

THE WORKING DELINQUENT

including

An Analysis of Cook County, Illinois,

Family Court Cases

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Social and Industrial Relations

January

1963

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LIFE

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She is the author of a book entitled History of Anesthesia (Philadelphia, 1953).

PREFACE

An initial interest in the effect on the child of work at newspaper selling and distribution led me, in exploring one aspect of that effect, to try to find out the incidence of delinquency among newsboys in Chicago.

Upon finding nothing in the records at the Youth Bureau of the Chicago Police Department and at the Mayor's Commission on Youth, I got in touch with the Probation Office of the Cook County Family Court and through the cooperation of the Chief Probation Officer gained access to the Cook County Family Court records. Because these agencies dealing with delinquent youth assured me that any reasonable sampling of cases would be disappointing in information about newsboys, I instead undertook an analysis of the records just to see what I would find about the work histories of delinquents. This thesis is the report of what I found.

The course of this research has been influenced by consultation with Father Ralph Gallagher and Philomena Mullady of the Institute of Social and Industrial Relations, Loyola University, Chicago. To them and to Sally McMahon of the Illinois Committee on Employment of Youth and to Richard Lamb and Josephine Kalensky of the Cook County Family Court I am truly indebted.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Today there is a tendency to see value in work in the lives of neglected children and to extend the employment of children as a means of combatting juvenile delinquency. Federal legislation affecting the employment of youth is pending.¹ Relaxation of child labor laws in several states is reported.² The purpose of this exploratory research has been to determine the incidence of working delinquents among the juvenile delinquents brought before a juvenile court. An attempt has also been made to draw a profile of the working delinquent, and to compare this configuration with that of another study, the Gluecks'.³ The present research was based on materials obtained from case histories of delinquents selected at random from those being heard in the Cook County Family Court during the month of November, 1962.

¹U.S., Department of Labor, White House Regional Conferences—1961 Fact Sheet; Youth Employment Opportunities Act of 1961.

²H. B. Jacobson, "Children at Work," Commonweal, LXVIII (July 4, 1958), pp. 348-350.

³Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950).

In defining delinquency we find that the legal definition is not the same as the social definition nor the definition used to delineate areas of research. One legal definition of a delinquent person is: "Any person who violates any law of the state or any ordinance of any city or town, defining crime and involving moral turpitude. Generally used as descriptive of persons under age and subject to the jurisdiction of the juvenile authorities."⁴

According to the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,

"... the term juvenile delinquency is sometimes loosely applied to youthful aberrance in general but it is more accurately a precise legal term defining the legal status of a child offender. Recognition of an offender as a juvenile delinquent places him in the jurisdiction of juvenile courts rather than the ordinary courts of criminal procedure... He is placed under the legal disabilities and immunities of infancy... It was assumed that the child offender was handicapped by immaturity of body and mind and by a lack of effective parental control so that the exercise of discretion and the assumption of legal responsibility for conduct could not be expected of him."⁵

In practice the juvenile delinquent who comes to the attention of the legal authorities is:

a child under sixteen—or seventeen, eighteen, or twenty-one—who violates a law or ordinance, or is "wayward," that is, guilty of persistent truancy, stubbornness, or association with vicious companions and thus likely to become delinquent...⁶

⁴The Cyclopedic Law Dictionary (Chicago: Callaghan and Co., 1940), p. 323.

⁵Miriam Van Waters, "Juvenile Delinquency and Juvenile Courts," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932), Vol. 8.

⁶"Juvenile Delinquency," Collier's Encyclopedia (New York: P. F. Collier & Son Co., 1959), Vol. 11.

The social definition of delinquency, on the other hand, involves

the common denominator of maladaptation of the individual to the demands of a social code, be it to the rules of family life, school life, or life in that larger society which is protected by a system of laws.⁷

It has been noted that:

Urban life converts into antisocial behavior many activities which on the farm or in the village would be viewed as normal experiences of the ebullience and thrill-seeking of youth.⁸

In practice the legal label of juvenile delinquent depends on being "caught" and carried at least as far as the juvenile courts. Delinquent acts that are adjusted in the police station do not have the same stigma as those involving a petition of delinquency before the juvenile courts, and these not the same significance as when the act leads to a correctional institution.

In research the definition of delinquency for purposes of sampling is further altered. The Gluecks' definition of delinquency for their comparative study of matched delinquent and nondelinquent boys was:

For the purposes of the present study, however, delinquency refers to repeated acts of a kind which when committed by persons beyond the statutory juvenile court age of sixteen are punishable as crimes (either felonies or misdemeanors)—except for a few instances of persistent stubbornness, truancy, running away, associating with immoral persons, and the like.⁹

⁷Glueck, p. 13.

⁸Collier's Encyclopedia, Vol. 11.

⁹Glueck, p. 13.

It should be noted, however, that the Gluecks did not take their sample from delinquents coming under the jurisdiction of the juvenile courts but rather from those who had undergone further screening and were committed to state correctional schools. This means that they concerned themselves with a sampling of juvenile delinquents comprising only about 4 per cent of the youths apprehended. In comparison about 40 per cent of delinquents pass through the juvenile courts, and more than 50 per cent of those apprehended never go beyond the police station.¹⁰ How many are not apprehended is not known. Thus in terms of work and delinquency, the Gluecks' findings are pertinent only for the 4 per cent of delinquents committed to correctional institutions. In the present research the findings show trends only with respect to the 40 per cent of delinquents that reach the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. These differences become significant when it is realized that the higher incidence of work among delinquents was found in the study of the Gluecks, that of the most serious offenders, those committed to correctional institutions.

Within the scope of the present research, work is defined as independently contracted for and paid labor subject to the conditions of the local labor market. It is assumed that the purpose of work in our society is first to secure a subsistence and then to satisfy other recognized human needs. The purpose of work experience is accordingly not considered

¹⁰Collier's Encyclopedia, Vol. 11

to be the same as that of work, although on-the-job experience and training may be obtained (as in apprenticeships and internships) in situations that provide subsistence in anticipation of more productive and rewarding work. In certain parts of the country make-work programs for unemployed youth and delinquents are being instituted and work camps are being set up. While the results of research projects in connection with these programs cannot be compared with the results of the kind of research reported here, they may indicate a need for changing our definition of work to cover any constructive energy utilization for pay.

In this report work is considered to be supervised if it is performed within a place of business. It is unsupervised if it is performed by the child outside a place of business unless of a kind that would obviously have to have supervision. Street trades consist of selling newspapers, peddling, and shoeshining.

CHAPTER II

THE ISSUE

In the words of the spokesmen for the National Child Labor Committee,

A number of authorities believe that jobs can provide an answer for some delinquents The belief that work can be therapeutic for delinquents and preventive for potential delinquents has many enthusiastic partisans. Not all of them are in a position to test their theories.¹¹

This organization further states,

We need to demonstrate that:

Idleness alone (or in combination with other factors) can precipitate a delinquent act.

Idleness is produced by certain specific factors (economic, psychological, etc.) of which the child labor laws are one.¹²

In the state of Illinois, the location of the present research, two reports call attention to this trend. The Committee on Youth, Education and Occupations states that:

¹¹Eli E. Cohen and Lila Rosenblum, "Will Relaxing Child Labor Laws Help Prevent Delinquency?" Federal Probation (March, 1959).

¹²National Child Labor Committee, "Are the Child Labor Laws to Blame for Juvenile Delinquency?" The American Child, XL, No. 3 (May, 1958).

... since World War II, there has been a steadily increasing rise in juvenile delinquency and, within the past two years, a rising crescendo in the voices of some educators that the job they are expected to do is too vast....

Over two years ago the Illinois Child Labor Committee began to recognize that there were definite efforts being made to downgrade child labor laws in several parts of the country.... Apparently some of these efforts were related to the idea that the young person who was not doing well in school should be legally allowed to work. There were also some who thought that the panacea for juvenile delinquency was early employment.¹³

An Illinois Child Labor Committee study noted that:

The findings give evidence of some desire to relax the requirements of our compulsory education and child labor laws, thinking this would put to work and solve the problems of youth making no progress in school and causing trouble in the community.¹⁴

The assumption of a relationship between idleness and delinquency has been sufficiently persuasive for major programs to have been made operational under the premise. A 30-million-dollar program of Federal assistance to prevent and control juvenile delinquency was authorized by the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961. In the terms of the report of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency,

¹³Committee on Youth, Education and Occupations (Illinois). Youth in a Changing Economy—A Report to Chicago Commission on Youth Welfare, Illinois Committee on Employment of Youth, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago (April, 1962). (Mimeographed.)

¹⁴Illinois Child Labor Committee. An Inquiry on Youth, Education and Employment in Illinois 1957-59. (Mimeographed.)

No effort to prevent delinquency can succeed which does not provide young people with genuine opportunities to behave differently, especially through creative, educational, and exciting work programs.¹⁵

Mobilization for Youth, a New York Lower East Side project, based on the belief that obstacles to economic and social betterment among low-income groups are the main cause of delinquency, plans subsidized work programs under an Urban Youth Service Corps. Unemployed, out-of-school youths, sixteen to twenty-one, are paid \$1 an hour and up for a 35-hour week. The Youth Jobs Center is the central employment agency.¹⁶

Vocational testing and placement programs are being carried on by the Commissions on Children and Youth in Detroit and Cincinnati.¹⁷

In Syracuse the Youth Development Center has conducted studies on work-study programs and local job opportunities and on school dropouts. The center has also sponsored a survey of work camps as a means of rehabilitating delinquents. A report by the study director raised questions on the value of work camps and stressed the need, among others, for school instruction in camp programs.¹⁸

¹⁵Social Legislation Information Service, Inc., Washington Bulletin, XVII, No. 67 (June 11, 1962).

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Eli E. Cohen and Lila Rosenblum, "Will Relaxing Child Labor Laws Help Prevent Delinquency?" Federal Probation (March, 1959).

¹⁸The Society of the Streets (New York: Ford Foundation, 1962), pp. 30-31.

At present the issue is joined with weighty arguments and opinions on both sides but with few facts. Moreover, certain questionable assumptions are implied in proposals to lower educational and legal standards to permit children to work as a preventive for delinquency:

1. That there is work to provide experience more rewarding than school experience; and that such work is available in a competitive labor market affected by persistent unemployment mainly and increasingly among the uneducated and unskilled.
2. That the child is equipped with requisite skills and an adequate personality and character structure to compete and have an enduring work experience more rewarding than school experience.
3. That relaxation of legal restraints would per se provide opportunity for work experience that the child does not now have.
4. That work is a panacea for juvenile delinquency, that is, if a child is working, he won't be in trouble.

It is in connection with the last assumption that the results of the present research are significant.

CHAPTER III

THE LAW

To the advocates of work as a corrective for juvenile delinquency, the main obstacles to instituting the remedy are the laws on child labor—the laws that set a minimum age for compulsory school attendance. The American Child quotes William G. Long, judge of the Superior Court, Seattle, Wash.:

In my experience . . . I have yet to see a youthful serious offender whose trouble was not caused to a large extent by idleness The so-called "child labor laws" . . . tend to force all adolescents into idleness, particularly those who are not doing well in school and who are eager to get out into the world and start making their way¹⁹

Federal Probation quotes a judge of a children's court in New York state:

I feel that the Legislature should re-examine our present labor laws to permit youngsters to be gainfully employed in certain occupations and under certain conditions at younger ages than they can now be employed.

I feel that a children's court judge should have the power to direct that working papers be issued to a delinquent boy and that he be excused from further attendance at school and required to work as one means of treating delinquency²⁰

¹⁹National Child Labor Committee, "Are the Child Labor Laws to Blame for Juvenile Delinquency?" The American Child, XL, No. 3 (May, 1958), quoting William G. Long, "Let's Put Our Idle Teenagers to Work," American Magazine (October, 1955).

²⁰Eli E. Cohen and Lila Rosenblum, "Will Relaxing Child Labor Laws Help Prevent Delinquency?" Federal Probation (March, 1959), quoting Report of the New York State Temporary Commission on Youth and Delinquency, Youth and Delinquency (New York: 1956), p. 121.

Similar opinions are referred to elsewhere in this thesis. In this connection it is pertinent to recall the purposes of such laws and to ask just how restrictive they are in terms of their present enforcement. The three bodies of law involved are Federal law, state law, and municipal ordinances. (See Appendix A.)

Ideally, the child labor laws should protect the child (because he is considered to be unable to protect himself) from influences harmful to health and morals and those that oppose opportunity for his social and economic development in conformity with the dominant norms of the society in which he lives. However, there is some evidence that the legislators of the child labor laws have not always been so idealistically motivated. If the contrary were true, the most reprehensible forms of child labor—migrant agricultural labor and street trades—could not remain unregulated.²¹ Federal child labor laws are an important means of neutralizing any competitive advantage in areas with access to a cheap, plentiful labor supply, that is, child labor. Further, child labor laws protect the adult worker from the competition of the cheaper, less articulate, and less demanding child worker.²² Any relaxation in these

²¹H. B. Jacobson, "Children at Work," *Commonweal*, LXVIII (July 4, 1958), pp. 348-350; Eli E. Cohen and Louise Knapp, "Youth and Work: The Second Challenge," *Children* (March-April, 1962).

²²Katharine DuPre Lumpkin and Dorothy Wolff Douglas, *Child Workers in America* (New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1937), pp. 160, 182, 183, 281.

laws would accordingly have effects not limited to the child alone.

The acid test of child labor laws has been said to be their administration, specifically the administration of the system of employment certification before the children are released from school.²³ Administrative failures, according to Abbott, cannot all be traced to successful opposition to effective implementation of labor legislation.²⁴ Rather,

Inability to foresee clearly the problems involved, ignorance of or indifference to the value and limitation of administrative procedures, and the fear of substituting what is loosely called "bureaucratic control" for the usual process of enforcement through the sheriff or prosecutor's office have been the explanation of many failures.

With respect to violations, the U. S. Department of Labor reports an average of about 10,000 a year for the Federal child labor laws.²⁵ In the Illinois Child Labor Committee's study of youth, education, and employment for 1957-59, 37.3 per cent of youths under 16 were illegally employed. And 53.2 per cent were in jobs not covered by the Illinois child labor laws (farm work, employment usual to the home, and selling or delivering newspapers). Another one-eighth did not report the kind of job.²⁶

²³ Grace Abbott, The Child and the State (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 259-269.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 408, 410, 411.

²⁵ Eli E. Cohen and Louise Knapp, "Youth and Work: The Second Challenge," Children (March-April, 1962).

²⁶ Illinois Child Labor Committee. An Inquiry on Youth, Education and Employment in Illinois 1957-59. (Mimeographed.)

Within the series of cases comprising this research, instances of violation apparently as often resulted from ignorance and social disorganization as from administrative failure or fraud. (See Appendix B.)

CHAPTER IV

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The idea that work and delinquency are antithetical, that is, that delinquents don't work, has proved to be a potent thought-cliché. Even though the statistics are scarce, belief in the stereotype of the nonworking delinquent is widespread. Tunley, in a popularization of the problem of the juvenile delinquent, states:

Again, although it is fairly obvious to disinterested workers in the field that there is a close relationship between lack of a job and juvenile crime, neither labor nor business nor even legislators want to take the lead in doing something about it.²⁷

Tunley quotes Secretary of Labor Goldberg that there "is a very real, very strong, and very decided relationship between employment opportunity and delinquency" and goes on to promote work as the most effective single approach to the solution of the problem. While he recommends expansion of apprenticeship programs, he also calls for revision of the child-labor and compulsory-school-attendance laws.

²⁷ Roul Tunley, Kids, Crime, and Chaos (New York: Harper & Bros., 1962), p. 182.

Jacobson earlier gave warning of this trend:

Today the campaign to repeal or weaken the child labor laws is advancing under the pretext of combating juvenile delinquency And Margaret Mead . . . also recommends that fourteen-year-olds unhappy in school should be permitted to quit school and go to work. She claims that such a move would reduce juvenile delinquency.²⁸

In the experience of the writer this concept is so firmly held by police officers, probation officers, and others working with delinquents that they discouraged the undertaking of the present research, because, as they put it, "You won't find anything." An indication of the tenacity of this idea is shown in the error into which the National Committee on Child Labor fell in quoting the only extensive general research on work and delinquency, that of the Gluecks.

The Gluecks' data were obtained in connection with a study of 500 delinquent boys matched with 500 nondelinquent boys in respect to age, general intelligence, and national (ethico-racial) origin and residence in an underprivileged neighborhood. The delinquents were from two Massachusetts correctional schools and the nondelinquents from Boston public schools. Because the information about employment experience was thought to be more readily and uniformly obtained at the time of the psychiatric interview, it was solicited there rather than in the social investigation. The significance of the findings from such a major work

²⁸H. B. Jacobson, "Children at Work," Commonweal, LXVIII (July 4, 1958), pp. 348-350

and the importance of their being generally and accurately comprehended demand, that they be reported fully and verbatim:

After-school employment can have either desirable consequences, in teaching elementary business practices and contributing to a sense of economic responsibility, or harmful ones, in developing a premature sophistication and subjecting a boy too early to the hazards of life in the city streets.

All but 15.6% of the delinquents and 21.7% of the non-delinquents worked during after-school hours for varying periods of time Since very few of them had a regular spending allowance (5.6% of the delinquents and 11.4% of the non-delinquents), most of them derived their spending money from earnings.

Frequency of after-school employment. Nearly half (42.4%: 49%) the delinquents and non-delinquents who were employed after school worked daily . . . ; and equal proportions of them (26.7%: 29%) were employed only during weekends or vacations. Apparently more delinquents worked only occasionally—nearly a third of them (30.9%), as compared with 22% of the non-delinquents.

Reasons for after-school employment. There is very little difference in the reasons for the after-school employment of the two groups of boys Quite similar proportions told the psychiatrist that they worked because they wanted to have spending money (45.7%: 39.5%); or because they were urged to do so by their families (22.4%: 22.2%); or because they liked to work (18%: 20.5%), enjoying the prestige of being wage earners; or because they wanted to help their families (13.9%: 17.8%).

Nature of after-school employment. Although both sets of boys worked with about equal regularity and for similar reasons . . . of the 417 delinquents and 386 non-delinquents who engaged in after-school employment, more than half (58.2%) the former, as compared with a third (36.7%) of the latter, engaged principally in street trades, such as peddling, bootblacking, and selling papers. Thus more of the delinquents were exposed to vicious street influences. Correlatively . . . a considerably lower proportion of the employed delinquents (8.2%: 24.9%) were mainly engaged in jobs in which some supervision and protection were provided, for instance, as office boys or store helpers. Whether the delinquents were not attracted to work of this type or did not have the ability for such jobs is a question we are not able to answer. In equal proportion both groups took unsupervised jobs (21.8%: 24.6%) as delivery boys, errand boys, or messengers or any odd jobs they could pick up (10.6%: 11.7%). Few of either group (1.2%: 2.1%) worked in factories.

By the nature of their jobs, which were more hazardous, less protected, and less exacting, as in the other environmental experiences to which they were exposed, the delinquents were as a whole less favorably circumstanced than were the non-delinquents.²⁹

In two separate publications originating in the National Child Labor Committee, the foregoing research is summarized as follows:

*Fewer delinquent boys work after school hours than non-delinquents, according to the Glueck study, in which fifteen percent of the delinquents worked, compared with twenty-one per cent of the non-delinquents.*³⁰ (Italics supplied.)

From the Gluecks we know that delinquents do not have as many after-school jobs as nondelinquents. (This is confirmed by more recent statistics.)³¹

While such a misinterpretation is explicable by human error, the fact that this interpretation is consistent with the prevailing thought-cliché about delinquents and work would seem to support the idea of a delinquent stereotype.

In the present research the incidence of working delinquents was less than that reported by the Gluecks, 37.3 per cent as compared with 84.4 per cent. (In the Gluecks' study 78.3 per cent of the non-delinquents worked.) The considerable difference in these data can in part be accounted

²⁹ Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), pp. 14, 60, 156-159.

³⁰ National Child Labor Committee, "Are the Child Labor Laws to Blame for Juvenile Delinquency?" The American Child, XL, No. 3 (May, 1958).

³¹ Eli E. Cohen and Lila Rosenblum, "Will Relaxing Child Labor Laws Help Prevent Delinquency?" Federal Probation (March, 1959).

for by the nature of the research materials: In the Gluecks' research each subject was specifically interrogated about his employment experience during the psychiatric interview. In the present research a random selection of cases was inspected to discover what such a source of information would reveal about the working delinquent. As spelled out in the chapter reporting this research, considerable variation was found both in the completeness and in the quality of the work history in the Cook County Family Court cases.

In the highly selective character of the Gluecks' subjects and in the entirely random selection of the case histories comprising this report are probably represented extremes of sampling for "legal" delinquency. As suggested in the introduction, legal and social delinquency are not one and the same thing. Delinquent acts are performed by many more subjects than ever reach the juvenile courts—the basis of this research—and the correctional institution—the basis of the Gluecks' research.

For purposes of comparison with unselected groups of nondelinquents, two Illinois studies on the employment of youth may be cited. In a 1962 report of the Committee on Youth, Education, and Occupations 21 per cent of Chicago public high school youths were found to work part time.³²

An earlier report on a state survey by the Illinois Child Labor Committee

³²Committee on Youth, Education and Occupations (Illinois). Youth in a Changing Economy—A Report to Chicago Commission on Youth Welfare, Illinois Committee on Employment of Youth, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago (April, 1962). (Mimeographed.)

showed that 75 per cent of youths under sixteen were employed after school or during vacations, and 71 per cent of youths over sixteen were employed. Of those over sixteen on which employment status was recorded, 32.5 per cent were unemployed, 50 per cent were employed full time, and 17.5 per cent part time.³³

One aspect of the relation of work to delinquency that has intrigued and puzzled investigators is the apparent inverse ratio between unemployment and juvenile delinquency, in contrast with the parallelism between unemployment and adult crime. Sellin, in a research memorandum on crime in the depression, concedes that an increase in delinquency would be logical but that it is challenged by investigators.³⁴ Contrary results for England were reported by Mannheim, who concluded that when the curves for delinquency and unemployment run parallel, "the rise in delinquency was to be attributed to the mounting unemployment."³⁵ However, Grünhut, reviewing Mannheim's work and comparing it with his own experience, contends the evidence "seems to emphasize a rather independent trend in juvenile delinquency."³⁶ Cohen and Rosenblum call attention to the

³³ Illinois Child Labor Committee. An Inquiry on Youth, Education and Employment in Illinois 1957-59. (Mimeographed.)

³⁴ Thorsten Sellin, Research Memorandum on Crime in the Depression, Bulletin 27 (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1937), p. 118.

³⁵ H. Mannheim, Social Aspects of Crime in England (London: Allen and Unwin, 1940), pp. 136-143.

³⁶ Max Grünhut, Juvenile Offenders before the Courts (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 46.

contradictory statistics from the state of New Jersey and the city of Detroit:

In New Jersey the statistics indicate that

juvenile delinquency increases in direct proportion to the increase in youth employment (that means, the more youngsters that have jobs, the more delinquency we have), while the city of Detroit has statistics that show the opposite: that delinquency decreases in direct proportion to the increase in youth employment (that means, the more youngsters that have jobs, the less delinquency we have.)³⁷

According to Glaser and Rice, appreciable evidence is presented "for the hypothesis that juvenile crime rates vary inversely with unemployment."³⁸ Cloward and Ohlin refer to Glaser and Rice's research and offer this explanation:

Adult crime rates appear to vary directly with unemployment; juvenile crime rates, however, appear to vary inversely with unemployment Why prosperity should result in higher rates of juvenile crime is not so easy to understand. One explanation is that prosperity heightens the aspirations of lower-class young people without appreciably affecting the likelihood of their achieving their goals; hence discontent with economic position and economic prospects is intensified during prosperous times.³⁹

In the analysis of the Cook County Family Court records reported here, two trends were noted that relate to juvenile delinquency, work, and prosperity. In contrast with the Gluecks' statistics on the incidence of what

³⁷ Eli E. Cohen and Lila Rosenblum, "Will Relaxing Child Labor Laws Help Prevent Delinquency?" Federal Probation (March, 1959).

³⁸ Daniel Glaser and Kent Rice, "Crime, Age, and Employment," American Sociological Review, XXIV, No. 5 (October, 1959), pp. 679-686.

³⁹ Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity, A Theory of Delinquent Gangs (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960), p. 84.

the writer calls "delinquent acts of appropriation" (larceny, burglary, and robbery), auto larceny exceeded other forms of larceny, burglary, and robbery.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the incidence was higher for working delinquents than for all delinquents. (See Chapter V.)

During the century of the movement to get the child out of the factory and into the school, crusaders revealed the evils of child labor as violating the principles of human justice and decency and in general delineated the effects of work on the child. Extensive literature vividly describes the denial to the working child of a moral, healthy environment, of education, and even of the simple rights to sleep, recreation, and protection from physical injury.⁴¹ At this time of reaction, marked by attempts to scuttle child-labor laws, the National Child Labor Committee has published a review of this historic struggle to regulate child labor and the something-less-than-desirable attainment of goals.⁴²

One group of child workers is often used as an example of the beneficial effects of work on character building. In this connection, a report of the United States Children's Bureau is reproduced here because

⁴⁰ Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), pp. 293, 295.

⁴¹ John Spargo, The Bitter Cry of the Children (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1906); Katharine Dupre Lumpkin and Dorothy Wolff Douglas, Child Workers in America (New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1937).

⁴² Eli E. Cohen and Louise Knapp, "Youth and Work: The Second Challenge," Children (March-April, 1962).

of its pertinence to the problem of work and delinquency.

Newspaper sellers.—Boys who sell papers on the street, it is generally stated by school authorities, newspaper managers, and social agencies, are a radically different type from boys who deliver papers regularly

Selling newspapers has long been considered, together with other forms of street work, an occupation for which ages and hours of work should be regulated. It is an occupation that may expose the child to severe physical strain, to inclement weather, and to moral and physical hazards. The seller is away from his own neighborhood, is largely free from supervision, and may easily be thrown with associates of a rough or otherwise undesirable type. Since tips are more plentiful at night, from the after-dinner and after-theater crowds, there is a constant temptation to prolong selling, disregarding the need for meals, sleep, or recreation

. . . sellers were found who regularly fell asleep during school hours, and teachers, knowing the hours they worked, said they did not have the heart to waken them

Claims that newspaper selling is a potent factor in character building must be considered in the light of the actual surroundings of the boys and in the light of statistics relating to juvenile delinquency, even though it is impossible to isolate all the elements which may have caused the delinquency. Many surveys of newsboys have pointed out the comparatively high rates of delinquency found among children who sell newspapers, as shown by court records. In the five cities covered by the earlier Children's Bureau surveys, in which the juvenile-court records were examined, from 6 to 13 percent of the newsboys in the study had been in court, the great majority of them being taken there for the first time after they had begun work on the streets. Other studies have found evidence of a direct connection between street work and delinquency in the fact that large proportions of boys committed to industrial schools and reformatories have sold newspapers⁴³

In the present research the working delinquents with paper routes exceeded those that could be identified as newspaper sellers. Supermarket work, especially grocery "hustling," apparently competes with newspaper selling and delivery in popularity within this class of unsupervised job. (See Chapter V.)

⁴³ Grace Abbott, The Child and the State (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 399, 403, 404, quoting United States Children's Bureau Publication No. 227 (Washington, D. C., 1935).

CHAPTER V

REPORT OF RESEARCH

The materials of this research were 134 case histories of delinquents from the files of the Cook County Family Court. During November, 1962, 138 cases were pulled and analyzed. Of this total, two cases were pulled twice, and two cases were borderline cases of dependency. These cases were eliminated to leave a sample of 134 case histories.

The case histories were pulled at random by the supervisor of the record library at Cook County Family Court from among the cases to be refilled after hearings in the court. The supervisor was unfamiliar with the purpose of the research, and the only possible bias in the sampling would come from her periodic effort to find the researcher "a few girls." *

In the analysis of the cases, notes were taken on the sex, age, school grade attained, major offenses, and work history of each child. When a child had had repeated appearances at the Family Court, it was sometimes necessary to interpret the record for the highest school grade attained and for major offenses. Although the records provided a place in

* The ratio of boys to girls among delinquents is about five to one, but for ages between sixteen and twenty-one it is about ten to one.

the social history for information about school and work, the researcher often found references to work in the report of the interview with the child or with a member of the family, in the probation officer's report, or in letters written by the child to the probation officer. Protocols of all the cases of working delinquents are in Appendix B.

Of the 134 cases, some reference to a work history was found in 50 cases, or 37.3 per cent. As has already been stated, this is considerably less than the 84.4 per cent incidence in the Gluecks' study of 500 juvenile delinquents in correctional institutions. The other results of the analysis are shown in tables 1-4.

TABLE 1.—Distribution of sample of 134 cases of delinquency at the Cook County Family Court by age and sex, compared with distribution of the 50 cases of working delinquents by age and sex compared with the Gluecks' statistics for age distribution

Age *	All Delinquents				Working Delinquents				Gluecks' Cases
	No.	%	M.	F.	No.	%	M.	F.	%
Under 12	8	5.9	8		1	2	1		7.8
12 - 13	10	7.5	10		2	4	2		9.2
13 - 14	13	9.7	12	1	3	6	3		13.6
14 - 15	18	13.4	12	6	5	10	5		22.6
15 - 16	36	26.8	32	4	8	16	8		26.0
Over 16	48	35.7	45	3	31	62	29	2	20.8
Indefinite	1								

* When selected for study.

TABLE 2.—Distribution of sample of 123 cases of delinquency at the Cook County Family Court by grade attained, compared with distribution of the 45 cases of working delinquents by grade attained and compared with the Gluecks' statistics for grade attained by delinquents

Grade	All Delinquents*		Working Delinquents		Gluecks' Cases	
	No.	%	No.	%	%	
Less than sixth	17	13.8	3	6.6	24.2	
Sixth	6	4.8	1	2.2	12.2	
Seventh	15	12.0	5	11.1	22.8	
Eighth	22	17.8	5	11.1	18.6	
Ninth	30	24.3	14	31.1	16.2	
Tenth	23	18.7	11	34.4	4.2	
Eleventh	5	4.0	3	6.6	1.6	
Twelfth					0.2	
Continuation school	5	4.0	3	6.6		

*For 11 cases the record was too ambiguous to use.

TABLE 3.—Distribution of 94 cases of delinquent acts of appropriation, compared with 40 cases of delinquent acts of appropriation by working delinquents* from the Cook County Family Court cases and compared with the Gluecks' statistics for all major delinquent acts

Offense	All Delinquents (134)		Working Delinquents (50)		Gluecks' Data	
	No.	%	No.	%	%	
Larceny except auto	17	12.4	8	16	54.8	
Auto larceny	40	29.8	19	38	19.8	
Burglary	29	21.6	12	24	59.0	
Robbery	8	5.9	1	2	2.4	

* Fifty delinquents were involved in the 94 cases of delinquent acts; 34 working delinquents were involved in the 40 cases of delinquent acts.

TABLE 4.—Distribution of 74 jobs held by 50 working delinquents from the Cook County Family Court cases as compared with the Gluecks' statistics for job classifications

Jobs	Working Delinquents (50)		Gluecks' statistics*
	No.	%	%
Street trades	5	6.7	58.2
Unsupervised jobs	16	21.6	21.8
Odd jobs	11	14.9	10.6
Supervised jobs	33	44.4	8.2
Factory work	2	2.7	1.2
Unknown	7	9.4	

* While the exact criteria of the Gluecks' classification of jobs are not known, the cases of this report were categorized, insofar as possible, in the same way for purposes of comparison.

Table 1 shows the distribution by age and sex of the 134 subjects in the Cook County Family Court series. The analysis is made in terms both of all delinquents in the series and of working delinquents only. These distributions are compared with the distribution by age of the delinquents in the Gluecks' series of cases. In the Cook County series 75.9 per cent of all delinquents were over fourteen, the Census Bureau's minimum age for inclusion in the labor force. This percentage is larger than that reported by the Gluecks; in their series 68.4 per cent of the delinquent subjects were over fourteen. The incidence of working delinquents over fourteen in the Cook County series was 88 per cent. Also 62 per cent of the working delinquents were over sixteen, as compared with 35.7 per cent for the

entire Cook County series and 20.8 per cent for the Gluecks' study. In this distribution by age, the Cook County series shows a cluster above age fourteen for all delinquents and working delinquents; in the Gluecks' report the cluster is in the thirteen-to-sixteen age range.

Table 2 shows the educational achievement of 123 subjects in the Cook County series as compared with the Gluecks' statistics. In the Cook County series 51 per cent of all delinquents had gone beyond the eighth grade, whereas only 22.2 per cent of the Gluecks' subjects had attained this grade level. For working delinquents, a significantly higher incidence is revealed: 78.7 per cent of working delinquents in the Cook County series had gone beyond the eighth grade. The distribution of the Cook County cases shows the cluster for all the delinquents to be between the seventh and the eleventh grade and for the working delinquents to be also in this range. However, for the Gluecks' subjects the distribution gives an irregular curve below the tenth grade, with the peaks at less than the sixth grade and in the seventh grade. The working delinquents attained, as a group, the highest grade level.

In both the Cook County series and the Gluecks' series delinquent acts of appropriation comprised the largest number of complaints. The incidence of the different kinds of acts of appropriation, both by working and by nonworking delinquents, is shown in table 3. Auto larceny was the commonest complaint (29.8 per cent) of all acts of delinquency in the Cook County series, as compared with 19.8 per cent for the Gluecks' study.

The highest incidence for this act was in the Cook County series of working delinquents (38 per cent). The Gluecks statistics show a high incidence for other forms of larceny and for burglary.

The question of the work environment of the child worker is significant because of its possible relation to the health and morals of an immature, and hence vulnerable, individual. The amount of supervision is one criterion for judging a potentially undesirable work situation. In the Cook County series jobs that could be positively identified as supervised (44.4 per cent) were significantly commoner than those in the Gluecks' study (8.2 per cent). While the percentage of unsupervised jobs in the Cook County series (21.6 per cent) was comparable with that in the Gluecks' series (21.8 per cent), the combination of street trades (also unsupervised) with unsupervised jobs gave a considerably higher incidence in the Gluecks' study (80 per cent) as compared with the Cook County research (28.3 per cent).

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

This research was undertaken to test the validity of the idea of the juvenile delinquent as not working—a stereotype generally accepted despite the lack of supporting statistical data. It also undertook to test the related assumption that a youth at work would not be delinquent. The tentative hypothesis was that delinquents don't work, and if they do work, they won't be delinquent. The prevalence of the foregoing assumptions is noteworthy in view of the Gluecks' research showing unequivocally that delinquents in correctional institutions had a higher incidence of work histories than nondelinquent controls. The importance of these assumptions lies in their relation to the current drive to modify child labor and compulsory education laws and allow youths (including potential and developing delinquents), discontented and failing in school, to enter the labor market. The drive is being made on the premise that in work is the solution for the problems of the delinquent and of the educational-system misfit.

The present research also looked for indications that the labor market could absorb the delinquent wanting to work. The nature of the jobs held by working delinquents was noted as suggestive of the kind of work delinquents might find in a free labor market. Also considered was the

extent to which present laws, exclusive of other factors, hinder a young person's entry into the labor market.

This analysis of cases from the Cook County Family Court shows that delinquents do work. It also shows that work does not protect a child from delinquency. While the incidence of work in the Cook County series (37.3 per cent) is less than that reported by the Gluecks (84.4 per cent for delinquents; 78.3 per cent for nondelinquents) and also less than that reported by the Illinois Child Labor Committee (70 per cent over sixteen and 75 per cent under sixteen), it is more than that reported for Chicago public high school students by the Illinois Committee on Youth, Education, and Occupations (21 per cent). It should again be emphasized that the Gluecks' subjects were institutionalized, while those in the Cook County series were still under the jurisdiction of the family court. Another fact to be reiterated is that the commonest complaints in both series were delinquent acts of appropriation (that is, crimes against property). If we correlate the incidence of work with the stage of developing delinquency and with the type of delinquent act, a relationship is suggested between the propensity to work and the propensity to commit delinquent acts of appropriation for the same purposes. The question may then be asked: Is there in the intensity of the drive for acquisition a factor that accounts for the greater incidence of work histories among delinquents whose acts lead to the correctional institution? *

* We cannot, of course, overlook the possibility that more juvenile delinquents were being committed to correctional institutions in Massachusetts at the time of the Gluecks' research than are being committed to institutions in Cook County at the present time.

Is there a continuum in the relation of work to the drive for acquisition, that is, the greater the drive, the greater the possibility of exercising means to satisfy it, by work or by delinquent acts? And if so, is there a cluster of sociological factors (opportunity, skills, and the likelihood of success) that determine whether a youth will choose one or the other method to satisfy his desire? But even given opportunity, the satisfaction of the desire still depends on skill and other factors involving likelihood of success. In brief, the different incidences reported for work among delinquents and non-delinquents indicate the need for more intensive research on the incidence of work among children under all educational and environmental conditions and among delinquents at all stages of developing delinquency.

The difference between the incidence of supervised and unsupervised jobs in the Cook County series and in the Gluecks' series and also the differences in the incidence of the various types of delinquent acts suggest some shifts in employment opportunities and delinquent mores since the time of the Gluecks' work.

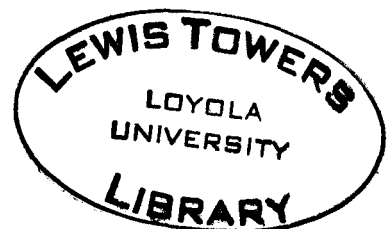
If the nature of the jobs held by the working delinquents in the Cook County series is representative of what the free labor market offers generally, the law is less a deterrent than other factors to the admission of the potential delinquent to the labor force. Despite some conflicts between the demands of work and school, most of the delinquents in this study were eligible by age for the labor force under the protection of the law. However, it should be recalled that in the Illinois Child Labor Committee study the

law did not touch 90.5 per cent of working youths, either because of violations or exemptions. More important than the law are the conditions in the labor market itself—the high rate of unemployment among the unskilled, uneducated, and racially handicapped—and the qualifications of the youth trying to enter it—unskilled, uneducated, and often racially handicapped. We cannot assume that society, even if willing, can create special jobs and working conditions for the developing delinquent with any more success than it has had in creating employment opportunities for adults with the same occupational deficiencies. All of this is borne out by the difficulties that delinquents in the Cook County series had in finding and holding jobs. The Gluecks' noted a "far lower proportion of fathers of the delinquents having good work habits."⁴⁴ What influence the parental example may have on the child's likelihood of success in work deserves consideration to the same extent that other parental and community patterns do.

The current controversy about work and delinquency should not distract us from the real problem—the incompatibility between a youth's endowment and the possibility of his achieving educational and employment status according to the dominant norms. If society's institutions (family, school, church, and state) reject the developing delinquent and thrust him unprepared on the labor market, it can only do so on the assumption that the impersonal market forces and industry are better equipped to deal with

⁴⁴Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 107.

him than are society's basic institutions. On the other hand, if society's institutions accept the potential delinquent, as they are learning to accept the otherwise handicapped, and are willing to educate him to enter a competitive labor market, they must undertake to solve some specific problems: What kinds of work are suited to the delinquent personality, what skills are needed, and what preparation must industry make to receive him.



APPENDIX A-B

APPENDIX A

SYNOPSIS OF LEGISLATION AFFECTING
CHILD WORKERS IN ILLINOIS

Child workers in Illinois may be subject to any or a combination of legislative acts generally designated as child-labor laws and compulsory-school-attendance laws. In this summary the main provisions are given. A summary of Federal law as contained in the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, and the Sugar Act of 1948 is published by the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the U. S. Department of Labor. Under the Fair Labor Standards Act:

Oppressive child labor is defined as employment of children under the legal minimum ages.

Age Standards:

- 16 - Basic minimum age for employment
- 18 - Minimum age for employment in occupations declared hazardous by the Secretary of Labor
- 14 - Minimum age for specified occupations outside school hours

• • • • •

The child-labor provisions do not apply to:

Children employed in agriculture outside of school hours for the school district where such children are living while they are so employed

Children under 16 years of age employed by their parents in occupations other than manufacturing or mining or hazardous occupations.

Children employed as actors or performers in motion picture, theatrical, radio or television productions.

Children engaged in the delivery of newspapers to the consumer.

Homeworkers engaged in the making of wreaths composed principally of natural holly, pine, cedar, or other evergreens (including the harvesting of the evergreens).

* * * * *

Age Certificates

An employer can protect himself from unintentional violation of the minimum-age provisions by obtaining and keeping on file an age or employment certificate for each minor employed, showing the minor to be of the age established for the occupation in which he is employed

Age or employment certificates, sometimes called work permits or working papers, issued under State child-labor laws are accepted as proof of age . . .
in most states .

Penalties for Violation

The Act provides, in the case of willful violation, for a fine up to \$10,000; or for a second offense, committed after the conviction of such person for a similar offense, for a fine of not more than \$10,000, or imprisonment for not more than six months, or both

Other Child-Labor Laws

... Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act ... applied to manufacturers or dealers contracting to manufacture or supply materials valued in excess of \$10,000 for the United States Government, requires that no boy under 16 and no girl under 18 years of age shall be employed in any work under the contract....

... The Sugar Act of 1948 ... contains provisions with which producers engaged in the production and harvesting of sugar beets or sugarcane must comply to obtain maximum benefit payments. These provisions include a minimum age of 14 years for employment and a maximum 8-hour day for children between 14 and 16 years of age. Members of the immediate family of the legal owner or of at least 40 percent of the crop at the time the work is performed are exempted from these provisions. During school hours, however, the higher standard of 16 set by the Fair Labor Standards Act would be controlling.

The Illinois child labor law's provisions would apply in the state of Illinois should they be higher than those of the Federal government.

The main provisions of the state law are:

A minor must be at least 16 years of age for work.... Minors between 14 and 16 years of age may be employed in these occupations outside school hours and during vacations but not in dangerous or hazardous factory work....

These provisions do not apply to work outside of school hours in agriculture, in the sale and distribution of newspapers and magazines, and to employment in and around a home at work usual to the home of an employer, not in connection with the business, trade, or profession of the employer.

Employment certificates are required to be procured and kept on file by the employer of minors under 16 working in occupations not specifically exempt.

Age certificates must be issued upon request by the issuing officer to any person between 16 and 20 years of age who presents the same proof of age as is required for the issuance of employment certificates.

No minor under 16 years of age shall work more than 6 consecutive days in any one week or more than 48 hours in any one week, or more than 8 hours in any one day, or be employed between 7 P.M. and 7 A.M. The hours of work of minors under 16 employed outside school hours shall not exceed 3 hours a day on days when school is in session, nor shall the combined hours of work outside and in school exceed a total of 8 hours a day.

No minor under the age of sixteen (16) years of age shall be employed, permitted or suffered to work:

1. In, about or in connection with any public messenger or delivery service, bowling alley, pool room, billiard room, skating rink, exhibition park or place of amusement, garage, filling station or service station, or as a bell-boy in any hotel or rooming house or about or in connection with power-driven machinery

* * * * *

The chapter of the Municipal Code of Chicago dealing with minors contains these provisions:

It shall be unlawful for any person under the age of seventeen years to be upon any public way in the city . . . between the hours of 10:30 o'clock p.m. and 6 o'clock a.m. . . . unless engaged in some occupation or business in which such child may lawfully engage under the statutes of this state.

It shall be unlawful for any girl under the age of eighteen years to distribute, sell, expose or offer for sale, any newspapers, magazines, periodicals, or to exercise the trade of a bootblack . . . in any public way or other public place in the city.

No boy under the age of fourteen years shall pursue any of the occupations mentioned in the above paragraph upon the public ways or other public places of the city before five o'clock in the morning or after eight o'clock in the evening.

No boy between fourteen and sixteen years of age shall pursue any of the said occupations upon the public ways or other public places of the city before five o'clock in the morning or after eight o'clock in the evening, unless he shall be provided with and have on his person an employment certificate

APPENDIX B

PROTOCOLS

The case numbers of the protocols are those of the working delinquents among the sample of 134 case histories from the Cook County Family Court records. The school grade is the highest achieved according to the record. It must be taken into account that the records might not have been up to date at the time of their analysis and also that the researcher may have overlooked cryptic references to the attainment of a higher school grade. The major complaint(s) are those listed on the covering data sheet to the court record or on the presenting complaint sheet or in the social history. Not all complaints are listed in instances of chronically recurring delinquent acts. The quoted references to work are taken verbatim from the case histories. The language is that of the case worker or officer reporting.

Case 1. Sex: M. Birth: 3/13/46. School grade: 8.

Major complaint(s): Incurability.

"The boy stated that he had been working at the ... Grocers ... part time and on Saturdays for ... \$10.00 to \$20.00 a week but that he has not been working for the past two weeks. He stated that he was laid off but did not know why The [stepfather] ... stated that ... [the boy] was fired from his job ... about three weeks ago because the proprietor had caught him stealing cigarettes which he later sold for 10¢ a pack."

Case 3. Sex: M. Birth: 6/15/46. School grade: 9.

Major complaint(s): Incurrigibility.

"Boy has had several jobs, in the recent past."

Case 6. Sex: M. Birth: 11/13/45. School grade: High school dropout.

Major complaint(s): Drinking; theft.

"John is not attending school at this time and is said to be employed part-time with his brother at the ... Motor Company and earns a \$1.00 per hour

"John is presently employed on afternoon hours from 5:00 P.M. to approximately 11:00 P.M. at the ... Tea Company working there after school on numerous stock work jobs. Mother states that the boy enjoys this type of work

"The boy is gainfully employed ... at the ... Department Store as a stockboy."

Case 11. Sex: M. Birth: 3/18/50. School grade: 7.

Major complaint(s): Burglary.

"On occasion, Johnny hustles groceries at the ... store and earns spending money"

Case 12. Sex: M. Birth: 8/13/48. School grade: 8.

Major complaint(s): Burglary of school.

"In regard to the boy's work, Henry was working in a store and had a job driving a cart for selling lemonade."

Case 14. Sex: M. Birth: 8/1/46. School grade: 9.

Major complaint(s): Burglary of boxcars.

"On the day in question, the boy was returning from work selling rings door to door for a ... Jewelry and Optical Co.

"John is not working at present, however, he did work this past summer as a ring salesman for a jewelry company."

Case 21. Sex: M. Birth: 2/28/49. School grade: 5.

Major complaint(s): Parking-meter larceny.

"She said he has been at the . . . on evenings to carry groceries and usually comes home with a little change, which he said he earned for carrying groceries at the . . . store

"Garnett stated that he usually worked at the skating rink earning funds for his many needs [Probation officer] advised the boy again if the late hours at the roller rink interferes with curfew and his schooling, he would have to quit. However, PO explained to the boy that he would make a visitation to the roller rink and talk to the proprietor about the boy's working hours."

Case 24. Sex: M. Birth: 11/9/46. School grade: 9.

Major complaint(s): Auto larceny; drinking.

"He was willing to work at a stable and animal hospital without pay because he liked these jobs and wanted to occupy his time constructively. Billy and the undersigned probation officer spent half a day trying to obtain such jobs but were unsuccessful

"On one occasion he was fired from his paper route job

"Apparently William kept his buggy in which he delivered groceries, under a porch."

Case 27. Sex: M. Birth: 7/2/46. School grade: 10.

Major complaint(s): Sex delinquency.

"Anthony stated that he and Eugene were trying to get customers to carry groceries for in the store that Wallace worked in."

Case 28. Sex: M. Birth: 10/26/45. School grade: 9

Major complaint(s): Burglary of food shop.

"On the day in question he had been babysitting for a friend of his mother, and he became involved in an argument with this friend over the amount of money he was to receive for his services."

Case 29. Sex: M. Birth: 1/2/48. School grade: Vocational school, grade 1.

Major complaint(s): Auto larceny.

"Robert is employed on a part-time basis earning \$6.00 per week."

Case 31. Sex: M. Birth: 12/5/46. School grade: 9.

Major complaint(s): Firing rifle in city limits.

"Gilbert does not work, he had worked at the . . . Country Club as a page boy, and is trying to get the job back at this time. When working at the Country Club Gilbert made around \$35 a week, which was all given to his mother. When asked how he liked working . . . Gilbert stated he loved it."

Case 32. Sex: M. Birth: 3/17/50. School grade: 7.

Major complaint(s): Sex delinquency.

"On weekends he caddies at the . . . Country Club and earns approximately \$10 per week."

Case 33. Sex: M. Birth: 5/15/47. School grade: 10.

Major complaint(s): Sex delinquency.

"George works part time as a caddy at the . . . Country Club and earns about \$15.00 per week. He keeps the money for expenses at school and at home."

- Case 35.** Sex: M. Birth: 1/30/45. School grade: 9.
 Major complaint(s): School problem; homicide investigation.
 "This boy has no regular full time experiences. He works part time across the street loading trucks. He worked there for about one month and earned about \$5.00 per day."
- Case 39.** Sex: M. Birth: 7/28/42. School grade: Dropout.
 Major complaint(s): Burglary; sniffing cleaning fluid.
 "I still have my paper route. I made \$16.00 and bought a pair of shoes, socks [sic] & a hair cut"
 "He has a paper route—also stops every afternoon at the project house office as the manager usually has some tasks for him to do."
- Case 41.** Sex: M. Birth: 11/3/48. School grade: 8.
 Major complaint(s): Burglary; shoplifting; aggravated battery.
 "He also said he has a paper route so that he must arise around 5:00 A.M. daily."
- Case 42.** Sex: M. Birth: 3/31/41. School grade: (?)
 Major complaint(s): Purse snatching; vandalism; theft; possession of a gun.
 ". . . worked at Sachs for one month, worked at a street carnival for two months, worked as landscaping assistant two weeks."
 Note: During parole he was employed on a part-time basis in an aunt's restaurant for \$20.00 a week.
- Case 43.** Sex: M. Birth: 4/1/48. School grade: 9.
 Major complaint(s): Bicycle theft; runaway.
 "Until six weeks ago James . . . was employed at . . . Bakery and then laid off due to a drop in business. Now he earns his spending money by odd jobs."

- Case 45.** Sex: M. Birth: 11/23/33. School grade: (?)
Major complaint(s): Burglary; shoplifting.
Note: After release from the Illinois State Training School for Boys at St. Charles he was employed but kind of work is not recorded. He previously held jobs as a busboy and for a construction company.
- Case 47.** Sex: F. Birth: 1/13/45. School grade: Vocational school, grade 1.
Major complaint(s): Runaway; incorrigible.
"She admits keeping late hours, that is until midnight, but said it is due to the fact that she works in a 'hot dog' stand until that time ... to support herself."
- Case 51.** Sex: M. Birth: 12/19/44. School grade: Vocational school, grade 3.
Major complaint(s): Runaway; curfew violation; drinking; gambling.
"Jessie said that he was working in a restaurant at O'Hare Field up until October 1961 when he went back to [school]
"...said that Jessie is working five days a week as a shipping clerk ... working there for one month."
- Case 52.** Sex: M. Birth: 8/11/45. School grade: Continuation school.
Major complaint(s): Auto theft.
"The boy works on Saturday delivering groceries and occasionally works part-time in a printing shop
"...boy ... employed every day except ... Thursday ... as a painter ... laid off ... there was not sufficient work to keep him employed."

Case 54. Sex: M. Birth: 2/22/48. School grade: 7.

Major complaint(s): Curfew violation; runaway.

"She claims that the boy is a paperboy and has been living in the Agency's office and earning money by delivering papers during the day."

Case 58. Sex: M. Birth: 10/23/45. School grade: High school dropout.

Major complaint(s): Auto larceny.

"...is employed with the ... Tea Company, having hours from 9:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M."

Case 63. Sex: M. Birth: 5/26/42. School grade: Continuation school dropout.

Major complaint(s): Assault; rape.

"In addition he worked for the ... box factory as a laborer, earning from \$60 to \$70 a week ... until last week ... laid off."

Case 64. Sex: M. Birth: 12/31/46. School grade: 10.

Major complaint(s): Runaway; auto theft.

"...he got a job in a restaurant and ... he was allowed his food ... never paid"

Case 65. Sex: M. Birth: 8/7/44. School grade: Continuation school.

Major complaint(s): Assault; auto larceny; attempted rape.

"...during the summer he works selling vegetables from a truck."

Case 66. Sex: M. Birth: 5/27/46. School grade: High school (?).

Major complaint(s): Runaway; attempted auto larceny.

Note: This boy plays in a combo at benefits and dances.

The record also states that he got an unidentified job.

- Case 67.** Sex: M. Birth: 12/7/45. School grade: 6.
 Major complaint(s): Larceny of purse; auto larceny.
 "The boy states that before he entered the Audy Home he had a paper route ... he earned \$6 per week"
- Case 68.** Sex: M. Birth: 1/2/47. School grade: 10.
 Major complaint(s): Auto theft.
 "...boy's father ... got Paul a job ... a machine shop ... the boy worked one day"
- Case 75.** Sex: M. Birth: 12/16/45. School grade: 10.
 Major complaint(s): Auto theft.
 "The boy works with the father, who owns several buildings. The job consists mostly of janitorial and maintenance work. The father pays the boy"
- Case 76.** Sex: M. Birth: 9/27/49. School grade: 7.
 Major complaint(s): Burglary.
 "The boy has a part-time job
 "After school he works in a Grocery Store part-time. This boy is usually home by 8:30"
- Case 77.** Sex: M. Birth: 9/15/43. School grade: Ungraded 7.
 Major complaint(s): Auto larceny; assault; robbery; Russian roulette.
 "...he obtained ... \$4 ...for helping a man pick up stuff at the dumps ... \$5 ... for helping ... move
 "He was working at Pizza Grill ... until about a month ago when he was laid off
 "He is working full time ... as a machine operator earning \$50.00 per week [on parole]"

- Case 78.** Sex: M. Birth: 6/7/45. School grade: 10.
Major complaint(s): Incurrigibility.
"Since being out of school Charles has not gotten himself a full-time job but is only able to get odd jobs...."
- Case 79.** Sex: M. Birth: 1/11/46. School grade: High school correspondence course. Major complaint(s): Sex delinquency.
"...has had a regular job since coming to this city....
"Also, works at... Lumber Co. ... earning about \$60.00 a week." Note: This subject was laid off.
- Case 82.** Sex: M. Birth: 7/26/51. School grade: 5.
Major complaint(s): Burglary.
"The boy has a strong desire [for] papers and magazines in order to make money."
- Case 93.** Sex: M. Birth: 8/14/47. School grade: 10.
Major complaint(s): Auto larceny.
"Father has his own dairy business and John helps on Saturday. It has been suggested that he work on the holiday but he seemed to want some free time....
"The boy stated that he works helping his dad deliver milk every Saturday."
- Case 96.** Sex: M. Birth: 4/8/46. School grade: 11.
Major complaint(s): Auto larceny.
"The boy stated that he is employed as a part time worker at the ... Tea Co. as a stockboy and that he earns \$1.50 per hour."

- Case 98. Sex: M. Birth: 9/3/49. School grade: 4.**
Major complaint(s): Runaway.
"Walter states that he has been sleeping in halls and back porches since leaving home." Note: He earned money carrying packages for women coming from the supermarkets.
"He stated that with the money he makes shining shoes, he can eat much better than he does at home."
- Case 101. Sex: M. Birth: 12/3/46. School grade: 9.**
Major complaint(s): Burglary; incorrigibility; auto larceny.
"When he was truanting he was working with ... remodelling a building."
- Case 108. Sex: F. Birth: 9/19/44. School grade: 10.**
Major complaint(s): Sex delinquency.
"Mary has secured a position with the ... Steamship Line and will start work on June 11th."
- Case 113. Sex: M. Birth: 8/22/46. School grade: 10.**
Major complaint(s): Auto larceny.
"Dan stated that he is now employed part-time at the ... Seal Co. and asked if the PO could get his schedule changed to better suit his working hours. PO advised boy he could do nothing concerning the schedule and ... the boy ... should concentrate all his time on bringing up his grades."

Case 115. Sex: M. Birth: 10/9/46. School grade: 9.

Major complaint(s): Auto theft.

"Boy claims he is employed at the ... Foods from 3:30 to 6:30 on the week days and also on Saturdays There he earns approximately \$20 a week, of which he banks it all

"The boy was quite content with his new job at ... Foods ... where he was earning \$1 per hour."

Case 116. Sex: M. Birth: 2/6/47. School grade: 10.

Major complaint(s): Auto larceny.

"The boy stated that he was working at ... , but that he had to leave his job in order to go back to school

"... he has found another job working with the ... News Bureau ... a Sports Reporter ... covers all football games ... receives \$1.00 for each game and also expenses."

Case 118. Sex: M. Birth: 8/11/46. School grade: 8.

Major complaint(s): Auto larceny.

"I have been working on a paper route and have been washing cars for some extra money

"The boy stated that he earns spending money by running errands for his neighbors."

Case 120. Sex: M. Birth: 3/25/47. School grade: 8.

Major complaint(s): Burglary.

"He stated that on Sunday approximately 2:30 P.M. he along with ... were picking tomatoes ... he had worked for Mr. ... on two occasions before

"Kenneth has a paper route in the afternoon and earns approximately \$1.25 a week."

Case 124. Sex: M. Birth: 8/5/46. School grade: 11.

Major complaint(s): Burglary.

"The boy stated... he is working for the ... Engineering Co. ... a transmission specialist... has worked for a period of time ... usually restricts his working to weekend ... he sometimes works evenings."

Case 133. Sex: M. Birth: 10/8/46. School grade: 9.

Major complaint(s): Auto theft.

"John ... periodically helped his uncle for which he is paid."

Case 134. Sex: M. Birth: 3/8/45. School grade: 9.

Major complaint(s): Runaway.

"He said he has had a paper route and has worked continuously at the ... supermarket ... works daily

"... working ... washing walls"

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