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A study of 25 boys ordered to report to the citizenship training group by the Boston Juvenile Court during year 1945

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SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

A STUDY OF 25 BOYS ORDERED TO
REPORT TO THE CITIZENSHIP TRAINING GROUP
BY THE BOSTON JUVENILE COURT
DURING YEAR 1945

A Thesis

Submitted by

George V. Greska

(B. S. Holy Cross College) 1943

In partial Fulfillment of Requirements for
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

This is a study of twenty-five boys adjudged delinquent by The Boston Juvenile Court and ordered to report to the Citizenship Training Department during the year of 1945. In undertaking this thesis, the writer will make a personal and environmental study of these boys, in regard to their family background and to determine what factors were prominent in their behavior patterns. In so doing, the writer will attempt to find the answers to the following questions:

1. What personal and environmental factors contributed to the behavior patterns of delinquent boys?
2. Did the training offered by The Citizenship Training Department have an appreciable effect upon the rate of recidivism?

The reader is referred to the Schedule in the Appendix for more detailed factors taken into consideration.

Scope and Method of the Study

The writer has studied twenty-five cases which appeared before the Boston Juvenile Court and which were sent to the Citizenship Training Department during the months of January, February, March and April for the year 1945. Many studies have been made in the past, and the writer feels that

the selection of the year 1945 has not been investigated.

By selecting the first four months of the year 1945 in which twenty-five cases appeared at the Citizenship Training Department, the writer believes that in this specific time sampling, he has a representative selection of the cases that were ordered by the court to attend CTD for the year 1945.

These twenty-five cases have been studied in order to answer the specific questions set forth in the purpose of this thesis. The schedule was used to give a more detailed picture of the boys and their families by recording details of each case systematically. It was prepared by the writer from data contained in the case history at the CTD.

The material that will be utilized in this thesis will be extracted from the records at the CTD, and also from the Boston Juvenile Court. The data was prepared by the writer from case histories at CTD, which contains, a social recording of the boy's progress at the CTD and recommendation for each case.

Limitation of the Study

The writer has found it necessary to base his findings on all the material studied that were sent to the CTD by the Boston Juvenile Court.

Since some of the cases were sent by different district courts to CTD for observational purposes only, these

cases were not studied by the writer, because the case histories were not complete.

CHAPTER II

CONCERNING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Under the Massachusetts Law a delinquent is "a child between seven and seventeen who violates any city ordinance or town by-law or commits an offense not punishable by death or by imprisonment for life."¹

The legal definition of delinquency differs in different states. In a few states the courts deal only with those juvenile offenders who are charged with being incorrigible. In most states, however, a broad definition of delinquency, which generally includes certain acts which are not punishable if committed by adults, and which may not have been misdemeanors if committed by minors before the juvenile-court law was passed, is formulated in the statute in order that the court may not be prevented by the lack of technical jurisdiction from assuming the care of any child.

As delinquency is unknown to the common law, we must look exclusively to the statutes for its legal definition. A delinquent child is commonly defined by statutes as any child under a certain year of age who (1) violates a state law or local ordinance (offenses which, if committed by an adult, are punishable by death or life imprisonment are often excepted); (2) is wayward, incorrigible, or habitually disobedient; (3) associates with thieves, criminals, prostitutes, vagrants, or vicious persons; (4) is growing up in idleness or crime; (5) knowingly visits a saloon, pool room, billiard room, or gambling places; (6) knowingly visits a house of ill-fame; (7) wanders about railroad yards, jumps on moving trains or enters at night any car or engine without authority; (9) habitually uses or writes vile, indecent, or obscene language; (10) absents himself from home without just cause or without the consent of parent or guardian; (11) is immoral or indecent; or (12) is an habitual truant.

¹ Probation Manual of Massachusetts, Massachusetts Board of Probation, Seventh Edition, August 1876, p. 34.

The inclusiveness of the definition of delinquency differs in the different states mainly for the reason that some states classify a condition as delinquency which other states consider dependency or neglect. The definition of delinquency given above is comprehensive enough to include all children who deport themselves in such a way as to injure or endanger the morals or health of themselves or others.²

The term "juvenile" as applied to an offender varies greatly according to the statutes of age-limits in different states. In some states the juvenile court jurisdiction ends at the sixteenth birthday; while in California, it extends to the twenty-first year, with the jurisdiction being often varied for the upper years.³

It is beginning to be realized that delinquent children are pretty much the same as other children. . . . It is important to note that in juvenile research, child-guidance, and sociological research circles, the term "juvenile delinquent" merely denotes a child who has been acted upon officially by police officers or court authorities and does not signify a type of case generally different from cases on non-delinquent problem children or those children whose problems have not been officially recognized.⁴

²Herbert H. Lou, Juvenile Courts in the United States (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1927) pp. 53-54.

³William Healy, "Juvenile Delinquency," The Boston Traveler, December 1, 1943, p. 30, col. 1.

⁴Walter C. Reckless and Maphues Smith, Juvenile Delinquency (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932), p. 13.

The causes of delinquency, both adult and juvenile, are so many and complex that it is logical to speak only of factors of causation. We are aware that delinquent behavior is, in part, the reaction of an individual to his particular environment. The environmental causative factors, poverty, slums, unwholesome neighborhoods, over-crowded homes, maladjustment at home, in school and in the community, lack of wholesome recreational facilities, lack of wholesome values, etc., are multiple and often in combination; while the factors, within the delinquent himself, such as the feeling of insecurity, of being unloved and unappreciated; wrong attitudes and impressions created by emotional immaturity or improper education; are just as varied and often very complex.⁵

The true home of the child depends essentially upon the attitudes of the parents toward each other, and yet, in spite of many excellent homes which exist, think of the variety of demoralizing and thwarting influences that are often found in all too many families. Instead of kindness and harmony, we have discord and defective discipline. In the place of health, consideration and cheer, we discover disease of mind and body, intemperance of speech and behavior, and despair.⁶

⁵Healy, op. cit., p. 30, col. 1.

⁶Edwin J. Cooley, Probation and Delinquency (New York 1927), p. 6.

Conspicuous among the causes that lead to tragedies of youth, Cyril Burt notes, "grief arising out of incidents of school life."⁷ One-third of the waking life of youth is spent in school. Much harm may come from teachers who are temperamentally unsuited to the profession and unaware of many of the deeper springs of youthful conduct and behavior. Sometimes discipline is either too lax or too rigid, the teacher does not hold the pupil's attention, the curriculum is impractical, uninspiring, and unadjusted to the capacities and needs of the individual child, moral education neglected, or provisions for physical exercise and sports are not made. Whatever the cause, many children are adjusted.⁸

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

Although serious outbreaks of delinquency rarely occur during the hours of manual work by the youth, nevertheless,

⁷Cyril Burt, The Young Delinquent, (New York); 1938, p. 446.

⁸Cooley, op. cit., p. 7.

⁹Miriam Van Waters, Youth in Conflict, (New York); 1926, p. 90.

the remoter causes of such offenses often lie in the failures, grievances, and discontent, arising from the youth's experiences at his place of employment. Vocational maladjustment, resulting from work unsuited to the training, strength, or temperament of the worker, or various and vicious influence of the fellow-workers with loose moral codes, often play a distinct part in provoking delinquencies. Restless and impatient with irritating conditions untrained youth flits from one occupation to another for reasons unknown to himself, because he cannot interpret the dissatisfactions and vague unrest which prompt such action.¹⁰

Not alone is youth in arms against the embattled forces of the world in status quo, but within him are raging the disturbing forces of his own nature. "Adolescent strivings and aggressiveness," says Healy¹¹ "may lead in a direction of ambition and fine accomplishment, or may find outlets largely in delinquent trends." Adolescence is the period of unrest, uncertainty and instability, of the development of behavior tendencies, the set of character, and of habits of thought and action.

The responsibility of coping with delinquency lies

¹⁰Cooley, op. cit., p. 11.

¹¹William Healy, The Practical Value of Scientific Study of Juvenile Delinquents, U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 96, 1922.

in the greatest measure with the parents. Nothing is more important than the home. Dr. Van Waters¹² states:

The home has primary tasks to fulfill for its young; to shelter and nourish infancy in comfort, without inflicting damage of premature anxiety; to enable the child to win health, virility and social esteem; to educate it to meet behavior codes of the community, to respond effectively to human situations which produce the great emotions, love, fear, and anger; to furnish practice in the art of living together on a small scale where human relationships are kindly and simple.

Harmony, insight, good example, and fine encouragement should be integral parts of the family life. And yet the child must not be pampered and indulged; he must be subjected to wise discipline and be trained to obedience, self-restraint and courage, to relish the joy of struggle, work, and the achievement among sterner contacts and the conditions outside the home.

Dr. Gillin, after studying innumerable works and the studies made by many outstanding criminologists and sociologists within the last century, came to the following conclusions: that some delinquents are to be accounted for by their physical and mental limitations, in that, they have become anti-social because of their inability to compete successfully with other members of society. These physical or mental characteristics may be biological or acquired through illness or injury. Often the economic conditions in a delinquent's

¹²Miriam Van Waters, op. cit., p. 63.

family are unfavorable. Poverty in the individual case, may result from the inability to earn an adequate living because of physical, mental, emotional or educational limitations, or it may be caused by the inability to secure work because of existing economic conditions.¹³

Dr. Gillin concludes his findings with the following paragraph:

But over all these circumstances hangs the atmosphere of social influence. The home in which the delinquent is reared, the lack of decency there, the crowded conditions, broken homes,--all these provide conditions inimical to the child's development. Often he must stop school to help earn the livelihood. Frequently he is an illegitimate child placed once or more in a foster home. The streets his playground, he forms associates and learns habits which release anti-social tendencies. The physical defects, the mental abnormalities, and the economic pressures would have little influence were it not that his social relations provide the conditions which develop tendencies which lead him into delinquency. Added to all this are the lack of provision for wholesome use of his spare time, political graft, abuses of the courts, delays and miscarriages of justice; and when he is caught and sent to a correctional institution, even the institutions of correction contribute further to his undoing. Society is against him when he comes out and leaves him to tender mercies of his former "pals". Hence, there is a conspiracy of conditions which account for his becoming a criminal--conditions in his own constitutional make-up, in his early social development, in his lack of training, in his poverty, and in the surrounding social atmosphere, including habits, customs, ideals, beliefs, and practices. The social conditions around him set the stage on which each of these factors plays its part and released in his conduct the good or the evil in his nature. Thus is the criminal made.¹⁴

¹³John Lewis Gillin, Criminology and Penology, (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), pp. 190-191.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 192

Adler also points out the importance of the place of the child in the family group. His position as only child, eldest or the youngest may affect his personality development and behavior patterns. Although they are in the same family environment each child is born into a different situation and is subject to somewhat different influences. A first child is alone at the beginning and the center of interest but after the birth of a second child he is dethroned and may rebel against this loss of superiority. If a first child has a mental or physical disability, the second child may become assertive and aggressive. If the youngest child is unwanted, he may feel a rejection on the part of his parents which was not experienced by the other children. If boys are more favored in the family group than girls, the behavior reactions of both will be affected. These things play their part in the personality development of the child and must be taken into account when treatment is considered so that the necessary corrections and substitutions can be made.¹⁶

Antisocial behavior is the result of the maladjustment between the individual and his environment due to inadequacy of the personality and his environment, or both, and the two factors vary in degree in an endless number of combinations. The unstable balance results in attack on the

¹⁶Pigeon, op. cit., p. 200.

situation, just why antisocial conduct is chosen as the means, just what is the selective principle, are questions not yet answered by science. Inadequate personalities do not necessarily become criminals and some succeed magnificently; conversely there are offenders among well placed, and noble characters who live in favorable circumstances.¹⁷

The family patterns are also of great importance as a causal factor in delinquency. In some families a tradition of lawbreaking is established and passed on from generation to generation, just as law-abiding tradition is passed on in normal families. Another factor relates to the conflict of culture patterns within the family. This is often the case when the parents are from widely different cultural backgrounds as in marriage. They live by different codes and although each code is satisfactory in itself the parents do not manage to pass on a consistent code to the child. Here is a fertile field for divided loyalties and emotional conflicts.

In some instances there is a conflict between the behavior patterns of the family and those of the community. This is particularly true of the second generation in the immigrant families where the Old World culture of the parents, rich as it may be, clashes with the standards the child finds in his community.¹⁸

¹⁷Pidgeon, op. cit., p. 200-204.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 230-231.

The influence of the neighborhood is important when the child emerges into a larger world. In yard, alley and street he finds among his playmates a new set of codes and a new situation to which he must make adjustment. This point comes earlier among the poor than among the well-to-do and is subject to less supervision. Just as certain families have traditions in criminal behavior and are characterized by a high rate of delinquency, so certain neighborhoods have a tradition of lawlessness and tend to produce a disproportionate number of delinquency cases. They are usually slums on the fringe of expanding business and industrial districts, marked by physical deterioration.

Crime is organized in these areas through the gang, which is an important factor in influencing behavior and perpetuating traditions. Membership in a gang is a normal experience in every boy's life and grows spontaneously out of the play group. It is not a cause of delinquency, but it is a natural medium in carrying on the neighborhood tradition. It facilitates the commission of crime, improves its technique and widens its range. Delinquency is to a large degree a companionship affair. A study of delinquents in the juvenile courts in Chicago in 1928 showed that 18.2 per cent were lone offenders while 81.8 per cent were group offenders. The element of leisure time is also important since gang activities take place during the play period and are sometimes the only outlet

available.¹⁹

William C. Kvaraceus states that other modes of behavior in the field of delinquency are acquired. He further states that most juvenile behavior ordinarily characterized as delinquent is not abnormal. This behavior, he finds, is the result of frustrations and the thwarting primary needs, resulting in aggression action. In his studies, Mr. Kvaraceus came to the conclusion that delinquency is a social rather than an individual phenomenon. From a causative point of view he found that it was an individual's pattern of reaction to a given situation that makes a delinquent behave as he does. He concludes that there is no single cause for delinquency. Therefore there is no one cure or treatment to eradicate this type of behavior.²⁰

Poor health of a parent is another factor in the delinquency of the children. A parent, physically unable to fulfill his obligations to the children, centers his interest on himself. In the meanwhile the wife and the mother is torn between the demands for attention from the ailing parent and from the children. Since the problem of the sick parent seems more immediate, the children suffer from this loss of recognition. From this, hostility and resentment arise and to

¹⁹Pidgeon, op. cit., p. 237.

²⁰William C. Kvaraceus, Juvenile Delinquency and the School, New York; World Book Co., 1945, p. 290-7.

satisfy their needs the children seek recognition outside the home. Once again, the temptations may be too great for their personalities to handle and they become susceptible to delinquency traits.

During wartime the well-being and the security of children are threatened by the general atmosphere of tension. Military operations and the mobilization of industry and manpower on the home front have affected family organization to a great extent. Increased social mobility often results in the lessening of the responsibility of the individual to adhere to the mores of society. The most striking aspects of social change during wartime consists of the redefining of values. The atmosphere tends to be electrified with an intangible element of excitement and unrest. There is also a tendency for many to adhere to that old pagan philosophy, "Eat, Drink and Be Merry For Tomorrow We Die."

Therefore, it is necessary to take into consideration all of the factors mentioned by the writer, and in later analysis of case studies, to learn which of these factors played a prominent role in the boys' delinquency behavior.

CHAPTER III
HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF A JUVENILE COURT

The Juvenile Court is one of the first of the specialized courts set-up in recent years within the judicial structure. It is built along modern lines, in harmony with the scientific knowledge and techniques of the twentieth century, and has been made as free as possible from the historical attitudes and procedures which fetter other parts of the criminal justice system. For many centuries Anglo-Saxon law recognized that children were not fully responsible in criminal matters. Under common law the age of seven was set as the limit below which a child could not be held responsible or punished by the order of the court. Between the ages of seven and fourteen an examination was provided to determine his discernment. If he was held responsible, or capable of the mischief, he could be subjected to all forms of punishment applicable to adults. Blackstone says, "Under seven years of age, indeed, an infant cannot be guilty of felony, for then a felonious discretion is almost an impossible nature; but at eight years old he may be guilty of felony."¹

The philosophy of the Juvenile Court is different from that of an adult court, and is based on two principles--

¹Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England, Book IV, Chapter II, p. 41.

first, that a child cannot be held responsible for criminal acts until a much later age than the common law limit of seven years; and second, that although brought within the jurisdiction of the court, the child is not accused of a crime nor regarded as a criminal. The court stands in the position of a protecting parent rather than a prosecutor. The Juvenile Court merely extends this concept to a child whose behavior shows that he needs care and it provides the custody or discipline which the parent should have given. It is not a mere leniency of the criminal code. It is an attempt to substitute protection and guidance for punishment, to withdraw the child from criminal jurisdiction altogether and use new procedures which permit experimentation and progress.

In thirty-one states the Juvenile Court law specifies it shall be liberally construed. Other statutes describe the purpose as noncriminal, or direct that children shall not be tried as criminals, or that the care given shall approximate insofar as possible that which should be given by a child's own parents. Other features which characterize the good Juvenile Court include exclusive jurisdiction over children's cases, separate and informal hearings, separate detention quarters, separate and private records, regular probation service for both investigation and supervision of cases and clinical facilities.²

²Gilbert Cosulich, Juvenile Court Laws of the United States, National Probation Association, New York, 1939, p. 120-124.

Jurisdiction over delinquency is conferred on all juvenile courts. The definition varies from state to state but usually includes violation of laws and ordinances, truancy, running away from home, begging, wandering about the streets at night, trespassing, incorrigibility, associating with immoral or vicious persons and danger to morals and safety. Although jurisdiction over delinquency is conferred on all juvenile courts certain serious offenses are excluded in some states. In twelve states or sections of states these exclusions relate to all capital offenses or all capital and life imprisonment offenses, while in six other states certain specified felonies, such as rape, murder, or burglary, are excluded.³

The age limits within which the juvenile court holds jurisdiction are outlined in the statutes. In some a minimum is not named but usually children under seven years are not brought in on a delinquency charge unless the matter is particularly serious. The courts follow the common law principle outlined above and they have been upheld in this by various decisions.⁴

When the age limit is high the juvenile court usually possesses only concurrent jurisdiction for those over eighteen.

³Helen D. Pigeon, Probation and Parole in Theory and Practice, New York, National Probation Association, 1942, p.58.

⁴Ibid., p. 59.

The basis for concurrent jurisdiction may also be the offense, as in Utah, where jurisdiction over felony cases from fourteen to eighteen is concurrent with the criminal court.⁵

The Establishment of the Boston Juvenile Court

Even though Massachusetts did not pass its juvenile delinquency law until 1906, seven years after the establishment of the First Juvenile Court in Illinois, it had nevertheless, "long been a center of experimentation in methods of dealing with delinquency and crime." Not infrequently it has been the initiator of movements for the better understanding of youth and the amelioration of its conditions.⁶

The Boston Juvenile Court law enacted in 1906, provided for a separate court with a judge, two special justices and a clerk to be appointed by the Governor and the council, to handle cases in a small section of Boston.⁷

Roughly speaking the court has jurisdiction of all children under seventeen years of age who commit offenses in the business district and the North, West, and South Ends, and the Back Bay Sections of Boston. It has no authority over children who commit offenses in other parts of the city.

The only cases in which the court ever has anything to do with a child from the outside of that territory are those in which such a child comes inside that territory and commits an offense there.

⁵Gilbert Cosulich, op. cit., p. 27.

⁶Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor T. Glueck, One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1934) p. 9.

⁷Ibid., p. 17.

The separate juvenile court was established only for Boston; in other localities the existing district or municipal courts were allowed to retain jurisdiction over juvenile offenders. The court may continue cases from time to time when investigations have to be made. It also has the power to make its own procedural rules; to hear cases in private; to accept the written promise of the parents or those in "loco parentis" that the child will present himself in court upon hearing, thus leaving him unincarcerated pending the hearing, to admit him to bail where necessary and to obtain needed information from the schools.

Several of the laws which govern the proceedings, adjudication and proceedings after adjudication in the juvenile cases in the Boston Juvenile Court and the Juvenile Sessions of the Municipal or District Courts are as follows:

Section 53 -- Proceedings Not To Be Deemed Criminal

Sections fifty-two to sixty-three, inclusive shall be liberally construed so that the care, custody and discipline of the children brought before the court shall approximate as nearly as possible that which they receive from their parents, and that as far as practicable, they shall be treated, not as criminals, but as children in need of aid, encouragement and guidance. Proceedings against children under said sections shall be not deemed criminal proceedings.⁸

Section 54

When a complaint is made that a child between seven

⁸General Laws of Massachusetts, Chapter 119, Section 53.

and seventeen years of age, is a wayward or delinquent child, the court shall examine the complaint, and witness if any, and have the complaint made in writing and signed by the complainant.

If the child is under fourteen years, a summons shall first be sent reciting the time and place where the child is required to appear, and if the child does not appear, the court may issue a warrant which recites the substance of the complaint and directs the officer to take and bring such child to court. In all other cases, the court shall issue first a summons unless it has reasons to believe the child will not appear, in which case it may issue a warrant.⁹

Section 55 provides; that a parent or guardian be summoned if a child is summoned or brought before the court as provided in the preceding section.¹⁰

Section 57

Every case of a wayward or delinquent child shall be investigated by the probation officer, who shall make a report regarding the character of such child, his school record, home surroundings, and the previous complaints against him, if any. He shall be present in court at the trial of the case, and furnish the court with such information and assistance as shall be required. At the end of his probation period of a child who has been placed on probation, the officer in whose care he has been shall make a report as to his conduct during such period.¹¹

Section 58

If a child is adjudged a delinquent child, the court may place the case on file, or may place the child in the care of a Probation Officer at such time and on such conditions as may seem proper. If it is alleged in the complaint that a law of the Commonwealth has been violated (not so in the case of a city ordinance) the court with the consent of the department¹² may authorize it to be

⁹Ibid., sec. 54.

¹⁰Ibid., sec. 55.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Department of Public Welfare

place the child in charge of any person, and, if at any time thereafter such child proves unmanageable, to commit such child, if a boy under fifteen years of age, to the Lyman School for boys, if a boy between fifteen and eighteen years of age, to the Industrial School for boys, or if a girl under seventeen years of age, to the Industrial School for girls; but not for a longer period than such child becomes twenty-one. The department,¹³ may provide for maintenance, in whole or in part, of any child in charge of any person.¹⁴

Section 59

If a child has been placed in care of a probation officer, said officer, at any time before final disposition of the case, may arrest such child without a warrant and take him before the court, or the court may issue a warrant for his arrest. When such child is before the court, it may make any disposition of the case which it might have made before said child was placed on probation, or may continue or extend the period of probation.¹⁵

The Boston Juvenile Court under the Judgeship of Harvey Baker.

In 1906, when the Boston Juvenile Court was created by the legislature, Governor Curtis Guild, appointed Harvey Baker to be its judge. Judge Baker held this post until he died in 1915. His report of his first five years in office ended with the opinion that "a clinic for the intensive study of baffling cases which fail to respond to ordinary probationary treatment would enhance the efficiency of the court more than any other accessory."¹⁶

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴General Laws of Massachusetts, Sec. 58.

¹⁵Ibid., Sec. 59.

¹⁶Glueck and Glueck, op. cit., p. 47.

Under Judges Cabot and Perkins

Judge Cabot, who served as judge for sixteen years after Judge Baker's death, was succeeded in 1932 by Judge John F. Perkins. From the time Judge Perkins took up his duties at the court, he promoted the idea that children brought before the court offended against the laws of society, and that the welfare of the community as well as of the offenders required that some treatment should be meted out to all who fail to observe the rule of conduct adopted by the community. A penalty was enforced to make the boy realize he had committed an offense and the same penalty was given to everyone who has committed a similar offense. Judge Perkins did not believe in and minimized differentiated treatment at this point. However, in making an investigation in the home and dealing with the offender while on probation, if psychiatric or medical treatment was indicated, the probation officer would see that treatment was available; but, first, the offender should be made to realize the extent of his offense.

Under Judge Connelly

John J. Connelly, Director of the Citizenship Training Department, under Judge Perkins, became the fourth judge of the Boston Juvenile Court.

The meaning of probation and its value

Probation was adopted after the criminal code became severe and vindictive and after social sciences had begun to

exert their influence. Historically, the practice of Massachusetts is important because it was the first state to use probation, both as an informal court procedure and by statutory authority, and its experience has influenced practice and law in other states. The first statute was passed in 1878, but before that point was reached there had been a long period of evolution in the Massachusetts courts, growing out of the desire to escape from rigidity of the penal law.¹⁷

One of the devices employed was the ancient practice of benefit of clergy, developed in the English Courts and originally used to enable the clergy, and later anyone who could read, to escape severe punishment. The power was recognized in the colonies but it fell into disrepute because of its unequal application and disappeared about the end of the nineteenth century. Another device was found in judicial reprieve. This Blackstone describes as the "withdrawing of a sentence for an interval of time" or suspension. This was apparently a common practice but in England it was not an indefinite suspension. The practice was brought over to this country and was upheld in a number of court decisions, although a few denied the power. The attempt of the American courts to suspend sentence indefinitely apparently goes back to this early English practice of judicial reprieve and gave an excuse

¹⁷Helen D. Pigeon, Probation and Parole in Theory and Practice, National Probation Association, New York, 1942, p.84.

for the use of judicial discretion.¹⁸

Thus it was through judicial experiment with methods of suspending the sentence that the basis of the probation system was laid. Evidently this was believed to be the common law powers of the judge and was developed as part of the administration of the justice, just as rules developed in the common law courts and equitable remedies in chancery.¹⁹

Probation is a form of disposition made by the court. It suspends final judgement and instead of commitment to a penal or correctional institution it provides treatment while the offender continues to live in the community. It is in the nature of a contract, in which the offender agrees to certain terms imposed by the court in return for his release. When he fails to fulfill these terms or commits another offense, he has violated his probation and is subject to return to court for other disposition.²⁰

Legally, probation rests on the right of the court to suspend sentence, and without exception the appellate courts have upheld this principle either as an inherent power or as one which may be conferred by statute. The practice of suspending sentence and releasing on recognizance goes back to Anglo-Saxon history. Suspensions may be of two kinds,

¹⁸Belle B. Beard, Juvenile Probation. New York, American Year Book, 1939, p. 120-127.

¹⁹Pigeon, op. cit., p. 86.

²⁰Edwin J. Cooley, Probation and Delinquency, New York, Nelson, 1927, p. 27.

suspensions of imposition of the sentence, or of its execution. In the first instance, the court imposes no sentence. In the second instance, the court imposes the sentence and suspends or defers its execution. In either case the court releases the offender conditionally.²¹

If the imposition of a sentence is suspended and the offender violates the terms of probation, the judge may then impose any sentence he might have imposed originally. If a sentence was imposed but its execution suspended, and the offender violates the terms, the judge may then order the execution of the sentence. Probation is different from mere suspension of sentence, however. It implies specific conditions and treatment under supervision, while suspension of sentence implies only general conditions without supervision.²²

From a social point of view, probation implies constructive treatment. The emphasis has been changed from punishment and retribution to an effort to adjust the individual so that he will cease his antisocial behavior. Thus it is preventive in nature. Theoretically, there is recognition that in certain behavior problems, commitment may be unnecessary or may be unsuitable to the type of case involved.

²¹Gilbert Cosulich, Probation Laws of the United States, National Probation Association, New York, 1940, p. 16.

²²Cooley, op. cit., p. 32.

CHAPTER IV

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CITIZENSHIP TRAINING
DEPARTMENT OF THE BOSTON JUVENILE COURT

The Citizenship Training Department was founded in 1936 by Judge Perkins, who was the presiding justice of the Boston Juvenile Court at that time. It was Judge Perkins' belief, after serious consultation with various prominent people in the delinquency field, that a period of conditioning was not only necessary to make probation effective but it was necessary to gain a detailed picture of the boy in order to understand his behavior pattern.

All boys between the ages of twelve and seventeen, adjudged delinquent by the Boston Juvenile Court, were placed on probation and ordered to report to the Citizenship Training Department by the judge, and to attend for twelve weeks, five days a week, from four to six in the afternoon. Boys on probation to the District Courts of Greater Boston are admitted at the request of the presiding justice of the Juvenile Sessions of such courts.

The purpose of the Citizenship Training Department is to study the extent of the boy's problem and its nature, from the view point of his personality structure and the specific reason for his presence in the juvenile court, along with a possible receptive acceptance of a treatment program. The

department is not intended to carry to completion the treatment of the boy, but it should, through knowledge of community resources, help the probation officer to see that each individual boy is placed in the hands of an organization or individuals who will carry out the treatment.

Another important purpose of the Citizenship Training Department, is to further community education in the work of prevention. This department furnished assistance to various community agencies and groups by providing speakers, technical advice and results of research.

The staff consists of a Director with extensive experience in the field of social work and in probation, a boys worker, a case worker, a psychiatrist, two part time crafts and arts instructors, a psychometrist and a secretary.

Headquarters are maintained in the Boston Young Men's Christian Union. Offices and classrooms have been equipped for the specific use of the department, and the gymnasium and basketball court are available at certain times during the week.

The Citizenship Training Department functions directly under the judge of the Boston Juvenile Court, an arrangement which permits its operations to be so controlled as to meet special needs of the court.

The procedure, or daily routine, of the Citizenship Training Department will be discussed as it applies to the boy. The first contact of the boy with the department occurs

after he has been placed on probation by the court. After disposition of his case, in the Boston Juvenile Court, he is ordered to report to the department that same afternoon.

When the boy arrives at the office of the department, he is met by the secretary, who makes a record of his name and address. The boy is then asked to fill out an interest sheet which contains a list of various sports and hobbies in which the boy may participate and how many times a week he actually does participate. The initial interview is had with the Director and is usually productive of information about the boy, his health, present and past, home situation, gained from his mother or other older relative who usually accompanies him. During the first interview, also the boy is told what is expected of him by the staff; that he is to report every day on time, that he is responsible for his own behavior, especially with respect to other people who use the building.

The program endeavors to aid the boy in developing a healthy attitude toward the law, the family, and the institutions under which he must live. On Mondays from four to five o'clock, he participates in community singing under the supervision of a staff member; and from five to six o'clock the same afternoon, he attends a woodworking class. On Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, from four to five o'clock, he participates in supervised gym work. Part of this time is spent in calisthenics to develop his body and the remainder of the time is spent in group games where he learns the art

of giving and taking; of acquiring a sense of fair play; of competing with others through the socializing influence of the group. From five to six o'clock that same afternoon, the boy attends a discussion class where he has a chance to participate in an informal discussion. At the present, visual movie reels are shown, and the boy is shown different types of trades, employment, qualifications and the importance of possessing that skill. These discussions have a definite purpose and goal. Teamwork, the rules of the game, a sense of accomplishment are usually the themes and these form a basis for discussions on living in the community, and conforming to the laws and standards of society. On Wednesday afternoon for a two-hour period, the boy attends a matchcraft or a wood-work class. They are expected to complete a number of wood-work articles during their attendance at the department. Manual work provides a sense of quality and thoroughness which cannot be conveyed by verbal means, especially to the boys coming to the department.¹ It also is an "essential democratic experience which comes not just from living but primarily from working together."²

The afternoon activities end about six o'clock, and boys designated by the Director are given two student car

¹Report of the Evaluation Committee, Citizenship Training Department of the Boston Juvenile Court, June 1942, p. 57.

²Ibid., p. 56.

tickets each. This is done to relieve the financial strain attendant on reporting every day when a boy lives a considerable distance from the center of the city. In general, all boys, except those who live in the North End and the West End, are provided with tickets, although exceptions are made to the above ruling.

At the conclusion of the twelve weeks, the Director generally has a brief talk with the boy in which they review the whole experience and discuss the plan for the future. The boy is returned to court, and the worker reviews the boy's work to the judge and makes possible recommendations for the boy. If he has completed his first twelve weeks in a satisfactory manner, he is recommended to continue on his second probationary period; reporting only once a week to his assigned probation officer. The boy is invited to return at his own volition for advice or help whenever he wishes and is told that the staff will always be glad to see him. Four out of ten boys come back voluntarily, for various reasons.³

Manual and technical work, especially for the boys referred to the department has the value of affording a work experience which, particularly in groups, often has an influence on character. In addition, it is one method by which these boys can be shown that what they do is useful, and so

³Evaluation Report of the Citizenship Training Department, op. cit., p. 6.

tends to give them a feeling that they have a worthwhile place in society.

All boys who are ordered to the Citizenship Training Department, as a condition of their probation by the Boston Juvenile Court, are given a thorough medical examination at the Boston Dispensary. If a boy is diagnosed as having a serious sickness, all efforts are made by the department to correct this illness with the cooperation of the Boston Dispensary. Dental care is also given by the dispensary.

Certain psychological tests of intelligence, such as school achievement and special ability are administered in all cases. Psychological group tests, the Terman, the Dearborn and the Stanford-Binet Achievement are given to the boys during their second or third week at the Department, to enable the leaders to get an insight into the individual boy's mental capacity and to learn his aptitudes and mechanical skills. Often the results of these tests explain why the boy is maladjusted at school, or disclose that he is not measuring up to his full capacity at school. If there is too much deviation between results of the Dearborn and the Terman, the Wechsler-Bellevue test, an individual test is given to the boy by a psychologist.

Observations are made on each boy throughout the twelve week period by a staff noted in alert analysis of characterizations, of behavior. Discussion classes, group games, arts and crafts, the locker room and a variety of

social situations are the medium for these observations.

A trained case worker makes a thorough social investigation of each boy's home, school, and contacts with other social service agencies the boy may have had in the past.

Case conferences are conducted on each Monday afternoon of the week, after the boy has attended the Citizenship Training Department for a period of four weeks; his case is staffed at the conference, which is attended by the Director, case worker, boy's worker, psychiatrist, psychologist and if the boy is active with another social agency, the worker from that agency attends. The factors of the boy's environment, the results of his physical examination, and psychological tests, are reviewed and appraised. This data is used as a background to the observations secured through the medium of group activity. Finally, this data is evaluated for the purpose of revealing:

1. The boy's problem
2. The treatment that should be undertaken in the light of the data secured.

Some of the aims of treatment of the Citizenship Training Department are to aid the boy as much as possible in developing insight into his own motives of behavior. The staff tries to instill incentive into the boy so as to arouse him to make his own effort in every phase of the program. Another important aspect to be considered in the department's aims, is to encourage and give the boy a sense of achievement

by aiding him to complete successfully certain types of activity.⁴

The attainment of a successful means of carrying out the aims of the Citizenship Training Department are numerous. Group activity is an important factor for socialization influence which it provides is used as a helpful medium through which to work. The gymnasium activities, through systematic exercises and games, are utilized. Here the boy has an opportunity to express his aggressiveness or possibly other behavior traits which can be observed by the staff. The classroom discussion period is used to gain insight, information, and discipline in clear thinking. The leaders hold frequent informal talks with the boys, whereby a good working relationship may be established between the leader and the boy. The boy is encouraged to become an active member of a club, church groups, settlement house, and other community groups, by interpretation to the end that he may understand their function and be attracted to their activities. During the summer period, boys are participating in an outdoor program which consists of a camping trip, hiking, sailing and athletics. For those who wish to go to a summer camp, the department provides this facility.⁵

⁴Pamphlet, The Citizenship Training Department of the Boston Juvenile Court, August 1942.

⁵Ibid.

As a result of day to day observation of boys passing through the Boston Juvenile Court, the conclusion was reached that it is unnecessary to send all to a psychiatric clinic for study, for the great majority were normal but badly trained. This led to the establishment of a department in the court which was organized to make a systematic, progressive study of each case, to see whether the boy could be helped to develop self-discipline through educational or other methods, and where the need for psychiatric treatment exists, to make sure that it is provided. The program is based on the following principles:⁶

Many normal boys are delinquent because of a lack of training in the fundamental qualities of good citizenship and good manhood. They are often not vicious or pathological, but essentially untrained.

Delinquency is not a fixed category by which boys can be classified. Delinquent behavior is found in all types of boys regardless of station, race, or environment, and is seen in all possible ranges of the normal, pathological and defective.

No particular skill has preeminence in the treatment of delinquent behavior. Insights from Education, Psychology, Psychiatry, Sociology, Medicine, Religion, all must be used in an adequate treatment of the problem.

⁶Pamphlet, op. cit., p. 52.

CHAPTER V

CASE STUDIES

This chapter will be devoted to the presentation of data found in the case histories concerning the boy and his social environment; the charge and finding of the court; observations made by the Citizenship Training Department; and the recommendations made at the staff conference regarding a successful treatment for the boy. At the end of each case, there is a brief summary. Names utilized in these studied case histories are fictitious.

Case 1

William Stone, age 15, lives with his father and step-mother, and one brother in the home of the grandmother, in a three story red brick building, in a crowded negro residential section of Boston.

The mother deserted the family in 1939, and was a difficult person, drinking constantly, and associating with other men. She had a court record and served a three months sentence in the State Reformatory. William was born in the infirmary. He was under the care of the Department of Public Welfare, until the age of two, when he was returned to his grandmother.

The father divorced the mother in 1940 and married the stepmother in April 1942 and settled down in one of the metropolitan suburbs. He is obliged to work at night. The care and supervision of William is left with the grandmother who apparently has not been able to deal with the boy. As a result he has taken advantage of her and has been a constant problem in the home, in the neighborhood, and at school. The grandmother would shield him from the father constantly with the result that he

received no discipline. However, there is evidence, received from the boy, that when disciplined the father administered very severe punishment which the boy resented.

William is in the eighth grade at a disciplinary day school, where he was transferred from a local grammar school because of his behavior which was described by his teacher as a general nuisance and constantly troublesome. He did poor work at the grammar school but was not a truant.

The boy is a regular church attendant at the Christian Science church. He is a member of a settlement house, and described by the worker there as a pugnacious, sly, and sneaky individual, who has had the club in an uproar on many occasions. Last summer, he was sent home from the camp club for using profane language.

As a result of a complaint of larceny, William was adjudged delinquent, given a suspended sentence to Lyman School, and was ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Group for the first twelve weeks of his probationary period.

When this boy completed his twelve weeks at the Citizenship Training Department, he appeared in court and because of his poor attitude and behavior, was given six additional weeks to the Citizenship Training Department for further training.

It was only after William was given additional time that he showed any improvement in his attitude and behavior at the Citizenship Training Department. Overly polite and always ready to volunteer, he took the moral side of every argument, showing he knew better than he showed in his conduct. He always berated his father for his stern disciplinary action, whenever there was a discussion on parents or home. When disciplined, he usually cried and begged for another chance. He always sided with the colored boys in the group, and seemed to be the type who felt insecure and resentful because of his race. The boy was quick to make excuses and feigned innocence whenever disciplined and showed little courage. In the gymnasium, he had limited ability and invariably used unfair tactics in a game. In a woodworking class, he conformed and did a good job, but was always quick to take advantage of a leader if given the opportunity.

Recommendations:

Medical - Glasses

Personal - Probation supervision on strict condition of behavior in school, and membership in the settlement house, good behavior in the neighborhood.

One of the factors appears to be lack of supervision, along with lack of discipline. The boy lives with his grandmother, who shields the boy constantly from the father, and when disciplined, it is severe which the boy resents greatly. From the basis of receiving punishment from the father, the boy shows great hostility, and projected this upon the leaders at the Citizenship Training Department. Because of this it was necessary to have the boy return for an additional six weeks.

Case 2

Chester Chance, age 13, until placed with the Children's Aid Association, was living with his father, mother and four brothers and two sisters, in a single family house in a fair residential section in Boston.

The mother was born in Massachusetts in 1899. She is a tall, unattractive looking woman and expressed the fact that she had a difficult time raising a large family with little cooperation from her husband. She has worked irregularly since marriage as a practical nurse. She insisted that she has been unaware that Chester has been stealing, even after the boy had admitted many times that she knew about it.

The father was born in Massachusetts in 1899. He is a disabled naval veteran of World War I, having

been injured in a gun explosion, and as a result of which one of his lungs was collapsed. He spent two years after the war in a Veteran's hospital and since this time has suffered from severe attacks of asthma and a nervous condition, diagnosed as psychoneurosis. According to the mother, he is a very difficult person to live with, is constantly irritable and abusive and flies into a rage at the slightest provocation. The father shows no interest in the children and leaves all family decisions to his wife.

There was considerable quarreling and misunderstanding between the parents, and apparently as far as this boy was concerned inadequate supervision resulted. An older boy was known to a court and was a difficult problem.

This boy was in the seventh grade, passing in all subjects, except English and economics. He was described as inattentive in class, and although not a serious disciplinary problem, was restless.

He is a member of a church and attends regularly with his mother, who is an active member in many church organizations. Chester never belonged to a club, but is an active choir boy at the church.

As a result of a complaint of larceny, Chester was adjudged delinquent, given a suspended sentence to the Lyman School, and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of his probationary period.

At the Citizenship Training Department this boy impressed the leaders with his good looks, and rather pleasing personality. He was always sociable with other boys and had no difficulty in adjusting to a group setting. On several occasions when he was disciplined, he was unimpressed and in no way appeared to resent, or be disturbed by the discipline. Chester was very active in discussion, and his remarks were unusually intelligent; he was a fine singer, an excellent boxer; played an aggressive game in basketball and showed unusual courage and competitive spirit. This boy realized the full value of his good appearance and personality, and was almost a chronic beggar, who had been picked up on several occasions begging in the streets in town. He had become so accustomed to the discipline and talk given by his mother that it had no effect upon him.

Recommendations:

It was recommended that the boy be placed in a foster home, which occurred at a later date. Further recommendation was made that the probation period be extended until he had time to adjust in a foster home.

Parent illness is a factor in this case. The father has asthma and psychoneurosis. In addition he has little concern for the children, is irritable, and difficult to get along with. As a result, he is unable to give Chester the proper supervision and attention that this boy is eager to receive. The boy has become so accustomed to the lectures of his mother that she is unable to adequately discipline him.

With the family's cooperation, the boy was accepted by the Children's Aid Association for placement in a foster home.

Case 3

John White, age 15, lives with his parents, two sisters and three brothers, in a five room apartment on the second floor of a large brick apartment building in a poor residential section in the South End.

The mother was born in Massachusetts in 1903. She is an adequate mother and housekeeper. She appeared quite cooperative and very much upset over John's arrest and still does not believe that he was involved in the theft.

The father was born in Italy in 1904, was taken to Canada in his infancy, and came to Boston when he was ten years of age. For the past year he has been engaged in defense work and averages \$40 a week. He has a long court record for assault and battery on his wife and for neglect of his children. He believed that John's companions led him into trouble and he has forbidden him to associate with them.

John is in the eighth grade, and has repeated this grade. He is described as especially quiet, has never been a disciplinary problem, but is capable of doing very good work in his studies. He has been absent excessively, which held him back in his studies. This was largely due to the fact that the boy had an operation on his finger, attended school less than a month, and as a result was unable to keep up with his class.

The boy is in good health, and has worn glasses since he was eight years of age. He is described as respectful to his parents and gets along well with the other members of the family. He is industrious, having worked for the past five years selling papers and shining shoes. He turns in all of the money he earns to his parents and is given a small allowance.

The boy has been an irregular church attendant for the past year. He has not attended the settlement house where he had been a member for five years, but recently joined a Boy's club and the sea scouts.

The boy from the beginning, impressed the leaders at the Citizenship Training Department as a quiet, well-mannered and serious boy. He entered the department with the attitude of doing a good job and successfully completed his twelve-week period with an excellent record. He was friendly, cooperative and adhered to all regulations. In the gymnasium activities he did very well, showed ability but did not like basketball because he was afraid of breaking his glasses. Because of his excellent record, he was given the opportunity of going to work four or five days before he completed his probationary period at the Citizenship Training Department.

Recommendations:

John has sufficient recreational interests, and together with the fact that he has a part time job should be sufficient with probation supervision.

The mother, an adequate person, and giving all she possibly could to the needs of the family, showed a great quantity in a defensive product, when she thought that John was not involved in the stealing complaint brought against him. The father possesses a long court record of assault and

battery on his wife and neglect of her and the children.

At home John was described by his parents as respectful to them, gave them no trouble, and was industrious. He proved these qualities to the leaders at the Citizenship Training Department.

Case 4

James Cloud, age 15, lives with his parents, a married sister, four brothers, and one sister. They occupy a five room apartment on the first floor of an old brick building in a poor residential section in Boston.

The mother was born in Massachusetts in 1900. She is short, heavily built woman, very talkative and appeared to take the boy's trouble lightly. The mother believed that when the family moved to another locale two years ago, James became friendly with another boy, quite a troublesome boy, who was known to the police and had a previous court record. James, although warned to stay away from this boy, associated with him for two years until the family returned to its original locality.

The father was born in Massachusetts in 1896, and worked as a laborer all his life, and at the present time is a member of the bottlers union and works at various breweries in town. Previously he was employed as a laborer at a race track for a period of seven years. For the past five years, the father has suffered from a kidney ailment and lost much time from his work, and only recently had a severe case of pneumonia.

The oldest boy is employed in defense work, has been the financial backbone of the family for the past four years, and also the chief disciplinarian for the younger children.

James is now in sixth grade, having spent five years in the first three grades. He is described as no disciplinary problem, but indulges in a great amount of day-dreaming and is inattentive in the class. His conduct mark is "B", effort "A", and is failing in

practically all of his subjects. In 1939, he was placed in the special fourth grade.

The boy is industrious, earns money running errands for the neighbors. He has a bicycle, and seems to spend a great deal of his time working with tools around the house. He spends his leisure time in the house, reading or listening to the radio.

James attends church regularly and never has to be reminded of his religious duties. He is also a member of a boy's club and attends three nights a week.

As a result of a larceny complaint, James was adjudged delinquent, placed on probation, and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of the probationary period.

At the Citizenship Training Department, the boy had an untidy appearance, needing a hair-cut and was poorly dressed. He appeared at times to be somewhat sensitive about this. The boy gave an impression of being adequate and having good manners. He has a splendid personality, friendly and likeable manner which makes a very good impression. The boy is most responsive to any attention and expressed great effort at all times. In group games, he displayed considerable courage and competitive spirit. He was so small, however, that he was handicapped, although he did display good ability. In the woodworking class, he showed a good deal of interest and worked fast with good results. Although he is retarded mentally, he seems adequate and with supervision should do well.

Recommendations:

Personal--James has returned to the Citizenship Training Department since he was discharged by the court, voluntarily taking part in all activities. This together with his interests in club activities in his neighborhood apparently gives him sufficient recreational outlet. Probation supervision is recommended.

A prominent factor in this case is the illness of the father, who is afflicted with a kidney ailment. The boy is mentally retarded, but still adequate in manual projects, and seems to have a great deal of interest in playing with tools

about the house.

Another factor may be moving from one locality to another, and the boy may have become lonesome, seeking companions to play with, and came across an undesirable one.

The oldest brother is the sole contributor to the welfare of the family and also is the disciplinarian of the younger children.

Case 5

John Black, age 15, lives with his parents, six brothers and one sister in a single house of six rooms in a housing project in Boston.

The mother was born in Boston, and the extent of her formal education terminated after the completion of grammar school. She is a nice appearing woman, middle aged, emotionally disturbed over John's action and unable to explain such a deed. She felt that it had brought disgrace on the family, seemed very much concerned that the school would discover that John is on probation and that it would serve as an ill reflection on her four older boys who attended the same high school and have made fine records.

The father was born in Massachusetts in 1893, left high school to accept a job. He is employed in a shipping department of a food company, averaging \$48.00 as a weekly salary. The mother claims the father to be industrious and a strict disciplinarian. He was very much upset over John's court appearance and felt that by attending the Citizenship Training Department, John might become acquainted with troublesome boys.

John is a sophomore in high school. During his freshman year, he failed French and Science and is repeating these subjects at the present time. At school he is very quiet, being no disciplinary problem and capable of doing better work but does not exert himself.

He is a regular attendant at church, attending Bible History classes on Friday nights. Although not an active

member of any club, he participates in the C.Y.O.

The boy usually spends his leisure time in the neighborhood of the project, in company of his brothers and a few other boys well known to the family. Permission is not granted John to remain outdoors evenings, unless he is with an older brother, or his parents. In the home he spends his evenings doing home work or listening to the radio.

As a result of a complaint of larceny, John was adjudged delinquent, given a suspended sentence to Shirley, and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of his probationary period.

At the Citizenship Training Department, John impressed the leader as being a clean cut, regular type of a boy, who had normal interests in boys' activities. He was good looking, shy and bashful, always polite and well mannered. He was friendly and cooperative. During the twelve weeks, at no time were any vicious or delinquent habits displayed. His greatest interest was in athletics, especially soft ball where he displayed skill and ability. In group discussions, he took an active part, showing a high degree of intelligence and a good social sense. This boy's sole difficulty seemed to be in school, having trouble with his studies, although he improved as time went on.

Recommendations:

This boy's home is an excellent one and it seems that he will receive adequate supervision at home.

Personal--Probation supervision.

Medical--The boy's dental needs were taken up with the parents. They are taking steps to have the recommended orthodontia performed.

This boy has an excellent home background. The boy seems to be rebellious against the authority of his father, a strict disciplinarian, and thus having difficulty with his school work. It is expected he will follow the pattern of his brothers, who gained good records at school. In this way

he would be seeking recognition as an individual rather than a member of the family.

At the Citizenship Training Department, he received the recognition that was due him, from people who showed interest in him as an individual.

Case 6

Arthur Goat, age 15, lives with his mother, maternal grandmother, and older brother in a five room apartment building in a congested residential and business section of Boston. The building is very old and badly in need of repairs, but the apartment, though dark and unattractive, is comfortably furnished and presentably clean and orderly.

The mother was born in Massachusetts, she completed the sixth grade in school. Previous to her marriage, she did farm work. She has had a difficult time bringing up her family and after her husband left her, had two nervous breakdowns. She is a coarse looking woman, has endeavored to discipline her children but has little control over them.

The father was born in Massachusetts. The extent of his education is unknown. He is employed as a bar tender. He was divorced from his wife and has failed to contribute for the support of his children. The father was cruel and abusive to his wife and children.

The mother was assisted by a social agency, after divorced from her husband. She has been employed in defense work.

The family is known to other local social agencies, most actively to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

Arthur was a member of a settlement house for four years, but did not attend last year. He has been a member of a boy' club for the last three months and is especially interested in movies, attending every Friday night. The boy attends church regularly and is receiving instructions for confirmation.

As a result of a complaint of larceny, the boy was adjudged delinquent, given a suspended sentence to Shirley, and

ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department the first twelve weeks of his probationary period.

At the Citizenship Training Department, he was absent a great deal and gave the leaders the impression that he could not follow the simplest orders or directions. When tested, even though he was found to have a high performance ability, he was observed to be a very dull boy. He did not know how to play with the other boys and had no coordination in any of the gymnasium activities. He was listless and given to day dreaming, unattractive, aloof and unfriendly. He was unkempt in his personal appearance, clothes untidy and hair uncombed.

Recommendations:

Without constant supervision and training in the simplest trade, this boy might well become a defective delinquent.

One of the factors of this boy's behavior appears to be a broken home. The father never supported the family properly, was cruel and abusive, finally deserted the family.

Further, the boy's mother had two nervous break-downs since the husband's desertion. She also works in a defense factory and delegated her authority to the grandmother, who was unable to control the children. As a result, the boy did not receive the proper supervision and training.

Before the completion of the twelve weeks at the Citizenship Training Department, the mother requested that her son be placed in a foster home. Accordingly, the boy was accepted by the Division of Child Guardianship for a farm placement.

Case 7

Joseph Two, age 13, lives with his parents, four brothers, and six sisters, in a five room apartment on the first floor of a three story brick apartment building in a poor and crowded residential section. The apartment is comfortably furnished with modern furnishings, clean, and presentable.

The mother, a nice appearing, well spoken woman, was born in Canada. Previous to her marriage, she worked as a mother's helper and did restaurant work. Since her marriage, she has found it necessary to work occasionally as a waitress to supplement her husband's small income.

The father was born in Massachusetts and attended grammar school, leaving during the eighth grade to go to work as a painter. He worked as a cab driver for several years. His present employment is that of a rigger. There is bad feeling between the boy and the father, and the father has now very little to do with the boy.

The family has been known to other social service agencies.

Joseph attends the sixth grade, and is passing in all his subjects with "C" average, getting a "B" in conduct and has a good attendance record. He is described as no classroom problem, but is a dreamer and seems contented to do as little as possible.

The boy attends no church, but is a member of a boys' club. No attendance at the club for the past two months.

As a result of a complaint of larceny, Joseph was adjudged delinquent, given a suspended sentence to Lyman School, and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of his probationary period.

At the Citizenship Training Department, the boy impressed the leaders as being better mentally equipped than he actually was. After a Dearborn Test, his score was an I.Q. of 70. At first, the boy was sly and sneaky, very defensive and untruthful. For about six or seven weeks, his attitude and behavior continued to be poor and he was silly, evasive and paid very little attention. When his attitude changed for the better, his effort and activity improved considerably. In the gymnasium, woodworking class, but not in discussion, his activity was very good and he accomplished much more than previously. The father, who interceded for the boy at court, at the time

of the home visit was ready "to wash his hands of the whole affair." He wanted the boy placed in a foster home.

Recommendations:

Personal--Probation Supervision.

Social--A membership in some club would afford him an opportunity to take part in an athletic program which seems to be his sole interest.

One factor in this case which should be considered of prime importance is, that the father no longer shows any interest in the boy whatsoever. He interceded for the boy at court, but later wanted to wash his hands of further responsibility. Apparently, the boy was a difficult problem at home before coming to court, and the supervision in the home appears to have been negligible.

It must also be considered that this family has eleven children, and since the mother has to go to work occasionally, the children do not have proper supervision. Paternal rejection is very strong in this case. The boy is rebelling against the father's authority.

Case 8

James Sage, age 15, lives with his parents, two younger brothers and one sister in a five room apartment on the third floor of a large brick tenement dwelling. The home is neat and adequately furnished.

The mother was born in Turkey. At the age of six, her father took her to Russia where she lived until his death, six years later. She is an attractive woman, well dressed, who becomes excited when she talks and is difficult to understand. She blamed James' trouble on his association with a group of Italian boys in the neighborhood, and

berated the families of these boys for encouraging them to steal.

The father was also born in Turkey, and came to the United States in 1920. He made a considerable amount of money in the fruit and produce business. For the past ten years, he has been engaged in the painting and decorating business. He is extremely quiet, but on occasions shows a very violent temper and has beaten the children so severely that the mother had to intercede. The spirit in the family, however, appeared to be excellent and the children are being brought up well. They are disciplined and are required to do their share of the work in the house.

James is in the ninth grade, graduated last June and plans to enter a Mechanics Art School in the fall. He passed in all his subjects, with the exception of mathematics, and averaged "B" in shopwork and drafting. He was given a psychological test, and had a mental age of 12.8 and an I.Q. of 91. He was described by his teacher as a bright boy who did well in his class work, and never gave her any trouble in the class room.

He attends church irregularly at the Greek Orthodox Church. James told the leaders at the Citizenship Training Department, his parents did not want him to attend the Catholic Church even though he desired to do so.

James has been a member of a settlement house for the past four years, but destroyed his membership card, since he was not permitted to associate with older boys by his parents. As a result of larceny James was adjudged delinquent and ordered to report to Citizenship Training Department for his first twelve weeks of his probationary period.

While at the Citizenship Training Department, this clean cut, well mannered boy had a likeable personality, and entered all phases of the activities with enthusiasm. In the gymnasium, he showed good skill and coordination and was interested in developing his body, spending whatever spare time he could find during gym period on chest weights and other apparatus.

Recommendations:

Personal--supervised probation.

The father in this family is a very strict disciplinarian, and there is an indicated amount of resentment on the part of

the boy. The parents will not permit the boy to attend a Catholic Church if he so wishes, and at times the father becomes very violent, administers severe beatings to the children and the mother has to intervene.

Case 9

Frank Peter, age 15, lives with his parents, a brother and two sisters, in a poorly furnished four room apartment in a congested residential section. The rooms are small, dark and poorly furnished.

The mother was born in Italy, and came to the United States in 1914. She attended grammar school until the eighth grade, and left to go to work in a candy factory.

The father was also born in Italy and came to this country in 1902. He worked for several years as a machinist in a shoe factory but was forced to give it up because of ill health. For the past four years he has been unable to work steadily because of a kidney ailment. Because of this, the mother has worked at various times. Reports indicate the mother's control and supervision of Frank is rather inadequate.

This boy had previously been complained of in court for truancy. He was attending the ninth grade in school, and when he was fourteen years old, left school. In school he was conforming but showed no effort or interest. His sole desire was to leave school and go to work.

The family has been known to several social agencies.

Frank is a member of a settlement house, considered a good athlete, excelling in basketball. He is not regular in his attendance at church.

As a result of a complaint of larceny, Frank was adjudged delinquent, given a suspended sentence to Shirley, and ordered to report to the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of his probationary period.

At the Citizenship Training Department, Frank impressed the leaders, as a rather difficult, dull and stubborn type of a boy. Always listless and sleepy he only did what was necessary and never showed any interest or zeal

in his work. He merely conformed and looked forward to getting through without meeting any more than the minimum requirements. Frank never took an active part in discussions but when called upon showed he was attentive. Always aloof and distant, he made no friends in the group, nor was he friendly toward the leaders. This boy, because of his conformity gave little opportunity to get valid observations. In general, he impressed the leaders as a boy of sullen disposition and egocentric attitude.

Recommendations:

Medical--Teeth need attention

Social--Encourage attendance at a settlement house.

Personal--Supervised Probation.

The father in this case has a kidney ailment, and has been unable to work steadily for the past four years. The boy is living in a very poor section of town, and this may be one of the factors in his delinquent behavior.

He has a previous court appearance on a complaint of truancy. It seems that the boy's sole desire upon reaching his sixteenth birthday was to leave school and seek employment.

At the Citizenship Training Department, the boy seemed rather dull, listless and stubborn; one who merely conformed and demonstrated no initiative in the activity program.

Case 10

Joseph Town, age 15, lives with his maternal aunt, occupying the first floor of a modern two family apartment house in a good residential section. The apartment was only recently occupied but is comfortably furnished with modern furnishings and unusually neat and clean.

The mother was born in Massachusetts. After experiencing an unhappy marriage, she divorced the father. Both

parents lived together only a short time and then went on to live with their respective parents. Since the divorce, the mother supported herself by doing waitress work.

The father was also born in Massachusetts. Although ordered by the court to contribute to the support of his family, he has never done so and since the divorce he has remarried twice. He has a long court record, the majority offenses being drunk.

Joseph was born out of wedlock. When six months old, the boy went to live with the maternal grandparents outside of Boston, and remained there until two years ago when his mother took him with her. Joseph has been troublesome and disobedient according to the grandparents. Since returning, the mother has been ill and placed the boy for a short time with his maternal aunt with whom he lived until he left school to go to work. He later returned to his mother. He thinks a lot of her and wishes to remain in this home. She appears to be of low mentality and inadequate. The home environment is unstable.

Joseph was doing poorly in school and becoming a disciplinary problem. He secured a job and thus gained permission to leave school. This boy was also a truant at school. He never did anything serious at school, merely "showed off" playing up to other children to gain attention or recognition. He had a severe inferiority complex which he covered up by his bragging.

This boy had little if any religious training in his life. He is a member of no club, but very much interested in athletics.

As a result of a complaint for being a stubborn child, he was found delinquent, and ordered to report to the Citizenship Training Department for a period of twelve weeks.

While at the Citizenship Training Department, he tried to escape duties and responsibilities because he felt that in these directed tasks he might be a failure and feared discipline and authority. When firmly directed and helped he responded and improved. He was easily discouraged and fearful; unreliable and suggestible, all of which was attributed to this adverse training. His saving trait was a likeable and friendly disposition with a quick responsiveness toward people who were kind to him.

Recommendations:

Social--Work was secured for him, and he was referred to the Young Men's Christian Union for recreation.

Personal--The boy is to keep in contact with the Citizenship Training Department, for it was felt that the boy might have to be placed in a foster home.

Joseph was a healthy adolescent boy whose background was so unstable that habit training and discipline was lacking. His egocentric attitude was a reflection of this insecurity and beneath his aggressiveness, swaggering and bragging conduct was a deep inferiority.

The mother was not adequate to give the boy the proper training required so as to eliminate any possible delinquent traits. Both parents had been divorced and the boy spent much of his life living with his grandparents.

He was a disciplinary problem at school, and after securing employment, left school.

Case 11

Thomas B, age 14, lives with his mother and step-father in a rather untidy five room apartment in a brick tenement block in Boston.

The mother was born in Canada and came to the United States in 1911. She is a shoe maker by trade and has worked in several shoe factories in Boston. Both parents experienced an unhappy marriage, since the husband drank excessively and did not support his family properly. He was brought before the court for nonsupport on two occasions and although ordered to contribute to the support of his wife and child never did so. He finally deserted the family and the mother obtained a divorce from him. She remarried the same year after obtaining her divorce.

Mr. B (stepfather) was born in Canada. He taught school in Canada and came to the United States in 1926 and studied law for a short period. For the past year and half he has been employed in defense work. He shows a great deal of interest in Thomas.

The mother seems dull, but is very much concerned over Thomas and wants to co-operate in every way possible. Conditions at home are said to be amiable and the boy has never been a problem within the house. He always has been cheerful and anxious to help out at home.

Thomas was in the seventh grade, and passing in all his subjects. He was not interested in doing school work. The boy has attended a large number of different schools, due to family moving around.

Thomas attended the Roman Catholic Church regularly and was a member of a boys' club, but did not attend regularly.

The father was known to many courts, the complaints being largely drunkenness.

The boy was recommended to a local clinic for psychiatric study, and the recommendation was made by the clinic that the boy report for psychiatric treatment after completing his probationary period of twelve weeks at the Citizenship Training Department.

At the Citizenship Training Department, Thomas was very frank with the workers in discussing his problem. The only evidence of his instability was in the boy's environment and home.

Thomas, a good looking well built and rugged appearing boy, showed normal healthful interests and adjusted very well to the group at Citizenship Training Department. He participated in every activity and performed well in the program. Thomas was responsive and naturally friendly. He has a good spirit and is attempting to make a sincere effort to help himself out of his difficulties.

Recommendations:

Personal--Probation supervision and continued treatment at a psychiatric clinic.

Social--He should be more active in his club.

The prominent factor in this case is a broken home.

The parents experienced an unhappy marriage which resulted in a divorce. The father drank excessively, and was brought before the court on a charge of non-support.

The mother re-married the same year after obtaining a divorce from the father. The boy is confused and his loyalty is divided between his mother and father.

The instability of this boy is evidenced from his home and environment. He has been recommended to a psychiatric clinic for treatment after he completes his probationary period at the Citizenship Training Department.

Case 12

John W., age 13, lives with his mother, two brothers and a sister in a four room apartment, on the second floor of a large brick apartment in a poor and crowded residential section of the West End.

The mother was born in Scotland, came to this country in 1916 and gained employment in a factory for one year. Since her marriage, she has been forced to work and for the past four years, she has worked as a scrubwoman at a local concern. She is now recuperating from an operation and is still in a weakened condition. Undoubtedly the mother is vitally interested in the family and has done her best to bring them up but she appears inadequate to discipline or control the boys. The mother remarked that John had undoubtedly been led on by his brother James.

Mr. W. was born in Kentucky and the extent of his education was completion of the sixth grade. He served in the armed forces during World War I. After discharge he did restaurant work but was unable to hold his job for any length of time, since he was a chronic alcoholic.

Charles, the oldest brother was before the Boston Juvenile Court on an informal complaint. James, the next boy, was before the same court four times on larceny charges, and finally was committed to Lyman School and later paroled.

John is in the sixth grade and has never been a disciplinary problem and is capable of "C" work in his studies.

The boy attends the Catholic Church regularly and lives up to his religious duties. He has been a member of the Burrough's Foundation since he was eight year old, and attends regularly each night.

As a result of a larceny complaint, John was adjudged delinquent, placed on probation, and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of his probationary period.

The family was aided intermittantly from 1928 through 1936 by the Overseers of Public Welfare.

At the Citizenship Training Department, John a very quiet boy, was quite small and rather thin and impressed the leaders as not being very strong. He did not mix in the group because of shyness, and showed very little ability, skill or coordination in the gym program. He has a very friendly disposition, played well with the other boys in the group and was very easy to manage. Undoubtedly John is very greatly influenced by his brother James, a parolee from the Lyman School, and also had received very little supervision in the home.

Recommendations:

Personal - Probation Supervision

Chronic alcoholism is a factor in this case. The father is unable to work for a definite period on one job because of his attachment to alcohol. The mother has been working for the past four years, and at present is recuperating from a serious operation.

Two of John's brothers appeared before the Juvenile Court on different complaints and one was committed to Lyman School. John may have become an imitator and easily lead by James.

This boy is in a very poor environment and home.

Supervision and proper training are undoubtedly inadequate.

Case 13

James T, age 12, lives with his parents, two brothers, a sister and a grandfather in a five room apartment on the second floor of a three family house in a poor and crowded residential section.

The mother was born in Boston and left school after completing the ninth grade to keep house for her family. For the past year and a half she worked to ease the financial strain and provide clothing for the children. She comes home at noon from work to prepare lunch for the children and during the afternoon they are supervised by paternal grandfather who lives with the family or the maternal aunt who lives nearby.

The father was born in Boston and had little education and no trade and as a result was aided during the depression years by the Department of Public Welfare. For the past six months he has been employed in defense work.

The family has been known to several local service agencies.

James is in the seventh grade in school and is a "C" pupil. He has never been a serious disciplinary problem.

The boy attends church regularly and has been a member of a settlement House for the past two years and attends regularly four or five evenings a week. His main interests are the gymnasium, game room and art class.

As a result of soliciting alms without a license James was adjudged delinquent, placed on probation and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of the probationary period.

At the Citizenship Training Department, James is a particularly quiet boy who kept very much to himself and has not associated with any other particular boy in the group. He seems to be very dull and when questioned became uneasy. In the gymnasium he showed fair coordination but was definitely very "slow moving" and not at all enthusiastic. On a later date, James was hit by a truck and suffered a fractured arm. He was told to report to a settlement house during his probationary period and attend the art classes conducted by the Settlement House three

days a week until his arm healed. He was also instructed to report to the Citizenship Training Department office one day a week. After he returned to the Citizenship Training Department, he seemed to have brightened up a good deal, talked with the other boys and showed a good deal of skill in the gym program, especially in the indoor baseball game. The Director of the Settlement House reported that the instructors of the Art Class feel that James has a good deal of talent.

Recommendations:

Social - That James' parents be advised to move to a suburban area.

Personal - James be placed under supervision of the Director of Settlement House.

Inadequate supervision is a factor in this case. The mother works throughout the day, and comes home during lunch hour to prepare the children their meal and then supervision and authority is given to the grandfather.

The mother is compelled to work in order to relieve the financial strain which burdens the family.

The boy spends his afternoons hanging around the corners, which is not considered as an acceptable factor in removing delinquent traits. James possessed talent in art and should be encouraged to continue in this field.

Case 14

Robert F, age 16 lives in a foster home in a good residential section of Boston. The home is very well furnished and is neat and clean.

The parents, both deaf mutes, have been separated since Robert was an infant and the mother's whereabouts are unknown.

The father was born in Boston and graduated from high school. He worked in various shoe factories outside of Boston. After he separated from his wife, he brought Robert to live with his maternal grandparents. At four years of age, he placed the boy in a boarding school conducted by nuns. Robert remained there until he had completed the third grade of school and was transferred to the Working Boys Home. He was later placed in another home and remained there only a few months since the foster parents decided they were unable to care for the boy and requested the parish priest to find another foster home for him. The priest suggested the present foster home and Robert has made his home here ever since. The father still resides with the maternal grandmother, pays twenty dollars a month for the boy's care and visits him two or three times a week.

Robert was in the third year in High School and he received good marks. His teacher remarked that the boy was not a serious disciplinary classroom problem but slow in carrying out orders. He talked a good deal in class, made remarks under his breath when spoken to and had been disciplined for whistling and yelling at the girls in the classroom.

Robert attends church regularly and was formerly a member of the Boy Scouts of America but gave up this activity when he moved outside the church parish.

As a result of using an automobile without authority, Robert was adjudged delinquent, placed on probation and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of the probationary period.

At the Citizenship Training Department, Robert, a tall well built, good looking boy, seemed to be a good deal older and more reserved than the other boys in the group. He didn't associate with any particular boy and usually spent his time before class doing his home lessons. In the gymnasium, he showed fine coordination and seemed to get a good deal of pleasure out of the activities.

This boy attended the Citizenship Training Department for a short length of time as he left home after being involved in the theft of another car and was picked up by the police in a stolen car. He was committed to the Shirley Industrial School.

This boy never had a secure home. His parents were both mutes and separated when the boy was an infant. He was

placed in a home conducted by nuns at the age of four and since then he has been unfortunate, unable to attain security.

Robert never received the affection and warmth demanded by a boy from his parents. He could not assimilate any identification with a male figure, because of his various placements. He was unable to adjust himself to the foster homes because of the frequent transfers from one home to another.

He attended the Citizenship Training Department for only a short period, since he stole a car at a later date and was committed to Shirley.

Case 15

Fred T, age 14, lives with his parents, three brothers and two sisters in a four room tenement on the third floor of a large brick apartment building in Boston. The home, although clean and well furnished, is too small for this large family.

The mother was born in Boston and left school after completing the seventh grade in order to go to work. She is an unattractive, untidy person, appears to be quite dull and did not appreciate the seriousness of the boy's delinquency. She was especially defensive and appeared very vague about family details.

The father was born in Boston and attended grammar school but left after completing the eighth grade and since that time has worked as a day laborer for several contracting firms. For the past year he has been engaged in defense work. The mother stated that he has been a good father and provider and is a strict disciplinarian. When Fred was released by the police, he gave him a severe beating.

This family is known to several social agencies.

This boy was in the eighth grade and doing well in his studies, poorly in conduct, but fair in effort. Although

he was not an open disciplinary problem, one teacher described him as untruthful and dishonest. Tests show Frederick has only 3.3 grade ability in mathematics.

Fred is regular in his attendance at church and a member of the Burroughs Foundation, attends two nights a week and has been an active member for the past two years.

At the Citizenship Training Department this boy received twelve additional weeks for becoming involved in further delinquency. When he first attended the Citizenship Training Department, he was boisterous and quite fresh in his actions. He is a small, well built Italian boy, who was very careless about his personal appearance and was poorly dressed. He played up constantly for the attention of both the leaders and the group. He was active in discussion classes, always volunteering in order to get attention. When he became involved in his second delinquent action, it seemed to sober and steady him. He was much more subdued and each succeeding week improved in his appearance, conduct, and showed a changed attitude. He turned out to be likeable and alert, always trying to prove he was a good boy. He needs to be supervised constantly.

Recommendations:

Personal - Probation Supervision

Social - Encourage him to attend club regularly and keep busy in various classes there. Needs tutoring in mathematics.

The father is a strict disciplinarian and administers severe physical punishment on the boy. As a result, the boy has become rebellious against the father's authority and directs himself to gain recognition and that was through delinquent action.

The mother is quite defensive and appeared to demonstrate very little concern over the boy's delinquent behavior. Undoubtedly there are diverse attitudes of both parents concerning the boy's discipline.

At the Citizenship Training Department the boy sought

attention from the leaders, by playing up to them. After his second delinquent action, the boy improved rapidly in attitude and activity at the Department.

Case 16

John F, age 16, lives with his maternal grandmother, uncle, a brother and a cousin in a five room apartment on the second floor of a three family house located in a fair residential section.

The boy's parents separated seven years ago and John and his brother went to live with the maternal grandparents. The father, a mechanic by trade, did not visit the children until eighteen months ago, at which time he was a member of the armed forces. John's mother, whom her mother described as a lively, headstrong girl who wanted her freedom at all costs, resides in Boston and contributes two dollars a week to the children's support. The home is not too good for the boy as the grandmother is far too strict and is unaware of the needs of a sixteen year old boy.

John is in the second year of high school and performed poor work the first year and at present his work is below normal standards.

The boy attends church regularly and lives up to all his religious duties and never has been a member of a club, but enjoys playing basketball, baseball, football and swimming.

As a runaway John was adjudged delinquent, placed on probation, and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of his probationary period.

While attending the Citizenship Training Department John, who was not physically well developed, attended regularly and usually arrived early each day to play ping pong. In the gym he was very active and showed a good deal of coordination in the group games and stunts. He took gym seriously and seemed to like these activities, tried hard and had fair ability. Toward the latter part of his probationary period he started truanting and staying away from home at night, and some of the boys reported that he began to steal. Because of his bold and surly attitude,

and several violations of rules at the Citizenship Training Department, it was recommended that John could no longer come to the Citizenship Training Department as his influence on other boys was poor and every effort to change his attitude had failed.

Recommendations:

Personal - boy warned that he must attend school until he was allowed to go to work. That he be placed on probation and given this one chance and if he failed to live up to the terms of his probation, he should be surrendered and sent to Shirley immediately.

A broken home is a factor in this case. The parents separated and John was placed to live with his grandmother. The father had not seen the boy until eighteen months ago and was a member of the armed forces. The mother who wanted her freedom is paying the grandmother two dollars a week for board.

The grandmother is very severe in administering discipline to this boy. He has become very rebellious, resents this authority, his aggressiveness was displayed by frequent truanting from school, and his final action was running away from home.

The boy did not receive proper training as a child because of the parents' separation. There was only one outlet for the boy which was delinquent behavior.

Case 17

Peter S, age 15, lives with his mother in a four room apartment in a large apartment block in Boston. He has only lived with his mother since September 1944. Since he was four years of age, he lived with his maternal aunt

and uncle outside of Boston. When his uncle went into service, he came to live with his mother, who works as a waitress in a restaurant near her home.

The mother was born in New Hampshire in 1907. Prior to her marriage in 1922, she completed the ninth grade in school. She secured a divorce from this man in 1926 and remarried the same year. In 1932 she obtained a second divorce because of incompatibility. Since this divorce, she attended evening high school with the intention of enrolling in a law school. The father was born in Canada in 1900. Since his divorce he has remarried and has two children. At the present time he is an ice dealer. After the divorce went through, he was allowed to see Peter at regular intervals but he never contributed to his support.

Peter, though supposed not to have been a problem to his aunt when living with her, had resorted to stealing and truancy through his own admission. The mother means well, but is too busy earning her living to properly supervise the boy. The boy was a truant in High School when he was a sophomore. He was "fresh" and insolent, according to one teacher who expelled him.

Peter, since coming to Boston, never attended any church. This boy was a member of the YMCA and was a problem there. He could not get along with other boys, was constantly quarrelsome and noisy.

Peter was a tall boy, with a good body, but flabby and undeveloped musculature. He was untidy in his personal appearance and attire, and his looks were marred by a broken nose. In the gym he showed poor coordination, little if any persistence and lacked competitive spirit and skill in games. He couldn't compete with even the younger and smaller boys, was defensive and self conscious about his lack of skill. He had a facility for irritating other boys by his remarks and insults but never had the courage to accept the other boys' challenges. He wanted to be well thought of but was incapable of carrying out the necessary means to attain good relationships. At a conference where Peter's case was discussed it was felt placement in a boarding school was indicated. Peter was finally permitted to go to a farm for placement.

Recommendations:

Because this boy showed himself to be unreliable, undisciplined and untrained at Citizenship Training Department, probation should be continued for a period of time

to see if this boy will adjust.

The prominent factor in this case is that of a broken home. The mother was twice married and each time divorced. This boy lacked security which was largely due to his placement with his aunt at the age of four. He is also confused in respect to whom he should show greater affection. The father visits the boy at periodic intervals. He remarried having two children by his second marriage.

The mother is working as a waitress and does not have the time to give the boy proper supervision and training.

Peter was a problem at school, truanting and because of his insolence, it was necessary to expel him. He was finally placed on a farm.

Case 18

Edward P, age 15, lives with his parents and two sisters in a five room apartment in a housing project for colored people.

The mother was born in Philadelphia in 1908. She is active in several neighborhood clubs, is a pleasant, mentally alert and sincere woman, and appears to have qualifications of an able and aggressive leader. She was more tolerant of Edward's short-comings but did not shield him, as she felt it unfair to the other members of the family to have to bear the shame and criticism for this boy's actions. The father was born in North Carolina, in 1906. He is a clergyman and is a pastor of a Methodist Church in New Hampshire. He was a janitor for sixteen years before his ordination, and during this time studied under the direction of the minister of the Zion Church. This man, an energetic, self-righteous type of person, was extremely hostile toward Edward. Both parents seemed to have lost control of Edward, even though they appeared to be adequate parents for the other boy, who attends an

Eastern College and the two girls who are planning for professional training after completion of high school.

The family was known to a social agency, and received supplementary aid when the father was employed as a janitor, earning a small salary.

Edward was in the second year at a disciplinary school where he was transferred from a high school because of cutting classes, loitering in the building, especially the locker rooms, forging notes from his parents regarding his absence and procuring dismissals on falsehoods. He was repeating the sophomore class when he was transferred.

The boy attended his father's church regularly and was an active member of the YMCA.

As a result of larceny, Edward was adjudged delinquent, placed on probation, and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of his probationary period.

At the Citizenship Training Department Edward, a tall, extremely well built, colored boy, was smiling and personable even when spoken to about his faults and shortcomings. He is an exceptional athlete and did extremely well in both calisthenics and competitive games. In the discussion classes he was a smooth and glib talker and usually had something to say on every point under discussion. Edward, who has a keen sense of humor, excuses his previous delinquencies, omissions and pranks, as "larks" and apparently enjoys recalling them even though they have brought disgrace, shame, criticism, aggravation and annoyance to his family. This boy has been a problem at home and school since he was six years old. He was referred to a psychiatric clinic when he was seven years old, because of nocturnal enuresis and vomiting soft foods. The psychiatrist found the child pleasant and enthusiastic about having help with his enuresis. An attempt was made to point out to the mother the need for more constant discipline but she appeared to be disinterested and listless.

Edward repeated his delinquent acts and appeared before the court once again. The Judge revoked the order of suspension and ordered Edward committed to Shirley Industrial School for Boys.

The parents were inconsistent in their disciplinary action concerning the boy. They have lost control of the

boy's actions, since more attention was given to the other children, one attending college and another aspiring to become a professional teacher. The parents showed no interest in Edward's work and as a result the boy assumed delinquent traits to receive attention and recognition that was not given by his parents.

As a child the boy received psychiatric treatment and the psychiatrist informed the mother to give the boy more consistent discipline but she appeared to be disinterested and listless.

The boy repeated his delinquent action and as a result was committed to Shirley Industrial School for boys.

Case 19

Louis S, age 15, lives with his parents, five sisters and five brothers in a six room apartment on the second floor of a three family house located in Boston.

Although both parents are illiterate the home seems congenial, wholesome and adequate. Only one of the eleven other children has ever been in any court. The four oldest children are working and contributing to the upkeep of the home.

The mother, a quiet and retiring woman, was born in New York in 1901. She is illiterate, as she never attended school. Her children have taught her to write her name.

The father, a very quiet man, was born in Italy in 1890 and came to the United States in 1912. He is also illiterate and earns his living as a fisherman.

The family has been known to a few social agencies.

Louis was in the eighth grade and did very well in most of his subjects. He had poor conduct and only fair effort marks.

This boy attends church regularly and belongs to no club now, but formerly belonged to the Burrough's Foundation.

As a result of breaking and entering at night, Louis was adjudged delinquent, placed on probation and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of the probationary period.

At the Citizenship Training Department he had a very poor attitude at the outset, which was apparent to the leaders, although he believed he could conceal it from them. He disturbed classes by whispering to other boys, by seating himself so he couldn't be detected. He was flippant and sly, never openly misbehaving. He was definitely sneaky in his actions and when spoken to resented correction. He did not have a good attitude and did not seem disturbed by his involvement in delinquency. His behavior was always under cover and not apparent and he would perform only when supervised. He knew better and showed this in discussion classes where he showed insight into the right solution to social and moral questions. He was aggressive in a subtle way, an individualistic performer and not a team man in group activities. In woodworking he showed he had coordination and good manual skill but he again was lazy and sly. As time progressed at the Citizenship Training Department, the worker guided him by discipline and personal talks out of his habits to more frank and open team activity.

Recommendations:

Medical - dispensary recommended a check up on his hearing in a year.

Social - Encouragement to join a neighborhood club where he would be able to further his interest in boxing and woodwork.

Personal - Probation supervision.

This is a case of a boy who is one of eleven children in the family. His parents are both illiterate, and have been taught to write by the children. Four of the brothers work and contribute to the support of the family.

The father, being a fisherman by trade, is away from

home for some length of time, and leaves the supervision of the children in the hands of the mother.

The most prominent factor in this case is the lack of parental supervision, since the father has very little time, due to his work, to discuss social problems with the children. This boy is also retarded and possibly immature for the eighth grade.

Case 20

Frank T, age 13, lives with his parents, seven sisters and a brother in a seven room apartment on the fourth floor in an eight suite apartment building in a densely populated area in Boston.

The mother, a short, round-faced, pretty Italian woman, was born in Italy in 1895, and came to the United States with her parents the following year. She went as far as the ninth grade in school.

The father was born in Italy in 1889 and came to the United States in 1912. He attended school in Italy, and the education he received is comparable to that of our elementary schools. He works in a defense plant on the night shift. He is the dominant figure; the mother is quiet and friendly. The parents are adequate and the spirit in the home is good and this is the first time any of the children have been in trouble. The economic condition is good.

This family has been known to several social agencies.

Frank has a reputation at school as being sneaky and lazy. His marks were passable, but he repeated the fourth grade.

He attends church regularly and has never been a member of any clubs.

As a result of breaking and entering at night, Frank was adjudged delinquent, placed on probation and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the twelve weeks of the probationary period.

While at the Citizenship Training Department, Frank was retarded, unsure and uncertain. He was shy and bashful and quite small for his age. He was a follower and led by more mature boys. He was very emotional and when spoken to for some infraction of the rules, cried very easily. He tried very hard in the department program but was immature and always seeking the approval of the group. He showed good courage in competitive games and was aggressive and showed a fair amount of skill.

Recommendations:

Medical - Nerve deafness was found and he should return to the dispensary for a check-up.

Social - Probation Supervision as this boy is immature and easily led. He should be encouraged to join a club and his parents should keep in touch with his activities in the neighborhood.

This is a case of a father who is the dominant figure of the family. He works on a night shift, leaving the supervision of the children to the care of the mother.

Frank is rather small for his age. He seeks to gain attention and recognition by his athletic ability and aggressiveness in the gymnasium.

It is rather difficult to evaluate any casual factor in this case as the parents are adequate and the spirit at home is good.

Case 21

James, age 16, lives with his parents, a younger brother and a sister, and his maternal grandmother in a six room apartment on the third floor of a three story house located in a poor residential neighborhood in Boston. The home is a happy one and good spirit prevails among its members.

The mother, an attractive, pleasant, rather talkative person, appeared to be an adequate mother who is interested

in the welfare of her children. She was born in Boston in 1906 and her formal education ended with the completion of the eighth grade.

The father, a very quiet but friendly man, was born in Boston, in 1904. He attended school until the seventh grade and is employed at present as a painter in defense work. Both parents are inclined to blame James' delinquency on his associates.

James was in the ninth grade in school and the principal reported that the boy has been a serious problem in school; constantly truanting and was failing in all major subjects.

The boy is regular in attendance at church and was formerly a member of a club but discontinued his membership a year or so ago because he became too old to attend.

As a result of breaking and entering at night, James was adjudged delinquent, placed on probation and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of the probationary period.

As James attended the Citizenship Training Department for a period of less than a week, no observations were recorded of him in the group. He was interviewed on his first day of attendance and wore a grin giving the impression that his court appearance and his poor school report were of no importance. The boy spoke very highly of his home and especially of his mother, who he said was worried and concerned about his trouble. James, a tall, well developed, fairly good looking boy, appeared to be susceptible. The mother gave the impression that she shielded the boy from the father, who is a passive man until his anger is aroused. On a later date James and a companion were in court again as they had been picked up in a stolen car the previous evening. Further investigation revealed that both boys took another car at a previous date and on another occasion, both boys stole a pocket book from a restaurant. James was found delinquent on all the new complaints and his suspended sentence was revoked and he was committed to the Shirley Industrial School for Boys.

This boy did not receive the proper supervision in his earlier childhood days. He was a problem at school, constantly truanting and failing in his school subjects.

The mother has over-protected the boy to a great extent, shielding him from the father who is a passive man until he becomes angry.

At the Citizenship Training Department, he attended only for one week and once again repeated his delinquent actions along with another companion. Because of such offenses, he was committed to Shirley Industrial School for Boys.

Case 22

Thomas T, age 15, lives with his parents in a two-room furnished apartment on the third floor of a boarding house. The rooms were poorly furnished and badly in need of complete renovation.

The mother, a large, pleasant woman, who appears to be quite dull, was born in New Hampshire in 1899. She attended fifth grade in school. Before her present marriage, she had an illegitimate child. The father, pre- to this marriage, was divorced. She is gullible, can't write and depends on the boy more than he upon her.

The father was born in Boston in 1885. His formal education ended with the completion of grammar school. He divorced his first wife and later married his present wife, who describes him as a good husband. Mr. T. is a pressman by trade, but since his health is poor, he accepted work as a "feeder" because there is not so much responsibility involved. The father is not in good health and is now being treated for bronchitis and a skin infection.

This family is known to other social agencies and courts.

Thomas was in the eighth grade but had repeated the fourth and sixth. The principal of the school claims that Thomas has been a behavior problem since entrance there five years ago. He is filled with resentment toward school and claims that the teachers pick on him. He frequently goes to the principal of the school and demands his rights.

He attends church irregularly and is a member of a boys'

club, participating in art classes.

As a result of larceny, James was adjudged delinquent, placed on probation and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of the probationary period.

James is a very tall, thin and pale boy, with long stringy blonde hair. He is unattractive and sickly looking. He lacked coordination and skill in the gym program and showed he had little if any experience in group play or athletics. He tried hard and showed some improvement. He was silly, immature and childish in manner, but did a great deal of bragging in front of the other boys. This was to get attention from the group. With this same desire he talked incessantly in discussion classes, but what he said was absurd or foolish usually. He voiced in his opinion antagonism toward law, the courts, and police, religion and schools. He is a soft, self-indulgent weak boy, who has very little if any pleasing qualities.

Recommendations:

Medical- should receive a periodic check-up at the dispensary. He will have to be forced to be there as he is afraid and irresponsible. For health reasons, as well as other reasons, this family should move out of their present environment.

Personal - He needs supervision of a very close nature. He is highly egocentric and self-indulgent. He receives too much freedom for his age from his parents.

Illness is a factor in this case. The father is being treated for bronchitis and a skin infection. Both parents have been divorced in the past. A great deal of dependence is placed by the mother on the boy, since she is unable to read.

This boy has been a behavior problem at school and has repeated the fourth and sixth grades. He shows a great amount of resentment against school and his teachers.

At the Citizenship Training Department the boy sought

attention by doing a vast quantity of bragging in front of the other boys. This was done to gain the attention he was unable to get at home.

Case 23

Richard P, age 13, lives with his mother, younger brother and maternal grandmother in a five room apartment on the first floor of a three family house. The neighborhood is a fairly good residential section.

The mother was born in New Jersey in 1912. She graduated from high school and was married in Boston in 1930. Since her husband enlisted in the service, she has been employed part time as a waitress.

The father was born in Boston in 1910. He is a high school graduate and worked as a truck driver prior to his enlistment in the armed forces over a year ago and at present time is serving overseas.

Richard is in the seventh grade and described by his teachers as "impish." At the present time he is repeating the seventh grade and is a "C" pupil. The boy is not operating up to his mental capacity in school. It was the teacher's opinion that Richard's delinquent act was due to his associating with another boy who was a troublesome lad and Richard refused to implicate him because he was afraid as the boy was older and bigger.

This boy's home was utilized as a foster home for a period of two years. The mother had to terminate this association because her mother, who was living with her, felt that the mother's attention and love should be focused on Richard and his brother.

The boy attends church regularly and is a member of a Boy Scout Troop in his parish.

As the result of a larceny complaint, Richard was adjudged delinquent, placed on probation, and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of his probationary period.

While at the Citizenship Training Department Richard, a short, sturdily built, friendly and co-operative boy, was found to be excitable and immature in some of his actions, especially in his attempt to be friendly with the older

boys in the group. He was talkative and a little silly at times, but was always cooperative and obedient.

Despite his handicap of age and height, he was able to compete successfully with other boys who were taller and older. In the woodworking class he lacked experience but worked along at a slow pace and performed a medium quality job. His response in the discussion classes showed intelligence, good training and a sense of community values.

Recommendations:

Medical - Continued attendance at the Neurological Clinic because of enuresis.

Social - Should remain in the Boy Scout Troop. Camp placement for the summer. As he is susceptible to the influence of older boys, mother should keep a check on his companions.

Personal - Probation supervision for the present and placement until father returns if the boy gets into further difficulty.

The father is serving in the armed forces and the mother is working on a part-time basis as a waitress. This serves as a factor in the delinquency of this boy.

The mother previously had a foster home and had to give this up at the request of her mother who thought that the mother was not giving enough of her time to Richard.

Since the father is in the service, the boy feels the absence of a male figure in the family and transgressed the laws of society. This was one of his outlets, aggressiveness had to leave through some channel.

Richard is repeating the seventh grade; at the Citizenship Training Department he was responsive, cooperative and obedient.

Case 24

William, age 15, lives with his mother, sister and three brothers in a five room apartment on the third floor of a six family house located in a poor residential neighborhood.

The mother was born in Boston in 1901. She went as far as the seventh grade in grammar school. She is small, thin, nervous woman with a cardiac condition. Her daughter takes care of the home. She claimed that her husband is an alcoholic and argumentative and by mutual consent they separated two years ago. Both parents were married before. The mother is divorced from her first husband, leaving this home during his absence to live with another man who was married. Five children were born of this union. These children were given the mother's maiden name. The mother, in spite of her background, seems adequate and the children are well-mannered, refined and have high ideals. The home is a happy one, in spite of William's frequent outbursts and a good spirit prevails among its members.

The father was born in Indiana in 1890. He is a high school graduate and is employed as a truck driver in Boston. He seemed to think that William was decidedly wrong in arguing with his mother and sister and maintained that the sister was not getting a fair deal when she had to give up her job to keep house for them because his wife had heart trouble.

The family is known to various social agencies and local courts.

William is a ninth grade pupil, performs average work and was described by his teacher as no disciplinary problem to the classroom.

This boy is a runaway and as a result was adjudged delinquent, placed on probation and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of the probationary period. This boy is a regular attendant at church and has never been a member of any neighborhood club. He claimed that he was never interested in joining a club.

At the Citizenship Training Department, William, a tall, rather awkward boy, was cooperative and interested in all phases of the program. In the gym class, he was slow in his reactions when playing volley or punch ball, but this was apparently due to his poor vision. In the woodworking

class, he was very quiet, steady, attentive, and cooperative, but his work was only of medium grade. In the discussion classes, he was alert and expressed himself frequently and arrived at good accurate conclusions. His manner was always quiet and friendly and he got along well with the boys and the leaders. In personal interview he was always friendly and prone to discuss his real feelings in regard to his arguments with his sister and mother.

Recommendations:

Medical - Should continue at the Dental Clinic until work is completed.

Social - Should be encouraged to join a club.

Personal - Probation Supervision.

Both parents in this case have been divorced and remarried. The mother is suffering from a cardiac condition and one sister looks after the household duties. The background of the mother is poor, since she left her husband, went to live with a married man and five children were born through this association.

William may have resented the fact that his sister was contributing to the welfare of the family and he was unable to assist in any way. He wanted to assume a father role in this family, and when this idea was scorned at, since the boy is oversensitive and immature, he decided to run away from home.

Case 25

Joseph T, age 16, lives with his mother in a six-room apartment on the third floor of a three family wooden

house located in a very poor residential section of Boston.

The mother, a pleasant and seemingly capable woman, was born in Boston in 1887. Her formal education terminated with the completion of grammar school.

The father was born in Vermont in 1885 and had a grammar school education. The mother divorced him in 1934 because he deserted her and exploited the children. He coached all his sons in boxing and sponsored bouts because he earned more from these exhibitions than he would earn on any job. The mother refused to tolerate this situation because it interfered with the boys' attendance at school; her husband wanting to travel throughout the country and would remain in no one place for long. The mother stated that he died several years ago and she did not know the cause of his death. As a result of the boys' training, several of her sons were amateur boxers, and one was a professional.

The mother described the boy as usually good, but at times quite stubborn, especially since his six brothers went into the service. He made out his application for the Navy just prior to his seventeenth birthday but was rejected because of being on probation.

This family has been known to several social service agencies in the past.

Joseph left school on his sixteenth birthday to work in the Navy Yard as an electrician's helper, where he has been employed until several weeks before his appearance in court.

He was in the ninth grade and doing passable work, but left because several of his friends had left to work.

As a result of using an automobile without authority, Joseph was adjudged delinquent, placed on probation and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of the probationary period.

Joseph attends church regularly and was an active member of a Boys' Club until he started to work.

At the Citizenship Training Department, Joseph, a slim, nice looking boy of medium height, carried himself with a swaggering, cockey and nonchalant air. He performed

well in the gym program but was critical of those who did not come up to his standard of performance and he would not give his best when he was on the losing side. In the discussion group he wanted to be facetious at times in order to gain the attention of the group. He appeared to conform because he had to, not from any desire to improve himself. After he attended the Citizenship Training Department for three weeks, he was excused by the court to go to work as a freight handler. Several days later he returned to Citizenship Training Department, because he had given up his job after one day of employment. Six weeks later he again expressed a desire to go to work, this time in a maintenance department in a local factory.

Recommendations:

Medical - none.

Social - none.

Personal - Probation Supervision.

This is a case of a broken home. The mother divorced the father because of deserting her and exploiting the children.

A prominent factor in this case is that the boy was rejected by the Navy. Since his other brothers were serving in the armed forces, it was a great blow to his ego and he showed his resentment by stealing a car with a companion.

He attended the Citizenship Training Department for a period of three weeks, and was excused by the court, because he secured employment. He was insecure in keeping his job, worked only for a short period and returned to the Citizenship Training Department.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis concerning twenty-five boys adjudged delinquent by the Boston Juvenile Court and ordered to report to the Citizenship Training Department was to make a personal and environmental analysis of these boys to determine what factors were prominent in their behavior patterns.

Since one boy was at the Citizenship Training Department for one week only, valid observations and data were too limited to include in the analysis. Of these cases the ages ranged from twelve to sixteen years. One boy was twelve; five, thirteen years old; three, fourteen years old; eleven, fifteen years old; and five sixteen years old. They were adjudged delinquent on various charges. Fifteen were arraigned on a charge of larceny; three for breaking and entering at night; three as runaways; one on a stubbornness complaint; one on assault and battery; one using a vehicle without authority; and one on the complaint of soliciting alms without a license.

The results of the Terman Psychological Group tests administered at the Citizenship Training Department, showed four boys to be of superior intelligence; eleven to be

normal; two to be borderline; and one to be mentally deficient. Two of the boys were in a special class; four were in the sixth grade; five in the seventh grade; five in the eighth grade; five were in the ninth grade; and four were in the tenth grade. In school, ten of these had good attendance; six of them had fair attendance; and nine had poor attendance.

The majority of these boys were in good physical condition and participated in healthy recreation. As to Church attendance, according to the parents' statement, seventeen of the boys attended church regularly; and eight attended irregularly. However, the validity of the statements made vary on the interpretation of the words "irregular" and "regular".

According to the statements made by the boys, fifteen attended clubs regularly; and ten were irregular attendants. Some were largely interested in athletic games, others in movies.

Fourteen of the boys came from families of three siblings or more, and eleven were at extreme scales of ages in relation to the other children in the family. Of these twenty-five cases, five had parents who were both foreign born; five had one parent who was foreign born; and fifteen had parents who were native born.

Of the twenty-five cases that were studied nineteen

of the families have been known to other social agencies; six were unknown to social agencies.

In the above group, six boys had a previous court appearance, for minor offenses. Seven did not complete the required twelve weeks of training and guidance at the Citizenship Training Department. One boy was placed with the Children's Aid Association, because of conditions in the home. One boy was placed on a farm placement since he was mentally retarded and this type of placement appeared to be desirable. Four boys were committed to the Shirley Industrial School for Boys because of repeated delinquency. One boy was excused from the Citizenship Training Department because of employment. One boy was given an additional period of six weeks because of poor attitude and behavior at the Citizenship Training Department.

In a number of the cases, the factor that was most predominant was a home broken by the desertion of the father, by divorce, and subsequent marriage of one parent. One boy had a mother who had suffered two nervous breakdowns since the desertion of the father; another had a mother who deserted the family, drinking heavily and associating with other men; another had a mother who was divorced twice and remarried; in still another case the boy is an illegitimate child, the mother was divorced and remarried; another case, the mother had an immoral

background, and five illegitimate children. The above group represents a set of factors which tend to lessen the parental control of a boy and deny him proper training and guidance. That security of the boy is on a dangerous wall when there is an absence of one or both parents. The boy becomes rebellious and shows resentment against authority, assumes an antisocial behavior seeking attention and recognition in the community.

Disorganizing factors were found in a number of homes. In one case, there was considerable quarrelling and misunderstandings between the parents, inadequate supervision resulted. Another boy had a father who was ill and showed no interest in the boy. In other cases the father was a strict disciplinarian or abusive and demanding of their sons' actions. In all these cases the boy becomes rebellious against the father and against all authority. Another boy, had a mother who would shield the boy from the father who was passive, and when angry becomes violent administering severe beatings to the children.

In a majority of the cases, too much authority by the parents led to resentment, hostility and rebellion. Too little authority led to overconfidence, which in turn resulted in utter disregard for authority.

Another important aspect for consideration is that the majority of these boys lived in over crowded homes and

poor residential sections.

Still another factor in studies such as this is poverty. However, the records showed family incomes in so few cases that no opinion on the weight of this factor could be made. Many of the families were employed in defense work and wages were high at the time. The writer feels that poverty was not an important factor in these cases.

It stands to reason, that in a home which is wholly or partially disorganized, the emotional involvements would prevent the child from receiving the proper training through spiritual direction and guidance. The home which displays poor parental example creates the wrong attitude and concepts in the minds of children according to "old country ideas," which essentially means less freedom than is experienced by the children of American parentage.

The juvenile court had two principles--first that the child is not held responsible for criminal acts until a much later date than the common law limit of seven years; and second, the child is not accused of a crime nor regarded as a criminal. The court merely extends this concept to a child whose behavior shows that he needs care and it provides the custody or discipline which the parent should have given. It stands in the position of a protecting parent rather than a prosecutor.

But the question arises: what are some of the social and environmental causes for the delinquent behavior of these boys. As mentioned before by the writer, many of these boys reside in poor and slum areas. These boys must have adequate facilities to release satisfactorily their acquired energies, and these outlets may be a settlement house or clubs and the programs must be so constructed as to attract these boys.

However these cases of twenty-five boys revealed that half of them did not attend any club. The answer to this appears to lie in the clubs. If the clubs presented active programs, which would retain the boy's interest, less opportunity to participate in delinquent acts would result. Once the facilities are available and skillfully operated, the boys will find a satisfactory outlet for their energies.

Homes where there exist drunken parents, immoral mothers who show no interest in the welfare of their children; homes where one parent has a neurotic illness; homes where one parent has either too strict or flexible in handling discipline are not conducive to good training and guidance.

The Citizenship Training Department was established on the principle that the majority of juvenile delinquents were essentially in need of guidance to know or accept

conventional social studies or the control or discipline themselves. It recognizes that the problem of juvenile delinquency must be met at a much earlier level than it is being met. There should be an integral community program; that is, the coordination of every single agency in the community is needed to effect wholesome conditions which in turn will alleviate both juvenile and adult crime.

A survey should be made in these delinquency areas from the standpoint of recreation and a priority basis from the result of need, and to determine the extent to which people of all age groups take advantage of existing facilities.

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APPENDIX

Schedule

Name

Age

Home

- a. Type of home (brick, wooden structure).
- b. Number of rooms
- c. Section (residential or non-residential)

Parentage

- a. Education
- b. Employment
- c. Foreign born
- d. Native born

School

- a. Grade

School attendance - Excellent - good - fair

Church attendance - Regular - irregular

Clubs

Charge

Personality

- a. Outstanding character traits

Parents

- a. Known to other agencies

Recommended Treatment

- a. Medical
- b. Social
- c. Personal

Evaluation

- a. Attitude
- b. Adjustment