a police station, although only for a minor offense, is a rather critical experience in the life of the child.

Looking again at Table 1, it is interesting to note that only approximately 10.0 per cent of all the cases of children handled by the police are brought into court. Thus, approximately 90.0 per cent are disposed of by the police without court action. As the total number of cases has increased, the per cent of cases brought into court has decreased, falling as low as 8.4 per cent in 1926. Of the 19,566 cases of alleged delinquency in 1926, 1,644 were brought to court and 17,922 were disposed of by the police outside of court.

#### 3. *Number of Cases*

##### *Brought Into Court.*

A more conservative index of the numerical extent of juvenile delinquency is the total number of cases<sup>1</sup> of delinquent children brought to the Juvenile Court each year. These cases have been restricted, especially during very recent years, to more serious offenders over twelve years of age, as we shall see later. Consequently, a large number of cases of delinquent children under twelve, although they may have been brought repeatedly to police stations on serious charges, will not be included in our statistics of court cases. From a study of the records of the police probation officers it was found that a large number of children as young as eight and nine years of age had been involved in numerous instances of stealing, although they had never been in court. It was not unusual to find cases of children who had a record of delinquency extending over a period of two or three years prior to their first appearance in court. From our study of the records of offenders between seventeen and twenty-one years of age (Boys' Court cases) it was found that in many cases the offender had a long juvenile delinquency record in police stations, although he had never been brought to the Juvenile Court. In the light of these conditions it is apparent that the number of cases of delinquent children brought to court in a given year represents only a fraction of the total number of cases of serious delinquents known to the police.

Table 2 shows the total number of cases of delinquent children brought to the Juvenile Court each year from 1900 to 1927 and the number per 10,000 in the total Cook County population. Although there have been marked fluctuations in the number of cases brought to court from year to year, no consistent increase or decrease is revealed. The number of cases per 10,000 total population ranges between 11.9 and 5.6. The highest number occurred in 1905 to 1907 and 1914 to 1919. The number of male cases ranges from 4.0 to 9.8 and female from 0.6 to 2.5. The ratio of males to females is usually about 3 to 1.

It is impossible to account for all the fluctuations in the number of cases brought to court from year to year. The increase in the number beginning 1905 was due, in part, to the change in the Juvenile Court law which was made in that year extending the Juvenile Court age from sixteen to seventeen for boys and to eighteen for girls. It is probable, also, that the

<sup>1</sup> Refers to the number of final court orders rather than the number of individual children.

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increase beginning in 1914 was due, to some extent, to the increase in the number of probation officers. At that time the number of probation officers was increased from 53 to 76, an increase of 43.4 per cent over 1913.

TABLE 2. TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES AND NUMBER OF CASES PER 10,000 IN THE TOTAL COOK COUNTY POPULATION BROUGHT TO THE JUVENILE COURT ON PETITION ALLEGING DELINQUENCY EACH YEAR FROM 1900 TO 1927

Year	Number of Cases			Number of Cases per 10,000 Population <sup>1</sup>		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1900	1,450	1,339	111	7.9	7.3	.6
1901	1,204	1,075	129	6.4	5.7	.7
1902	1,608	1,427	181	8.2	7.3	.9
1903	1,817	1,586	231	9.1	7.9	1.2
1904	1,901	1,547	354	9.2	7.5	1.7
1905	2,473	2,018	455	11.6	9.5	2.1
1906	2,595	2,131	464	11.9	9.8	2.1
1907	2,512	1,973	539	11.2	8.8	2.4
1908	2,168	1,651	517	9.5	7.2	2.3
1909	1,816	1,352	464	7.7	5.7	2.0
1910	1,636	1,161	475	6.8	4.8	2.0
1911	1,803	1,320	483	7.3	5.3	2.0
1912	1,642	1,105	537	6.5	4.4	2.1
1913	1,956	1,363	593	7.5	5.2	2.3
1914	2,916	2,259	659	11.0	8.5	2.5
1915	2,912	2,326	586	10.7	8.5	2.2
1916	2,786	2,192	594	10.0	7.9	2.1
1917	3,007	2,328	679	10.5	8.1	2.4
1918	3,036	2,306	730	10.4	7.9	2.5
1919	3,402	2,647	755	11.4	8.9	2.5
1920	2,550	1,912	638	8.4	6.3	2.1
1921	2,415	1,754	661	7.7	5.6	2.1
1922	1,906	1,330	576	6.0	4.2	1.8
1923	1,815	1,283	532	5.6	4.0	1.6
1924	2,707	2,079	628	8.2	6.3	1.9
1925	2,513	1,963	550	7.4	5.8	1.6
1926	2,265	1,671	594	6.6	4.9	1.7

4. *Number of Cases Committed to Institutions.* A third and more conservative index of the extent of delinquency is the number of cases of delinquent children committed to correctional institutions by the court. This number, of course, will always be only a small fraction of those brought to police stations and the court.

Table 3 shows the total number of cases of delinquent children committed to correctional institutions each year by the Juvenile Court and the number per 10,000 in the total Cook County population. Here again the number of cases fluctuates somewhat from year to year, but without a consistent increase or decrease. The number per 10,000 total population ranges from 5.0 to 1.8. The number of male cases ranges from 3.6 to 1.3 and of female cases from 1.4 to 0.4. The ratio of males to females varies widely from year to year.

<sup>1</sup> Rates for other than census years calculated from unofficial estimates of Cook County population based on the Federal Census.

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TABLE 3. TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES AND NUMBER OF CASES PER 10,000 IN  
THE TOTAL COOK COUNTY POPULATION COMMITTED TO INSTITUTIONS  
FOR DELINQUENTS BY THE JUVENILE COURT EACH YEAR  
FROM 1900 TO 1927

Year	Total	Number of Cases		Number of Cases per 10,000 Population		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1900	635	559	76	3.4	3.0	.4
1901	761	662	99	4.0	3.5	.5
1902	833	685	148	4.3	3.5	.8
1903	917	727	190	4.6	3.6	1.0
1904	859	630	229	4.2	3.1	1.1
1905	1,074	770	304	5.0	3.6	1.4
1906	799	541	258	3.7	2.5	1.2
1907	847	547	300	3.8	2.5	1.3
1908	772	497	275	3.4	2.2	1.2
1909	673	437	236	2.9	1.9	1.0
1910	741	487	254	3.1	2.0	1.1
1911	847	608	239	3.4	2.4	1.0
1912	611	379	232	2.4	1.5	.9
1913	685	468	217	2.6	1.8	.8
1914	810	522	288	3.0	1.9	1.1
1915	726	463	263	2.7	1.7	1.0
1916	620	410	210	2.2	1.5	.7
1917	748	469	279	2.6	1.6	1.0
1918	781	495	286	2.7	1.7	1.0
1919	1,155	854	301	3.9	2.9	1.0
1920	856	641	215	2.8	2.1	.7
1921	874	638	236	2.8	2.1	.7
1922	597	445	152	1.9	1.4	.5
1923	604	436	168	1.8	1.3	.5
1924	858	702	156	2.6	2.1	.5
1925	901	700	201	2.7	2.1	.6
1926	935	724	211	2.7	2.1	.6

5. *Foregoing  
Totals Compared.*

The following Table 4 is presented to indicate the ratio between the three groups of cases that have been used to determine the numerical extent of delinquency. This table shows the total number of police cases, court cases, and cases committed each year from 1920 to 1927, and the number per 10,000 total population. It is clear that the ratio between the three groups of cases is rather constant, varying but slightly during the six year period. Roughly, the ratio between the three groups of cases is 20 to 3 to 1.

TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF TOTAL NUMBER OF POLICE CASES, COURT CASES,  
AND CASES COMMITTED TO INSTITUTIONS WITH NUMBER OF  
CASES PER 10,000 TOTAL POPULATION FOR EACH  
YEAR FROM 1920 TO 1926

Year	Police	Total Number of Cases		Number of Cases per 10,000 Total Population		
		Court	Committed	Police	Court	Committed
1920	16,488	2,550	856	61.0	8.4	2.8
1921	15,611	2,415	874	56.5	7.7	2.8
1922	16,110	1,906	597	57.1	6.0	1.9
1923	16,004	1,815	604	55.5	5.6	1.8
1924	16,640	2,707	858	56.6	8.2	2.6
1925	17,758	2,513	901	59.3	7.4	2.7
1926	19,566	2,265	935	64.2	6.6	2.7

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From the statistics presented in the preceding tables it is obvious that the numerical extent of delinquency in a given community will depend upon the criterion used. In this study three groups of cases have been presented as indices of the numerical extent of delinquency in Chicago and Cook County. It is safe to assume that these groups of cases represent different degrees in the seriousness of delinquency.

Inasmuch as the police probation officers are in immediate contact with the community, and are the first to deal with the delinquent, it is probable that the group of police cases more nearly approximates the actual numerical extent of delinquency even though it may include cases of behavior difficulties that are not in the strict sense of the word of a delinquent character. It has already been indicated that the court cases are limited to the more serious offenders. It is probable, also, that the number of cases brought to court is determined to some extent by the policies of the police and court authorities. Such factors as the policies of the court, the attitudes of the judge, and the facilities for institutional care tend to limit the number of cases committed.

### 6. *Geographic Location of Delinquencies.*<sup>1</sup>

Any comprehensive research into the factors contributing to juvenile delinquent behavior necessitates a knowledge of the social and cultural surroundings or background in which the child lives and in which his problems of conduct have arisen. From this point of view the community, the family, the gang, the play group, and the school, each with their local customs and traditions, must become the object of intensive investigation. In other words, the particular social world to which the child belongs must be understood before a knowledge of his problems can be gained. For it appears that a child's behavior always arises with reference to a world of defined objects towards which he has feelings of fear, prejudice, shame, pride, hate, and love.

As a first step in the general study of the social and cultural background of the delinquent child it is important to determine the geographic distribution of places of residence of delinquents in the community in question. By this means the problem is immediately localized, attention is focused upon the areas of concentration, and the way is prepared for an intensive analysis of the particular social world to which the delinquent belongs.

In view of the marked economic, social, and cultural differences between the various communities of Chicago, it was assumed that wide variations in the number of delinquents among the different communities of the city would be found. With this point in mind, spot maps showing the distribution of places of residence of large series of cases of delinquent children were prepared. Three series of delinquent boys (approximately 9,000 individuals in each series) and one series of 2,085 delinquent girls have been used for this purpose. Since the three series of male cases show approximately the same distribution, it will be sufficient for this survey to present only one of them.

<sup>1</sup>The author wishes to express his indebtedness to his collaborators, Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., and Fredrick M. Zorbaugh of the Institute for Juvenile Research, for their assistance in the preparation of this section of the study. This section is part of a larger study which is being made by the Institute for Juvenile Research.

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### 7. *Residence of Delinquent Boys.*

A map (Table 5) was prepared, showing the distribution of places of residence of the 9,243 boys who were brought into police stations on complaints alleging delinquency in 1926. Each spot represents the place of residence of one boy. It will be observed immediately that there are areas in which the spots are decidedly concentrated as contrasted with other areas in which they are very sparsely distributed. A more careful study of the map will indicate that the areas of greatest concentration are adjacent to the "Loop" and contiguous to the large industrial districts near the Chicago River, the Union Stock Yards, Calumet Lake and South Chicago.

Taking the "Loop" as a focal point, the areas of greatest concentration fall within a zone surrounding the "Loop" and having a radius ranging from three to six miles. Surrounding the areas of greatest concentration is a marginal zone of relatively fewer spots, and blending into the large outer zone in which the spots are few, except for the small areas of concentration in the district surrounding the Lake Calumet and South Chicago industrial regions.

After completing the basic map the number of delinquents in each mile square area of the city was noted and the ratio of delinquents to the total number of boys in the same age group was computed. This ratio is referred to in the study as the *rate of delinquents*. It is simply the per cent of delinquents in the total number of boys of similar age, computed upon the basis of mile square unit areas. Table 6 (Map 2) shows the *rate of delinquents* in each mile square area of the city for the series of cases plotted on Map 1.

According to this map the rate varies widely among mile square areas, ranging from 26.1 to 0.0. Very striking differences in rate occur even in areas contiguous to each other. For example, in the two areas immediately north of the "Loop," the rate varies from 25.6 to 3.2. A careful examination of the map will indicate many other similar variations in the rate in areas adjacent to each other.

When the rate is represented along lines radiating from the "Loop," Table 7 (Map 3), a very striking gradation in the rate from the "Loop" to the boundary of the city is revealed. In the case of each radial the highest rate occurs in the first mile area adjacent to the "Loop," where it ranges from 21.5 (radials IV, V, and VIII) to 26.6 (radials VII and VIII). The rate in the first mile along radials I, II and III is 25.6. With the exception of radials VI, VII and VIII, there is a continuous decrease in the rate toward the boundary of the city. Along these radials the high rate continues out much farther than it does along the other radials. In the case of radial VIII, the rate drops very low in the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth mile areas, and rises again in the areas farther out.

### 8. *Residence of Delinquent Girls.*

A basic map (Table 8, Map 4) was prepared to show the distribution of places of residences of 2,085 delinquent girls who were brought to the Juvenile Court during a five year period. It was found that the distribution of female offenders to population parallels rather closely that of male

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offenders. Here again the greatest concentration occurs in the areas that surround the "Loop" and the large industrial districts.

Table 9 (Map 5) shows the *rate of female delinquency* in each mile square area of the city for the five year period. The rate fluctuates widely, even among areas adjoining each other. For the city as a whole the rate ranges between 7.0 and 0.0.

Table 10 (Map 6) shows the *rate of female delinquents* in mile square areas along radial lines. The highest rate is found in areas surrounding the "Loop" and decreases rather continuously toward the city limits, as in the case of male delinquents. The rate in areas adjacent to the "Loop" ranges from 3.8 to 7.0 and from 0.0 to 1.0 in areas near the city limits. The same irregularities are observed along radials VI, VII, and VIII as were indicated in the case of male delinquents.

It is extremely significant that the variations in the rate of delinquents show a rather consistent relationship to different types of community background. Thus the area in which the highest rate is found is the area of deterioration surrounding the "Loop." This area is characterized by marked physical deterioration, poverty and social disorganization. In this area the primary group and conventional controls that were formerly exercised by the family and neighborhood have largely disintegrated. Thus delinquent behavior, in the absence of the restraints of a well organized moral and conventional order, is not only tolerated but becomes more or less traditional.

Surrounding the area of deterioration there is a large area of disorganization, populated chiefly by immigrant groups. In this area of confused cultural standards, where the traditions and customs of the immigrant group are undergoing radical changes under the pressure of a rapidly growing city and the fusion of divergent cultures, delinquency and other forms of personal disorganization are prevalent. In this area the rate of delinquents ranges roughly between 20.0 and 8.0 in the case of males, and from 4.0 to 2.0 in the case of females.

In the outlying exclusive residential districts of single family dwellings and apartment buildings the rate of delinquents is invariably low. With few exceptions the rate in these districts falls below 2.0.<sup>1</sup>

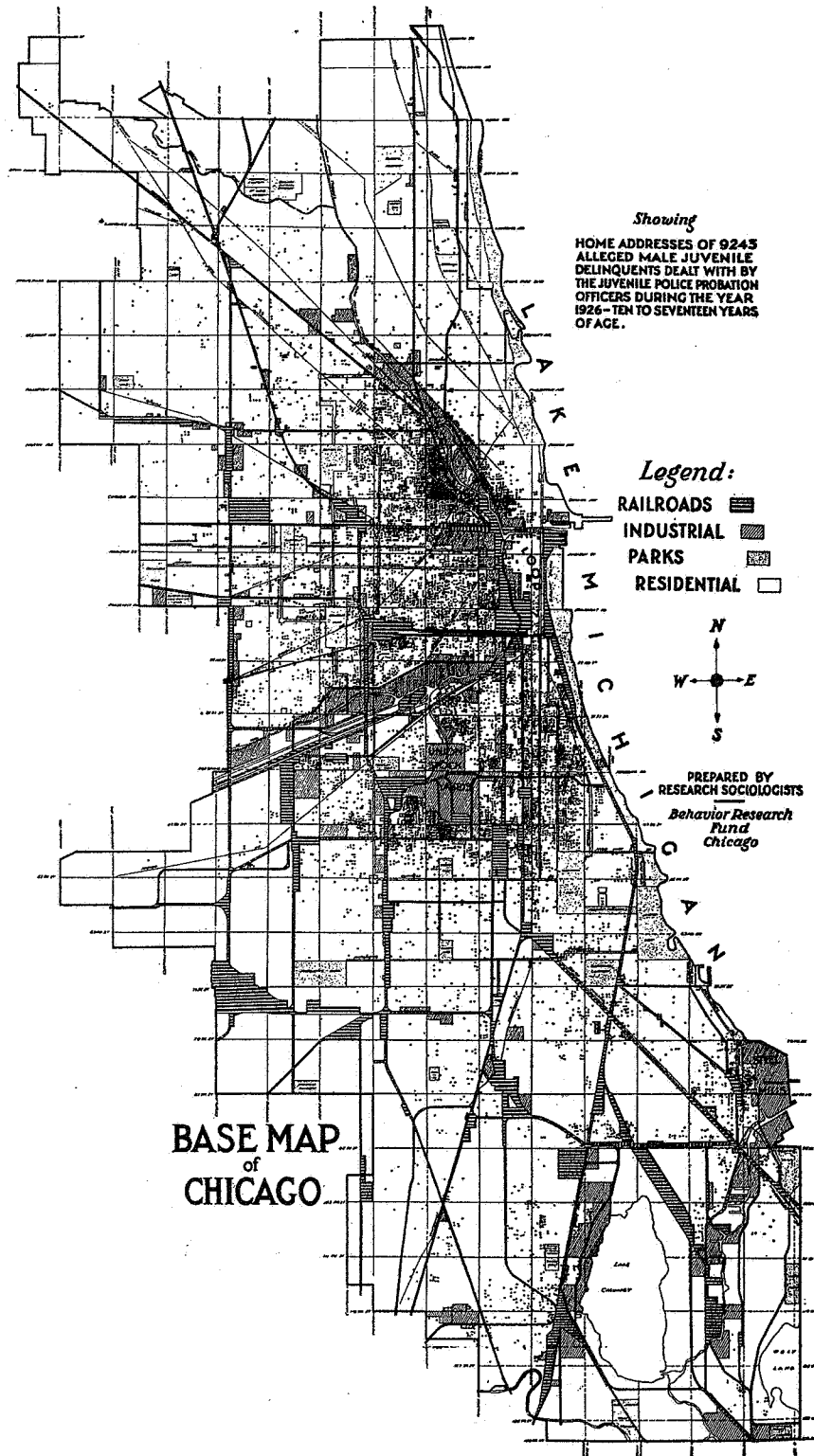
The manner in which the rate of delinquency reflects the community background may be best illustrated by referring to a particular radial. For example, the rate of male delinquents along radial VIII (Map 3) ranges from 23.0 to 26.6 in the area of deterioration near the "Loop," while it drops to less than 2.3 in the rather exclusive residential areas of Kenwood, Hyde Park, Woodlawn and South Shore, and rises again to 7.0 in the areas adjacent to industrial centers of South Chicago.

It should be pointed out that the rate of delinquents in a given *nationality* or *racial group* varies widely with different sections of the city. Thus, in the negro district the rate of male delinquents varies from 26.6 in the area of greatest deterioration near the "Loop" to 10.5 in the more exclusive residential area five miles from the "Loop." In the same areas the rate of female

<sup>1</sup>For a more complete statement concerning types of areas, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *The City*, pages 50-53.

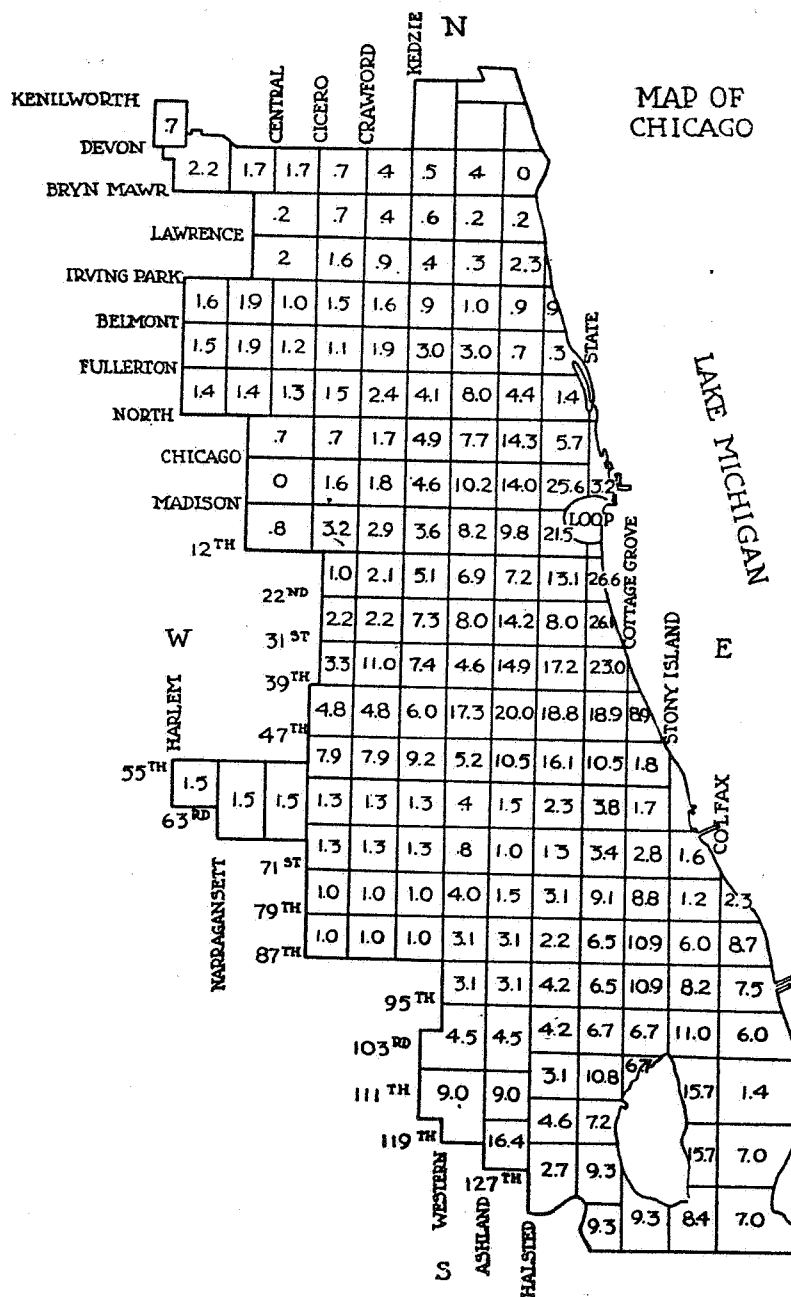
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TABLE 5  
(MAP 1)





SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF ALLEGED MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN THE  
TOTAL 10 TO 17 MALE POPULATION DEALT WITH BY POLICE  
IN 1926—BY MILE SQUARE AREAS

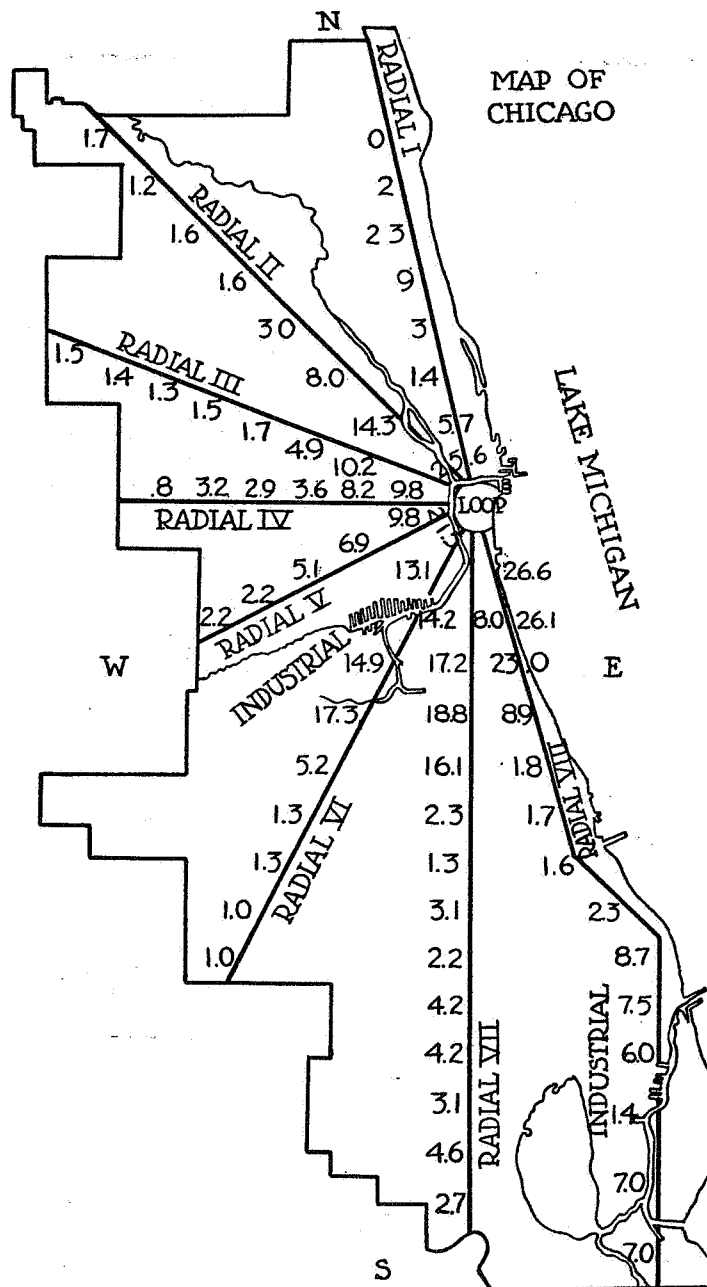


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TABLE 7

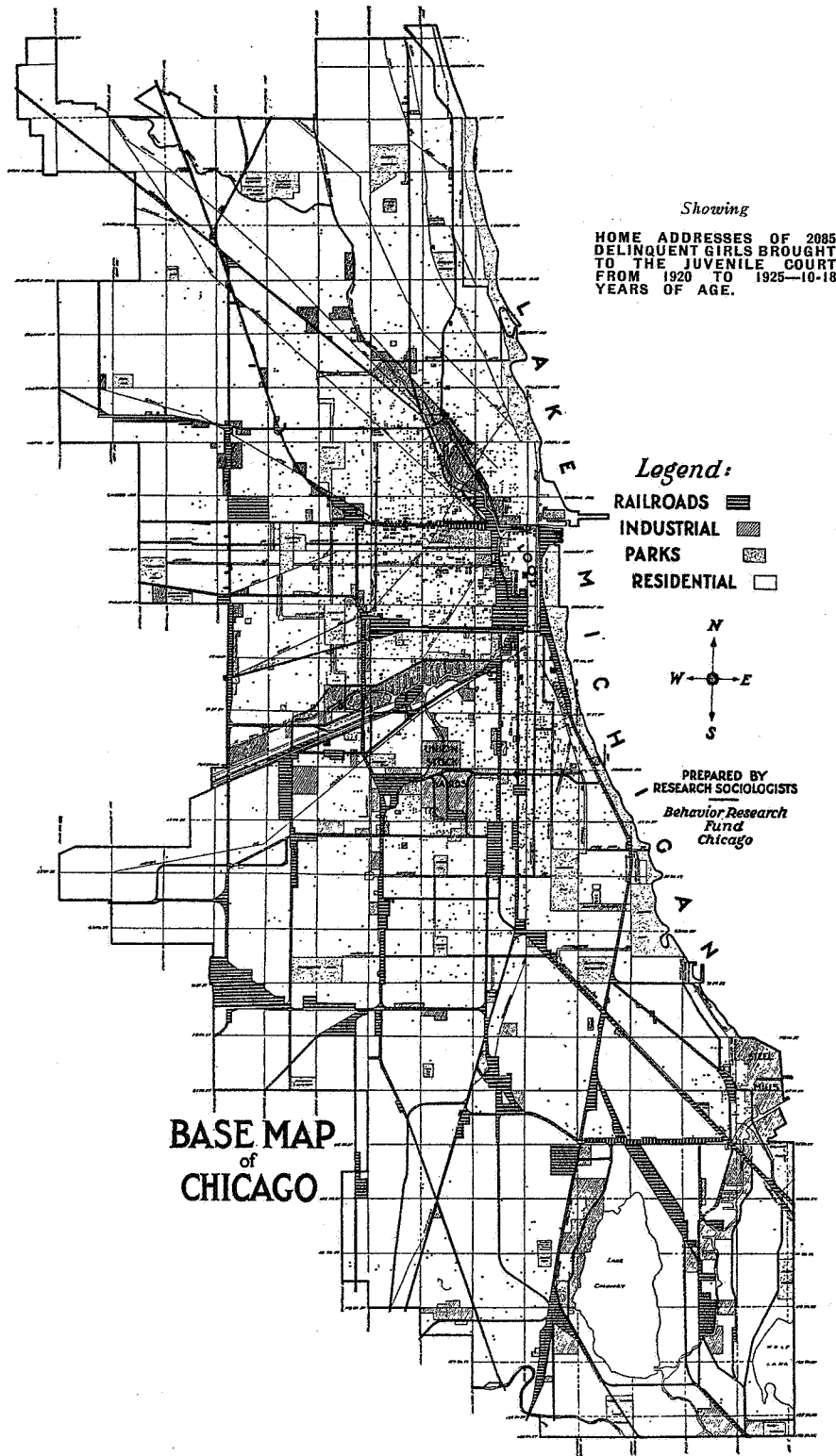
(MAP 3)

SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF ALLEGED MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN TOTAL  
10 TO 17 MALE POPULATION DEALT WITH BY POLICE IN 1926—By  
MILE SQUARE AREAS ALONG LINES RADIATING FROM THE "LOOP"



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TABLE 8  
(MAP 4)

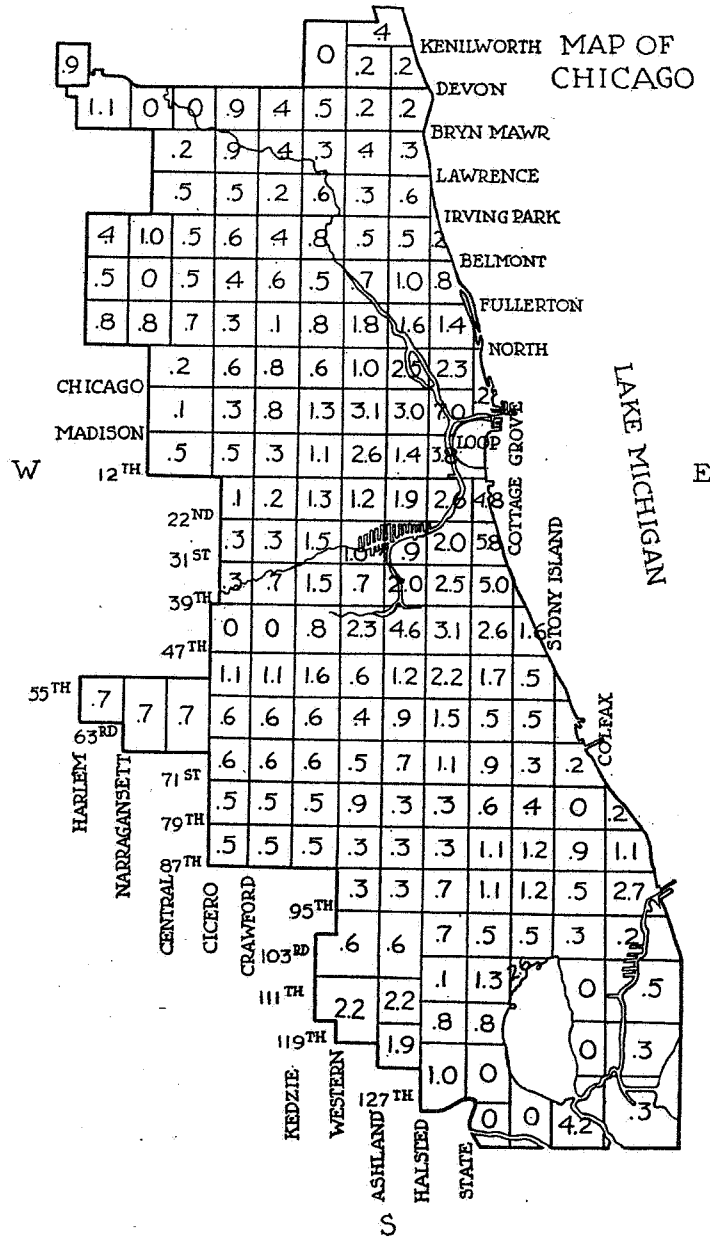


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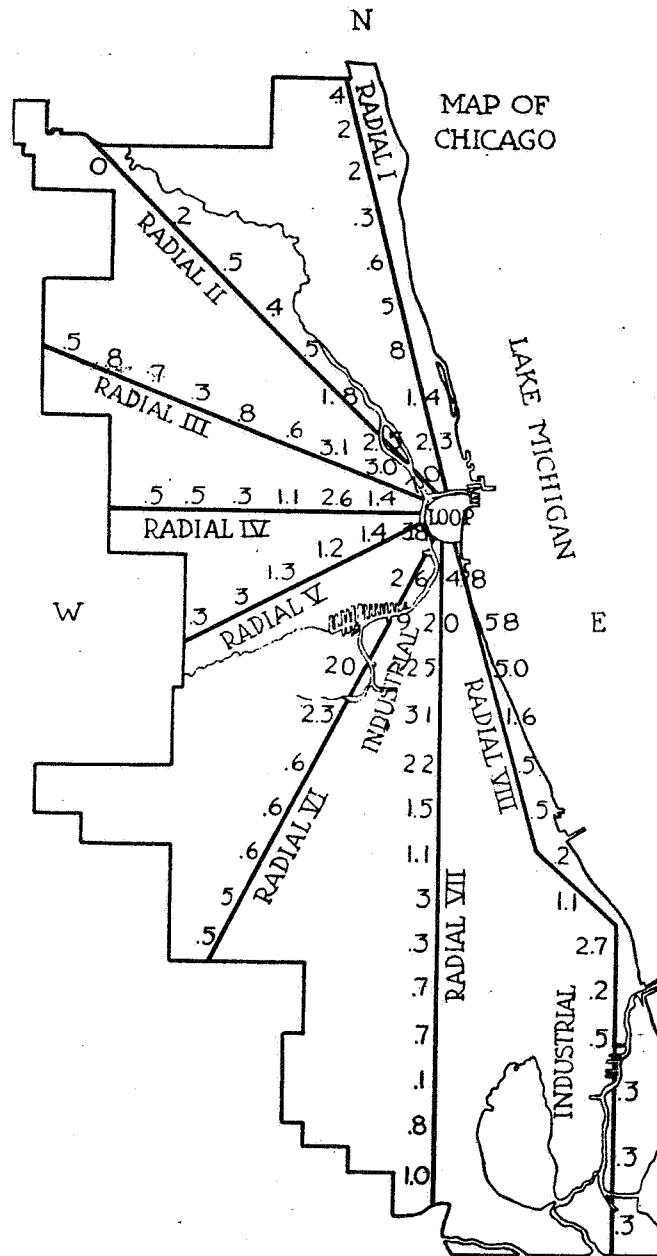
TABLE 9

(MAP 5)

SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN TOTAL 10 TO 18 FEMALE POPULATION BROUGHT TO COURT IN FIVE YEAR PERIOD—BY MILE SQUARE AREAS



SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN TOTAL 10 TO 18 FEMALE POPULATION BROUGHT TO COURT IN FIVE YEAR PERIOD—BY MILE SQUARE AREAS ALONG LINES RADIATING FROM LOOP



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delinquents varies from 4.8 to 1.7. In a similar manner, the rate in a given foreign language group varies with different sections of the city. This fact seems to suggest that delinquency is more definitely related to certain types of areas than it is to the particular nationality or racial group that occupies the area at a given time.

From this study it is clearly revealed that juvenile delinquency in Chicago is decidedly concentrated in areas surrounding the "Loop," and in certain outlying industrial areas, like Packingtown and South Chicago. These are areas of poverty, bad housing, and physical deterioration. It is in these areas that one finds high rates of school truancy and adult crimes. Thrasher, author of "The Gang," found decided concentration of boys' gangs in these areas of delinquency. The outlying residential communities of single family dwellings and high-class apartment buildings produce relatively few cases of delinquent children.

9. *Distribution of Delinquencies by Police Districts.* In addition to the distribution of delinquents by places of residence (See Maps 1—6) it is important to determine the areas in which delinquent activities are most prevalent. It is well known that the delinquent does not always commit his offenses in the immediate neighborhood in which he lives. As a general rule, the delinquent's first offenses occur in the vicinity of his home, but, as he grows older, becoming more experienced and known to the police as a criminal character, the geographical range of his activities is greatly expanded.

In a study of adult offenders a map showing the distribution of places of residence indicated that the areas having the greatest concentration were located adjacent to the "Loop" and the large industrial centers, and thus corresponded with the areas having the highest rate of juvenile delinquents. On the other hand, a map showing the places where adult offenses were committed, showed concentrations in the "Loop" and other business centers, along main thoroughfares, and in the residential districts of high economic status. A comparison of these two maps revealed that adult offenders usually commit their crimes outside of the community in which they live.

Table 11 (Map 7) indicates the number of complaints alleging delinquency per square mile based upon the cases dealt with by the police in each police district of the city in 1926. Since, in a majority of cases, the child is picked up by the police in the district in which his offense is committed, Map 7 may be assumed to represent, roughly, the distribution of places where juvenile offenses are committed.

According to Map 3, the greatest concentration of offenses occurs in the "Loop" and districts adjacent to it. The localization of cases in these districts stands in sharp contrast to the outlying districts. The district having the highest number of cases is the "Loop," the area of greatest mobility and business activity in the city. The second highest number occurs in the districts contiguous to the "Loop," where the number ranges from 300 to 600. In adjoining districts the number ranges between 100 to 300. The latter districts include many of the residential communities of high economic status. In the outlying districts the number drops below 100.

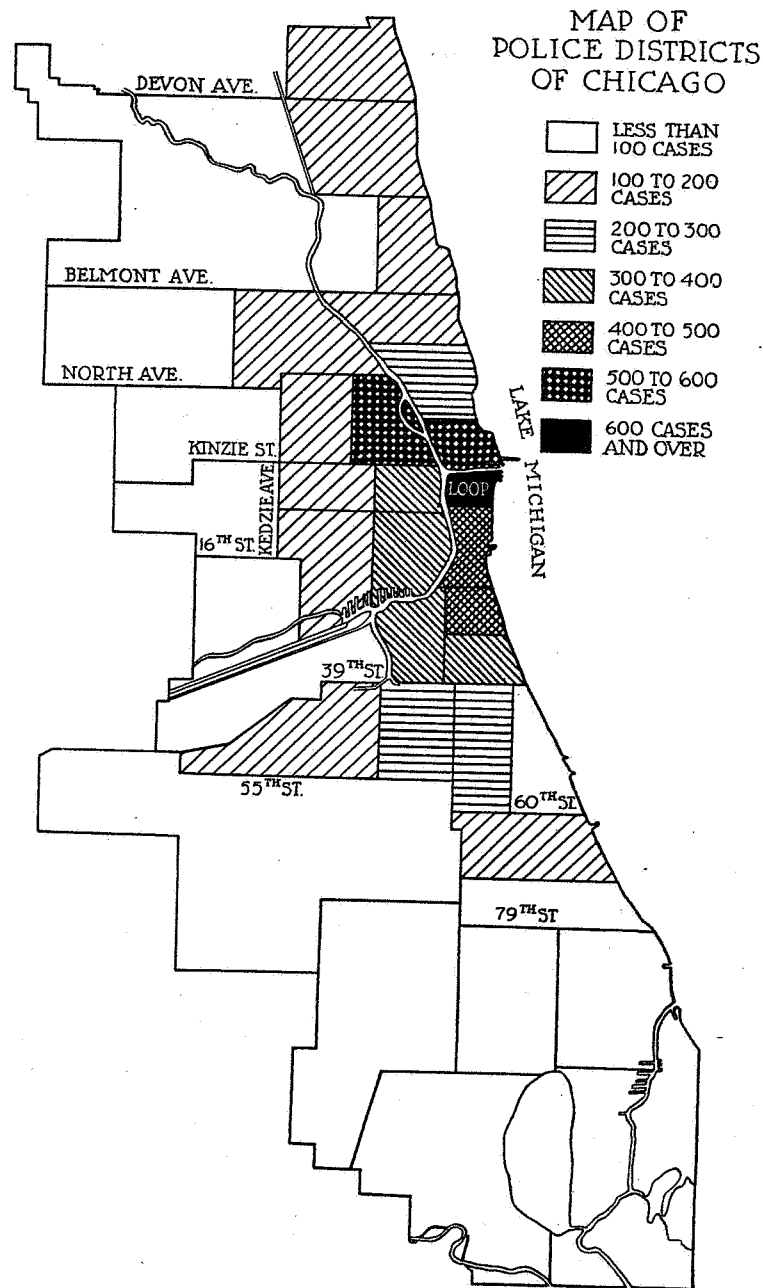
It is realized that many valid objections may be directed against the

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TABLE 11

(MAP 7)

SHOWING NUMBER OF COMPLAINTS ALLEGING DELINQUENCY PER SQUARE MILE INVESTIGATED BY JUVENILE POLICE PROBATION OFFICERS IN 1926—By POLICE DISTRICTS



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method of determining concentration of offenses on the basis of a geographical unit. One would naturally expect to find a larger number of cases in the areas adjacent to the "Loop" because of the greater density of population in these areas. Due to the absence of population statistics for the police districts, and the balance of a resident population in the "Loop," it was not practicable to determine the rate on a population basis. The rates presented in Map 7, although ignoring the variation in density of population, give a rough indication of the areas in which offenses are most prevalent.



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### PART B

#### PERSONALITY OF DELINQUENT OFFENDERS

It is quite generally acknowledged that there can be no adequate control of the problem of delinquency except on the basis of a knowledge of the factors that produce delinquent behavior. At the present time our knowledge of the causes of delinquency is far from adequate. The person who is faced with the practical problem of dealing with delinquents and criminals finds surprisingly little information in the literature that is helpful in the solution of the problem. It appears, therefore, that one of the immediate tasks is to accumulate a body of knowledge which may be used to formulate more satisfactory methods for the detection, custodial care, and adjustment of offenders.

This section of the study is devoted to a consideration of certain general features of the problem of delinquency in Chicago. Such factors as the types of offenses, the age distribution, the nationality, the religion, the number of appearances in court, and the like, are considered. These factors have been studied in the cases brought to court each fifth year during a twenty-five year period. When studied in this manner they throw light upon certain general tendencies in the situation in Chicago and suggest clues for further research into the causes of delinquency.

#### 10. *Delinquency and the Community.*

In the study of the distribution of places of residence of delinquents it was revealed that certain areas of the city produce a disproportionately large number of the delinquents who are brought to the police station and the Juvenile Court. It was pointed out, also, that the rate of delinquency showed a rather consistent relationship to the type of community background, being consistently high in the areas of deterioration and low in the residential areas of single family dwellings and apartment houses. These findings seem to suggest that the problem of delinquency is to a certain extent a community problem. In other words, delinquent conduct is involved in the whole social life and organization of the community. This is a phase of the problem which has been greatly overlooked, both in the study of the causes of delinquency and in the treatment of the offender.

The study of detailed life histories of delinquents reveals that the experiences and behavior trends of offenders reflect the culture and spirit of the community in which they have lived. It is interesting in this connection that certain types of offenses are more prevalent in certain areas and have become more or less traditional in the life of the community.

#### 11. *Delinquency as Group Behavior.*

In a study of 6,000 instances of stealing, with reference to the number of boys involved, it was found that in 90.4 per cent of the cases two or more boys were known to have been involved in the act and were consequently brought to court. Only 9.6 per cent of all the cases were acts of single individuals. Since this study was based upon the number of boys brought to court, and since in many cases not all of the boys involved were caught and brought to court, it is certain that the percentage of group stealing is therefore even greater than 90.4 per cent. It cannot be doubted that

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delinquency, particularly stealing, almost invariably involves two or more persons.

Another interesting finding revealed in this study was that the number of boys involved tends to vary with the type of offense and the chronological age of the participants. For example, in instances of petty stealing in the neighborhood, there were usually five and six participants, most of whom were very young offenders; whereas, in instances of holdup, a more highly specialized type of offense, there were usually only two or three boys involved, most of whom were older and more experienced delinquents. It seems that as the delinquent grows older and becomes more specialized in a particular form of delinquency, the number of his associates decreases.

It should be pointed out that delinquency frequently becomes an established social tradition in certain gangs, and is transmitted from the older members to the younger. It is not infrequent to find gangs in which the requirement for membership is participation in the delinquent activities of the group. In such groups the member who has demonstrated his ability in delinquency or who has "done time" in one of the correctional institutions will have prestige and will play a leading role in the life of the group. To understand the delinquent behavior of a member of one of these gangs it is necessary to know the traditions and social values of the group. The conduct of the individual member cannot be understood, much less effectively treated, except in relation to the life of the group of which he is a part.

### 12. *Diffusion of Delinquent Patterns of Conduct.*

From a study of life histories of delinquents it appears that delinquent patterns, particularly those of stealing, are transmitted from one individual to another and from one group to another in much the same manner that any cultural form is disseminated through society. This process of transmission takes place largely through the medium of social contacts.

It has already been mentioned that traditions of stealing become established in certain gangs and even in certain families and are transmitted through social contact from one member to another. The boy who participates in the life of a delinquent gang naturally assimilates the prevailing patterns of behavior in his group, thus becoming a delinquent. It is not infrequent that one encounters cases in which an experienced delinquent introduces a form of stealing into a non-delinquent group, thus involving the entire group in delinquency. The idea of stealing is not only transmitted but the particular technique used in committing the act is transmitted as well.

### 13. *The Delinquent and His Social World.*

The foregoing considerations lead quite naturally to the assumption that if the delinquent is to be adequately understood and adjusted it will be necessary to study his behavior in relation to the situation in which it occurs. Any effort to deal with the delinquent as a separate entity, apart from the social and cultural world in which his behavior trends have arisen, necessarily neglects important aspects of the situation.

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### 14. Age Distribution of Delinquents.

Table 10 shows the age distribution in the cases of male and female delinquents who were brought to court each fifth year from 1900 to 1925. It is indicated that the percentage of boys under 13 and girls under 14 has rather consistently decreased during this period. Thus, the court in later years has increasingly tended to deal with the older age groups. The girls' cases are somewhat more concentrated in the older age group than the boys.

A much more significant study in connection with age distribution would be with reference to the chronological age at the time of first offense. It is quite certain that many careers of adult delinquency have had their origin during the pre-adolescent period. It is not infrequent to find cases in which the first experience in delinquency has occurred as early as the eighth or ninth year.

TABLE 12. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CASES OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN  
BROUGHT TO COURT EACH FIFTH YEAR FROM 1900 TO 1915,  
BY PERCENTAGES

Date Total No. Cases Age	Boys						Girls					
	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925
8 and under	2,018	1,161	2,326	1,912	1,963	111	455	475	586	638	550	
9	1.2	—	—	—	—	—	.2	—	—	—	—	—
10	3.3	2.6	.8	—	—	—	1.3	.6	—	—	—	—
11	7.5	4.8	2.4	3.0	1.9	.9	1.8	0.9	.8	1.2	.6	—
12	10.1	8.3	3.5	5.1	4.5	2.8	.9	2.2	1.5	2.5	1.1	.4
13	15.4	12.6	7.7	8.5	9.5	6.7	4.5	5.9	2.9	2.6	2.4	3.4
14	15.8	15.9	14.5	11.2	14.3	13.2	12.6	8.8	7.8	5.1	7.4	7.3
15	22.3	17.1	20.6	19.7	20.7	20.6	31.5	13.0	14.3	15.3	17.2	18.7
16	22.1	23.2	23.2	24.2	26.0	28.2	33.4	30.6	24.0	19.5	23.0	24.3
17	2.6	13.4	26.3	27.5	22.8	27.4	12.6	22.6	23.0	27.3	29.5	29.3
18 and over	—	0.9	1.0	.8	.3	.2	.9	14.3	23.6	25.8	18.3	16.4
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 13 shows the age distribution of the 9,243 males and 929 females who were brought to police stations as alleged delinquents in 1926. It is interesting to note that 31.3 per cent of the males and 13.0 per cent of the females are under 13 years of age. This seems significant when compared with the court cases for 1926 (Table 14), where it will be observed that 10.4 per cent of the males and 3.8 per cent of the females are under that age. This difference indicates rather clearly the tendency on the part of the police to deal with younger children outside of court, and to bring into court only the older offenders. According to Table 13 the cases of males and females are concentrated in the older age groups from 14 to 18 for girls and 12 to 17 for boys.

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TABLE 13. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF ALLEGED MALE AND FEMALE DELINQUENTS  
INVESTIGATED BY JUVENILE POLICE DURING THE YEAR 1926  
BY NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES

Age Group	Male		Female	
	Number of Individuals	Per Cent	Number of Individuals	Per Cent
8 and under.....	250	2.7	3	0.3
9 .....	213	2.3	3	0.3
10 .....	499	5.4	43	4.6
11 .....	730	7.9	36	3.9
12 .....	1,202	13.0	36	3.9
13 .....	1,303	14.1	91	9.8
14 .....	1,691	18.3	169	18.2
15 .....	1,608	17.4	198	21.3
16 .....	1,571	17.0	215	23.1
17 .....	176	1.9	6	14.0
18 .....	—	—	—	0.6
Total .....	9,243	100.0	929	100.0

15. *Types of Offenses.* The following tables present a very general classification of offenses and tend to show rather interesting tendencies in the court cases. There have been so many changes in classification of offenses in the court cases during the last twenty years that any classification upon the basis of more specific offenses for that period would be misleading. The classification of cases of stealing is fairly specific and reliable. It is obvious that the other two categories are very general, including a great variety of offenses.

TABLE 14. PERCENTAGE OF EACH OFFENSE IN TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES OF  
DELINQUENT BOYS BROUGHT INTO THE JUVENILE COURT DURING  
EACH FIFTH YEAR SINCE 1905

Offense	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1926
Total No. of Cases...	2,018	1,161	2,326	1,912	1,963	1,671
All stealing .....	47.2	56.2	68.3	69.4	71.6	71.8
Incorrigibility .....	25.3	23.2	16.7	17.1	19.1	19.9
All others .....	27.5	20.6	15.0	13.5	9.3	8.3
All offenses .....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 14 shows the percentage of each offense in the total number of cases of *male* delinquents brought to court each fifth year from 1905 to 1925 and in 1926. It will be observed that the percentage of "stealing" cases increased from 47.2 in 1905 to 71.8 in 1926, an increase of 24.6 per cent. The percentage in the "incorrigible" group decreased from 25.0 in 1905 to 19.9 in 1926, and in the group of "all other" from 27.5 to 8.3 per cent during the same period. These fluctuations have been due in part to changes in the classification of offenses and to the fact that the cases brought to court have tended to be restricted to more serious cases of stealing. The less serious offenses are now handled almost entirely by the police without court action.

Of the total 9,243 alleged delinquent boys who were brought into police stations in 1926, 45.4 per cent were charged with stealing; 40.2 per cent with incorrigibility (this includes truancy from home and school, difficulties in the home, malicious mischief, and the like); and 14.32 per cent in all others.

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TABLE 15. PERCENTAGE OF EACH OFFENSE IN TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES OF  
DELINQUENT GIRLS BROUGHT INTO THE JUVENILE COURT  
DURING EACH FIFTH YEAR SINCE 1905

Offense	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1926
Total No. of Cases...	455	475	586	638	550	594
Stealing .....	14.5	15.4	8.9	10.2	6.2	8.1
Incorrigibility .....	80.0	76.4	87.4	87.6	87.8	89.6
All others .....	5.5	8.2	3.7	2.2	6.0	2.3
All offenses .....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 15 shows the percentage of each offense in the total number of cases of delinquent girls brought to court each fifth year from 1905 to 1925 and in 1926. It will be observed that the percentage of "stealing" cases has decreased from 14.5 to 8.1 in this period. The "incorrigibility" group, which includes all sex offenses, has remained consistently high during the period.

When Table 15 is compared with Table 14 it will be observed that the percentage of cases in the "stealing" group is approximately nine times more in the case of boys than in the case of girls.

Of the total 929 alleged delinquent girls brought to police stations in 1926, 24.3 per cent were charged with stealing; 75.0 with incorrigibility (including sex delinquencies); and 0.7 in all others.

16. *Number of Appearances in Court.* Table 16 shows the percentage of male and female delinquents brought to court for the first time, and the percentage having previously been in court from two to nine times, for each fifth year from 1905 to 1925. The large percentage of recidivists, both for girls and boys, is indicative of the seriousness of the cases dealt with by the court.

According to Table 16, the percentage coming into the court for the first time in the male group decreased from 64.3 in 1905 to 46.4 in 1925, and in the female group the percentage decreased from 75.9 to 60.5 in the same period. The percentage of those brought to court each year who had had previous court appearances correspondingly increased from 35.7 to 53.6 for males and from 24.1 to 39.5 in the case of females during the same period.

This marked increase in the percentage of recidivists appearing in the Juvenile Court may in part be due to the tendency of the court in recent years to deal more especially with the more serious offenders.

The table further indicates that throughout the entire period the percentage of males brought to court for the first time has been consistently lower than in the case of females. On the other hand, the percentage of male recidivists, particularly those appearing in court three or more times, has been much higher than in the case of female recidivists.

17. *Racial Origin of Delinquents.* Table 17 shows the nativity of the fathers of male delinquents, expressed in percentages of the total number of cases brought to court and classified by racial origin, for each fifth year from 1900 to 1925. The total male population of juvenile court age (10-17) is not taken into account here and, consequently, the table should not be construed as representing this rate of delinquents in the different racial groups.

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TABLE 16. NUMBER OF TIMES DELINQUENT CHILDREN WERE BROUGHT TO COURT—PERCENTAGE FOR EACH FIFTH YEAR FROM 1905 TO 1925

Times in Court	1905	1910	MALE 1915	1920	1925
First time .....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Second time .....	64.3	55.5	53.7	55.6	46.4
Third time .....	18.9	23.2	19.2	20.9	25.1
Fourth time .....	9.6	11.8	12.0	11.3	14.5
Fifth time .....	4.1	5.8	8.1	6.7	7.6
Sixth time .....	2.0	2.7	3.9	2.7	3.6
Seventh time .....	0.8	.7	1.7	1.2	1.0
Eighth time .....	.3	.3	1.0	1.1	1.0
Ninth time .....	—	—	.3	.4	.4
Tenth time .....	—	—	.1	.1	.2
Total appearing more than once .....	35.7	44.5	46.3	44.4	53.6

Times in Court	1905	1910	FEMALE 1915	1920	1925
First time .....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Second time .....	75.9	72.8	62.6	67.9	60.5
Third time .....	17.8	20.0	24.8	20.5	21.3
Fourth time .....	4.4	5.7	8.0	7.0	9.3
Fifth time .....	1.7	1.5	3.6	2.6	5.3
Sixth time .....	.2	—	.5	1.4	1.8
Seventh time .....	—	—	.3	.6	.2
Eighth time .....	—	—	.2	—	.9
Ninth time .....	—	—	—	—	.2
Tenth time .....	—	—	—	—	—
Total appearing more than once .....	24.1	27.2	37.4	32.1	39.5

TABLE 17. NATIVITY OF THE FATHERS OF DELINQUENT *Boys* EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGES OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES CLASSIFIED BY RACE ORIGIN DURING EACH FIFTH YEAR SINCE 1900

Nativity of Father	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925
Total Number of Cases Classified .....	1,035	1,828	1,123	2,215	1,829	1,910
American—White ....	16.0	19.0	16.5	16.5	23.0	21.7
American—Negro ....	4.7	5.1	5.5	6.2	9.9	17.1
Austrian .....	0.1	0.3	0.9	1.3	0.8	2.2
Canadian .....	0.9	1.0	1.1	0.8	0.3	0.6
Czechoslovakian ....	4.6	4.3	5.5	3.0	2.2	2.8
English .....	2.0	1.9	2.1	1.7	0.7	0.6
French .....	1.7	1.0	1.2	0.5	0.2	0.1
German .....	20.4	18.5	14.5	11.0	6.3	3.5
Hungarian .....	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.6	1.4	1.2
Irish .....	18.7	15.4	12.3	10.7	6.1	3.1
Italian .....	5.1	8.3	7.9	10.1	12.7	12.8
Lithuanian .....	0.1	0.3	1.1	2.9	2.2	3.9
Norwegian .....	0.1	2.0	0.9	0.9	0.3	0.1
Polish .....	15.1	15.7	18.6	22.1	24.5	21.9
Russian .....	3.5	.0	6.2	6.2	4.3	4.4
Scotch .....	1.4	1.1	0.4	0.9	0.2	0.1
Swedish .....	3.7	3.6	2.0	1.9	2.0	0.4
Others .....	1.6	2.2	2.9	2.7	2.9	3.5
Total .....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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According to Table 17 it is indicated that of the 1,035 cases of *male delinquents* dealt with by the court in 1900, the highest percentages, 20.4 and 18.7, are to be found in the German and Irish groups, respectively. The percentage in these two national groups consistently decreased to 3.5 and 3.1, respectively, in 1925. This decrease is probably due in part to the fact that most of the Germans and Irish no longer live in the areas of disorganization and delinquency. Although some have continued in delinquency and have later been classified as white Americans, it is not improbable that this decrease represents an actual decrease in the rate of delinquency in these groups.

Of equal consistency, but opposite in tendency, is the marked increase in the percentages of Italians and Poles, the former having increased from 5.1 in 1900 to 12.8 in 1925, and the latter from 15.5 in 1900 to 21.9 in 1925, after having apparently reached its peak in 1920 when it constituted 24.5 per cent of the cases. Thus the German and Irish groups have over a span of twenty-five years given way to the Italian and Polish groups. This is undoubtedly due in a large measure to the fact that the Italians and Poles constitute the most recent immigrant groups (excepting the Negro), and, as in the case of their predecessors, have been attracted by low rents to the areas of deterioration where social disorganization and delinquency prevail.

While these changes have been taking place the percentage of the White American group, although showing an increase of 5.7 per cent (16 per cent in 1900, 21.7 per cent in 1925), has remained relatively constant. The increase may in part be due to the fact that many of the German and Irish have, during this period, become American. The American Negro group showed a marked increase from 4.7 per cent in 1900 to 17.1 per cent in 1925. This undoubtedly reflects the great influx of the Negroes, especially during the years following the war.

Table 18 shows the race origin of cases of female delinquents, expressed in percentages of the total number of cases brought to court and classified by race origin, for each fifth year from 1900 to 1925. It will be observed that in general, the same situation prevails here as in the case of Table 16. It should be noted, however, that the percentage of males is much higher than the percentage of females in the Italian group. The percentage of female cases in the Negro group increases more gradually in the case of females than in the case of males.

18. *Religious  
Affiliation of  
Delinquents.*

Tables 19 and 20 show the percentages of each religion in the total number of cases of male and female delinquents brought to court each fifth year from 1906 to 1926. It will be observed in the instance of both sexes that the percentage of cases in the Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant groups has remained fairly constant during the period.

Very interesting tendencies may be observed to be taking place when the white and Negro Protestant groups are compared. The percentage in the white group has decreased from 30.0 in 1906 to 12.9 in 1926 in the case of males, and from 41.1 to 22.5 in the case of females. On the other hand, the percentage in the Negro group has increased from 3.7 to 20.3 and 7.1 to 20.1 for males and females, respectively.

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TABLE 18. NATIVITY OF THE FATHERS OF DELINQUENT *Girls* EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGES OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES CLASSIFIED BY RACE ORIGIN DURING EACH FIFTH YEAR SINCE 1900

Nativity of Father	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925
Total Number of Cases						
Classified .....	108	397	457	564	620	534
American—White ....	20.3	24.7	19.0	16.9	22.9	23.4
American—Negro ....	11.0	5.8	8.1	13.8	20.7	18.2
Czechoslovakian .....	.0	4.5	4.2	3.2	2.1	3.7
English .....	3.4	2.0	4.4	2.3	1.3	1.5
French .....	.0	2.5	1.7	2.1	0.3	0.4
German .....	22.9	18.9	19.7	17.5	9.5	4.7
Irish .....	14.4	10.8	7.4	6.4	6.0	2.1
Italian .....	.0	2.8	2.6	4.8	5.3	4.3
Lithuanian .....	0.8	0.3	0.7	1.2	3.5	5.1
Norwegian .....	.0	4.0	2.2	1.1	0.2	0.7
Polish .....	16.1	14.3	18.0	19.0	16.0	19.1
Russian .....	0.8	1.0	4.2	3.2	1.9	2.6
Scotch .....	1.7	0.3	1.7	0.4	0.2	1.1
Swedish .....	6.0	3.3	1.7	3.7	1.6	1.3
Others .....	2.6	4.8	4.4	4.4	8.5	11.8
Total .....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 19. PERCENTAGE OF EACH RELIGION IN TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES OF DELINQUENT BOYS CLASSIFIED BY RELIGION IN EACH FIFTH YEAR FROM 1901 TO 1926

	1900-01 <sup>1</sup>	1906	1911	1916	1921	1926
Total Number of Cases						
Classified .....	1,954	1,955	1,278	2,170	1,738	1,623
Catholic .....	58.7	58.0	63.4	63.9	66.1	62.3
Protestant .....	36.4	33.7	30.2	27.8	26.1	33.2
White .....	(31.6)	(30.0)	(24.4)	(20.1)	(14.9)	(12.9)
Negro <sup>2</sup> .....	(4.8)	(3.7)	(5.8)	(7.7)	(11.2)	(20.3)
Jewish .....	4.9	8.3	6.4	8.3	7.8	4.5
Total .....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<sup>1</sup> Includes both male and female delinquents and dependents.

<sup>2</sup> In this table all Negroes have been classed as Protestant.

TABLE 20. PERCENTAGE OF EACH RELIGION IN TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES OF DELINQUENT *Girls* CLASSIFIED BY RELIGION IN EACH FIFTH YEAR FROM 1901 TO 1926

	1900-01 <sup>1</sup>	1906	1911	1916	1921	1926
Total Number of Cases						
Classified .....	1,954	423	457	587	656	573
Catholic .....	58.7	48.0	50.7	54.5	56.9	55.7
Protestant .....	36.4	48.2	43.6	40.2	39.2	42.6
White .....	(31.6)	(41.1)	(33.5)	(29.0)	(23.9)	(22.5)
Negro <sup>2</sup> .....	(4.8)	(7.1)	(10.1)	(11.2)	(15.3)	(20.1)
Jewish .....	4.9	3.8	5.7	5.3	3.9	1.7
Total .....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<sup>1</sup> Includes both male and female delinquents and dependents.

<sup>2</sup> In this table all Negroes have been classed as Protestant.



## *Illinois Crime Survey*

It should be remembered that these tables do not take into account the changes in the total population of the different religious groups considered. It may be that the increase in the percentage of Negro cases merely reflects the increase in the Negro population rather than any increase in the volume of delinquency in that group itself. It is nevertheless significant that the percentage of cases in the white Protestant group shows a consistent tendency to decrease.

The white Protestants, most of whom are native born, have in the process of the growth of Chicago, gradually moved out of the area of deterioration where the rate of delinquency is high. The Negro, on the other hand, because of his lower economic status, has tended to move into the area of deterioration near the "Loop," thus supplanting to a certain extent the white Protestant population in this area. The increase in the percentage of the Negro cases brought to court may be due to some extent to the type of area in which this racial group is forced to live. In this connection it should be borne in mind that the rate of delinquency in the Negro group varies with the type of community background, as was indicated in connection with Map 2.

### 19. *Extent of Juvenile Delinquency Outside of Cook County.*

A survey of the sources of information pertaining to juvenile delinquents outside of Cook County revealed that the criteria of delinquent behavior, the methods used in detecting and dealing with offenders, and the practice with reference to the question of keeping records, vary so widely from one county to another that an accurate and complete study of the extent and nature of delinquency could not be made from the records now available. A complete and reliable study would involve an intensive investigation of the towns and cities in each county within the state. Obviously it has not been possible to make such a study in the limited time allotted to the survey.

The records of the police, save for a few of the larger cities, are of little value for statistical purposes. In the first place, the activities of the police in connection with the detection and handling of juvenile delinquents differ markedly from county to county. In some counties practically all delinquents are handled by the police, as contrasted with other counties in which only a small proportion of the cases have contact with the police. In some of the small towns delinquents are dealt with directly by the probation officers or representatives of civic or religious organizations. In many of these cases no records are kept. In counties where cases are handled by the police as a routine practice, there were many instances where no records were kept and a larger number where only records of the more serious offenders were made.

Likewise, the records in the courts are of very little value for a statistical study, since the function performed by the court in juvenile cases is highly variable among the counties of the state. In some counties the court is used only in cases where commitment is deemed necessary, while in other counties a large proportion of the children known to be delinquent are brought to court. Thus, the records in one county showed that one-third of the cases

### *The Juvenile Delinquent*

were committed while those in another county showed that every delinquent brought to court had been committed.

In the light of these findings it was apparent that statistics based upon the records of the police and courts in the several counties of the state would be very incomplete. It was clear, also, that any comparison of the number of delinquents in the different counties based upon statistics compiled from the available records would be misleading. Thus it was felt that the number of individuals committed to the state correctional institutions in a given period was the best information available to make a comparative study of the numerical extent of delinquents in the 102 counties in the state.

Table 21 shows the number of boys committed to St. Charles (the State Industrial School for Boys), the number of girls committed to Geneva (the State Industrial School for Girls), and the total number committed to both institutions from each county during the five-year period (1922-1926). The rate of commitment was computed to show the relation between the number of cases committed and the population. This relationship is presented (Table 21) in the form of the number of boys committed per 10,000 in the 10 to 18 male population, the number of females per 10,000 in the 10 to 18 female population, and the total commitments per 10,000 population in the 10 to 18 male and female population. This table also shows the rank in rate of commitment of each county, for both males and females. According to this table the total committed per 10,000 population shows wide variations, ranging from 150.7 to 0.0; 184.2 to 0.0 for males, and 117.2 to 0.0 for females. It should be noted that the ratio between the male and female rates fluctuates markedly. Thus Cass County has a high rate (154.3) for males and a low rate (7.7) for females, whereas in Coles County the reverse is true, 42.6 for males and 92.3 for females. Richland County has a rate of 107.4 for males and 0.0 for females.

Cook County with the largest number of commitments (774 males and 214 females) ranks forty-eighth in rate of commitment for boys and seventy-sixth for girls. This is in part explained by the fact that the Cook County Juvenile Court commits delinquents to several institutions. There are other factors which influence the rate of commitments, namely, in some counties there are no institutions for dependent and semi-delinquent children; consequently many of these children are committed to St. Charles and Geneva. Some counties, Cook County in particular, have several institutions for dependent and semi-delinquent children. In these counties it is the practice to commit only more serious offenders to St. Charles and Geneva. The variation in the policy of the court where delinquent cases are heard and the difference in the standards of the community which determine what is or what is not delinquent behavior are other factors which determine in part, the fluctuation in rates from county to county.

Maps 8 and 9 (Tables 22 and 23) present the rate of commitment to St. Charles (*boys*) and Geneva (*girls*) in each county of the state for the five-year period. The figures on the map are the number of commitments per 10,000 population, the decimal having been dropped. These

# Illinois Crime Survey

TABLE 21

SHOWING NUMBER OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS, COMMITTED TO STATE INSTITUTIONS, TOTAL MALES, TOTAL FEMALES; TOTAL NUMBER PER 10,000 IN TOTAL 10 TO 18 POPULATION, MALES PER 10,000 IN 10 TO 18 POPULATION, FEMALES PER 10,000 IN 10 TO 18 FEMALE POPULATION, AND RANK IN RATE OF COMMITMENT. BY COUNTIES FOR FIVE-YEAR PERIOD (1922-1926)

COUNTY	NO. OF JUVENILES COMMITTED			NO. COMMITTED PER 10,000 IN 10 TO 18 POPULATION			RANK IN RATE OF COMMITMENT	
	To Both Institutions	To St. Charles (Males)	To Geneva (Females)	To Both Institutions in 10 to 18 Population	To St. Charles in 10 to 18 Male Population	To Geneva in 10 to 18 Female Population	To St. Charles	To Geneva
1 Adams	24	7	17	29.5	17.2	41.7	80	27
2 Alexander	54	33	21	150.7	184.2	117.2	1	2
3 Bond	7	7	0	26.3	52.6	0.0	33	X
4 Boone	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	X
5 Brown	6	3	3	44.1	44.1	44.1	41	24
6 Bureau	18	10	8	26.4	29.4	23.5	61	48
7 Calhoun	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0	X	X
8 Carroll	3	2	1	11.7	15.6	7.8	82	82
9 Cass	21	20	1	81.0	154.3	7.7	3	84
10 Champaign	43	32	11	50.4	75.0	25.8	19	42
11 Christian	16	8	8	26.0	26.0	26.0	69	41
12 Clark	7	4	3	19.7	22.5	16.9	74	63
13 Clay	22	15	7	71.9	98.0	45.8	10	22
14 Clinton	4	3	1	10.0	15.1	5.0	85	88
15 Coles	38	12	26	67.4	42.6	92.3	44	5
16 Cook	988	774	214	25.1	39.3	10.9	48	76
17 Crawford	9	6	3	22.2	29.6	14.8	59	67
18 Cumberland	7	6	1	32.3	55.4	9.2	31	81
19 De Kalb	12	6	6	27.2	27.2	27.2	67	39
20 De Witt	10	4	6	24.8	27.8	41.8	65	26
21 Douglas	7	4	3	22.6	25.8	19.3	71	54
22 Du Page	16	12	4	17.2	38.0	12.7	50	70
23 Edgar	22	9	13	54.2	44.4	64.1	40	10
24 Edwards	1	0	1	6.4	0.0	12.8	X	69
25 Effingham	11	11	0	33.7	67.4	0.0	25	X
26 Fayette	11	8	3	23.2	33.8	12.7	54	71
27 Ford	22	15	7	88.6	120.9	56.4	5	13
28 Franklin	90	59	31	93.3	122.3	64.3	4	9
29 Fulton	25	8	17	32.6	20.9	44.4	76	23
30 Gallatin	5	3	2	21.3	25.6	17.1	72	62
31 Greene	16	7	9	45.1	39.5	50.8	47	19
32 Grundy	10	6	4	31.4	37.7	25.2	51	44
33 Hamilton	19	13	6	63.0	86.2	39.8	14	28
34 Hancock	12	7	5	28.8	33.6	24.0	55	46
35 Hardin	1	0	1	7.1	0.0	14.2	X	68
36 Henderson	1	0	1	6.3	0.0	12.6	X	72
37 Henry	20	15	5	29.8	44.7	14.9	39	66
38 Iroquois	7	4	3	12.1	13.8	10.4	88	79
39 Jackson	27	21	6	83.7	65.1	18.6	27	56
40 Jasper	5	4	1	17.3	27.7	6.9	66	85
41 Jefferson	37	24	13	73.8	95.7	51.8	11	17
42 Jersey	4	3	1	20.1	30.2	10.1	58	80
43 Jo Daviess	1	0	1	3.2	0.0	6.4	X	86
44 Johnson	4	2	2	17.4	17.4	17.4	79	61
45 Kane	56	31	25	38.9	43.1	34.7	43	32
46 Kankakee	40	21	19	60.9	63.9	57.9	28	12
47 Kendall	4	2	2	28.3	28.3	28.3	63	37
48 Knox	18	12	6	28.0	37.4	18.7	63	55
49 Lake	52	26	26	51.8	51.8	51.8	34	55
50 La Salle	54	41	13	37.0	56.2	17.8	30	18
51 Lawrence	11	9	2	29.4	48.2	10.7	36	77

# *The Juvenile Delinquent*

TABLE 21--(Continued)

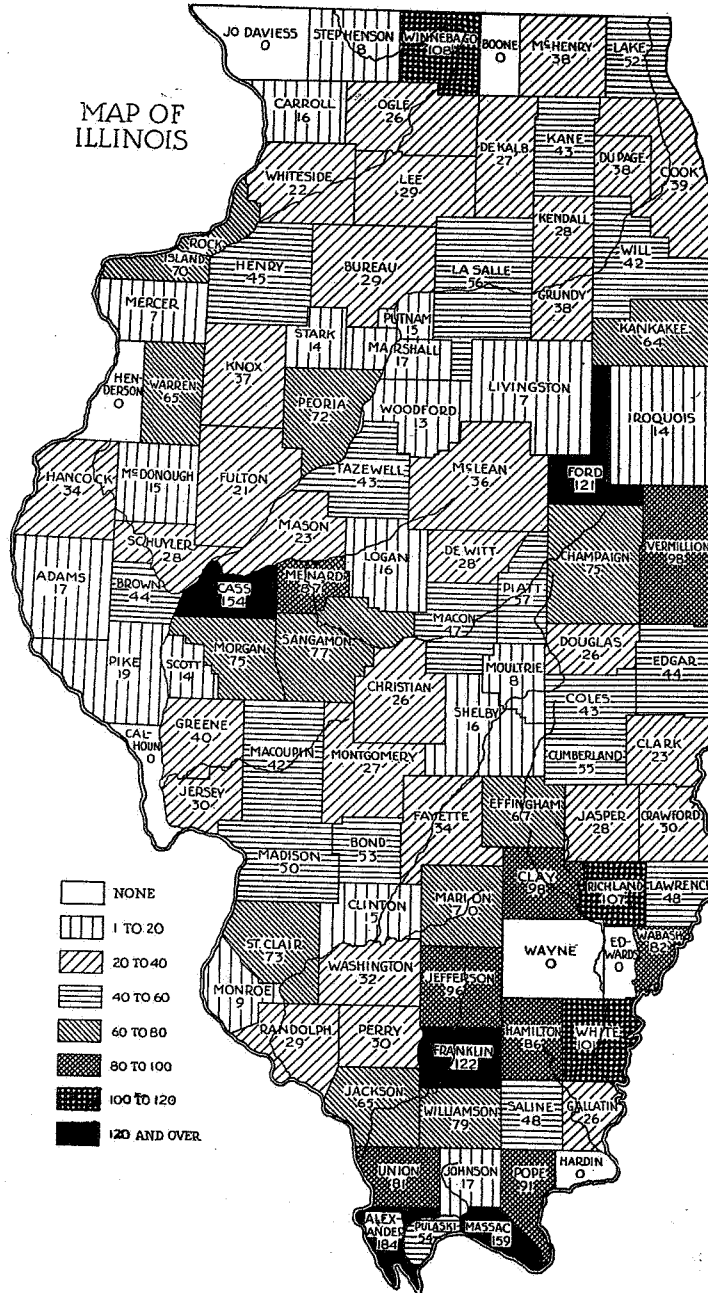
SHOWING NUMBER OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS, COMMITTED TO STATE INSTITUTIONS, TOTAL MALES, TOTAL FEMALES; TOTAL NUMBER PER 10,000 IN TOTAL 19 TO 18 POPULATION, MALES PER 10,000 IN 10 TO 18 POPULATION, FEMALES PER 10,000 IN 10 TO 18 FEMALE POPULATION, AND RANK IN RATE OF COMMITMENT. BY COUNTIES FOR FIVE YEAR PERIOD (1922-1926)

COUNTY	NO. OF JUVENILES COMMITTED			NO. COMMITTED PER 10,000 IN 10 TO 18 POPULATION			RANK IN RATE OF COMMITMENT	
	To Both Institutions	To St. Charles (Males)	To Geneva (Females)	To Both Institutions in 10 to 18 Population	To St. Charles in 10 to 18 Male Population	To Geneva in 10 to 18 Female Population	To St. Charles	To Geneva
52 Lee	13	6	7	31.6	29.1	34.0	62	33
53 Livingston	9	2	7	15.2	6.8	23.7	95	47
54 Logan	6	4	2	11.7	15.5	7.8	83	83
55 Macon	35	22	13	37.1	46.6	27.5	38	38
56 Macoupin	25	20	5	26.0	41.6	10.4	46	78
57 Madison	60	41	19	36.7	50.1	23.2	35	50
58 Marion	39	22	17	61.6	69.5	53.7	24	15
59 Marshall	4	2	2	17.4	17.4	17.4	28	16
60 Mason	7	3	4	26.8	23.0	30.6	73	36
61 Massac	24	18	6	106.3	159.4	53.1	2	16
62 McDonough	4	3	1	9.8	14.6	4.9	86	89
63 McHenry	13	10	3	24.8	38.1	11.4	49	75
64 McLean	42	18	24	41.8	35.8	47.8	53	20
65 Menard	19	8	11	103.5	87.1	119.8	13	1
66 Mercer	4	1	3	14.2	7.1	21.2	94	53
67 Monroe	1	1	0	4.6	9.2	0.0	91	X
68 Montgomery	13	9	4	19.4	26.8	11.9	68	74
69 Morgan	22	17	5	48.3	74.6	21.9	20	52
70 Moultrie	1	1	0	4.2	8.4	0.0	92	X
71 Ogle	11	5	6	28.5	25.9	31.1	70	35
72 Peoria	122	51	71	85.9	71.8	99.9	22	3
73 Perry	11	6	5	27.9	30.5	25.4	57	43
74 Piatt	19	7	12	76.9	56.7	97.2	29	4
75 Pike	5	4	1	11.9	19.1	4.8	77	90
76 Pope	8	8	0	45.5	90.9	0.0	12	X
77 Pulaski	12	7	5	46.1	53.8	38.4	32	30
78 Putnam	1	1	0	7.6	15.2	0.0	84	X
79 Randolph	11	7	4	23.2	29.5	16.8	60	64
80 Richland	12	12	0	53.7	107.4	0.0	7	X
81 Rock Island	82	40	42	72.0	70.2	73.7	23	7
82 Saline	29	16	13	43.6	48.1	39.1	37	29
83 Sangamon	85	58	27	56.2	76.7	35.7	18	31
84 Schuyler	3	3	0	14.1	28.1	0.0	64	X
85 Scott	1	1	0	6.8	13.6	0.0	89	X
86 Shelby	7	4	3	14.4	16.5	12.3	81	73
87 Stark	4	1	3	27.9	13.9	41.8	87	25
88 St. Clair	140	74	70	69.8	72.7	68.8	21	8
89 Stephenson	6	2	4	11.7	7.8	15.6	93	65
90 Tazewell	21	13	8	34.8	43.1	26.5	42	40
91 Union	18	14	4	52.3	81.3	23.2	16	49
92 Vermillion	106	55	51	94.7	98.3	91.2	9	6
93 Wabash	14	10	4	57.4	82.0	32.8	15	34
94 Warren	17	10	7	55.6	65.4	45.8	26	21
95 Washington	6	5	1	19.1	31.9	6.4	56	87
96 Wayne	5	0	5	12.1	0.0	24.2	X	45
97 White	22	18	4	62.0	101.5	22.5	8	51
98 Whiteside	11	6	5	20.4	22.2	18.5	75	57
99 Will	41	29	12	29.8	42.2	17.5	45	59
100 Williamson	75	42	33	70.6	79.0	62.1	17	11
101 Winnebago	91	60	31	81.8	107.9	55.7	6	14
102 Woodford	2	2	0	6.4	12.8	0.0	90	X

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TABLE 22. SHOWING NUMBER OF DELINQUENT BOYS PER 10,000 IN THE  
TOTAL 10 TO 18 MALE POPULATION COMMITTED TO THE ST. CHARLES  
SCHOOL FOR BOYS—BY COUNTIES

(MAP 8)

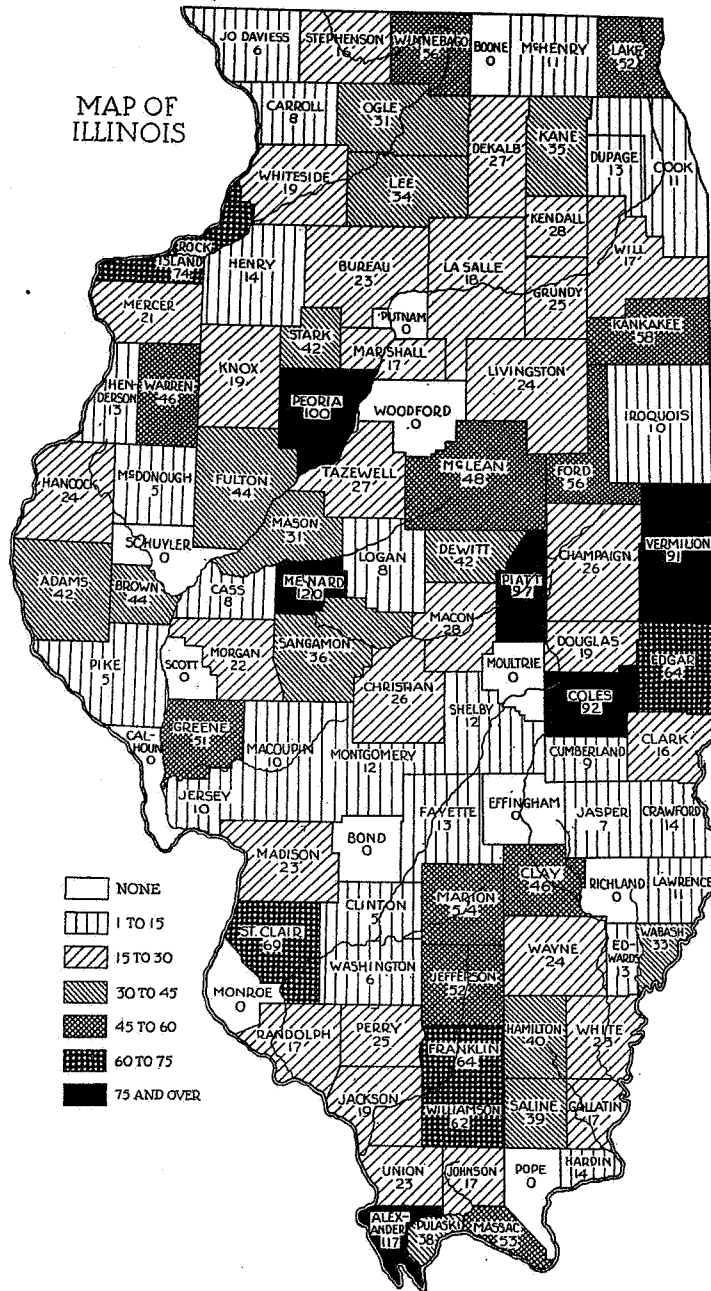


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# *The Juvenile Delinquent*

TABLE 23. SHOWING NUMBER OF DELINQUENT GIRLS PER 10,000 IN THE  
TOTAL 10 TO 18 FEMALE POPULATION COMMITTED TO THE GENEVA  
INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS—BY COUNTIES

(MAP 9)



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maps show clearly that the rate of commitment varies widely among the counties, even in counties contiguous to each other.

In spite of the many factors that influence the rate of commitment there is some correlation between this rate and the percentage of population classified as urban in the last federal census. On the basis of this classification, twenty-five out of the 102 counties of the state are rural. Out of these twenty-five counties, nineteen have rates of commitment to St. Charles, and eighteen have rates of commitment to Geneva that are below the median for the state. Out of the seven counties which committed no boys to St. Charles, four are rural, and out of the twelve that committed no girls to Geneva, seven are rural.

The coefficient of correlation between the percentage of urban and rate of commitment to St. Charles (Cook County was excluded in this computation) is  $r = +.37$ , while the correlation between percentage urban population and rate of commitment to Geneva (Cook County excluded) is  $r = +.39$ .

## *The Juvenile Delinquent*

### PART C

#### TREATMENT OF DELINQUENTS

##### (I) IN COOK COUNTY

20. *The Juvenile Court.* The Cook County Juvenile Court is the oldest children's court in the world. The period of nearly thirty years<sup>1</sup> since its founding through the pioneering effort of a large group of socially minded citizens has been sufficiently long to test the adequacy of the separate court idea, and to build up a coordinated machinery, centering in the court, for dealing both remedially and preventively with the problems of children. In the beginning the primary purpose of the juvenile court was to protect children from the formal procedure of the criminal courts and to make more effective earlier procedure for treating dependent children. Since that time the court has been given certain administrative functions which consume great amounts of time, and, therefore, tend to limit its effectiveness in caring for delinquent children. This limitation is by no means an insurmountable one, and the court has worked out adjustments in its organization which are designed to overcome it.

The questions concerning the treatment of delinquents in Cook County which this survey seeks to answer are: (1) Are present agencies and practices adequate to the situation? (2) If not, wherein do their weaknesses lie? (3) By what means may the situation be remedied?

In the past thirty years a number of agencies and institutions have grown up and old ones have made adjustments in the interest of the delinquent child. These agencies with the dates of their founding are as follows:

##### *Serving Cook County*

The Cook County Juvenile Court.....	1899
The Chicago Parental School.....	1902
The Bureau of Compulsory Education.....	1890
The Division of Child Study in the Chicago Public Schools...	1902
The Chicago and Cook County School for Boys <sup>2</sup> .....	1916
The Juvenile Psychopathic Institute <sup>3</sup> .....	1909
The House of the Good Shepherd.....	1867
The Chicago Home for Girls.....	1865

##### *Serving the entire state*

The St. Charles School for Boys.....	1901
The State Training School for Girls at Geneva.....	1893

But these agencies and institutions have developed or remained as essentially unrelated units. True, the Juvenile Court is a center through which delinquent children pass and to which they are referred when one or another agency fails to effect a change in the child's conduct. But it is only a center of dispersal; not of coordination and continuous planning. This

<sup>1</sup> The Cook County Juvenile Court was established in 1899.

<sup>2</sup> This school was an outgrowth of the John Worthy School in the City House of Correction established in 1899 and which was, in turn, an outgrowth of an earlier school for boys in the County Jail, established in 1893.

<sup>3</sup> Now the Institute for Juvenile Research, since 1917 under the State Department of Public Welfare. Privately financed from 1909-1914; by the county from 1914-1917.



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fact will become clearer and clearer as we proceed to describe as accurately as possible the operation of the court and of the other agencies in Cook County which deal with delinquent children, to evaluate the results of treatment, and on the basis of findings, to suggest measures which look toward more effective service in the prevention and treatment of delinquency.

### *21. Same: Organization of the Court.*

The Cook County Juvenile Court is a branch of the Cook County Circuit Court. For a number of years previous to the summer of 1927, it had been presided over by two Circuit Court judges. At the annual meeting of the Circuit Court judges last summer, it was decided that the court should be reorganized. Judge Mary M. Bartelme was made sole judge of the Juvenile Court, and was given two referees to assist her by conducting preliminary hearings and making recommendations. It is necessary under this regime for the judge to sign the orders in all cases coming before the referees, as well as those which she herself hears.

The chart (Table 24) shows the way in which the court is organized.

The court is housed in a separate building, located at the corner of Roosevelt Road and Ogden Avenue. This building was completed in 1923, and is admirably equipped for carrying on the work of the court. In the rear of the court building is the large Juvenile Detention Home.

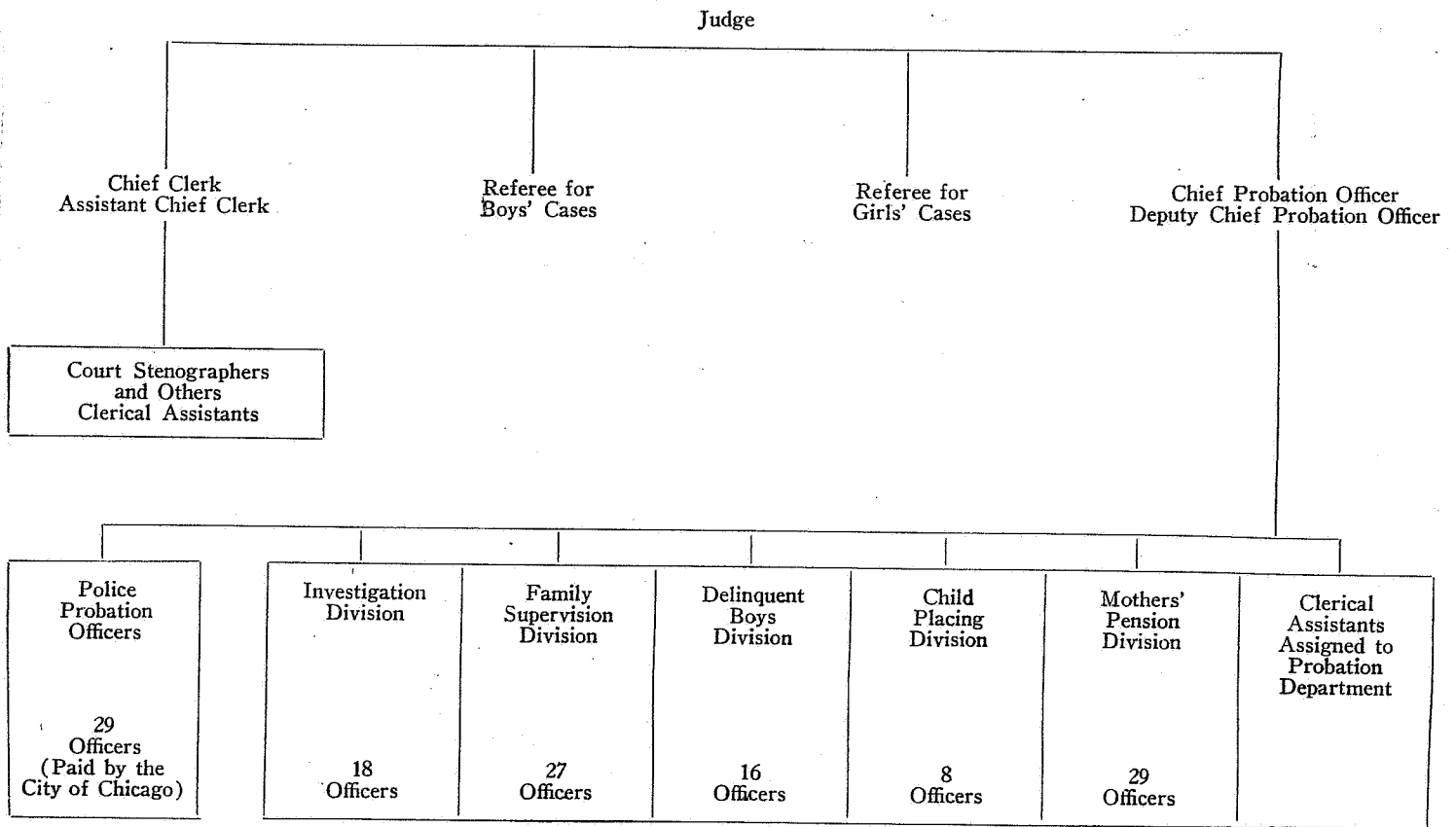
### *22. Same: Procedure of Complaint and Arrest.*

In the early days of the court, before funds had been provided for the payment of salaries to probation officers, the Police Department of the City of Chicago assigned a certain number of police officers to do probation work with delinquent boys. With the development of a paid staff of probation officers, these police officers have been retained and are known as police probation officers. There are twenty-eight such officers. They are assigned to police districts, and it is they who file most of the delinquency petitions in the court. It is their duty, when a complaint is brought or an arrest of a juvenile made within their district, to investigate the case, decide whether or not a petition shall be filed, and whether the child shall be allowed to go home or detained in the Juvenile Detention Home. If a petition is filed the police probation officer prepares the case and presents it in court. During the fiscal year ending November 30, 1926, 2,265 delinquency petitions were filed in the court. During the calendar year, 1926, the police probation officers filed 1,644 such petitions. In addition, there were 17,922 cases in which complaints were made, but in which petitions were not filed. Thus many were brought to the attention of the police more than once during the year.

The police probation officers therefore adjust unofficially more than eight times as many cases as they bring before the court. Most of the men have been on the police force for a good many years. A few have become specifically interested in delinquent boys and have asked to be assigned as police probation officers. Others confess they were "just assigned," or as one cryptically put it, "just shoved into it." In one of the districts where the number of delinquents is very high, the officer said he was assigned because he was too old to fill any other position in the police department.

# *The Juvenile Delinquent*

TABLE 24. COOK COUNTY JUVENILE COURT ORGANIZATION CHART



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Police probation officers are on duty from 8:00 a. m. to 5:00 p. m. This is the portion of the day in which the smallest number of arrests is made, except, of course, during the hours just before dawn. Thus, a majority of the children brought to police stations in Chicago are first seen by the desk sergeant who decides whether they shall be detained either at the police station or in the Juvenile Detention Home, or sent home until morning, when they are expected to return to see the police probation officer. In a recent study of admissions to the Cook County Juvenile Detention Home, by Miss Savilla Millis,<sup>1</sup> there appears a table indicating the numbers of children brought into police stations at specified hours during the month covered by her study. Table 25 indicates, in addition, the hourly average of cases:

TABLE 25. JUVENILE COURT CASES, CLASSIFIED BY DAILY HOURS

Period	Number	Hourly Average
7:00 a. m. and before 6:00 p. m. ....	168	15:28
6:00 p. m. and before 10:00 p. m. ....	91	22:75
10:00 p. m. and before 12:00 midnight ....	69	34:50
12:00 midnight and before 3:00 a. m. ....	56	18:66
3:00 a. m. and before 7:00 a. m. ....	36	9:00
Not reported .....	53	—
Total .....	473	—

Obviously, if it be assumed that police probation officers perform a valuable service by adjusting cases out of court and giving a sort of preliminary hearing in the police station, they ought to be on duty during the hours when most of the children are brought in. The eight hours between 6:00 p. m. and 2:00 a. m. appear to be the ones when this is most necessary. Besides, the child needs the services of such an officer more definitely at night than during the day.

When the children in the City of Chicago are sent to the Juvenile Detention Home, they are taken, except in very rare cases, in the patrol wagon. The police departments of some of the outlying towns and cities in Cook County use other means. For example, Cicero children are usually sent with the "flivver squad." It is the testimony of Lieutenant Donohue, the officer in charge of police probation officers, that girls are almost never accompanied by a woman when brought to the Juvenile Detention Home in a patrol wagon. Boys are also transported together with older men and with girls. In this then, as in other phases of police activity in dealing with delinquent children, the minimum safeguards of morals and character are not always observed. Policemen are not social workers; and the treatment of delinquent children, from the moment of the discovery of delinquency, is a delicate task of personal and social readjustment.

23. *Same: Juvenile Detention Home.* The Cook County Juvenile Detention Home is one of the largest of its kind in America. During the fiscal year December 1, 1925, to November 30, 1926, 9,246 children were admitted, of whom 7,115 were alleged delinquents. The fact that only 2,265 delinquency cases were disposed of

<sup>1</sup> Millis, Savilla, *A Study of the Admissions to the Juvenile Detention Home of Cook County*, p. 102.

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by the court in that period, and, further, that many of these were never taken to the Detention Home, indicates that probably between two-thirds and three-fourths of the alleged delinquents brought into the Detention Home during last year were released without a hearing. The immediate responsibility for this condition lies principally with the police of the city of Chicago, who consider the Detention Home in much the same category as a jail. The result is a population described by the superintendent of the Detention Home as "a great mixture of tremendously varying children, held for a variety of rather unnecessary and unidentified purposes, most of whom stay too long and each of whom adds to the complexity of the problem of handling, constructively and sanely, this already socially complex situation."<sup>1</sup> Let it be said in justice to the police that they can scarcely be blamed for the attitude they assume. The architecture of the institution with its high stone wall and barred windows definitely suggests to the person on the outside that the place is a prison. The sanguine hopes of Chief Probation Officer Moss in 1919, just after the bond issue for the erection of the court and Detention Home buildings had been approved, were not realized in the plan and construction of the Detention Home. "The Cook County Juvenile Court," said Mr. Moss, "always has set standards for the world, and these new buildings should be a monument typifying the community's ideal for the care of childhood."<sup>2</sup>

Members of the staff of the Detention Home are appointed by the Board of County Commissioners from eligible lists prepared by the Cook County Civil Service Commission. The present superintendent was selected through a competitive examination prepared by a special committee of citizens appointed by the civil service commission. On January 24, 1928, there was a total of ninety-seven employees in the home. Forty-five of them were certified civil service people, while fifty-two were temporary appointees. Such appointments almost always mean that appointees are chosen primarily because of some minor political influence. Here, as in practically all institutions for the care and training of children, the great importance of having trained, skillful persons as subordinate members of the staff has not been realized.

24. *Same: Hearing in Court.* Hearings in the court are informal. In delinquency cases they are merely an attempt to learn facts both concerning the circumstances of the specific acts complained of and concerning the habits, circumstances of life, and general character of the child. The purpose of the hearing is not to establish guilt or innocence, but to secure facts which will form a basis for intelligently recommending corrective treatment for the child. Hearings before the referees are held in their offices, and nobody is present except those immediately concerned with the case. Hearings before the judge are in a small court room, and may be said to be public, though very few people are admitted, and the attempt is made to limit attendance in the court room to persons who have specific business in the court.

In making provision for referees, the Circuit Court judges made legal training the only specific prerequisite. The selection of referees was

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report of the Cook County Juvenile Court and Detention Home, 1926*, pages 68-69.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 1919, page 7.

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fortunate in that both persons chosen are sincere, faithful, and eager to do what is best for the children who come before them. It is possible, however, that more eminently skillful persons might have been secured on the basis of a careful merit test conducted very much as examinations for chief probation officer and superintendent of the Detention Home have been. In any event, totally apart from the qualifications of the present referees, such a merit test insures the selection of well qualified persons, whereas direct appointment by the Circuit Court judges may or may not result in the choice of the best persons available.

25. *Same:* (a) *The Staff.* The mainspring of every juvenile court is its probation service. However judicious, however painstaking, however skilled and inspired the judge may be, failure and incompetence in the probation department mean ineffective juvenile court work.

An important Supreme Court decision in Illinois in 1912<sup>1</sup> declared probation officers to be judicial officers and that therefore they could not constitutionally be subject to civil selection. Such an interpretation proved advantageous to the Cook County Court. Judge Pinckney, who presided over the court at that time, was not willing to assume complete responsibility for the selection of probation officers. He therefore instituted the practice, and his successors have followed it, of requesting a committee of citizens to prepare and conduct a competitive examination, and present an eligible list from which appointments are made. Social work executives, members of university faculties, people prominent in civic affairs have made up the committees. Thus, the real work of selection has been transferred from a relatively incompetent and inadequately informed public body to a highly skillful, well informed group of citizens. The probation staff is therefore carefully chosen on the basis of a quite rigid merit test. The minimum requirements for the position are indicated by those set in an examination advertised under date of March 2, 1925. They are:

Education: Four years of high school, or its educational equivalent.

Experience: One year of professional service in a social work agency of recognized standing, or one year of training in an accredited school of social work, including supervised field work, or a Bachelor of Arts degree.

The minimum age for the position is twenty-three.

The candidates were graded on three items: (1) a written examination on the Theory and Practice of the Juvenile Court; (2) experience; (3) an oral examination largely to give the examiners an opportunity to evaluate the personal qualifications of the candidates.

Since the examination is competitive, and only the upper group are appointed, the qualifications of the officers chosen are considerably above the minimum.

(b) *Visits.* In order to evaluate the work of the probation department in its treatment of delinquents assigned for supervision, a group of 168 current cases (88 boys and 80 girls) was read during November and December of 1927. Six factors were considered as indices of the character of the service rendered. Those six factors are: (1) length of time between

<sup>1</sup> 256 Ill. 616, *Witter v. The County Commissioners of Cook County*, et al.

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assignment of case and first visit by probation officer; (2) length of periods between the initial visit and subsequent visits; (3) previous contacts of the child with the court; (4) completeness of social investigation; (5) the plan of treatment; (6) the procedure of the officer in attempting to work out the plan. The cases read include a small sample from twenty-four officers handling girls' cases, and fourteen officers having boys under supervision. Among the cases of a given officer, selection was purely random. The findings have been checked against two sets of standards. The first are the standards set by the Children's Bureau Committee in 1921.<sup>1</sup> The second are those set up in 1919 by Chief Probation Officer Moss for the Cook County Court.<sup>2</sup>

The Children's Bureau Committee did not specify a period within which the first visit should be made. Mr. Moss laid down the rule that a first visit should be made within one week after the case was assigned. It would seem that the sooner definite contact can be established the better, both for the child and for the officer.

In the cases studied it was found that in only 22.5 per cent of the girls' cases and 22.61 per cent of the boys' cases was the initial visit made in less than one week, and that in 55 per cent of the girls' cases and 58.33 per cent of the boys' cases no visit was made until two weeks or more had elapsed. The average period between assignment and the initial visit was, for the girls' cases, 26.67 days, and for the boys, 25.4 days. Of the entire group of 168 cases, only seven were visited on the day of assignment.

Concerning the frequency of visits to probationers, once contact has been established, Mr. Moss said: "The Division Head shall specify the minimum number of visits on each case per month, and how frequently the child itself should be seen." This implies a visit at least once in every month, and seems to point toward more frequent visits for most cases. The Children's Bureau Committee set the standard at a visit at least every two weeks "except in very rare cases."

In the cases studied, there were involved a total of 963 periods between visits. Only 28.87 per cent of these were periods of fifteen days or less, and if one very exceptional case in which there appear forty-three periods of less than six days be discarded, the percentage falls to 25.54. That is to say, approximately three-fourths of the probation work being done falls below the minimum set by the Children's Bureau Committee in the matter of frequency of visits. The percentage of periods over thirty days for all of the cases was 41.85, and almost 10 per cent were longer than sixty days.

Space does not permit detailed summaries of the other items studied. Suffice it to say that approximately 60 per cent of the cases had been in contact with one or another branch of the Juvenile Court on one or more previous occasions. The social investigations, save for ten or twelve notable exceptions, had been reduced to a minimum of routine information covering home conditions, school record, circumstances surrounding the act complained of, nationality and language of parents, mental and physical defects.

<sup>1</sup> *Juvenile Court Standards*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Chief Probation Officer*, Cook County Juvenile Court Report, 1919, page 10.

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In some twenty cases this routine information was noticeably scanty. It is the testimony of several of the officers connected with the court (some of them probation officers) that in some instances social investigations are written up without a home visit, and sometimes entirely from an interview with the child. It is not suggested that this is the usual, or even frequent, procedure. That it can occur even in a small number of cases indicates the need of some more adequate provision for maintaining high standards in the matter of social investigation before hearing.<sup>1</sup>

In some cases officers were doing very excellent work in constructing and carrying out a definite plan for the children under their supervision. In a surprisingly large number, however, the plan of the probation officer did not go beyond an attempt to keep the child within the specific limits designated by the judge as the conditions of probation. Approximately 60 per cent of the cases read were in this latter group.

The situation as described above obviously calls for explanation. Are the probation officers of the Cook County Juvenile Court an inefficient, malingering group whose interests are elsewhere than with the children for whom they assume responsibility? Or do the conditions of their work make it impossible for them to achieve the standards set by authorities in the matter of effective probation service? The latter seems much more nearly accurate.

(c) Duty-Load. The first item, and probably the most significant, is the case count of the officers. Let it be remembered that the standards of the Children's Bureau Committee were established on the basis of a maximum case load of fifty. On November 30, 1927, only four of the fourteen men officers and three of the twenty-four women officers whose cases were read were carrying less than fifty cases. For the men officers, the average number of families involved in cases under special supervision and on probation was 48.14. In addition to these, they had an average of 8.21 current complaint cases, and an average of 10.8 cases on which social investigations were made during November.<sup>2</sup> The average for all types of cases was 67.15, the lowest number for any officer being 39, and the highest, 113. For the women officers, the average of families in cases involving special supervision and probation was somewhat higher (55.83) due to the larger proportion of dependency cases on their lists. Their responsibility for social investigations was much less, however, due to the fact that this work is done very largely by the Investigation Division. The average for all cases for the women officers was 66.67, the lowest number for any officer being 33, and the highest, 106.

A second factor is that of the completeness of the record. The analysis of probation service was of necessity based upon the contents of the record. Therefore, if the record did not contain a statement of all that was done

<sup>1</sup> For a complete statement of the Children's Bureau Committee on Juvenile Court Standards concerning social investigation, see: *U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 121*, pages 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> Edwin J. Cooley, Chief Probation Officer of the Court of General Sessions of New York City, has recently set up the following standard for preliminary investigation service: "A probation officer assigned exclusively to this investigating duty should not be required to make more than twelve preliminary investigations a month." Cooley, Edwin J., *Probation and Delinquency*, page 324.

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upon the case, our information is, to that degree, inaccurate. Two things conspire to make it difficult for the officers to keep their records complete and up to date. One is the lack of time and the other the lack of clerical service. Whereas the standard for stenographic service in both the United Charities of Chicago and of the Jewish Social Service Bureau is one typist to every three field workers, the Juvenile Court has only one typist to every five field workers. Dictation is, therefore, taken on the typewriter rather than in shorthand. This means, of course, that the record is made as soon as the material is dictated, but it also means that dictation must be slower. Each officer has two fifty-minute dictation periods per week, and an additional period during about four in every five weeks. A few of the officers have typewriters, and prefer to type their own records rather than to prepare their notes and dictate to a typist.

Add to the heavy case load, the time spent in court, the difficulties under which records are prepared, and the farther fact that there is in the probation department no system of case work supervision, and one can scarcely charge that negligence and inefficiency on the part of the staff are accountable for the shortcomings in probation work in the Cook County Juvenile Court.

(d) *Repeaters.* Certain questions are asked over and over again concerning the experiences of children who come before the court as delinquent. How many come back to the court? How many times do they come back? What proportion are placed on probation? What proportion are committed to institutions? How many of those committed have previously been on probation or under supervision of the court? How many are committed to more than one institution? How many are committed upon their first appearance in Court? How many, once released from an institution for delinquents, and, again appearing in court, are given non-institutional treatment?

In order to answer these questions the Juvenile Court records of an unselected group of 1,000 boys now 17 years of age or over, and 500 girls, now 18 years of age or over, were analyzed. In all but a very few of the cases studied, the first contact of the child and the court occurred since 1920. Since the records studied cover the entire period from the first contacts of the children with the court until they have passed beyond juvenile court age, they may be considered as representative of the experience of children who have come before the court during the past seven years.

Table 26 shows the number of cases among the thousand boys and the five hundred girls in which a specified order appears one or more times. Certain differences in the treatment of boys and girls appear at once. Whereas the number of boys committed to one or another of the three schools for boys was equal to 84.3 per cent of the total group, the number of girls committed was only 41 per cent of the entire group. However, when necessary deductions are made for the cases in which two or more types of institutional treatment appear, the percentage of individual boys who were committed to one or more institutions is 55.3; of the girls, 38.8. On the other hand, 69 per cent of the girls were on one or more occasions placed on probation from the court as against 48.7 per cent of the boys. The



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discrepancy in the proportion of boys and girls placed on probation is counterbalanced to a degree by the much larger number of boys who were placed under "supervision." Forty-four and seven-tenths per cent of the boys spent a period under supervision, while only 27.6 per cent of the girls were thus treated. This, however, probably reflects only a difference in policy on the part of the two judges who sat in the court during the period under consideration. It was the practice of Judge Victor P. Arnold during his years as judge in the Juvenile Court, rather than to enter a definite order placing a boy on probation, to continue his case for a period of from two to four months under "special supervision." This really amounts to a period of probationary supervision, and in the minds of some of the probation officers, calls for more careful guidance and help than does an official probation order. If to the percentages of those placed on probation there are added the percentages of the groups placed under supervision, the total for the boys' cases is 93.6 per cent and for the girls, 96.6 per cent. Probationary treatment, therefore, seems to have been given in about an equal proportion of cases among boys and girls.

TABLE 26. JUVENILE COURT CASES, CLASSIFIED BY COURT ORDERS

Summary of Court Orders entered in the cases of 1,000 boys, now 17 years or more of age, and 500 girls, now 18 years or more of age, giving numbers and percentages of cases in which a given order was entered one or more times.

Court order	Number of cases in which each order appears		Percentage of cases studied in which order appears <sup>a</sup>	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Dismissed .....	80	63	8.0	12.6
Continued generally .....	332	68	33.2	13.6
Legal guardian .....	83	82	8.3	16.4
Supervision .....	449	138	44.9	27.6
Probation .....	487	345	48.7	69.0
Chicago Parental School.....	230	15	23.0	3.0
Chicago and Cook County School for Boys....	410	—	41.0	—
St. Charles School for Boys.....	203	—	20.3	—
House of the Good Shepherd.....	—	101	—	20.2
Chicago Home for Girls.....	—	35	—	7.0
State Training School for Girls.....	—	54	—	10.8
Released from probation.....	361	239	36.1	47.8
Released permanently .....	319	119	31.9	23.8
Miscellaneous .....	14	6	1.4	1.2
Total .....	2,968	1,265		

<sup>a</sup> The percentages given are of the total cases, 1,000 boys and 500 girls, not of the number of cases in which a given order appears.

Tables 27 and 28 indicate the distribution of all orders entered in the cases studied. It is interesting to note that of the seventy boys who appeared before the court only once, 71.43 per cent were fifteen or sixteen years of age (41.43 per cent were sixteen). Of the seventy-one girls who made only one court appearance, however, the percentage in the two upper years of juvenile court age is only 36.23.

The question raised by the high percentage of boys fifteen and sixteen among those in whose cases only one court order was entered, is whether or not, as a well known lecturer and writer in the field of crime recently

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asserted, the best way to insure a boy's coming back to court is to take him into court the first time. Certainly the boy who appears in court only once is not the very young one who is "scared" by his experience, and ceases his delinquencies. As a comparative check, the ages at the time of their first court appearance of the first one hundred, alphabetically, of those who had three court orders to their credit were computed. Thirty-five per cent were under fourteen; twenty-eight per cent were fourteen; twenty-six per cent were fifteen; and eleven per cent were sixteen. One would, of course, expect relatively few boys of sixteen in this group, because of the obvious factor of time, since on reaching seventeen they are no longer of juvenile court age.

TABLE 27. JUVENILE COURT ORDERS, CLASSIFIED AS TO BOYS

Summary of court orders entered in the cases of 1,000 boys, now 17 years of age or more, classified by order and number of orders in each case.

Number of Court Orders	Total	Miscellaneous	Dismissed	Legal Guardian	Supervision	Probation	Chicago Pa-rental School	Chicago and Cook County School for Boys	St. Charles School for Boys	Continued Generally	Released from Probation	Permanent Release
Total	3,254	14	84	85	496	554	257	453	214	383	373	341
One	70	0	7	0	0	0	9	1	12	41	0	0
Two	628	0	9	22	95	107	14	75	33	92	99	82
Three	825	1	23	22	148	160	62	108	41	39	136	85
Four	568	5	16	12	80	89	54	94	50	66	42	60
Five	550	2	13	14	80	94	47	84	41	64	51	60
Six	258	2	4	6	40	36	36	40	17	34	15	28
Seven	182	3	4	5	21	40	18	24	9	25	19	14
Eight	80	0	2	2	15	10	9	14	4	13	5	6
Nine	63	1	6	1	11	13	5	7	5	6	4	4
Ten	30	0	0	1	6	5	3	6	2	3	2	2

TABLE 28. JUVENILE COURT ORDERS, CLASSIFIED AS TO GIRLS

Summary of court orders entered in the cases of 500 girls, now 18 years or more of age, classified by orders and number of orders in each case.

Number of Court Orders	Total	Miscellaneous	Dismissed	Legal Guardian	Supervision	Probation	Chicago Pa-rental School	House of the Good Shepherd	Chicago Home for Girls	Geneva	Continued Generally	Released from Probation	Permanent Release
Total	1,363	6	67	87	147	399	15	112	35	54	71	247	123
One	71	0	6	0	2	4	8	0	5	17	29	0	0
Two	380	0	23	1	29	124	3	17	11	13	12	116	31
Three	402	2	11	42	51	114	2	31	12	11	13	64	49
Four	204	1	7	22	26	65	1	20	3	7	2	29	21
Five	180	2	10	11	24	56	0	25	3	4	8	26	11
Six	54	0	4	2	10	15	1	6	1	1	3	7	4
Seven	28	0	3	3	1	9	0	6	0	1	0	3	2
Eight	24	1	2	3	1	7	0	4	0	0	2	1	3
Nine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ten	20	0	1	3	3	5	0	3	0	0	2	1	2

The number of recidivists is indicated by Tables 27 and 28. In 93 per cent of the boys' cases the court entered two or more orders, while three or more orders were entered in 61.6 per cent. Among the girls, only 85.8 per cent returned for a second order, and only 47.8 per cent received three or more court orders. In more than one-third of the boys' cases (34.1 per cent) the court made four or more definite dispositions. Among the girls, this

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percentage is only 21. Whatever else one may conclude from these facts, it is apparent that a great deal of time and effort of the Cook County Juvenile Court is taken up with the so-called "repeater."

### *(e) Sex.*

TABLE 29. JUVENILE COURT ORDERS, CLASSIFIED AS TO VOLUME AND SEX

Summary of court orders entered in the cases of 1,000 boys, now 17 years or more of age, and 500 girls, now 18 or more years of age, giving number and percentage in which specified numbers of orders were entered.

Number of Court Orders	Number		Percentage	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
One .....	70	71	7.0	14.2
Two .....	314	190	31.4	38.0
Three .....	275	134	27.5	26.8
Four .....	142	51	14.2	10.2
Five .....	110	36	11.0	7.2
Six .....	43	9	4.3	1.8
Seven .....	26	4	2.6	0.8
Eight .....	10	3	1.0	0.6
Nine .....	7	—	0.7	0.0
Ten .....	3	2	0.3	0.4
Total .....	1,000	500	100.0	100.0

TABLE 30. JUVENILE COURT CASES, CLASSIFIED AS TO MULTIPLE COMMITTALS AND SEX

Table showing for 1,000 boys, now 17 years or more of age, and 500 girls, 18 years or more of age, the number who were committed to two or more institutions.

Boys		Girls	
Chicago Parental School and Chicago and Cook County School for Boys.	81	Chicago Parental School and House of the Good Shepherd.....	1
Chicago Parental School and St. Charles School for Boys.....	20	House of the Good Shepherd and Chicago Home for Girls.....	2
Chicago and Cook County School for Boys and St. Charles School for Boys .....	75	House of the Good Shepherd and State Training School for Girls..	5
Chicago Parental School, Chicago and Cook County School for Boys and St. Charles School for boys..	57	Chicago Home for Girls and State Training School for Girls.....	3
Total .....	233	Total .....	11

In a previous paragraph, sec. 25, sub-sec. D, it was indicated that 55.3 per cent, or 553 of the 1,000 boys studied had been in one or more institutions one or more times, and that 38.8 per cent, or 194 of the girls had had institutional experience. These 553 boys accounted for a total of 924 institutional commitments, whereas the commitments of the 194 girls total 216. Tables 29 and 30 present a rather marked contrast in the proportion of boys and girls who were committed to two or more institutions. Translated into percentages, 23.3 per cent of the boys and 2.2 per cent of the girls had experience in two or more institutions. Of the number committed, those who were sent to two or more institutions number among the boys, 42.13 per cent and among the girls, 5.66 per cent. Whatever the causes, these comparisons indicate that whereas the correctional schools for boys pass

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their problems on to the next institution in over 40 per cent of the cases, the schools for girls almost never do.

#### *(f) Place of Committal.*

Tables 31, 32, and 33 record an attempt to answer certain questions concerning the sequence of treatment accorded by the court. Since Chicago Parental School does not receive children who are technically delinquents, it seemed a more enlightening procedure to leave that institution out of consideration in compiling the data for these tables.

The total number of boys committed either to Chicago and Cook County School for Boys or to St. Charles, or to both, was 481. Of this number, as indicated in Table 31, 232, or 48.44 per cent, had previously spent a period either on probation or supervision or both. It appears (Table 32) that 132 boys were committed to one of the correctional schools upon their first appearance in court. The remaining 117 had had at least one previous court order entered other than probation or supervision. In most cases, these orders were a general continuance, commitment to Chicago Parental School, or the appointment of a legal guardian. Thus 349, or 72.72 per cent, of the boys committed to the two schools for delinquents had undergone some other form of treatment by order of the court before they were sent to the school. This leaves a considerable group, 27.28 per cent, whom the court saw fit to commit without attempting some less drastic form of treatment.

TABLE 31. JUVENILE COURT CASES, CLASSIFIED AS TO COMMITTAL  
PRECEDED BY PROBATION

Table showing among 1,000 boys, now 17 years or more of age, and 500 girls, now 18 years or more of age, the numbers of those committed to institutions who had previously been on probation or supervision from the court.

Institution	Total	Previous Supervision		
		Previous Supervision	Previous Probation	and Probation
Chicago and Cook County School for Boys.....	124	49	34	41
St. Charles School for Boys.....	39	14	18	7
Chicago and Cook County School for Boys and St. Charles School for Boys.....	69	25	23	21
Total Boys' Cases.....	232	88	75	69
House of the Good Shepherd.....	39	12	17	10
Chicago Home for Girls.....	5	3	0	2
State Training School for Girls.....	24	3	19	2
House of the Good Shepherd and State Training School for Girls .....	2	—	2	—
Chicago Home for Girls and State Training School for Girls.....	—	—	—	—
Total Girls' Cases.....	70	18	38	14

The treatment sequence among the girls, in so far as probation, supervision, and correctional school commitment are involved, varied quite markedly from that found among the boys. The total number of girls committed to one or more of the correctional schools was 180. Seventy of these, or 38.89 per cent, had been previously on probation, under super-

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vision, or both. This is almost 10 per cent less than among the boys. One hundred three, 57.22 per cent, of the girls sent to correctional schools were committed upon first appearance in court. This is in contrast to the 27.28 per cent among the boys. For only 7 of the girls committed, had the court prescribed some form of treatment other than probation or supervision before committing to a correctional school. Whereas, then, 72.72 per cent of the boys committed had been given some previous type of treatment by the court, this percentage among the girls was only 42.78.

TABLE 32. JUVENILE COURT CASES, CLASSIFIED AS TO COMMITTAL FOLLOWED BY PROBATION

Table showing among 1,000 boys, now 17 years or more of age, and 500 girls, now 18 years or more of age, the numbers of those committed to institutions for delinquents who were subsequently placed on probation or supervision from the court.

Institution	Total	Subsequent Supervision	Subsequent Probation	Subsequent Supervision and Probation
<b>Boys' Cases:</b>				
Chicago and Cook County School for Boys .....	58	17	25	16
St. Charles School for Boys.....	9	3	4	2
Chicago and Cook County School for Boys and St. Charles School for Boys	3	2	—	1
<b>Total boys' cases.....</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Girls' Cases:</b>				
House of the Good Shepherd.....	62	1	55	6
Chicago Home for Girls.....	12	—	12	—
State Training School for Girls.....	5	—	4	1
House of the Good Shepherd and Chicago Home for Girls.....	1	—	1	—
House of the Good Shepherd and State Training School for Girls.....	1	1	—	—
Chicago Home for Girls and State Training School for Girls.....	—	—	—	—
<b>Total girls' cases.....</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>7</b>

TABLE 33. JUVENILE COURT CASES, CLASSIFIED AS TO INITIAL COMMITTAL FOLLOWED BY PROBATION

Table showing among 1,000 boys, now 17 years or more of age, and 500 girls, now 18 years or more of age, the number whose initial court order was commitment to an institution for delinquents, specifying the number subsequently placed on probation or supervision from the court.

Institution		Subsequent Supervision, Probation or Both		
		With Second Commitment	Without Second Commitment	Others
Boys' Cases:				
Chicago and Cook County School for Boys .....	106	10	10	86
St. Charles School for Boys.....	26	2	4	20
Total boys' cases.....	132	12	14	106
Girls' Cases:				
House of the Good Shepherd.....	54	7	26	21
Chicago Home for Girls.....	25	3	5	17
State Training School for Girls.....	24	—	2	22
Total girls' cases.....	103	10	33	60

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(g) *Supervision.* To what extent does the court make use of probation and supervision in the cases of children who have served a period in one of the correctional schools? Table 31 indicates the answer to this question as applied to the cases studied. Let it be noted that the figures do not mean the same thing for the boys' as for the girls' cases. Both of the correctional schools for boys provide persons to supervise boys on parole. This service is not provided by the two privately controlled schools for girls. Hence, a good many girls are placed on probation immediately upon their release from the House of the Good Shepherd or The Chicago Home for Girls. This probation period is, therefore, a period of after-care supervision. In the boys' cases, subsequent probationary treatment is usually accorded because of some further delinquency. Seventy of the boys, or 14.55 per cent of the institutional group, were placed on probation, under supervision, or both, at some time after release from a correctional school. The percentage of institutional cases among the girls thus treated was found to be 45.

26. *Chicago and  
Cook County  
School for Boys.*

In addition to the State School for Boys at St. Charles there is available for the Juvenile Court of Cook County, the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys. This school was opened on October 2, 1916, to take the place of the John Worthy School, which had been operated for a long time by the Chicago Board of Education inside the City House of Correction. The John Worthy School was, in turn, an outgrowth of a school for boys established in 1893 in the Cook County Jail, and maintained by the Chicago Women's Club.<sup>1</sup> The school is located outside the city limits of Chicago on a 75-acre tract of land lying within the Village of Riverside. The capacity of the institution is 129.

(a) *Purpose.* The primary function of the school is to provide for delinquent boys of juvenile court age, who, in the judgment of the court, will profit by a brief period of institutional training. It was the belief of those who were responsible for founding the school, that psychiatrist, psychologist, and social worker working together with teacher, house father and mother, and other members of the staff, could do much toward reshaping the habits and attitudes of delinquent boys. A behavior clinic was therefore projected as the central element in the school's program, about which other activities were to revolve. That is to say, there were two things which seemed completely inadequate in the former institutional facilities at the court's disposal for dealing with delinquent boys. One was the obvious thing of unsatisfactory and demoralizing housing. That the City House of Correction is not a suitable place for the detention and training of boys between the ages of 10 and 17 needs no proof. The second thing was not so obvious, but much more important; viz., the lack of provision for skilled diagnosis of the child's conduct and for carrying out treatment based upon that diagnosis. This second thing was to have been provided in the behavior clinic. The original appropriation for buildings and equipment was made in 1915. Before the work was well begun prices both of labor and building materials rose to such heights that two of the projected dormitory-cottages were never

<sup>1</sup> For a complete statement concerning the antecedents and history of the school, see Hirsh, Elizabeth, *A Study of the Chicago School for Boys*, pp. 3-13.

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built. The building which had been planned as a behavior clinic and receiving ward was transformed into a kitchen and dining room, with a dormitory-cottage unit on the upper floor. Thus, in the interest of economy, the one element in the program of the school as planned which held out the hope of success through skillful and scientific procedure was set aside.

As the school was finally organized, the person on the staff who is responsible for planning the program of training for each boy is an elementary school principal assigned as superintendent of the school. If a school principal is a skillful diagnostician of behavior problem children, and of situations out of which delinquency arises, and can prescribe successfully both a course of training and after care which results in the satisfactory adjustment of the boy in his environment, it is a gift of the gods and not the result of professional training. The school principal's training is designed to fit him for the administration of a day-school for normal pupils; not to carry out a project in specialized social service and habit and character retraining.

The Chicago and Cook County School for Boys, then, is not the sort of institution which the people who planned it intended it should be. This should be borne in mind in evaluating the facts which follow.

(b) *Time of Detention.* Legally there is neither a maximum nor a minimum time which boys must stay at the school. Practice has, however, fixed a theoretical minimum of three months, with further time added if the boy's record is not good. This theoretical minimum has not been maintained, due to the large number of commitments and of parole violations. In his 1927 report, Superintendent George B. Masslich says: "The length of stay here is determined more largely by the need of a free bed than by the progress of the training which we have begun. Character is of slow growth—it cannot be hurried. There is need for composure and perseverance—whereas the actual effect is that of interruption and unrest."<sup>1</sup>

In his 1926 report, after commenting upon the large number of boys recalled for violation of parole he says: "This necessitates cutting down the average length of stay a little more than six weeks."<sup>2</sup>

Thus the actual period of training is exactly half as long as the minimum time a boy is supposed, by common consent of court and superintendent, to remain at the school. It is to be noted that the six weeks' average is computed on the basis of official action and does not include the large number who leave the school as runaways for long or brief periods.

This very rapid turnover is indicated by some figures for the calendar year 1925:<sup>3</sup>

Original commitments .....	462
Recalled by court for violation of parole.....	111
Recalled without court action for violation of parole.....	384

(c) *Parole.* The total number of parole violators for the year exceeded by 33 the original commitments. The number of parole violations appears to have been increasing rather than decreasing during 1926, for Superin-

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Superintendent for the year ending June 30, 1927, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Superintendent for the year ending June 30, 1926, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Report of the Superintendent for the year ending June 30, 1926, p. 8.

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tendent Masslich goes on to say: "Boys are often recalled for violation of parole without another court hearing. There were 384 such cases in 1925, and at the present rate there will be a hundred more than that in 1926."<sup>1</sup>

In addition to this very rapid official turnover, there is an amazing amount of informal leave-taking and returning at the school. The writer, in September, 1926, tabulated from the daily record sheets of the school the population movement for the first eight months of that year; the following Table 34, indicates the results:

TABLE 34. POPULATION MOVEMENT AT CHICAGO AND COOK COUNTY SCHOOL FOR BOYS DURING THE FIRST EIGHT MONTHS OF THE YEAR, 1926

Month	Committed	At Large	Returned	Recalled	Paroled
January .....	48	61	42	16	56
February .....	49	36	38	11	63
March .....	46	46	32	22	53
April .....	26	59	49	31	55
May .....	39	69	42	11	36
June .....	48	64	46	25	34
July .....	28	72	50	16	37
August .....	20	65	43	19	21
Total .....	304	472	342	151	355

Three of the captions in Table 34 need strict definition. The term "at large" includes all cases of boys who have left the grounds of Chicago and Cook County School for Boys without specific permission or order, or who have failed to return to the school either from work, from an errand, from high school, or from a visit at the appointed time. The caption "returned" indicates that a boy has, either voluntarily or under persuasion or police effort, come back from "at large." "Recalled" refers to boys who have been called back to the school for breach of parole. Recommitments are listed in the "committed" column. Thus the boys sent by the court because of parole violation are not separately listed since the day to day record did not give the reason for recommitment.

This Table 34 brings to light a few significant ratios. The ratio between paroles and recalls is approximately two and one-third to one. Thus for every seven boys paroled three were recalled for breach of parole. When there is added to this number another group of paroled boys who are committed to St. Charles, having been apprehended for some serious offense, or having been paroled several times, and having failed each time to make good, the ratio of failures to successes becomes still higher. In 1926 there were 135 such cases.<sup>2</sup>

(d) *Escapes.* If half of the boys committed to the school, under the influence of the training received, were paroled and never returned to the courts but became law-abiding, useful citizens, probably one would have only words of commendation for the work done. The ratio between recalls and paroles, however, by no means tells the whole story. Perhaps the most striking thing revealed by the table is the extremely large number of informal

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Superintendent for the year ending June 30, 1927, p. 19.



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departures from the school. Assuming the first eight months of 1926 to be a reasonably accurate index of the ebb and flow at the school, the accumulated excess of runaways over returns would, in the course of a year, total 195. This excess of runaways over returns is, for the period studied, slightly greater than two-fifths (42.76 per cent) of the total number of commitments.

This does not mean that 42.76 per cent of all boys committed escape and are never apprehended. If, however, it is assumed that boys committed and boys recalled run away in equal proportions (and the records show no striking difference between the two groups in this respect) the excess of runaways over returns is equal to 28.57 per cent of the total additions to the population of the school.

Thus, boys arriving at Chicago and Cook County School, either committed, recommitted, or recalled, have better than a one to four chance of missing whatever training, and escaping whatever penalty, attaches to a period of residence there.

Superintendent Masslich insists that it is natural for the boys to want to run as soon as they are released from the atmosphere of force and coercion to which they are subjected by police and court, and that he is "losing no sleep" over the matter of runaways. The apprehension and return of so large a number of runaway boys does, however, absorb a great deal of time and effort on the part of parole officers, police, Juvenile Detention Home officials, and, when new offenses are committed while at large, of the court. Members of the staff at the school offer a number of suggestions in an attempt to characterize and account for the runaways. These suggestions resolve themselves for the most part into two general misapprehensions: (1) There are a few boys who run away again and again. They are chronic runaways and are the ones who account for most of the cases of "at large." (2) The runaway situation really is not as serious as it looks, because most of the boys are gone only a few hours or over night and are picked up or return alone.

A count of the cases of "at large" on the part of the first hundred boys, listed alphabetically, resident at Chicago and Cook County School on September 11, 1926, shows the following facts. The numbers that follow, when they apply to individuals, may be considered as percentages of the school's population. Sixty-six cases of "at large" are reported on the part of forty-seven boys. Thirty-five boys had run away once, six had gone twice, five had left the school three times, and one had four departures to his credit. In twenty-three cases the boy had stayed away one day or less, while in twenty-nine instances he had been absent for a week or more. Thirteen cases appear in which the boy was gone more than one day, but less than one week. In the twenty-nine cases when the boy was at large for a week or more, the length of the period of absence in days in the order in which the cards appear in the alphabetical file are: 17, 11, 41, 100, 100, 15, 93, 23, 14, 99, 14, 13, 18, 18, 10, 20, 14, 9, 57, 58, 24, 8, 7, 17, 17, 25, 12, 19, 40. This sample of 100, includes, of course, only the boys who do not make a permanent getaway.

Some tabulations from the records of 100 boys resident at Chicago and Cook County School on September 1, 1923, compiled by Miss Elizabeth Hirsh, a student in the Graduate School of Social Service Administration

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of the University of Chicago, present further evidence concerning the runaway situation at the school.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 35. DEPARTURES FROM THE CHICAGO AND COOK COUNTY SCHOOL FOR BOYS, CLASSIFIED BY CAUSE

	Number of Departures
Ran away <sup>1</sup> .....	53
"At large" <sup>1</sup> .....	50
Not reported <sup>2</sup> .....	88
Placed on farms .....	3
Sent to camp .....	1
Paroled .....	119
Released by Juvenile Court .....	4
Released by Chicago and Cook County School for Boys .....	1
Total .....	319

<sup>1</sup> The items "at large" and "ran away" both indicate absence from the school without permission.

<sup>2</sup> Probably most of the 88 departures listed here were runaways.

TABLE 36. DEPARTURES, CLASSIFIED AS TO REPETITION (SCHOOL FOR BOYS)

Number of Departures	Number of Boys
One .....	26
Two .....	19
Three .....	15
Four .....	12
Five .....	14
Six .....	5
Seven .....	5
Eight .....	1
Nine .....	1
Ten .....	1
Total .....	99

(e) *Management.* Three things seem primarily responsible for the chaotic situation in this school. They are: (1) The limitations of plant and staff imposed in the interest of economy. (2) The very brief period for which commitments are made. (3) The uninteresting and inadequate program at the school.

A fourth factor which serves as a sort of general limiting condition is that of triple responsibility and dual control. A brief statement concerning this seems necessary for the sake of clarity. The City of Chicago paid for all of the buildings at the school except the School Building. The Board of Education of the City of Chicago built the school building, and, from 1916 to 1925, paid all salaries. The County of Cook assumed responsibility for all maintenance items except the upkeep of the school building which was maintained by the Board of Education. This system of operation was not based upon any written agreement. It continued under an oral understanding except for the actual bond issues and trust deed to the land. On December 22, 1924, the Board of Education passed a resolution expressing dissatisfaction with the heavy load of expense which the school entailed,

<sup>1</sup> Hirsh, Elizabeth Frances, *A Study of the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys* (unpublished thesis), pp. 71 and 76.

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and stating their intention, after January 1, 1925, of contributing no more to the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys than the amount necessary to educate an equal number of normal pupils in the Chicago public schools plus the amount allowed by the state for the education of children presenting particular problems. The Cook County Board of Commissioners countered with an offer to assume a considerably larger share of the maintenance cost than they had previously done. An agreement by joint resolution was finally reached on May 22, 1925, in which the three municipal corporations involved reached the following agreement to continue in effect through the year 1930.

"FIRST: The City of Chicago shall construct and erect such additional building or buildings as shall be required or necessary to house the juvenile delinquents confined at said institution, and shall pay all special assessments assessed against the realty described in the deed above mentioned.

"SECOND: The Board of Education of the City of Chicago shall appropriate, pay and provide for the teaching force and educational requirements of each and all juvenile delinquents confined at said institution, together with a superintendent, family instructors, assistant family instructors, parole officers, cooks, farm hands, and shall furnish all educational supplies and text books, and shall maintain the school building erected by it.

"THIRD: That the County of Cook shall appropriate, pay and provide for all supplies, consisting of food and clothing, and shall furnish heat, water and light, and such other requirements as are necessary to properly provide for the maintenance of the school children and the employees of the institution, and shall maintain all buildings erected by the City of Chicago, and shall appropriate, pay and provide for engineers, firemen and watchmen."

The future of the school, then, so far as present arrangements are concerned, does not extend beyond December 31, 1930. Consequently those responsible for the planning and administration of the school are placed in a position which makes impossible any program of expansion or reorganization until a more or less permanent program for control and maintenance is agreed upon.

(f) *Treatment of Boys.* Items (1) and (2) have been discussed. There remains only item (3). Factors (1) and (2) have a direct and definite effect upon the progress of the school. However, within the limits imposed by budget, equipment, and necessity for admitting boys from the court, the program at the Chicago and Cook County School presents very definite inadequacies. A few brief statements will serve to describe the more important features of the school's activities.

(*Admission*) Boys are taken from the Juvenile Detention Home in the school truck by one of the family instructors. Upon arrival, they are taken into the office where they are assigned to cottages by the superintendent's secretary. The office boy is then sent to the various cottages with lists of the boys assigned to each. The family instructor in charge of each cottage then either goes in person to the office and gets his charges, or sends one of the boys to escort the new arrivals to the cottage. Boys usually arrive in the late afternoon. The following morning the superintendent meets the new boys as a group and tells them certain things about the routine of the

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school, what is expected of them, and that their conduct will determine the length of their stay. Each boy then goes to the appropriate schoolroom and begins work.

The obvious lack here is of any vital personal contact with each incoming boy. The only knowledge the superintendent can have concerning the individual boy's problems he gets from the record of the juvenile court. The time and effort involved in a personal interview with each boy would not be very great, and would be of tremendous value both to the superintendent and the boy. With something less than 500 new admissions per year, such interviews would average only about nine or ten per week.

*(Academic Program)* The prescribed course of study for Chicago Elementary schools is followed in the regular classroom work. In addition there is one manual training teacher and a science teacher in charge of a small tinker shop and science laboratory. This latter is very meagerly equipped. There is a special room for backward pupils in charge of a very competent woman. School hours are from 9 a. m. to 3:15 p. m. with the usual recess period at 10.30 and the noon hour at 12.

Since the length of stay at the school is so brief, little can be attempted in the matter of special education. It would seem, however, that a considerable amount could be accomplished by the introduction of some materials definitely designed to meet the interest of the boys. Reading, language and arithmetic afford perhaps the best opportunity for some modified subject matter. For example, boys of fourteen and fifteen years of age somewhat retarded in reading ability could probably learn to read more successfully, using subject matter which bore some relation to their lives and interests than by reading the fairy stories designed for children three and four years younger than they.

*(Recreation)* The school has no recreation director. The boys are free to play from 3:15 to 5:30 and from 6:15 to 8:00 each day. It is only within the past year that any effort has been made toward directing the play of the boys. Previously, on sunny, dry, days the boys played aimlessly at whatever they chose to enter into except for an occasional trip to the swimming hole or the movies, chaperoned by one of the family instructors. After school in inclement weather all of the boys were sent together into the gymnasium where a veritable bedlam prevailed until supper time. At the suggestion of one of the family instructors this practice was abandoned. Each cottage group now has a portion of the period in the gymnasium. Since there are only three cottages, the play period is sufficiently long, and the procedure is much more orderly. The use of leisure time is so important in the shaping of character that in a correctional school it appears well-nigh criminally stupid to permit play hours to be spent in so aimless a fashion.

*(Work)* There is a considerable amount of work which must, of necessity, be done outside the cottages, gardening and farming on the fifty acres of cultivated land, shoveling coal from cars and in the power house, keeping the grounds in order, and assisting in the dining room and kitchen involve no small amount of effort. This work is done either by permanent details of boys over 14 who have completed the 7th grade or by temporary details recruited from the classrooms of the school. Aside from his share

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of effort in keeping the dormitory and school building in order, no boy is compelled to do any work, unless as punishment, in which case he is compelled to do some obviously unnecessary work such as scrubbing a floor which has just been scrubbed.

Both temporary and permanent work details are voluntary. The principal incentive offered, apart from avoiding classroom attendance, is the accumulation of merits which counterbalance demerits incurred because of bad behavior or ineffective work in cottage or classroom. When a temporary detail is needed, the person wanting help (farmer, engineer, cook) sends word to the office that a certain number of boys are needed for a certain task. The secretary or superintendent sends the message on to one or another of the classrooms. The teacher then calls for volunteers. If enough are not found in one classroom, the quota is made up in one of the others. Provision for work and training of a definitely vocational character are greatly needed.

(g) *Release and After-Care.* The majority of the boys committed to the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys leave the institution on parole. A few are released by the Juvenile Court upon attaining the age of seventeen. For the supervision and after-care of paroled boys, the Board of Education employs six parole officers. They are appointed through the City Civil Service Commission. One of them spends most of his time at the court and Detention Home, leaving five to do the actual field work. The parole agents are not trained social workers. The educational requirement for the position is merely a grammar-school training, while the experience requirement is only that of some practical experience in handling boys. Parole officers do not become acquainted with the boys for whom they assume responsibility until after the boy has left the school. It was the unanimous statement of the parole officers interviewed that so much of their time was consumed in apprehending and returning runaways that very little time was left for constructive effort.

### 27. *Private Institutional Care for Delinquent Girls.*

For many years, two private institutions in Chicago have played a most important part in the treatment of delinquent girls. They are: The House of the Good Shepherd and The Chicago Home for Girls. The former takes only Catholic girls; the latter, except for an occasional pregnant Catholic girl, and a few Jewish girls, takes only Protestant. Because each receives a considerable share of its population through commitment by the Juvenile Court on petitions alleging delinquency, no picture of the treatment of delinquents in Cook County would be complete without a discussion of these institutions.

Their importance appears at once upon examining the following Table 37, which shows the numbers of delinquent girls committed over a ten year period to the three institutions, the State Training School at Geneva, The House of the Good Shepherd and The Chicago Home for Girls.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The figures in this table are taken from the *Annual Report of the Cook County Juvenile Court*, 1926, p. 40.

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TABLE 37. JUVENILE COURT COMMITTALS, CLASSIFIED AS TO INSTITUTIONS

Institution	Year									
	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
State Training School.....	85	97	115	84	50	48	27	26	48	59
House of the Good Shepherd 137	145	147	100	132	76	88	86	99	100	
Chicago Home for Girls.....	57	44	39	31	54	28	53	44	54	52
Total .....	279	286	301	215	236	152	168	156	201	211

From the table it appears that during the ten year period 1917-1926, 50.34 per cent of the girls committed as delinquents were sent to the House of the Good Shepherd, 20.68 per cent to the Chicago Home for Girls, and 28.98 per cent to the State Training School for Girls at Geneva.

28. *Same: The House of the Good Shepherd.*<sup>1</sup>

The House of the Good Shepherd in Chicago is one of a large number of houses throughout Europe and America. They are maintained and administered by the Order of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd. The mother house of this order is in Angers, France, and stands at the head of the order. Between the mother house and the local houses stand the provincial houses, which exercise certain controls over the local houses. For example, the provincial house furnishes nuns for the local houses, while the Mother Superior is chosen directly by the mother house in France.

The aim of this order is "to provide a shelter for girls and women of dissolute habits, who wish to do penance for their iniquities and to lead a truly Christian life, and to secure children from danger before they have fallen or have been stained by serious crime."<sup>2</sup> Both voluntary penitents and those committed by parental or civil authority are received. In addition to the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, the sisters of the order take a fourth vow, "to work for the conversion and instruction of penitents." However, there are certain sisters of the order who are called *Touriere Sisters*, who are not cloistered, and who do not take the fourth vow. They perform the necessary duties outside the cloister, attend the door, etc. The vows of the order are renewed every year for five years before they become perpetual.

The Chicago house was established upon the request of the Bishop of the Diocese of Chicago in 1867. The House of the Good Shepherd is not, however, under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Chicago, since the order is an independent one, the mother house being directly under the Holy See.

The staff of the House of the Good Shepherd consists of forty-five nuns. Each of these has, before her assignment to regular duty, spent a novitiate of two and one-half years in the provincial house at St. Louis. The training period is divided into two parts. The first year and a half are spent in "intensive spiritual training," and the remaining year in work with the girls

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, all statements concerning the House of the Good Shepherd are taken from an unpublished manuscript by Miss Bessie Weibel. Miss Weibel's information was secured from the records of the Juvenile Court and from numerous conversations and observations at the House of the Good Shepherd.

<sup>2</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume VI, p. 647.

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under the supervision of older nuns. If during the years of her novitiate, any novice proves to be unsuited for the work of the order, she either leaves voluntarily or is dismissed. Thus, the staff is a trained one. The efficiency of the training might be questioned, just as might the whole theory upon which the institution is founded, namely, that character can be transformed through a course of spiritual training whose efficiency depends upon specific religious beliefs. Certainly the theory upon which the program at the House of the Good Shepherd is organized is not the modern one of skillful individual diagnosis and treatment. Certainly, too, the cloistered nun cannot but be out of touch, and, to a degree out of sympathy, with much that enters into the lives of the girls for whom she cares.

At the House of the Good Shepherd there is no upper age limit. The lower limit is eight years. The entire population is separated into two divisions, the senior and junior. The names applied to the divisions are somewhat misleading, since age is not a factor in classification. The senior division is made up of girls who have been sexually immoral, and the junior division of those who have not, regardless of age. However, since the sex delinquents are usually the older girls, this basis of classification does affect a substantial separation according to age. There were, in November, 1927, one hundred eighty girls in the senior division, and one hundred sixty-five in the junior division. The programs in the two divisions are quite different. In the senior division there is less schooling, more work, and less recreation than in the junior division.

The activities of the senior division center about the laundry and the shop where lampshades are made. Girls under sixteen, and those over sixteen who choose to do so, and who improve their time while there, attend school two hours per day. The rest spend seven and one-half hours per day in regular employment. About forty girls, on account of their health, do light work in the laundry or make silk lampshades for a firm outside. Of the other 140, about two-thirds are employed in the laundry where work is done on a commercial basis for private families and for the Edgewater Beach Hotel. The rest do house-cleaning and work in the kitchen and dining room.

Though discipline is strict, it cannot be called severe. The respect which most of the girls have for all nuns is an important aid toward good behavior. When disciplinary problems arise, they are dealt with by withholding privileges and by assessing "bad marks," which result in further deprivation of privileges. The rules of the order strictly forbid slapping and confinement alone in a room as a means of punishment. Disciplinary measures are similar in both divisions.

In the junior division, all girls attend school three hours per day and work in the sewing room three hours, with an additional forty-five minutes in the sewing room for those over twelve years of age. Within the junior division there is a still further division in the sewing rooms. Those over twelve are in the "junior" sewing room. Outside firms furnish materials which are made up into hand embroidered table runners, luncheon sets, handkerchiefs, etc. They also do a great deal of crocheting, some making of artificial flowers, and occasionally other work such as tying strings to

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small tags, or making small yarn ornaments for women's coat collars. All of the work is sold, and helps to maintain the institution.

The House of the Good Shepherd gives no after care to released girls. The Big Sisters often assist girls who have been released, and a good many of those committed by the Juvenile Court are upon release placed under the supervision of a probation officer. The decision as to whether a girl shall or shall not be placed on probation after her release rests with the deputy chief probation officer, who considers all of the data available in making a decision. Girls who are eighteen, or nearly eighteen, are not placed under a probation officer for after-care supervision. Girls of thirteen and fourteen are usually given supervisory care. For the ages between thirteen and eighteen, other factors are the deciding ones.

29. *Same: The Chicago Home for Girls.*<sup>1</sup>

This institution was granted a charter on February 16, 1865, as the Erring Women's Refuge for Reform. Its purpose as stated in the charter is "the relief and protection, care and reformation of such erring females as either voluntarily place themselves under the care of the refuge, or are so placed by their parents or guardian, or by a municipal corporation, or otherwise according to law."<sup>2</sup> The institution has a board of trustees who have in charge all financial affairs, and the management of all properties, endowments, etc. About 64 per cent of the home's income is from real estate and capital investments. The policies of management are vested in a board of managers of thirty-four women. It is they who employ the superintendent, decide, through an admissions committee, upon matters of admission, and determine matters of general administration.

The immediate program and policies of the home are the responsibility of the superintendent. The present superintendent had considerable experience in work with girls in institutions before her appointment at the Chicago Home for Girls some six years ago. The staff, in addition, consists of an assistant superintendent, physician, probation officer, nurse, playground worker, kitchen supervisor, laundry supervisor, night supervisor, three matrons, and, on part time, a dentist, pediatrician, and eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist. The staff within the home have not had specific training for their work, but seem to be quite sympathetic. Their numbers are so small that the superintendent can keep in very close touch with them.

The capacity of the home is seventy-six, and it is usually filled to capacity. A majority of the girls are committed by the Juvenile Court, a few by the Municipal Court, and a few upon the request of parents or guardian.

The routine at the home, when compared with similar institutions, is a very easy one. The time of rising is one hour later than at the House of the

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, all statements concerning the Chicago Home for Girls are taken from an unpublished manuscript by Miss Mona Volkert. Miss Volkert's information was secured from the records of the Juvenile Court, the Annual Reports of the Institution, and from conversations and observations at the Home.

<sup>2</sup> *Charter*, The Erring Women's Refuge for Reform, Sec. 2.



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Good Shepherd, and work ceases an hour and a half earlier in the evening. School attendance is limited to a half-day rather than the full day of children outside. The school is a branch of the Lucy Flower School, and the quality of work done, both in elementary, commercial, and high school seems to be very good. No work is done on a commercial basis. Girls are given training in sewing, cooking, and laundry work, but the products of their work are consumed inside the home.

The principal feature in the discipline and management of Chicago Home for Girls is the system of self-government. It is quite elaborately organized, and very closely supervised by the superintendent. Through its channels girls are deprived of privileges for misconduct, failure to observe rules, etc. Miss Embree, the superintendent, considers the self-government scheme particularly valuable in developing self-reliance, social responsibility and group loyalty. Its advantages are greater and its difficulties less in a small group such as that at the Chicago Home for Girls than in a larger institution. Considerable emphasis is placed upon religion, chapel service being part of the daily routine, and a mid-week religious service conducted every Wednesday evening.

The superintendent is the only person who deals directly with the girls in an attempt to bring about character changes. Girls are forbidden to talk of their past, except with the superintendent. Matrons are not allowed to read the girl's Juvenile Court records, nor are they told anything of the specific behavior difficulties of their charges. A great deal of emphasis is placed upon personal conversations with the girls. These seem, however, to be conducted somewhat planlessly, and depend for their value upon the chance skill of the superintendent.

A brief excerpt from Miss Volkert's paper suggests much concerning the attitude and methods employed in dealing with the girls.

"The meals of the staff differ from those of the girls in quality as well as in variety. The staff members, for example, have cream whereas the girls have whole milk, the staff members have a cooked vegetable and a salad for dinner whereas the girls usually have two cooked vegetables. The superintendent thinks it very important for the girls to realize that their age and experience do not qualify them for the same quality of meal as that served to the staff members. She believes that an important factor in the delinquency of many of these girls is that their parents and other superiors have treated them as equals; part of her treatment, therefore, is to make them realize that they are 'only children.' When girls occasionally complain of receiving inferior food she points out to them that as a child she did not share meals prepared for her father, and that as they grow older and more experienced, their time will come also."

The Chicago Home for Girls, like the House of the Good Shepherd, has no provision for after care of released girls. The visiting committee of the board of managers does some sporadic visiting, but their work is by no means adequate. The probation officers of the Juvenile Court, as in the case of girls released from the House of the Good Shepherd, sometimes assume supervision.

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30. *Truancy and  
Incorrigibility of  
School Children  
in Chicago.*

Although the Juvenile Court law of Illinois sets a definite minimum age of ten years before which no child can be declared delinquent, there is no magic in the mere attainment of age ten.

The beginnings of delinquency may appear at any age between one and ten, and probably do appear much earlier than ten in most cases. The school is the first community agency to assume continuing supervision over the child. Between six and ten the home and the school are the two institutions normally responsible for the conservation of the child's character. If the home completely breaks down, some private or public child-caring agency may come in to care for the children. If the school, however, fails to give adequate attention to the conduct problems which present themselves while children are in school, or are supposed to be in school, the responsibility rests with the community, and, more directly with those to whom the community delegates the responsibility of planning and operating the educational program. It must be remembered that much of the truant and so-called "incorrigible" conduct of school children is chargeable to the school program and to the teacher, quite as much as to the child. In other words, a great many of the behavior problems of school children first arise as a more or less normal reaction within the situation as it exists. The tremendous importance of checking and correcting tendencies toward misconduct and delinquency as soon as they appear is a thing upon which everybody is agreed. The methods by which this is to be accomplished, however, afford a basis for very serious disagreement. To the misbehaving and truant child, the school system of the city of Chicago has given wholly inadequate attention.

Upon the Juvenile Court records of a surprisingly large number of delinquent children appear reports of truancy from school, or of serious misbehavior in school. Among a group of 168 cases of delinquent children under probationary supervision by court officers during November and December, 1927, nearly 70 per cent (70.83 per cent among the boys and 66.67 per cent among the girls) of those whose records contained a statement concerning truancy had been truant. An analysis of an unselected group of 1,000 Juvenile Court cases of boys who have now passed beyond Juvenile Court age, revealed the fact that 230, or 23 per cent of them, had been committed, usually early in their careers, to the Chicago Parental School. This represents only those who were committed as truant or incorrigible. It indicates nothing concerning the much greater number whose behavior symptoms included truancy or incorrigibility.

31. *Same: The  
Bureau of  
Compulsory Education.*

The Bureau of Compulsory Education does not keep chronological case records of the contacts of officers with children. Hence, no analysis of their work similar to that made of probation in the Juvenile Court<sup>1</sup> was possible. Permission could not be gotten to carry on a field study of cases. Therefore our data concerning the treatment of truancy cases in the schools of Chicago are very incomplete.

<sup>1</sup> Sec. 25, sub-sec. b.

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Annual reports and records of the Chicago Parental School, annual reports of the superintendent of compulsory education, observations in Juvenile Court during truancy hearings, and a body of opinion gathered from the judge of the Juvenile Court, from the former chief justice of the court, chief probation officer, former chief probation officers, superintendent of the Juvenile Detention Home, superintendent of the Chicago Parental School, heads of divisions in the probation department of the Juvenile Court, social work executives, clinical workers with behavior problem children, and university professors who have made specific studies of truancy in Chicago, serve to throw considerable light upon the situation.<sup>1</sup>

One thing seems certain. Judged by any standards acceptable to professional groups in the field of social service, the work of the division of compulsory education is hopelessly inadequate. This appears to be chargeable principally to three things. The first of these is the limited concept which the Board of Education has of the functions of a Bureau of Compulsory Education; the second, the lack of insight and understanding of the possibilities of the work on the part of the immediate administration; and the third, the extremely inadequate requirements necessary to qualify for the position of truant officer. These factors are all part of a larger situation, namely, political control, which always means payment of pre-election promises with jobs. And, let it be noted further, that the jobs most likely to go to incompetent persons are those in which nothing more concrete than human welfare is likely to suffer.

The first of these factors manifests itself in failure to provide machinery for any service except that specifically provided by law.<sup>2</sup> The negative connotation of the term Bureau of Compulsory Education is suggestive of the work of the bureau. A somewhat larger measure of imagination would suggest the importance of insuring a program of positive and preventive treatment rather than mere law enforcement.

The second factor is evidenced by a number of things. First are the repeated assertions on the part of the superintendent of compulsory education that truancy can be cured by adding more truant officers to the staff, and by expansion of the Parental School. "Our greatest need," said Mr. Bodine in a recent statement, "are more truant officers; an increased capacity at the Parental School; and at least four home investigators at the Parental School to supervise paroled minors and obviate many returns of violators."<sup>3</sup> That is to say, recognizing the failure of the present program, more of the same thing is recommended. The suggestion that there be "four home investigators" to supervise approximately eight hundred children on parole seems to indicate that nothing more than a bare minimum of service is contemplated. A second element in the situation is the type of information required in presenting cases of alleged truant and incorrigible children in the juvenile court. Specific notes were taken on a series of sixty-five cases appearing in the juvenile court during December, 1927. Thirty-nine of these were

<sup>1</sup> See, for a comprehensive discussion of compulsory education in Chicago, Abbott, E., and Breckenridge, S. P., *Truancy and Non-Attendance in the Chicago Schools* (1917).

<sup>2</sup> See Cahill, *Illinois Revised Statutes*, 1927, Chap. 23, Secs. 298-301; Chap. 122, Secs. 164-175, 301, 5.

<sup>3</sup> *The Chicago Parental School Review*, O. J. Milliken, Editor (1927), p. 9.

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heard on original truancy petitions, while the remainder were either continuances from a previous date, or presented problems of some other sort. For the thirty-nine truancy cases, the officers of the Bureau of Compulsory Education presented to the court only the barest minimum facts. They included the specific dates, usually only two or three days, upon which the child was definitely "charged" with truancy, the other dates on which the child was absent, the date on which a *warning notice* was sent to the parents, and some such statement as this: "The mother is here. She says she sent the child to school every day, and didn't know he was absent until she received the warning notice." Upon such information, the judge, according to the statute, is expected to act.<sup>1</sup> Repeated attempts on the part of juvenile court officials to induce the Bureau of Compulsory Education to secure and present social data of the sort required in other types of cases have thus far failed. The situation, administratively, is an anomalous one. The law requires a court to act upon information presented by a body of officers over whom the court has not the remotest control. When the executive in charge of these officers fails to cooperate with the court by attempting to meet standards which are acceptable to the court, either the court must act upon information which includes only the bare minimum of facts demanded under the statute, or force the issue by refusing to hear cases of alleged truancy and incorrigibility without a previous social investigation. Some of the officials and friends of the court feel that the latter course is justifiable under existing circumstances.

The truant officers are chosen by the city civil service commission upon the basis of competitive examinations. No educational requirement is necessary to qualify for the position, nor is there any requirement of experience in social service or kindred activity. The superintendent of compulsory education, in an interview with the writer on November 3, 1927, said that the examinations during recent years have become somewhat more exacting, and that in practice the average education of the officers is "about high-school graduation." The salaries paid these officers range from \$145.00 to \$195.00 per month for the regular officers, with three bonded officers receiving \$215.00 per month. These rates are sufficiently high to attract persons with more adequate training and experience than are secured. The present staff of truant officers numbers 116.

32. *Same: The Chicago Parental Schools.*

Every Illinois city of 100,000 population or over is required to maintain one or more truant or parental schools to which truant and incorrigible children may be committed either by the county or circuit court.<sup>2</sup> Chicago maintains a Parental School for Boys with a capacity of 300, and one for girls with a capacity of about 30. Jurisdiction under the law is vested, as indicated above, in the juvenile court, which is a branch of the Cook County circuit court. From 500 to 600 children are annually committed to these schools. During the fiscal year July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927, a

<sup>1</sup> Cahill, *Illinois Revised Statutes*, 1927, Chap. 122, Sec. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Cahill, *Illinois Revised Statutes*, 1927, Chap. 122, Sec. 164.

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total of 607 was committed.<sup>1</sup> During the same period, 286 were returned for violation of parole, 817 paroles were granted, and 35 were discharged because of age.<sup>2</sup>

On February 23, 1927, there were at the Parental School for Boys exactly 300 boys. The superintendent, from the records, found that 133 of the 300 had previously spent one or more periods at the school. Seventy-four were there for the second time; forty-nine for the third; six for the fourth; and one each for the fifth, sixth and seventh times.

### (II) OUTSIDE OF COOK COUNTY

33. *The County Courts and Probation.* Jurisdiction under the Illinois juvenile court law is vested in the county and circuit courts in all counties having a population of less than 500,000. In towns and cities of 3,000 or more population city courts may be organized. These were granted concurrent jurisdiction with county and circuit courts in 1927.<sup>3</sup> This includes all counties except Cook. Since a detailed field study of all of 101 counties was impossible, the questionnaire method was used, supplemented by field observation and study in seventeen counties. The counties in which the field study was made are: Peoria, Knox, Monmouth, Mason, Sangamon, Morgan, Macoupin, Madison, St. Clair, Marion, Franklin, Williamson, Alexander, Christian, McLean, Kankakee, and McHenry. Between September 1, 1927, and January 20, 1928, schedules were returned from 95 of the 101 counties. The six counties not reporting were LaSalle, Pope, Tazewell, Wabash, Whiteside, and Will.

The work of the 95 courts presents an extremely uneven picture. The quality of service these courts render very nearly covers the complete range of possibilities. Thirty-four counties have no probation service, while 40 have only part-time probation officers, leaving only 21 in which there is at least one full-time probation officer. In the 95 counties there was a total of 76 probation officers, of whom 28 were giving full time to probation work with juveniles, and 40 were giving only part-time. More than a third of the part-time officers did not indicate the way in which time not spent in probation work was occupied. Among those who did, four were also adult probation officers, two were sheriffs, three were charity workers, one worked half time for the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, one was truant officer and police matron, another was truant officer and deputy sheriff, one was a constable, one was in newspaper work, and one claimed the rather liberal function of handling "mothers' pensions, blind pensions, and anything necessary for the betterment of the community."

<sup>1</sup> Figures submitted by O. J. Milliken, superintendent, Chicago Parental Schools.

<sup>2</sup> The statute provides (*Illinois Revised Statutes*, Chap. 122, Sec. 169) that the jurisdiction of the Parental School ceases when the child reaches sixteen years of age.

<sup>3</sup> Smith-Hurd, *Illinois Statutes*, 1927, Chap. 37, Sec. 344a.

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The length of time the various counties have had probation service for juveniles is summarized below:

Total .....	95
None .....	34
1 year .....	2
2 to 5 years.....	13
6 to 10 years.....	11
11 to 15 years.....	12
16 to 20 years.....	8
21 to 25 years.....	2
Over 25 years.....	2
Not specified .....	11

Thus, the fifty counties reporting the period since first a probation officer was introduced give evidence that the probation idea has been growing very much more rapidly in the last half of the period since the passage of the juvenile court law than during the first half. The rate in the latter period appears to be approximately three times that of the earlier one for the introduction of juvenile probation officers into the county courts.

Three rather crude indices of the efficiency of probation service in the counties having probation officers emerge from the answers contained in the questionnaires. They are: (a) In what proportion of the cases disposed of was there a social investigation by the probation officer prior to the court hearing? (b) What proportion of cases were given probationary treatment and what proportion were committed to institutions? (c) What proportion of those committed had previously been on probation or under supervision from the court?

(a) *Social Investigation.* The following Table 38 indicates the disposition of all cases as reported for the 95 counties.

TABLE 38. DISPOSITION OF DELINQUENCY CASES IN 95 ILLINOIS COUNTIES,  
JANUARY 1 TO JUNE 30, 1927<sup>1</sup>

	Total	Boys	Girls
All dispositions .....	1,338	790	548
Special supervision .....	262	135	127
Probation .....	302	202	100
St. Charles .....	155	155	—
Geneva .....	113	—	113
Pontiac .....	35	35	—
Lincoln .....	99	47	52
Dixon .....	26	15	11
Released from probation.....	71	34	37
Continued generally .....	112	60	52
Other dispositions .....	163	107	56

<sup>1</sup> Since all figures are for six months only, they should be multiplied by two to get an approximate figure for the year.

Analysis of the data on the schedules reveals the fact that 1,208 of the 1,338 cases disposed of were in the 61 counties having one or more probation officers, leaving only 130 cases in the remaining 34 counties. In order to arrive at an approximation of the actual number of cases investigated prior to hearing, it was necessary to separate those counties in which there were more social investigations than court dispositions. These were fourteen in number,

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reporting a total of 139 social investigations in excess of the cases heard in court. The total number of investigations for all of the counties was 1,072. Thus, deducting the 139 cases which were not heard in court, there remain 933, or 77.23 per cent of the total cases heard, in which there had been made a social investigation by the probation officer. For the 95 counties the percentage of social investigations prior to hearing is only 69.73.

(b) *Probation and Committal.* The second question cannot be answered with complete accuracy, since the terms "probation" and "special supervision" are obviously interpreted differently in different counties, some counties having no probation officer reporting cases placed on probation. The best that can be done is to indicate the crude percentages from the totals submitted. Supervisory treatment, reported either as "probation" or "special supervision," was ordered in 42.15 per cent of the cases, and institutional commitment in 31.98 per cent. This represents a substantial gain for probationary supervision as opposed to institutional commitment in Illinois counties outside Cook, when compared with the percentages for 62 counties in 1918, reported by Miss Evelina Belden.<sup>1</sup> Miss Belden's figures showed only 28 per cent given probationary treatment and 46.9 per cent committed to institutions.

(c) *Repeaters.* Of those committed to institutions, only 26.87 per cent were reported as having previously been on probation or under special supervision from the court. This small percentage is probably chargeable in part to incompleteness in the records of the probation offices and courts, in part to the conservatism of the courts and their reluctance in placing children on probation who seem at all unlikely to make good, and, probably in no small measure, to effective, painstaking supervisory work on the part of probation officers.

34. *Same: Detention Before Hearing.* Arrest and a subsequent appearance in court as an alleged delinquent are highly dramatic experiences for every child who passes through them. Because of this dramatic quality, everything connected with these experiences assumes exaggerated significance in the mind of the boy or girl. Thus, the period between arrest and hearing is a highly important one. It is a period of uncertainty when much may be done either to make or mar the character of the child. In this period, therefore, if the child is placed with older persons who are experienced in delinquency and crime, many of whom are mentally ill and morally perverted, he is almost certain to come out very much worse off than before. If, on the other hand, he is placed amid wholesome surroundings, among other children, or in a boarding home, he is at least saved from positive degradation at public expense.

No sane person who has ever visited any number of American county jails would recommend them as places of detention for children. The same is true of police stations. The blunt testimony of one probation officer describes the usual situation in Illinois: "The County Jail," he writes, "is a very poor place to detain delinquents as there are only two rooms, the men's ward and the women's ward. When we have any cases like this we put

<sup>1</sup> Belden Evelina, *Courts in the United States Hearing Children's Cases*, U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 65.

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the boys in the men's ward and the girls in the women's ward." Most jails and police stations are filthy, vermin infested, unventilated holes, whose adult population represents the worst in the community.<sup>1</sup> The citizens of counties in which no other provision for detention is made can scarcely be considered otherwise than jointly guilty of contributing to the delinquency of children.

Of the 95 counties reporting, only 15 indicated the use of any place other than county jails and police stations for the detention of alleged delinquents. Six of these have a detention home within the provisions of the Illinois Statute.<sup>2</sup> Eight of them use boarding homes, either for part or for all of the children in need of detention. One court has a special arrangement with a private institution for the care of part of its cases. Sixty-six of the 95 counties reported definitely concerning detention. In 35 of these no delinquents had been detained during the period covered. In 26 cases, the question was not answered, and in three, it was indicated that no adequate record was available. Table 39 indicates the numbers detained in the 31 counties classified according to sex and place of detention.

TABLE 39. PLACES OF DETENTION, OUTSIDE OF COOK COUNTY

Place of Detention	Numbers Detailed		
	Total	Boys	Girls
County jail .....	88	61	27
Police station .....	42	29	13
Special place of detention.....	51	24	27
Total .....	181	114	67

The majority of these were detained for periods of from one day to one week, although nine were held for a month or more, and 50 for periods of one week to one month. Thirty-three of this last group were detained in county jails, 2 in police stations, and 15 in a special place of detention.

In the seventeen counties visited, not one police station was found in which an accurate record of the ages of persons brought into the station was kept. Hence, no data could be gotten concerning detention in police stations. A few chiefs of police attempted to recall, with the aid of scanty and imperfect records, the cases of juveniles detained, but after a few minutes gave up the attempt. In thirteen counties, a quite complete jail record was available. The numbers of boys and girls detained during 1927 classified according to age and period of detention are recorded in Tables 40 and 41. It is significant that, although the law in Illinois specifies that no child under 12 years shall be detained in any jail or police station,<sup>3</sup> 33 boys and one girl under 12 were detained for periods varying from a few hours to over two months. The one girl was eleven and was kept in jail for 68 days before being committed to the State Training School at Geneva.

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of the jail situation, see Fishman, J., *Crucibles of Crime* (1923), and Abbott, E., "Why the One-Hundred-One County Jails in Illinois Should be Abolished" (pamphlet).

<sup>2</sup> Laws of Illinois, 1907, page 59.

<sup>3</sup> Cahill, *Illinois Revised Statutes*, 1927, Ch. 23, Section 334.



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TABLE 40. BOYS' JAIL DETENTIONS, CLASSIFIED AS TO LENGTH OF TIME

Table showing the numbers and ages of boys sixteen years of age and under detained in county jails in thirteen Illinois counties during 1927 indicating periods of detention.

	Age	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Less than one day.....	34	—	—	2	3	2	5	3	3	3	5	8
One day and less than one week.....	149	—	—	1	1	6	4	7	14	32	35	49
One week and less than two weeks....	38	1	1	—	1	1	1	3	8	7	6	9
Two weeks and less than one month..	34	—	—	—	—	2	1	2	4	4	10	11
One month and less than three months	24	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	1	3	7	10
Three months and less than six months	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	5
Over six months.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Total .....	287	1	1	3	5	12	11	17	30	49	64	94

TABLE 41. GIRLS' JAIL DETENTIONS, CLASSIFIED AS TO LENGTH OF TIME

Table showing the numbers and ages of girls seventeen years of age and under detained in county jails in thirteen Illinois counties during 1927 indicating periods of detention.

	Age	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Less than one day .....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
One day and less than one week.....	24	—	1	2	5	2	6	8
One week and less than two weeks....	5	—	—	—	—	1	3	1
Two weeks and less than one month....	10	—	1	—	3	3	2	1
One month and less than three month..	6	1	—	—	1	2	1	1
Three months and less than six months	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Over six months.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total .....	46	1	2	2	9	8	12	12

Only four of the counties visited have juvenile detention homes. They are: Sangamon, Knox, Peoria, and St. Clair. In Sangamon County, the records did not distinguish between delinquents and dependents. For the other three, Table 42 indicates the numbers of alleged delinquents detained during 1927, classified according to sex and period of detention:

TABLE 42. JUVENILE HOME DETENTIONS, CLASSIFIED AS TO LENGTH OF TIME

Table showing the numbers and periods of detention of boys and girls alleged to be delinquent in the juvenile detention homes of three Illinois counties during 1927.<sup>1</sup>

	Total		Peoria		Knox		St. Clair	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Less than one day.....	19	29	14	4	4	10	1	15
One day and less than one week.....	124	78	84	54	4	12	36	12
One week and less than one month....	60	36	24	30	—	2	36	4
One month and less than three months.	8	8	4	8	—	—	4	—
Three months and less than six months	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Over six months.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total .....	212	151	126	96	8	24	78	31

<sup>1</sup> In Peoria County, the only detailed figures available were for the six months' periods, August 1, 1927, to January 31, 1928. In Knox County accurate records were kept only for the last half of 1927. In each case, the figures given above are double the number for the six months in which records were kept.

Adequate attention to the matter of detention and adequate probation service go hand in hand. In the absence of a probation officer, somebody else must decide whether or not a child alleged to be delinquent shall be detained awaiting hearing or sent home, or, indeed, whether a petition

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shall be filed at all. Most often a police officer makes such decisions, unless the child be taken directly before the judge for a preliminary hearing. In only four of the 95 counties reporting is there any special organization in the police department or sheriff's office for dealing with delinquents. Therefore, most children falling into the hands of the police receive totally unspecialized treatment. With a probation officer on the case as soon as complaint is made, the treatment can be planned in the interest of the child. No great amount of effort would be required to make possible the securing in every community of one or two boarding homes where children could be kept at very small cost awaiting the final decision of the court. But one can scarcely expect that this will be done by the judge or police officer.

### 35. *Same: Hearings in Court.*

In her study of Courts Hearing Children's Cases in 1918,<sup>1</sup> Miss Evelina Belden set up as one of the minimum standards for juvenile court work, separate hearings for children's cases. Sixty-seven of the 95 counties studied have separate hearings. Twenty definitely do not. In seven cases the question was not answered, and in one, it was indicated that there were separate hearings sometimes.

More important than the matter of separate hearings are those of whether or not hearings are public and where they are held. Fifty-six counties reported public hearings only. In twenty, all hearings are held in chambers. In eleven instances, some hearings are public and some in chambers. The question was unanswered in seven of the questionnaires, and in one it was specified that hearings were "semi-public."

The court room is used, either exclusively or for part of the cases, in 72 counties. Sixty-one counties hold all hearings in the regular county courtroom. In eighteen counties hearings are held either in the judge's chambers, state's attorney's office, supervisors' office, probation office, a small court room, or in a "private room." In the 11 counties where both the court room and some other place are used, the other place is, in 7 cases, the judge's chambers; in three, the county clerk's office; and in one, the probation office.

In practically all progressive courts hearing children's cases, the formalities of ordinary court procedure, including jury, counsel, and the taking of testimony under oath, have been dispensed with. The courts of Illinois have been slow to discard these formalities. The oath and the attorney seem still to be considered essentials in judicial procedure in many places. In 78 of the 95 counties, all testimony is taken under oath. In eight, the oath is not used at all, and in one, it is used only part of the time. No answer to this question was entered on eight of the schedules.

The number of counties in which children are usually represented by counsel is considerably smaller. Thirty-six counties submitted definite figures concerning this item. During the six months included in the report, a total of 172 cases were represented by counsel in the 36 counties. Forty-five counties, of which number 18 reported no cases at all for the period, had no cases represented by counsel. Nine did not answer the question; two reported "very few;" one answer was "yes," and one, "all by guardian *ad litem*."

<sup>1</sup> U. S. Children's Bureau Publication, No. 65.

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Five counties only reported any cases tried by jury. The total number of cases was seven. In six instances the question was unanswered, and in one it was reported that there was "no record," leaving 83 counties from which there was a definite report of no trials by jury. What the procedure would have been in the eighteen counties having no delinquency cases during the first six months of 1927 can only be conjectured.

The practice of releasing children on bail, although not in keeping with the spirit of the juvenile court, has by no means disappeared in the courts of Illinois. Only 10 counties definitely reported any cases of release on bail during the first half of 1927, the total number of cases reported being 29. It is probable that the reports at this point were very incomplete. The records of the county jails in thirteen of the seventeen counties visited showed both the age of prisoners and the method of release from jail. In these thirteen counties, 64 boys and two girls of juvenile court age were released from jail on bond in 1927. In one of the counties the probation officer stoutly maintained that there was such close cooperation among all of the courts and other officials, that she positively knew that in no cases had children of juvenile court age been released on bail. The jail records revealed 18 such cases—the largest number in any county visited. In another county, an assistant in the state's attorney's office, who filled in the schedule, after indicating on the questionnaire that no children were released on bail during the period covered, wrote: "If held at the city jail of . . . , we generally are successful in having business men or relatives give good bond for the boy's appearance, and also we provide for proper supervision of the child in the meantime." Although the record on the jail book is only a partial one, many persons being released on bond without entering the jail at all, and although our figures are for only a few counties, the wide distribution of these counties makes it seem fair to assume that they are representative of the situation in the state as a whole.

To the question, "Are truant and incorrigible children in the schools treated as delinquent in your court?" the answers were as follows: In sixteen instances the question was not answered. Forty-seven answers were "yes" and twenty-nine "no." Three schedules contained the statement that incorrigible children were treated as delinquent, while truants were not. In general, it seems safe to conclude that before a child is committed as delinquent because of conduct in school or truancy from school, his behavior must be of a sort which would be considered delinquent if indulged in outside of school.

In communities where courts hearing children's cases are not furnished with adequate probation staffs, much can be accomplished through the use of the sympathetically intelligent volunteer. In order to ascertain the extent to which the Illinois courts were making use of this expedient, the question was asked, "Do volunteers (such as social workers, teachers, ministers, members of civic organizations) function in your community by accepting delinquent children for supervision, by request of the court? Describe briefly." On 16 schedules the space for answer was blank. The answer was "yes" in 36 instances, and "no" in 42. One answer was "very few." Of those who answered "yes," only 16 specified anything concerning the persons

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who acted as volunteers. Teachers, clergymen, social workers, Knights of Columbus, Y. M. C. A., physicians, a "Lady Lawyer," Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions, Optimist Clubs, Women's Clubs, service clubs, one mayor, a scout-master, a seminary student—these make up the group, except for one county in which it is specified that "good citizens" selected by the court render such service. As is always the case with volunteer service, it is sporadic, uneven, and disorganized. Yet, if properly safeguarded and inspired by the court, volunteers can be of inestimable service in dealing with delinquent children. This seems to be the situation in a dozen Illinois counties.

### 36. *St. Charles*

#### *Schools for Boys:*

#### *General Description.*

It was in keeping with the spirit of the Juvenile Court Law that there should be a separate institution to which boys of juvenile court age could be sent, and that this institution should take the form of a boarding school. Such a school was provided for by statute in 1901,<sup>1</sup> and received its first boys in December of 1904.

The school is situated on a 1,200 acre tract of land three miles southwest of the village of St. Charles. The location of the buildings is a very attractive one, on a rise of ground some two or three hundred yards off Lincoln Highway. Housing is provided on the cottage plan, with units accommodating between 40 and 50 boys each. The population of the school at the end of 1925 was 751, and was reported to the writer on November 15, 1927, as about 800.

Delinquent boys between the ages of ten and seventeen may be committed to the school by the Juvenile Court of Cook County or by the County or Circuit Court of any of the other Illinois counties. Commitments are for purely indefinite periods, although common consent and practice seems to have fixed the minimum stay at sixteen months. Boys may remain at the school until they have reached the age of twenty-one unless sooner released at the recommendation of the managing officer.

The program of St. Charles School for Boys involves academic, industrial, and military training. In 1926, fifty-two trades were taught.<sup>2</sup> In few cases does the industrial training fully fit the boy for competent work in a given trade outside. It has, however, been sufficient in many instances to give entrance to trades in which boys have developed into skilled and capable workmen. The print shop and the wood-working shop probably do this more satisfactorily than most of the other shops. The farm affords very valuable experience to a large share of the down-state boys in agriculture, horticulture, and dairying. If more systematic instruction were given, the value to the boys would be materially increased.

The academic program consists of the work of the regular eight grades prescribed by the Illinois Elementary School Course of study, with additional training in commercial subjects. Because of the very uneven schooling and uneven abilities of the boys sent to St. Charles, it has been necessary to introduce, in addition to the regularly graded rooms, four special rooms. Two of these are for the badly retarded boys, and two are opportunity rooms

<sup>1</sup> Illinois Laws, 1901, pages 68-72.

<sup>2</sup> Randall, Evelyn H., *The St. Charles School for Delinquent Boys* (unpublished thesis), page 54.

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where older boys whose school achievement has been uneven, can give special attention to the subjects in which they are weak. Boys attend school half days during eleven months in the year. The present principal (Major William J. Butler) says that the quality of the academic work is somewhat lower than in elementary schools outside.

In August, 1927, Colonel Frank D. Whipp, managing officer of the school, was transferred to the superintendency of the Illinois State School for the Deaf at Jacksonville. In his place Major William J. Butler, then stationed at the Arsenal in Springfield, was appointed acting managing officer. Those who were interested in the removal of Colonel Whipp from St. Charles alleged among other things that he was much too lenient in discipline. Whatever the merits of these accusations, Major Butler told the writer of this report, in a conversation on November 15, 1927, that he was sent to St. Charles for the purpose of establishing more rigid discipline at the school.

The three forms which this more rigid discipline assumes at St. Charles are: (1) military discipline, (2) corporal punishment, (3) re-classification of boys in cottages. Each of these methods will be described briefly.

37. *Same: Military Discipline.*

Military drill has been one of the activities at St. Charles for a long time. Under Major Butler, this aspect of the school's life has been greatly emphasized. The military staff, in addition to Major Butler, consists of a captain, a first lieutenant, two second lieutenants (one of them Major Butler's son), a sergeant and a corporal. Military discipline and the requirements of military courtesy have been extended to all members of the staff. School principal, house fathers, and other non-military officers salute the managing officer upon entering his office and address him as "Sir." The boys are expected to march at attention to and from school and work, and to keep their clothing in as nearly military order as is possible; i.e., coats must be buttoned, sleeves rolled down and buttoned, shirts buttoned at the throat, etc. They are expected to observe the rules of military courtesy toward military officers and toward the flag which are demanded of members of the United States Army. On November 15, 1927, Second Lieutenant Butler delivered in the presence of the writer a lengthy lecture to the boys in the assembly hall on the subject of *military courtesy*. After telling them in detail when, where, and under what circumstances they were and were not expected to come to attention and to salute, he ended by saying that everybody would be expected to observe the rules he had laid down. "If any of you just *can't* learn these things," he concluded, "we'll build a bull pen out here on the grounds and put you in it until you do learn. This is not a threat. It's just a statement."

On the afternoon of the following day a group of larger boys was walking across the grounds toward one of the farm cottages. The writer was the only adult within hearing distance. One of the boys said to another, "Button up your coat." The reply was, "Who says I've gotta button my coat?" The first boy responded, "Why, he said yesterday, 'By God, you've got to keep your *coat* buttoned.'"

Drill periods are from 4:30 to 5:30 p. m. three days per week, with

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special drills on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. In inclement weather, or when the grounds are soft and wet, drill is dispensed with.

Regulation bugle calls order the daily activities at the school. Reveille is at 5:30 a. m. and taps at 8:30 p. m.

38. *Same: Corporal Punishment.* For the three offenses which Major Butler considers most serious, escape, immorality, and serious insubordination, the strap is applied. For lesser offenses, some other type of punishment is used. For example, a member of the staff of the school told the writer of one instance. On the night of November 14, 1927, several boys were put in a coal car and ordered to shovel coal all night as punishment. Some of them ran away.

When and how much a boy shall be strapped is determined in cases of insubordination by the house father. The boy has no appeal. In cases of running away and immorality, the offense is covered by a definite rule. For a time an attempt was made to use a military court to decide upon the innocence or guilt of a boy accused of misconduct, and to assess punishment. This was found to be too cumbersome and was abandoned. Major Butler spoke several times in conversations on November 15 and 16, 1927, of the way in which boys often fix their own punishment for a given offense. In one of these conversations he said, "Beyond any question, if you get to a boy at once, he will name his own punishment, and it will do him good."

During the early months of Major Butler's regime, all whippings were administered by a disciplinary officer who, in company with the (military) officer of the day, went to each cottage each evening after supper and whipped any boys who had been reported earlier by the house father, or for whom the house father requested punishment at the time.

On the evening of November 15, 1927, Major Butler gave permission to the writer to accompany the disciplinary officer and the officer of the day on their rounds. The major went with us to Harding Cottage, the receiving cottage where new boys are assigned and where runaways are returned. Here there were five boys who had run away and who had been returned in the course of the day. These boys were lined up by the house father and marched down to the basement. It happened that Captain Leach was in the cottage on an errand. He went down with the rest of us. In the basement between ten and twenty boys were working. Some were putting soiled clothing into large laundry bags, while others were painting woodwork. These all remained and witnessed the procedure.

The disciplinary officer asked each boy in turn if he thought he deserved to be punished. Knowing that he was to receive it in any event, each answered in a timid affirmative. The next question was, "How much do you think you ought to have?" Four of the boys gave the answer, "Twenty licks," the number prescribed by rule. One larger boy attempted to fix his punishment at fifteen strokes. The disciplinary officer looked at him as if amazed and said, "What! Do you think you deserve less than this little fellow?" (indicating a diminutive colored lad). "He took twenty. Don't you think you ought to get as much as he did?" "Yessir," responded the boy very weakly. Twenty licks were soundly laid on. The small colored boy referred to, took his punishment without a whimper. All of the others,

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though they made a valiant attempt, were forced to cry out. Major Butler reached down and shook hands with the colored boy and said, "I want to congratulate you on the way you took your punishment. That's the way I like to see a boy take his lickings."

The strap used is made of heavy harness leather. It is approximately two feet long and three inches wide. One end is shaped to fit the hand and is reinforced. The reinforcement extends part way down the strap, thus making the throat partially rigid. The boys are made to stoop over, keeping their knees rigid. Their shirts and undershirts are pulled up so that not more than two thicknesses of cloth are between the skin and the strap. The strap is laid on across the buttocks.

At another cottage three boys had been implicated in a smoking episode. One had found some tobacco, a second had taken it and given it to a third who had smoked it. They were let go with a very definite promise of the strap if the offense was repeated.

At the last cottage visited a fine looking lad of almost seventeen, who had been a lieutenant in the regiment, and was about ready for parole, had broken the rule against smoking. He had repeatedly promised not to smoke, but had been caught doing so.

He was asked, "Do you think you deserve to be punished?"

The answer was, "Yes."

"How much do you think you ought to have?"

"Fifteen ought to be about right."

At this point the house father interposed with a statement that after the boy had learned he was to be punished he had been found hiding behind a bench in the basement when he was supposed to be scrubbing, and that at another time he was not in line when he was supposed to be. He gave it as his opinion that the boy deserved twenty licks. The disciplinary officer then told the boy very sternly that the house father was "boss" and that whatever he said was law. Thus, in this case also, the boy's attempt to fix his own punishment was overruled. The twenty licks were vigorously laid on. In this cottage all boys were sent upstairs before the punishment began. When it was over, the disciplinary officer gave the boy a brief lecture to the effect that he was a pretty poor specimen. "How do you expect to get along on the outside if you act this way?" To this the boy protested that he had been punished for smoking and that on the outside he could smoke and not cause any trouble.

"I did promise to stop smoking, and I tried to. For five weeks I didn't smoke, and then I was tempted to smoke."

The reply was that punishment had been given not for smoking, but for breaking the rules. The disciplinary officer returned to the office, laid down the strap and lighted a cigar.

A subsequent visit to the school on April 23, 1928, revealed the fact that punishments, corporal and otherwise, are very much more severe than they were in November. The half basement under the bakery has been made into a guard house, or "jail." There are three rooms in this place; one good-sized outer room where the jailer and his assistants are stationed, a slightly smaller room, with an iron-barred door where most of those confined in the

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jail are kept, and a small room, with no outside wall, reserved for those whose punishment is particularly severe. In the larger jail room were about fourteen or fifteen boys. Neither cots nor mattresses are provided. Boards have been nailed together and are laid down on the concrete floor. Each boy is given two blankets for his comfort while sleeping. All of the boys in jail were barefoot. To make identification easy in case of escape, two swaths had been cut with barber's clippers through each boy's hair, meeting at right angles on top of the head. The length of stay in jail varied. One case was reported in which a boy had been kept 32 days. The acting managing officer said that the usual stay was about a week or two.

Most of the boys in jail had been strapped before being locked up. Again, the amount of punishment varied. One boy said he had received 28 licks. The jailer told the writer that the usual practice was to give a certain number of licks (differing in relation to the assumed seriousness of the boy's misconduct) for the first offense. For each subsequent offense, the number given is double that administered on the occasion just preceding. In answer to the question: "How many do you sometimes give?" the answer was, "Well, we gave one boy 75 today."

The whipping is no longer done by one person, but is in charge of one of the military officers, and is administered either by a member of the military staff or by the jailer. Although no whippings were witnessed at the time of the last visit to St. Charles on April 23, 1928, reports indicated an increase in both the number of strokes given a boy and in the vigor of the strokes when compared with November 15, 1927.

Within the small room mentioned above—a room probably 6 by 9 feet—four boys were confined. They were said to be particularly vicious, had been immoral, had run away, assaulted guards, etc. In each corner of the room is an iron pipe attached to the floor and ceiling. These boys were handcuffed to the pipes, and were kept thus manacled night and day. These boys have two blankets, but have to sleep on the concrete floor. The jailer said that boys were usually handcuffed here for ten days. One case however, was reported by a former employee in which two boys had been handcuffed to the pipes for three weeks for the offenses of homosexuality and running away. A fifth boy had his hands thrust through the bars of the jail door and handcuffed together. Since he could not sit or lie down he was probably released from that position at night.

In the large outer room, a number of boys, probably 15 or 18, were standing, about-facing the wall, with their hands behind their backs as punishment.

The principal value of corporal punishment is alleged to lie in its preventive effects. Yet from August 1, to December 31, 1927, 220 boys committed acts for which they were whipped, and from November 1, 1927, to April 23, 1928, 101 escapes were recorded on the official chart in the corridor of the administration building. Seven boys had escaped from the jail.

#### 39. *Same: Re-Classification.*

There are fourteen cottages in the central group. The boys are classified in these cottages according to their conduct records. The "vicious" are to be separated from those who are "just bad." The "vicious" are the immoral.



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A survey of the conduct records of the boys was made as a basis for re-classification.

Boys are divided into four groups. Within each group, separation is made on the basis of size. There is one cottage for large, one for small and one for medium-sized boys. Group number one contains the "vicious," number two is a probationary group, number three is for boys who have successfully passed the probationary period, and number four for the trustees. Group number one is characterized by "very plain fare and very strict discipline." In number two, the fare is quite plain, but not as plain as in number one, and discipline is somewhat less strict. In number three things are quite comfortable, and the boys have a good many privileges. In number four everything is just as nice as the major can make it. This classification was not entirely completed on April 23, 1928, but was in process of completion.

40. *Same:* The employees at St. Charles are, supposedly, under  
*Personnel.* civil service. However, no examination has been held for some time, and a great many officers are temporary political appointees. Their previous occupations do not, in many cases, bear any relation to their duties at the school. One bartender, one saloon-keeper, one professional boxer, one race track tout, one hotel "bell-hop," one elevator operator, two druggists, one laundryman, one policeman—these are a few of the occupations of recent house fathers and other employees in the St. Charles School for Boys.

41. *The State Training School* The Illinois State Training School  
*for Girls at Geneva:* for Girls was established by statute in  
*General Description.* 1893<sup>1</sup> and given the official title of "The State Home for Juvenile Female Offenders." The first home of the institution was at 3111 Indiana avenue in Chicago. This was occupied from January 1, 1894 to May 5, 1895, when the first of the present buildings were completed and occupied. The location of the school is ideal. The buildings are situated on high ground overlooking the Fox River just south of the village of Geneva. They are constructed of yellow brick. The administration building, cottages, teachers' residence, and gymnasium are ranged about in a large circle. Inside the circle are the school buildings, Protestant chapel, and hospital receiving ward, and as well, directly behind the administration building, a small building used as a meat room, ice-making plant, and having on the upper floor at one end, a small apartment for the resident physician and her son. Northwest of the circle of cottages are the barns, silo, hog-house, and a house for the men who do all of the heavy work about the institution. Directly west of the circle are the garage, root cellar and greenhouses. At the southwest corner of the circle is a large old farmhouse which is occupied by the families of the head farmer and the chief engineer.

Commitments to the institution are for periods of "not less than one year nor beyond the age of twenty-one years."<sup>2</sup> Delinquent girls between the ages of ten and eighteen may be committed either by the County or

<sup>1</sup> Illinois Laws, 1893, pages 119-123.

<sup>2</sup> Cahill, *Illinois Revised Statutes*, 1927, Ch. 23, Sec. 287.

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Circuit Courts of Illinois. Almost all commitments are made by the Cook County Juvenile Court or by the County Courts outside Cook County, acting under the Juvenile Court Law. The length of stay at the school is determined by a number of factors. The program is so arranged that a girl can, by diligent application and unusually good conduct, be eligible for parole in one year. Very few girls, however, are able to do this. Some girls stay as long as three or four years. Many of the girls are venereally infected. None of these are permitted to leave the school until the disease is well beyond the infectious stage. For girls who have gonorrhea, twelve clean slides in series are demanded before it is considered safe to release them. In general, a grade of at least eighty-five per cent in deportment and efficiency for twelve months is demanded in order to qualify a girl for parole. This is not, however, a hard and fast rule. There are, in fact, very few hard and fast rules enforced at Geneva. The rule of careful individual attention seems to be the one most employed.

The population of the school is usually between 400 and 425, of whom 100 are colored. The girls are segregated on the basis of color, two cottages being occupied by the colored girls. In the cottages for white girls, each has a separate room, while in the colored cottages some of the rooms are shared by two girls. On January 5, 1928, the superintendent of the school told the writer that in the white cottages there were from 22 to 34 girls per cottage, while in the cottages for colored there were 50 per cottage.

The daily program at the school is as follows:

#### *Daily Program*

6:00	Rise
6:30	Dining room, girls prepare tables for breakfast
7:00	Breakfast
7:30 — 9:00	Dormitory work
9:00—12:00	School
7:30—12:00	Detailed work on campus
12:00	Dinner
12:30 — 1:00	Free time
1:00 — 4:00	School
4:00 — 5:00	Play
1:00 — 5:00	Detailed work on campus
5:00	Supper
5:30 — 6:00	Free time
6:00 — 7:00	Study hour
7:00 — 8:30	Play, orchestra practice, etc.
9:00	Retire

Girls who attend school in the morning work in the afternoon and vice versa.

An honor pennant is awarded each month to the cottage having the highest rank in general deportment and efficiency. Girls with an average of 85 for two consecutive months are eligible to membership in the Girl Scouts, of which there are eight troupes, quite active with their programs. One evening a week is devoted to a community sing out-of-doors or in the chapel. There are movies every two weeks in winter and dances in summer. Special

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programs, pageants, plays, etc., are prepared for holidays. The school consists of the eight elementary grades, first year high school, commercial, industrial, sewing and domestic science classes. Girls take the regular Kane County eighth grade examinations, and receive elementary school diplomas just as do other school children in the county.

The industrial and sewing departments include the making of comforters, rugs, pillow cases, window curtains, aprons, underwear, hats, and all wearing apparel used by the girls except shoes and sweaters. In addition, work in the general laundry, the garden, dairy, greenhouse, general kitchen, bakery, and about the cottages employs the time of the girls while not in school or at play. The girls are moved from one department to another until they have received every branch of training offered by the school.

42. *Same:* Matters of discipline, always difficult in a correctional school, are handled quite effectively at Geneva. No corporal punishment is permitted, nor are physical restraints used. Cases of extreme irritability, over-excitement, or hysteria are taken at once to the resident physician whose usual method of treatment is one or another of the forms of hydrotherapy. The thousand and one petty forms of misconduct in which the girls engage are handled by the matrons and teachers.

The treatment is usually at first only a reduction of deportment grade, which affects eligibility for Girl Scout membership and for parole. If it continues, this is followed by deprivation of privileges—an evening in the living room, a dance, or a dessert. The matrons and teachers also talk with the girls attempting to gain their confidence, and to help them if they can. Treatment is always on an individual basis.

Homosexuality, both the milder variety, which is content with writing "mash notes" or petting a bit, and the more virulent forms, which seek elaborate physical expression, is a source of no small amount of annoyance to the matrons and the superintendent. One of the colored matrons said that it is the one thing which they cannot control. One of the kinds of homosexual manifestation which is particularly difficult is that between colored and white girls. Colored girls are segregated from white. Frequent "crushes" occur and when they do, the writing of what are known among the girls as "honey notes" begins. The colored matron referred to above said they wrote "the filthiest, nastiest stuff you can imagine." Mrs. Ball said that in every case in which colored and white girls became attached to each other, the colored girl is considered the male, and is called "daddy" or sometimes "uncle." In a few cases, there has been worked out in the correspondence of the girls a whole family relationship with other colored girls being "brother," "nephew," "uncle," etc., to the white girl, with the female relatives on the white side.

In addition, there appear a good many cases of homosexuality within the white and the colored groups. It is the experience of the present superintendent that in every case in which a girl begins a homosexual affair, her efficiency and deportment in school, cottage, and industrial room all suffer. In some instances this marked falling down has been the clue which led to the discovery of homosexual activity. Upon the discovery of homo-

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sexual behavior, a girl is taken immediately out of school and is kept away from all group contacts. Personal conferences are had with her. She is given plenty of exercise, often a diet which has some of the richer foods removed, and an attempt is made to build up interests which will be substitutes for homosexual activity. Reading, sewing, some sort of handicraft work are encouraged as aids toward sublimation.

Girls found planning or helping to plan escapes are given individual attention. It sometimes seems wise to transfer them to another cottage. In any event, a matron and superintendent have a conference with the girl and try to get her back into adjustment. Privileges are withheld in most cases.

Runaways who have been gone more than twenty-four hours are sent to the disciplinary cottage. This, Wallace Cottage, is used as a place of intensive training for a carefully selected group of girls who seem to need such attention. In addition to runaways, girls who are totally unable to get on with their cottage group are usually assigned there. The matron in charge of the disciplinary cottage is a woman of mature years and long experience in dealing with delinquent girls. Her methods are probably not thoroughly scientific, but they are based upon careful, painstaking, individual work with each girl. Certainly a period of weeks spent in this cottage, with plenty of work to do, a great deal of time in which to "meditate," and a great many conferences with a woman who is sympathetic and skillful in interpretation and understanding seems vastly more likely to effect a character change than is application of some ready made rule of punishment. Only the superintendent has authority to send a girl to the disciplinary cottage. No matron or teacher, therefore, can threaten a girl with a period there. The girls are all aware that the matron or teacher who attempts such a thing cannot carry it into effect. The value of such an arrangement is that it places responsibility for discipline squarely upon the people who have the girls in charge.

43. *Same: Personnel.* The superintendent is chosen by political appointment. The present superintendent has had long experience as a teacher and school principal. She is therefore very well fitted for her work. There is, however, no guarantee that with either a change in the political situation or a vacancy for some other reason, her successor will not be chosen totally apart from any real fitness for the work. Furthermore, political appointees are under obligation to those who appoint them, and must work for the interests of those persons. The subordinate members of the staff are chosen through the state civil service commission. On March 3, 1928, the superintendent reported a total of 34 matrons employed, of whom 33 were certified civil service appointees. Though civil service ordinarily makes for relative permanence of tenure, at Geneva a large number of matrons come and go each year. However, a good many have been at the school for periods of from five to fifteen years. During the fiscal years ending June 30, 1926 and June 30, 1927, respectively, there were appointed, 29; resigned, 27; appointed, 33; resigned, 29; discharged, 1.

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44. *Same: Movement of Population.*

Table 43. following is indicative, in some measure, of the general effectiveness of this school.

TABLE 43.

Table showing movement of population at Illinois State Training School for Girls for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1926, and June 30, 1927.

	Total	1926	1927
Committed .....	488	254	234
Paroled .....	329	209	120
Recalled for parole violation.....	45	27	18
Recommitted .....	3	0	3
Ran away .....	108	37	71
Returned from running away.....	87	34	53
Discharged .....	465	248	217

The number recalled for parole violation is quite small, and the excess of escapes over returns is in no sense high. The number of re-commitments is negligible, only three in two years.

45. *Release and After Care.* Except in rare cases, boys and girls leave the correctional schools on parole. The statute as drawn seems to indicate that the legislature intended that the Division of Pardons and Paroles should grant paroles from St. Charles and the Illinois Training School for Girls in the same fashion as from the prisons and reformatory. The law concerning St. Charles reads as follows:

"Any male person between the ages of ten and sixteen years may be sentenced and committed under an Act entitled, 'An act to revise the law in relation to the sentence and commitment of persons convicted of crime or offenses and providing for a system of parole and to repeal certain Acts and parts of Acts therein named,' approved June 25, 1917, in force July 1, 1917, as the same is or may be amended, to the St. Charles School for Boys, for any and all crimes and offenses instead of the penitentiary or county jail, in the discretion of the court, subject to all the terms of said Act. (Added by act approved June 28, 1919, p. 242)"<sup>1</sup>

The law applying to the State Training School for Girls except that the ages are "from ten to eighteen" is precisely the same as that applying to the St. Charles School.<sup>2</sup>

The act referred to in the statute cited above places responsibility for making rules concerning the operation of parole with the Department of Public Welfare. In the summer of 1927 the superintendent of Pardons and Paroles, who is the officer within the Department of Public Welfare who makes rules governing parole, planned to take over the matter of granting paroles from the correctional schools. Some discussion arose, and an opinion was sought from the attorney general. He gave it as his opinion that the granting of paroles from these schools was the province of the superintendent and managing officer rather than of the Division of Pardons and Paroles. This seems appropriate in view of the fact that the guardianship of the minors under their care is lodged with these officers.

<sup>1</sup> Smith-Hurd, *Illinois Revised Statutes*, 1927, Ch. 23, Sec. 238.

<sup>2</sup> See Smith-Hurd, *Illinois Revised Statutes*, 1927, Ch. 23, Sec. 267.

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The regular agents of the Division of Pardons and Paroles supervise parolees from the correctional schools. In the Chicago district two men are assigned to look after the parolees from the St. Charles School and two women give after-care service to girls released from the State Training School. In the rest of Illinois the parole agents (all men) render this service for all parolees from prison and reformatory as well as the training schools.

Permanent release is granted by the committing court in many cases, upon the petition of the managing officer or superintendent, or, on petition of some other person. Upon the attainment of age 21 release is automatic, since the schools have no jurisdiction beyond that age.

"The unplanful and almost chaotic procedure of the present in dealing with delinquency and crime," say Healy and Bronner, "is perfectly obvious to any student of the subject. Very frequently and at any stage, what is done has strange irrelevance to anything that has been done before or in many cases, to what is likely to be the outcome."<sup>1</sup> This characterization is strikingly appropriate to the existing situation in Cook County. The boy, whose delinquencies begin with truancy and continue through a series which take him successively through the experiences of the parental school, supervision, probation, The Chicago and Cook County School for Boys, and finally to St. Charles, has been subjected to treatment by a series of disjointed agencies fed by the Juvenile Court but otherwise (except for probation and supervision) organically unrelated. This very lack of organic relation is an invitation to each of the agencies to pass their troublesome cases on to the next. A sort of hierarchy of evils has been built up with a general continuance at one end and St. Charles and Geneva at the other. At each stage the next more drastic type of treatment gives to probation officer or superintendent a sense of security, and, apparently, of sublime faith in the efficiency of the next agency.

The case of a Polish boy, whom we will call Walter Ostrowski, serves to illustrate the way in which this group of uncoordinated agencies operate.

*Arrest and  
first court  
appearance*

Walter was born on Christmas day, 1908. He first came to the Juvenile Court in September, 1920, having been arrested with two other boys on the charge of burglarizing a store. In the course of the hearing, it was revealed that Walter had been habitually truant from school. Since he was not yet twelve years of age, the judge was unwilling to send him to one of the correctional schools for delinquents. He therefore continued the case, with a request that a petition alleging truancy be filed, in order that the boy might be committed to the Parental School.

*The school  
authorities  
step in*

The original petition alleging delinquency was filed by a member of the Chicago Police Department, assigned as police probation officer. Truancy petitions, however, are entered by officers of the Bureau of Compulsory Education, upon complaint of a school prin-

<sup>1</sup> Healy, W., and August Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking*, 1927, page 225.

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<i>Meanwhile in the Detention Home</i>	<p>cial. It was therefore necessary to hold Walter in the Juvenile Detention Home until a probation officer notified the truant officer in the district in which Walter lived of the action of the court, the truant officer notified the principal, the principal made a complaint alleging truancy and the truant officer filed a petition asking the court to commit to the Parental School. This involved seventeen additional days in the Juvenile Detention Home, having already spent five days there awaiting a hearing. On October 15, 1920, Walter entered his second institutional experience, for certainly twenty-two days in the Cook County Juvenile Detention Home must be considered an institutional experience.</p>
<i>To the Parental School</i>	
<i>Summary thus far</i>	<p>In order to reach the Parental School, (and let it be remembered that it was not because of doubt in the mind of the court, but purely because of administrative organization) Walter was arrested by a policeman employed by the City of Chicago, detained for 22 days in an institution operated by the Cook County Commissioners, heard by a Circuit Court judge sitting under the Juvenile Court Law, proceeded against, meanwhile, by an officer of the Bureau of Compulsory Education of the Board of Education of Chicago, again heard by a Circuit Court judge, sitting under the Compulsory School Attendance Law, and committed to an institution operated by the Board of Education and administered through the office of assistant superintendent in charge of special school.</p>
<i>Second Court and Detention Home Experience</i>	<p>On February 13, 1922, Walter with three older boys, stole a Ford sedan in Chicago Heights, and drove back to Chicago, having "bummed" a ride to Chicago Heights on a freight train. This time he was held in the Detention Home eleven days, and because of his age and the fact that he had been led on by older boys, the case was continued under special supervision. His behavior was good for several months, and on June 7, 1922, he was placed on probation.</p>
<i>Special Supervision</i>	
<i>Probation</i>	<p>On August 9, 1922, Walter was again brought into court with three companions, charged with two burglaries, one on August 1, and another on August 3. The case was continued, and the boys released to their parents. On September 11, 1922, Walter's case was again heard. The police probation officer reported that since his continuance on August 9, he had been involved in four more burglaries. This time he was committed to St. Charles School for Boys, and passed under the administrative control of the superintendent of charities of the state department of public welfare. Age 13 years, 9 months.</p>
<i>More trouble and another Continuance</i>	
<i>To St. Charles</i>	<p>Walter was released from St. Charles about January 1, 1924, and placed for after-care supervision under one of the agents of the division of pardons and paroles of the state department of public welfare. On May 20 he was again in court, having committed two</p>
<i>Transferred to another Division</i>	

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<i>Violates Parole</i>	more burglaries. He had worked for a while in a bakery, but quit he said, because it was too hot in the oven room.
<i>Goes back to St. Charles</i>	He was returned to St. Charles for parole violation. Walter was kept at St. Charles for about three months, and again paroled. On September 16, he was brought into court with four new burglaries to his credit. The court apparently decided that nothing was to be gained by another period in St. Charles so this time he was sent to the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys. He had now come back again under the administrative direction of the Division of Special Schools of the Board of Education of Chicago.
<i>More Burglaries</i>	One year and one month after his commitment to Chicago and Cook County School for Boys, Walter again appeared in court (October 16, 1925). This time he had committed three burglaries and stolen a Ford car. He was committed to St. Charles School for Boys. Age 16 years, 9 months. Before his release from St. Charles he had passed beyond juvenile court age.
<i>Chicago and Cook County School for Boys</i>	
<i>To St. Charles once more</i>	

This brief summary of the experiences of one boy tells a story by no means unusual in the records of the Cook County court. Indeed, if the 1,000 cases which we studied are typical, slightly over one-fifth of all the boys whom the court finds delinquent go through experiences very similar to Walter's. To the unbiased reader, Walter's story must appear as a game of "passing the buck." Having been brought in as a burglar at the age of eleven, he was, in the terminology of the court, "given chance after chance to make good," until, at the age of almost seventeen he was sent for the last time by the Juvenile Court, as a burglar, to St. Charles. His official police record included seventeen burglaries and two cases of larceny of automobiles. His record of court orders included four institutional commitments, one return for parole violation and one period under supervision followed by probation—all on the ground of burglary or larceny of an automobile.

### III—FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The inclusion of the study of the extent of juvenile delinquency in a study of criminal justice rests upon two main considerations. The criminal careers of adult offenders have their origin, almost without exception, in early childhood and adolescence. Therefore, the skilled and sympathetic treatment of the behavior difficulties of children should be the best method for the prevention of crime in the youth and the man.

46. *The Findings.* The findings of this study may be briefly summarized as follows:

#### *1. The volume of juvenile delinquency is large.*

In 1926, 19,566 cases of alleged delinquency of boys and girls were investigated by police probation officers. Of these, 17,922 or 91.6 per cent were adjusted by the police probation officers themselves, leaving only 1,644 or 8.4 per cent upon which petitions were filed to be brought into court. This number of cases of alleged delinquency investigated by the police was the



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highest for any year of which there is record. At the same time the proportion adjusted outside of the court by the juvenile police probation officers is also the highest for the period from 1920 to 1926.

*2. Juvenile delinquency is not scattered evenly over the city but tends to concentrate in areas of deterioration.*

A series of maps for different years spotting the location of the residences of both male and female juvenile delinquents exhibits a massing of the cases in the neighborhoods surrounding the "Loop" and in certain outlying industrial areas like Packingtown and South Chicago. There are several districts in Chicago where over half the boys between the ages of ten and sixteen inclusive have been in the police station one or more times during the year. These are the areas of poverty, of bad housing and of neighborhood deterioration. The residents of settlements and workers in clubs and playgrounds in these neighborhoods would be the first to point out how inadequate is the present provision of recreational institutions in these neighborhoods. The facts secured in the study covering a period of years show conclusively that the type of neighborhood, rather than the nationality or religion of the parents, is correlated with the distribution of juvenile delinquency in Chicago.

*3. The group is an important factor in juvenile delinquency.*

This is especially evident in stealing, where in nine-tenths of 6,000 cases studied, two or more boys, known to have been involved, were brought into court. The traditions and the codes of boys' gangs emphasize as desirable qualities in their members, ability in delinquency and a record in one of the correctional institutions of the state. The boy who is a member of a gang cannot be effectively treated except in relation to the life of the group of which he is a part.

*4. The public school is not at present adequately equipped to study and to treat the problems of child behavior.*

Although there are in existence in the schools divisions of Child Study, Vocational Guidance, and Compulsory Education, and although there are special schools for unusual and handicapped children, they are now working largely in independence of one another. They are four separate administrative units, each doing an incomplete service, and all overlapping to a greater or lesser degree.

The Division of Child Study examines children referred by school principals, either as conduct, mental, defective, or educational problems. The Division of Child Study is handicapped by an inadequate staff. Because there are physicians on the staff, this division has been compelled to give the required physical examination to all teachers in Chicago public schools.

It is the testimony of Dr. D. P. MacMillan, head of this division, that from two-thirds to three-fourths of all information secured concerning children referred for examination is secured by telephone. Once examination is made and recommendation entered, the child study division has no more to do with the case until the child becomes troublesome again. Unspecialized teachers in "special rooms" is one of the handicaps in this work. On

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November 1, 1927, Dr. MacMillan told the writer that with one exception he had examined as a child every notorious Chicago criminal who had recently been before the public through the newspapers. He also stated that in practically all of these cases facilities for carrying out his recommendations had not been available.

If the child is absent without excuse, or is incorrigible, the Bureau of Compulsory Education is called in. If the child is committed to the Parental School, he is then under the general administration of the assistant superintendent in charge of special schools. If he applied for a working certificate, he must go to the Bureau of Vocational Guidance to get it; but if he fails, while working, to go to continuation school, the Bureau of Compulsory Education is again called upon to deal with him.

It is because of this chaotic condition that reorganization, coordination, and reinterpretation of functions and responsibilities seem so important.

5. *At present police officers rather than social workers make the investigations in the great majority of complaints against children.*

The police assigned to this work have had no special training for it. All these juvenile police probation officers are men, although nearly one thousand cases of girls, which often involve sex offenses, are annually investigated by them. The officers at present keep only personal notes on cases, and make a monthly statistical report, instead of keeping a permanent record, which would be especially valuable in the treatment of repeaters. Children, at present, are often needlessly detained in the Juvenile Detention Home, in close association with others awaiting action on their cases. Children, whether charged with petty or grave offenses, are frequently transported to the Juvenile Detention Home in patrol wagons instead of being conveyed by street car or automobile.

6. *The record of the Juvenile Court is to be highly commended, but its efficiency can be still further increased.*

The Juvenile Court of Cook County is not only the oldest in the United States, but it is distinguished by its succession of able and devoted judges, by its relative freedom from political influence and by its increasingly great service to the children of the community. In fact, its work has expanded so rapidly that at present the clerical force is too limited to adopt the Federal Children Bureau's system of record keeping; its probation officers carry too heavy a case-load for the individualized treatment of problem cases; and no adequate provision has been made for effective planning and supervision of the case work. The referees of the court are appointed at present by the judges of the circuit court without the safeguards of competitive examination which have been thrown around the selection of the chief probation and the deputy chief probation officers.

7. *Institutional treatment of delinquency in Chicago and Illinois has yet to demonstrate its value in a program of reformation.*

As the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys now operates, its functions are very limited. Conditions at the St. Charles School for Boys have reached a crisis and demand radical treatment. The Geneva Training

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School for Girls has during the past seven years steadily improved in efficiency of administration and in the morale of its inmates. Physical equipment at both the St. Charles School for Boys and the State Training School for Girls is fairly adequate. The effectiveness of any correctional school depends, in final analysis, upon the personnel of the staff. The present method of selecting superintendent and managing officer is that of political appointment. For subordinate members of the staff, civil service is theoretically in operation. Particularly with reference to St. Charles, this operates in such a way that politics plays a considerable role. Civil service requirements are so low that persons can qualify without either training for or experience in any work remotely similar to that demanded at the school.

Problems of discipline at the State Training School for Girls are more sympathetically and intelligently dealt with than at St. Charles where the present program is one of coercion, repression, and severe punishment for offenses which are considered serious. No avenue now exists, except voluntary organization and protest, by which this, or any other problem likely to arise, can be remedied. The matter of disciplinary practice, then, is only an illustration of the way in which these two schools are essentially isolated from the possibility of effective control by an enlightened public opinion.

*8. In Illinois outside of Cook County the work of the juvenile courts and of probation falls below standards necessary for effective treatment of juvenile delinquency.*

Four main findings are derived from the data presented concerning conditions outside Cook County: (a) complete lack of uniform minimum standards of court or probation work; (b) the dominance of politics in the choice of probation officers; (c) overlapping of jurisdiction in juvenile cases; (d) the liberal, and often illegal, use of the county jail as a place of detention for children of juvenile court age.

Of 95 counties of the 101 down-state counties from which reports were secured, only 21 have a full time probation officer; 40 have only a part-time probation officer; leaving 34 counties without any probation services.

*47. Recommendations.* In the light of the above summary of findings, the following recommendations are made:

*1. Fundamental Changes in Treatment Necessary.*

The volume and distribution of juvenile delinquency demonstrates the necessity of group and community, as well as individual, treatment of juvenile delinquency.

*2. Program of Community Treatment for the Prevention of Delinquency.*

The concentration of delinquency in certain areas of the city is evidence of the significance of community factors in causing juvenile delinquency. A thoroughgoing program for the treatment of juvenile delinquency should include:

a. A family income sufficient to maintain at least the minimum standard of living required for the health and social efficiency of the different members of the family.

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- b. A housing plan in the interests of the families of small wage-earners.
- c. A recreational plan which would provide additional playgrounds and recreational centers in the delinquency and gang areas of the city.
- d. A plan for the protection of children against exploitation by street traders and other forms of child labor and a demoralization by certain types of performances of commercialized recreation recognized by all as unsuitable for small children.
- e. Reorganization of recreational, educational, and vocational work with boys and girls in ways to make it more effective in the prevention and care of juvenile delinquency.
- f. The integration in each community of the work of existing agencies like settlements, clubs, playgrounds, in a unified plan for the treatment of delinquency.

These recommendations are in line with much of the present effort of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies, the different charities of the city, forward looking employers, the Housing Commission, the Recreational Commission, and the Juvenile Protective Association. In supporting these agencies engaged in bettering social conditions and thereby preventing juvenile delinquency, the public should realize that crime and delinquency are, in large part, a product of rapid and disorderly city growth.

Above all, present programs of community treatment should be made the subject of impartial and careful research. The experimental study of two different areas now being undertaken by the Chicago Boy Scouts for the purpose of testing the efficiency of its program is commended as a healthy indication of the willingness of an organization to change an established program as a result of ascertainable findings. The proposed study of the treatment of juvenile delinquency by social and recreational agencies in an area on the lower northwest side is also indorsed. Through studies such as these, progress will be made in the construction of a sound program of community treatment.

### *3. Group Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency.*

The findings on the importance of the group factor in juvenile delinquency demonstrates the urgent need for the recognition of the method of group treatment as well as of individual treatment. Recreational agencies should be encouraged in undertaking experiments in gang treatment and in recording the measure of success and failure resulting from these efforts.

### *4. The Development of a Comprehensive Program for Child Study and Guidance in the Schools.*

All studies in this field emphasize the importance of the early detection and the early skilled treatment of behavior problems of children. The school is the natural and logical institution to make this provision for child study and guidance. The Board of Education now maintains a division of child study, a division of vocational guidance, a division of compulsory education and a division of special schools which also has charge of a small staff of visiting teachers. It is recommended that the Board of Education give serious consideration to the introduction of a unified program of child study

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and guidance in order to discharge efficiently the following important functions:

- a. To make provision for the scientific study and treatment of the behavior difficulties of school children.
- b. To secure all necessary social data upon the relation of the family, the play group, and the neighborhood to child delinquency.
- c. To train teachers in the public school to detect the early beginnings of behavior difficulty and to cooperate in the treatment recommended by the child study centers.
- d. To make special provision for the examination and treatment of difficult cases in the public schools and in the Chicago Parental School.
- e. To recommend commitment to the Chicago Parental School, as in cases of truancy, only after all other treatment has proved ineffective.
- f. To correlate the work of child study with that of vocational guidance, it is recommended that the Superintendent of Schools appoint a commission to make a further study as a basis for determining a plan for the reorganization and coordination of the above functions of child study and guidance.

#### *5. Social Workers Rather than Police Should Make the First Investigation.*

The first contacts of the juvenile delinquent with the law and its agencies are often the crucial ones in the determination of his future career. Therefore, it is recommended that the police officers of the City of Chicago be relieved of the duty of investigation and decision concerning the detention, release, and the filing of petitions in delinquency cases and that all complaints be referred to the probation department of the Juvenile Court. It is further suggested that the judges of the Circuit Court be requested to consider and to recommend for adoption to the county commissioners an appropriation of \$75,000 for the additional probation officers required to carry this recommendation into effect.

Five changes in the investigation and treatment of children brought into police stations are recommended for immediate adoption, pending the adoption of the foregoing recommendation:

- a. That cases of girls be referred to the Investigation Division of the Juvenile Court, since the police probation officers are men, and girls in trouble obviously need the aid and advice of a woman.
- b. That the practice of transporting children to the Juvenile Detention Home and court in patrol wagons be discontinued, and that instead, they be taken on the trolley or elevated trains or in police motor cars, accompanied by plain clothes officers. All girls should be escorted by women officers.
- c. That, whenever possible, children be not placed in the Detention Home in order to avoid the possibility of unfortunate contacts from even this slight degree of institutional experience.
- d. That a system of records be installed in each police station and a duplicate set be maintained in the Juvenile Court to consist of a card index of all cases investigated. The record should be kept for individual cases and provide for recording the following information: name and address of alleged

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delinquent; names of parents, their nationality and occupation; date of birth of child; offenses charged; disposition of case. The use of a blue card or flag is recommended to indicate at a glance repeaters.

#### *6. The Work of the Cook County Juvenile Court.*

The Cook County Juvenile Court merits, from many different standpoints, its present position of influence and service in the community. The following recommendations should enable the court to perform even more effectively its important work in the treatment of juvenile delinquency:

a. That referees be chosen by the judge of the Juvenile Court, on the basis of competitive tests, in the same manner as the chief probation officer is now chosen. That formal legal training be not required as a necessary qualification for the position of referee. The outstanding referees of juvenile courts in the United States are not lawyers but psychologists and trained social workers.

b. That the judges of the Circuit Court be requested to consider and to recommend to the county commissioners for adoption, a new classification and rating of probation officers, making provision, in addition to the existing classes, for at least five case-work supervisors and a superintendent of case-work supervision. This would necessitate the appropriation of approximately \$25,000.

c. That the staff of officers be increased to the point where no officer will be responsible for the supervision of more than fifty children at any one time as recommended by the committee on Juvenile Court Standards of the Federal Children's Bureau. When officers are doing both investigation and supervision, one social investigation per month may be considered equivalent to three supervision cases.

d. That one typist be provided for each three field workers and two additional record clerks employed. This will require an additional sum of about \$18,000 and make feasible the adoption of the Children's Bureau system of records which is recommended.

e. That a statistical record of individuals as well as cases be kept and published in the annual report of the Juvenile Court.

#### *7. Institutional Treatment.*

The committee recommends as a policy the use of institutional commitment only as a last resort. In the carrying out of this policy it makes the following recommendations:

a. That the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys be reorganized as an adjustment center offering opportunity for study and individual redirection.

b. That the appointment of the heads of both St. Charles School for Boys and Geneva Training School for Girls be placed under adequately safe-guarded civil service or selected by a competitive test prepared by a citizens' committee appointed by the governor. Since the standards for the appointment of subordinate employees at these institutions are too low for effective work, higher qualifications be demanded in the selection of all employees.

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c. That the state criminologist be requested to establish psychiatric clinics at each institution for scientific study of the personality problems of the inmates and as a basis for dealing with organization and administration of work, education, discipline, and length of time in the institution.

d. That the work and schooling of the boys at St. Charles be developed so as to provide well-rounded educational training of value upon their return to civil life.

e. That the law providing for the commitment of delinquent children to the State Training Schools for Delinquents (Smith-Hurd, Illinois Revised Statutes, 1927, Chapter XXIII, sections 235, 238 and 267) be amended so that no child under the age of ten years shall be committed to the state training school.

f. That the law also be revised so that upon petition showing cause by the superintendent at the St. Charles School for Boys the cases of boys seventeen years and over "may be re-heard by the committing court and, in the court's discretion, transferred to Pontiac."

#### *8. Parole Supervision.*

That the number of parole officers caring for children released from St. Charles and Geneva be increased in order to secure adequate social treatment. The parole officers should be trained social workers and should be selected by a competitive examination under civil service. This recommendation is in conformity with the findings and recommendations of the study of pardons, parole, and probation.

#### *9. A State Probation Commission.*

That there be established in the State Department of Public Welfare a Division of Juvenile Probation. The duties of the division shall be (a) to give aid and advice to courts and probation officers concerning probation; (b) in counties where there is no probation service to establish contact with county supervisors and the court concerning the work, in an attempt to establish thorough, high-standard probation service throughout the state and (c) to secure monthly reports from probation officers and prepare a careful annual report concerning probation work in the state, which report shall be published in the annual report of the Department of Public Welfare.

The officers of the division shall be a supervisor and an assistant supervisor. Both the supervisor and assistant supervisor shall be college graduates. The supervisor shall have had at least five years' experience in probation or other closely allied professional child welfare work, and the assistant supervisor at least three years such professional experience.

The committee finally suggests that a copy of this report be submitted to the various public bodies and private agencies whose consideration and action is necessary to put into effect the above recommendations.