

A STUDY OF DELINQUENT
JEWISH YOUTH IN LOS
ANGELES COUNTY

J. McAllister, 1968

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Los Angeles

A Study of Delinquent Jewish Youth

in Los Angeles County

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Education

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Study of Delinquent Jewish Youth
in Los Angeles County

by

Joy Torstrup McAllister

Doctor of Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 1968

Professor May V. Seagoe, Chairman

Some studies of juvenile delinquency have noted that Jewish groups contribute less than their proportion of the total. It was the purpose of this study to make an inquiry into delinquency among Jewish boys in Los Angeles County to find whether there was less delinquency in that group and to formulate suggestions to reduce delinquency.

Three groups, delinquent Jewish boys, delinquent Protestant boys, and nondelinquent Jewish boys, were selected for study.

A comparison of Jewish and Protestant delinquents showed that the Jewish boys had parents who were often older, foreign born, and better educated than the parents of the Protestant boys. The Jewish families more often owned businesses and lived in above average areas. Mental health problems were more frequently noted in the Jewish families. More of the Jewish families had received

assistance from various agencies. The Jewish boys received higher school marks and attained higher grade levels. They committed fewer offenses overall, but more committed offenses against persons, and the court seemed more lenient to them.

The Protestant boys' parents were more likely to be divorced, have more children, and have dropped out of school. More of the Protestant boys were born in California or the United States. Their fathers were more likely to be in skilled trades, home owners, and excessive drinkers. There were more arrests among Protestant family members. More of the Protestant boys dropped out of school and committed offenses against property.

The three-way comparison of the nondelinquent Jewish boys with subgroups of the delinquent Protestant and Jewish boys indicated that the Jewish delinquents were more like other delinquents in greater number of broken homes and lower educational attainment of parents. Like other delinquents, they were more likely to come from unhappy or disrupted homes, to have average ability, and unlikely to attend religious services regularly.

The Jewish delinquents were like other Jewish boys in fewer divorces of parents, fewer siblings, and older parents. They were more likely to have foreign born parents. The majority of Jewish mothers were housewives. Both Jewish groups were more likely to live in above average housing.

The delinquent Jewish boys were least likely to have lived in the present home for a long period.

"Fathers' occupations" distinguished the three groups from each other with more fathers of nondelinquent Jewish boys in professions, more fathers of delinquent Jewish boys in small business and sales, and more fathers of Protestant delinquent boys in skilled trades.

Delinquency was less common among Jewish youth than among other youth in Los Angeles County. There was evidence that the qualities of Jewish life which make Jewish boys less prone to delinquent behavior are a strong parent-child relationship, the total Jewish group acting as an extended family to the individual, and Jewish cultural emphasis on competition in intellectual rather than physical pursuits. There is evidence in the literature to support the additional contention that consistent discipline and love by parents for children are also characteristic of Jewish families.

Implications for education are presented.

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Delinquency of minors is a major problem in Los Angeles County as it is elsewhere in the United States. According to Juvenile Court Statistics, 1961, "About 503,000 juvenile delinquency cases, excluding traffic offenses, were handled by juvenile courts in the United States in 1961" (8:1). These cases involved about 434,000 different children.

In California, 189,424 youths under age eighteen were arrested for delinquent or criminal activities during 1961. That number represented 6,709 more arrests than were made in 1960. The increase in population, however, offset the increase in arrests, and there was no appreciable change in arrest rates during the two years; 1, 151.9 delinquency arrests per 100,000 total population in 1961 and 1,152.0 per 100,000 total population in 1960 (6:1).

In Los Angeles County while the total population increased 2.3 percent in 1961 over 1960, the number of new delinquency cases referred to the probation office increased from 10,735 in 1960 to 11,231 in 1961 or 4.6 percent (6:28). In 1963 there were 69,570 juvenile delinquency arrests in Los Angeles County or 1,055.1 per 100,000 population. The

number rose to 83,066 or 1,232.9 per 100,000 population in 1964. That rise was an increase of 16.9 percent while the total population rose only 2.2 percent (5:Tables 8a And 9). Hence, the problem of juvenile delinquency remains an acute one and a need is indicated for continued research in both its etiology and cure.

Definition of delinquency. Because juvenile delinquency has so often been discussed, it has been variously defined. Cyril Burt provided a broad definition: "A child is to be regarded as technically a delinquent when his anti-social tendencies appear so grave that he becomes or ought to become, the subject of official action" (7:15). For purposes of this study, however, determining who "ought to become the subject of official action: has been deemed vague. Because of its more precise limits the definition offered by the Children's Bureau has been used:

Juvenile delinquency cases are those referred to courts for acts defined in the statutes of the State as the violation of a law or municipal ordinance by children or youth of juvenile court age, or for conduct so seriously antisocial as to interfere with the rights of others or to menace the welfare of the delinquent himself or of the community. (8:10)

Among the studies which have been made of juvenile delinquency, some have noted that Jewish youth have contributed fewer than their proportion of the total number of delinquents. It was the purpose of this study to make a special inquiry into delinquency of Jewish youth, and if there is less delinquency in that group to find out from such a study, suggestions which may well be followed to reduce delinquency in other groups. In defining Jewish for the purpose of this

paper the definition given by Dietz was accepted: "For our purpose we shall define the word Jew to include all individuals of the so-called white races of mankind who, by virtue of family tradition, do practice or whose ancestors did practice the religion of Judaism" (14:24).

Bovet reported that "While the increase in juvenile delinquency during the war years shows for the whole of New York City a rate of 60 percent, the increase among Jewish children was only 20 percent" (4:48). Kvaraceus, in analyzing cases referred to the Children's Bureau in Passaic, New Jersey, noted that of the delinquent population studied, about two percent claimed to be members of the Jewish religion while the city's total Jewish population was approximately fifteen percent (26:117-119).

Dietz attempted to "interpret the significance of low incidence of juvenile delinquency among the Jews of the United States in terms of the Glueck Social Prediction Factors of delinquency causation. . . (14:4). He hoped to indicate a basic preventive pattern. He relied heavily on sources from the literature, and, while he studied no sample population himself, he drew the following conclusions:

1. The traditional pattern of Jewish family life--the father is the spiritual head and family life the medium for religious expression--has remained essentially unimpaired during the centuries of Jewish survival. The religious "way of life" underlies the discipline or culture governing family life, despite modifications.
2. Jewish family life in Eastern European culture and in the American setting has a highly favorable rank in terms of all factors comprising the Glueck Social Prediction Scale, both individually and collectively. Each factor for the Jewish family is in the lowest

failure category.

3. Jewish paternal discipline is based upon respect for the father's religious responsibility, the encouragement of intellectual activity, and the repression of physical aggression. Thus, the basis for delinquent expression in terms of physical aggression has been largely removed. The counterpart of this repression in Jewish youth is exhibited in characteristically neurotic feelings of insecurity and anxiety.
4. Maternal supervision of the boy has the added protection of the father's direct responsibility. Leisure activity for the Jewish boy is not focused upon play or physical superiority, but upon cultural pursuits. The working mother is accepted in Jewish culture.
5. Affection of Jewish parents for their children is deeply imbedded. The mother's affection is so intense that overprotection is characteristic and is expressed mainly in over-feeding and extreme sacrifice. With regard to the boy in particular, he is hurried out of babyhood, is weaned early, is welcomed more than a girl, and is closer emotionally to the mother. The father's affectional relationship toward the boy has traditionally been less intense, with a tendency to warmer feelings in the more equalitarian Jewish family of the present day.
6. Jewish family cohesiveness is characterized by a dynamic state of interdependence and interaction involving parents and children alike. The family is strongly male-oriented, the father guiding the intellectual and spiritual destinies and the mother the temporal and domestic activities. Jewish family solidarity has been maintained on the American scene even in the families of the third and fourth generation, with a strength equal to that of the traditional family of the Old World.
7. The results of this appraisal of Jewish family life in terms of the Glueck Social Prediction Scale extend further the validation of this instrument (in the light of the criterion of low incidence of juvenile delinquency in Jewish homes) and present a pattern of preventive factors that should be of interest to juvenile delinquency investigation.

8. This study suggests that successful family attitudes are the result of well-defined and accepted values and goals, which are evolved through cultural experience with a definite group framework. It appears that the Jews have been fortunate in maintaining their group identity, even if they have been forced to do so by outside pressure. (14:58-60)

Sophia Robison reported the results of a comparison of delinquency among Jewish youth in New York City in 1952 with that in 1930. The study revealed a significant drop in delinquency among Jewish youth in New York City. Twenty percent of all offenses were committed by Jewish youngsters in 1930, while only three percent of the total offenses were attributed to Jewish youth in 1952. Robison said,

. . . On the basis of the fact that the total number of Jewish cases are (sic) so small, and are . . . different in respect to family and child characteristics from the total delinquent population the inference appears warranted that the infrequent Jewish delinquent resembles the non-Jewish delinquent only in his type of behavior.

These findings would seem to point up the necessity for a more definitive analysis of the types of behavior and problems which bring children who are members of the Jewish subculture into the Juvenile Court. Also, the study suggests the possibility that an investigation of family and group solidarities, and of cultural characteristics, may be more rewarding than the current frontal attack on so ill-defined an entity as "delinquency." (43:541)

A preliminary report by the Los Angeles County Department of Community Services entitled Delinquency-Dependency Patterns and Related Socio-Economic Characteristics of Population, 1960-1961 indicated that the male youth population (ages 0-17) in Los Angeles County was 1,012,396

in 1961 (49:72). This figure made up 16.8 percent of the total county population. Of the total county population (6,019,131) in 1961, 90.3 percent (5,436,042) were white (49:64). Using these figures to make an estimate, there were approximately 913,000 white, male youths (excluding Mexican-American youths) between the ages of 0-17 in Los Angeles County. Of these boys, 5,452 were referred to the Los Angeles County Probation Department for delinquent acts in 1961. We may estimate then that .6 percent of the white male youth population was referred to the Probation Department for delinquent acts.

According to a letter dated February 28, 1964, from Dr. Fred Massarik, Associate Professor of the Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, Los Angeles, a census of the Los Angeles County Jewish population indicated the total to be about 455,000. He estimated the number of Jewish males, ages 10 to 17 at 27,000. The number of Jewish males, ages 0 to 17 could be estimated at 58,000. By scanning the total number of "Juvenile Statistical Report" cards made by the Los Angeles County Probation Department of boys for 1961 a count was made of 129 Jewish boys on whom delinquency petitions were filed. That figure would be .2 percent of the total white male Jewish youth, ages 0 to 17. It should be noted that these figures are rough because they are based on the estimates of various persons. Further, it is quite probable

that not every Jewish boy referred was identified as Jewish. Nevertheless, the figures indicate that delinquency, or at least arrest, is less common among the Jewish group than it is among the rest of the white male youth population of Los Angeles County.

Overview of the present study. It was the intent of the present study to discover whether delinquency was less common among Jewish boys of Los Angeles County than among the rest of Los Angeles County youth, and to infer what factors (family life, culture, religion) would make Jewish youth less prone to delinquent behavior. The study also attempted to determine the influences which impinge on delinquent Jewish youth, eliciting their delinquency and whether they are the same as those factors generally cited by authorities as responsible for the social problem, juvenile delinquency.

Hypotheses. The study of delinquency among Jewish youth in Los Angeles County was designed to test the following hypotheses:

1. Jewish youngsters as a group are less prone to delinquent behavior than are other youngsters.
2. When a Jewish boy becomes delinquent either:
 - A. The factors which have impinged upon him are more intense than would be necessary to elicit delinquency in other youngsters, or
 - B. His family has broken away from the Jewish group.

3. The qualities of the Jewish family which make Jewish youngsters less prone to delinquent behavior are:
 - A. A strong parent-child relationship.
 - B. The total Jewish group as an extended family to the individual.
 - C. Jewish cultural emphasis on competition in intellectual rather than physical pursuits.

Procedures and sources of data. Using Los Angeles County Probation Department records, the percentage of Jewish boys on whom delinquency petitions were filed over a one-year period (1961) was compared with the percentage of Jewish boys in the total population. The same comparison was made for white boys in general.

A paired study was made of the delinquent Jewish boys with delinquent white Protestant boys matched by socioeconomic status and age to determine what factors may differ when socioeconomic status is held constant. The second group was limited to Protestant boys because that group would most closely resemble the Jewish group in family size and education. A further comparison was made with a small group of nondelinquent Jewish boys. This approach afforded an opportunity to study the differences or similarities between the delinquent Jewish boys and the delinquent white Protestant boys as well as the differences and similarities between delinquent and nondelinquent Jewish boys. Differences and similarities in Jewish activity participation,

success of the boy in school, and family strength (attitude of parents to the boy and whether or not the family was intact) were studied. There were more than 100 boys in each of the two delinquent groups and thirty-four in the nondelinquent group.

CHAPTER II

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY: SELECTED LITERATURE

Scholars have approached the study of juvenile delinquency from various points of view. Some, like Tappan, have described social variables which play a part in the etiology of delinquency. Other studies have analyzed the characteristics of particular delinquent boys and have endeavored to point up methods for prevention. The various theoretical positions discussed in the present chapter are the biological or psychobiological, the psychological and psychoanalytical, and the sociological points of view.

A general overview. Among the many works treating the subject of juvenile delinquency, Thorsten Sellin's monograph, The Criminality of Youth, published in 1940, is an often-cited reference. He concluded,

- The various data presented in this monograph lead to the general conclusion that since
- (1) the likelihood of a person's becoming a second offender is many times greater than that of his becoming a first offender;
 - (2) the probability of a person's committing a subsequent crime increases with each new conviction;
 - (3) juvenile delinquents in considerable number commit new offenses during the youth period;
 - (4) youths dominate in serious offenses against property--in turn the vast majority of all serious crimes--that appear to be more habit-forming than other forms of common criminal conduct;

- (5) the proportion of first offenders is extraordinarily high in the youth group compared with later age groups;
 - (6) the expectancy of life is greater for the youth group than for later age groups;
- there is every reason to assume that a person who begins his delinquency in youth or who continues his career as a juvenile delinquent into the youth period, is much more exposed to the hazard of recidivism than are those who begin their criminal careers later in life. If this conclusion is sound, adequate treatment measures for the youth group are needed, and if they can be made successful the offense rates of later age groups should in the course of time show considerable declines. (40:116)

Paul Tappan, author of another standard work on the subject of juvenile delinquency offered the following definition: "Delinquency is an act, course of conduct, or situation which might be brought before a court and adjudicated. . . ." (47:30).

Tappan cautioned that statistics on delinquency may not give a true picture because of the variations in laws among states and localities, incomplete reporting by some localities, and informal handling of many cases by police or referral to agencies other than the courts. But some conclusions can be drawn from the available information on the subject. Among physiological problems which give rise to delinquency are encephalitis, epilepsy, brain damage, physical handicaps when the individual feels severely handicapped by them, glandular imbalances, and mental retardation. Mental deficiency is not responsible for delinquency per se, but it does play a part in that:

- (1) Competitively, the individual is at a disadvantage in his social relationships.

- (2) He may have feelings of inferiority.
- (3) He is often more suggestible than the average child.
- (4) He is often lacking in the capacity to inhibit his ordinary affective impulses. (47:122)

A number of social variables play a part in the etiology of delinquency. Of these the most important is the family.

More research has been devoted to the family as a factor in delinquency than to any other single influence. This is appropriate because of the vital significance of the family as the "cradle of personality." During the early years in and through the family are established the basic reaction patterns of thinking and feeling, the norms and values that assert a durable, persisting influence upon the individual's subsequent life history. . . . The "personality type" established early in the primary group associations is an enduring core that, though it is adaptable to widely varying social roles, plays an important part in all the interactional processes of the individual with his fellows. Aside from gross traumatic influence, the person tends to react to his social world in an essentially similar fashion, though with somewhat varying intensities, throughout his life cycle; the patterning of his responses to reality and authority is an important phase of this perseveration of character. Hence, when the family has founded a deep and chronic habit of antisocial conduct and values, reconditioning to morality and legality is a slow and difficult process. . . . It seems clear that the effect of the home is even greater upon such rather highly specific traits of conduct as honesty and conformity, as well as upon the more generalized moral ideals and habits of the individual, than it is upon matters of mere moral knowledge. The family colors vividly the entire thinking and behavior of the child throughout his history. (47:133-4)

Other "social variables" pointed out by Tappan are (1) the child's reaction to a broken home or parental discipline, (2) the problem of inconsistent discipline, (3) the lack of

model for a super-ego, (4) a conflict of immigrant parents with American culture, (5) racial minority and intergroup conflicts, (6) size of family--greater incidence of delinquency in larger families. Poverty and unemployment are not direct causes of delinquency, but they are part of the whole picture of slum neighborhoods that may produce delinquency. Bad associates may have a deleterious affect on the individual.

The way in which a given person responds to stimuli of this sort, through group suggestion depends very largely on his patterns of reaction to authority, morality, law, and his parents, matters that have been developed through his training in the home rather than the gang. (47:145)

In discussing "cultural influences," Tappan stated:

The thesis adopted here has been that normal and deviant conduct, including delinquency, are a consequence of the dynamic, continuous interrelationships between the individual (with all the qualities he possesses, constitutional, psychic, and social) and the successive milieux to which he has been exposed throughout his life history. (47:158)

He further noted that the individual has difficulty in adjusting as society becomes more complex. The unadjusted may become delinquent.

Teeters and Reinemann pointed out that poverty has long been believed to be a cause of delinquency, but the majority of the poor are law abiding. "The economic basis . . . resolves itself to the offenders' dissatisfaction with their meager income from legal pursuits" (48:127). The authors concluded that a close relationship exists between poverty and delinquency, but that poverty can not

be classed as a direct cause.

An approach closely allied to poverty, namely the ecological approach or the identification of delinquency areas, was discussed by Teeters and Reinemann. They noted that such students of delinquency as Breckenridge, Abbott, Shaw, and Thrasher had described delinquency from this point of view. According to them, delinquency areas are blighted areas, usually near the center of a city's business district or adjacent to it. Such areas are characterized by warehouses, run-down houses, few or no playgrounds or community or cultural centers, deteriorated streets and alleys, railroad yards and sidings, factories, low rent, clashes of the cultural backgrounds of various groups, and, most important, by deterioration of the fundamentals and characteristics of social control. Teeters and Reinemann urged the provision of low-cost housing to replace slum areas, but they noted that much delinquency comes from so-called privileged homes.

In discussing the relationship between broken homes and delinquency, Teeters and Reinemann indicated that it is not so much that a home is broken as that it is inadequate that counts. There is no one clear-cut cause of delinquency, but one central theme stands out in the analysis of a delinquent child: conflict or disorganization. They endorsed Cyril Burt's statement that four sets of factors were present in any specific case: (1) principal or most

conspicuous influence, (2) chief cooperating factor or factors, (3) minor predisposing or aggravating conditions, and (4) conditions present but apparently inoperative. This is a "multiple causation" theory.

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck studied 500 delinquent boys, ages eleven to seventeen, comparing them with 500 non-delinquent boys matched by age, ethnic (racial) derivation, general intelligence, and residence in underprivileged urban neighborhoods. They published several volumes of information based on the findings of the study. In Delinquents in the Making, Paths to Prevention, published in 1952, the Gluecks defined delinquency:

repeated acts of a kind which when committed by persons beyond the statutory juvenile court age are punishable as crimes (either felonies or misdemeanors)--except for a few instances of persistent stubbornness, truancy, running away, associating with immoral persons and the like, (19:6)

In summarizing the characteristics in which the delinquent is found to differ from the nondelinquent boy, the Gluecks noted the following:

Physically, in being essentially mesomorphic in constitution (i.e., solid, closely knit, muscular); temperamentally, in being restlessly energetic, impulsive, extroverted, aggressive, destructive (often sadistic)--traits which may be more or less related to both their bodily structure and their erratic growth pattern with its physiologic correlates or consequences; in attitude, in being hostile, defiant, resentful, suspicious, stubborn, socially assertive, adventurous, unconventional, nonsubmissive (or ambivalent) to authority; intellectually, in tending to direct and concrete rather than symbolic, abstract intellectual expression and in being less methodical in their approach to problems;

socioculturally, in having been reared to a far greater extent than the non-delinquents in homes of little understanding, affection, stability, or moral fiber, by parents usually unfit to be effective guides and protectors or desirable symbols for emulation; and under conditions unfavorable to the building of a well-balanced and socially adequate character and conscience (super-ego).

It is particularly in the exciting, stimulating, but little controlled, and culturally inconsistent environment of the urban under-privileged area that such boys readily tend to give expression to their untamed impulses and their self-centered desires by "kicking over the traces" of conventionally dictated behavior. These tendencies are apparently anchored deeply in body and mind and essentially derive from malformations of personality and character during the first few years of life. (19:184-190)

In making specific recommendations for the prevention of delinquency, the Gluecks stated,

. . . in the ultimate analysis, prevention of delinquent careers, as our findings suggest, is also dependent upon something more specific than manipulation of the general cultural environment. It entails the structuring of integrated personality and wholesome character during the first few formative years of life; and this, fortunately is accomplished largely in the home. (19:192)

They recommended taking direct action to improve the "under-the roof" culture of the home and the school. They would place the focus of the action on the traits and characteristics of the delinquent, on family life, on the school, and on the employment of leisure time. Direct action on the delinquent would involve special allowance in all major channels of self-expression for the greater energy output of certain boys, greater variety in curriculum patterns and leisure time programs and vocational opportunities, and more specific fitting of boys into areas of activity. They

would equip the schools to discover potential delinquents, calling for early testing and periodic re-testing to detect malformations of emotional development.

Action to improve family life would involve intensive instruction of each generation of prospective parents in the elements of mental hygiene and elements of healthy family life, improvement of community resources for family counseling.

. . . Little progress can be made in the prevention of delinquency until family life is strengthened through a large scale, pervasive, continuous program designed to bring to bear all the resources of mental hygiene, social work, education, and religious and ethical teaching upon this central issue. (19:197)

Recreation facilities must be increased and plans must be made for the family as a unit.

Among suggestions for schools were fundamental changes in curriculum and teacher training. The curriculum would have greater flexibility, and teachers' training would make provisions for knowing how to cope with children's emotional problems. Teachers should serve as parent substitutes, as ego-ideals. Young male teachers or husband and wife teacher teams should be used in the primary grades. There should be a higher social evaluation of the role of the teacher. Evidences of persistent delinquency occur before puberty; therefore the elementary school should be the place to attack the problem.

In providing for wholesome use of leisure time, the Gluecks recommended that settlement houses, community

centers and the like "should experiment with various means of attracting and guiding youngsters of this type into at least socially harmless, if not constructive, channels" (19:207).

In a subsequent volume in which additional data from the same study were analyzed, the Gluecks stated:

The current inquiry has led us to three major conclusions:

- (1) The basic morphologic differentiation of the physique types is accompanied by differences in the incidence among them of certain traits, some of which are actually associated with delinquency, others potentially so.
- (2) Differences in the physical and temperamental structure of body types bring about some variation in their response to environmental pressures.
- (3) Differences in the incidence of certain traits among the physique types, as well as divergences in their reactions to the environment, are reflected in certain differences in the etiology of delinquency among the body types.

Thus, even if other researchers should confirm our findings that sixty percent of delinquents (at least in disorganized urban areas) are of the mesomorphic body type, thereby suggesting a focus in prophylactic and therapeutic endeavors on the mesomorphs in the child population, the special characteristics of the other physique types point to the need of some diversity of approach to the prevention and treatment of antisocial behavior in boys of different body structures. (21:249-50)

A third volume, Family Environment and Delinquency, was published by the Gluecks in 1962. The authors concluded that fundamental principles of treatment had emerged from their study. While prophylactic measures must take into account the whole child and the whole family, there

was evidence that treatment of specific factors in specific cases might yield results. Certain family influences during the first few years of life could affect the development of delinquency.

Influences of the home environment operate selectively to propel toward maladjustment and delinquency certain children who are characterized by specific traits which enhance their vulnerability. (20:154-5)

In 1961, Gibbens noted that "from the point of view of psychology of delinquency, the most important effects of urbanization are probably those which affect the quality of the family life of the child, or, in the second decade, the effects of delinquent subculture" (18:24).

". . . The problems of delinquency . . . arise, according to clinical experience, in much the same way today as yesterday, from serious deprivation and major disorders of family life" (18:38). He emphasized the importance of early childhood experiences and family life: "There is no reason to doubt that serious recidivists of any age have a disturbed early history and that mental hygiene in childhood, whether or not there was overt delinquency, underlies effective prevention" (18:42).

The influences acting on a youngster to induce delinquent behavior may be physical, cultural, or social. Delinquency areas, broken homes or homes in which there is conflict or disorganization are factors in eliciting delinquent behavior. Probably more than one factor

operates in each case. The Gluecks noted differences, physically, temperamentally, attitudinally, intellectually, and socioculturally, between delinquent and nondelinquent boys. Changes in home, school, and community would alleviate some of the problem, particularly for those youngsters who are delinquency prone.

Biological or psychobiological points of view.

According to this point of view, tendencies to commit crime are inherited or are directly related to certain physiological characteristics which are hereditary. According to Donald R. Taft, such theories antedate the nineteenth century (45:79). Historically, criminals had been regarded as persons who wilfully chose evil ways. Among nineteenth century scholars, Lombroso was perhaps the most famous for his theories of criminal types according to anthropological measurements. Lombroso's influence was widespread, particularly in Italy and South America, and his theory has had some influence on research in the United States.

In 1949, William H. Sheldon published Varieties of Delinquent Youth in which he reported the identification of three types of body structure, three types of temperament and three corresponding psychiatric types. According to Sheldon, the mesomorphic body type produces delinquency

when it occurs in a social setting where the vitality and freedom from inhibition characteristic of this type do not have conventional outlets (42).

In the Gluecks' study (21) emphasis was placed on the identity of Sheldon's body types. A significantly large number of their delinquent group was mesomorphic. But the Gluecks, like Sheldon, indicated that factors of a social or psychological nature had to be in play in order to evoke delinquent behavior even in mesomorphs.

Teeters and Reinemann pointed out that in America the environmental approach has been favored while Latin American and European students of delinquency have followed the biological and anthropological schools. Teeters and Reinemann concluded that the answer lay somewhere between the two points of view (48). Other inherited factors are race, which will be considered separately, intelligence, and endocrine imbalance.

Studies of intelligence, based on standardized intelligence tests, have been largely discredited as revealing significant differences between delinquent and nondelinquent groups because the tests themselves have been found to be inadequate tools when cultural deprivation may be a factor. If cultural deprivation is the factor

which influences both the test score and the delinquency, there could be a relationship between the two not necessarily attributable to the intelligence test score. Certainly it would not indicate that delinquency is an inherited trait.

Of the studies relating to endocrinology, Taft said:

A number of researchers have found little or no connection between endocrine dysfunction and crime. A series of studies by Dr. Matthew Molitch and associates at the New Jersey State Home for Boys gave mixed and largely negative results when delinquents with endocrine disorders were compared with a control group of normal delinquents. About equal proportions of delinquents and nondelinquents in the Glueck study showed external signs of glandular disturbances. (46:92)

Regarding heredity or predisposition, August Aichorn said:

There must be something in the child himself which the environment brings out in the form of delinquency. . . . The predisposition to delinquency is not a finished product at birth but is determined by the emotional relationships, that is by the first experiences which the environment forces on the child. (1:30-31)

Bovet, another psychiatrist, made a similar statement: Geneticists have established "as a real and important fact, the inheritance of a number of character tendencies which together predispose to delinquent behavior" (4:25).

William McCord's point of view is that other cultures have "puberty rites" which mark the transition from boyhood to manhood. The American culture has no such point in a boy's life and so he establishes his masculine identity by owning a car, by joining the army or a fraternity, or by participating in delinquent (daring) activities. Subsequent

to the performing of the delinquent acts, most reform in adult life. They have proved themselves.

McCord concluded that differences in crime rate which are related to age, sex, and race are side-products of deeper environmental causes, not causes. There is no conclusive evidence that criminal tendencies are hereditary. While investigators once thought that intelligence (probably hereditary) was related to crime, recent evidence contradicts that conclusion. There is no substantial evidence to support the theory that endocrinological disorders (perhaps hereditary) are responsible for crime.

'Regarding the relationship of physique and delinquency, McCord said, ". . . in the present state of our knowledge, hypotheses concerning the relations between physical constitution and crime (the Gluecks' study) appear suggestive, but inconclusive" (39:70).

The Gluecks had "found that non-delinquents give more evidence of neurological disorders" (39:73). Though knowledge of neurology is still sketchy, McCord agreed that brain disorder, in the inhibitory area may play some role in crime. Certain types of criminality such as psychopathy, homosexuality, alcoholism, and psychotic criminality may have a physiological or neurological background. There is, however, much more evidence associating criminality with environment than with heredity.

Biological factors may influence delinquent behavior in indirect ways and should not be precluded from further study, but evidence would favor corrective measures of a sociological or psychological nature.

Psychological and psychoanalytic points of view. According to the psychobiological theories of delinquency, it is heredity which predisposes the individual to delinquent behavior. By contrast, the psychoanalytic theory says, "We do not become criminals . . . some of us learn to control our criminality and some do not" (30:94). This theory, according to Albert Cohen, is highly vulnerable because it has never been proved.

Another critic of the psychiatric approach to delinquency is Michael Hakeem, who claimed that most psychiatrically oriented studies lack any scientific verification and ignore the results of sociologists' studies. He asserted that psychiatrists know very little about human behavior, that most of society's faith in them is based on historical reliance on the medical man. He claimed that the Gluecks "misinterpret their findings in favor of an emphasis on psychological factors in causation. Social factors actually turned out to be the significant ones" (39:111).

Nevertheless, psychiatrists as well as psychologists have studied the problem of delinquency and have contributed to the volumes of literature on the subject. Aichorn wrote, "Delinquency can . . . be considered as a dynamic

expression; it can be attributed to the interplay of psychic forces, which have created the distortion which we call dissocial behavior" (1:48). The delinquent boy is characterized by a thirst for pleasure and for primitive forms of instinctual gratification, for lack of inhibition, and a strong though distorted craving for affection. Remedial training has the same task in treating all youngsters who evidence dissocial behavior, namely, it must help the child to overcome the failures in his development so that he can exchange a childish level, where the pleasure principle predominates, for a level corresponding to his age, where the reality principle is effective. The youngster must learn to decide before he acts between immediate pleasure with later pain and postponement or renunciation with later pleasure assured.

Lucien Bovet, writing more recently, stated:

. . . I would say that the general task of psychiatry is to study how a given factor may act upon an individual to produce psychological reactions turning this factor into a force that is felt, thought, and integrated in his personality, to become the final or effective cause of a given behaviour; and the study completed, to use it as the basis of therapeutic and prophylactic action. (4:60)

Bovet enumerated a variety of disturbances in the psychological development of the personality which are responsible for delinquent behavior. Among them are qualitative defects in the super-ego, that is, the child may have a normally structured personality, but if the material used for his

super-ego were borrowed from antisocial personalities he may be liable to antisocial behavior and in some circumstances, delinquency. Another such problem noted is partial retardation in development when the child may have missed the opportunity to form strong and lasting emotional ties with one or more persons in his family circle. Psycho-neurotics do not appear to be numerous among juvenile delinquents; however, "isolated neurotic symptoms are often among the most important etiological factors in a juvenile's social 'disadaptation'" (4:35). Organic psychoses resultant from macroscopic brain lesions as well as functional psychoses such as schizophrenia, manic-depressive psychoses, and paranoia in which the functions of the brain are disturbed without its anatomical structure being affected are important factors in considering the etiology of delinquency.

Bovet called delinquency a "bio-psycho-social phenomenon" (4:41).

For more than half-a-century two etiological concepts--the organic and the psychogenic--have been in continuous opposition. It is absolutely essential that this should cease and that research be oriented to the study of the ways in which constitution and environment, soma and psyche, are always involved in the manifestations of social maladjustment. (4:79)

. . . A large proportion of children and adolescents appearing before the courts have no major physical or psychological abnormality. They are simply the victims of adverse external circumstances, characterized by social insecurity or a too low standard of living, or a combination of both. But for such social factors to cause delinquency they must set in motion a number of psychological processes. (4:80)

Friedlander, too, noted a variety of causes in her study of delinquent behavior.

The most valuable contribution of sociological research . . . has been the emphasis on the multitude of environmental factors which work together in causing delinquency. The broken home, lack of discipline, bad companionship, lack of organization of leisure time, economic factors . . . are linked with the incidence of delinquency. (16:9)

Friedlander also pointed out, however, that the formation of an ethical code is one of the prerequisites of social adaptation. This controlling ethical code is the super-ego. The first step in the development of the super-ego is imitation. The second is identification with the demand of the parent, making the mother's demands his own against his own desires. The third is the identification with and internalization of parent images at the end of the Oedipus phase. In the fourth step the child's conscience is endowed with the all-knowing qualities which he thought his parents had before the disappointments of the Oedipus period, and he experiences the feeling of guilt if he does not live up to the standards set by his conscience. As long as he can live up to the standards set by his conscience, he is all right, but as soon as there is a deviation from the expected standards the tension between the demands of the conscience and the wishes of the child is perceived as guilt.

In discussing factors leading to social adaptation, Friedlander stated:

The emotions which link the child to the mother are responsible for bringing about a modification of the originally antisocial instinctive urges. If the power

of the mother over the child at this early age is used in a rational way, the antisocial instinctive urges will be modified into socially acceptable attitudes and characteristics without too much loss of instinctive energy. . . . The relationship involves a steadily growing attachment to one person and the knowledge that the love and approval of this person are more important to the self than the immediate gratification of instinctive desires. . . . Within this relationship the child learns to wait for satisfaction. This leads to the acceptance of the reality-principle instead of the original pleasure-pain principle. Without this, social adaptation is impossible. . . . One feature which all delinquents have in common is their inability to postpone desires because they cannot form good relationships with the people in their surroundings, and this results in their excessive self-love. (16:67-70)

Friedlander distinguished various factors as causing delinquency. Primary factors, those which influence the child before age six, are a disturbed mother-child relationship during the first five years, defective family relationships, various effects of overcrowding, defective discipline, particularly the union of license and severity in the same "capricious" parent, predisposition to delinquency, and inherited tendency to instability. Secondary factors are bad companions, failure at school, and uncongenial work and employment. "As a rule emotional stress during puberty does not cause antisocial behavior in boys and girls who have previously shown no sign of their antisocial character formation" (16:112), though it may be a precipitating factor.

Friedlander said:

I have tried to show that the reason why one individual is satisfied with a substitute gratification

in phantasy--the neurotic symptom--while another must procure the substitute gratification in action--the delinquent symptom--is a difference in character formation. The character formation of the neurotic is either normal as in the hysterical patient, or shows a Super-Ego of abnormal severity, as in the obsessional neurotic. The delinquent, as has been shown, has an anti-social character formation. The specific factor in the causation of the antisocial character formation is probably the constant alternation of too much frustration and too much gratification of primitive instinctive drives. This specific factor will be especially pronounced under the conditions which (various) authors . . . describe as those of "early deprivations."

If an individual with an antisocial character formation suffers from the pressure of unconscious conflicts it is probable that a delinquent and not a neurotic symptom will appear, if symptom formation occurs at all; or under the stress of unconscious conflicts a hitherto concealed disturbance in character formation may come to the fore and manifest itself in delinquent behaviour. (16:116-117)

Fritz Redl and David Wineman, in Children Who Hate, described a twenty-four hour treatment center, the children who occupied it, and conclusions regarding treatment of very aggressive, disturbed youngsters. The ". . . main goal . . . is to understand why children's controls break down, how some of them defend themselves so successfully against the adult in their lives, and what can be done to prevent and treat such childhood disorganization" (35:13). The most serious of the problems called delinquency usually involve large quantities of hate. Furthermore:

. . . Psychiatric treatment of the classical style . . . does not seem indicated (for the children who hate). Most of them are entirely unverbale, would balk at playing "sissy stuff" like doll house, find it face-losing to ask for help from an adult. . . . These youngsters are considered untreatable

by the usual channels of child analysis or child guidance. (35:25)

According to Redl and Wineman, the most aggressive children need as treatment "a supportive design to strengthen their deficient ego functions, and a counterdelusional design to dissolve their defenses, before any of the well known channels of therapy can be tried on them at all" (35:27). The basic premises of the operation of Pioneer House, set up in Detroit to work with these youngsters who were seriously at odds with society were first, create a "climate which is psychologically sound from a mental hygiene point of view so that our direct attempts to remove their basic pathology have some appreciable chance for success: (35:35). This climate would include complete protection from traumatic handling by any person connected with the treatment home, gratification grants, through activity programming, adult love and affectional tokens, symptom tolerance and leeway for regression, and a home not run too contrary to the sociological taste pattern of the child. The house was programmed for ego support including gratifying play. Another premise involved clinical exploitation of life events. Opportunities were present that would not be possible in office psychotherapy. The workers found means of minimizing tricky denial mechanisms and diversion tricks that ward off the clinician's attempts to get at some of the subsurface motivations and attitudes that are behind them. Pioneer House was not categorically permissive, but rules

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delinquent. They are very closely tied to reality or else they would not have been able to argue in such a legalistic way.

The original assumption regarding super-ego was that the child incorporates parents' value demands through a complex process called identification. The value demands which previously came from outside, then come from within. According to Redl, the original process of identification is not all that counts. As he grows, the child discards some of the value demands and adds new ones. The child's ego ideals may receive strength from sources other than the parents such as heroes, saints, great men, or real persons who play a role in his life and with whom he may identify. He may also be influenced by his social group or "gang" and community customs and mores.

The youngsters studied were not without super-ego. Rather their super-egos showed clearly differentiated peculiarities. They had clear identification with delinquent neighborhood codes. Their values were different from middle class. Inadequate signal functions of the conscience were characteristic. The children were deficient in identification machinery. "The disturbances of the identification machinery as such seems to us one of the most severe diseases of the conscience and one which needs the most complex and elaborate clinical strategy for repair" (35:207). They seemed to have guilt displacement. A deed which in itself

was totally harmless produced nagging guilt while some to which guilt should have been attached left the doer unconcerned and happy. Model-rigidity or inability to experience the feeling of guilt unless the deed was tied to the person who made the first value demands and other super-ego disturbances appeared (35:201-208).

In summary, the authors pointed out that neither educational nor usual psychiatric method is adequate for the children who hate.

The psychological nurture of the child undoubtedly influences his behavior. Friedlander called it "character formation," and it has been seen that the manner in which the individual conducts his affairs in the social world indicates whether he has undergone adequate or inadequate development.

Sociological points of view. Sociological theories start from the assumption that most delinquent behavior is culturally patterned. According to Albert Cohen, such theories state that delinquency is:

. . . group activity, that it represents conformity to a set of culturally defined role expectations, and that these cultural definitions are in the nature of traditions that exhibit a high degree of stability and persistence in certain areas of our cities. (30:104)

It must be noted that the areas to which Cohen referred are also associated with poverty, disease, overcrowding, slum conditions, the presence of disadvantaged minorities, and immigrant groups, as well as being located near commercial

and industrial areas.

The patterning of delinquency-dependency petitions filed in Los Angeles County and their relation to socio-economic variables were analyzed in the preliminary report of Delinquency-Dependency Patterns and Related Socio-Economic Characteristics of Population, 1960-61 (49). A positive correlation was found between number of delinquency-dependency petitions and number of persons per room. Marital disintegration was also strongly related to the degree of dependency-delinquency. Regarding education of adults twenty-five years of age and older, the study reported:

In terms of the percentage of persons studied within each of these groups on education completed, both high and low rate areas show that the largest number of persons are high school graduates with some college background and that the next in order was the 8 through 11 year educational range. However, the third highest proportion in the high rate areas is the number of persons with seven or less years of education, whereas in the low rate areas the third highest proportion shows persons with college graduation or more. (49:5)

Employment characteristics were studied:

- a. In terms of percentages of the total persons studied in the high rate areas, the distribution of levels of employment is in the following order from high to low: semi-skilled, unskilled, skilled, professional-technical, and managerial.
- b. In the low rate areas, however, distribution from high to low is: semi-skilled, professional-technical, skilled, managerial, and unskilled.

. . . the pattern within the two criteria groups generally suggests that not only the number or percent of any one type of level of employment is indicative of social problems and potential crime and delinquency, but further that the pattern of

distribution may be a predictor of these characteristics. (49:6)

There was a high concentration of Negro population in the high delinquency-dependency rate areas. There was also a greater concentration of persons in the area as well as a greater number of youths per family.

. . . not only is there a greater number of petitions and a higher rate of petitions but also . . . there is a greater number of youth per family in the high rate areas than in the low rate areas. This suggests further analysis with regard to the degree of the problem, its magnitude, and the extent to which the problem is familial as differentiated from the problems of the individual child. (49:10)

The report pointed out, in summary, "that no social problem tends to exist in isolation . . . it appears that when a particular variable in the social situation is 'unhealthy,' the general social situation will tend to be 'unhealthy'" (49:12).

The Los Angeles findings reiterated the findings of the studies of Clifford R. Shaw. Shaw indicated that delinquency was common to areas which were near industry and commerce, which were physically deteriorating, which were decreasing in population when the city as a whole was growing rapidly, and which had a high degree of dependency, absentee ownership of homes, Negro or recent immigrant population, and absence of social agencies which were designed to mitigate maladjustment.

Shaw reasoned that the decline of stability in the community was accompanied by a break-down in social

controls, that where the neighborhood ceased to have common standards of acceptable behavior, there delinquency, crime, and vice came to be accepted (41).

According to Cohen, "The anomie theory of Robert K.

Merton

emphasizes not so much the absolute economic deprivation of residents of high rate areas as their deprivation relative to their aspirations. According to this theory, a common American culture tends to indoctrinate all groups in our society with relatively high status aspirations, and the possession of material goods and a high style of living are the sovereign symbols of status and success in American society. But different racial, ethnic and class groupings, although more or less "equal" in their aspirations, are radically unequal in their ability to realize those aspirations by legitimate means. In those areas where the discrepancy between the "culture goals" and the "institutionalized means" is greatest, a condition of anomie prevails, a condition of breakdown of the regulative norms, and people have recourse to whatever means will "work." In these areas we find the highest rates of crime and delinquency. (30:106)

Arthur Wood's theory of delinquency, as well as crime and other social problems, appeared to be compatible with that of Merton. He pointed out that the social structure, the system of behavior patterns, breaks down under conditions of rapid social change such as population increase, immigration, and war. "This disintegration is a condition where the mores and folkways fail to satisfy many people as effective means of attaining their socially defined ends" (52:470). Such failure may result in mental breakdown, crime, rationalization, and realizing goals through children. Why different individuals react differently

requires further study, but any plan of treatment carried out under the conditions which were conducive to crime is likely to have little effect.

Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin theorized that there were three distinct types of delinquent subcultures, criminal whose members engage in such crimes as theft, conflict whose members engage in crimes of violence such as gang wars, and retreatist whose members use such escapes as drugs.

The prescriptions of delinquent subcultures are supported, ordered, and closely integrated with appropriate values and beliefs, which serve to buttress, validate, and rationalize the different types of prescription in the various delinquent subcultures. Members of the criminal subculture, for example, believe that the world is populated by "smart guys" and "suckers"; members of the conflict gang see their "turf" as surrounded by enemies; retreatists regard the world about them as populated by "squares." Similarly, each subculture is characterized by distinctive evaluations: criminals value stealth, dexterity, with "front" and the capacity to evade detection; street-warriors value "heart"; retreatists place a premium on esoteric "kicks." The integration of beliefs and values with norms provides stability for the essential activities of the subculture. (10:14)

No theory accounts for the delinquent adaptations involved in all cases, but pressures to form delinquent subcultures originate in the "marked discrepancies between culturally induced aspirations among lower-class youth and the possibilities of achieving them by legitimate means" (10:78). They endorsed Emile Durkheim's concept of anomie, or lawlessness or normlessness. Anomie results from a breakdown in the regulation of goals so that aspirations

become unlimited.

Albert Cohen pointed out that delinquent subcultures are concentrated in the male, working-class sector of the juvenile population, but that delinquency is not confined to the poorer classes. Everyone wants to be a member in good standing of some group. "The crucial condition for the emergence of new cultural forms is the existence, in effective interaction with one another, of a number of actors with similar problems of adjustment" (11:59). The emergence of group standards, a shared frame of reference, is the emergence of a new subculture. "Insofar as the new subculture represents a new status system sanctioning behavior tabooed or frowned upon by the larger society, the acquisition of status within the new group is accompanied by a loss of status outside the group" (11:68). The subculture member devalues the goodwill and respect of those whose good will and respect are forfeit anyway. "Certain kinds of conduct become reputable precisely because they are disreputable in the eyes of the 'outgroup'" (11:68).

Cohen noted that there are problems peculiar to growing up in the working class in our society. Working class aspirations are different from those of the middle class. Child rearing practices differ. In general, the children of the various classes are younger versions of the personalities of their parents, but the classes are not discrete

groups. Such overlapping may explain delinquency among middle class youths, or it may be that, because so much of the training of children is left to the mother in the modern family, both sexes tend to identify with femininity. Later, because of pressure to be masculine, the boy may react against all that he identifies with feminine behavior, that is, good, respectable behavior.

Yablonsky believed that much of the research and theory of delinquent subcultures was outdated. His work in the slum areas of New York led him to distinguish three types of gangs: social, delinquent, and violent gangs. The social gang is a relatively permanent organization. Its members know each other intimately; leadership is based on popularity and constructive qualities. Delinquent behavior is seldom involved in the social gang's activities. The values of the larger society influence the values and acts of the social gang. The delinquent gang, by contrast, is organized to carry out illegal acts. Social interaction is secondary. It is generally composed of a tight clique that can steal effectively. Membership is not easily achieved, and the leader is usually the most effective thief. Violence is incidental, and the group tends to remain together until arrested or jailed. The goals of such a gang are materialistic, but it rejects the normal ways of achievement. The violent gang is organized primarily for emotional gratification. All activities of this gang center around

violence. The organization and membership are constantly shifting. The members exaggerate the gang's size as a psychological weapon. Arsenals of weapons are discussed and accumulated. The leaders are characterized by megalomania. The organization of the violent gang shifts with the needs of its members; it is always in a state of flux. The underlying theme of most discussions is hostility and aggression.

Yablonsky enumerated some basic theoretical propositions for analyzing the violent gang:

1. Varied negative sociocultural dislocations exist in the disorganized, rapidly changing urban slum area.
2. These dislocations produce dysfunctional gaps in the socialization process that would properly train the child for normative social roles.
3. Children not adequately socialized develop asocial or sociopathic personalities.
4. The resulting sociopathic personalities are essentially characterized by: (a) a lack of social conscience, (b) a limited ability to relate, identify, or empathize with others except for egocentric objectives, (c) manifestations of impulsive, aggressive, and socially destructive violent behavior when impulsive, immediate needs are not satisfied.
5. The sociopathic individual because of his personality deficiencies can not relate adequately to more socially demanding groups.
6. Individualized emotional outburst is more stigmatized, considered bizarre, and to some extent more unrewarding than group pathological expression. Such individualistic expression in the violent gang is considered more socially "legitimate."

7. The malleable "near-group" nature of the violent gang makes it a compatible and legitimate vehicle for adjusting the emotional needs of the sociopathic youth, an individual unable to relate adequately in more demanding social groups. (53:161-2)

Yablonsky noted that the disorganized urban slum is the setting of the violent gang. In that setting old social controls are broken down, and there are no adequate replacements for those forces which curb deviant behavior. The breakdown in socialization and control is largely a result of the loss of parental control. Anonymity of the large city is another factor. Such youth lack a meaningful relationship with any adult. Prejudice against minority groups and their reaction to it is certainly another factor. Some of these factors may be operative in the modern suburb as well as in the slum.

F. Ivan Nye analyzed a variety of theories to account for delinquent behavior, namely social disorganization, delinquency and subculture, the means-end theory, culture-conflict theory, and the personality-maladjustment theory. He concluded that:

. . . most delinquent behavior is the result of insufficient social control, broadly defined. . . . The present frame of reference is multi-causal. It embraces a broad social control framework that sees most criminal behavior as a failure of controls, but does not deny the usefulness of delinquency subculture and personality disorganization approaches in the explanation of the behavior of some individuals, or that such "positive" factors sometimes combine with weak controls with delinquent behavior as the product. (32:4-5)

Nye identified the following types of social control:

(1) direct control imposed from without by means of restriction and punishment, (2) internalized control exercised from within through conscience, (3) indirect control related to affectional identification with parents and other non-criminal persons, and (4) availability of alternative means to goals and values. Nye considered the family to be the single factor most important in exercising social control over adolescents. Hence, his study dealt with family relationships.

Sociologists' points of view vary regarding delinquency. There is some agreement that delinquency is positively associated with poverty, disease, overcrowding, slum conditions, the presence of disadvantaged minorities and immigrant groups, and commercial or industrial areas. Finally, the family and its condition have the greatest influence on the individual.

The writer's point of view. To ascribe all of juvenile delinquency to one or another isolated cause appears to be as short sighted as it would be to claim that all diseases originate with one germ or virus. Rather, authorities whose basic orientation may be physiological, psychological, or sociological have pointed out that a multiplicity of factors is operative in evoking delinquent behavior. By the same token, no one approach to curbing delinquent behavior seems likely to solve the problem.

The present paper takes a point of view similar to that of Nye. In almost every theoretical position cited, the influence of family is mentioned. Friedlander pointed out the influence of family in the development of the child's personality. The Gluecks noted marked differences in family stability between their delinquent and nondelinquent groups. Redl and Wineman found that one of the characteristics of the "children who hate" was the lack of an ongoing family structure which was not in some phase of basic disintegration at almost any given time. The Los Angeles County Department of Community Services study showed a positive relationship between the rate of marital disintegration and the degree of dependency-delinquency in an area. Theories which stress social class acknowledge the importance of the differences in child rearing practices among the various classes as significant.

It is the assumption of the present study that the types of control identified by Nye and, most particularly, the effect of the family, are the critical influences on the behavior of the youngsters studied.

CHAPTER III

DELINQUENCY IN MINORITY GROUPS, ESPECIALLY JEWISH YOUTH: SELECTED LITERATURE

It was the task of this chapter to review selected literature about delinquency among minority groups. In order to make pertinent comparisons, it was necessary to examine the behavior of Jewish youth as well as Italian, Negro, Oriental, and Mexican-American youth. Certain characteristics such as status frustration, language handicaps, poverty, and reaction to prejudice were apparent among the groups studied.

Explanations of delinquency in minority groups. The overt behavior and observable attitudes of the children of minority groups in modern American society appear to differ from those of the children of the minority group.

John M. Gran stated:

If a teen-ager discovers that he is rejected by others because of something over which he has no control--such as his race, the color of his skin, his family, his economic or social status, his intellectual limitations or his neighborhood--he generally seeks others who are in the same plight. As a result, a gang may be born, based upon a mutual feeling of discrimination and a desire for revenge. A spirit of togetherness then develops that is exciting and that gives confidence. As confidence swells, the gang may become increasingly aggressive and may retaliate for the injustice that have brought it into existence. Rewarded by the publicity that their surreptitious misdeeds

attract and gloating in their revenge, the members of the gang usually seek recruits and plan other forays. (23:110)

Another explanation of delinquent behavior in minority group children was given by Frank Riessman. He pointed out that delinquency and destructive behavior result when the creative potential of deprived children is untapped by education (38:78).

Paul Tappan included membership in a minority group as one of the social variables in the etiology of delinquency (47). Yablonsky also pointed out minority status as a factor, with prejudice against minority groups and reaction to it as part of the circumstances which give rise to violent gangs in New York (53).

Barron also noted the differences in statistical evidence of delinquency among various racial and minority groups, indicating that other factors besides a tendency to criminality might be related to the figures. He said:

Inasmuch as the proportion of delinquents known to the courts varies by ethnic groups, the general population is not represented unselectively in court intake for ethnic background. For example, Jewish delinquents with a low broken-home rate tend to be underrepresented because of provision of private facilities for their care; Negro delinquents, however, with a high rate of broken homes, are over-represented because of a lack of private facilities for their care. (2:136)

Negro youth. In analyzing figures which showed a disproportionate number of Negro delinquents, Teeters ascribed some of the difference to the basic prejudice of white against black. He noted that the statistics were based on

differential treatment accorded the Negro, including poverty, segregation of neighborhoods, conflict between races, and lack of recreational facilities for Negro youth. ". . . if the Negro's criminality is high, it is due largely to his socioeconomic handicaps and to the conditions flowing from his conflict with the white man" (48:121).

Italian youth. Barron pointed out that Italian children were cited disproportionately in the delinquency statistics of New York. He ascribed the incidence to a handicap in trying to cope with the urban environment after a predominantly rural background (2:57). Teeters concurred: ". . . when we hear that Italian boys commit more delinquencies than others, we cannot say that it is a racial trait, but rather that it results from their culture" (47:108).

Mexican youth. Teeters also analyzed the figures showing that large numbers of Mexican-Americans were represented in delinquency statistics, pointing out that where a minority group is large enough to threaten the "Old-American" stock there is bound to be friction. Nine-tenths of the Mexican-American population live in five states of Texas, California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado. Most Mexicans who emigrate to the United States are of peasant stock and ill equipped for our culture because of language difficulties, superstitious religious views, and a low standard of living. Their ignorance of our customs and laws

irritates law enforcement officers, who often regard the Mexicans as a "bad lot" and "natural thieves" (48).

Louise Harvey, in a study of delinquent Mexican boys in Los Angeles in 1945, pointed out that a dire economic situation, a difference in cultural background, and language handicaps were among the causes of the problems of the Mexican boys. She stated:

Juvenile arrest figures, as shown by police reports for the years 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, placed the Mexican juvenile groups first in percentage of juvenile arrests, 32.6 percent of the arrests being found in this group as compared with 7.9 percent of Mexicans in the total population. The figures revealed a localized problem. The whole problem of differential police treatment might affect the validity of these figures as being a true picture of Mexican juvenile delinquency. The police reports held that the problem pertained to blighted areas and disorganized neighborhoods; they listed gang activities and bad neighborhood conditions as main causes contributing to Mexican juvenile delinquency. On the other hand, the school placed low innate ability as the leading difficulty underlying the anti-social acts of Mexican problem boys. A general conclusion at this point, then, is that the total situation is complex and no single factor or set of factors can be named in the delinquency of the Mexican juvenile group. (24:59-60)

Oriental youth. The effect of minority group membership is apparently not the same for all groups, however. Teeters pointed out that, in spite of the fact that Japanese-Americans have been the victims of much prejudice, they are essentially law abiding.

It is alleged that the reason for their low crime rate is their strong family life. This fact was borne out some years ago by Professor William Carlson Smith in his work, Americans in the Making, (Appleton-Century, New York, 1939, pp. 84, 97).

Discussing delinquency among Japanese boys, Professors Norman S. Hayner and Charles N. Reynolds ("Delinquency Areas in the Puget Sound Region," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 39, 1933, p. 319) show that wherever the boys are closely controlled by the racial community, they get into little trouble. This fact is also substantiated by Andrew W. Lind in his study of delinquency in Honolulu. ("The Ghetto and the Slum," Social Forces, December, 1930, pp. 206-215.) He states that where the Japanese population is concentrated, no delinquency exists among children; but where it is mixed with the rest of the population, the children tend to get into some trouble. (48:125)

Bovet noted similar facts regarding Chinese Americans.

He said:

It is interesting to note . . . that the Chinese colony of San Francisco has a very low percentage of juvenile delinquency. A social worker employed in the Chinese quarter of this town told me that the Chinese in San Francisco, who number some 25,000, continue to lead a social life in the USA very similar to that of their compatriots who remain in their own country. From the educational point of view three facts should be noted: first, the family setting remains very strong and stable, and is based on a hierarchy; secondly, the Chinese family comprises not only parents and children, but various grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins, so that the family group may frequently consist of 30 or 40 persons; thirdly, the attitude of Chinese mothers to their babies is extremely tolerant and affectionate. They are separated as little as possible, they take their babies with them if they go out to work, comfort them when they cry, and suckle them whenever the baby makes his demand. Toward the age of five, the mother's attitude changes, the child is encouraged to behave more independently, more like a grown woman if it is a girl, and more like a man if it is a boy. It would be rash to affirm without further proof that there is a correlation of cause and effect between the low percentage of juvenile delinquency and the cultural pattern of this Chinese community. It is, however, impossible not to be struck by the fact that in these communities conditions prevail which correspond exactly to the theoretical postulates of depth psychology. (4:55)

Barron agreed that Oriental American youth were not prone to delinquent behavior, noting that these groups enjoy a close-knit family life with strong parental control (2:56).

Jewish youth. Jewish youth have a delinquency-free record similar to that of the Orientals. Bovet pointed out not only that delinquency was less common among Jewish youth but also that it was decreasing in that group. He ascribed the fact, not to the religion of the group, but to the rational approach with which the Jewish group has gone about solving its delinquency problems:

Whereas in 1930 1,503 Jewish minors were brought before juvenile court in New York, this figure fell to 256 in 1940. While the increase in juvenile delinquency during the war years shows for the whole of New York City a rate of 60%, the increase among Jewish children was only 20%. Since 1926 the Jewish Board of Guardians has set up not only a remarkable social service organization for the benefit of children and parents, but has also established psychological outpatient departments, facilities for psychotherapy, and excellent inpatient centres (sic). All this is carried out in a bold realistic spirit, and in every case the principles of modern dynamic psychology are applied. The suggestion that this organization has contributed to the remarkable diminution of child delinquency in the Jewish community of New York is very possibly correct. (4:48)

Dietz attempted to explain the low incidence of juvenile delinquency among Jews in the United States in terms of the Glueck Social Prediction Scale Factors of delinquency causation. In appraising the Jewish family, he noted that "Jewish cultural or traditional values permeate the lives of all Jews and significantly influence their behavior

despite varying modifications" (14:35). Jewish institutions such as Hebrew schools and synagogues flourish, according to Dietz. The charitable functions of the ghetto are reproduced on a large scale. Jews tend to have close familial ties, and while mobility is common they tend to renew ties in each new community. The Jewish group still has some characteristics of the extended family system, and pressure from within helps keep the group intact. Jewish patriarchal family organization has largely given way to an "equalitarian" family, but there is a "persistent influence of traditional forms and values. This is true of such elements as discipline, parental supervision, affection, and family cohesiveness to which this appraisal relates" (14:38). Discipline of the boy by the father, desirable in counter-acting delinquency, is in keeping with Jewish law.

Talmudic law with regard to discipline of a son by the father is remarkably in keeping with modern child guidance principles and is in the lowest failure category on the Glueck scale. It is required that the Jewish father treat his children without favoritism, that he must neither over-indulge his son or be too harsh, that he must never threaten the child, and that he shall punish the child promptly or not at all. (14:40)

The traditional Jewish emphasis on moderation, restraint and intellectual pursuits as opposed to physical combat mitigate the necessity for close supervision, though the mother is solicitous and supervises as closely as possible. The Jewish family is an affectionate family. In short, Dietz indicated that the Jewish family scored extremely

favorably when evaluated on the Glueck Social Prediction Scale Factors.

Paul Tappan cited figures showing the religious affiliations of 7,426 juvenile offenders in The Greater New York Federation Yearbook, 1934. In that report 61.3 percent of the offenders were Catholic, 21.3 percent were Protestant, and 17 percent were Jewish, whereas of the total population of New York, 36 percent were Catholic, 37 percent were Protestant, and 27 percent were Jewish. In Tappan's opinion the statistics did not indicate that Catholic orthodoxy promotes crime, but "probably reflects for the most part economic, nationality, and social influences that function differently through the religious categories" (47:516).

Kvaraceus found that of the delinquent population studied in Passaic, New Jersey, about two percent claimed to be members of the Jewish religion. The Jewish population represented fifteen percent of the city's religiously affiliated membership in 1926 when a religious census was taken. The Catholic population exceeded the Protestant population at that time by two to one, while among the delinquent group the Catholics exceeded the Protestants by three to one (27:102-106).

In analyzing the data, Kvaraceus stated:

Many authorities have debated the implications of the low rate of juvenile delinquency found among members of the Jewish faith. Some observers believe that religion is a strong factor acting to check delinquency among Jews. Rabbi Morris Bekritsky of the Orthodox Jewish Community of Portland, Maine,

and director of the Portland Hebrew Day School, offers the comment below. He suggests that differences in juvenile delinquency rates between Jew and Gentile may not be attributable to any unique religious component in Jewish life.

"The question has often been asked why the rate of juvenile delinquency is comparably lower among Jewish children than among children of other races and religions. Actually such a question should never be asked of the Jew. Rather should it be asked of the non-Jew. One does not question the normal. Decency, obedience of the law, and good citizenship are social norms. We do not ask a person why he is normal or why he is not a criminal. We ask the criminal why he is one.

"It is, therefore, entirely within the rights of the Jew, if asked: 'Why have you so few juvenile delinquents?' to answer: 'Why should we have more?' It is society at large which must answer for itself rather than the Jew for himself.

"The question, however, is raised with such tantalizing frequency that the 'why's' and 'wherefore's' are looked into, whether such research is or is not logically justifiable.

"We might perhaps say that a certain amount of social aberration is also normal. The failure of the Jew to take his share of social aberration is in itself a deviation from the norm and, even though desirable, calls for study and explanation.

"There are other social conditions in which the Jew has also fared enviably better. He has fewer cases of divorce, desertion, and drunkenness. Female drunkenness is almost unknown. It is usually assumed that these firmer and more loyal home ties are the reasons for the low juvenile delinquency rate among Jews. Actually they may not be the cause at all. They in themselves, may only be effects of a common causative factor which also keeps the juvenile delinquency rate low. If, therefore, these together with juvenile delinquency are the effects of a common causative factor then, if we understand them, we would also understand the low Jewish juvenile delinquency rate.

"Why is a Jewish father less apt to divorce or desert his wife than is a non-Jewish father? Surely the same social pressures must take place in Jewish

homes as take place in non-Jewish homes. I am sure we would find that, except in extreme cases, the mate who sues for divorce is acting in haste--without too much forethought and for reasons which are usually trivial, as compared against the gravity of the act and its attendant complications. There are probably by far more regrets following divorce than there are following marriages.

"By nature, the Jew looks before he leaps and thinks before he acts. Whether this is due to centuries of conditioning in a hostile environment, or whether it is an unexplained ethnic trait, it is a truth which has proven itself in many ways. It is surely not a trait which is peculiar to the Jew. I dare say ninety percent or more of the population can be credited with simple common sense which dictates their course of action. I believe the Jew is fortunate in having fewer people who act thoughtlessly, on impulse, and without serious consideration. Life, for the Jew, is a serious thing as it should be; and as it is for most people. He lives it seriously and walks through it cautiously. The consequences of an anti-social or criminal act loom so large before him as to make it unthinkable.

"The Jew has been free from juvenile delinquency not because of his difference from other people but because of his similarity to other people. He is the same as the greatest number of the people, and the greatest number of the people are good, self-respecting, law-abiding citizens."

While Rabbi Bekritsky has been reluctant to credit the higher incidence of law-abidingness among Jews to the religious tradition with Jewish life, we must still raise the key question: "But why is it that Jewish youngsters and adults show up better in delinquency and crime statistics than do Gentiles?" (26:390-391)

The findings of Kvaraceus's study in Passaic were similar to findings of other studies such as those of Albert I. Gordon in Minneapolis in 1945 and Julius B. Maller in New York in 1930. Kvaraceus believed that factors in Jewish life and tradition account for the phenomenon.

The religious tradition of the Jews permeated home life.

In addition, he noted:

The Jewish family is less likely to be found on municipal welfare rolls. In the case of the economically or socially underprivileged family, the Jewish community itself is always poised to rush in to the rescue. Witness the network of Jewish agencies and services to be found in any large metropolitan center with a heavy Jewish population. Other writers have pointed out that the Jewish family today is not immune to all the stresses and strains that bear on the gentile family. In addition the Jewish home frequently bears the brunt of pressures that come from discrimination, no matter how subtle, and from identification with victims of persecution and extermination. But, today, we find the Jewish family more united than the non-Jewish family. Let us not overlook the fact that a large part of the family cohesiveness typical of the Jewish home can be attributed to the power of the religion. (26: 405-408)

In summarizing the data available regarding religion and delinquency, Barron found no evidence indicating that religious affiliation or attendance at worship services had any measurably significant relationship to delinquency. He cited the studies of the European criminologists, Bongers and Aschaffenburg, who found that Catholics tended to be more criminal than Protestants, and Jews the least criminal of all. Barron believed they would have come to the same conclusions had they studied Kvaraceus's data in Passaic, New Jersey. There, according to Barron, two-thirds of the delinquents studied claimed to be members of the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches, one-fifth plus were members of Protestant Churches, and two percent were Jewish, the remainder gave no affiliation.

Barron claimed bias in such data. Both in Europe and in the United States the majority of those who live in the poorest economic conditions are Roman Catholics. Since most offenders come from the lowest economic levels, the majority are usually Roman Catholics. And young offenders express a church affiliation in the hope of impressing the court, and their statements of such affiliation may not be reliable. In addition, a superficial survey of Kvaraceus's data might lead one to conclude that

. . . there is a direct causal relationship between the incidence of delinquency and attendance at religious services. That is, the delinquency rate is usually highest among Catholic young people who belong to the group most likely to attend church regularly, and it is lowest among Jews, the religious group in which attendance at religious services is least frequent. (2:168)

Toby Jackson, a contributor to the volume entitled The Jews, edited by Marshall Sklare, pointed out that of 394,080 prisoners sent to prisons and reformatories from the forty-eight states from 1920 to 1929, 6,846 (1.74 percent) were Jews while Jewish population represented 3.43 percent of the population of the United States (43:549). Status frustration seemed a logical explanation for much crime and delinquency. Jewish culture inculcates in boys a desire to succeed through education.

For an underprivileged boy who has introjected the glittering goals of the American Dream, his ethnic background may be the crucial factor in the channeling of discontent with low status. Whether he becomes a hoodlum or a lawyer may hinge on the accident of Italian or Jewish origin. Ironically, while Jewish "ambition" has been the subject of

much discussion, friendly and unfriendly, the low Jewish crime rate has not been recognized as the outcome of the same cultural resources which make "ambition" possible. Eyebrows have also been raised over the large number of Italian offenders, whereas the difficulties of Italian youth in American schools--and the resulting obstacles to social ascent--reveal Italian "criminality" to be the other horn of a characteristically American dilemma.

Perhaps American society can learn from its Jewish subculture that placing a high valuation upon intellectual achievement is an indirect approach to crime prevention. If it proves feasible to keep open the educational path to middle class status for more youngsters, adolescent hoodlumism can be expected to decrease. . . . What can be said in favor of education for social ascent is that it attempts to cope with an ailment specifically related to delinquent rebellion, namely, status frustration. (43:550)

Sophia Robison, another contributor to The Jews, reported a comparison which showed a distinct decline in delinquency among Jewish boys and girls in New York from 1930 to 1952. In addition, there was a difference between the types of cases for which Jewish youngsters were referred in 1930 and 1952. In the earlier years peddling or begging without a license accounted for more than one third of the 1,085 Jewish children brought to court. In 1952, a large proportion were apprehended for "wrongful appropriation of property," and there were no cases of Jewish children involved in runaways or peddling or begging. Robison concluded that "the Jewish child who was brought to the court in 1952 came because his behavior was more similar to that of the non-Jewish delinquent than was true two decades earlier. A greater proportion of Jewish children

in trouble with the law in 1952 exhibited violent and aggressive behavior" (43:538).

Robison also made a detailed study of 100 of the cases of the Jewish children who appeared in court in 1952. Twenty-one percent had parents who were foreign born, but there was practically no mention of inability to speak English in the homes. Sixty percent were living with both their parents. Another twenty percent lived with their mothers. The remainder lived with step-parents or elsewhere. Two children represented the median and mode for family size in all boroughs except Brooklyn where the median was three. Only two of the 100 children had been born out of wedlock. In almost half of the homes earnings were \$80 or more per week, and the income of some of those earning less than \$80 per week appeared to be adequate in view of the fact that their rent was low or family size small. None of the breadwinners held unskilled jobs of the type characteristically found in immigrant groups. In only rare instances were the mothers working. There was little retardation in either educational achievement or ability. These delinquents were decidedly different from the total delinquent population except in the behavior which brought them before the court.

Summary. It was seen from this brief survey of the literature that selected minority groups in American society differ both from each other and from the group at large with

respect to many characteristics and certainly with respect to the extent to which crime and juvenile delinquency are problems. The Negro, the Italian-American, and the Mexican-American groups are represented in the delinquent population by a larger number than would be expected. On the other hand, Japanese, Chinese, and Jewish-Americans show markedly less delinquency and crime than the total population.

Explanations for the apparently low rate of delinquency among Jewish youth are varied. They may be under-represented in published statistics because there are private facilities available to them and not to others. The enlightened approach of the Jewish community through its many social agencies has reduced problems. Economic and social influences tend to mitigate delinquency among Jewish youth. Jews are reported to have a natural tendency to be cautious and thoughtful. Their cultural stress on education as a means of coping with status frustration accounts for minimal need to be delinquent. Furthermore, the strength of the home life of Jewish families is an important factor.

CHAPTER IV

JEWISH CULTURE AND FAMILY LIFE: SELECTED LITERATURE

In seeking to describe Jewish life it was necessary to define the word Jew and to discuss briefly the religious life of the Jews, their history in America, and various demographic aspects of the Jewish population and its middle class status.

Definition of Jew. If one were to describe Judaism solely as a religion he would miss the mark. One definition of the term Jew was given in Chapter I: "For our purpose we shall define the word Jew to include all individuals of the so-called white races of mankind who, by virtue of family tradition, do practice or whose ancestors did practice the religion of Judaism" (14:24). Another, equally acceptable may be, "A Jew is a person who calls himself a Jew or who is called Jewish by others" (15:1158). Frederic Spiegelberg says that Judaism is primarily moral and ethical, secondarily spiritual: it offers a strict legal code (44:435-450).

Albert Memmi, in Portrait of a Jew, presented a thoughtful account of what it means to be a Jew. There is a solidarity among Jews, born out of centuries of suspicion and oppression from non-Jews. There is no biological or economic stereotype. He experiences acute discomfort in conforming

in a Christian, Moslem, or other nation. Jews are not permitted positions in the government of some nations, and often even citizenship is denied them.

Major parts of the strength or resource of the Jew lie in his religion and his family; these are reinforced because he is so constantly forced back to them when other contacts are not open. Memmi said:

I am convinced that certain psychological traits are common to Jews. But is not that long past of terrors and sufferings, of instability and anxiety, of oppressions and repeated traumatisms sufficient to explain them instead of turning to some obscure and almost mythical biological community? (29:111-12)

In describing modern Jewish life, Memmi noted:

In every Jewish concentration of any importance, one notes . . . the persistence, at least formal, of Jewish traditions, values and institutions, even those that are disputed and scorned by Jews themselves. . . . Family life and its organic solidarity, religion and the synagogue, the community and its procession of poor people, the successive rituals that mark the life of any Jew: circumcisions, the Bar-Mitzvah, the obligatory religious marriage, death and the private cemetery. (29:289)

. . . like religion, the Jewish family is an undeniable factor in the life of the Jew, a factor of an organization and a solidity seldom found elsewhere. (29:306)

Religion. According to Abraham Neuman, Judaism views theology through the eyes of history. The Jewish people see themselves as custodians of a religion which belongs to the world, which essentially has spread throughout the world through its daughter religions, Islam and Christianity. He says, "Every aspect of Jewish religious life is charged with

the consciousness of God from the prayer at dawn to the prayer when the eyes close in sleep. Every detail of life is related through Jewish law to its divine origin and sanction" (25:231). In Judaism emphasis is laid on ethics, morality, and discipline. Thus religion permeates all aspects of the Jew's life.

The religious creed or themes of Judaism were best expressed, according to Neuman,

. . . by the Jewish philosopher, Moses ben Maimon, or Maimonides, in the latter part of the twelfth century. . . . It consists of the following thirteen articles of faith: (1) Belief in the existence of God; (2) in His Unity; (3) in His incorporeality; (4) in the eternity of God; (5) belief that worship is due to Him alone; (6) belief in prophecy; (7) belief that Moses was the greatest of all prophets; (8) that the Torah (the written and oral Law) was revealed to Moses on Sinai; (9) that it is immutable; (10) that God is omniscient; (11) belief in reward and punishment in this world and in life hereafter; (12) belief in the coming of the Messiah; (13) in resurrection of the dead. This creed was later formulated as a credo, every article commencing, "I believe." (25:237)

Kvaraceus, in searching for an explanation of lower delinquency rates among Jewish youth said,

One answer centers around the religious tradition among Jews . . . religion constitutes a prime matrix in Judaic tradition. Elin L. Anderson (We Americans: A Study of Cleavage in an American City, Cambridge: Harvard University Press; 1937), in a study of Jewish life in Burlington, Vermont, and Louis Finkelstein (The Jews, Their History, Culture, and Religion, Vol. II, New York: Harper Brothers; 1949), in a broader look at Jewish culture and tradition, both testify to the essential religious feature in Jewish life and to its pervasiveness in the everyday activities of family living. Anderson points out that Jewish groups may resemble other community groups in appearance and manner but that within their own world their social life centers around traditional religious rituals. From birth to death religious

rituals in the Jewish tradition pervade family life, although they may vary in degree, intensity, and meaning for the particular family unit. Louis Finkelstein has pointed out that the religion of Judaism is, in fact, a way of life that endeavors to transform virtually every human action into a means of communion with God. More significantly for us, he directs attention to the fact that the home is an integral part of Judaism and is to be regarded as "a center of religious life and worship, almost co-ordinate with the synagogue itself." This is further reinforced by the concept that there is no sharp distinction in religious status between the rabbi and the layman in Judaism.

It should also be noted that deviations from Orthodox Jewish tradition as seen in the Reform movements do not represent essential departures from this tradition of religion; instead they are seen as differences in rabbinic interpretation. (26:405-407)

Jewish history in the United States. In the United States the Jewish group has grown both as community within the larger community and as a religious group. According to Finklestein, the first Jewish community in the United States was founded by a small group which landed in New Amsterdam in 1654. This group, like others that followed, set about establishing a synagogue, a Hebrew and religious school for the children, various philanthropic services, and especially a Jewish cemetery. The first Jewish communal institution to care for orphaned children was established in Charleston in 1801, and in 1822 the first Jewish Family Welfare Society, the Hebrew Benevolent Society in New York, was founded. By 1919 there were over 1,000 such Jewish charitable organizations and institutions in the United States.

During the nineteenth century from 850,000 to 900,000 Jews entered the United States. About 750,000 of these were from Eastern Europe, and approximately 150,000 came from Germany and Austria. Most were lower middle class folk. Many were without vocations, but they were schooled. They had attended a good he'ar where they had studied the Talmud, and they had also attended Yeshiva. They adjusted quickly to life in the United States, and they learned to speak English.

From 1900 to 1933, 95 percent of the Jewish immigrants to the United States were Eastern European in origin. After 1933, German Jews represented one-half of the Jewish immigrants. In the group that came to the United States from 1933 to 1943, 27.5 percent were skilled workers, 41.9 percent engaged in trade, 20 percent were engaged in the liberal professions, 6.4 percent worked as maids and in menial occupations, and the remaining were engaged in miscellaneous jobs. It has been estimated that 15,000 Jewish intellectuals came to the United States in this group.

Demography. Regarding the present range of occupations among Jews, Finkelstein reported:

It is, of course, difficult to give a precise account of the over-all occupational distribution of American Jewry. On the basis of all estimates it would be fair to conclude that of one hundred American Jews, between thirty-five and forty-five draw their sustenance from commercial pursuits; about fifteen to twenty are in manufacturing industries; from ten to twelve in professions and about fifteen in clerical professions. Comparing these figures with those of the American population at large we may conclude that

Jews are three times as heavily represented in professions; while the proportion of Jews engaged in manufacturing is smaller by one-third, and the proportion of Jews engaged in agriculture is merely a fraction of the proportion of all American so engaged. (15:1246)

It is further characteristic of the Jewish population in the United States that it is an urban group. Ninety-eight percent of the Jews in the United States reside in or very near major cities (15).

Marshall Sklare offers more recently compiled information than that provided by Finkelstein.

. . . It is clear that the Jewish population (in the United States) is, on the average, an older one than the general white population, and one that is replenishing itself at a rate slower than the general population. Yet it is fairly certain that Jews benefited from the recent spurt in the birth rate, although the growth in population for Jews was in all probability not as large as for non-Jews. It is also fairly evident that Jews are a predominantly urban people: those who go to the smaller towns evidently do so for the sake of a greater measure of economic independence. It may very well be that the latter, too, motivates to some degree the urge to have smaller families. Most of the indications are that Jews do tend to have fewer children than non-Jews.

On marital status, virtually all the data suggest that Jewish communities conform to the national pattern. There is some evidence, however, that the Jewish population has more widowed and fewer divorced and separated persons, although such a generalization is obviously affected by the proportion of older persons in the population, as is the case amongst Jews. . . .

Data on labor force characteristics indicate that in cities outside New York and other large population centers, Jews tend to congregate in the proprietorship, managerial, professional and clerical occupations. The general reasons for this seem to be based on preferences for economic pursuits that allow for a greater measure of self-

employment and independence and which may avoid situations of discrimination. (43:92-93)

Middle class status. While the demographic data are certainly important in a description of American Jewry, they seem to skirt the central issue, the essence of the Jewish people. Mammi alluded to the closeness of family and group ties. Others commented on the efforts of parents to improve the lot of their children. The devotion of parents to children is illustrated in an old Yiddish folk tale recorded by David G. Mandelbaum.

The tale tells of a demanding wife who finally capped her iniquitous career by demanding the tongue torn out of her mother-in-law's head. The son, for reasons sufficient to the tale, finally did the terrible deed and as he was carrying it back to his wife, he stumbled and fell. Whereupon the tongue spoke and said, "O my dear son, have you hurt yourself?" (43:516)

Such family feeling accompanies other factors which support the contention that Jews epitomize the upper middle class in our society. Nathan Glazer pointed out the large proportion of Jews engaged in professional occupations and the relative advantage of Jews over non-Jews when numbers completing college were compared. Pursuing his explanation of the Jews' success in America, Glazer said:

. . . Now, the special occupations of the middle class--trade and the professions--are associated with a whole complex of habits. Primarily, these are the habits of care and foresight. The middle-class person, we know, is trained to save his money, because he has been taught that the world is open to him, and with the proper intelligence and ability, and with resources well used, he may advance himself. He is also careful--in the sense of being conscious--about his personality, his

time, his education, his way of life. The dominating characteristic of his life is that he is able to see that the present postponement of pleasure (saving money is one such form of postponement) will lead to an increase in satisfaction later. Perhaps the most significant findings of Alfred Kinsey's study of male sexual behavior was on this point: the person who postponed sexual pleasure, Kinsey discovered, was already essentially middle class; for even if such a person was now working class, he was going to rise into the middle class.

Now, since the end of the Middle Ages, and particularly since the French Revolution, it has been those with training in the middle-class virtues who have reaped the greatest rewards in society. . . . The peasant and the worker . . . never stand high in society. In primitive society, it is the chief and priest who dispose of the greatest wealth; in feudal society, it is the warrior and churchmen; in modern society, it is the businessman and intellectual. Consequently, it is in modern society that the Jews, who had been stamped with the values that make for good businessmen and intellectuals, have flourished. . .

But what is the origin of these values that are associated with success in middle-class pursuits? Max Weber argues that they originated in a certain kind of religious outlook on the world, the outlook of Calvinism. There is no question that Judaism emphasizes the traits that businessmen and intellectuals require, and has done so since at least 1,500 years before Calvinism. . . . The strong emphasis on learning and study can be traced far back too. The Jewish habits of foresight, care, moderation probably arose early during the two thousand years that Jews have lived primarily as strangers among other peoples. Other features of Jewish religion and culture tended to strengthen the complex of habits leading to success in trade and the professions. . . .

These are the origins of what we have called the "middle-class" values held by Jews. But certainly Jewish economic experience since the beginning of the Christian era can only have strengthened the bent given to them by religion and culture. Until the nineteenth century the Jews were characteristically a group of traders and businessmen and scholars. . . . It is not easy to evaluate, in the creation of a Jewish character strongly influenced by middle-class habits,

the relative influence of religion and that of occupations followed for centuries--both influences worked in the same direction. (43:141-143)

It may well be that the fact that the Jews are predominantly middle class in America explains the lower crime rates and lower divorce rates ascribed to them.

Additionally, however, the Jewish tradition of charity and social service may have had some impact on the lives of Jews. Barron (2) and Bovet (4) were both cited in Chapter III of this study for their references to Jewish charities and the Jewish community's attention to social responsibility. It has also been noted in the present chapter that more than 1,000 Jewish charitable organizations had been established in the United States before 1920. Wirth (51) pointed out that the community, in both the old and new world ghettos, exercised surveillance over its members. Mandelbaum reiterated this characteristic:

Philanthropy was regarded as the very badge of Jewishness in the shtetl; it rewarded the individual giver by channeling his energies toward maintaining the equilibrium of the activity. Philanthropy still is prized among American Jews; the average contribution among American Jews is substantially above that estimated for the whole population, and may also be more when calculated by various income levels. (43:516)

Summary. The American Jew and his family have been characterized by a solidarity among the larger group of Jews as well as of the family itself. Formal traditions and rituals have persisted as well as the ethics, morality, and discipline of Judaism.

The American Jews have been seen not only as a middle-class group, but as the very essence of the middle class with high value placed on learning, saving, and achieving. There is a kind of unity among American Jews which often serves as an extended family to the individual.

CHAPTER V

SOURCES OF DATA

It was the intent of this study to examine the several hypotheses as stated in Chapter I in the light of information fathered from several sources. The major source of information was the Los Angeles County Probation Department, from which the case records of two matched groups, the delinquent Jewish boys and the delinquent white Protestant boys, were obtained. Additional information was obtained from members of the San Diego A.Z.A. (Aleph Zadik Aleph), The San Diego Unified School District, and The Grossmont Union High School about a group of nondelinquent Jewish boys. The information obtained by means of questionnaires and school records from this group was matched to sub-groups of the Jewish and Protestant delinquent boys.

Hypotheses. The study of delinquency among Jewish youth in Los Angeles County was designed to test several hypotheses: Jewish youngsters as a group are less prone to delinquent behavior than are other youngsters. When a Jewish boy becomes delinquent either the factors which have impinged upon him are more intense than would be necessary to elicit delinquency in other youngsters, or his family has broken away from the Jewish group. The qualities of the Jewish family which make Jewish youngsters less prone to delinquent behavior are a strong parent-child relationship, the total Jewish group as an extended family to the individual, and Jewish cultural emphasis on competition in intellectual

rather than physical pursuits.

Los Angeles County Probation Department. For several reasons, the Los Angeles County Probation Department was selected as the best available source of information about Jewish boys who might be classified as delinquent youth. First, Los Angeles County is California's major metropolitan area, and whatever groups might be found should be representative of a broad spectrum of backgrounds, culturally and economically. Additionally, Los Angeles is one of the major United States centers of Jewish population, and if there were delinquent boys among the Jewish population, they should be found there.

It was the suggestion of the Probation Department that the year 1961 be selected for study because most of the cases from that year would be assumed closed by 1964 when the data were gathered, and hence available centrally in the Los Angeles County Hall of Records.

The Los Angeles County Department of Community Services was able to furnish information regarding the religious preference of all boys and girls for whom petitions of all types were filed in 1961 (Figure 1, Appendix) as well as a copy of its preliminary report, Delinquency-Dependency Patterns and Related Socio-Economic Characteristics of Population, 1960-1961 (49).

Dr. Stuart Adams, Research Director for the Los Angeles County Probation Department, arranged with the department to make its records available for study.

Selection of the Jewish male juvenile delinquent cases.

In proceeding with the study, the "Juvenile Statistical Report" cards (Form 1, Appendix) were scanned for the year 1961 to identify Jewish males for further study. The Juvenile Statistical Report is a card filed for every juvenile referred to the department. The card included such information as Police Department number, court number, date referred, name, address, race, sex, age, birthdate, reason for referral, agency making the referral, previous probation referrals, marital status of parents, person with whom the juvenile resides, length of county residence, whether or not the juvenile was detained, religion, and remarks. Not all information was included for each referral.

Those who were so identified on the cards were listed as well as those whose names might lead the investigator to check further to determine whether they could be identified as Jewish. The folder for each of these cases was then studied in the Probation Department Records Room. Those cases which could not be positively identified as Jewish by some information in the folders were not used for the study.

It is assumed that some cases were missed by this method, and there were at least five Jewish boys whose records were not available because their cases were still active in the area offices or because the files were missing. Data were obtained for 149 Jewish male juvenile delinquency cases referred to the Los Angeles Probation Department in

1961. Delinquency petitions had been filed for 133 of these. Five cases were missing from the record room. The remaining 128 cases plus that of one boy for whom no petition had been filed but who had been carried for at least a year on a non-court supervision basis made up the Jewish Delinquent Group of the study.

The available records included the Los Angeles County Probation Department Juvenile Face Sheet, Form 2, a, b, c, and d, Appendix, a School Report, Form 3, Appendix, various court orders, notations of psychiatric study, reports of detention institutions, and commentary of a deputy probation officer while the boy was under supervision. Not all information was available for every youngster; indeed the information was fragmentary in some cases.

The Probation Department Juvenile Face Sheet included such information as name on petition, true name, name of deputy probation officer, area, court and police department numbers, closed case numbers, location of minor, address, name of person with whom minor is living, age, birthdate, sex, religion, race, marital status of minor, birthplace, place of legal residence, marital status of parents, legal custody, adoption or guardianship, persons occupying present household, father's address, father's birthplace, father's birthdate and age, mother's address, mother's birthplace, mother's birthdate and age, statements of the minor and petitioner, amount of loss, restitution plan, previous

history, parents' statements regarding the petition, attitudes and plans, educational background of parents, religion of parents, church attendance of parents, their lodge and union affiliations, occupations of parents and their incomes, social security numbers, military records, employment history, marriages and divorces of parents, and kind of home (neighborhood, house, standards of housekeeping). The face sheet also included information about the parents' real estate and other assets, health and accident insurance, place from which family came, reasons for coming to Los Angeles, other children in the family known to police or Probation Department, adult convictions or probation in the family, and miscellaneous notes on the family. Information regarding the minor's history included in the face sheet was date he came to state and county, operator's license number, social security number, selective service registration, relations with peers and status with family, developmental history and health, height, weight, eyes, hair, marks, interests, previous placements, religious faith, attendance, personality traits, name of spouse if married, date of marriage, name of school, school adjustment, clinical summary, companions, and finally an analysis and plan.

The School Report, Form 3, Appendix, included attendance information, scholarship and citizenship marks, intelligence and achievement test data, information regarding physical disabilities, psychological and/or psychiatric findings,

behavior and personality traits, school and home relationships, extra-curricular activities, employment, remedial measures attempted, and comments and recommendations.

The information obtained from the files was noted on a data sheet, Form 4 a and b, Appendix.

Selection of the matching cases. The cases which made up the delinquent Protestant group of the study were matched to the delinquent Jewish group on the basis of age and family income. The cases of white, Protestant boys were obtained by identifying case numbers in the "Juvenile Statistical Report" file which were white, male, and Protestant and whose birthdates were within six months of the birthdates of the cases identified for the delinquent Jewish group. Then the files of these juveniles were scanned to locate cases of youngsters who matched the delinquent Jewish cases in both age and family income. In each instance, the matching case used was the earliest referral for 1961 which met the criteria.

Selection of a nondelinquent Jewish group. The third group, a nondelinquent Jewish group, was a group of Jewish youth called the San Diego A.Z.A. (Aleph Zadik Aleph) which is sponsored by the B'Nai B'rith. The group was selected because the sponsoring organization had expressed an interest in the study. There were forty-four members on the club's roster. Twenty-two members were present and responded to a questionnaire, Form 5, Appendix, at a meeting

of the club. The questionnaire was mailed to the twenty-two absentees. Letters were also sent to each of the boys' parents requesting permission to obtain from the boys' schools their most recent marks and whatever standardized test scores might be contained in their school records. Twelve of the questionnaires mailed were returned, making the total group of questionnaires thirty-four. The parents of twenty-three boys replied to the request giving permission to obtain data from school records. This group was matched for comparison on the basis of age (at time data was recorded) and family income with subgroups of the two delinquent groups.

The questionnaire used for the supplemental group contained the following information: name, age, place of birth, place of parents' births, name of person with whom respondent makes his home, marital status of parents, whether parents are living, occupations of parents, family income, parents' education, number and ages of siblings, description of family life (happy, unhappy, in-between), length of California residence, description of residential area (very poor, poor, average, better than average, luxurious), type of home (own home, rented home, apartment), length of residence at present address, grade in school, name of school, regularity of attendance at religious services, and appearances in juvenile court.

Other sources of data. Additional information was obtained from records of the San Diego Unified School District for eighteen of the boys and from the Grossmont Union High School District for five. It consisted of group and individual intelligence test scores, achievement test scores, and most recent school marks. The San Diego test scores were reported as standard scores in terms of the "San Diego Test Performance Scale," in which the highest four percent are given a score of one; the next seven percent, a score of two; the next twelve percent, a score of three; the next seventeen percent, a score of four; the middle twenty percent, a score of five; the next seventeen percent, a score of six; the next twelve percent, a score of seven; the next seven percent, a score of eight; and the lowest four percent, a score of nine. See Figure 2, Appendix. These scores as well as the others in the three subgroups were converted into stanine scores (the reverse of the San Diego Test Performance Scale Scores) for the purpose of making comparisons.

The two major groups under study, the Jewish male juvenile delinquent and the white male Protestant juvenile delinquent groups, were next compared to study family strengths and to determine what factors differed when age and socioeconomic status were held constant.

CHAPTER VI

RESULTS: THE FAMILY BACKGROUNDS

A comparison of the family backgrounds of the Jewish delinquent and the white male Protestant groups was made to test the hypothesis that when a Jewish boy becomes delinquent either the factors which have impinged upon him are more intense than would be necessary to elicit delinquency in other youngsters, or his family has broken away from the Jewish group. The comparison also provided information relevant to the third hypothesis of the study, namely, the qualities of the Jewish family which make Jewish youngsters less prone to delinquent behavior are a strong parent-child relationship, the total Jewish group acting as an extended family to the individual, and Jewish cultural emphasis on competition in intellectual rather than physical pursuits.

On the basis of the study, conclusions can be drawn about differences and similarities in the family backgrounds.

Broken homes. There was little difference between the two groups in the number who came from broken homes. In the Jewish delinquent group thirty-three percent were the product of broken homes while thirty-four percent of the Protestant group came from such homes. There was, however,

a marked difference between the two groups in the reasons for the break. Only twenty percent of the delinquent Jewish group as opposed to thirty percent of the delinquent Protestant group came from homes broken by divorce.

Using the formula

$$Z = \frac{P_1 - P_2}{\sqrt{S_{P_1}^2 + S_{P_2}^2}}$$

as a test of significance (13:137), the significance of the difference (Z) between the two percentages was -3.2. The null hypothesis may be rejected at the one percent level of confidence if Z equals plus or minus 2.58 and at the five percent level if Z equals plus or minus 1.96. Hence it may be seen that the null hypothesis (that there was no significant difference between the percentage of the two groups which came from broken homes) could be rejected at the one percent level. More simply, significantly more Protestant boys came from homes of divorced parents.

Two percent of the Jewish delinquent group and one percent or one case in the Protestant group were designated as "separated" and in the case of one home in the Jewish group the reason for the broken home was not stated in the records. Ten percent of the Jewish delinquent boys and four percent of the Protestant group came from homes broken by the death of one or both parents.

In the case of one boy in the Jewish delinquent group, the father re-married after the death of the mother and the

second marriage subsequently ended in divorce. One father of the Protestant delinquent group died while the case was active to the Probation Department.

Table I

Broken Homes

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		\bar{z}
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
Unbroken	87	67	84	66	0.17
Broken	42	33	44	34	0.17
Divorce	26	20	38	30	-3.20
Separation	2	2	1	1	0.66
Death of parent(s)	13	10	5	4	1.51
Cause not given	1	1			

Number of siblings. The median number of siblings for the Jewish delinquent group was less than two, and the median number of siblings for the Protestant delinquent group was two and one-half. The range in number of siblings for the Jewish delinquent group was from none to six and for the Protestant group it was from none to thirteen. The differences between the two groups were significant at the five percent level in several instances and at the one percent level in others. More simply, the Jewish boys tended to come from smaller families than did the Protestant boys.

CONTINUED

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Table II
Number of Siblings

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		\bar{z}
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
None	27	21	11	9	2.73
One	47	36	32	25	1.96
Two	40	31	39	30	0.18
Three	9	7	21	16	-2.31
Four	4	3	11	9	-2.07
Five	1	1	2	2	-0.66
Six	1	1	3	2	-1.11
Seven	--	--	2	2	-1.50
Eight	--	--	4	3	-2.35
Nine	--	--	1	1	-1.12
Ten	--	--	1	1	-1.12
Eleven	--	--	--	--	
Twelve	--	--	--	--	
Thirteen	--	--	1	1	-1.12
Median	Less than 2		2 1/2		

Ages of parents. There was a difference between the two groups in regard to age of parents, with the median age for fathers of the Jewish group being between forty-six and fifty, and that of the Protestant group being between forty and forty-five. The median age for mothers of the Jewish group was almost forty-five, and for the Protestant group

it was less than forty. The differences between percentages in various age groups of the fathers was significant at the one percent level for one age group and at the five percent level for another age group. For the mothers the differences between the percentages in various age groups were significant at the one percent level for three groups and at the five percent level for one group. Stated differently, both parents tended to be older for the Jewish boys.

Table III
Age of Father

Age	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		Z
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
31-35	2	2	6	5	-1.30
36-40	4	3	30	23	-5.00
41-45	33	26	34*	26	
46-50	36*	28	34	26	0.36
51-55	15	12	9	7	1.35
56-60	11	9	2	2	2.50
61-65	6	5	3	2	1.30
66-70	3	2	1	1	0.66
Not given	7	5	4	3	0.80
Deceased	12	9	5	4	1.61

*Median age range for group.

Table IV
Age of Mother

Age	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		\bar{x}
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
25-30	1	1	2	2	0.66
31-35	3	2	17	13	-3.33
36-40	22	17	47*	37	-3.40
41-45	46*	36	31	24	2.11
46-50	31	24	14	11	2.77
51-55	14	11	8	6	1.43
56-60	4	3	4	3	--
61-65	1	1	3	2	0.66
Not given	5	4	1	1	
Deceased	2	2	1	1	

*Median age range for group.

Place of birth of parents. Twenty-three percent of the fathers of the Jewish delinquent group were foreign born, while seven percent of the fathers of the Protestant group were born outside the United States. Few of either group were born in Los Angeles County, but a total of nine percent of the fathers of the Protestant group were born in California, while only two percent of the fathers of the Jewish group were.

Outside California there was considerable difference between the two groups in place of origin. Forty-five

percent of the Jewish group fathers and fifteen percent of the Protestant group fathers were from the northeastern states. Two percent of the Jewish group fathers and fifteen percent of the Protestant group fathers were from the southeastern United States. Nineteen percent of the Jewish group fathers and thirty-one percent of the Protestant group fathers were from the Midwest. Only one percent of the fathers of the Jewish group and sixteen percent of the Protestant group fathers were from the West (including the Southwest).

The mothers' birthplaces could also be contrasted, with seventeen percent of the Jewish group and eight percent of the Protestant group being foreign born. Seven percent of the mothers of the Jewish group and twelve percent of the mothers of the Protestant group were born in California. There was also a difference in places of birth in the United States outside California. Of the Jewish mothers forty-four percent were born in the northeastern United States. Of the Protestant mothers twelve percent were born in the Northeast. Three percent of the Jewish group mothers were born in the Southeast, while fifteen percent of the Protestant group mothers were born there. The Midwest was the birthplace of seventeen percent of the Jewish group mothers and thirty-one percent of the Protestant group mothers. Only one percent of the Jewish group mothers were born in the West, while twenty percent of the Protestant group mothers were. Tables

V and VI show the significance of the difference between the two groups in birthplaces of parents. Stated simply, Jewish parents were more often foreign born.

Table V
Birthplace of Father

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		χ^2
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
California	2	2	12	9	-2.50
United States (except Calif.)	86	67	99	77	-1.79
Foreign	30	23	9	7	3.72
Not given	11	9	8	6	0.91

Table VI
Birthplace of Mother

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		χ^2
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
California	9	7	15	12	-1.40
United States (except Calif.)	85	66	99	77	-1.96
Foreign	22	17	10	8	2.19
Not given	13	10	4	3	0.82

Place of birth of boy. Of the boys of the Jewish group, eleven percent were born in foreign countries. Five percent of the Protestant group were foreign born. Born in California were forty percent of the Jewish boys, while fifty-three

percent of the Protestant group were born in California. Thirty-five percent of the Jewish group and thirty percent of the Protestant group were born in Los Angeles County. Of those born elsewhere in the United States, the largest number of the Jewish group (thirty-one percent) was born in the northeastern part of the United States with twenty-two of these boys having been born in New York. Among the Protestant group boys who were born in the United States outside California, the various regions were represented about equally with the largest group, sixteen percent of the total, having been born in the Midwest. Table VII shows that there was a significant difference between the two groups in percentage of boys born in California. More simply, the Jewish boys were less likely to have been born in California.

Table VII
Birthplace of Boy

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		χ^2
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
California	51	40	68	53	-3.17
United States (except Calif.)	61	47	53	41	0.95
Foreign	14	11	6	5	1.88
No information	3	2	1	1	0.53

Education of parents. The median educational level of achievement of the fathers of both groups appeared to be high school graduation. Twenty-six percent of the fathers of the Jewish group, however, and twenty percent of the fathers of the Protestant group had had some post high school education. The median education of both groups of mothers was high school graduation. There was no difference between the two groups in the number who had had post high school education, with twenty-two percent of the Jewish mothers and twenty-two percent of the Protestant mothers having had some such education. The major difference between the groups for both mothers and fathers was shown to be in those who had dropped out of high school with significantly more of the Protestant mothers and fathers having been school drop-outs.

Table VIII

Education of Father

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		\bar{z}
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
Graduation from college	16	12	16	13	-0.24
Attended college	18	14	10	8	1.54
Graduation from high school	36	28	32	25	0.48
Left school before graduation	33	26	52	41	-2.59
No information	26	20	18	14	1.28

Table IX
Education of Mother

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		Z
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
Graduation from college	9	7	9	7	--
Attended college	20	16	19	15	0.10
Graduation from high school	58	45	40	31	2.33
Left school before graduation	21	16	47	37	-3.88
No information	21	16	13	10	0.67

Occupations of fathers. The major differences between the two groups in regard to occupations of fathers were in the percentages engaged in ownership of a business and those who were employed as skilled workers. Among the fathers of the Jewish group, twenty-two percent were occupied as business owners. In the Protestant group the percentage of business owners was twelve percent. Nine percent of the Jewish fathers were skilled workers, while thirty-two percent of the Protestant fathers were employed as skilled workers.

Among the other occupational groups, seven percent of the Jewish fathers and nine percent of the Protestant

fathers were employed in professional or highly technical occupations; eight percent of the fathers of the Jewish group and four percent of the fathers of the Protestant group pursued business management careers; sales occupations were represented by thirteen percent of the Jewish group and five percent of the Protestant group; one percent of the Jewish group and two percent of the Protestant group were members of the armed forces; one percent of the Jewish group and two percent of the Protestant group were government employees; two percent of the Jewish group and two percent of the Protestant group were employed in motion pictures or other occupations in the arts. None of the parents of the Jewish boys and one percent of the Protestant group were employed as professionals in sports; twelve percent of the Jewish group and twelve percent of the Protestant group could be classified as unskilled workers; the unemployed included six percent of the Jewish group and eight percent of the Protestant group; no occupation was given for seven percent of the Jewish fathers and nine percent of the Protestant fathers; and nine percent of the fathers of the Jewish group and three percent of the fathers of the Protestant group were deceased.

The differences were found to be significant at the five percent level in percentage who owned their own businesses and at the one percent level in percentage of skilled tradesmen. More simply, the Jewish fathers were more often

business owners. The Protestant fathers, on the other hand, were much more likely to be engaged in the skilled trades.

Table 3
Occupations of Fathers

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		Z
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
Professional	9	7	12	9	0.59
Business Owner	29	22	15	12	2.13
Business management employee	10	8	5	4	1.33
Sales	17	13	7	5	1.13
Government	1	1	2	2	-0.53
Armed forces	1	1	2	2	-0.53
Motion pictures or the arts	3	2	2	2	--
Sports	--	--	1	1	-1.12
Skilled trade	12	9	40	32	-6.66
Unskilled	15	12	15	12	--
Unemployed	8	6	10	8	--
Deceased	12	9	4	3	2.00
No information	9	7	12	9	--

Occupations of mothers. When the occupations of the mothers of the two groups were compared they appeared to be more similar than dissimilar. A large number of each group

were counted as housewives, forty-nine percent of the mothers of the Jewish group and fifty-one percent of the Protestant mothers. Among other occupational classifications the groups were divided thus: professional or highly technical, Jewish group three percent, Protestant group six percent; business owner (separate from father), Jewish group three percent, Protestant group one percent; business management, Jewish group none, Protestant group one percent; office worker, bank, etc., Jewish group fifteen percent, Protestant group nine percent; sales, Jewish group eight percent, Protestant group two percent; motion pictures or the arts, Jewish group none, Protestant group two percent; skilled worker, Jewish group ten percent, Protestant group thirteen percent; unskilled worker, Jewish group four percent, Protestant group six percent; unemployed, Jewish group three percent, Protestant group two percent; no information, Jewish group four percent, Protestant group five percent; and deceased, Jewish group two percent, Protestant group one percent. The differences were significant only between the two groups engaged in sales. The large number of both groups engaged as housewives should be noted.

Table XI
Occupations of Mothers

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		Z
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
Housewife	63	49	65	51	-0.32
Professional	4	3	8	6	-1.15
Business owner	4	3	1	1	1.11
Business management level employee	--	--	1	1	--
Clerical	19	15	12	9	1.50
Sales	10	8	3	2	2.22
Motion pictures or the arts	--	--	3	2	--
Skilled trade	13	10	16	13	-0.75
Unskilled	5	4	8	6	-0.74
Unemployed	4	3	3	2	--
Deceased	2	2	1	1	--
No information	5	4	6	5	--

Area and type of residence. The housing of none of the families of the Jewish group could be characterized as being in a blighted housing area, while two percent of the Protestant group lived in such an area. Seven percent of the Jewish group lived in poor housing, while eleven percent of the Protestant group dwelt in such housing. Forty-two percent of the Jewish group's housing could be characterized

as average, and fifty-nine percent of the Protestant group lived in average housing. Thirty-eight percent of the Jewish group resided in above average housing, while twenty-six percent of the Protestant group's residences were above average. Eight percent of the Jewish group's homes could be called luxurious and only two percent of the Protestant group's homes were in that category. Information was not available for five percent of the Jewish group or for one percent of the Protestant group. The differences were significant at the five percent level for Jewish boys living in above average or luxurious homes.

Table XII
Residential Area

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		z
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
Blighted	--	--	3	2	--
Poor	9	7	14	11	-1.25
Average	54	42	75	59	-0.32
Above average	49	38	33	26	2.07
Luxurious	10	8	2	2	2.22
No information	7	5	1	1	--

Home ownership. The Jewish group was less inclined to home ownership. Forty-six percent of the Jewish families owned their homes, while sixty-two percent of the Protestant families owned homes. The difference in home ownership was

significant at the one percent level favoring the Protestant group.

Table XIII
Type of Residence

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		χ^2
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
Own home	59	46	79	62	-5.19
Rented house	11	9	19	15	-1.49
House (no information whether owned)	4	3	1	1	--
Apartment or duplex	35	27	16	13	2.86
Cabin	--	--	1	1	--
Trailer	--	--	1	1	--
No information	20	16	11	9	--

Parents' health problems. Counting only such debilitating illness as cancer, heart disease, pernicious anemia and other ailments of like severity, eighteen percent of the boys in the Jewish group had parents with serious health problems, and eighteen percent of the boys in the Protestant group had parents who had serious health problems. These figures did not include those parents who were deceased prior to 1961. There was obviously no significant difference between the groups.

Evidence of excessive drinking in the home. There was evidence in the records that four percent of the fathers and one percent of the mothers of the boys in the Jewish group drank excessively. By contrast seventeen percent of the boys in the Protestant group had fathers who drank excessively; four percent had mothers who did so; two percent had step-parents who had this problem; and two percent had another relative in the family who drank excessively. The difference between the two groups of fathers in excessive drinking was significant at the one percent level. The Protestant fathers were more likely to drink excessively.

Table XIV

Evidence or Report of Excessive Drinking

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		Z
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
Fathers	5	4	22	17	-3.51
Mothers	1	1	5	4	-1.00
Step-parent	--	--	2	2	--
Other relative in the home	--	--	2	2	--

Mental health problems in the family. It was assumed that there was evidence of mental health problems in the family when it was recorded in the Probation Department record that one or more family members had been cared for by a psychiatrist or psychologist, or placed in a hospital

where mental health problems are treated, or when a family member's need for mental health care was so great it was noted by the Probation Department worker. In the Jewish group three percent of the boys had siblings or family members other than parents who had such mental health problems. This percentage was one for the Protestant group. Five percent of the boys in the Jewish group and four percent of the boys in the Protestant group had fathers whose mental health was a problem. Twelve percent of the mothers of the Jewish boys and nine percent of the mothers of the Protestant group were either receiving help or indicated to the Probation worker a need for help with mental health problems. In addition, two percent of the boys in the Protestant group had step-parents with mental health problems. From these figures it would appear that the families of the Jewish group tended more toward mental health problems than did those of the Protestant group. None of the differences in mental health was found to be statistically significant, and it is possible that if there is a difference it might exist because better educated people are more likely to seek help for emotional problems.

Table XV
Mental Health Problems in Families

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		\bar{z}
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
Fathers	7	5	5	4	--
Mothers	16	12	11	9	0.79
Step-parent	--	--	2	2	--
Sibling	4	3	1	1	--
Total	27	21	19	14	1.49

Arrests of family members. The information regarding arrests was based almost entirely on information given by the parents and by the boy himself in interviews with the Probation Officer. It should be noted that no cross check was made of police or sheriff's department or out-of-Los Angeles County records regarding arrests of family members.

On the basis of the information given it appeared that twelve percent of the boys in the Jewish group had one or more family members who had run afoul of the law. By contrast twenty-six percent of the boys in the Protestant group had such relatives, a difference which is significant at the one percent level. Restated, more of the Protestant group's family members had arrest records.

Table XVI

Arrests of Family Members

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		Z
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
Fathers	7	5	14	11	-1.76
Mothers	4	3	2	2	--
Siblings	5	4	28	22	-4.70
Other relatives	1	1	4	3	--
Total number of boys whose records show one or more family member arrested	15	12	34	26	-2.92

Note: No cross check was made with the Police Department or outside the County of Los Angeles for records of arrest.

Other agency assistance to the family. Assistance to the boy or his family by some agency other than the Probation or Police Departments prior to the filing of the petition was noted in some cases. There was a difference in the amount of such assistance recorded for the two groups. No other agency assistance was noted for sixty-seven percent of the cases in the Jewish group, and no other agency assistance was noted for eighty-four percent of the cases of the Protestant group. Twenty-three percent of the cases in the Jewish group and thirteen percent of the Protestant group indicated assistance from one other agency. Nine percent of the Jewish group and two percent of the Protestant group

had received help from two agencies. One percent of the Jewish group and two percent of the Protestant group had received help from three other agencies.

Fourteen different agencies were identified as having given help to the families of the Jewish group. They were the Jewish Big Brothers, Vista del Mar, the Social Security Administration, Halper Clinic at Mt. Sinai Hospital, the Parent Teacher Association Health Center, the State Hospital at Norwalk, Jewish Family Services, the Los Angeles County General Hospital, the Shrine Hospital, Cedars of Lebanon Hospital, the Veterans' Administration Hospital, Jewish Community Center, and Camp Max Straus.

Fifteen different agencies were identified as having given help to the families of the Protestant group. They were the Boys' Club, Aid to Needy Children, the State Hospital at Camarillo, the State Hospital at Atascadero, the Optimist Home, Family Service, the Long Beach Psychiatric Clinic, the Long Beach Schools Guidance Service, the State Department of Mental Hygiene, the Veterans' Administration Hospital, Child Welfare and Attendance Services, the University of California Neuropsychiatric Clinic, Public Welfare, the Orthopedic Hospital, and the Parent Teacher Association Child Guidance Center.

The difference between the two groups was significant at the one percent level when percentages who had had no agency assistance were compared. Briefly, many more of the

Jewish families had had assistance from a social agency.

Table XVII

Other Agency Assistance to Family

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		Z
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
None noted	87	67	108	84	-4.05
One	30	23	16	13	2.08
Two	11	9	2	2	2.50
Three	1	1	2	2	--

Summary. The Jewish boys were more likely to have older parents or foreign born parents. The Jewish boys were more often born outside California. Their fathers were more likely to be owners of businesses, and if the mothers worked they were more likely to be engaged in sales. More Jewish families lived in luxurious or above average homes. They were more likely to have been helped by a social agency.

The Protestant boys were more likely to come from larger families. More Protestant boys had divorced parents. Their parents were more likely to have dropped out of school before high school graduation. The fathers were more often skilled tradesmen. More Protestant families owned their own homes. More of the fathers of the Protestant boys drank excessively. The Protestant group was more likely to have family members with arrest records.

Hence, the Jewish delinquent boys appeared to be the more favored group with respect to socioeconomic status in spite of the fact that the groups were matched on the basis of income. They were more favored too with respect to family stability in that their families had lower divorce rates and their fathers were less likely to drink excessively.

CHAPTER VII

RESULTS: JEWISH AND PROTESTANT DELINQUENTS

In attempting to determine differences between the two main groups of the study, some items of investigation proved to be of negligible value in that they did not apply to an adequate number of cases or that data were not provided in the Probation Department file. The boys' work experience was such an item with none recorded for 110 of the Jewish boys and none for 112 of the Protestant boys. On the other hand, the information regarding the boys' educational backgrounds was rather thorough.

School achievement. It was established that in 1961 seven of the Jewish boys or five percent had dropped out of school or were exempted or excluded. Twenty-one of the Protestant boys or sixteen percent were in that category. Of the remaining boys, no information on grade level was available for thirteen of the Jewish boys or for eight of the Protestant boys. For the remaining number the median grade level for the Jewish group was ten plus and for the Protestant group, nine plus. It should be noted that the two groups were matched by age. It is well to note also the larger number of boys in the Protestant group who had dropped out or who had been excluded from school.

In the matter of school marks, the Jewish group proved to be the better scholars. Two percent of the Jewish group were achieving superior school marks, mostly A's, while none of the Protestant group had achieved that well. Fifteen percent of the Jewish group were above average students, mostly B's, while only two percent of the Protestant group were achieving at that level, a difference significant at the one percent level. Average scholars comprised twenty-six percent of the Jewish group and twenty-five percent of the Protestant group. Among poor scholars, mostly D's, were twenty-eight percent of the Jewish group and forty-two percent of the Protestant group, a difference significant at the one percent level. Nine percent of the Jewish group as opposed to thirteen percent of the Protestant group were failing. The comparison of the scholarship of the two groups is readily seen in Table XVIII. More briefly, the Jewish boys were earning higher marks in school.

Table XVIII
School Marks Last Semester

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		\bar{x}
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
Superior (mostly A's)	3	2	6	5	--
Above average (mostly B's)	19	15	3	2	3.82
Average	34	26	32	25	--
Poor (mostly D's)	36	28	54	42	-2.37
Failing	11	9	17	13	-1.03
Expelled or excluded	2	2	5	4	--
Dropped	7	5	16	8	--
Dropped - (emotional)	1	1	--	--	--
Dropped (con- tinuation program)	--	--	1	1	--
Not available	16	12	6	5	--

Achievement test data. Scholastic Achievement test data were available for thirty-three of the boys in the Jewish group and for fifty-four of the Protestant boys. Of those for whom scores were available, twenty-one percent of the Jewish and twenty-eight percent of the Protestant group were above grade level; thirty percent of the scores for the Jewish group and twenty-eight percent of those for the

Protestant group were at grade level; forty-two percent of those for the Jewish group and thirty-three percent of the scores for the Protestant group were below grade level, at least one year; and six percent of the scores for the Jewish group and eleven percent of those for the Protestant group were markedly below grade level. It has been pointed out that the Jewish boys were more likely to have attained a higher grade placement in school. That might account for any difference which indicates that the Protestant boys' achievements tests were higher when compared with the grade attained. Because of the limited size of the groups involved, the differences were not significant.

Table XIX
Achievement Test Results

	Jewish Delinquent Group N = 33		Protestant Delinquent Group N = 54		\bar{z}
	Number	% of N	Number	% of N	
Above grade level	7	21	15	28	-0.74
At grade level	10	30	15	28	0.20
Below grade level	14	42	18	33	0.84
Markedly below grade level	2	6	6	11	-0.85

Intelligence. In regard to the ability level of the two groups, it is somewhat questionable whether intelligence quotients yielded by different tests may be compared. That

caution plus the fact that data were available for only seventy-three of the boys in the Jewish group and for 101 of the boys in the Protestant group should be kept in mind when comparison is made. It appeared from the data available that the median intelligence quotient for the Jewish delinquent group was in the 100 to 109 range while that of the Protestant delinquent group was in the 90-99 range. When the results from the various tests were converted to stanine scores to facilitate comparison, the mean ability level of the Jewish group was a stanine of 5.26 and that of the Protestant group was 4.94. Thus, by two separate ways of studying the data, there seems to be some difference between the ability of the boys of the two groups with the Jewish group having somewhat better academic ability. Nevertheless, it must be reiterated that both because of the variety of the tests used and because the data were available for a limited number of boys the conclusions may not be significant.

Table XX

Ability Level*

Stanine	Jewish Delinquent Group	Protestant Delinquent Group
	Number	Number
1 (lowest 4%)	2	1
2 (7%)	5	7
3 (12%)	6	12
4 (17%)	12	17
5 (20%)	17	26
6 (17%)	12	23
7 (12%)	7	10
8 (7%)	8	3
9 (highest 4%)	4	2
Mean	5.26	4.94

*Scores from various tests converted to stanine scores.

School attendance. Information regarding school attendance was given for fifty-eight Jewish boys and for eighty-eight Protestant boys. Of that number, school attendance was called satisfactory by the school for sixty-seven percent of those in the Jewish group and sixty-four percent of those in the Protestant group; poor for seven percent of the Jewish boys and none of the Protestant group; unsatisfactory for twenty-six percent of those in the Jewish group and for thirty-six percent of the boys in the Protestant group. The difference between the two groups

rated poor in attendance was significant, but the limited numbers for whom information was available should be kept in mind. More briefly, school attendance was rated satisfactory for the majority of both groups.

Table XXI
School Attendance

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		
	N = 58		N = 88		
	Number	% of N	Number	% of N	\bar{z}
Satisfactory	39	67	56	64	0.37
Poor	4	7	--	--	2.06
Unsatisfactory	15	26	32	36	-1.30

School citizenship. Information was available regarding the school citizenship of eighty-seven of the Jewish boys and 112 of the Protestant boys. Of that number citizenship was classified by the school as above average for eight percent of the Jewish group and four percent of the Protestant group. School citizenship was classified as average for thirty-three percent of the Jewish group and thirty-nine percent of the Protestant group. It was classified marginal for one percent of the Jewish group and eight percent of the Protestant group. The citizenship of fifty-seven percent of the Jewish group and forty-eight percent of the Protestant group was called unsatisfactory. One of the differences proved to be significant at the five percent

level of confidence. In other words, there was no significant difference between the two groups in average or above average citizenship, but a larger percentage of Protestant boys were rated marginal while a slightly larger percentage of Jewish boys were rated unsatisfactory.

Table XXII
School Citizenship

	Jewish Delinquent Group N = 87		Protestant Delinquent Group N = 112		\bar{z}
	Number	% of N	Number	% of N	
Above average	7	8	5	4	0.11
Average	29	33	44	39	-0.09
Marginal	1	1	9	8	-2.50
Unsatisfactory	50	57	54	48	1.27

Health problems. The probation worker's notes indicated that eighteen percent of the Jewish boys and nine percent of the Protestant boys had or had had severe health problems. The \bar{z} of 2.13 for the difference is significant at the five percent level of confidence. Severe health problems identified were damaged heart, aseptic meningitis, no bowel control until age ten, obesity, back injury, asthma, allergies, enuresis, chest deformity, intestinal disorder surgically repaired, anemia, chronic rheumatic condition, poliomyelitis, tumor surgically removed, mono nucleosis, glandular disorder, digestive disorder, and severe hearing loss in the Jewish

group. Health problems noted in the Protestant group were hernia, undescended testicle, head injuries, enuresis, rheumatic fever, ruptured appendix, obesity, malignant tumor, eye surgery, poliomyelitis, club foot, damaged spine, chronic headaches and stomach aches with fever, kidney ailment, asthma, allergies, skull fracture, plastic surgery, brain surgery, thyroid disorder, spinal meningitis, scarlet fever, and collapsed lung. More simply, more of the Jewish boys had serious health problems.

Nervous habits. Nervous habits such as nail biting were observed by the Probation worker with about equal frequency in the two groups of boys, in twelve percent of the Jewish boys and in eleven percent of the Protestant boys. The \tilde{z} of .25 is not significant.

Mental health. Mental health problems were identified as those specifically diagnosed by a psychologist or psychiatrist. Such problems were noted in thirty-two percent of the Jewish boys and in twenty-three percent of the Protestant boys. The \tilde{z} is 1.64, not large enough to be significant at the five percent level.

Reasons for petition. Some petitions included more than one offense, and some cases contained a number of petitions. The total number of offenses including past, present, and subsequent history for the Jewish group was 379 and for the Protestant group it was 474. If these offenses were averaged among the boys, the boys in the Jewish group could

be said to have averaged 2.94 offenses, and the boys in the Protestant group, 3.7 offenses, a difference which is not statistically significant.

By categories of offenses there appeared to be relatively little difference between the two groups. Of the total number of offenses committed by the Jewish group, three percent and of the Protestant group four percent involved alcoholic beverages. Twenty-five percent of the offenses of the Jewish group and twenty-three percent of the offenses of the Protestant group were related to autos (including hit and run, auto theft, excessive tickets, accidents). Seven percent of the offenses of the Jewish group and three percent of the offenses of the Protestant group were against persons (assault, battery, kidnapping, riot, threatening). Of the Jewish group, six percent and of the Protestant group, four percent were sex offenses (homosexuality, in danger of leading lewd and immoral life, rape, molest, peeping Tom). Twenty-seven percent of the offenses of the Jewish group and thirty-seven percent of the offenses of the Protestant group were against property. Of the Jewish group's offenses two percent involved weapons (shooting BB in violation, furnishing firearms to minor, possession of club). Of the Protestant group's offenses, one percent were related to weapons. Narcotics and drugs were involved in one percent of the cases of both groups. Runaway or vagrancy accounted for the cases of thirteen

Table XXIII

Offenses

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		\bar{z}
	Number of offenses	% of offenses	Number of offenses	% of offenses	
Offenses involving alcoholic beverages	11	3	21	4	-0.79
Auto	93	25	108	23	0.68
Against persons	26	7	15	3	2.61
Sex	24	6	19	4	1.32
Against property	104	27	175	37	-3.14
Weapons	8	2	7	1	1.18
Narcotics and drugs	2	1	7	1	--
Runaway, vagrancy	50	13	57	12	0.44
Other	<u>61</u>	16	<u>65</u>	14	0.81
Total	379		474		
Mean offenses	2.94		3.7		1.70

percent of the Jewish group and twelve percent of the Protestant group. The remaining cases, sixteen percent of the Jewish group's offenses and fourteen percent of the Protestant group's were varied. They included suicide attempt, obstructing an officer or fireman, incorrigible, trespassing, unlawful entry, truancy, disturbance of the peace, and gambling. The difference between the mean offenses of the two groups is not statistically significant. But the differences between the two groups in offenses against persons and in offenses against property were significant at the one percent level. In other words, the Jewish boys were more likely than the Protestants to commit crimes against persons and the Protestant boys were more likely to commit crimes against property.

Participation of others. Companions were involved in the offenses of sixty-five percent of the Jewish boys and in the offenses of seventy percent of the Protestant boys. The \bar{z} of $-.85$ is not significant.

Prior history. A prior history of delinquent behavior was reported for about half the boys in each group, fifty percent in the Jewish group and fifty-two percent in the Protestant group. The difference ($\bar{z} = -.32$) is not significant.

Disposition of cases. The court's disposition of the 1961 petitions varied depending upon the offense, the boy, and the prognosis for the boy's successful adjustment. The

petitions were not sustained and the cases dismissed in nine percent of the cases of the Jewish group and two percent of the cases of the Protestant group. The petitions were sustained and dismissed for six percent of the boys of the Jewish group and for three percent of the Protestant boys. The petitions were sustained (or sustained as amended) and the case continued from two to six months to determine the need for wardship in sixteen percent of the cases of the Jewish group and fourteen percent of the cases of the Protestant group. The petitions were sustained, the boys declared dependent children, and the cases continued six months to determine the need for wardship in one percent of the cases of the Jewish group and none of the Protestant group.

The petitions were sustained (or sustained as amended), wardship declared, and the boys sent home on probation in sixty-four percent of the cases of the Jewish group and sixty-one percent of the Protestant group. The petitions were sustained and the boys released to their parents in none of the cases of the Jewish group and in two percent of the cases of the Protestant group. The petitions were sustained, the boys declared wards of the court, and transferred to their home counties or states in one percent of the Jewish group and one percent of the Protestant group. The petitions were sustained and placement ordered for three percent of the Jewish group and for three percent of the Protestant group. Petitions were sustained and camp

placement ordered for none of the Jewish group and for five percent of the Protestant group. The petitions were sustained and a stayed commitment to forestry camp ordered for one percent of the Jewish group and for three percent of the Protestant group.

Petitions were sustained and California Youth Authority commitment ordered for none of the Jewish group and for one percent of the Protestant group. The petitions were sustained and detention in Juvenile Hall pending clinic study ordered for one percent of the Jewish group and for two percent of the Protestant group. Petitions were sustained and detention in Juvenile Hall pending further study and plan were ordered for none of the Jewish group and for two percent of the Protestant group. The petition was dismissed and the district attorney directed to institute criminal proceedings under the general law in no case in the Jewish group and in one case or one percent of the Protestant group.

In addition to the action on the petitions, the court ordered counseling at Jewish Big Brothers for one percent of the Jewish group and none of the Protestant group. Psychotherapy was ordered for two percent of the Jewish group and for two percent of the Protestant group. Clinical studies were ordered for nine percent of the Jewish group and for eight percent of the Protestant group. The differences between the two groups appear to be significant in number of petitions dismissed ($\bar{Z} = 2.5$) and for number of

camp placements ordered where $\tilde{z} = 2.77$, a difference significant at the one percent level. More simply, the Jewish boys were more likely to have their petitions dismissed, and the Protestant boys were more often sent to camp.

Placement. Out-of-home placement was made in nineteen percent of the cases of the Jewish group and twenty-nine percent of the cases in the Protestant group either immediately after the first court hearing or eventually before the case was dismissed. The difference ($\tilde{z} = 1.89$) is not great enough to be significant at the five percent level.

Recidivism. There was evidence of recidivism in twenty-nine percent of the cases in the Jewish group and in thirty-seven percent of the cases in the Protestant group. The difference is not significant ($\tilde{z} = 1.36$).

Duration of open cases. The mean length of time that cases were kept active by the department was eleven and one-half months for the Jewish group and fourteen months for the Protestant group. The difference, $\tilde{z} = 2.11$, is significant at the five percent level. In other words, the Jewish boys' cases were likely to be closed sooner than the Protestant boys' cases.

Reasons for dismissal. The reasons for dismissal appear to be similar for the two groups. "Satisfactory or improved adjustment" was given as the reason for dismissal of seventy-one percent of the cases in the Jewish group and sixty-nine percent of the cases of the Protestant group.

Table XXIV

Disposition of Petitions

	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		Σ
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
Petition not sustained, dismissed	11	9	3	2	2.50
Petition sustained, dismissed	8	6	4	3	1.15
Petition sustained (or sustained as amended), continued to determine need for wardship	20	16	18	14	0.44
Petition sustained, declared dependent child, continued to determine need for wardship	1	1	--	--	--
Petition sustained (or sustained as amended), wardship declared, home on probation	82	64	78	61	0.49
Petition sustained, released to parents pending clinic study	--	--	3	2	--
Petition sustained, declared ward, transferred to home state or county	1	1	1	1	--
Petition sustained, placement ordered	4	3	4	3	--

Table XXIV (continued)

	Disposition of Petitions				
	Jewish Delinquent Group		Protestant Delinquent Group		z
	Number	% of Group	Number	% of Group	
Petition sustained, camp placement ordered	--	--	6	5	-2.77
Petition sustained, stayed commitment to forestry camp	1	1	4	3	--
Petition sustained, California Youth Authority commitment ordered	--	--	1	1	--
Petition sustained, ordered detained in Juvenile Hall pending clinic study	1	1	3	2	--
Petition sustained, ordered detained in Juvenile Hall pending further study and plan	--	--	2	2	--
Petition dismissed and district attorney directed to institute criminal proceedings under the general law	--	--	1	1	--
<u>Additional Orders</u>					
Counseling at Jewish Big Brothers	1	1	--	--	--
Psychotherapy	3	2	3	2	--
Clinic Study	11	9	10	8	--

Other reasons given for dismissal represented relatively small numbers of each group. They were petition sustained, dismissed at first court hearing; petition not sustained; family left California; transfer case to another county or returned to home; to enlist in service; California Youth Authority commitment; committed to State Department of Mental Hygiene; and dismissed and District Attorney directed to institute criminal proceedings under the general law. There was no significant difference between the two groups in reason for dismissal.

Summary. The Jewish boys were more likely to earn higher school marks, and they may have had more academic ability as measured by intelligence tests. They were more likely than the Protestant boys to commit offenses against persons. Their petitions were more often dismissed. The boys of the Protestant group committed more offenses against property. They were more likely to be sent to Forestry Camp. Their cases remained active in the Probation Department longer.

In list form, differences between Jewish and Protestant delinquent boys are:

Jewish Delinquent Group	Protestant Delinquent Group
Parents older	More of homes broken by divorce
More likely to have foreign born parents	More siblings
Parents attained higher level of education	More likely to have United States or California born parents
Father more likely to own business	

Jewish Delinquent Group

More likely to live in above
average residential area

May have more mental health
problems in family

More families had received
assistance from other
agencies

Received higher marks in
school

Attained higher grade level
in school

More likely to commit
offense against
persons

Greater leniency shown by
the court (perhaps
because of the smaller
number of offenses)

Protestant Delinquent Group

Parents more likely to have
left school before
high school graduation

Father more likely to be
employed in skilled
trade

More likely to own home

More likely to have father
who drinks excessively

More arrests among family
members

More boys had dropped out
of school

Greater number of offenses
against property

More likely to be placed at
forestry camp

Recidivism may have been
more common

Cases remained open longer

CHAPTER VIII

RESULTS: JEWISH DELINQUENTS AND NONDELINQUENTS

A third group of adolescent Jewish boys was studied for comparison purposes. This was a group of boys who were members of an AZA club sponsored by B'Nai B'rith in San Diego. The group meets weekly at the Jewish Community Center. Its membership is not limited to any particular geographical section of the city, but because the Community Center is located in the eastern part of San Diego, most of its members live in East San Diego or in the neighboring suburban community of La Mesa. The boys were asked to respond to a questionnaire regarding their families and themselves covering data similar to that for the delinquent boys. (See Appendix, Form 5.) Following their response to the questionnaire, letters were sent to their parents requesting permission to examine the boys' school records. Questionnaires were answered by thirty-four boys, and permission to obtain information from the schools was given by twenty-three of the parents.

Records from two school districts were needed, and permission to use the permanent record cards was given by both the San Diego Unified School District and by the Grossmont Union High School District. The records of students in six

schools were examined. The school districts limited use of their records to the obtaining of school marks and standardized test scores. Records of counseling interviews and opinions of school personnel about the boys were not made available.

The information obtained about this group of thirty-four boys from the questionnaires and the school included reasons for broken home, person with whom boy resides, number of siblings, age of parents, father's place of birth, mother's place of birth, highest educational level of father, highest educational level of mother, family income, place of birth of boy, father's occupation, mother's occupation, description of residential area and home, type of residence, length of residence at present address, length of California residence, description of family life (happy, unhappy, in-between), and regularity of attendance at religious services.

The group was then matched with subgroups of the Jewish and Protestant delinquent groups in age of boy at the time the data were taken and family income. Comparisons of the delinquent subgroups and the nondelinquent group were made where it was possible to do so. The groups were small and the nondelinquent group may not be representative of the total Jewish youth population, but the comparisons suggest some basis for speculation about delinquent and nondelinquent Jewish youth. Because of the small number of cases, tests of significance were not used. Data are presented for

comparison only.

Broken homes. It was found that eight or twenty-four percent of the subgroup of Jewish delinquents and nine or twenty-seven percent of the subgroup of Protestant delinquent boys came from broken homes, while only three or nine percent of the nondelinquent group came from homes which could be called broken by death, divorce, or separation. In the Jewish delinquent subgroup three or nine percent of the homes were broken by divorce, two or six percent by death of the mother, and three or nine percent by death of the father. In the Protestant delinquent subgroup eight or twenty-four percent of the homes were broken by divorce, none by death of the mother, and one or three percent by death of the father. In the nondelinquent group one, three percent, was broken by divorce and two or six percent were broken by death of the mother; none were broken by death of the father. In other words, the comparison confirmed the earlier finding that divorce was more common among the parents of the Protestant group. It would indicate also that the broken home, whatever the reason, was common to both groups of delinquents and rare for this group of nondelinquents.

Table XXV

Reasons for Broken Homes

	Delinquent Subgroup				Nondelinquent	
	Jewish		Protestant		Jewish Group	
	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group
Divorce	3	9	8	24	1	3
Death of Mother	2	6	--	--	2	6
Death of Father	3	9	1	3	--	--
Total	8	24	9	27	3	9

Parent with whom boy resides. Twenty-seven or seventy-nine percent of the boys in the Jewish delinquent subgroup resided with two parents, four or twelve percent resided with their mothers, two or six percent resided with their fathers, and one or three percent lived with other relatives. In the Protestant delinquent subgroup twenty-six or seventy-six percent lived with two parents, five or fifteen percent lived with their mothers, and three or nine percent resided with their fathers. This was seen in contrast to the nondelinquent group in which thirty-one or ninety-one percent lived with both parents, none lived with their mothers only, and three or nine percent lived with their fathers only. More simply, the nondelinquent boys were more likely to live with both parents than were either of the other groups.

Table XXVI

Person(s) with Whom Boy Resides

	Delinquent Subgroup				Nondelinquent	
	Jewish		Protestant		Jewish Group	
	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group
Two parents	27	79	26	76	31	91
Mother	4	12	5	15	--	--
Father	2	6	3	9	3	9
Relatives	1	3	--	--	--	--

Number of siblings. In comparing the three groups with regard to the number of siblings, the two groups of Jewish boys seemed to be similar. The Jewish delinquent subgroup was found to have a mean of 1.29 siblings and the nondelinquent group had a mean of 1.5 siblings. On the other hand, the Protestant subgroup had a mean number of 2.59 siblings. The greatest number of siblings in the Jewish nondelinquent group was three, and there were four such families. The greatest number of siblings reported for a boy in the Protestant subgroup was fourteen, and there was one such family. There were two boys in the Protestant delinquent subgroup for whom eight siblings were reported and three for whom four siblings were reported. If the boy with fourteen siblings were deleted and a mean obtained for the remaining boys of the Protestant subgroup it would be 2.39. More briefly, the Jewish delinquent and the Jewish nondelinquent were more nearly alike with respect to number of siblings.

Both Jewish groups had fewer siblings than did the Protestant.

Age of parents. The ages of parents when data were taken were compared. The mean age of fathers of the Jewish delinquent subgroup was 46.6; of the Protestant delinquent subgroup it was 45.81; and of the Jewish nondelinquent group it was 47.39. The oldest living father of the Jewish delinquent subgroup was sixty-two, of the Protestant subgroup it was sixty-four, and of the nondelinquent group it was sixty. The youngest living father of the Jewish delinquent subgroup was thirty-eight, of the Protestant delinquent subgroup it was thirty-five, and of the Jewish nondelinquent group it was thirty-nine. The mean ages of the mothers were similar to one another, 42.58 for the Jewish delinquent subgroup, 42.24 for the Protestant delinquent subgroup, and 43.0 for the nondelinquent group. The oldest living mother of the Jewish delinquent subgroup was fifty, the oldest living mother of the Protestant subgroup was sixty-one, and of the Jewish nondelinquent group the oldest living mother was fifty-four. In the Jewish delinquent subgroup the age of the youngest living mother was thirty-six, in the Protestant subgroup the age was thirty-three, and in the Jewish nondelinquent group the age was thirty-five. In other words, these findings were similar to the earlier findings that the Jewish boys had older parents than did the Protestant boys.

Table XXVII

Age of Parents

	Delinquent Subgroup		Nondelinquent
	Jewish	Protestant	Jewish Group
Mean age of fathers	46.6	45.81	47.39
Mean age of mothers	42.58	42.24	43.00

Fathers' places of birth. The groups appeared to be similar when comparisons were made of the places of birth of the fathers. Twenty-five or seventy-four percent of the fathers of the Jewish delinquent subgroup were born in the United States outside of California. Twenty-six or seventy-six percent of the fathers of the Protestant delinquent subgroup were born in the United States outside California. The number for the nondelinquent group was twenty-seven or seventy-nine percent of the group. None of the fathers of the Jewish delinquent subgroup was born in California. Of the fathers of the Protestant delinquent subgroup, three or nine percent were born in California, and of the nondelinquent Jewish group two or six percent were born in California. Seven or twenty-one percent of the fathers of the Jewish delinquent subgroup were born in foreign countries. Three or nine percent of the fathers of the Protestant subgroup were born abroad, and five or fifteen percent of the fathers of the nondelinquent group were foreign born. Information was not given in the cases of two of each of the subgroups. Among the three groups more of the fathers of

Jewish boys were foreign born, and more of the delinquent than nondelinquent Jewish boys had foreign born fathers.

Table XXVIII
Fathers' Places of Birth

	Delinquent Subgroup				Nondelinquent Jewish Group	
	Jewish		Protestant			
	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group
California	--	--	3	9	2	6
United States (except California)	25	74	26	76	27	79
Foreign	7	21	3	9	5	15
Not given	2	6	2	6	--	--

Mothers' places of birth. Among the mothers of the Jewish delinquent subgroup two or six percent were born in California. Six of the mothers of the Protestant subgroup or eighteen percent were born in California. None of the mothers of the nondelinquent Jewish group was California born. The largest number of each group was born in the United States outside California. The figure was twenty-one or sixty-two percent for the Jewish delinquent subgroup, twenty-five or seventy-four percent for the Protestant delinquent subgroup, and twenty-eight or eighty-two percent for the nondelinquent group. Six or eighteen percent of the mothers of the boys in the Jewish delinquent subgroup and six of the mothers of the nondelinquent group were born

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in foreign countries. Two or six percent of the mothers of the Protestant subgroup were foreign born. No information was given regarding the birth places of five of the mothers of the Jewish delinquent subgroup and of one of the Protestant delinquent subgroup. Like the findings for the birth places of fathers the figures indicate a greater similarity between the two Jewish groups than between the two delinquent groups.

Table XXIX
Mothers' Places of Birth

	Delinquent Subgroup				Nondelinquent Jewish Group	
	Jewish		Protestant			
	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group
California	2	6	6	18	--	--
United States (except California)	21	62	25	74	28	82
Foreign	6	18	2	6	6	18
Not given	5	15	1	3	--	--

Education of fathers. The educational achievement of the fathers of the nondelinquent Jewish group was markedly higher than was that of the subgroups. Of the thirty-four fathers of the nondelinquent Jewish group, sixteen or forty-seven percent had been graduated from college, six more or eighteen percent had attended college, and seven or twenty-one percent had been graduated from high school. Only five

or fifteen percent had failed to complete a high school course. In the Jewish delinquent subgroup only three or nine percent had been graduated from college, six more or eighteen percent had attended college, and ten or thirty percent had been graduated from high school. There was no information available in the cases of five. Ten or twenty-nine percent had failed to reach the twelfth grade of high school. In the Protestant delinquent subgroup six or eighteen percent had been graduated from college, two more or six percent had attended college, and ten had been graduated from high school. No information was available in the cases of three. Thirteen or thirty-eight percent had dropped out of school before high school graduation. More simply, the fathers of the nondelinquent group were by far the best educated.

Table XXX

Fathers' Education

	Delinquent Subgroup				Nondelinquent	
	Jewish		Protestant		Jewish Group	
	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group
Graduation from college	3	9	6	18	16	47
Attended college	6	18	2	6	6	18
Graduation from high school	10	29	10	29	7	21
Left school before graduation	10	29	13	38	5	15
No informa- tion	5	15	3	9	--	--

Education of mothers. A greater number of the mothers of the nondelinquent Jewish group had been graduated from college than was true for the other two groups. Ten or twenty-nine percent of the mothers of the nondelinquent Jewish group had been graduated from college. Ten more or twenty-nine percent had attended college. Eleven or thirty-two percent had been graduated from high school. Three or nine percent had failed to complete high school. In the Jewish delinquent subgroup three or nine percent of the mothers had been graduated from college. Six more or eighteen percent had attended college. Twelve or thirty-five percent had been graduated from high school. No information was available in the cases of six of these mothers. In the Protestant delinquent subgroup four or twelve percent of the mothers had been graduated from college and six or eighteen percent more had attended college. Thirteen or thirty-eight percent had been graduated from high school. Eight or twenty-four percent had failed to complete high school, and no information was available in the cases of three. In summary, the mothers of the nondelinquent Jewish group were the best educated with the other two groups far behind in level of educational achievement.

Table XXXI

Mothers' Education

	Delinquent Subgroup				Nondelinquent Jewish Group	
	Jewish		Protestant		Jewish Group	
	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group
Graduation from college	3	9	4	12	10	29
Attended college	6	18	6	18	10	29
Graduation from high school	12	35	13	38	11	32
Left school before graduation	7	21	8	24	3	9
No information	6	18	3	9	--	--

Places of birth of the boys. In regard to birthplaces the three groups of boys revealed some differences. Of those born in California there were twelve or thirty-five percent of the delinquent Jewish subgroup, twenty or fifty-nine percent of the delinquent Protestant subgroup, and sixteen or forty-seven percent of the nondelinquent Jewish group. Of those born in the United States outside California there were nineteen or fifty-six percent of the delinquent Jewish subgroup, thirteen or thirty-eight percent of the delinquent Protestant subgroup, and sixteen or forty-seven percent of the nondelinquent Jewish group. The foreign born numbered three or nine percent of the Jewish delinquent

subgroup, one or three percent of the Protestant delinquent subgroup, and two or six percent of the nondelinquent group. In summary, more of the delinquent Protestant boys were born in California, but more of the nondelinquent than of the delinquent Jewish boys were born in California.

Table XXXII

Boys' Places of Birth

	Delinquent Subgroup				Nondelinquent	
	Jewish		Protestant		Jewish Group	
	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group
California	12	35	20	59	16	47
United States (except California)	19	60	13	38	16	47
Foreign	3	9	1	3	2	6

Fathers' occupations. For purposes of comparing the three groups, the fathers' occupations were categorized as professional (pharmacist, medical doctor, teacher), managerial (owner or officer in manufacturing firm), small business (variety or liquor store owner, upholsterer), sales, skilled trade (plumber), and unskilled (bus driver). Among the Jewish delinquent subgroup four or twelve percent were engaged in professional occupations, twelve or thirty-five percent owned small businesses, nine or twenty-six percent were engaged in sales, four worked at skilled trades, none listed unskilled occupations, and three were

deceased. Among the delinquent Protestant subgroup five or fifteen percent of the fathers were engaged in professional occupations, one or three percent was in a managerial occupation, six or eighteen percent owned small businesses, five or fifteen percent were engaged in sales, eight or twenty-four percent were engaged in skilled trades, five or fifteen percent pursued unskilled trades, and there was no information about the occupations of the remaining three. Among the fathers of the nondelinquent Jewish group ten or twenty-nine percent were engaged in professional occupations, three or nine percent were in managerial occupations, seven or twenty-one percent owned small businesses, six or eighteen percent were engaged in sales, four or twelve percent pursued skilled trades, two or six percent were engaged in unskilled trades, one indicated only that he was retired, and no information was given for one. In summary, these findings indicate a greater proportion of the nondelinquent Jewish boys' fathers engaged in professional occupations. The delinquent Jewish boys' fathers led in number engaged in sales and small business ownership.

Table XXXIII

Fathers' Occupations

	Delinquent Subgroup				Nondelinquent Jewish Group	
	Jewish		Protestant			
	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group
Professional	4	12	5	15	10	29
Managerial	2	6	1	3	3	9
Small busi- ness	12	35	6	18	7	21
Sales	9	26	5	15	6	18
Skilled trade	4	12	8	24	4	12
Unskilled	--	--	5	15	2	6
No informa- tion (dec.)	3	9	3	9	2	6

Mothers' occupations. Over half of the mothers of the Jewish delinquent subgroup and the nondelinquent group were identified as housewives. Nineteen or fifty-six percent of the Jewish delinquent subgroup were housewives. One of the mothers, three percent, of the Jewish delinquent subgroup was engaged in a professional occupation, none was engaged in a managerial occupation, six or eighteen percent were engaged in clerical occupations, two or six percent were engaged in sales work, two or six percent worked at skilled trades, one or three percent was identified as unskilled, and no information was given for three (of whom two were deceased). In the Protestant delinquent subgroup

eleven or thirty-two percent were identified as housewives. Four or twelve percent were engaged in professional occupations, none worked in managerial occupations, three or nine percent worked at clerical jobs, four or twelve percent were engaged in sales, five or fifteen percent worked at skilled trades, none was identified as being engaged in an unskilled job, and no information was given for seven or twenty-one percent. In the nondelinquent Jewish group twenty-one or sixty-two percent were listed as housewives, four or twelve percent were engaged in professional careers, one or three percent were engaged in a managerial occupation, three or nine percent worked in clerical occupations, two or six percent was engaged in sales, none worked at skilled or unskilled trades, and no information was given for three, of whom two were deceased. More briefly, the two Jewish groups were alike in that more than half of the mothers were housewives. The nondelinquent group was more like the Protestant delinquent group in number of mothers working in professional occupations.

Table XXXIV

Mothers' Occupations

	Delinquent Subgroup				Nondelinquent	
	Jewish		Protestant		Jewish Group	
	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group
Housewife	19	56	11	32	21	62
Professional	1	3	4	12	4	12
Managerial	--	--	--	--	1	3
Clerical	6	18	3	9	3	9
Sales	2	6	4	12	2	6
Skilled trade	2	6	5	15	--	--
Unskilled	1	3	--	--	--	--
No informa- tion	3 (2 dec.)	9	7	21	3 (2 dec.)	9

Description of home or residential area. The homes or residential areas of the two subgroups were categorized either by the probation worker's observation or by knowledge of the area which included the boy's address. In the case of the nondelinquent group the boys themselves were asked in their questionnaire to identify whether the residential area in which they lives was "very poor," "poor," "average," "better than average," or "luxurious." None of the boys was identified as coming from a blighted, socially or economically impoverished area. One boy or three percent of the delinquent Jewish subgroup, two boys or six percent of the Protestant subgroup, and none of the nondelinquent group

was identified as coming from poor areas. Nine or twenty-six percent of the boys of the Jewish delinquent subgroup, thirteen or thirty-eight percent of the Protestant delinquent subgroup, and eight or twenty-four percent of the nondelinquent group came from average areas. Twenty-three or sixty-eight percent of the Jewish delinquent subgroup, eighteen or fifty-six percent of the Protestant delinquent subgroup, and twenty-five or seventy-four percent of the nondelinquent Jewish group could be identified as coming from above average residential areas. No information was given for one boy in each of the three groups.

The families of more than half of the boys in each group owned their homes. Twenty of the families or fifty-nine percent of the Jewish delinquent subgroup, twenty-three or sixty-eight percent of the Protestant delinquent subgroup, and twenty-nine or eighty-six percent of the nondelinquent group owned their homes. Four or twelve percent of the families of the Jewish delinquent subgroup, six or eighteen percent of the Protestant delinquent subgroup, and one or three percent of the nondelinquent group lived in rented houses. Five or fifteen percent of the families of the Jewish delinquent subgroup, two or six percent of the families of the Protestant delinquent subgroup, and four or twelve percent of the families of the nondelinquent Jewish group lived in apartments. No information was given relative to the type of residence for four of the delinquent

Jewish subgroup and for three of the Protestant delinquent subgroup. In summary, more than half of each group lived in above average housing, but the nondelinquent Jewish boys were most likely to live in such housing, followed closely by the delinquent Jewish boys. The comparison confirmed the earlier finding.

Table XXXV

	Home and Residential Area					
	Delinquent Subgroup				Nondelinquent	
	Jewish		Protestant		Jewish Group	
	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group
Blighted	--	--	--	--	--	--
Poor	1	3	2	6	--	--
Average	9	26	13	38	8	24
Above average	23	68	18	56	25	74
No information	1	3	1	3	1	3

Table XXXVI

	Type of Residence					
	Delinquent Subgroup				Nondelinquent	
	Jewish		Protestant		Jewish Group	
	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group	Num- ber	% of Group
Own home	20	59	23	68	29	86
Rented	4	12	6	18	1	3
Apartment	5	15	2	6	4	12
No information	4	12	3	9	--	--

Length of residence. Information regarding the length of residence at the present address was sparse for the Jewish delinquent subgroup and somewhat limited for the Protestant delinquent subgroup. With information given for only ten boys of the Jewish delinquent subgroup the mean duration of time at present addresses was 4.86 years. The mean for seventeen boys of the Protestant delinquent subgroup was 5.12 years. The mean for the nondelinquent group with information from all was 5.95 years. In summary, the nondelinquent Jewish boys were more likely to have lived in the same place a longer period of time, with the delinquent Jewish boys the least likely to have lived in the present home for a long period.

Length of California residence. No information was given regarding length of residence in California for seven of the boys in the Jewish delinquent subgroup. The mean length of time in California for the rest of the Jewish delinquent subgroup was 12.37 years. With no information for four boys, the mean length of residence in California for the Protestant delinquent subgroup was 12.1 years. For the nondelinquent group the mean was 11.72 years. Stated differently, the nondelinquent group had lived in California the shortest time.

Home life. The information regarding the boys in the two subgroups was searched to find evidences of persistent disruption and/or conflict within their homes. It was not

assumed that a broken home per se meant that there was conflict, although perhaps it might be assumed that a divorce would indicate that there had been conflict in the home. Evidence of persistent disruption and/or conflict was rather taken to mean some factor in the home life which seriously affected the boy over a long period of his life. Examples of the kinds of serious problems were the boy whose parents were divorced, whose mother was alcoholic, and who had lived in various boarding homes for seven years and the boy whose mentally ill grandmother lived with the family.

There was evidence of such persistent disruption or conflict in fifteen or forty-four percent of the families of the Jewish delinquent subgroup and in eleven or thirty-two percent of the families of the Protestant delinquent subgroup. In responding to their questionnaire, the boys of the nondelinquent Jewish group were asked to rate their family life as "Happy," "Unhappy," or "In-between." Twenty-nine or eighty-six percent of the boys indicated that their homes were "Happy." Two or six percent responded that their homes were "Unhappy," and three or nine percent indicated that their homes were "In-between" happy and unhappy. More briefly, the nondelinquent boys were much more likely to come from happy homes. There was evidence of serious disruption in the home life of nearly half the delinquent Jewish group and a third of the homes of the Protestant delinquent group.

Table XXXVII

Family Life

Evidence of Persistent Disruption					Boys' Description of Home		
Delinquent Subgroup					Nondelinquent Jewish Group		
Jewish		Protestant					
Num-ber	% of Group	Num-ber	% of Group		Number	% of Group	
Yes	15	44	11	32	Happy	29	86
No	19	56	23	68	Un- happy	2	6
					In- between	3	9

Attendance at religious services. Information regarding attendance at religious services was available for sixteen or slightly under half of the Jewish delinquent subgroup. The record indicated that six or eighteen percent of the Jewish delinquent subgroup attended religious services on a regular basis. There was evidence that one or three percent attended frequently, that eight or twenty-four percent attended seldom, and that one or three percent never attended. Of the Protestant delinquent subgroup, six or eighteen percent were identified as regular in their attendance at religious services, none were identified as frequent in their attendance, fourteen or forty-one percent attended religious services seldom, and five or fifteen percent never attended. Information was available for twenty-five of the boys in the Protestant subgroup.

The boys in the nondelinquent group were asked to indicate the regularity of their attendance at religious services as "Regular," "Frequent," "Seldom," and "Never." One or three percent indicated that he attended regularly. Thirteen or thirty-eight percent said they attended frequently. Nineteen or fifty-six percent indicated they seldom attended, and one or three percent said he never attended religious services. Simply, nearly half of the nondelinquent Jewish group attended religious services frequently or regularly, while a much smaller proportion of the delinquent subgroups attended religious services that often.

Table XXXVIII
Attendance at Religious Services

	Delinquent Subgroup				Nondelinquent Jewish Group	
	Jewish		Protestant		Num-ber	% of Group
	Num-ber	% of Group	Num-ber	% of Group		
Regular	6	18	6	18	1	3
Frequent	1	3	--	--	13	38
Seldom	8	24	14	41	19	56
Never	1	3	5	15	1	3
No information	18	56	9	26	--	--

Ability. Ability test results were made comparable by converting them to standard scores known as stanine scores in which a five is average, and the scores range from a low score of one to a high score of nine. The Grossmont Union

High School District, from which some of the school records for the nondelinquent Jewish group were obtained, records its scores in stanine scores. The San Diego Unified School District records its scores using a system known as the "San Diego Performance Level Scores." These are really reverse stanines, with the low score nine, the high score one, and the middle score five. By switching the San Diego scores around it was possible to compare them with the stanines from the Grossmont District. The Los Angeles scores from various intelligence tests, reported as intelligence quotients, were converted to stanines by referring to a table prepared by the Testing Services Department in the San Diego Unified School District. The conversion of all the test results to stanines made comparison possible even though the boys had been given various ability tests.

The results of intelligence tests were given for twenty-four of the boys in the Jewish delinquent subgroup. The mean stanine for this group was 5.5. Intelligence test results were available for twenty-four of the boys of the Protestant delinquent subgroup. The mean stanine for this group was 5.25. Intelligence test results were also available for twenty-three of the nondelinquent group. Their mean stanine was 7.22. Briefly, the nondelinquent Jewish boys were more likely to have higher academic ability, and although the means were close, the mean of the Jewish delinquent group was higher than that of the Protestant group.

Table XXXIX

Ability Level*

Stanine	Jewish Delin- quent Subgroup Number	Protestant Delin- quent Subgroup Number	Nondelinquent Jewish Group Number
1 (lowest 4%)	1	-	-
2 (7%)	1	1	-
3 (12%)	-	2	-
4 (17%)	5	4	1
5 (20%)	7	8	3
6 (17%)	2	5	4
7 (12%)	4	2	5
8 (7%)	2	-	2
9 (highest 4%)	2	2	8
Mean	5.5	5.25	7.22

*Scores from various tests converted to stanine scores.

Average school marks. When the boys' average marks were compared, the boys in the Jewish delinquent subgroup had an average mark of 2.03 or "C." Two students who had dropped out of school were not counted, and information was not given in the record of four others. The average mark of those reported for the Protestant delinquent subgroup was 1.56, barely C-, with two having dropped and information not given in the cases of eight boys. The mean mark in school of the nondelinquent Jewish group was 3.26, or B+. More briefly, the nondelinquent Jewish boys were much more successful in school than either of the other groups.

Although the delinquent Jewish boys were receiving average marks they were somewhat higher than the Protestant delinquent boys.

Summary. The purpose of making the three-way comparison was to look for ways in which the Jewish delinquent boys were more like other white delinquent boys or more like other Jewish boys. The study of the subgroups of Protestant and Jewish delinquent boys and the group of nondelinquent boys would tend to support the following statements: The Jewish delinquents are more like other delinquents with regard to greater number of broken homes and lower educational attainment of fathers and mothers. Like other delinquents they are more likely to come from unhappy or disrupted homes and less likely to attend religious services regularly. They are more like the Protestant delinquent group in that they have average ability as measured by intelligence tests and average school marks.

They were like the other Jewish boys with respect to lower number of divorces of parents, fewer siblings, and older parents. Like the other Jewish boys, they were more likely to have a foreign born father and mother. More than half of both groups of Jewish mothers were housewives. Both Jewish groups were more likely to live in above average housing.

"Fathers' occupations" distinguished the three groups from each other with more fathers of nondelinquent Jewish

boys in professions, more fathers of delinquent Jewish boys in small business and sales, and more fathers of Protestant delinquent boys engaged in skilled trades. The delinquent Jewish boys were least likely of the three groups to have lived in the present home for a long period.

CHAPTER IX

EXAMINATION OF THE HYPOTHESES

It was a hypothesis of this study that Jewish boys as a group are less prone to delinquency than are other boys. It was found that a number of investigators had noted proportionately fewer Jewish youngsters among delinquent youth.

Hypothesis I. Jewish youngsters as a group are less prone to delinquency than are other youngsters. Bovey (4), Kvaraceus (26), Robison (43), Tappan (47), and Jackson (43), cited in Chapters I and III, found evidence in various studies that Jewish youngsters as a group are less prone to delinquency than are other youngsters.

The present study has tended to substantiate the first hypothesis. It has been noted in Chapter I that in 1961, delinquency petitions were filed on .6 percent of the white male youths (exclusive of Mexican-Americans), ages 0-17, in Los Angeles County. In that same year delinquency petitions were filed in the juvenile court for only .2 percent of the Jewish males, ages 0-17.

It may be concluded then that in the metropolitan areas studied, delinquency is less common among Jewish youth than it is among other youth. Indeed the study in Los Angeles

County made the further distinction of comparing delinquency among Jewish youth with that of other white males in the youth population and found a lower rate for Jews.

Hypothesis II. When a Jewish boy becomes delinquent either the factors which have impinged upon him are more intense than would be necessary to elicit delinquency in other youngsters, or his family has broken away from the Jewish group.

There does not appear to be substantial evidence that the factors impinging on Jewish youth which elicit delinquent behavior are more intense than those which elicit delinquent behavior in other youth. Rather, the contrary seems possible for the two groups studied. Hypothesis II is therefore rejected.

Divorce was much less common among the parents of the delinquent Jewish group than among those of the delinquent Protestant group, although homes broken by death were somewhat more common to the Jewish delinquent group. The total number of broken homes for the two groups appeared to be similar.

The Jewish youth came from smaller families, had better educated parents, had parents whose occupations held higher status, lived in better residential areas, had notably fewer drinking problems in their families, and had many fewer arrests among family members; all of which would indicate that the factors impinging on these Jewish youth were not

more severe when delinquency was elicited.

The boys of the delinquent Jewish group had fewer incidents reported of prior history and a lower rate of recidivism than did the boys of the delinquent Protestant group, perhaps indicating that the factors operating to reduce crime among Jews continue to operate even when an acknowledged Jewish delinquent is compared with a non-Jewish delinquent. Further evidence of this would be the shorter duration of time that cases of the Jewish delinquent group remained open.

The question of whether the boys of the delinquent Jewish group have broken away from the Jewish group has not been satisfactorily answered. First, if the family had broken away from the group so far as to renounce its Jewish identity there would have been no evidence to count the case as one of the group. Second, attendance at religious services was not consistently reported among the cases of either group. The subgroup study which was small for forming firm conclusions suggests that the group of San Diego Jewish boys questioned attended religious services with greater frequency than did the delinquent Jewish boys.

Hypothesis III. The final hypothesis of the study was: The qualities of the Jewish family which make Jewish youngsters less prone to delinquent behavior are:

- A. A strong parent-child relationship.
- B. The total Jewish group acting as an extended family

to the individual.

C. Jewish cultural emphasis on competition in intellectual rather than physical pursuits.

Hypothesis III is accepted.

Many writers have offered speculative explanations for the lower rate of delinquency among Jews than among non-Jews. Among other explanations Kvaraceus felt that the power of the religion played an important part in making Jewish youth resistant to delinquency (26:405-408). Another explanation offered for the low incidence of delinquency among Jews was that by Barron who pointed out that Jewish families had been urban dwelling for many generations and hence coping with the complexities of urban life would not be difficult for them (2:57).

Some writers have indicated that it is the quality of belonging to the middle class in our society that makes the Jew resistant to crime and delinquency. This would be supported by Aichorn's statement in Chapter II that the restraining of delinquents must involve teaching them to decide before they act between immediate pleasure with later pain and postponement or renunciation with later pleasure assured. Nathan Glazer carried the idea a little further to emphasize that the Jews epitomize the upper middle class in our society. He cited Kinsey's study as emphasizing that the man who was capable of postponement of pleasure was either already middle class or, if now a working class man,

would rise to the middle class, and he pointed out that the postponement of pleasure for later satisfaction is the "dominating characteristic" of the Jew's life (43:141).

In the present study an attempt was made to rule out class as a factor by equating the boys' family incomes. In spite of this it must be noted that the families of the Jewish delinquent group seemed to be more nearly upper middle class in that the educational levels of parents and boys were higher, that fathers were less likely to be employed in skilled trades and more likely to own or be employed in the management of business, and that the families were more apt to live in above average residential areas.

Many writers, however, would support the contention that family strength with its accompanying strong parent-child relationship is one of the most logical explanations for the lower delinquency rate. A strong parent-child relationship is a somewhat abstract idea to be reduced to concrete or numerical evidence. If one assumes, however, that Jewish homes are subject to the same stresses and strains as are other homes, the fact of fewer divorces and separations as noted in the literature may well be evidence of greater parental devotion either to duty or to the child. Certainly it is in the family that the child's basic attitudes are formed, and strong parental models must be furnished him there. The fact that fewer divorces were noted in the Jewish delinquent group of the present study does not

necessarily mitigate this idea, because the boys of the Jewish delinquent group also had markedly fewer specific charges against them as well as a lower recidivism rate.

The idea of the extended family acting to prevent delinquent behavior has been advanced by various authors. It is practiced in various ways and functions both in exercising a kind of social control over the individual's behavior and in giving him the support of group identity and actual moral or physical aid should he need it.

A singularly important part of the extended family among Jews is the overwhelming evidence of Jewish charities. An examination of the Jewish and non-Jewish groups of the present study may well indicate that the impact of the extended family and its social and charitable agencies can be seen here. It has been noted that the Jewish delinquent group had had more agency contacts prior to the petition to the juvenile court. Further, a large number of the boys had some specific counseling aside from that afforded by the Probation Department following the court appearance. It should be further noted that the names of all Jewish boys referred to the Los Angeles County Probation Department are in turn referred to the Jewish Big Brothers, and a representative of that agency routinely appears at the court hearings of all such youngsters. Additionally, the counseling services of the agency are made available to the boys and their families. No like agency exists which provides such

comprehensive service to other groups. This agency assistance, a product of the extended Jewish family, undoubtedly had an effect on the recidivism rate of the delinquent Jewish group.

A final explanation of low rate of delinquency among Jewish youth lies in the emphasis on competition in intellectual rather than physical pursuits. It is difficult to separate a discussion of emphasis on the intellectual rather than the physical from a statement of class mores. Frank Riessman pointed out that delinquency and destructive behavior are the likely results when the creative potential of deprived youth is untapped (38:78).

Toby Jackson has previously been quoted in this paper, but his comments relative to intellectual achievement as it relates to the present problem seem meritorious enough to repeat.

Perhaps American society can learn from its Jewish subculture that placing a high valuation upon intellectual achievement is an indirect approach to crime prevention. If it proves feasible to keep open the educational path to middle class status for more youngsters, adolescent hoodlumism can be expected to decrease. . . . What can be said in favor of education for social ascent is that it attempts to cope with an ailment specifically related to delinquent rebellion, namely, status frustration. (43:550)

It seems clear that while the educational attainment of neither the delinquent Jewish group nor the delinquent Protestant group could be called high, that of the Jewish group was slightly higher. If any implications can be drawn from

the subgroup study they would indicate that both healthy family life and school achievement are associated with boys who stay out of trouble.

Summary. The study of delinquency among Jewish youth in Los Angeles County was designed to test the following hypotheses:

1. Jewish youngsters as a group are less prone to delinquent behavior than are other youngsters.

The evidence of other studies as well as the present one supports this hypothesis.

2. When a Jewish boy becomes delinquent either

- A. The factors which have impinged upon him are more intense than would be necessary to elicit delinquency in other youngsters, or

- B. His family has broken away from the Jewish group.

The evidence of the present study does not support these hypotheses.

3. The qualities of the Jewish family which make Jewish youngsters less prone to delinquent behavior are:

- A. A strong parent-child relationship.

- B. The total Jewish group as an extended family to the individual.

- C. Jewish cultural emphasis on competition in intellectual rather than physical pursuits.

The third hypothesis seems to be valid. The Jewish boy is controlled by the kind of love and discipline

characteristic of Jewish families. In addition to the factors cited in the third hypothesis, there is strong suggestion that Jews' generations of experience with urban dwelling and their consistent exemplification of upper middle class mores and patterns are also important factors.

CHAPTER X

RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The present study attempted to discover whether delinquency was less common among Jewish boys of Los Angeles County than among the rest of Los Angeles County youth, and to infer what factors would make Jewish youth less prone to delinquent behavior. The study also attempted to determine what influences elicit delinquency among Jewish youth and whether they are the same as the factors to which authorities generally attribute juvenile delinquency.

The percentage of Jewish boys on whom delinquency petitions were filed in Los Angeles County in 1961 was compared with the percentage of Jewish boys in the county population. The same comparison was made for all white boys. A paired study was made of the delinquent Jewish boys and delinquent white Protestant boys matched by socioeconomic status and age. A further comparison was made with a small group of nondelinquent Jewish boys.

The study concluded that evidence would support the first hypothesis that Jewish youngsters as a group are less prone to delinquent behavior than are other youngsters.

The evidence of the present study did not support the second hypothesis that when a Jewish boy becomes delinquent

either the factors which have impinged upon him are more intense than would be necessary to elicit delinquency in other youngsters or his family has broken away from the Jewish group.

The study's conclusions support the third hypothesis that the qualities of the Jewish family which make Jewish youngsters less prone to delinquent behavior are a strong parent-child relationship, the total Jewish group acting as an extended family to the individual, and Jewish cultural emphasis on competition in intellectual rather than physical pursuits.

Suggestions for schools. In light of (a) the data specifically collected and used for this study, (b) the findings of others whose research pertains to the subject, and (c) the conclusions of experienced teachers and educators, the following suggestions pertaining to the reduction of delinquency seem justified. A recapitulation of the present study indicates that there was some common ground for the two groups of delinquents besides age and income. Most of the boys in both groups had experienced limited school success, and there is reason to believe that family problems were common to both.

In considering failure or lack of success in school, it can be seen that poverty stricken children are not the only ones who suffer such daily humiliation. All too often schools have been places where able pupils go and teach themselves. Those whose problems interfere with their success

or who are unable to compete must seek other outlets for their energies. A solution to this particular problem lies in reorganization and new approaches to instruction in schools.

The Gluecks have suggested specifically:

1. Fundamental changes in the curriculum and teacher training, greater flexibility in curriculum, teachers who know how to cope with emotional problems of children.
2. Teachers serving in the role of parent substitutes, as ego ideals. Perhaps young adult male teachers or husband and wife teams could serve in the primary grades.
3. Higher social evaluation of the role of the teacher to get the right people.
4. Evidences of persistent delinquency occur before puberty, therefore elementary school is the place to attack the problem (19).

Additionally, drastic reduction of class size would provide the teacher an opportunity to relate to individual youngsters. This approach is especially needed for troubled youngsters. A freer atmosphere would give boys opportunities to unleash their energies in various appropriate and satisfying endeavors.

A further help in school would be the use of a diagnostic approach to teaching. What the youngster already knows, what he needs to know, and how he can best learn should be given more importance than the course of study. Prompt and persistent remedial attention should be provided for those with learning problems. To accomplish this, teachers need more training in the recognition and treatment of specific learning problems as well as in the recognition of the

emotional problems of children. They need the services of consultive help and guidance workers specifically trained to work with individual children.

Problems existing in the schools which themselves cause behavior problems for boys should be examined and corrected. Such problems may stem from the selection and training of teachers. Teachers who are too rigid, who are inadequately prepared, or who fail to understand the nature of children may not only cause difficulties, but may block solutions to them. Administrative "red tape" may delay the implementation of new programs and equipment.

At the secondary level, while it is late for helping troubled youth, the ratio of trained counselors and teachers to pupils should be increased. The reduction of class size at the secondary level coupled with a diagnostic approach to teaching may lead to a reduction of student frustration and an accompanying reduction of the number who leave school before graduation. Regular supportive counseling by a trained worker may furnish the stable adult relationship which is often lacking in the lives of troubled boys.

The problem of correcting unstable family life is one of immense complexity. An approach must be found to break the cycle of children from problem homes growing up to unite and create more unstable families. The provision of supportive counseling in schools may help. Additionally, education for family life should be examined and changed. At the

present time such instruction often amounts to a most inadequate series of a few lessons in sex behavior. It should be recognized that sex education is only one part of marriage preparation.

Family education courses could be expanded to include an understanding of the responsibilities of parents to children and of the emotional needs of children and how to meet those needs. Students should be taught that the emotional nurture of children involves love, security, and parental regard for and acceptance of the child. The implications of high regard to scholarship with provision in the home for books, ideas, and discussions should not be overlooked, but regard for the individual himself should be stressed.

The basis for selection of a marriage partner should be considered. The family life classes should examine the causes of marital conflict and means for resolving difficulties. The importance to a boy of having a father as a masculine model should be noted. Students should be made aware that their own attitudes toward laws will set an example for their children. The problems of provision of care for the children of working mothers should be considered.

Such courses could include information about the handling of budgets. Because there may be limits in financial ability to support children as well as in ability to provide emotional nurture, the implications of family size should be studied.

Boys and girls should be able to participate in such classes together. It should be the responsibility of the school as the only agency serving all the boys and girls to provide youth with this opportunity.

Friedlander urged that parent education be expanded through pre-natal clinics, maternity wards, welfare centers, and day nurseries. She suggested that every social worker contacting a family should advise the parents to take part in these opportunities for instruction (16).

It should be noted that few of the boys studied got into difficulties while under the supervision of their parents or other adults. Perhaps opportunities for legal recreational activities for boys should be increased. Because so many boys' difficulties involve car theft, opportunities for jobs might help some boys. Some leisure activities which capitalize on boys' interests in mechanics would be worthwhile.

The lower rate of recidivism among the Jewish boys suggests that the counseling and assistance from such agencies as the Jewish Big Brothers is effective. Certainly there may be some indication that additional counseling for all the youth in trouble would be helpful. Whether this should be furnished by an agency other than the Probation Department or by the reduction of caseload within the department should be a matter for further consideration, but the caseworker with too great a number of cases is handicapped in meeting

more than the most immediate needs of his clients. The establishment of agencies like the Jewish Big Brothers for boys of Negro and Mexican heritage should be considered.

Suggestions for research. There are many questions relative to troubled youth which remain unanswered, and the implications for study are many. A study of two large groups of Jewish boys, one delinquent and one nondelinquent might prove useful. The difficulty of obtaining large enough groups might be resolved if the study were made in cooperation with a large metropolitan school district. The problem of identifying the Jewish boys or indeed any sub-cultural group is a difficult one when restrictions on identifying data are increasing.

Data of the sort used in the present study, or more importantly in the Gluecks' study, could be used to develop predictive devices to identify those boys who need intensive help for rehabilitation. Comparison studies of groups should be made when intensive counseling is permitted by reduction of caseload.

Studies which may differentiate between those youngsters who will be "spontaneous cures" and those who will need new approaches to treatment could vastly improve our present procedures, both legal and educational. Once prediction devices are developed they should be used at both elementary and secondary school levels to select boys who need special help.

Legal counsel has seldom been provided in juvenile court cases. Because of recent court rulings it is likely that legal representation of juveniles will be a factor in more cases in the future. Some evaluation should be made of rehabilitation in those cases where counsel is involved as compared with those where it is not.

Finally, the burden of persuading youngsters to accept historical middle class virtues must be considered by the whole adult society. The extreme affluence of the United States as a whole, and the ability of the mass advertising media to blanket the nation with ideas make the problem acute. Yet society urges its youth to postpone gratification of their desires while the advertising media beg them not to wait but to buy, to experience, and to enjoy. There is conflict in the society as well as in delinquent youth.

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APPENDIX

FIGURE 1

Religion	600		601		602		1961 See Pre- liminary Report
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	
1. Catholic	576	23.8	1648	31.6	2795	30.4	
2. Protestant	1186	49.2	1442	43.5	4664	52.2	
3. Jewish	19	0.8	67	1.9	139	1.4	
4. Orthodox	--	--	2	0.5	6	--	
5. Other Specified	5	0.2	4	1.1	21	0.2	
6. Atheist	--	--	1	0.2	2	--	
7. None	27	1.2	35	1.0	104	1.1	
8. Unknown	599	24.8	681	20.2	1029	14.7	

Total N = 14,455

600 petition is a dependency petition--poor home or no supervision

601 petition is a petition for pre-delinquent behavior--runaways, incorrigible, fighting.

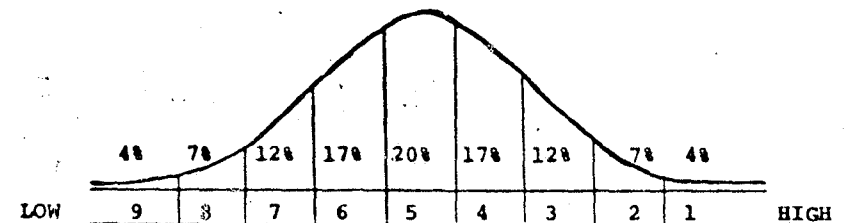
602 petition is a petition for "hard," delinquent acts--robbery, rape, homicide, etc.

FIGURE 2

SAN DIEGO CITY SCHOOLS
Curriculum Services Division

INFORMATION SHEET TO ACCOMPANY RECORDS OF STUDENTS
TRANSFERRING FROM SAN DIEGO CITY SECONDARY SCHOOLS

THE SAN DIEGO TEST PERFORMANCE SCALE



All raw scores of achievement and intelligence tests taken by students in the San Diego City Schools have been entered on their Cumulative and Permanent Record Cards as standard scores in terms of the "San Diego Test Performance Scale."

This Test Performance Scale is almost identical to the stanine system of standard scores. The only point of difference is that the stanine plan runs from a low of 1 to a high of 9, while the San Diego plan reverses these figures and goes from a low of 9 to a high of 1. Change was necessary to facilitate the recording of test information by data processing methods.

The Test Performance Scale divides the norm population into nine groups. Except for Level 1, the top, and Level 9, the bottom, these groups are spaced in half-sigma units. Thus, Level 5 is defined as including those who are within one-fourth of a standard deviation extending on both sides of the mean. Level 6 is the group defined by the half-sigma distance on the baseline between -0.25 and -0.75 . Levels 1 and 9 include all those who are above 1.75 and below -1.75 respectively. The result is a distribution in which the mean is 5.0 and the standard deviation is 2.0 .

The vertical lines which have been drawn from the baseline (where the 9 performance levels are indicated) mark off subareas of the total area of the curve. The numbers printed in these areas are percentages of the total population in each of the levels. Thus, 7 per cent of a total population will be in Level 2, 20 per cent of a total population in Level 5, and so forth.

JUVENILE STATISTICAL REPORT
(FORM 1)

PDJ NO.	CT. NO.	NAME				DATE REFERRED		
ADDRESS	CODE	RACE	CODE	SEX	AGE	BIRTHDATE MO DAY YEAR		
REASONS FOR REFERRAL						CODES		
						REFERRAL	COMP. OFFENSE	
SUBDIVISION								
REFERRED BY		CODE	AREA	CODE	ACTION	CODE	STATUS	DATE OF ACTION
PREVIOUS PROBATION REFERRALS								
MARITAL STATUS OF PARENTS								
LIVING WITH								
LENGTH OF COUNTY RESIDENCE								
DETAINED	YES	NO						
RELIGION								
REMARKS:								

LOS ANGELES COUNTY PROBATION DEPARTMENT
(Form 2a)

JUVENILE FACE SHEET (Page 1 of worksheet)		DPO	AREA		
Name on Petition	Dept.	Date	Court & PDJ Numbers		
True Name	Also Known As		Closed PDJ Numbers		
Where is Minor:					
Home	J.H.	With Rel.	Other		
Date	Address of minors (Show whether St., Ave., Rd., Dr., Wy., or Pl. and Zone)		Phone	Living with	
Show best means of contacting family:					
Age	Birthdate	Sex	Religion	Race	Marital Status of Minor
Birthplace		Verification			
Legal residence of Minor: (Information pertinent to the determination of)					
Marital status of parents:					
Legal Custody		Verification			
Adoption or guardianship (show date & place)			Verification		
Present household (Summary statement)					

LOS ANGELES COUNTY PROBATION DEPARTMENT
(Form 2a Continued)

FAMILY DATA: Parents, step-par., bro., sis., spouse & children; show kinship, name address, phone, birthplace, birthdate and age. Uncles, aunts, and gr. par., show name, address and phone. (If par. deceased, show date and place.)

KIN	Last name first	Address and Phone No.	Birth		Age
			Place	date	
Fa.					
Mo. (Include maiden name)					

LOS ANGELES COUNTY PROBATION DEPARTMENT
(Form 2b)

Juvenile Work Sheet--Page 2

MINOR'S STATEMENT: Including whether minor acknowledges present incidents, previous incidents, and include attitudes and plans:

STATEMENTS OF PETITIONER, and interested parties, including victims:

Total amount of loss

Total amount recovered

Restitution Plan

PREVIOUS HISTORY (Dates, Summary, Dispositions):

Court:

Probation Dept.:

C.J.I.

PARENTS' STATEMENTS re. Petition, Attitudes and Plans:

CONTINUED

4 OF 5

LOS ANGELES COUNTY PROBATION DEPARTMENT
(Form 2c)

Juvenile Work Sheet--Page 3

FAMILY HISTORY AND HOME STATUS

Grade Completed	Religion	Church Attendance	Lodge Affiliations
-----------------	----------	-------------------	--------------------

Father

Mother

Step-

Occupation	Income	Social Sec. No.	Union Affiliations
------------	--------	-----------------	--------------------

Father

Mother

Step-

Income other than above:

Military Record of Parents, incl. Vet. Serial No.:

Employment history, names and addresses of present and recent employers of par. and/or step par.:

Marriages and divorces of parents: (Give names, dates, places, verification)

Kind of home--neighborhood, house, standards of housekeeping

LOS ANGELES COUNTY PROBATION DEPARTMENT
(Form 2c Continued)

Real Estate and other assets; health and accident insurance and/or obligation:

Came to U.S.A.	State	County	From
----------------	-------	--------	------

Father

Mother

Reasons for coming:

Other children in family known to police and/or Probation Dept.:

Adult convictions, probations, etc.:

Miscellaneous notes re. family history, etc.:

LOS ANGELES COUNTY PROBATION DEPARTMENT
(Form 2d)

Juvenile Work Sheet--Page 4

MINOR'S HISTORY:

Came to State (Date):

County (Date)

Operator's Lic. No.

Soc. Sec. No.

Selective Service Regist.

Relations with peers and status in family:

Developmental History & Health (Enuresis, Rheumatic Fever, Puberty, Serious Illness or Accident)

Height

Weight

Eyes

Hair

Marks

Interests, work, organizations or club activities:

Previous Placements, if any:

Religious faith, attendance, remarks:

LOS ANGELES COUNTY PROBATION DEPARTMENT
(Form 2d Continued)

Personality traits:

If married: Name of Spouse

Date and place of marriage

SCHOOL (last or present)

Since

Grade

School adjustment, problems, etc.:

CLINICAL SUMMARY: Date Rec'd.:

I.Q.

Name of Test

Date

COMPANIONS: (Name, DPO, Area, Court & Prob. Nos., Dispositions or Recommendations)

ANALYSIS AND PLAN:

Info. from

Date Compl.

By DPO

SCHOOL REPORT
(Form 3)

TO: Los Angeles County Probation Department _____ (date)

(area office) _____ (address) _____ (phone)
FROM: _____
_____ (school) _____ (address)

Name of minor _____ Ct. No. _____ PDJ No. _____

Address _____ Birthdate _____ Age _____

Court hearing: Date _____ Place _____

Date enrolled _____ Attendance: Satisfactory _____ Unsatisfactory _____

Number of days of illegal absence: This semester _____ Last semester _____

SCHOLARSHIP

From _____ To _____ Hours in School per Day _____

GRADE	SUBJECT	MARK	CITIZENSHIP

SCHOOL REPORT
(Form 3 Continued)

CLASSROOM HABITS AND ATTITUDES

	A	S	N
Is a good worker _____	_____	_____	_____
Follows directions _____	_____	_____	_____
Has good health habits _____	_____	_____	_____
Gets along well with others _____	_____	_____	_____
Accepts responsibility _____	_____	_____	_____
Has good study habits _____	_____	_____	_____
Uses ability to concentrate _____	_____	_____	_____
Has good manual coordination _____	_____	_____	_____

A--Above Average S--Satisfactory N--Needs to improve

INTELLIGENCE, ACHIEVEMENT AND OTHER TESTS:

NAME OF TEST	DATE GIVEN	GRADE PLACEMENT	I.Q.

STATE PHYSICAL DISABILITIES, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND/OR PSYCHIATRIC FINDINGS:

GIVE BEHAVIOR AND PERSONALITY TRAITS, SCHOOL AND HOME RELATIONSHIPS,
EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES, EMPLOYMENT:

DATA SHEET
(Form 4a)

Case # _____ Name _____ Age at first petition _____
Group _____

Family data

Home: Unbroken _____ Broken (divorce) _____ Broken (death) _____
Date of death _____

Boy lives with _____ Siblings' age & sex _____

Area of residence _____ Length of residence _____
Frequent moving _____ Type of residence/area: _____
Blighted _____ Poor _____ Average _____ Above average _____

Condition of home: clean _____ dirty _____ crowded _____

Boy Father Mother Step-parent

Birthdate _____

Birthplace _____

Date arrived in California _____

Religion _____

Attendance at religious services _____

Language spoken _____

Education _____
(highest grade attained)

Occupation _____

Salary _____ Total family income _____

Health _____

Drinking _____

Mental health _____

Attitude toward authority _____
(favorable, unfavorable, antagonistic)

Arrests of family members _____

Other agency assistance to boy or family _____

Notes on home & family (Indicate source) _____

Notes: _____

DATA SHEET
(Form 4b)School Record

Marks last semester _____

Test data: IQ _____ Achievement tests _____
(Name of Test)Attendance: Satisfactory _____ Poor _____ Unsatisfactory _____
Number illegal absences last semester _____Citizenship: Above average _____ Average _____ Unsatisfactory _____
Suspensions _____

Notes (indicate source) _____

Health history (Source) _____

Nervous habits _____

Mental health (Clinic or other report--indicate source) _____

Date of petition _____ Reason _____

Other participants (age and sex) _____

Agency referring _____ Prior history _____

Detention _____

Summary of boy's statement _____

Summary of parent's statement _____

Subsequent notes on family & attitude _____

Disposition _____

Subsequent history _____

Termination of case _____
(date) (reason)

QUESTIONNAIRE
(Form 5)

Group C

1. Name _____ 2. Age _____
3. Where were you born? _____
4. Where were your parents born? Mother _____
Father _____
5. Do you live with both your parents? yes ___ no ___
If not, with whom do you live? _____
6. Are your parents divorced? yes ___ no ___
7. Is your mother living? yes ___ no ___
8. Is your father living? yes ___ no ___
9. What are your parents' ages? Mother ___ Father ___
10. What is your father's occupation? _____
11. What is your mother's occupation? _____
12. Which of the following do you think would describe
your family's income?
Under \$5,000/year ___, \$5,000 to \$10,000/year ___,
\$10,001 to \$15,000/year ___, \$15,001 to \$20,000/year ___,
over \$20,000/year ___.
13. Did your father graduate from high school? yes ___
no ___
14. Did your father attend college? yes ___ no ___
Did he graduate? yes ___ no ___
15. Did your mother attend college? yes ___ no ___
Did she graduate? yes ___ no ___
16. Did your mother graduate from high school? yes ___
no ___
17. How many brothers and sisters do you have? ___
What are their ages? _____
18. How would you describe your family life? Happy ___
Unhappy ___ in-between ___
19. How long have you lived in California? ___ years

Questionnaire (Continued)

20. Which of the following describes the area in which you live? very poor___, poor___, average___, better than average___, luxurious___.
21. In which type of residence do you live? own home___, rented house___, apartment___.
22. How long have you lived at your present address? ___ years.
23. What grade are you in at school?___
24. What school do you attend?_____
25. Do you attend religious services? Regularly___, frequently___, seldom___, never___.
26. Have you ever had to appear in juvenile court for other than traffic citations? yes___ no___
At what age?___ For what reason?_____

END

7 ables/min