

THESIS

Boys

COMPARISON OF SOCIAL SITUATIONS OF PROBLEM AND
NON-PROBLEM BOYS IN AN INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As society becomes more and more complex and its demands on the growing child more exigent the problem of preparing the individual to meet the inevitable struggle for social, economic and personal success in life becomes increasingly difficult. The neighborhood has lost its old close-knit character which frequently served as a deterrent to the youthful experimentalist. The problem of juvenile delinquency is becoming more seriously considered every year in the United States.

The scope of this problem is, of course, as wide as the country itself. The number of delinquent children in the United States is an indication of the importance of the problem. The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, reports that in 1918 about 175,000 children's cases were heard, in 1933, 200,000 cases were heard, some of them classified as neglect or dependency cases, but four-fifths of them as delinquents. Since many institutions detain children committed to their care for more than a year the number of delinquent children receiving social care during this period exceeds the number appearing in court.

The following data which cover a period of only twenty days of activity in Detroit's Juvenile Court brings to us a vivid picture of the tremendous size and complexity to which the problem case has developed in one of our larger cities.

(1)

Juvenile Offenses in the City of Detroit

November 26, 1928 to December 17, 1928

Larceny	76
Truancy	34
Breaking and entering	31
Tampering and driving away autos	21
Violation of probation	18
Investigation	13
Destruction of property	13
Incorrigible	7
Robbery armed	6
Assault and battery	2
Carrying concealed weapons	2
Contributing to delinquency of a minor	2
Rape	1
Forgery	1

The following figures show the ages and number of offenses at various age levels of these juvenile offenders:

8 years of age	1
9 years of age	8
10 years of age	12
11 years of age	14
12 years of age	22
13 years of age	35
14 years of age	45
15 years of age	39
16 years of age	56

Total 232

The average age of these juvenile offenders was 13.7 years. The foregoing figures show clearly that the majority of these juvenile offenses were committed by boys between the ages of 12 and 16 years. This is approximately the age range of the boys in this study.

In addition to the cases for which there are institutional or probationary records, a large number of children are brought before the probation officers and their cases settled outside

(1) Obtained from Juvenile Court Records, City of Detroit

of court. Many such cases are being handled in the public schools in an attempt to help the young misfit to adjust himself to normal social situations before he acquires a record for juvenile delinquency.

This question of the problem boy is universal. City and rural districts, good and poor schools, have their varying quotas of boys who are becoming misfits in their manner of reacting to social situations. The problem is serious and a great amount of study is being given to it by the forces which are working for better social conditions. Therefore, any material that can be added to their findings should be of value.

Purpose

In this study an attempt is made to compare the social situation of problem and non-problem boys of the Miller Intermediate School, Detroit. It includes 32 problem and 32 non-problem boys of this school for the year 1928-29. In order to simplify the problem somewhat, the boys were matched with reference to age, race, nationality, and mental rating. The 32 problem boys were members of what is known as the coaching or opportunity room of which the writer had charge in the Miller district for four years; all members of this room were included in the study. The 32 non-problem boys were those making socially acceptable contacts and were members of the regular classes of the school. The conclusions are confined to this sample.

From the close daily contact which the writer has experienced over a period of years with boys who have failed to fit into the normal social situation and to fulfill its requirements certain problems have presented themselves which must be answered before the re-conditioning of the problem boys can be carried on effectively. The immediate causes of their assignment to the opportunity room are known but the deeper, underlying causes which may have been operating for years must also be discovered. Why have the boys run afoul of the law when other boys living in the same district, of the same age, nationality and mentality rating have continued to make acceptable contacts both within the school and outside? Case studies are, of course, essential in an attempt to answer this question. It, therefore, seemed worth while to study a typical group of these young misfits, not only from the standpoint of their home and neighborhood environments but in comparison with others of their own generation who, living in the same school district, manage to remain within the realm of approved social conduct.

The Theory Underlying the Opportunity Room

By segregating the misfit pupils into separate rooms it is thought more can be done for them than if they are scattered throughout the school system. The enrollment in these opportunity rooms is small so that the teacher may do more individual work than is thought possible in a regular classroom with a large attendance. The coaching room teacher tries to attack the problem presented by each pupil from his individual standpoint,

the aim being to adjust habits of work or conduct in such a way as to enable the child eventually to return to a regular grade and to do successful work. Since the boys come to the coaching rooms with all variations of abilities and from grades seven to nine inclusive each case must be treated necessarily more or less individually by the teacher.

Approximately three-fourths of the boys in the special room under consideration have been brought before the Juvenile Court and are carrying probation cards that must be signed weekly by the teacher. The remaining 25% are on their way to a similar fate unless the school can help them. In this group are found pronounced cases of the extrovert and introvert types which require a different method of handling.

These boys remain with the coaching room teacher all of the school day with the exception of the lunch period and gymnasium class. The gymnasium period for these classes is put at the end of the school day and quite often the teacher of the coaching room takes them to the gymnasium, remaining with them through the period. This arrangement of school activities is made in order to keep the boys under closer observation and restrain them from getting into more trouble.

When a boy is once placed in the special room by the Boys' Counselor he remains there until recommended by the coaching room teacher for transfer to another room. As soon as the pupils are thought by the coaching room teacher to be ready for regular class work they are passed back to a regular group. This

shifting of pupils in and out of the room causes a constant flow of students through the coaching room. Some of the pupils who come to the room need but little guidance before they are ready to go back to their regular class. Others take a longer time and there are those whom the teacher cannot seem to reach to any extent. The latter group will in all probability remain in the coaching room until they are eligible for permits to work.

The room under consideration presents a complex problem. The teacher in charge has the problem of failing school work plus that of behavior difficulties. These behavior cases run the whole gamut of school discipline problems of the more serious kind, each case being one of long standing where the pupil has been in trouble time and time again. The aim of the teacher of this group is to produce socially acceptable conduct plus passing school work. Some data regarding the accomplishments with this type of boy will give a better understanding of the work done. Data concerning this behavior group in the Miller Intermediate School for the year 1928-29 follow:

Handled through room	112
Average number belonging	28
Average attendance	21
Left school	10
Sent to continuation school	5
Working papers obtained	5
In room for adjustment, passed back to grade	30
Located in correct grade	4
Sent to Smith-Hughes classes	6
Double promoted	1
Promoted	2
Put in regular grade on trial	13
Sent to better mannered group because of temperament and sensitiveness	1

The students in the Miller School rank considerably below the city median in intelligence tests and the two groups of boys in this study merely give a typical picture of a large part of the youth of the Miller district. Since the intelligence rating of the problem boy was, on the whole, below the average, the control cases were also of very mediocre ability.

Chart 1 on the following page shows the nationality, age, intelligence rating, and race of the 64 boys to be considered. All names used are fictitious. The nationalities presented in the chart give a fair cross-section of the population of the district which is predominantly Negro with a fair sampling of Italians, other Southern Europeans, and American whites. It will be noted that 23 of the problem cases are Negroes, 5 are American white and 4 are Italian. Of the 46 Negroes constituting 75% of the boys, 40 were from southern states and only 6 from northern states.

The following list of the native states of the parents of the Negro problem and non-problem boys shows that the great majority of them were from the South. This fact tends to make the two groups even more nearly comparable.

CHART I. AGE, NATIONALITY, RACE AND INTELLIGENCE RATING
OF THE PROBLEM AND NON PROBLEM GROUPS OF BOYS IN THE
MILLER INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL DISTRICT. (The boys whose
names are opposite each other are paired.)

Pedro V.	Italian	Age 14	Int. C	Anthony A.
Dimmock T.	"	" 13	" C-	Mike B.
Salvator D.	"	" 13	" E	Marquis S.
Petro C.	"	" 15	" C-	Alberto C.
Athur T.	Am. White	" 15	" D	Glenn W.
Geo. L.	" "	" 13	" C-	Frank M.
James S.	" "	" 14	" E	Nardin B.
Cecil W.	" "	" 15	" C	Roy T.
Clyde R.	" "	" 14	" C+	Harvey C.
Alex C.	Negro	" 15	" E	Lemuel J.
Wm. B.	"	" 14	" D	Roy R.
Nathan W.	"	" 15	" E.	Melvin G.
Geo. S.	"	" 13	" D	Ben D.
Paul M.	"	" 15	" E	Willie B.
Jasper Q.	"	" 13	" C-	Theodore R.
Perry R.	"	" 14	" C	Chas. B.
Thomas E.	"	" 14	" C	Henty M.
Saul B.	"	" 14	" C	Benj. B.
Terman S.	"	" 15	" C-	Clarence F.
Gaston J.	"	" 14	" D	Robert Y.
Wm. P.	"	" 13	" C-	Peter B.
Melvin B.	"	" 14	" C-	Wm. H.
Wm. M.	"	" 16	" E	Louis H.
Alexis M.	"	" 15	" E	Leon J.
Junius L.	"	" 15	" D	Arthur C.
Norman B.	"	" 15	" E	Charles R.
Richard W.	"	" 14	" C-	Donald M.
John S.	"	" 15	" C	Terry B.
Henry T.	"	" 14	" C	Dale R.
Alex M.	"	" 14	" D	Glenn E.
David C.	"	" 14	" D	Virgil M.
Jonah E.	"	" 14	" C	Ralph C.

TABLE I. NATIVE STATES OF NEGRO PROBLEM AND NON-PROBLEM BOYS

<u>Southern States</u>		<u>Northern States</u>	
<u>Name of</u>	<u>No. of families</u>	<u>Name of</u>	<u>No. of families</u>
<u>State</u>	<u>from state</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>from state</u>
Alabama	4	New York	3
Arkansas	2	Pennsylvania	2
Georgia	14	Ohio	1
Kentucky	1		
Mississippi	3		
Missouri	2		
North Carolina	1		
Oklahoma	2		
<hr/> Total 40 <hr/>		<hr/> Total 6 <hr/>	

The letters C, D, and E in the column marked "Intelligence" shown in Chart 1 are the symbols used by the Detroit Public Schools to represent their relative intelligence rating on the Detroit Alpha Intelligence test. This test is a modification and adaptation of the army Alpha test. The range of gradations is from A to E with the addition of plus or minus when it is necessary for a finer classification.

Since intelligence ratings are not wholly a measure of innate mental ability but are also influenced by environmental factors, they facilitate the comparison of problem and non-problem cases. Other factors which may help to create the difference between the problem and non-problem cases are not so definite or accurately measured as are age, nationality or intelligence tests.

The age range of the boys shown on Chart 1 is from 13 to 16 years, while the normal age range for intermediate school boys is from 12 to 15. This condition is explained by the fact

that most of the boys in this study are from one to two years regarded in their school work. Incidentally, the age range is almost identical with the age range when rate of juvenile delinquency is greatest.

Method of Selecting Control Group

The following method was used in the matching of the cases: with the problem boy's age, intelligence rating, and nationality on a card, a search was made through the school files until a non-problem student who matched the problem boy in age, intelligence quotient, race and nationality was discovered. This process was followed in the case of each subject until the 32 problem boys were matched and 32 pairs were obtained, one of which was the problem boy and the other a boy who apparently was making sufficiently successful social adjustments not to be a problem in school. At least the "check" boy was not in an organized problem group. Outstanding boys were not sought as "check" cases. This will be evident from the fact that in mental rating they were the same as the problem boys. As long as the non-problem boy fulfilled the three requirements of age, nationality, and intelligence rating, nothing further was sought.

Basis of Comparison

Of the various factors which might influence the behavior of the boys in the two groups, those were selected for investigation which the writer, from his previous experience, had been led to believe were closely related to the problems of delinquency.

By matching the groups in age, nationality and mentality rating, these factors were made relatively constant. School progress itself was ruled out by the situation that limited the one group to boys who were not satisfactorily completing their school work. The comparison of school marks, which would measure the degree to which the boy was adapting to the school situation at the time of the study, was rendered valueless by the system of marking which was decreed for the coaching class by administrative ruling. The factors finally selected for analysis are indicated by the words or phrases listed below. Statements were given about them by the boys and where possible additional statements were made by the father or mother.

Questionnaire

Name	Attendance
Age	Sunday School
Nationality	Clubs and lodges
Grade Reached	Teams
Date	Gang
Intelligence	Trouble with neighbors
Acceleration	Nickname
With whom living	Ever fight
Relationship	Length of working day
Insurance: life, fire	Salary
Number in family	Speak English
Occupation	Read English
Church	What other language
Member	Newspapers
Magazines	Height
Foreign Language	Weight
How long in Detroit	Tonsils
How long in community	Teeth
Attitude toward school	Vision
Attitude toward teacher	Hearing
Attitude toward parents	Posture
Subject liked best	Serious accidents
Subject liked least	Corrections
Self supporting degree	What serious illnesses
Personal habits	Subject to what
Police record	Tire easily
Semester marks	Baths per week
Aim in life	Meals per day
School record	Hours sleep
Cause for discipline	Clean clothes per week

Leisure Time at Home

Bedtime	Odd jobs
Eat breakfast	Required work
Get up	Pets
Read	Musical instruments played
Write	Radio, kind
Working with tools	Dance
Made with things	Cards
	Games

Leisure Time Away from Home

Hunt	Movies
Fish	Band concert
Camp	Lectures
Swim	Pool room
Skate	Visiting
Auto riding	Playing on street, what do you do?
Dance	

Home Environment

Address	Persons in home where child lives
Type of home: wood or brick	Persons board, etc.
Condition of home	Own a car, year, kind, who uses it
Rent or own	Financial condition
Kind of furniture	Get help from city
Bath tub	Other charities
Toilet	Do you give to Community Fund
Lights	Do you give to Community Church
Heat	Back yard
Number of rooms	How long at present address
	How long in previous place

Neighborhood Environment

Railroad	Nearest playground
Church	Condition of alleys
School	

The foregoing items put into the form of a questionnaire were discussed in the problem boy's class room. Each item was taken up separately and explained fully by the teacher. Questions which the boys could not answer were checked and were

later filled in when a home visit was made. As far as possible similar information was obtained about the father and mother.

Through the cooperation of the school executives the boys, whose names had been chosen from the files to match the problem case boys, were called from their class rooms. The questionnaire was filled out by them in the same manner as described for the problem boy. Therefore, it is probable that the information as far as it goes is fairly reliable.

These data were studied for each of the sixty-four boys, and their relation to delinquency as measured by their occurrence in the history was analyzed. Data on health and physical defects were obtained from the permanent record cards which are on file for every boy in the office of the school.

Further information was obtained from the following sources:

1. A home visit to check up on pupils' statements, and to obtain further data of a social nature.
2. Sociological maps of the school district.

It was necessary to make use of the historical case and statistical methods used in sociological research in order to interpret the data gathered to the best advantage.

Difficulty of Comparison of School Marks

As an administrative measure to signify to the boy's parents that their children were not doing satisfactory school work while they were members of the coaching room group, the school markings were arbitrarily changed. Instead of receiving the standard

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school grades of A, B, C, D and E it was decided that the marks for the coaching rooms should be S , S, S- and U. They were taken to stand for varying degrees of work from satisfactory to unsatisfactory. These marks were evaluated on the school records to compare with the regular school marks in the following way:

A
B
C
D = S +
E = S
S-
U

This arrangement of marks appeared unfair to the writer but as they were established by the administration of the school nothing could be done about it. The idea behind this arbitrary set of marks was to force the boy to get all S marks before he could be a candidate for promotion from the coaching room to a regular grade. The only conclusion to be drawn is that the system of marking practically precluded any comparison between the two groups as far as school marks were concerned. A boy once placed in the coaching room group was limited as to the highest marks which he could get, namely, S , which was equal only to a D in the regular school scale. Therefore, even if the teacher felt that the boy was worth a C or a B mark in some school subject the best that could be done about it was an S .

Since this school is in the midst of a metropolitan slum area where under-privileged children - native whites, Italians and Negroes - are crowded together in unsightly and unsocial

squalor, the neighborhood situation is ripe for the production of delinquency. The coaching room at the Miller School is an attempt to deal with this condition.

The reasons given by the teachers who recommended these boys to the special room run the whole gamut of the more serious infractions of school rules. Disobedience, physical combat and truancy rank highest among these. It is understood that these offenses merely mark the culmination of a long series of misdemeanors which the school has been unable to check or correct. The coaching room teacher must deal, therefore, with the "hardened" school offender and attempt to discover the early and fundamental causes leading up to the later misdeeds.

Other Studies of Similar Nature

In searching for material of a similar nature, the writer was unable to find any studies where the problem boy was matched with a non-problem boy for age, race, nationality and intelligence rating. The only contribution which came near filling these requirements was an article in The School Review, June 11, 1930, by C. T. Coleman, page 434. He matched the trouble cases for age and sex only. He found that:

1. Nearness to school had no effect in trouble cases.
2. His non-trouble pupils received better marks.
3. Trouble cases were absent from school more times.
4. Non-trouble cases were more reliable and held more class offices.
5. Non-trouble cases had more executive ability.

These findings, although worth while, are not sufficient to lead to the discovery of the causes which produce the trouble case.

TWO VIEWS OF THE MILLER SCHOOL



Joy and DuBoise entrances



The playground

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND PRESENT SOCIAL
CONDITIONS OF THE MILLER SCHOOL DISTRICT

As a basis for the analysis of the problem and non-problem pupils included in this thesis, this chapter gives a brief history of Detroit, particularly as it relates to the Miller District, and a description of present social and economic conditions of the area. Much of the historical material of this chapter was gleaned from the pages of "The History of Detroit" by Catlin, and from "The Germanic Influence in the Making of Michigan" by Russell.

In the struggle for supremacy in the new world, France decided to fortify strategic points about the Great Lakes region in order to keep out British fur traders. This led to the building of a French fort in 1701 by Count Antoine De La Mothe Cadillac at the narrowest and most advantageous point on the river connecting Lake Huron with Lake Erie. This fort was called Fort Ponchartrain in honor of the Governor of New France. The river named Detroit, which in French means narrow or strait. The town which grew up around this fort was also called Detroit.

Detroit became the center for a large fur trade and since the French commandants understood how to deal with Indians, many distant Indian tribes brought their furs to Detroit to exchange for knives, brandy, blankets and trinkets. Several friendly Indian tribes settled in the shadows of Fort Ponchartrain.

French settlers were induced to come to Detroit and each family was given a grant of land in the form of a narrow farm, beginning at the river and extending inland approximately three miles. The settlers built their homes along the river bank for convenience in transportation, fishing and protection. At this period waterways were the means of transportation. Therefore, the farms were laid out in long narrow strips, each strip having water frontage along the Detroit River. Roads laid out between the narrow French farms later became streets in the city of Detroit, and were named after the first settlers. Examples of these are the names of such well-known streets as Beaubien, St. Antoine, Orleans, St. Aubin, DeBois, Chene, Jos. Campau, Lafayette and Gratiot.

Maps 1 and 2 which follow give an interesting reproduction of this early situation. These maps are copies from the originals in the Clements Library at the University of Michigan and are supposedly the work of Monsieur de Lery of France in about the year 1749. They are the oldest maps yet found of this district and were but recently unearthed in France. The copies here shown are photostats obtained from a printing in an article about early Detroit in the Detroit News. The source of some of the aforementioned streets will be discovered by a perusal of these maps. The originals of the Clements collection from which these photostats were made were traced and through other sources names were checked and reprinted so as to be legible to the lay reader. R. Parent on this map is the Bloody Run which river used to flow through this district and mention of which will be made later.

1. Anciennes habitations Francaises
2. Nouvelles habitations Francaises de 1763

Partie de Lac S^e Claire

- Depuis*
- François Croto
 - Jacques Ligueros
 - Charles St. Aubin
 - Claude
 - Jacques La d'Arde pere
 - Le Regle fils
 - St. Caumes
 - Marsac du Rocher
 - Pierre Chasne fils
 - Marsac du Rocher
 - Duchesne
 - Cardinal
 - Jacques St. Aubin
 - Jacques
 - Noel St. Aubin
 - St. Aubin pere
 - Charles St. Aubin
 - Le Duc
 - Nicolas Campault
 - Sanspeur
 - Meloche
 - Cioire
 - Bineaux
 - Louis Campault
 - Michel Campault
 - Lajeunesse
 - May
 - Cuillierie
 - Souin
 - Charvin
 - Chapoton
 - Beaubien
 - Barois fils
 - Gustache Samelin
 - Pierre Reguere
 - Godet
 - St. Martin
 - Barois
 - Forville
 - Caron
 - Chesne
 - Lafadie
 - Antoine Campault
 - M. Navarre
 - Champagne
 - Chicots
 - St. Andre
 - Chesne
 - Alexis Delisle
 - Pilot

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Habitations

Presque Isle

Isle Longe

R. du Grand Morais

Poinche Le Perche

R. Parent

Moulin
Fort

Village des Pontigatany

Ruisseau des
Brauns

Ecorces de Sable

Fons de
Sable

R. Rouge

La Vallée Reine
Village
des Herons
Ruisseau
de la Vallée Reine

Terre que M^r Le et de Longueuil a demandé
Terre des missionnaires Jesuites
Terre du forgeron

2

Little attention was paid to laying out east and west streets and as the city grew the east and west streets became short, irregular and poorly connected. As the necessity arose in later years for better transportation facilities, many streets had to be straightened and widened at great expense.

In 1760, following the treaty of peace closing the French and Indian War the British took possession of Detroit. The British commanders were not as well schooled in methods of dealing with Indians, as were the French, and had considerable difficulty in holding the fort against Indian conspiracies and attacks. The conspiracy of Chief Pontiac almost succeeded in driving the British out of the Northwest Territory. During Pontiac's siege of Detroit an attacking force of 200 British soldiers, which sortied out of the fort to drive off the Indians was ambushed at the small stream, now called Bloody Run, and wiped out by Indian tomahawks. In the growth of the city, Bloody Run, as a stream, has disappeared from the map except for a part flowing through Elmwood Cemetery, which is in the school district under discussion. (See photograph, page 14)

From a school engineer, a man of sixty-nine, who lived in this district as a boy, it was gathered that the boys of his youth played in the stream called Bloody Run, which at that time ran through the district then on the outskirts of Detroit. The boys for amusement and excitement stole beer hogsheads from a brewery yard near Gratiot Avenue (see map of district, page). This brewery was on the banks of Bloody Run and the boys having successfully eluded the watchman's eye would roll these casks

into the Run and ride them down to the Detroit River where they abandoned them to their fate. During this man's childhood and young manhood the Run was gradually filled in and drained until at the present time all that is left is a gully running along the side of Elmwood Cemetery.

At this time the District was almost entirely German. However, the British were able to win the allegiance of several Indian tribes about Detroit and to use them in attacking American settlements in the Ohio Valley during the Revolutionary War.

Due to failure of the colonies to keep promises made in the treaty of peace following the Revolutionary War the United States did not take possession of the Northwest Territory until difficulties were settled by the Jay Treaty in 1796. In 1787 Congress passed an ordinance to govern the Northwest territory. The Ordinance of 1787 declared among other things against slavery and favored schools and education. Michigan territory was created in 1805 and the first seat of government was in a tavern near what is now the corner of Woodbridge and Woodward Avenues of Detroit.

Soon after the establishment of government in Detroit in 1805 the entire town was destroyed by fire. This fire originated on a windy day from a spark from a local baker's pipe. Judge Woodward had a new plan drawn up for the rebuilding of the city. This new plan was an adaptation of the plan of the City of Washington. The original streets as laid out by the French ran North and South, crossed by streets running East and West. In the new plan Jefferson Avenue was laid out parallel to the river and intersecting streets were laid out at right angles to Jefferson Avenue. This plan included also a system of streets radiating out from a

BLOODY RUN**A remnant of old Bloody Run****On the bank of Bloody Run**

central focus at Campus Martius. Many of these radiating streets were not built as planned and others were discontinued after extending a few blocks. Had this plan been carried out as originally intended the transportation problem of the city would be far less serious than it is today.

As early as 1716 while the English and French were disputing the matter of fur trade in the Detroit area German families came to the Fort. Among the earliest of these was one Michael Yax brought here by the Indians and ransomed by the French. He was given land along the river front. In 1829 thirty-nine foreigners not naturalized were residents of Detroit. The majority of these were Germans. A goodly number of the Germans grouped themselves on the then eastern edge of Detroit, many buying land from Louis Campau, one of the early French grantees and a trader of great ability. These Germans, writing back to the fatherland, painted a glowing picture of prospects; advising their kin and friends to sell everything and come to the new country. By 1833 the German settlement on the east of Detroit was well established and the French who were selling their holdings were moving further out along the river to the neighborhood of what is now called Grosse Pointe. The Germans who settled in the Miller District entered into all phases of city and state life, politics, trade and religions. The breweries in this district, one of which has been mentioned, were the property of this German element.

Detroit's increase in population from about 2000 in 1810 to 1,568,662 in 1930, reflects development of business, industry and transportation. In several decades the population has doubled as shown by the following census figures:

1810	-	1,650
1820	-	1,422
1830	-	2,222
1840	-	9,102
1850	-	21,019
1860	-	45,619
1870	-	79,577
1880	-	118,340
1890	-	205,876
1900	-	385,704
1910	-	465,766
1920	-	993,678
1930	-	1,508,662

The map No. 3 which follows will show the various annexed areas to the old original Detroit. The Miller School District with which we are being especially concerned was annexed on or before the year 1875, most of it before 1857. The first date shown on the map is 1806, more than a hundred years after the founding of the city. This map is a print taken from a booklet published by the Detroit Times.

Thus we see the original French of this district being supplanted by the Germans. These Germans built their Lutheran and Catholic churches which were the centers of their social as well as religious life, as both churches demand the close allegiance of the family.

In this district, beginning about 1905, we find Jewish and Italian buying out the old German residences. From this time the invasion of the Negro also occurs rapidly. The influx of the negro to this part of Detroit is the result of a demand of manufacturers for common labor. Men were needed for the heavier work about the factories, such as trucking and foundry work. The district under consideration was the natural residence place for this type of laborer. Once colored families started to

Unfold for Map of
**DETROIT'S
GROWTH**

settle in this district the later arrivals of the race who were in the same financial circumstances naturally migrated to the same locality by reason of choice and pressure applied by the American White.

Maps 2, 3 and 4, which follow, made by H. J. Kaufman, Bureau of Statistics, Board of Education, Detroit, give a fine racial picture of this district in the year 1929. The school district is outlined in red and black.

Present Distribution of Races and Nationalities in Detroit and in the Miller District

Map No. 2 showing the distribution of the American white families demonstrates the fact that the district is no longer predominantly white in population. Here is shown the result of the pressure brought about by the influx of the Negro.

On the western edge of the district there is a rooming house section. Some of the older and more substantial homes have been changed into rooming houses. Thus on the northwestern edge is seen quite a grouping of American whites.

Along the southern edge of the district will be observed another such grouping. This section is one of fine old residences which have been made over into rooming houses. In this section also are found many beautiful apartment houses which are built many stories high and therefore afford an excellent view of the Detroit River. This situation accounts for the American whites on the southern edge of the district. Another fairly good residence area in the district is that along the western edge of Elmwood Cemetery which is indicated on the map of the district by a blank space. The rest of the district, other than described,

has a lower type of residences. Here we found the home of the under-privileged whites, some of whose sons are the problem and non-problem boys of this study.

Map No. 3 gives the location of the Italian families who reside in the city. It will be observed that the Miller district supplies the places of residence for most of the Italian families who live in Detroit. The area in the south and south-central part of the district has come to be called Little Italy. In this area are found the homes of the so-called Italian gangsters who are in continual conflict with one another and the police. The gang activities of this group makes the formation of gangs by the adolescents of this district more significant, and the gang membership of boys in this study more important. (See Chap. 6) The proximity of a well organized adult gang supplies the patterns for action and heroes for emulation to the adolescent.

Map No. 4 shows the location of the homes of the Negroes in the city. As may be observed on the map the majority of Negroes living in Detroit are centered in this district. There is some overlapping of the Negro and Italian families especially in the area at the lower part of the district known as Little Italy. The heaviest grouping of the Negroes is in the central northwest portion of the district. Here the buildings are in a poorer state of repair than in any place in the district and living conditions are at the lowest level of any area in the city. This condition is the result of the tendency to shunt and restrict the colored race to areas which the white race has given up as a neighborhood unfit for occupation.

Key to Map



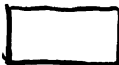
Manufacturing



Business



City property



Residence

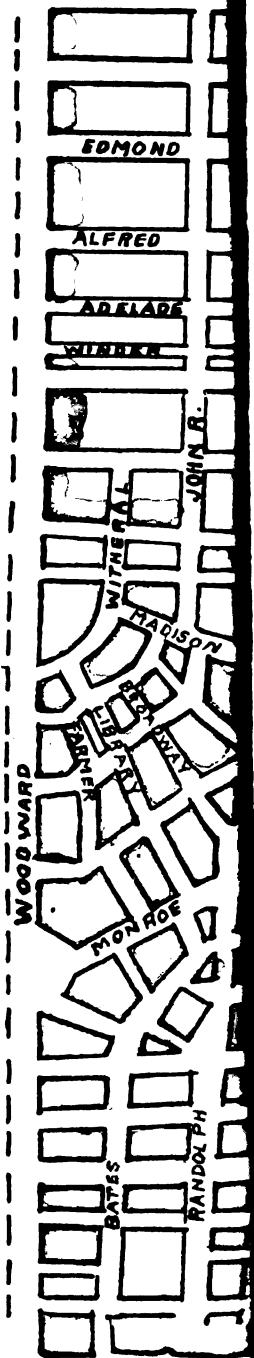


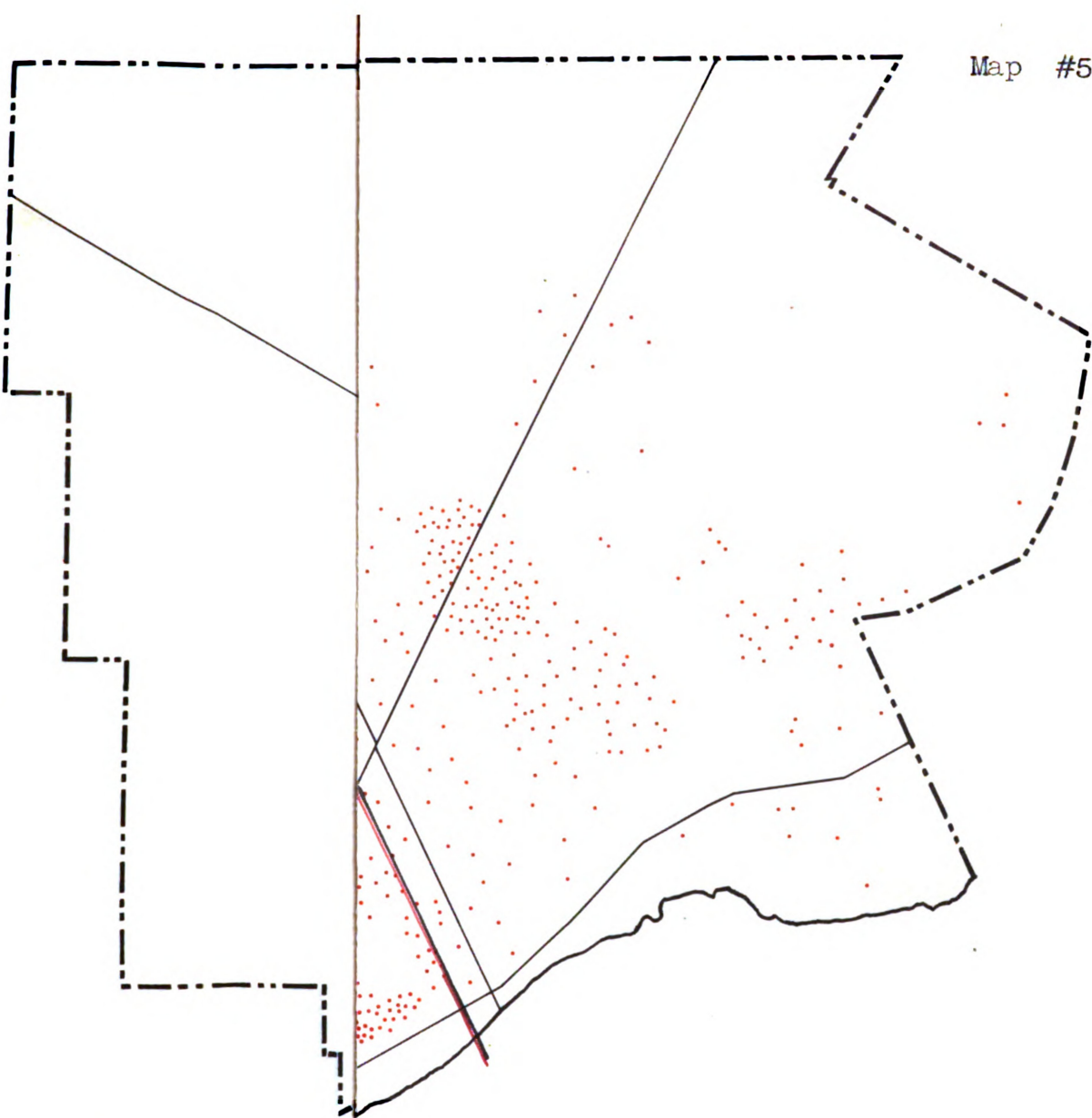
Problem Boys' Homes



Non-Problem Boys' Homes

Each dot represents one family



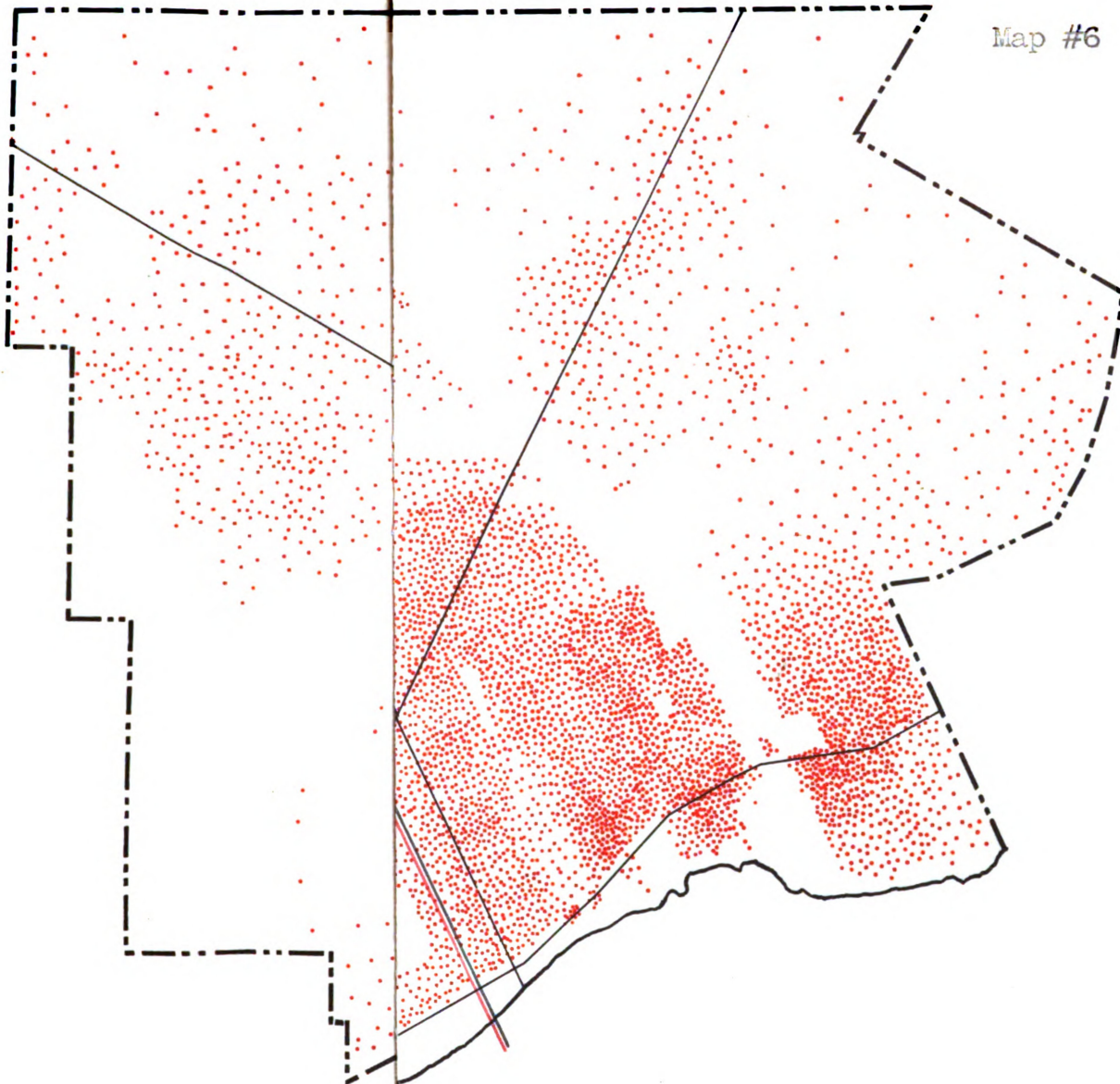


LOCATION
OF THE
ITALIAN
POPULATION

EACH DOT REPRESENTS FIFTY (50) PERSONS

ler School district is outlined in
black.

ear space at the right of the district
wood Cemetary.



The clear area district is El
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They live more
than the negro
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area.

LOCATION OF THE WHITE, CANADIAN, AND ENGLISH POPULATION

EACH DOT REPRESENTS FIFTY (50) PERSONS

ler School district is outlined in
black.

Map #7



In the lower center
a grouping of negro
financial condition
educated than most
reside in the out
In the studied area
to the left corner
to center and right

LOCATION
OF THE
COLORED
POPULATION

EACH DOT REPRESENTS FIFTY (50) PERSONS

School district is outlined in red and black

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From these maps can be seen the great change which has come to this school district since the year 1905. Most of this change took place, as the writer has before stated, in the ten years preceeding 1930. The very few people of German extraction who are still in the district are shown on the map as American white. Those who have sold out are now located in the better residential districts of the city. Many of these are now living in those districts which have been exclusively built up by the wealthier families of Detroit. This area, then, may be considered as having had the following waves of migration: first were the French, who were supplanted by the Germans. Then came the Jews who have been succeeded by the Italian and Negro.

Hastings Street which a decade ago was the Detroit ghetto, or Jewish quarters, has now become the habitat of the southern Negro. True, there are a few Jewish merchants still in business there, but they are rapidly leaving for other parts and Hastings Street is coming to mean "black belt".

While the foregoing movements of population have been taking place the character of this district has been changing until there has developed from a neighborhood of well-kept German homes a district of mixed business, manufacturing and old residences. That part of the district which is nearest the business area has degenerated to a typical slum condition. It is this type of environment which constitutes the basis for the study of both the problem and non-problem cases included in this thesis.

The two following maps help to show the situation in this

Key to Map



Playgrounds



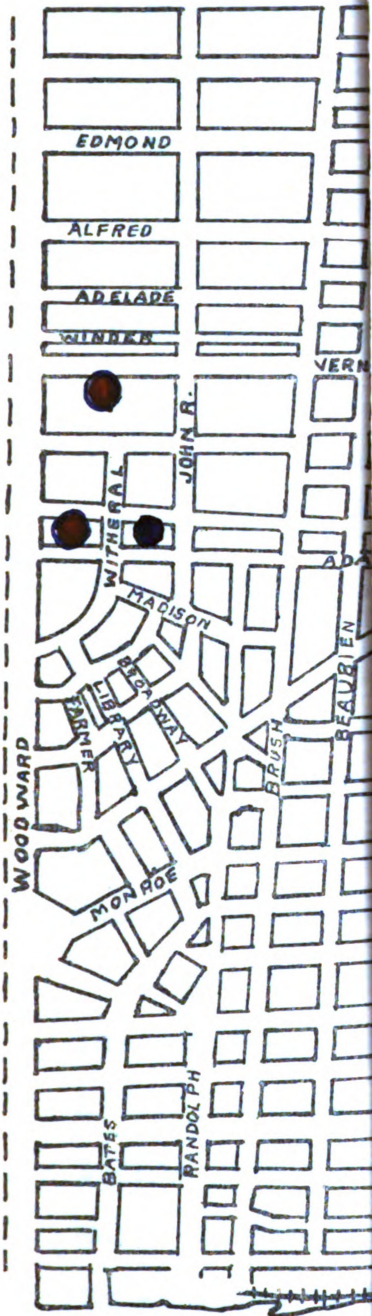
Church



Y. M. C. A.



Settlement Houses



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district as it is at present. Map No. 5 shows the location of business, manufacturing and residence. On this map are spotted the homes of the problem and non-problem boys who are considered in this study. Map No. 6 gives the location of churches, settlement houses and play grounds.

The Eastern Market shown in brown on Map No. 5 is an open market surrounded by wholesale houses. Here the school boy can find periodical and haphazard employment helping the farmer or huckster to load or unload farm produce. This market acts as a magnet for the boy of delinquent tendencies and truant officers of the district make this a starting place in their hunt for boys who are truant from school. Many hucksters use boys of school age to help them peddle vegetables throughout the city since they have regular routes in other parts far removed from the market. This offers the truant a chance to get far enough away from school to feel comparatively safe from detection.

Most of the churches shown on Map No. 6 were built when the district was predominantly German with a sprinkling of native born Americans. In the neighborhoods where colored people predominate these churches have been purchased by the Negro congregations and are now used by them as places of worship. In addition to buying these churches the Negroes have rented many old wooden store buildings and are using them as substitutes for church edifices. This fact accounts for the apparent multiplicity of places of worship in the mapped district.

This district may be classed as a transition area in which *change* is rapidly taking place. Business and manufacturing is *gradually* taking over the territory once used for private

residence. The manufacturing, except that along the river and railroad, is of the small loft type which takes over store buildings and warehouses for use as factories.

Because of the run down condition of the major part of this school district and the tendency of the underprivileged to gravitate to this sort of locality, through economic pressure we find that the Miller School District is inferior in every respect to the average urban community.

CHAPTER III

HEALTH AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

As the first of the cardinal principles of education, Health must be considered in its relation to the school and to the social adjustment of the pupil. A comparison of the health defects of the problem and the non-problem boys with which this study is concerned should therefore be of vital significance. In making such a study it has been necessary for the investigator to limit his field to certain specific defects which are considered of such general importance as to warrant the attention of the school authorities. These defects must be sufficiently common to the school population to provide reliable material for such a survey and they must be of such a nature that their presence or absence has a marked effect on the school achievement of their possessor.

The health data used in this chapter were secured from the records of the medical examinations of pupils in the Detroit schools. This information is kept on cards which are filled out when the pupils take their first medical examination upon entrance to the Detroit Public Schools and are supplemented with the new data obtained at each succeeding annual examination. Thus each card shows a complete history of defects discovered, treatment recommended, and corrections made. The health examination is a part of the school program of the city of Detroit and is given by physicians employed by the Board of Education. Any

defects are noted and the parents are advised of the condition of their children. If the parents are unable to pay for the treatments recommended by the examiners, they may, by special arrangement, have the work done without charge at the Receiving Hospital. In this way the school system attempts both to safeguard and to build up the health of its children, in order that they may function most successfully in the school and in society at large.

The defects which have been chosen for study in the present investigation are fairly common among school children and have been conceded to interfere with the successful accomplishment of the educational program laid out for the child. The include defects of: 1. Vision; 2. Tonsils; 3. Adenoids; 4. Teeth. The perusal of the health cards supplied the findings shown in the table

Table #1

Health Report

Title.	No. Cases	Vision		Tonsils		Adenoids		Teeth	
		No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Problem Boys	32	8	13	18	36	11	35	8	25
Non-Prob. Boys	31	0	0	8	23	4	13	4	13
Both Groups	63	8	8	26	41	15	23	12	19

From this table it will be seen that a much larger percent of problem than non-problem boys had physical defects in each of the types of defects considered in the study. A consideration of the relation of the different types of defects to the behavior of the child, and of the number and percent of problem and non-problem boys in each type, follows:

Defective Vision

According to the examinations of most experienced medical

inspectors, at least 10 to 12 percent of all children present some defects of vision which may affect the health or interfere with school progress, and which warrant the application of glasses. As a rule the troubles of headaches, giddiness, inability to work continuously, or sleeplessness, begin to be evident and are not common until the secondary school age.

Eye-strain is, in itself, likely to lead to irritability, discontent, and feelings of physical uneasiness, all or any one of which may tend to interfere with the boy's adjustment to his school problems and lead him into the class of problem cases. Such strain, when it results from defects which are not easily discovered, such as astigmatism, may cause irritation which the boy is himself unable to explain or to understand. Nevertheless the feeling of discomfort or general irritability prevents normal social adjustments during the adolescent period and may result in definitely anti-social acts. In the school room, the pupil with uncorrected visual defects usually masks his inability to see by a lack of interest in his work, or compensates for it by an exaggerated disdain for the school requirements. In most cases when it is impossible for the boy to compete successfully with his more normal classmates, attitudes are built up which further interfere with the successful completion of his school career.

Frequently these visual defects are exaggerated by poor health, poor nutrition or physical conditions of lighting, etc., which put an unnecessary strain on the visual apparatus. Chart I, presented later in the chapter indicates that visual defects

are much more common among the problem than the non-problem cases. All the defects in vision are supplied by the problem boys.

Tonsils and Adenoids

"Ideas have changed greatly in recent years as to what constitutes dangerous tonsils, and at the present time generally those which are obstructive, which are associated with impaired hearing, and those, no matter what size, associated with frequent sore throats, rheumatism or cardiac disease, are considered a definite menace." (2)

Adenoids and enlarged tonsils may often be the underlying cause of physical weakness which may take the aspect of laziness on the part of the boy. These results are so common as to be almost universally understood, nevertheless, one can be very certain that adenoids and tonsils may now and then be the main contributing cause to the problem status of some boy of secondary school age. Exhaustive studies tend to show these conditions are outgrown with advancing age.

Mouth breathing is usually caused by adenoids and tonsils, though in some cases this may be only a habit. In either instance the facial expression of the mouth breather gives him a distinct disadvantage. It produces a vapid facial expression which does not react in his favor in social contacts.

Of the fifteen cases of bad adenoids discovered in the two groups of boys, eleven are scored against the problem boys, to four for the non-problem boys.

(2) Healey, William. The Individual Delinquent P. 136

Of the defective or troublesome tonsils eighteen cases are shown in the trouble cases as against eight for the boys who are making acceptable social contacts. Bearing upon these facts we have the following statement from The Public Health Service:

"The Public Health Service reports the highest incidence of rheumatism, heart lesions, cervical adenitis, and ear defects among those whose tonsils have been removed, though it must be kept in mind that the tonsils were probably removed because of these conditions." (3)

Teeth

It is a generally accepted fact that bad teeth are a menace to good health. Ulcerated teeth are intermittently pouring a stream of pus into the system which may cause all sorts of complications. It is not only possible but quite probable that an extremely bad condition of the teeth, through the irritations that they set up, might be the underlying cause of a problem case condition.

There is a second view of this problem which but lately has been brought to the general public consciousness through extensive advertising. People generally do not care to associate with others who are the possessors of a pronouncedly bad set of teeth, cared for improperly. Possibly bad teeth prevent some social relationships which would be of value to a boy in his everyday experiences. Dr. Rodgers reports that,

"Not only do some 80 to 90 percent of children, at entrance and in most school years, have dental defects but in some years there is an average of

five or more decaying teeth, chiefly in the temporary set per child". (4)

All this was common knowledge among those interested in the health of the school child before the draft for the World War, but in this country the problem of dealing with these defects has seemed so overwhelming that although most school systems in cities with more than 30,000 population employ a dentist, only the surface has been scratched and seldom is the number of pupils with defective teeth reduced below 30 per 100.

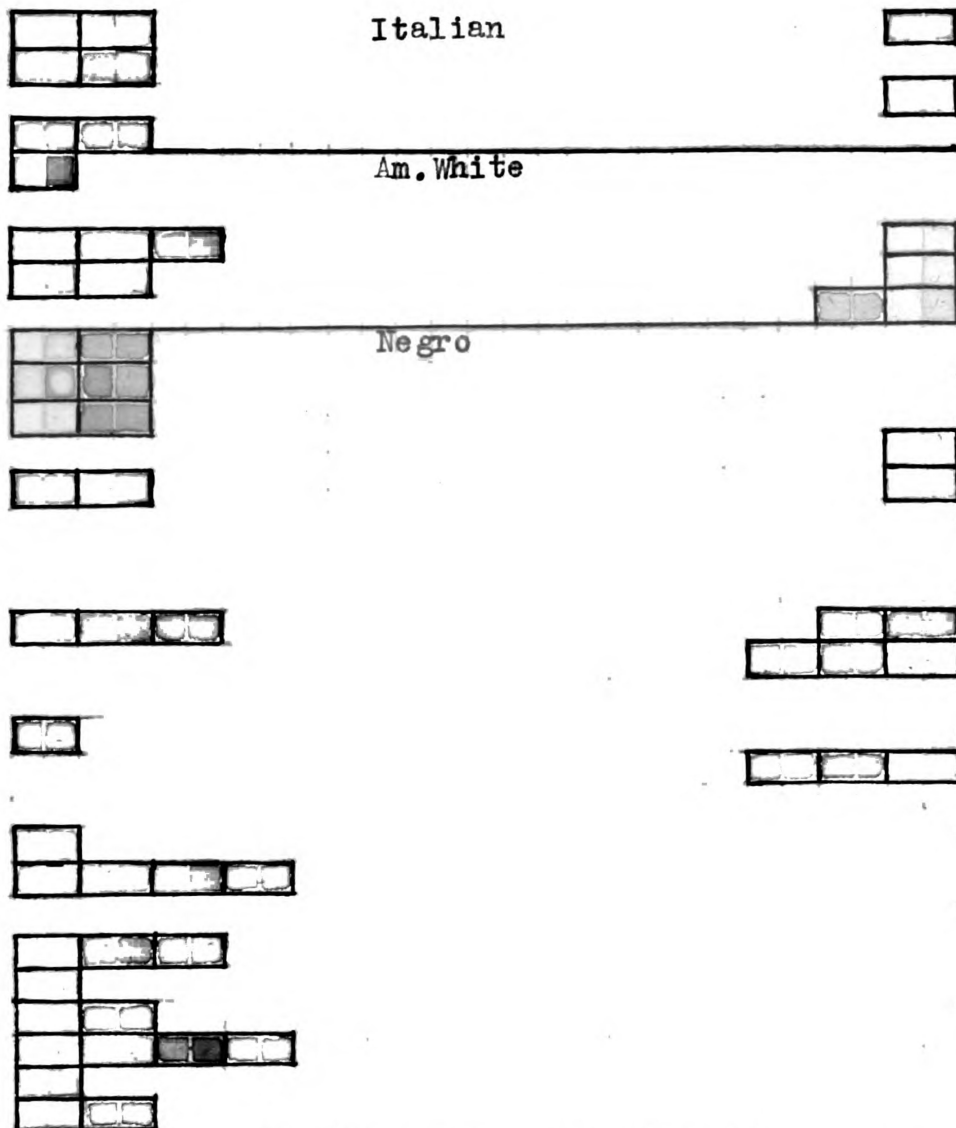
Cases

In the health chart No. 2 which follows, eight cases of bad teeth, two of which were pronouncedly so, are found on the problem case side, while but four registered in the non-problem case group.

This chart No. 2 gives a graphic picture of the health defects by groups. Problem cases are represented by the bars on the left side of the chart, non-problem cases on the right side.

It will be noted that while only 12 of the 32 problem boys were free from all the defects under consideration, 22 of the matched non-problem boys had adenoids, whereas only four non-problem boys showed this defect. Eighteen of the problem boys had defective tonsils and eight dental defects. The non-problem cases show only eight with bad tonsils and four uncorrected dental defects. The five discovered cases of defective vision are on the problem side of the chart. The non-problem boys show no defects

Chart No.2
HEALTH DEFECTS



of this nature.

Chart No. 2 shows very plainly that the four defects considered are much more prevalent in the problem than in the non-problem group. With such a pronounced difference in the health condition of the two groups, as far as this study is concerned health plays an important part in the development of boys into problem cases. With a total of forty-two separate and distinct defects on the problem case side against a total of sixteen on the non-problem side, this seems to be the only conclusion possible as far as these boys are concerned.

Through daily contact with cases 25 and 30 on the problem case side of the foregoing chart, the writer is convinced that health was a strong contributing cause to their problem status. Both of these boys were restless in class and both gave an impression of having no regard for the consequences of their acts. Both were inattentive and had the facial expression of the sufferer from adenoids. Case No. 18 was also in this class with slightly less pronounced symptoms. In cases 3, 6, 9, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, and 26, we shall be forced to look elsewhere for contributing causes as their health record shows no defects.

One peculiarity on the non-problem side warrants particular mention at this point. Cases No. 19 and 22 seem to qualify as candidates for this problem group if health is taken as a measuring stick. Case 19 must have had other contributing influences to offset the health handicap under which he labored. But in

the case of 22 our idea seems to hold as after the data in this study started, this boy was placed in the writer's problem group by the Boy's Counselor. So, if this study could have been continued indefinitely, boy 22 might have been on the problem case side of the chart instead of the non-problem. The findings of this study had no influence in placing non-problem case No. 22 in the problem case room as this was done by the Boy's Counselor who had no knowledge of the progress of this thesis.

A study of the chart as a whole indicates very strongly that there is a marked and significant relationship between the health and the status of the boys under consideration. This conclusion is further emphasized by a study of certain outstanding individual cases.

Therefore, since:

1. The problem cases show record of 42 physical defects whereas the non-problem cases have only 16 such defects:
2. The number of problem cases having defects is twice as large as the number of non-problem cases having similar records:
3. There is a greater tendency for the physical condition of the problem boys to be complicated by more than one defect than is found among non-problem cases;

It may be assumed that, in general, the health factor is closely related to the school adjustment of this group of pupils.

CHAPTER IV

HOME SITUATION

The family, as the primary group in which the child makes his first social contacts and acquires his first social ideals, has an outstanding opportunity to influence his future behavior patterns. In this early setting the child not only acquires his first concepts of group living but also adopts those attitudes and ideals which will later facilitate or hinder his ability to become a part of the larger group. To what extent home conditions have determined the social status of the two groups who are being investigated in this study is the concern of this chapter. In answering such a question, the investigator must consider the physical, social and economic conditions of the home, and the attitudes and habits fostered by these conditions. For this purpose the following problems were studied.

1. Foreign-born parents and illiteracy
2. Broken homes
3. Parental age
4. School attainment of parents
5. Boarders and lodgers
6. Other home conditions
7. Home ownership and renting

The parents themselves furnish the first standards of social behavior for the child and interpret to him the customs and ideals of life. When, for any reason, the child is deprived of this early association or his faith in its value is undermined, he must either turn to some other source or depend upon his own immature ability to understand and evaluate the adult world

in which he must live. Sometimes he is fortunate in finding in the school, the settlement house leader, or some other social agency a substitute for the parental function. More often he must rely on the judgments of his own gang or of slightly older boys who also have struggled unaided in a seemingly hostile world; and the large number of juvenile delinquents in our courts today testify to the inadequacy of this leadership.

There are, unfortunately, many influences which tend to destroy the closeness of family contacts and the understanding which is essential if parents are to act as good interpreters of social conditions. The inability of foreign-born parents who do not speak or understand the language of their adopted country to explain its laws and customs, the absence of one parent from the family constellation, or the advanced age of the parents at the time when the child needs their understanding all tend to weaken the parent's status and the child's faith in his judgment. When, in addition, the family group is disrupted by the presence of outsiders or living is rendered almost primitive by the physical inadequacies of the living quarters the problem becomes more acute. If, on the other hand, the personnel of the family is stable and understanding, the ideals are high, and the physical conditions conducive to healthful and harmonious living, the child begins his struggle to adjust to his social environment under a tremendous advantage. How great this advantage may be, or in what specific ways it functions in the life of the intermediate school boy is a question that the educator who is vitally concerned in the cooperation of school

and home for the good of the child must try to answer. In this chapter, therefore, an attempt has been made to discover to what extent the various factors listed above are related to the status of the problem and non-problem boys who are considered in this study.

Foreign-born and Illiterate Parents

The child, in the poor environment that his foreign-born parent often gravitates toward in a large city, is in a position to acquire many unsocial ways of reacting.

Before the parent can help the child to adjust to his social situation, he must himself understand the problems to be faced and have the ability to interpret these problems to himself as well as to the child. In the large city the foreign-born parent who frequently neither reads nor speaks English labors under great disadvantage in this situation. In such cases the child becomes an interpreter for the parent.

When this child gets into trouble with the people in the neighborhood about the only version of the events the parents get is the one colored by the child's interpretation of the facts. This inability of the parents to understand well the language of their adopted land often leads to a feeling of helplessness on their part, a factor which the wayward child quickly appreciates and uses to the best advantage. Many times the writer has had to interview parents through the medium of the child who himself was the cause of the interview. It is much more satisfactory to use a brother or sister as interpreter,

rather than the boy who presents the problem.

This language difficulty often causes on the part of the father, who is usually the "czar" in this type of family, a feeling of inability to cope with the situation. Out of his perplexity grows the belief that his child is hopelessly bad and will never amount to anything. Instead of wise understanding and an attempt to help the child work out his problems, he frequently falls back on cruel and unnecessary physical punishment, as the only means of forcing his will upon the child. Naturally such treatment rouses only resentment in the child and tends to strengthen his conviction that he is confronted by a hostile world which he must outwit by fair or foul means.

Since the Miller district has a large percentage of southern Europeans in its population it might be expected that this problem of inability to read or speak English would have some influence on the behavior of the children. The inability to speak the language, of course, constitutes the great disadvantage. However, the parent who cannot read the language is cut off from many sources which might enable him better to understand the customs and problems his child must face. He is also unable to co-operate with school or social agency except when personal visits and interviews are possible. And, not least, he must inevitably lose the respect of the growing child to whom the art of reading is merely a primary step in the training of every school pupil.

In this study two fathers and three mothers in the problem group could not speak English. While none of the non-problem

group labored under this difficulty.

Also in the problem group four fathers and five mothers could not read English. While only four of the mothers alone of the non-problem group were thus handicapped.

Thus it is seen that illiteracy and foreign birth of parents occurs to a greater extent among the problem than among the non-problem cases.

Of the five problem cases, two come from completely illiterate homes, one comes from a home in which the father speaks but cannot read English, one from a home where both parents speak the language but cannot read it, and one from a home where the mother is unable to read.

The mother in a foreign-born family not being able to read English interferes less with the adjustment of the family to their new surroundings than would the father if unable to read English. If the father of the Italian family can read and speak English the mother can get an interpretation of important reading material through him. It is interesting to note that on the non-problem side of the Language Defects Chart No. 3, that the two defects in the Italian group are those of mothers being unable to read English. This demonstrates that these Italian families have made a better adjustment to the surroundings of the new world as far as language is concerned.

Four of the five illiterate parents of problem boys are of Italian origin, the other a negro. It will be remembered, however, that for each of the problem boys, a non-problem case of the same nationality was found and that the parents of the four





Chart No. 3.

PARENTS WHO DO NOT SPEAK OR READ ENGLISH

				Italian	
					
					
					

Am. White

Negro

 Father can not speak English Mother can not speak English Father can not read English Mother can not read English

Italian control boys were not illiterate. We cannot, therefore, attribute the pupils' difficulty solely to the nationality of the parent. On the basis of this data it can be said that when foreign parentage is complicated by illiteracy on the part of the parent, delinquency is likely to follow.

Parental Age

If parental guidance and understanding depend upon the ability of the parent to adjust readily to new situations, to be flexible in judgment and to take part in the activities and interests of the boy, the age of the parent may be a significant factor in the adjustment of the child. This problem is one which has, as yet, received little or no scientific study. This investigation shows that the average of the parents of problem boys is one year greater than that of the non-problem. The problem and non-problem groups were equal in number of parents of matched boys who were older than the other member of the matching pair.

School Attainment

The factor of school attainment of the parent has also been investigated in an attempt to determine to what extent the boy's lack of adjustment is related to the educational advantages which his parents have been able to enjoy.

The data on the question were not complete in all cases. Even after home visits had been made, it was found impossible to gain the information from all fathers and mothers. In some cases the parents failed to co-operate with the investigator in filling out the questionnaires; in others the absence of one parent from

the home made it impossible to gain the desired data.

The following figures include over half of the cases in the study.

	<u>Average Grade Reached</u>	
	<u>Problem</u>	<u>Non-Problem</u>
Child	7.3	8.8
Father	6.4	7.5
Mother	6.7	7.5

It is interesting to note that the education of the parents of non-problem boys average about one year more than that of the problem boys. It is also of note that parents of both groups are equal or slightly superior in their educational status to the great majority of the American people. In a nation of "sixth graders" these parents represent about average achievement.

In answer to the question asked the two groups of boys, "What school subject do you like best?", the replies are somewhat illuminating. They were divided into two classes. One class was the regular academic type of school work where the child sits in a seat and does not get a chance for much physical reaction. The second class included such subjects as shop and gymnasium where physical action is a prerequisite of class work. The answers are as follows:

	<u>School Subjects Liked Best</u>	
	<u>Problem</u>	<u>Non-Problem</u>
Physically active subjects	17	9
Sedentary subjects	12	16

The preceding grouping indicated that the problem case boys of this study tend to like best those school subjects which include physical movement to a large extent while the non-problem boys seem to favor those subjects which are more on the sedentary order.

Broken Homes

Recent investigations tend almost universally to strengthen the theory that the broken home is an important contributing factor in cases of juvenile delinquency. Although the causes of broken homes are numerous, this study will be concerned only with those homes which have been disrupted by the death or the desertion of one parent. Desertion in families of the economic level treated in this study is the only means at hand for separation from a wife. In other words, desertion is the poor man's divorce and is considered as such in this study.

Of these two causes of broken homes the home broken by the death of one parent offers fewer obstacles to the child's development than does the home of the deserter. Through death the boy is deprived of the understanding and companionship of a parent, his economic security is usually weakened and his adjustment to the sex of the missing parent rendered more difficult. But the psychological strain of the deserter's home, added to this social and economic insecurity, complicates life very seriously for the growing child. The true home of the child depends almost entirely on the attitude of the parents toward each other and toward the child; yet there are many bad in-

fluences that are to be found in many families. Instead of kindness and harmony, discord and poor discipline prevail. Instead of solidarity, disloyalty and untruthfulness is often found. Many so-called good homes show in disease of mind and body, interference of behavior and speech and discouragement. In this type of home where such a condition has led to desertion, the child has been placed in an environment which must leave an unsocial if not antisocial contribution to the total of his experience.

Ethel S. Drummer asserts that;

"the scientific synthesis of psychology, psychiatry, medical opinion and social service speaking through court clinics and nursery school and bureaus of child guidance now place the burden where it fundamentally belongs - upon the home, upon the parents."(5)

The following figures show the distribution of broken homes in this study.

	<u>Broken Homes</u>		
	Problem Boy's Home	Non-Problem Boy's Home	
Father Dead	6	9	
Father deserted	2	5	
Total	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	
Total families in study	31	32	

The number of broken homes which occurred in the case of the non-problem students was a revelation to the writer. A study of the poor physical conditions in the district in which both problem and non-problem boys live, however, makes the situation more understandable.

Fourteen cases, or approximately forty-four percent of the

(5) Drummer, Ethel S. Foreword to Youth in Conflict by
Lillian Vinnette Page 6

problem cases, and an equal number of the non-problem cases came from homes broken by death or desertion of the father. The chief difference between the two groups lies in the cause of the home condition. In eight of the fourteen cases the home was broken by desertion while in the non-problem group only five cases of desertion were found. It is significant to note that all cases of desertion save two are found among the colored families.

The data in this chart present an interesting cross section of the family life in the Miller district, although they do not solve the problem of the effect of the broken home on the status of the boys, they do indicate that cases of parental desertion are almost twice as common among problem as among non-problem cases.

Trouble with Neighbors

The broken home is a result of social discord within the family; but the lack of adjustment between the family and neighbors may indicate a condition of disharmony in the child's environment which has equally serious effects. The present data, however, offers no evidence of the fact that the child's behavior may be influenced by the social adjustment of his parents in the neighborhood, since eight cases of trouble with neighbors were reported from the problem cases and an equal number from the non-problem cases.

Boarders and Lodgers

Although the presence of boarders and lodgers does not of necessity serve as a disrupting influence in the family circle,

the situation frequently creates problems. In the first place, the center of the family attention and concern is usually diverted from the welfare of the child to that of the paying guest. Then too, it is difficult to build up the true sense of family unity when the group must be continually considering the presence of an outsider. In addition to the effect of the stranger on the family solidarity here is the almost inevitable fact of overcrowding and housing problems which the paying guest causes. Under these circumstances it is logical to assume that the social adjustment of the child whose home is thus burdened must be more fraught with difficulty than that of the child whose family circle is not thus complicated in this way. In presenting the influence of this factor on the problem and non-problem boys, Chart No. 4 shows the individual families who take in boarders. Over fifty percent of the problem cases come from homes in which there are boarders or lodgers; only about thirty-three percent of the non-problem cases are faced with a similar situation. There are forty extra persons in the seventeen homes from which the problem boys come. While in the homes of the non-problem boys there are twenty-eight extra persons. More than one-half of the problem boys come from homes in which there are boarders, whereas only one-third of the non-problem boys come from homes having boarders.

Chart No. 4.
BOARDERS AND LODGERS

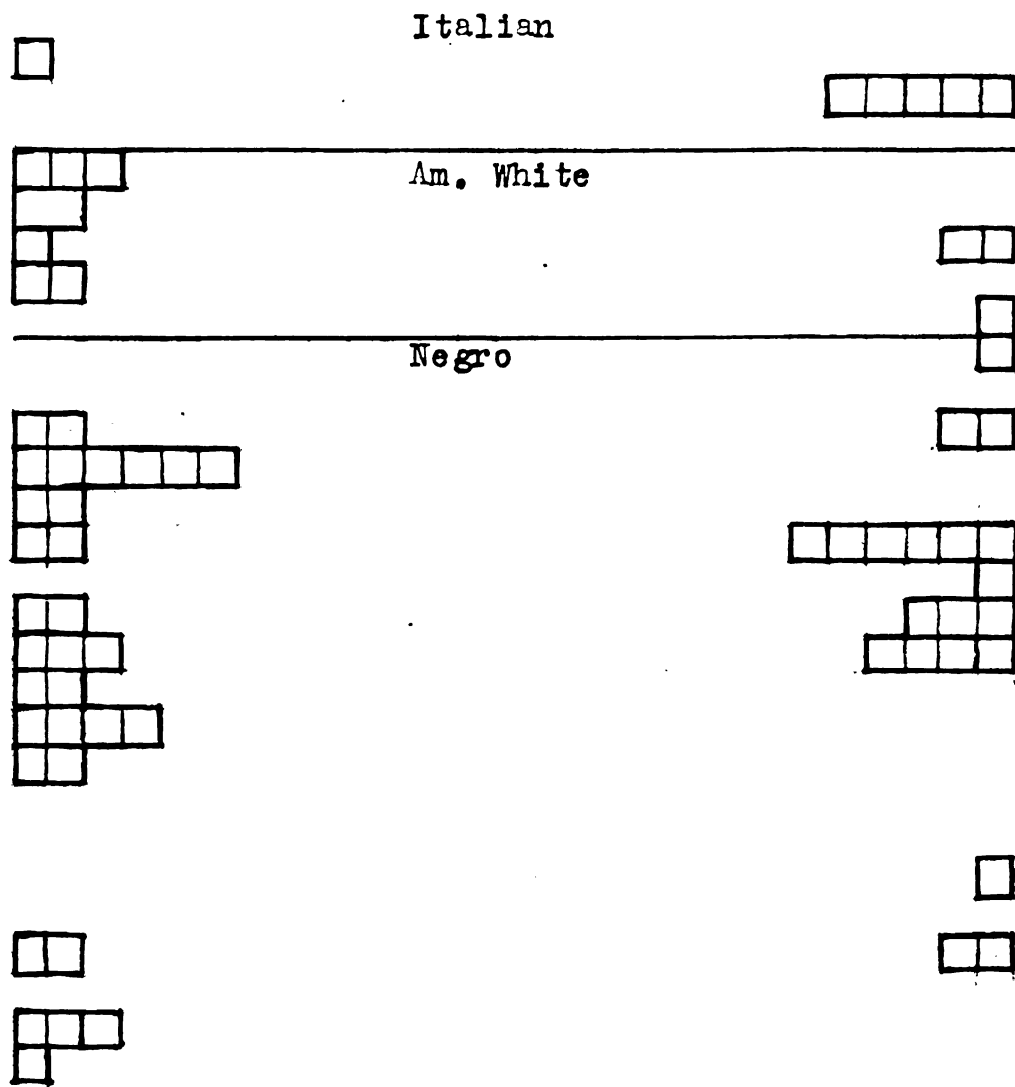


Table #2

ROOMS PER HOUSE AND NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ROOM

Pair No.	Problem Boy's Home			Non-Problem Boy's Home		
	Rooms	Family Including roomers	Persons Per Room	Rooms	Family Including roomers	Persons Per Room
1.	9	13	1.4	8	9	1.1
2.	8	13	1.1	10	11	1.1
3.	11	10	.9	6	7	1.1
4.	5	7	1.4	6	8	1.3
5.	10	14	1.4	5	7	1.4
6.	10	8	.8	10	17	1.7
7.	7	4	.4	7	6	.8
8.	8	10	1.2	3	3	1.
9.	9	11	1.2	7	6	.8
10.	12	5	.5	6	8	1.3
11.	4	4	1.	6	6	1.
12.	6	14	2.3	6	7	1.1
13.	14	12	.8	9	4	.5
14.	5	7	1.4	6	7	1.1
15.	7	9	1.2	5	10	2.
16.	5	4	.8	5	7	1.4
17.	7	6	.8	7	8	1.1
18.	8	10	1.2	6	7	1.1
19.	7	8	1.1	5	6	1.2
20.	10	6	.6	7	6	.8
21.	7	9	1.2	7	7	1.
22.	6	4	.3	10	7	.7
23.	9	11	1.2	7	8	1.1
24.	7	5	.7	7	5	.7
25.	6	6	1.	5	6	1.2
26.	9	11	1.3	6	7	1.1
27.	7	4	.5	6	6	1.
28.	6	5	.8	3	3	1.
29.	8	6	.7	7	8	1.1
30.	7	6	.8	7	6	.8
31.	3	6	2.	6	6	1.
32.	2	3	1.5	5	5	1.
TOTAL	239	251		205	224	

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In the table showing the number of persons in the home, a similar result is found. Two hundred and fifty-one people were housed in the problem homes while in the non-problem homes there were two hundred and five persons, a difference of forty-six people.

The estimate from the United States Bureau of Census of 1928 gives for the city of Detroit, within the eight mile circle, an average number of people in the home as 4.16. In the case of the problem boy's family, this figure is approximately 7.7 while that of the non-problem is 6.4 approximately. Taking the average of 4.16, both of these figures show over-crowding of the home, and the influence of a so-called slum district.

The City of Detroit Board of Education census for 1925 shows 308,438 households, with 157,432 roomers. This is approximately one roomer to every two households. In the case of the problem boy's family this ratio was one and one-third roomers to each household and five-eighths roomers for each household of non-problem boys. These figures show the non-problem boy's family to approximate the city average for roomers while the non-problem boy's family nearly triples it. The averages tend to draw the attention from the specific case, nevertheless they give us a view of the problem hard to obtain in any other way.

The presence of boarders and lodgers in these homes leads immediately to over-crowding. In a district where homes are filled beyond normal capacity certain problems are almost sure

to develop. Complete lack of physical privacy seems to lead almost inevitably to a lowering of moral standards.

When children and parents share the same rooms, premature exposure to sex relationship is always present. Thus too early contact with the fact of cohabitation between the parents may produce emotional disturbance, which, in turn leads to anti-social behavior. Or it may simply establish in the child's mind a lack of respect for the whole relationship. Frequently sex practices are found among boys and girls in the same family under such conditions. If the problem is further complicated by the loose conduct of irresponsible lodgers, the chances that children will escape unscathed are slight indeed.

Among the colored problem cases in this study the condition is complicated by the fact that in homes where many boarders or roomers are housed the boys are entirely ignorant of the whereabouts of their fathers or step-fathers.

Home Ownership

In addition to the personnel of the family or home group, certain other environmental factors are instrumental in the shaping of social behavior patterns. Of these the group attitudes and ideals exert perhaps the strongest influence. In an objective investigation it is, however, possible to measure these influences only in terms of their concrete expressions. For this reason, the facts of home ownership and the physical conditions of the home have been investigated in an attempt to determine to what extent the living conditions in the home are reflected in the social adjustment of the child.

Home Ownership and Renting

The Detroit Board of Education Census 1955 shows:

		Percent
Single Owned Homes	99,202	21.4
Owned Flats	24,705	5.3
Apartments Owned	593	.1
Unknown Status	29,759	6.4
Rented Singles	102,933	22.2
Rented Flats	154,011	33.2
Rented Apartments	53,315	11.4

The fact that some of the parents of the boys in this study have been home loving or far-sighted enough to attempt the purchase of a home is taken by the writer to indicate a family solidarity that is in advance of those not making this attempt.

With the purchase of a home comes the feeling of permanence and responsibility to the parents. This feeling must be communicated by actions, words, or attitudes to the children of the household. The fact of home ownership in the studied district is all the more important in the light of data offered by Ernest R. Groves "Social Problem of the Family". He says,

"One of the most serious results of our housing situation is the falling off in home ownership; this decrease has been going on since 1900. The conditions in our cities of 10,000 or population have not been the same everywhere; some have had an increase, some a decrease in home ownership; but it is stated that in every one of these cities there has been a striking decrease in the number of persons owning their homes free from debt." (6)

The trend is unfortunate, for home ownership encourages attitudes of social value. He who owns his house has an incentive to be interested in the community. Ownership also shows its influence

(6) Groves, Ernest R. "Social Problems of the Family" Page 233
Conference of Social Work 1923

Chart No. 6.

HOME OWNERSHIP

	Italian	
Am. White		
	Negro	



Each block indicates that the boy's family own their home.

in subtle ways in family life; the children are more apt to be taught the value of property, neighborhood contacts are regarded more seriously, the home is more likely to reflect a sense of permanency and self respect than when the family merely rents. A decrease in home ownership tends toward greater social restlessness and instability.

Chart No. 5 shows that seven of the problem boys were living in "owned" homes. If the previous generalizations are to be accepted, this may be interpreted to mean that almost twice as many of the non-problem boys had the advantage of enjoying a permanent environment and of building up meaningful neighborhood contacts. That this home training should provide for the more fortunate boy a better type of social reaction in his school relations than would be developed under a more shifting home arrangement seems very probable. It is interesting to note that four of the seven problem cases from home-owning families were Italians, and that the four control non-problem Italian boys also came from "owned" homes.

Physical Conditions of the Homes Studied

There are classic examples of great men who have spent their childhood in poverty-stricken hovels. But it is known also that the chances for the success of such a home or of the children growing up in it are comparatively slight. While it will readily be agreed that comfort and convenience are not enough to insure a good home environment, it is equally

clear that in a home where living conditions are not modern much energy which might go to the building up of ideals and social habits must be expended in the mere struggle for existence. When ventilation is poor, health is jeopardized. When sanitary plumbing is lacking, the family struggles both for minimum standards of decency and cleanliness and against poor health. The lack of facilities for working drains the strength of the mother and renders her less effective as a guide for her growing children. Unsightly surroundings not only serve as breeding places for germs but as destroyers of pride in order and cleanliness and of habits of neatness as well.

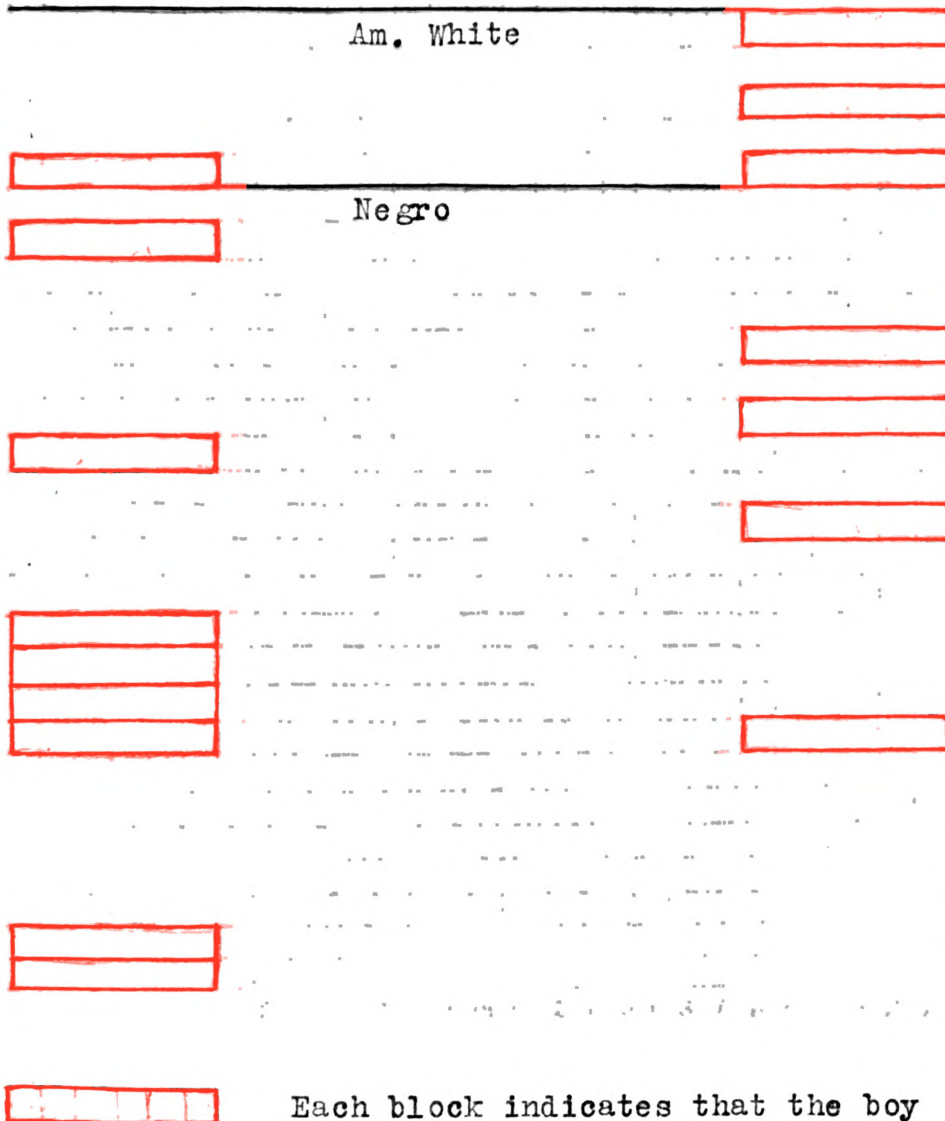
Conditions in many of the older sections of our larger American cities are often appalling. Large families are crowded together into small quarters; houses built to accommodate one family frequently house two or three with their boarders and lodgers. Beds are used to capacity day and night, and standards of decency and privacy violated. Modern building codes are powerless to improve conditions in these districts since most of the houses were built before the standard requirements for light, air, and sanitation were adopted, and the code laws are not retroactive.

Many of the houses in the Miller district are without furnaces and without bathrooms. In these homes the social standards of cleanliness and decency are hard to maintain, and

Chart No. 6.

HOMES WITHOUT BATHTUB.

Italian





Residence



Residence



An unpaved alley



Sunday pastime

may conceivably add to the last and insurmountable burden to the boy who is already finding the problem of social adjustment difficult.

Chart 6 shows that nine of the problem boys come from homes without bath tubs and that seven of the homes of non-problem boys lacked this facility.

The majority of the houses in this district were built at the time when it was the accepted practice to build a small house with posts for a foundation and as many of these houses are forty or fifty years old these posts have more or less disintegrated, letting the houses tilt at varying angles. This certainly is not the type of home which would instill in either the parent or the child a sense of pride of ownership when returning from his work or his school. The post foundation precludes the advantages and improved environment of a modern basement. It simply makes quarters still more crowded when all of the household duties usually carried on in the modern basement must be performed in an otherwise crowded living space. The homes having no modern basements are shown on Chart No. 8.

Eleven problem and an equal number of non-problem boys come from homes without basements. The lack of basement space to do those household duties which are now relegated to the basement was brought clearly to the writer's mind upon the occasion of the home visit to Problem Case No. 19. At the time of this visit the mother was doing the washing in the kitchen with a hand power washing machine. The clothes were being hung in the combination dining and living room. The writer

and the colored mother sat beside the drying lines of clothes and had their visit. The father and one of the boarders were at work, the other boarder who was a young colored woman was out doing housework by the day. A little colored pickaninny about three years of age was playing on the floor under the clothes line. The rug on the floor was old and had several holes in it. The son ~~who~~ was Problem Case 19 was not at home. The mother could not understand why her boy seemed to get into so much trouble. Although he did take things that did not belong to him now and then she did not seem to be over-interested in her wayward son, and would be glad when he was old enough to stop school and get his working papers. The boy's own story follows. It is in his own words without corrections of any kind. In his story we get an idea of this "taking things that do not belong to him."

Colored Boy's Story (16 years of age)

1. My first remember of my mother was when we come to detroit. We on the train and I ask how did it run.

2. I lived at little town atlanta. We lived down by a creak and it was sourrend by little tree and I always like to play in the creak in the summer time.

3. My first play a boy name Robert and his little sister **J**essie and Inez. We were always down in the woods playing hide ~~a~~nd go see. We uster have swell time there.

4. The time Went to school was when we played tit tat toe **i**n the kinedgard that way my first day one the second I got a

wippen I hated school every aftr.

5. the teacher that I didnt like was Miss F. because she slap me and mad my nose bleed my best teacher was Mrs. Gorce the reason why I like her because she did not hollar at me.

6. The first thing I did wrong was when I stole some whisky and drank it went to school and the teacher smeltd it and wanted to send me to the ----- for it.

7. The first time I got in trouble was when I skipped school and the police chased me home very near and next was when a drug store window glass was broken and we wer token to the police station.

The thing I liked was playing in water and ridding wagon and sliding down bank and plying marble and plying with balls. When I wor ten year old I learned how to play baseball and socker and liked to ply cards.

Was when I was about 8 years old I seen a mon whip his wife next was a accident a train ran over a man and cut him half in to."

Other data pertaining to the home situation bring more clearly to the attention of the reader the fact that many obstacles must be overcome by problem and non-problem cases in order to obtain those conditions under which a well ordered home might flourish.

In the case of nine problem boys, back yards of the home premises were unsightly and in bad condition. These same facts held true in only four cases in control group. The reader must

keep in mind that these homes are in the same school district, sometimes on the same street.

Furnaces were found in only three of the problem cases against eight to be found in the homes of the non-problem. All other homes in the study were heated by stove.

The alley was paved in the case of thirteen problem case boys and eighteen non-problem boys had the advantage in cleanliness of a paved alley.

"The housing problem is of importance to the family along lines other than those of health and comfort." The home that is forced to exist in bad quarters is undermined in every aspect of its life. The proper privacy is denied., family clashing is fostered, the right relationship between parents and children becomes more difficult, slovenly habits are stimulated, a sense of shame smothers family loyalty." (7)

The boy is liable to find it pleasanter to live his waking hours away from its shaming influence.

In the matter of number of meals per day, the distribution was even in that eight of both problem and control group had but two meals a day.

Problems of cleanliness show a deviation from expectation as sixteen of the non-problem boys had but one change of shirts per week while of the problem cases only fourteen had but one change; the rest of the cases in both problem and non-problem had two or more changes.

Conclusions

From a study of the home conditions of the delinquent and

non-delinquent boys certain conclusions may be drawn.

1. Illiteracy is slightly higher among the parents of problem boys than among the non-problem cases. Foreign parentage complicated by illiteracy on the part of the parents seems to contribute to maladjustment.
2. Parents of non-problem boys average about one year more of education than parents of non-problem boys. Both groups have a sixth grade attainment or better.
3. Homes broken by desertion are slightly more common among problem than among non-problem boys. Negro boys, whether problem or non-problem cases, show a higher percentage of broken homes than Italian or American White.
4. The number of boarders and lodgers and the extent of over-crowding is somewhat greater in the homes of problem boys.
5. Tenantry among negroes and American whites contributes somewhat to delinquency. Home ownership is more common among Italians than in all other groups.
6. The physical conditions of the non-problem boy's homes are slightly superior as evidenced by more bathtubs and furnaces, better kept yards and more paved alleys.
7. The average age of the parents of problem boys is one year greater than the non-problem.
8. No significant difference is to be found between:
 - (a) amount of trouble with neighbors

- (b) basement in home
- (c) meals per day

9. Problem boys have more clean shirts a week than do non-problem boys.

Although the difference between the two groups are not outstanding in any one of the characteristics discussed, it is significant that in the majority of cases the problem boys are struggling against a combination of slightly more difficult situations than are the non-problem boys.

Since our control of social adjustment is still so incomplete, and since the balance between socially acceptable and unacceptable conduct is so precarious, it is probable that not once but the combination of many social factors disturb the equilibrium of the delinquent class. No doubt it is the "last social straw" that breaks the problem boy's back-bone.

CHAPTER V

THE LOCATION OF THE HOME IN THE DISTRICT AND MOBILITY OF THE FAMILY

Some of the influences on boys in this study in their home surroundings have been discussed. Next in order comes the territory immediately surrounding the home or the neighborhood. These environmental influences affect both the problem and non-problem boy. Nevertheless, there are some distinctions to be made and some facts to be disclosed in the study of these environmental factors.

The first part of this chapter relates to the distance of problem and non-problem boys from railroad property, business, school, playground and church with the commonly accepted idea that the further away a boy dwells from any given factor the less influence this factor would have upon him. Several of the results of this study do not coincide with the commonly accepted idea. For instance, it has been discovered that nearness to school has nothing whatever to do with the matter of eliminating trouble cases. In fact, the opposite of the above statement is often found to be the case. The facts are presented in the following order:

1. Location and railroad property.
2. Location and business.
3. Location and school.
4. Location and playground.
5. Location and church.

Railroad Project

This district is almost dissected by the tracks of the Grand Trunk Railroad. This trackage in the last year has been lowered about twenty feet below the street levels, but for the purpose of this study this change in environment for the better cannot be taken into consideration because the data were gathered before the change.

With a home situated near the railroad tracks there is a very good chance for the boy to use these tracks as a sort of playground or a vast and interesting territory to explore. In a railroad area of this kind the boy is very apt to run across the vagrant or lobo. These persons of easy life and light moral standing are prone to use boys, of the age found in this study, to help them obtain a mail or to carry out some other piece of unsocial work. A few close contacts with an individual of this floating type may do much to change the attitude of the adolescent boy. Park and Burgess in their book "The City"⁽⁵⁾ give a wonderfully understanding discussion of the lobo, his habits and the forces which are at work enticing him into this way of living. The following table shows the variation in distance from the railroad of the homes of the problem and non-problem boys in the Miller School district.

(5) Park and Burgess "The City" Page 155

TABLE III. TABLE SHOWING DISTANCE FROM RAILROAD PROPERTY

	<u>Problem Boys</u>	<u>Non-Problem Boys</u>
Near (same block)	13	5
Far (three blocks or more)	16	21
Two blocks	3	6
Total	32	32

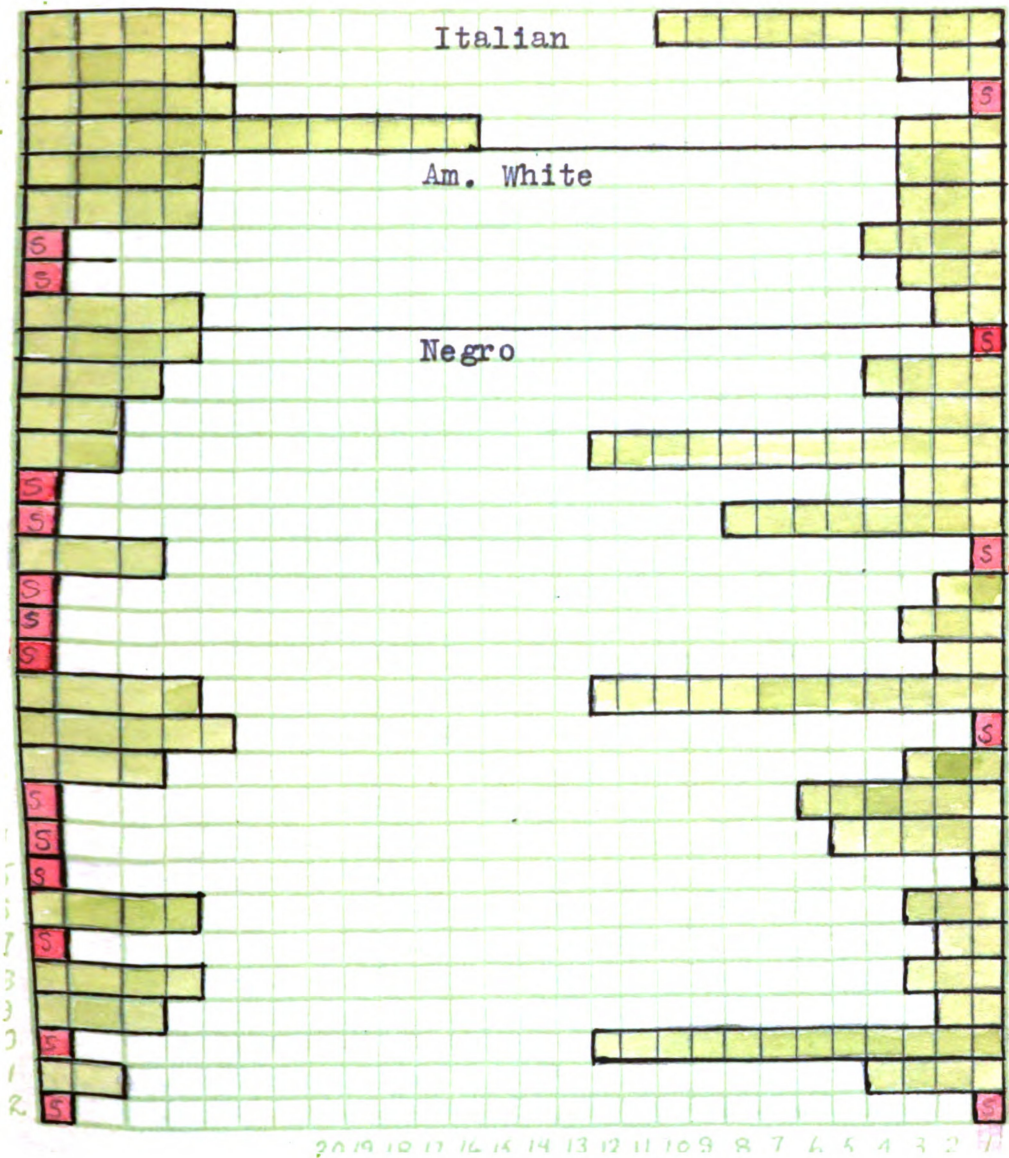
This table is transferred to chart form to give a picture of the individual cases.

The following excerpt from one of the problem boy's life story gives an insight into the lure of the railroad right of way. The story is without correction.

"I moved from there when I was five years old and live off Monroe I lived to houses from the railroad a playmate of mine name Steve we'd go down by the railroad and hich the trains we' thrw some of the coal off and sell it for 35¢ a bushel the first school I went was Basstro school. Hated the principle I liked my second grade teacher I liked school then, The first time I did something wrong was when I was coming past a peanut factory the window was open there was iron bars around the windows and salted peanuts in a large cooker beneath the window a boy in the school by the name of Joe was with me Joe and I found a long spoon and we put in through the window and spoon by spoon we got peanuts, Joe went and found a large shovel we started to shovel peanuts until we had a box full of them we went in a barn and divided them we sold about half of them. Some haloween my gang and I got stones and throw them at the back of the house. When

Chart No. 7.

DISTANCE FROM RAILROAD



Red square indicates less than one block



Each green square indicates one block of distance from the railroad.

Case No. 2. on the problem side lives four blocks from the railroad.

VIEWS OF THE RAILROAD ENTANGLEMENT



OF BOYS STUDIED IN DISTRICT

MAP #9

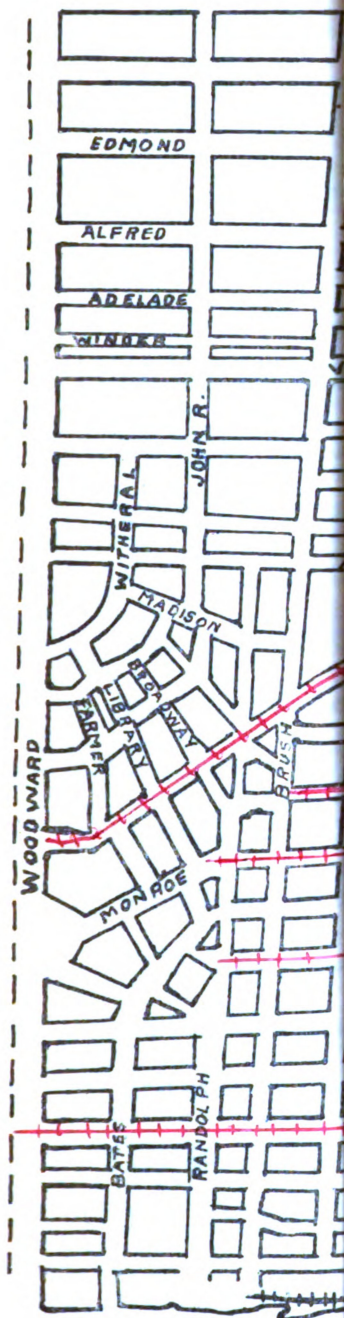
KEY TO MAP

The red squares indicate the place of residence of a problem case boy.

The green circles indicate the place of residence of a non-problem case boy.

Street car lines are shown in red.

Railroad tracks in black.



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I was 10 years some boys and I would go out on the farm and pick tomatoes and get 50¢ a bushel we race and see whod pick the most. I'D pick about 10 bushel.

In observing the following map locating the problem and non-problem case boys' homes the grouping of eighteen problem case boys along the railroad right of way seems significant. It follows out the findings summed up by Frederic M. Thrasher⁽⁹⁾ at Chicago that railroad property in large cities and delinquency go hand in hand.

On the preceding map showing the location of the problem and non-problem cases of this study it will be observed that on the western edge there is a grouping of non-problem cases which on the surface might seem significant. Upon the discovery of this grouping a second survey of this part of the district was made. This neighborhood bounded by Fort, Orleans, Cathrene, and Rivard is no better in any respect that could be discovered than the rest of the district. In fact to the observer the physical conditions found there are of the lowest grade in the district. The explanation of this grouping must lie in the fact that we are not taking into consideration all of the problem cases in the district and the falling of the chosen cases into this grouping is accidental. In the check up on this neighborhood an interview was obtained with Miss Selimeniski the Head Resident Director of the Franklin Street Settlement. The settlement is one of the most efficient in

(9) Thrasher, Frederic M. "The Gang" Page 157

VIEWS OF THE DISTRICT



Mixed business and residence



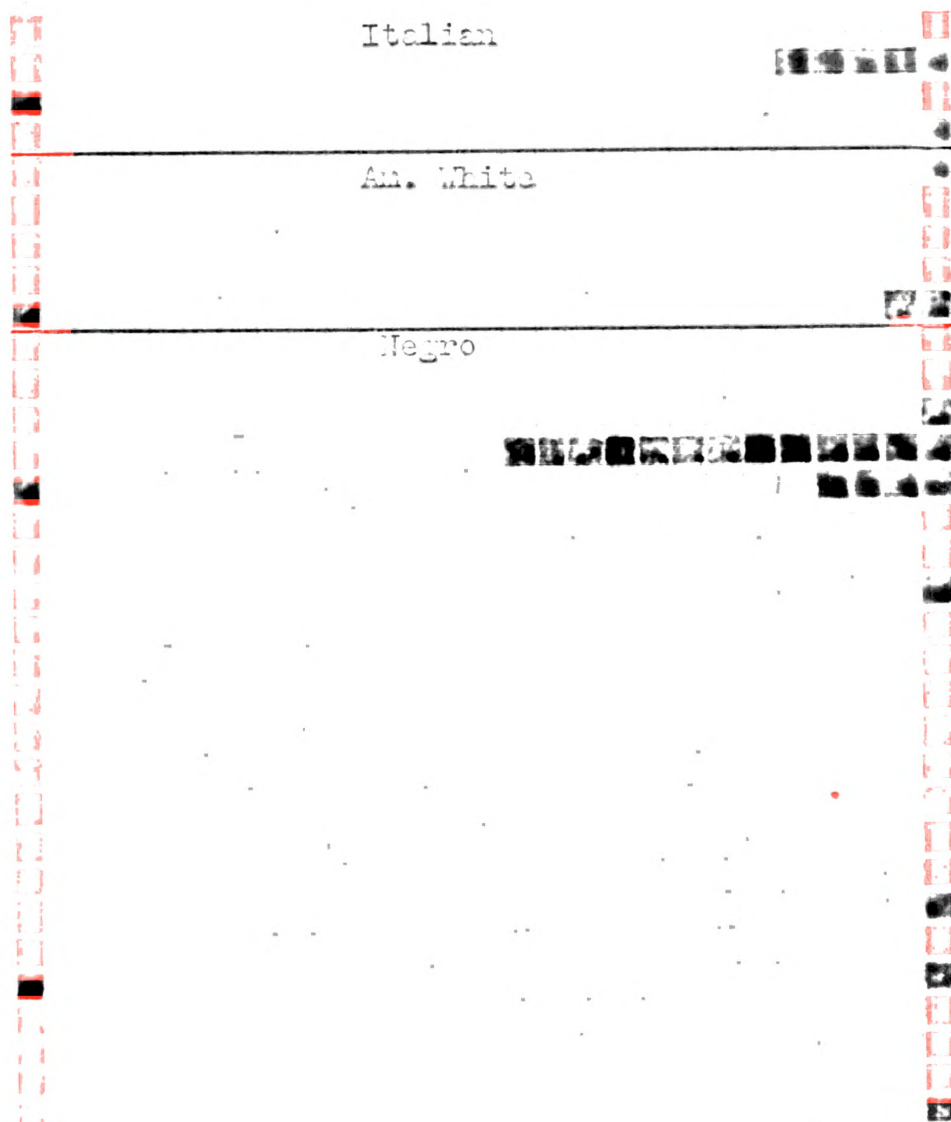
One of the homes

The city and is doing a wonderful work in the district herein discussed. Miss Selineniski concurs with our findings in regard to this neighborhood and further states that from her long experience in the district she believes, that neighborhood, containing this grouping of non-problem cases is one of the poorest districts in Detroit from the standpoint of the social worker. This statement seems to corroborate the theory that the location of this grouping of non-problem cases is accidental.

Distance from Business

This district is one of mixed business and residence. Nearly every block has at least one corner store. Many of the boys listed as living in the same block with business are living over or in the back of store buildings. As will be observed in the following Chart, No. 3 these conditions effect both the problem and non-problem boys. This table and the map on page 34, however, give a better idea of the low moral and social tone of the district. This last statement which seems to hold true has caused us often to wonder at the apparently healthy, normal, good boys and girls who are brought up in the surroundings disclosed by the aforementioned map. This emphasizes the fact that in an environment which on the surface is one of the poorest imagined may be found forces working which will bring a boy or girl through to respectable citizenship and a healthy, moral, socially efficient life.

DISTANCE FROM BUSINESS



Red square indicates that the boy lives in the same block with a place of business.



Each green square indicates one block from business.

Since beginning this study the writer has been transferred to another Intermediate School located in one of the better districts of Detroit. The matter of environment is brought home in a much stronger manner by this shift in districts. The children in this new district are American white from homes of ambitious parents who take pride in their offspring. The homes are new, mostly of brick veneer or well painted frame construction. Wide streets and well kept lawns abound in the district. In other words, there is an atmosphere of growth, alertness, and life in the new district in marked contrast to the feeling of decay, disintegration, and general drowsiness which is plainly felt on a tour through the district covered in this study. The difference between two situations are easily sensed by one who is in the least socially minded and must leave their lasting impression on the youth who is subjected to them.

Distance from Business

Distance from Business	Problem Case	Non-Problem Case
Same Block	28	21
One Block	4	7
More than one block		4
Total	32	32

The above figures show to the advantage of the non-problem boys in that fewer of them live in the same block with business places. A greater number of them live one block away and the four who live more than one block away

are all members of the non-problem group. It is understood that this grouping of cases might be accidental, but the results in each division of the chart are so consistent as to seem significant.

The map showing the location of business and manufacturing will be found on page 32 Chapter II.

Distance From School Building

A brief perusal of the following table and chart will show that distance from school has no bearing whatever on the production of problem cases in this study. If any conclusions are drawn they lead us to believe that the opposite of the situation would be true. This fact falls in line with another recent study. C. T. Coleman, Hammond High School, Hammond, Indiana,⁽¹⁰⁾ in a study in which he matches for sex and grade only, finds that the problem boys in his study, on the average, live nearer the school and that fewer of them are forced to walk to the building than the non-problem.

Distance to School

<u>Distance to School</u>	<u>Problem Case</u>	<u>Non-Prob. Case</u>
<u>Two Blocks or Less</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>From Two to Six Blocks</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Over Six Blocks</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>17</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>32</u>

Distance to Playgrounds

The following table shows the comparative distance of the two groups of boys from a play ground which is supervised by a play ground director. This table would seem to indicate that the playground's nearness has little influence in the correcting of the defects which tend to produce boy problems. The fact that the usual playground director leaves the grounds at nine o'clock in the evening thus leaving the boys to their own leadership undoubtedly has a bearing in this situation.

Distance To Playground

<u>Distance to Playground</u>	<u>Problem Case</u>	<u>Non-Prob. Case</u>
Three Blocks or Less	24	21
Three to Six Blocks	8	8
Over Six Blocks	0	3
Total	32	32

Distance From Church

Church membership and attendance will be discussed in the following chapter on "Social Organizations". Physical distance only, from the church attended will be discussed here.

In the following table it will be readily observed that if distance from church has much effect on the boys in this study it is in reverse order of what one would ordinarily expect. That is if we have the idea that handiness of a place

of worship tends to make for better traits in boys we shall be forced to look beyond this study for our proof.

Distance From Church

<u>Distance From Church</u>	<u>Problem Case</u>	<u>Non-Problem Case</u>
Two Blocks or Less	19	10
Two to Four Blocks	5	5
Over Four Blocks	8	17
Total	32	32

Different Religious Sects in The District

In order to show that the families of the boys in this study have a variety of choice in the matter of religious beliefs the names and locations of the churches in this district have been added.

The Churches listed here have been located on the map on page

<u>Church</u>	<u>Location</u>
Baptist (Colored)	St. Aubin and Mullet
Church of God (Colored)	Orleans and Mullet
Baptist (Colored)	Catherine and DeQuindre
St. John Presbyterian (Colored)	Catherine and Dubois
Baptist (Colored)	Sherman and Rivard
St. John's German Protestant	Sherman and Rivard
St. Joseph's Catholic	Jay and Orleans
German Lutheran	Jos. Campau and Jay
African M. E. (Colored)	Chene and Jay
Church of God (Colored)	Chene and Jay
St. Mary's Catholic	Congress and Orleans
Our Lady of Help (Catholic)	Elmwood and Congress
Italian M. E.	McDougall and Lafayette
French Catholic	Dubois and Fort
Santa Maria Catholic	Hastings and Fort
Church Catholic	Monroe and St. Antoine

Hall Colored Baptist	Monroe and Riopelle
Church (Colored)	Dubois and Chene
Church (Colored)	Dubois near Chene
Presbyterian	Clinton and Jos. Campau
Church Baptist (Colored)	Clinton and Jos. Campau
Catholic (Syrian)	Charlevoix and McDougall
Catholic (Syrian)	Arndt and McDougall
Baptist (Colored)	Arndt and McDougall
Lutheran	Benson and McDougall
Church of God (Colored)	St. Antoine and Erskine

Mobility

A large part of the city's population that dwells in rented houses and rooms is in a constant state of shifting. This shifting instead of being a matter of years is more often a matter of months and days. The neighborhood contacts for the child of such a shifting family are temporary and if the family moves out of the district the friendships formed earlier are not likely to be lasting. However, if the family remains in the district the child's friendships may be made more lasting through the medium of the school environment.

With this ceaseless moving there must come to the family a loss of stability and an attitude of uncertainty. This attitude must be reflected in the mental life of the child who is forced to live under such conditions. In the district studied this shifting of families from place to place due to economic and other reasons is very pronounced. It must have its derogatory effect on both the problem and non-problem boy.

The following chart will give an idea of the shifting which is taking place in this district. These figures were

obtained by means of a questionnaire answered by approximately one thousand four hundred students of the Miller school.

MOBILITY OF FAMILIES IN MILLER DISTRICT

Time that family lived at one location

Race	No. of families	$\frac{1}{2}$ year No %	1 year No %	2 year No %	3 years No %	4 years No %	5 years No %	over 5 years No %
Colored	901	262 2	186 20.6	136 15.1	119 13.2	47 5.2	32 3.5	119 13.1
White	500	66 13.2	55 11.0	60 12.0	46 9.2	38 7.6	35 7.0	200 40.0
Total	1401	328	241	196	165	85	67	319 53.1

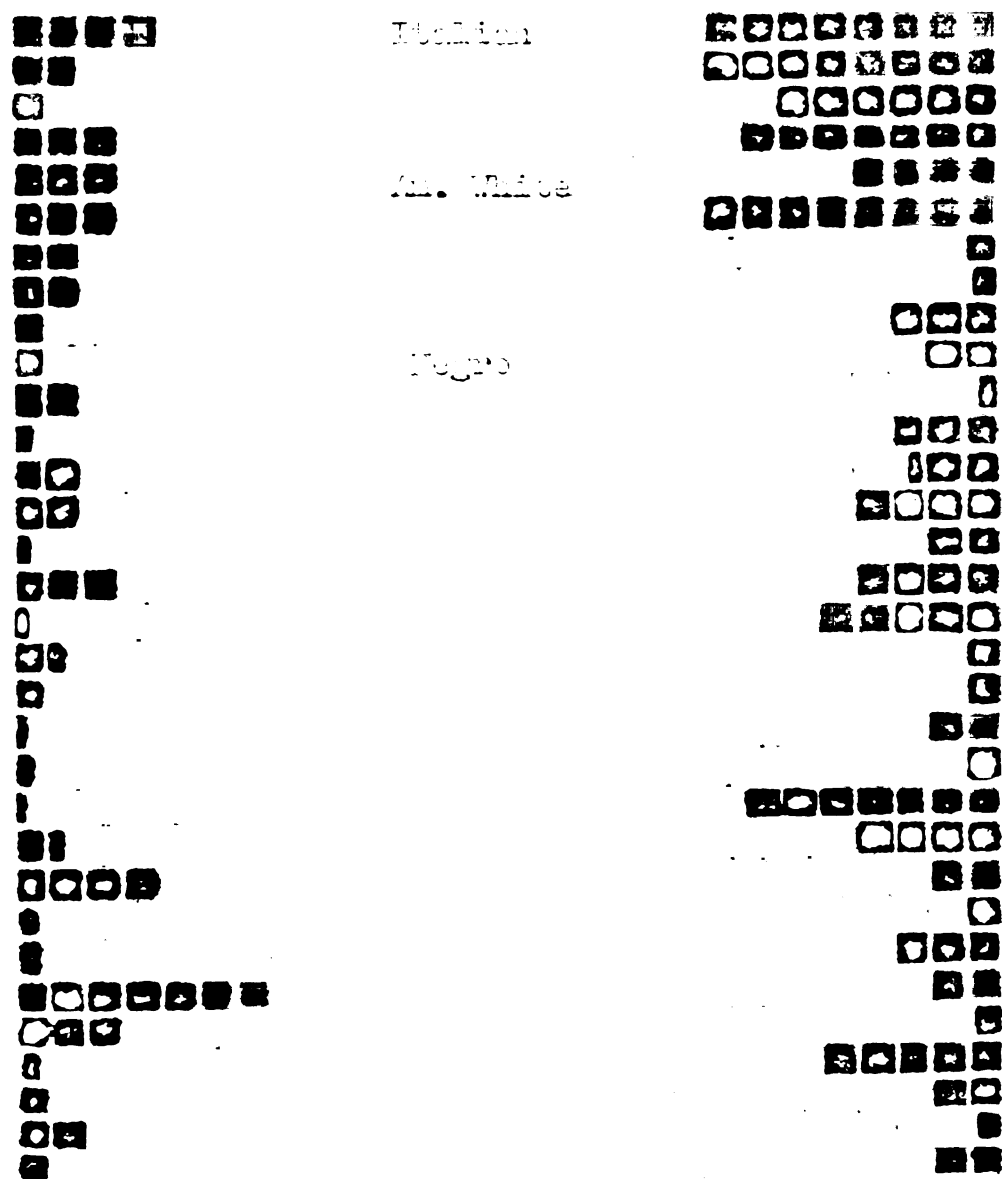
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN DETROIT OF FAMILIES IN MILLER DISTRICT


Race	No. of families	1 year No. %	3 years No %	6 years No %	9 years No %	12 years No %	15 years No %	over 15 years No %
Colored	902	116 12.8	110 12.2	213 23.6	226 25.0	164 18.2	60 6.7	13 1.5
White	501	39 7.8	45 9.0	54 10.8	49 9.6	95 19.0	69 13.8	150 30.0
Total	1403	155	155	267	286	239	129	163 31.5


For the purpose of comparison the graphs of the problem and non-problem boys with each other.

Chart No. 9

HOW LONG HE REMAINS IN EACH RACE



 Each green square shows (one year of residence)

 Red square indicates (residence since birth)

Length of time at present location

	1/2 year No	1 year No	2 years No	3 years No	4 years No	5 years No	over 5 years No	families
Problem	6	6	7	5	3	1	4	32
Non-Problem	9	3	6	2	3	3	6	32
Total	15	9	13	7	6	4	10	64

Time at Previous Address

	1/2 year No	1 year No	2 years No	3 years No	4 years No	5 years No	over 5 years No	Families
Problem	9	5	10	3	2	0	3	32
Non-Problem	4	4	7	4	4	2	7	32
Total	13	9	17	7	6	2	10	

In reviewing these tables the general characteristics of the district must be kept in mind. The non-problem child seems to have some advantage in permanency as shown by the cases who have lived five years and longer in one place. The following graph shows this in a different way.

The foregoing table and chart No. 9 showing length of residence at the previous address present us with the better picture of the situation because they represent a finished incident; while the present address residence is not complete and there is no way of telling how long our subjects will live at that address.

In the preceding Chart No. 9, the non-problem boys have lived longer at the previous address than the problem. While only nine of the problem lived at their previous address longer than their matching non-problem family. This indicates that mobility influences the problem and non-problem status of the cases here studied to quite an extent. Permanency of home conditions certainly tends to be reflected in the social reaction of the cases here reported.

In summing up the items taken up in this chapter it is evident that unkept railroad right of ways, and the mobility of the family have considerable bearing on the making of problem case boys.

The items of Distance from Business, Schools, and Churches, seems to have little bearing in this matter of problem case production. Distance from Playgrounds probably enters to the degree in which the boys affected "hang around" the playground nights after the playground supervisor has left. The gang activities elsewhere described flourish from the time the playground director leaves until the various individuals, of a necessity, have to return to their homes for the night.

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CHAPTER VI

INFLUENCE OF LEADERSHIP IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Boys' Organizations in the Miller School

When these data were gathered, the Miller School supported only one Boy Scout troop, no other school clubs having been organized. This troop had one of the men teachers of the school as a scout master. The membership was restricted to white boys who were selected very carefully, only the best boys of the school being admitted to membership. It can be well understood, this organization was of no help whatever in the correction of the anti-social habits acquired by the problem boys who make up this study. Here, indeed, was a very fine field for real constructive work with the boys and girls of this particular school enrollment.

The right kind of boy scout leaders are not numerous for the regular troops, but to obtain the exact type necessary to hold a group of boys such as are being concerned in this study was almost impossible. This fact and conditions in the district are being more fully sensed now by the executives of the Miller Intermediate School and clubs are being formed which are sponsored by various teachers. These clubs are organized to give every boy and girl in school a chance to belong and participate in the club activity. This seems to be an auspicious start and it is to be hoped the results will be of such good influence as to warrant the formation

of many more clubs.

Training in living and cooperating with one another is one of the elements which needs great emphasis put upon it for the benefit of the children brought up in the environment of this school district. Reared with a background of quarrelsome families and neighbors, where better can the children learn a kindly forbearance toward the other person's opinion and an amiable working out of community problems than in well organized clubs governed by their own associates?

A partial list of the recently organized clubs follows:

<u>Boys Clubs</u>	<u>Girls Clubs</u>
School Service	School Service
Debating	Debating
Radio	English
Stamp	Mathematics
Mathematics	History
Aeroplane	Sewing
History	Dramatic
Dramatic	Cooking
Boat	Housekeeping
Fisher Coach	Art
Traffic	

Church Membership and Attendance in Relation to Problem and Non-Problem Boys

The efficiency of the church in helping boys depends on many other environmental factors. In order to interpret the helpfulness of the church to the boy we should know something about the culture of the home, and the economic status of it. The attitude of the nationality to which the boy belongs, toward church attendance is of greater importance than the fact of membership.

William H. Hays,

"... the chief of discussing religious education or religious tract work in any form, on account of the strong controversial aspects immediately arising. In any case, however, one finds no sound agreement against the application of efficiency studies to this form of tract work --- that is if such studies can be fairly and honestly carried out." (11)

In handling any data of a religious nature, bias is so liable to creep in unconsciously that conclusions drawn from this type of findings may be misleading. This is not reflecting on the integrity of the religious worker in any way but emotions and "sets" are very apt to function in that part of a study affecting the standing of religion. With this in mind the following table on church membership of the problem and non-problem boys' families is presented.

(11) Hays, William ----- "The Individual Delinquent"
Page 143

Table #4

OFFICIAL RECORD

Pair No.	Problem Family			Non-Problem Family		
	Son	Father	Mother	Son	Father	Mother
1.	M	M	M	-	-	M
2.	M	M	M	-	M	M
3.	-	M	M	M	M	M
4.	M	M	M	M	-	M
5.	Q	-	M	-	-	-
6.	-	-	M	M	M	M
7.	-	-	M	-	-	M
8.	-	-	-	-	-	-
9.	-	-	-	-	-	M
10.	-	-	-	M	M	M
11.	M	M	-	-	M	M
12.	M	-	-	-	-	M
13.	M	-	M	M	-	-
14.	M	-	M	M	-	M
15.	M	M	-	-	-	-
16.	-	M	M	-	M	M
17.	-	-	-	M	M	M
18.	M	M	-	M	M	M
19.	M	M	-	-	M	-
20.	M	M	M	-	-	-
21.	-	-	-	M	-	-
22.	M	M	M	M	-	M
23.	M	M	-	-	-	-
24.	M	-	-	M	-	M
25.	-	-	-	M	-	M
26.	-	M	M	-	-	M
27.	M	-	M	-	M	M
28.	-	M	M	M	-	M
29.	M	M	-	-	-	M
30.	M	-	-	-	-	M
31.	-	M	-	-	-	M
32.	-	-	-	M	-	M
Totals	17	14	13	15	20	25

Church Attendance

The following table is added to give a graphic picture of father, mother and son attending church regularly, that is once a week while church is held and the attendant is in good health.

Thirteen of the problem boys attend church regularly and only nine of the non-problem. On the surface this would seem to indicate that the churches in this district do not serve to deter its adolescent members from delinquency. Sixteen of the mothers of the problem boys attend church regularly to twenty one of the mothers of the non-problems. In this last fact may be the key to the situation. As it is a well known fact that the present tendency in religion is for the mother to carry on the religious work for the family. Therefore the mother's regular attendance at church may denote a more normal home situation.

Table #5

REGULAR CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Pair No.	Problem Family			Non-Problem Family		
	Son	Father	Mother	Son	Father	Mother
1.	-	-	R	R	R	R
2.	R	R	R	R	R	R
3.	-	-	-	R	R	R
4.	R	-	-	R	-	R
5.	-	-	-	-	R	R
6.	-	-	-	R	R	R
7.	-	-	-	R	R	R
8.	-	-	-	-	-	-
9.	-	-	-	-	-	-
10.	-	-	-	-	-	-
11.	R	R	-	-	-	R
12.	-	-	-	-	-	R
13.	R	R	R	-	R	R
14.	R	R	R	-	R	R
15.	-	R	R	R	R	R
16.	-	R	R	-	-	-
17.	R	-	-	R	R	R
18.	R	-	R	-	-	R
19.	-	-	R	-	-	-
20.	-	-	R	-	-	-
21.	-	R	R	-	R	-
22.	R	R	R	-	-	R
23.	-	R	R	-	-	R
24.	R	-	-	-	-	-
25.	-	-	-	-	-	-
26.	R	R	R	-	-	R
27.	R	R	-	-	R	R
28.	R	-	-	-	-	R
29.	R	R	R	R	R	R
30.	-	R	R	-	-	-
31.	-	R	R	-	-	R
32.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	12	14	16	9	11	21



On the way home from church



This house is occupied

Clubs and Lodges

The number of social organizations the family belongs to is an index of that family's interest and social intercourse. It tends to show the strength of the ties between the given family and the community. The data in the following table shows that the problem families belong to forty two clubs or lodges, the non-problem group participated in only thirty-nine. If we sum up the families who belong to two or more clubs or lodges we find that this order is reversed with eleven for the problem cases to twelve for the non-problem.

The following figures show how nearly the two groups are equal in this respect.

MEMBERSHIP IN CLUBS AND LODGES RUN BY THE VARIOUS FAMILIES

Fair No.	Problem Family	Non-Problem Family
1.	1	-
2.	-	5
3.	1	1
4.	2	-
5.	1	2
6.	1	5
7.	-	1
8.	2	1
9.	-	1
10.	3	-
11.	2	-
12.	-	2
13.	-	2
14.	1	-
15.	1	2
16.	1	3
17.	1	2
18.	3	-
19.	1	-
20.	1	-
21.	1	1
22.	-	-
23.	4	1
24.	2	2
25.	1	2
26.	1	2
27.	2	1
28.	1	1
29.	3	2
30.	1	-
31.	2	-
32.	2	-
Total	42	39

Membership in a number of diversified social organizations is a mark of social consciousness. In a study of membership in social organizations it is necessary to obtain not only the number but also the kind of activities carried on. The well rounded citizen will belong to organizations of various activities.

On the following page is a list of the names of the organizations which are numerated in the foregoing table. One very striking instance is brought out by the listing of the names of the various organizations. Three of the four Italian fathers in the problem group belong only to an Italian club, the other members of the family do not belong to any leisure time organizations.

In observing the non-problem list of clubs and lodges it is found that none of the four Italian fathers of non-problem boys belong to Italian clubs. On the surface this seems to indicate that the Italian fathers of the non-problem boys have more completely given up the life of their fatherland and turned to really living the life of their adopted country. This would show that the family of the non-problem father was firmly established itself in the new country while the problem boys' family has not thoroughly made this adjustment.

The Woodman Lodge here listed and occurring in a problem case list is an insurance organization without regular social meetings of any kind. One of the listed boy scouts on the problem case list was not active in scouting. If these de-

ductions are made from the boy's list of the problem cases, the non-problem boy's list is superior both in numbers belonging and in the quality of organizations in which they have membership.

NAIES OF CLUBS AND LODGES

Problem Boys Family			Non-Problem Boys Family		
Father	Mother	Boy	Father	Mother	Boy
4 Mason	1 Zion	3 Young	1 Y.M.C.A.	1 Church	6 Y.M.C.A.
1 Woodman	2 Woodman	Woodman	1 Builders Club		3 Boy
3 Italian	1 Eastern	2 Y.M.C.A.	2 Elk	1 Lodge	Scouts
3 K. of P.	Star	2 Boy Scouts	1 Lodge	1 E. Star	1 Young
1 Elk		1 Lutheran	2 Masonic		Scribes
1 Moose		1 Sunshine	1 K. of P.		1 Frank
		Band			lin
		1 Franklin St.			Street
		Settlement			Settle-
					ment
13	4	10	9	3	11

Gangs

In the larger cities where the slum area with its attendant poverty and disorganization exists the formation of gangs of delinquents is likely to occur. In this connection Thrasher says:

*Gangs represent the spontaneous effort of boys to create a society for themselves where none adequate to their needs exists. What boys get out of such association that they do not get otherwise under the conditions that adult society imposes is the thrill and zest of participation in common interests, more especially in corporate action, in hunting, capture, conflict, flight, and escape. Conflict with other gangs and the

world about them furnishes the occasion for many of their group activities." (12)

One of the antisocial activities of the gang is truancy from school. Factory locations, railroad property, and markets are fertile soil for truancy and gang development.

"As a rule, truancy is little thought of, but in actual fact, it is usually the first step on the downward stair to crime, the first premonitory portent of far more desperate misdemeanors. The succeeding stages are self-evident. If a boy plays truant he has from the outset to cover up his movements by prolonged and hardy lying. Having shirked one lesson with impunity, he will think it no more hazardous to shirk a second. The next fine day, having skulked off by himself for a whole afternoon he will deem it wiser to lie low until night falls, when his parents are tired and perhaps in bed." (13)

If the truant is successful in his first truancy because of favorable conditions or lack of interest on the part of parents, he is well set on his way to further delinquencies.

All of the problem cases here studied have been truant from school many times, this being one of the reasons for their selection as members of the coaching group. The writer has often gone out in the morning after school called and "picked up" several of them from the street corners. The car of the writer espied, the truant usually made no attempt to escape but came when called with a "well I'm caught, might as well go to school" attitude.

Stealing is the leading activity of the adolescent gang. The writer by dint of careful questioning was initiated into

(12) Thrasher, Frederic M.
(13) Burt, Cyril

"The Gang" Page 37
"The Young Delinquent" Page 163

the mystery of stealing from a peddler's cart. "The way to do it," says Sam, "is to pick a peddler who is old cause he can't run so fast and the young ones sock you harder. When you see the older peddler get back in the wagon after he has sold something and start his horse, that is the time to snatch something and run. If the peddler see you he will have to stop his horse before he can get out of his wagon. That gives you time enough to get away."

When the family of the gang member lives near a railroad, the stealing of fuel is often an activity of the gang. Parents who are hard pressed financially are liable to overlook the taking of articles from a large, impersonal corporation and in this way encourage the boy to further depredation. This situation is unfortunate in that the delinquent is further assured that the thing he is doing is not really bad at all but that he is furthering the interests of his parents by bringing home material needed in maintaining the home.

As a general rule boy members of a gang do not consider it misconduct to steal when the gang is working together. The approbation of the rest of the gang seems to make up for any unsocial aspect the gang members can see in the situation.

One of the favorite occupations of the boy gangs in the district studied is "Shooting Craps". The scene of this exciting activity is usually an alley where the game can be protected by the outjut of some building. An alley open at

both ends is chosen and during the dice shooting activities a look-out is maintained at the openings of the alley. These look-outs are placed so as to give warning of the approach of a "cop" or an equally suspicious character. The source of the money which is used in these crap games is varied. Stolen material sold to the junk man is one of the ever-used means of providing it. Lunch money given to the boy by the parents for use in the school lunch room contributes its share. Stolen bicycles sold by the thief is another source of income.

Another means used by the gang to get money is the "rolling of drunks". This is a typical gang operation and is carried out in the following manner. The victim, a man who has taken on more anti-Volstead beverage than he can well carry, is set upon by the gang. Several of the larger members working in unison take him down and hold him while other members go through his pockets and take what money they find. When this is accomplished the gang simply scurries away from the intoxicated one, leaving him prostrate on the ground minus his money, but otherwise none the worse for his experience.

Thrasher well states the situation in saying the "gang is a phenomena of adolescence."⁽¹⁴⁾ As the gang member becomes older the gang of his adolescent period may disintegrate, or it may emerge into the adult gang, but in any event the influence of gang life in boyhood has become one

of the most difficult problems of society.

The district covered in this study was the scene of the growth and development of Detroit's famous "Purple Gang". Originally the basis of this gang was several brothers whose name the gang took. This gang with additions and desertions was an outgrowth of an adolescent group which carried over into manhood. This one continuous group has cost the State of Michigan and the City of Detroit an immense amount of money which has been used in their prosecution as law violators.

Following are some typical gang names in the district studied.

Phantoms	Chene Street Gang
Billy Bunkers	Lightenings
Vagabond Night Hawks	Catherine Street Gang
Black Riders of America	Red Circle
Eskimos	We'll Go Club
Labaido Boxing Club	Bud Billikens
McDougall Alley	Ripper Athletic Club
Franklin St. Settlement	Hunt Athletics
Chestnut Gang	Kit Kats
Maple Street	Fighting Yanks
Chase Blood Gang	Myrtle Gang
Black Ge Pea	Hendricks Gang
Red Arrows	St. Aubin
Busy Bees	

Examination of the above gang names tends to show nationalities and activities.

The following Chart No. 10 shows the distribution of gang membership among the problem and non-problem boys. In the problem group there are fifteen members of gangs well enough organized to have a name and in the non-problem group

There are seven. These results show that gang memberships has a very positive correlation with problem production, and that there is a fertile field for social workers who can take these gangs over and lead them gradually to become social rather than antisocial organizations.

In referring back to the discussion of the health chart in Chapter III, the fact is mentioned that non-problem Cases 19 and 22 seemed to qualify for problem cases if health defects were taken as the criteria. Case 22 later became a member of the problem group and Case 19 did not.

In observing the foregoing chart we find that non-problem Case 22 was one of the gang members of his group while Case No. 19 was not. This may help to explain why one of these boys later became a problem case while the other, in spite of his health defects, seemingly made right contacts with society.

It should be restated that the findings of this study in no way influenced the selection of boys for the problem case rooms.

Conclusions

1. Church membership as considered in this study seems to have no effect in hindering or producing problem cases.

2. Non-problem boys belong to more and better social organizations than problem boys.

3. Gang membership is significant in that there are more than twice as many problem boys belonging to gangs than

Chart No. 10.

GANG MEMBERSHIP

<input type="checkbox"/>	Italian	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>		
<hr/>		
	Am. White	
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
<hr/>		
	Negro	
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>		
		<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>		



Each block indicates that the represented boy is a member of a gang well enough organized to have a name.

non-problem boys.

4. Boys' organizations such as Boy Scouts do not reach the problem cases in the district included in this study.

CHAPTER VII

LEISURE TIME

One of the valuable activities, if persued correctly, in the use of leisure time, is that of reading. Literature may help to produce either a good or bad attitude toward society. This attitude is undoubtedly the result of the kind of literature supplied to the growing boy.

Cheap Literature

One of the causes of delinquent behavior most exploited nowadays is the pernicious printed story. The effect images, established by poor stories, have on the individual following unfortunate acquaintance with harmful literature, may be most powerful and frequently recurrent. The perusal of a connected story of an exploit is especially bad.

Ordinary mundane happenings tend to be uninteresting to the habitual reader of cheap literature. Out of this sort of story comes the urge summed up in that expression of modern youth "to get a thrill". This attempt of the growing generation to "get a thrill" is the cause of many unsocial acts on their part.

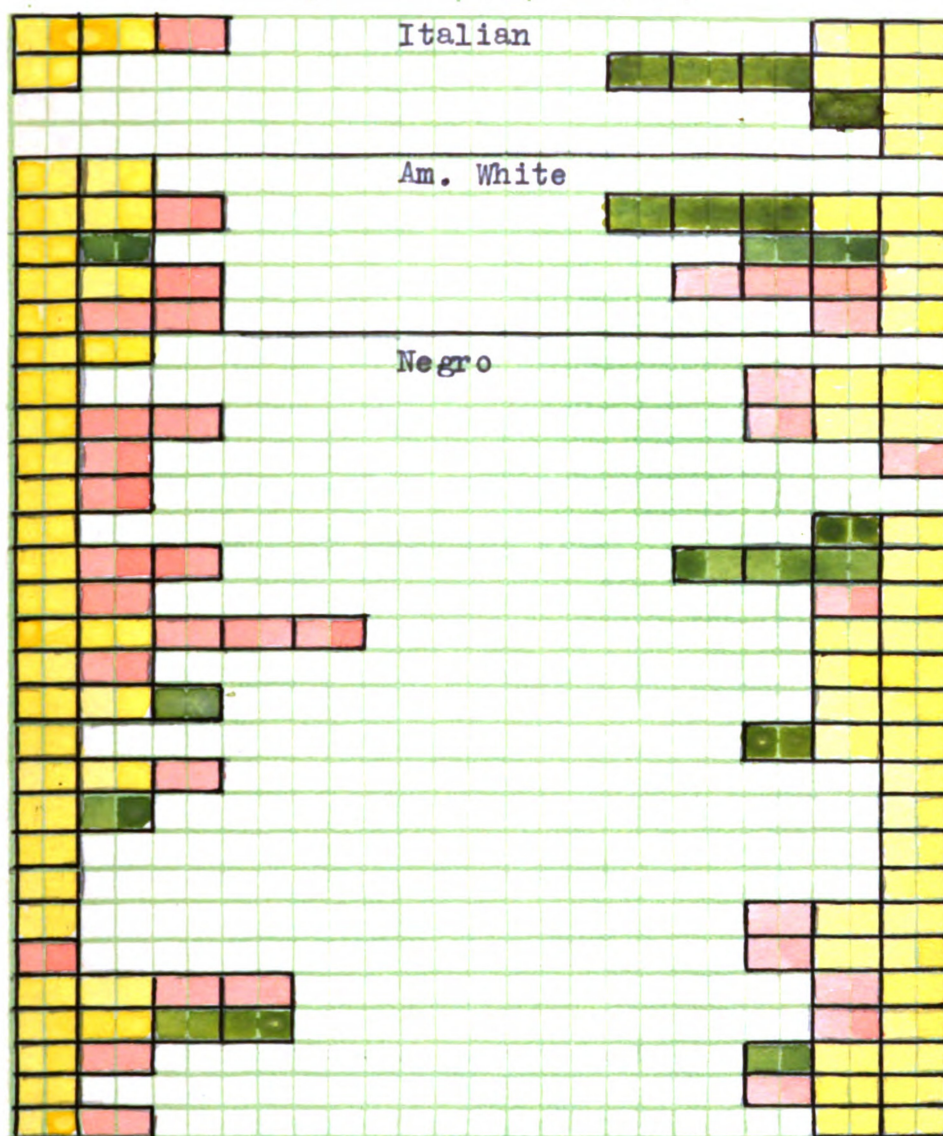
Newspapers

Getting into print in the newspapers probably figures in sensational impulses to which many young boys as well as older ones are subject. Newspapers have this thing to account for in reporting crimes and robberies. The whole plan of procedure of the malefactor is written up for the impressionable adolescent to read and use as a model is he is so inclined.

In this study no effect of the newspaper was shown, but

Chart No 11.

PERIODICALS GOING INTO THE HOMES



Yellow block indicates News paper



Red block indicates Poor fiction magazine



Green block indicates Standard fiction magazine

the personal observation of the writer in dealing with the problem case boys daily leads him to believe that smartly executed robberies and gang killings tend to make the delinquent surer of himself and his idea of the best way to get along.

Newspapers contain various types of literature, and the reader of any type of reading matter can find the type he wishes to read in any large city newspaper. It is all there, from a very high class editorial to the lowest, foulest of crimes. In this way the newspaper simply supplements the type of reading material that the individual has formed the habit of reading.

A casual glance at Chart No. 10 shows most of the green, which represents standard fiction, on the side of the non-problem boy's home; while the greater share of red, representing poor fiction is to be found on the side of the chart which represents the problem boy's home.

Poor Fiction

The term poor fiction is here taken to mean those periodicals which the public library does not subscribe for and those which the families of medium or higher culture do not care to have in their homes to be read by the boy or girl who is in the adolescent stage of development. These periodicals are the type that appeal over strongly to the sex and adventure impulses of the reader. The adventures related are overdrawn with often an underworld hero or the Indian killing hero of the old frontier. The sex stories generally marked by some

such title as "She Loved Another's Husband", reek with unhealthy mental reactions for the adolescent reader.

Standard Fiction

Standard Fiction is here taken to describe those periodicals which may be found on the periodical shelves of our public library and which are subscribed to by families of unquestionable moral standards and of good report in their community.

A list of the various magazines or periodicals subscribed to by families represented in the study, together with the number of families subscribing for each publication follows:

Woodman	1	True Stories	16
Good Housekeeping	3	True Romances	1
McClures	1	Eye Opener	3
Mother's World	1	Detective	4
Life	1	Western	2
Ladies Home Journal	2	Love Stories	2
Boy Scout	1	College Humor	1
Strength	2	Pith	1
American Boy	1	The Flying Ace	1
Popular Mechanics	3	Movie Magazine	1
Sat. Evening Post	1		
Mother's Home Life	1		

Although there are fifty periodicals distributed among sixty-four families, some taking several, and others, none. There are represented only seventeen periodicals which could be classed as standard. This seems a very meager amount of good reading material to be spread among sixty-four families.

As stated before, the reading material that is carried into the home by the magazines determines the kind of material which is read in the newspaper. The reader of a standard fiction magazine can find in the newspaper the same kind of

standard material to read; while the reader of poor fiction can find the scare heads of holings, murders, and court trials to further whet his appetite.

Movies

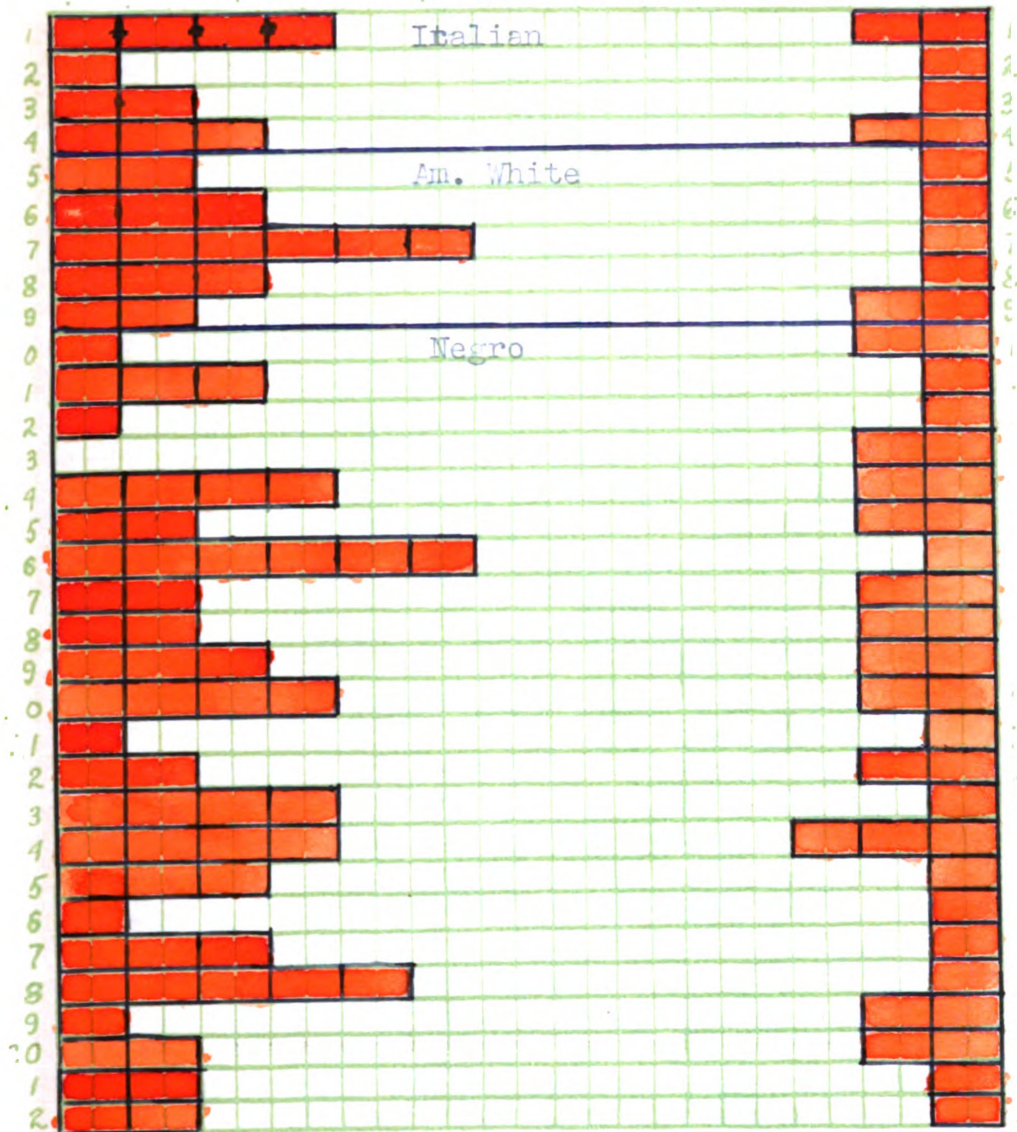
The effect of the moving picture is even more intensive than that of printed matter. Chapters from life histories of the hero and heroine are depicted. The breaking open of a safe, the holdup of a train, and the effort at suicide are all presented in such fashion that they are found to recur as a memory picture of detailed events. Added force comes from the concrete issues which are represented.

High priced plays, as a rule, are not seen by these adolescents, and it is doubtful if theatres ever influence toward criminalistic conduct except at this impressionable age. Melodramas urge to action much as moving pictures do. The main point of contact between movies and problem case boys is in the connection the boy makes of the things he sees with his everyday life.

The following figures give an insight into the ability of the cheap movie found in this district to draw the attendance of these impressionable problem and non-problem boys:

Frequency of Attendance		
	Problem	Non-Problem
Once a week or less	7	17
Two times a week	10	14
Three times a week	7	1
More than three times a week	0	0
Total Number of Cases	22	32

TIMES TO MOVIES PER WEEK



Each block indicates one attendance at the movies per week.

In observing Chart No. 12 on movie attendance one is struck by the regularity and evenness of attendance of the non-problem boys. It appears as if there must be some definiteness of understanding between these boys and their parents in regard to this matter of going to the picture show.

On the other hand, in the case of the problem boys, the variation in the number of times in attendance shows a lack of control or interest on the part of the boy's parents. A parent who would allow his child to attend a picture five or six times a week, either does not care about his offspring, or is unable to control his movements. Certainly an attendance of four, five or six times a week at a movie would of necessity interfere seriously with the boy's work at school. This one fact would be the starting point from which would most certainly begin a series of complications in his school life that could result in nothing else than the boy's dissatisfaction with school life. Poor school work and recriminations on the part of the teacher not understanding the situation could have no other result. This natural falling off in school attainment is just another handicap placed upon the boy by the lack of foresight and good judgment on the part of the parents. When we add to this forestated bad effect of movie thrillers we get some idea of the wrong being done the boy who is subjected to these influences.

The interpretation of the data on movie attendance leads

one to the conclusion that over attendance tends to contribute to the production of problem case boys.

In the problem case boy's story which follows is found a reference to this frequent attendance at the movies.

The Story of My Life

I first remember my father and mother in Chattanooga, Tenn. Sitting in the window with me.

I remember the house when I first lived at Williams Street in Chattanooga, Tenn.

My first playmate was James Alan, we played in the barn mostly.

I entered school at the age of five. I entered in the Capron School.

Miss Brown was a good teacher, she was good to me. But I hated Mrs. -----.

The first thing I did wrong and knew it was when I called a boy a -----.

The first time I got in trouble, was when I broke a window for the fun of it.

In 1911 when the panic was on my father was out of a job. And we had to do without a lot of things.

At the age of five, I liked to go to school. But I don't now.

At the age of ten I liked to go to the show. I went almost every night.

When I told my mother, that I was going to Belle Isle.
But when to the sand pile by the river. And started rolling
down the hill and almost rolled into the river.

The Automobile

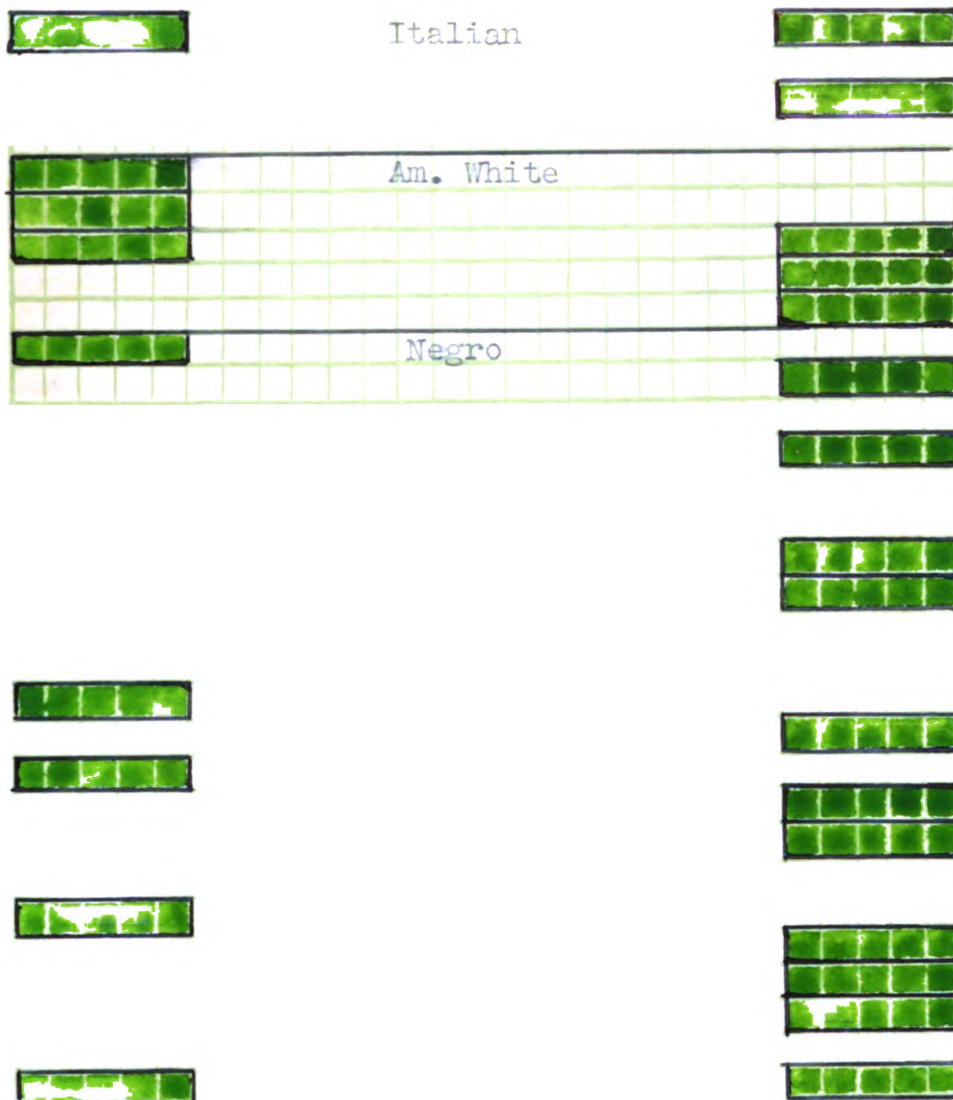
The automobile is a new factor entering into the influence
on family life. Much is being written on the subject of the
automobile and its connection with delinquency. One set of
educators⁽¹⁵⁾ list as the six major causes of delinquency:
(1) Automobiles, (2) Movies, (3) Dance halls, (4) Liquor, (5)
Broken homes, (6) Magazines.

The automobile affects the home in so many different ways
that it is quite unsafe to make any definite generalizations
about its influence. An automobile can do just as much on the
side of home solidarity as it can do to produce delinquency.
The way the car is put in use in the home and who is allowed to
drive it have a great deal to do with its effect upon the
home atmosphere. There is no question about the fact that a
parent who allows his child the unrestricted use of an automobile
is very liable to be unconsciously contributing to the child's
delinquency. But on the other hand an automobile that is the
pride of the family and stands for higher standards of living
in that family must be considered as a source of good influence
in the home of its possessors.

Chart No. 13 shows the ownership of automobiles by the prob-
lem and non-problem boys' families. Here we find ten of the

(15) Article in "Michigan Education Journal" April 1930, p. 491

Chart No. 13
CAR OWNERSHIP



Each block indicates that the family of the boy owns an automobile.

families of the problem boys owning automobiles while sixteen of the families of the non-problem boys are of sufficient affluence to be able to purchase one. This distribution shows at least, that more families of the non-problem boys have been able financially to purchase and keep up an automobile. This fact is interpreted to the advantage of these non-problem families.

Police Records

Leisure time which is not well spent generally leads the boy concerned into trouble. Some of the boys in this study have been using their leisure time to such a disadvantage that they have been checked in their activities by the forces of the law.

Records of these conflicts with the law were obtained and used as data for this study.

The police records pictured in the following Chart consist of appearance at police court, a trip to the station or an appearance in the Juvenile Court. The fact that there are five records listed on the non-problem boy's side of the chart gives us a clearer idea of the social situation in the district. The appearance of these boys at court has not served to affect them in any way which caused them to become problem cases. These cases were probably well adjusted at the time of the trouble by an understanding social worker.

As before, most of the violations in the anti-slum areas are conducive to the development of slumming ways, and it is surprising that there are not more law violations committed by the boys in this environment than are here shown.

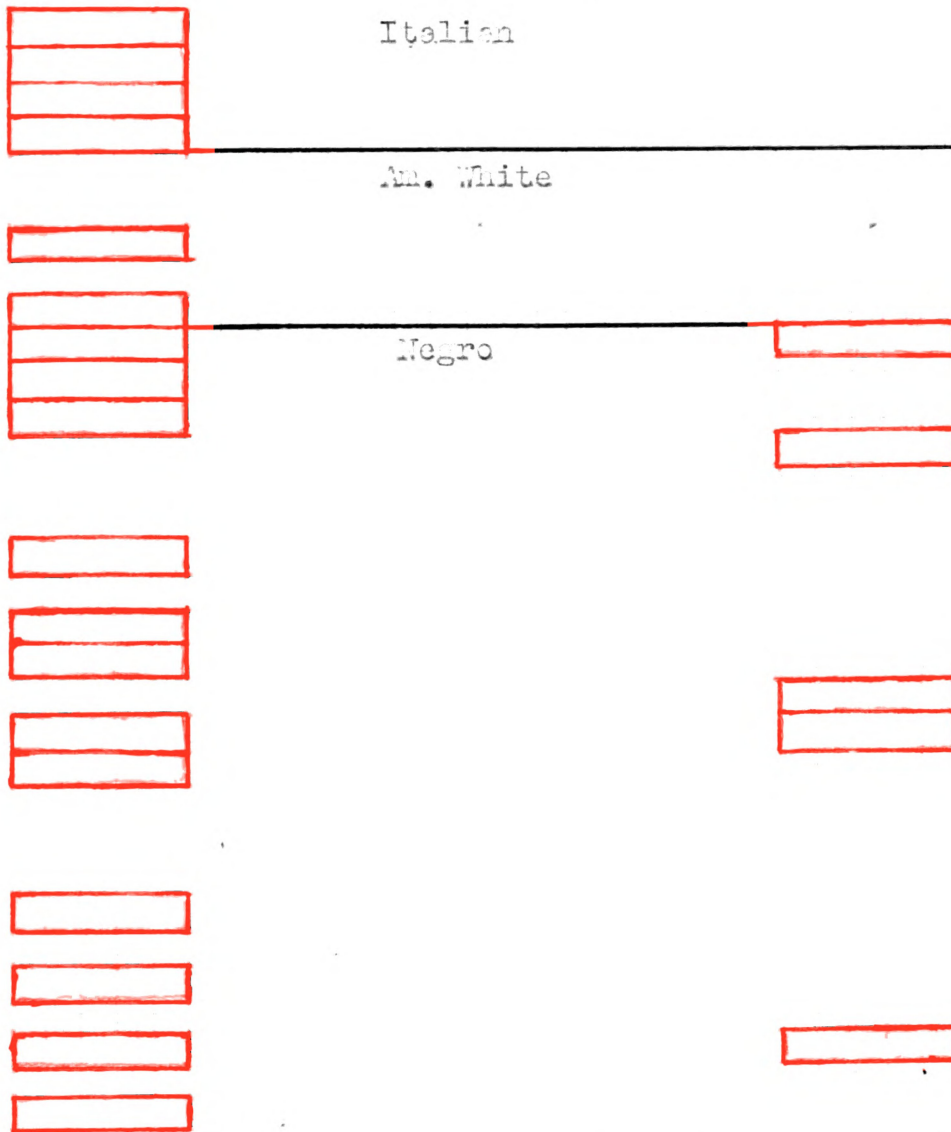
The charges brought against the boys whose records are shown on the following page can be divided under four heads, as follows: 1. Petty Larceny, 2. Breaking and Entering, 3. Truancy, and 4. Parking Cars. The last named charge perhaps needs some explanation as one not initiated into the ways of the large city.

The boy who is parking cars finds a spot on some side street where there appears to be a place to park a car. When a person seeking a place to park comes along, he rings car, "Park your car mister". The wise one if he uses the space picked out by the boy pays him a dime or a quarter. If this is not done, when the owner of the car comes back for his car he will find the air out of his tires, perhaps they will all be punctured, or an important part of his motor missing.

The police knowing the procedure of the boy car-parkers pick them up as soon as they find them trying to vend a place for parking. This is done in order to prevent damage being done to the car of a person who refuses to pay the parking fee set by the boy for a parking place on the public highway. The whole procedure is a miniature "racket" practiced by the boys of this district to pick up a little small change.

Chart No. 14

BOYS WHO HAVE POLICE RECORDS



Each block indicates that the boy has a police record.

In the 1930s the boy's story which follows a reference to this parking of cars in jail. In this reference one glimpses the boy's attitude toward the police.

We came to Detroit late in 1911, but my father and mother was here since 1897 we move in contact between clients and Joe. Campbell by the way I first playmate was a boy by the name of Joe. We were about 3 or 4 year old every day we would go out every day pick up rags or lead or Bat. we'd make 5¢ a day why we thought we were million after sell all of this rubbish Joe and my self were good buddies any thing had was his anything he had was his so one day we sold our rags and on way home we saw pear tree and my fave dish was pear but I didn't to steal in fact I was afraid he went up the tree in ten minute he come down I though he had the whole tree his pocket were full shirt pant, eat were full to I was ashamed of my self to see him to up all alone. He told me to forget it. I did and got sick.

We had a gang around then there was Joe, Mike, myself and about 10 other fello one day I never forget it as long as I live a poor old lady with a lady out in the street cold it was, after all us feller been stealing all day we given to the old lady about \$10.45 between us we stole 4 chickens, 2 hams and 1 rabbit so we broken again and when was 6 year old I went to school for my first time.

I can remember the time I was lock up I was parking car

on cadillac square and shooting craps we was making all good money unite to a copper check upon us he grab my hair but he only had my hat. I was gone me and another feller we went over to Washington Blvd to York Avenue there about 15 minute when a dick, (plain clothes officer), came up the sidewalk I said to stand watch he like like a bull to me he said don't be silly. He give a walk to the station house we search the home the man said take everything out of your pocket everybody but one boy beat it.

Hitching street cars is a pasttime for some of the boys in this district which is covered by a net work of street car lines. Hitching street cars is simply catching a ride on the rear end of the car by standing on the attachment which roles up the cable and holding on to the cable which controls the pulley that runs on the power line above the car.

Italian Boy's Story
Problem Case No. 1

1. I remember when we live at congress when my uncle died and my father and mother were cry and I see them cry so I start to Cry I cry because they were Cry.

2. The first place I live was at congress and I was only four years old and I all way hit my cousin they were oney 4 years.

3. My first playmate was my Cousin we all play in the back yard my mother would lent be out of the yeard.

I had a good teachers when I was in the B4 I never like to go to school and my teachers said if I go to school for a month She would give me a box cande.

The first time did wrong andknowingly I stole a dollar from my mother and I knowing it was bad and I spent it all the first time I got in trouble I all way hitch street car and I got in Jail it was my own cause.

The things I like to do when I was five years old I like to go to school and play with girls the think I like to do when I was 10 years old was I like to go Down town and sell paper and then I would go to Show and spent all my mother money.

I got a lot when I using to go peddling with my uncle and I using to get banina and then I start to sell paper I went about 2 years and I start to walk with a peddler the gang I using to go with all way stole the peddlers when they using to come by our Bunk

"About Hitching Street Cars"

"The first time hitch a stret car my Brother and a frind and me we were hichth and all at once we saw some Cops Come on the back of us in Ford so me and my Borhher ran away and the oter kid got Caught and then they Start Come after us my brother was a head of me so he got by but Cope Come right on the top of the side walk with the car they try make me scar so they try to hit me but I got by and the Cops got

out so we ran and hide but they see us so we start to run again and he Caught my brother and he reach over get me and the Cop fell down and got hurt so I start running again and a man Caught Me and they took me to the Juvenile Home."

This boy is a bright eyed chubby little Italian boy, friendly, good-natured, and seemingly polite. He was truant from school often. Because of this the writer frequently called at his home for him before school. The boy to show his appreciation of this, in all sincerity, several times offered the writer, with the consent of his mother, a drink of Italian wine or whiskey. This offer was made in all seriousness and had to be declined in the same manner to avoid hurting the feelings of the mother and the boy.

The following items of leisure time spent at home give further comparison between the two groups of boys.

	Problem	Non-Problem
Bed time after ten o'clock	13	7
Required work at home	26	23
Radios	8	12

Four of the radios here mentioned were home made. Three of these four were in the homes of the non-problem boys showing that in these three homes the father had an avocation in which the son might share.

Bed time after ten o'clock as represented in the above table shows a decided advantage to the non-problem boy. Only

seven of them were allowed to stay up after ten o'clock to thirteen for the problem boys who were allowed this doubtful privilege.

Required work at home shows practically no advantage for either group of boys.

Musical Instruments Played

The musical instruments played by the boys in this study were divided as follows:

	Problem	Non-Problem
Piano	3	7
Violin	5	6
Clarinet		2
Harp		1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	8	16

These figures give us an idea as to the amount of avocational use musical instruments lend to the boys in this study. The non-problem boys have an advantage of two to one in the spending of avocational time at music. These figures certainly are significant, as spending leisure time at playing and learning to play musical instruments is considered to be one of the best habits that can be developed. The spending of leisure time in this manner opens to the participant a wonderful field for growth, culture and understanding.

Further ways of spending leisure time by the two groups of boys which seem to favor the non-problem boy are here listed.

	Problem	Non-Problem
Pets in the home	37	39
Play cards	16	23
Allowed to bring children into the home	13	23
Work at home with tools	13	40

Items which do not seem to have much significance in this study, but were investigated, follow:

	Problem Boy	Non-Problem Boy
Ever Fight	25	28
Belong to Teams	13	14
Unable to Swim	6	6
No Auto rides	4	4
Company	13	11
Go Fishing	21	21

Conclusions

The data presented in this chapter make possible the following statements:

1. As a rule the home of the control cases subscribe to better reading material than is found in the problem case homes.

2. Problem case boys show the effect of very little restriction in attendance to movies, some attending as many as five and six performances during one week.

3. The control group families own more than one and one half times as many cars as do the problem cases.

4. Eighteen of the problem boys have police records against a record of five for the control group.

5. The problem boys' bed time was less restricted.

6. The control cases play twice as many musical instruments.

7. Twenty-three of the control group were allowed to bring children into the home to play against eighteen for the problem group.

8. Twenty of the control group worked at home with tools while only thirteen of the problem group engaged in this activity.

CHAPTER VIII

OCCUPATION AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE FAMILIES

The relation between poverty and crime has been fairly well established in accepted sociological studies. There is some question, however, about the point at which economic insecurity becomes an actual menace to the social stability of the individual. In a country where, despite its reputed wealth, fifty percent of the population live on a "less than living" wage it is difficult to establish this point with any degree of certainty. One criterion, however, may be set up for judging the economic status of the family. That group which, altho handicapped by insufficient funds, manages to maintain its independence and, under normal conditions, to exist without the aid of charity is clearly differentiated from the group which must rely on external aid for its existence. The welfare case may be superior in the health and comfort in which its members live, but the psychological difference in attitudes and social ideals is usually in favor of the self-maintaining group.

The Miller district is made up largely of the great group who live always on the edge of an economic catastrophe. Life for many of its members is a constant struggle to keep above the water-line of poverty, and unforeseen disaster usually plunges them into very real need. Of the twelve

thousand charity cases on the welfare rolls of Detroit during normal years, approximately seven thousand are to be found in the districts partially covered in this study. In a period of depression such as the present one when the unskilled worker is the first to be laid off and unemployment is continued and unrelieved, conditions in this neighborhood become very serious.

In studying the effects of this economic insecurity on the delinquent and non-delinquent boys this general background must be kept in mind. In this aspect the study, where racial and nationality differences seem to exert a very strong influence on family status, it must be remembered that the two groups are matched as to nationality and race.

The table on page 135 shows striking differences between the economic status of the two groups as indicated by the presence of their families on the City Welfare lists. Of the thirty-two problem boys, seventeen, come from homes dependent for their existence on external financial aid. Only five of the 32 non-problem boys are dependent upon welfare aid.

Racial and nationality differences stand out very clearly in this chart. There was only one Italian family deriving support from the city and that only partial support and this was caused by prolonged illness of the father. This fact, when coupled with the knowledge that Italians tend to own their own homes indicates that the Italians of this district

are on a higher economic plane than either negro or American white neighbors.

The negro situation presents a very different picture. The high degree of economic dependence of the problem homes makes its absence among non-problem families stand out sharply. It will be recalled that of the seven thousand welfare cases in this district seventy percent are negroes. The absence, therefore, of relief records for the non-problem families stamps these homes as decidedly superior to the general negro population. The whole negro situation about which many volumes have already been written, is involved in such a situation. The following figures show extent of dependency for families studied.

Families Receiving Welfare Aid

<u>Nationality and Race</u>	<u>Problem</u>	<u>Non-Problem</u>
Italian	1	0
American White	2	1
Negro	12	4
Total	<u>17</u>	<u>5</u>

The migration of the negro to the north has created its own serious problems. Not the least of these grow out of the nature of the quarters in which the group has been compelled to live. In the north, as in the old south, the negro has been shunted into the older quarters of the city where buildings are antiquated and inadequate. In addition, restrictions have been set up which have limited the areas into which

the soon overcrowded communities may expand. As a result, when the original "black belt" becomes insufferably crowded its more progressive members have recourse to one of two actions: they may attempt to extend the boundaries of their settlement, or they may move to other colored settlements, usually in inaccessible and poorly planned subdivisions. Attempts to penetrate established white neighborhoods are usually disastrous. The less ambitious negroes simply multiply in their already over-crowded streets where building codes are not retroactive. The Miller district (see map p. 33) is one of the best examples of this situation to be found in the city of Detroit.

The United States Bureau of Labor⁽¹⁶⁾ in a study made in 1901 shows the economic instability of the negro. Statistics from more than 25,000 families show that 49.81 percent of these families were idle during some part of the year. Of the general population approximately twenty-two percent of all gainfully employed individuals suffered from partial unemployment during this census year. Such conditions, as well as the findings reported in Chart 22 would of course be greatly exaggerated in a study of the present economic depression. It must be remembered that this study is based on material collected in 1923, before the depression set in.

Boys Gainfully Employed

Altho the economic independence of the family is a sig-

(16) Bureau of Labor Bulletin, 1901

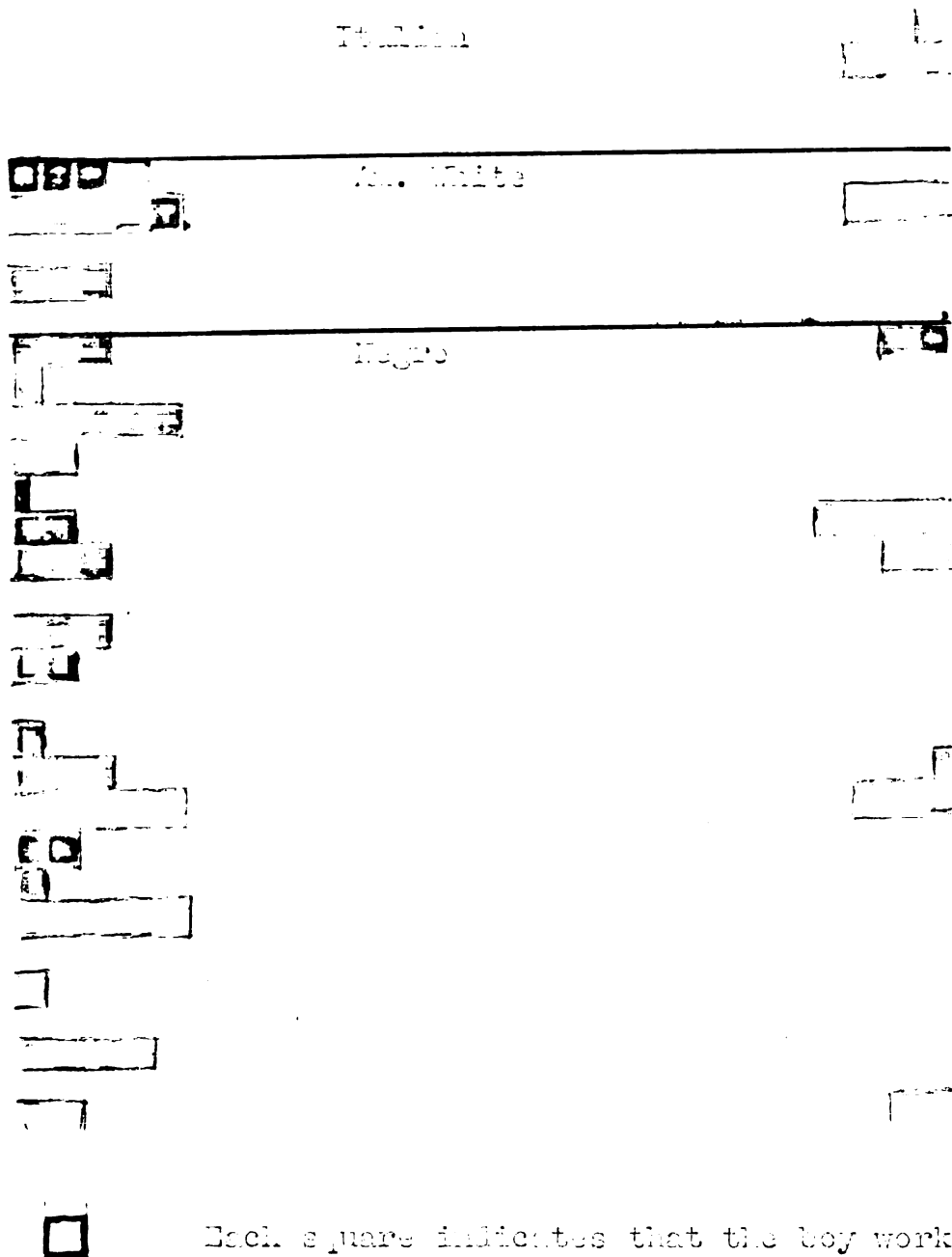
nificant indication of its stability, frequently the mere fact that the family does not receive welfare aid does not indicate the economic strain under which its members are laboring is less. When it becomes necessary for the entire family to work in order to maintain a mere existence, conditions are highly unsatisfactory.

A certain amount of outside work is probably helpful to the child in the formation of habits of thrift and industry. However, three to five hours a day in addition to his school work, on the part of a growing boy is excessive. A study of Chart 15 will show that many of the Miller boys are attending school under this handicap.

The problem group has a decided disadvantage among the twenty-one students who engaged in some form of extra-school work. Four worked five hours a day; two, four hours a day and five, three hours a day. In contrast, only nine of the non-problem boys had extra-school work, and only five of these were employed as much as three hours a day. While these data do not prove that extra-school work contributes to the delinquent status of the boys, they do show that a large group of the problem boys are carrying a load too great for their strength, and that their failure to fit into the social and scholastic requirements of the school may be largely the result of too great strain.

A brief survey of several outstanding problem cases confirms this point of view.

BOYS CONTINUALLY EMPLOYED



Each square indicates that the boy worked for an average of one hour per day per week.

Case No. 5 on the problem side worked four hours outside of school each day in the week.

No. 12, a colored boy, was a porter in one of the down town hotels. Many times this boy has come to school and fallen asleep in his class room. The writer, understanding the situation simply had him move to the back of the room where he would not cause merriment on the part of the other students, and let him have his sleep out.

No. 7, American White. This boy's father was a taxi driver and owner, and this boy was required to take a shift in driving one of his father's taxis in the afternoon and evening. The hours of work, particularly in the evening as well as some of the contacts in in work of this kind would be injurious to this boy.

No. 23, colored, problem case, worked nights in a shoe shining parlor in a down town hotel.

No. 26, colored, problem case, drove father's ice and coal wagon.

As can be observed on the preceeding Table No 21 poverty certainly enters into this study as a factor in producing problem case boys. All influences tending to produce pauperism are present in eighteen of the thirty-two case boys but in only five of the non-problem boys. The combination of poor heredity, squalor, misery, insufficient clothing, poor food and restricted companionship is already leaving its mark on the lives of these boys.

Present Family Income

The fact that most of the families are dependent upon welfare or the employment of the school boy is evidence that

these families are at the bottom of the economic scale. A study of family income enables the reader to gain a more complete view of the group. Of course it is difficult to obtain correct data about family income and too much faith cannot be put in the accuracy or reliability of the figures quoted here. The tables are based upon the information furnished by the boys themselves as to the total family income.

The following table shows in the first column the amount contributed by the boy each week, column two the contribution of the father, and column three the contribution of the mother. Total incomes are indicated in the fourth column. When the report is known to be incomplete the item is starred; city aid is indicated by #.

TABLE # 7

WEEKLY FAMILY INCOME FROM FATHER, MOTHER, SON AND CITY WELFARE

Expressed in Even Dollars

Case No.	Problem Boy's Family				Non-Problem Boy's Family				Case No.
	Child	Father	Mother	Total	Total	Child	Father	Mother	
1		40		40#	34	4	30		1
2		*		*	31	1	30		2
3		*	15	15*	*		*		3
4		8*		8*	*		*		4
5	8	50		58#	55#		35	20	5
6		70		70	71	1	70		6
7	6	6*		6*	*				7
8	15	35	15	65#	65		55	10	8
9		23		23#	*				9
10	6	40		46	27	2	25		10
11	3	35		38	#				11
12	12	18		30#	48		4 8		12
13	5	35		40	50		50		13
14	2			2*	31	1	30		14
15	3		20	23#	46	6	65	25	15
16	12			12*	45	2	43		16
17		15		15*	70		70		17
18	8	40		48#	*				18
19	1	25		26	*				19
20				*	*				20
21	2	45		47#	2*	2	35		21
22	3			*	37	2	50		22
23	3	50		53	76	6		20	23
24	3	9	8	19#	2#	2			24
25	3			3#	48		48		25
26	10	43		53	36		36		26
27	3	3		*	65		55	10	27
28	6	40		46#	70		70		28
29				*	8*			8	29
30				#	35		35		30
31				#	#	3			31
32				#	19#			16	32

- City Welfare Help

* - Incomplete or no data

As a partial explanation of the low economic status of some of the families, the following table is introduced. This table presents the number of persons belonging to the various families. Not all of these persons are living at home, as will be seen by referring to Chart 5, which shows persons living in the home including boarders and lodgers. But the large families here shown must have been difficult to provide for, putting a great strain upon the family exchequer.

These large families at least indicate, even if they are not at home at the time of this study, that the family certainly has had a continuous struggle to keep itself fed, housed and clothed. This continuous struggle, though not always detrimental, certainly tends to hinder the normal bringing up of children under its influence.

TABLE #8

17. 1962-1963 Year Class Data

Date	Family	Family
1962	1963	1964
1	10	7
2	10	6
3	10	10
4	10	10
5	10	10
6	10	10
7	10	10
8	10	10
9	10	10
10	10	10
11	10	10
12	10	10
13	10	10
14	10	10
15	10	10
16	10	10
17	10	10
18	10	10
19	10	10
20	10	10
21	10	10
22	10	10
23	10	10
24	10	10
25	10	10
26	10	10
27	10	10
28	10	10
29	10	10
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31	10	10
32	10	10
33	10	10
34	10	10
35	10	10
36	10	10
37	10	10
38	10	10
39	10	10
40	10	10
41	10	10
42	10	10
43	10	10
44	10	10
45	10	10
46	10	10
47	10	10
48	10	10
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64	10	10
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66	10	10
67	10	10
68	10	10
69	10	10
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81	10	10
82	10	10
83	10	10
84	10	10
85	10	10
86	10	10
87	10	10
88	10	10
89	10	10
90	10	10
91	10	10
92	10	10
93	10	10
94	10	10
95	10	10
96	10	10
97	10	10
98	10	10
99	10	10
100	10	10

The Chart, No 18 on the next page shows the occupation of the two classes of boys' fathers or stepfathers. These data are as complete as it was possible to obtain them. The listed occupations of the fathers and stepfathers of the non-problem boys is superior to that of the problem boys. This shows that generally the non-problem boys' fathers or stepfathers are of a type to command a better position than the problem boys' social situation.

Case 18 on the non-problem side is listed as a questionable bootlegger. The evidence obtained pointed to the conclusion that this new occupation was the means of livelihood for this boy's family. This boy later, after the date for this study were set, got into trouble driving an automobile for colored men who were holding up gasoline stations. One victim was killed and Case 18 on the non-problem side is now incarcerated at Jackson prison. It is evident that the father's occupation had at least, in this instance, something to do with the production of a problem case boy.

Case No. 22 on the problem side is listed as a gambler. This information was obtained from the problem boy himself. In this one instance we do not have to look much farther for contributing causes to this boy's delinquency. If the conclusions drawn from these two cases are sound it can be further inferred that the higher type of position held by most of the non-problem boys' fathers or stepfathers must exert some influence toward the respectable social reactions of their sons who were taken as control cases for this study.

Chart No. 13

OCCUPATIONS OF THE WHITE RACE IN THE UNITED STATES

Laborer	Italian	Wash. D.C.
Laborer		Mechanic
Peddler		Contractor
Contract Worker		Handyman
Factory	Am. White	Contract Worker
Foreman		Mechanic
Taxi		Contractor
Footboy		Mechanic-Italian
Street Peddler		City
	Negro	Porter
Junk		
Fords		Barber
Laborer		Boothkeeper?
		Laborer
		Factory
Laborer		Hand
Janitor		
Laborer		
Foundry		Store
Tailor		Factory
Laborer		Foreman
Foundry		City
		Porter
Ford		Barber
Laborer		Mechanic
Candler		Mechanic
Mechanic		Taxi
Mason-tender		Porter

Where columns are blank information could not be obtained.

It may also be assumed then that the lower type of positions held by many of the fathers and stepfathers of the problem boys has a corresponding derogatory effect upon the actions of these problem cases.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the data presented in this chapter.

1. Poverty is a contributing factor to the production of the problem case boys.

2. Long hours of work by boys outside of school tends to hamper good social adjustment.

3. Results of investigation as to family income although not accurate show that the incomes are low.

5. Quality of position held by boy's father has some significance.

CHAPTER IX
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Miller Intermediate School district is in the oldest area ~~on~~ the city of Detroit, Michigan. It is now one of the areas being considered for reconstruction by the Federal Government and the City. Social conditions there tend to provide problem situations for growing boys. In matching the 32 problem boys in this investigation the items of age, sex, race and nationality were used in selecting the pairs. In this manner two sets of boys were obtained, one group being the problem group and the other group were boys who were making acceptable social contacts. The method of matching pairs eliminated the elements of age, sex, intelligence and nationality. This elimination simplified the problem to some extent.

There have been four waves of race and nationality movements over this area, French, German, Jewish, Italian and Negro, the two latter races occupying most of the district at the present time.

Health defects herein investigated of the boys studied show that the problem boys were much more handicapped than the non-problem boys in the matter of physical defects. There were 16 cases of infected tonsils among the problem boys to 8 cases for the non-problem boys; 11 cases of adenoids to 4 cases for the non-problem; 8 with decayed teeth to 4 for the non-problem; 5 with impaired vision to none for the non-problem. These figures total 40 unfavorable health items for the problem group

to 16 for the non-problem boys.

The home situation of the non-problem boys is less vexing as they had more educational and social advantages in their homes than the problem boys. Illiteracy is slightly higher among the parents of the problem boys than among the parents of non-problem boys. Parents of the non-problem boys averaged about a year more of education. Homes broken by desertion were more common in the problem group in that eight of the problem boys' fathers had left their families to shift for themselves to five for the non-problem. More of the families of the problem boys entertained boarders and lodgers. The totals showed 40 lodgers or boarders in 17 homes of the problem boys to 28 in 11 homes of the non-problem boys. No difference was found in age of parents, amount of trouble with neighbors, basements in home, or an irregularity of meals did not affect the situation.

More problem than non-problem boys chose as the school subject they liked best shop and gymnasium work. A greater majority of the non-problem boys made as their first choice a more physically restricted or so-called academic subject such as mathematics or English.

Problem boys live nearer business places and railroad property than non-problem boys.

Nearness to school, church and playgrounds shows no apparent significance, the problem boys as a rule living nearer to these social influences than the non-problem. The neighborhoods in

the district offer comparatively few types of social and recreational activities of a high order. The problem boy's family moves about from place to place much more frequently than does the family of the non-problem boy.

The proportion of church membership in this area for families of both groups was about equal. The same is true of church attendance.

The non-problem boys belong to slightly more and a better class of clubs than problem boys do. Gang membership seems to be fairly significant since more than twice as many problem as non-problem boys belong to gangs. Boy Scout organizations do not reach the problem boys in this study. The non-problem boys' homes, as a whole, contain better reading material than the homes of the problem boys. Problem boys are less restricted in their attendance at movies than non-problem boys. The families of the non-problem boys own more than one and one-half as many automobiles as the families of the problem group. Bed time for the problem boys is less restricted than that of the non-problem boys. Non-problem boys play twice as many musical instruments. A larger proportion of non-problem boys were allowed to bring children into the home to play than of problem boys. The non-problem boys also more frequently had a place to work in the home and the opportunity to work with tools. Poverty is a contributing factor to the production of problem cases in this study. Long hours of work outside of school tend

to hamper good social adjustment. In making the investigation of family income the information given was apt to be unreliable. The occupational status of the boy's father or step-father has significance in that the fathers of the non-problem boys held, on the average, more responsible positions.

The conditions investigated in this thesis together with the long period of teaching and observations on the part of the writer in the Miller School district and his experience with problem boys lead to the belief that there are many things which could be accomplished if the public in general understood the situation.

First, the housing situation should be corrected. This could be done by a constructive program of parks and boulevards and the encouragement of the replacing of old and tumbled-down structures by sanitary buildings. This is now being considered. Meanwhile those boys who are being made into problem cases by this environment could be lifted bodily out of it and placed in a dormitory school where their life activities could be carried on under the direction of sympathetic and competent instructors. Such a plan is now being discussed by the Detroit Board of Education. Some such arrangement as this seems to be urgent in this community. When the problem boy becomes a hardened trouble case it is almost too late to do much to correct his habits of reaction toward society. By the time the ordinary problem boy has been taken to court a sufficient number of times to warrant a court order to a reform school,

that institution has little left upon which to work. In other words, we are attempting to make our corrections too late in the life of the boy who reaches the reform school.

Some slight knowledge of this situation has been sensed in dealing with the liquor question. Public opinion lets the confirmed addict go his way but is trying to prevent the younger generation from falling into such habits. The same situation holds true in the case of the problem boy. We are spending our time and dollars on him after he has become a problem instead of attempting to prevent such a career.

All of these problem boys have been continuous failures in their school work, and these failures have a bad influence on their attitudes toward life. This "failure complex" can be overcome by assigning tasks to the boy that he can accomplish successfully and then praising him for his success. It is believed that mental stamina is developed by adjustment to opposition just as muscular stamina develops when muscles lift a load.

The intelligence of these boys is of a low grade but not too low to prevent them from being honest, industrious citizens. A high intelligence rating is not absolutely necessary for a helpful and socially efficient life. These problems are fairly well adjusted to a poor environment but if society wishes them to function in a socially efficient environment it should be supplied by society. There is a crying need on the part of such boys as here studied, both problem and non-problem, for

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organizations which will function at their social level. This calls for the leadership of a trained and understanding worker who knows boys of this type and who can help them to form and direct organizations that will aid them in preparation for a useful life. Something of this kind is now being accomplished in this district. The boys' director at Franklin Street Settlement is pioneering in this type of work, but much still remains to be done. Many other workers and boys' organizations are needed. They now have their gangs but these should either be supplanted by better types of organizations or supervised by social workers who make satisfactory contacts with the boys and gradually raise the level of their groups to socially acceptable groups.

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