

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND THE NEGRO
IN CHARLES COUNTY, MARYLAND

by
Thomas Warren Seaman

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of the University of Maryland in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
1966

APPROVAL SHEET

Title of Thesis: Juvenile Delinquency and the Negro in
Charles County, Maryland

Name of Candidate: Thomas W. Seaman
Master of Arts, 1966

Thesis and Abstract Approved:

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Lejins", is written over a horizontal line.

Peter P. Lejins
Professor
Sociology Department

Date Approved: June 14, 1966.

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: Juvenile Delinquency and the Negro in
Charles County, Maryland

Thomas W. Seaman, Master of Arts, 1966

Thesis directed by: Professor Peter P. Lejins

Are there differences between Negro and white juvenile delinquents? This was the question that constituted the basis for this exploratory study. The objectives of the project were to determine if Negro juveniles were proportionately overrepresented among juvenile delinquents and if there were differences in types of offenses committed by Negro and white delinquents. The differences found were analyzed in the light of socio-economic class differences between Negro and white delinquents. Previous research has tended to indicate that racial differences disappeared when socio-economic class was held constant. The area selected for the project was Charles County, Maryland, because of the writer's access to court records and knowledge of the area.

Delinquency rates were developed to determine if Negroes were proportionately overrepresented among delinquents and/or if lower class juveniles were overrepresented among delinquents. Delinquent offenses were divided into four types: offenses involving theft or attempted theft of property, offenses involving violence, offenses involving the destruction of property, and offenses injurious to the child himself. Delinquency rates were developed for Negro and white

delinquents in each socio-economic class for each type of offense. A simple ecological investigation was conducted to determine if there were any significant patterns in the spatial distribution of the delinquents.

The findings show that Negro juveniles were not significantly overrepresented among delinquents even though Negro delinquents were overrepresented among lower-lower class delinquents. White delinquents were found to be overrepresented among delinquents from the lower-middle and upper-lower classes. The analyses of types of offenses revealed that types of offenses could be identified with certain levels of the socio-economic structure regardless of race, but that differences existed between Negro and white delinquents within socio-economic classes. The ecological investigation indicated that there was no significant ecological pattern among county delinquents.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A thesis is seldom written without the cooperation and guidance of a number of people; this thesis was no exception. I wish to express my appreciation to the Judge and personnel of the Juvenile Court of Charles County, Maryland, for providing access to the confidential files of the Juvenile Court. Without the understanding and cooperation of the supervisors and staff of the State Department of Parole and Probation, I could not have completed this project. The patient guidance and continued interest expressed by Dr. Peter P. Lejins greatly contributed to the completion of this thesis. Finally, I wish to thank my wife, Linda, for the time and effort spent typing and retyping this manuscript.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND.....	1
II. A REVIEW OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH IN DELINQUENCY AND THE NEGRO.....	13
III. THE RESEARCH DESIGN.....	29
A. The Hypotheses and Definitions of Terms and Concepts.....	29
B. The Universe.....	32
C. The Data.....	33
D. The Methods of Analysis.....	38
IV. THE FINDINGS.....	44
A. Negro Overrepresentation Among Delinquents.....	44
B. Socio-Economic Class, Race, and Delinquency.....	44
C. Race and Types of Offenses.....	46
D. Socio-Economic Class, Race, and Types of Offenses.....	49
E. The Ecological Picture.....	56
V. ANALYSES AND CONCLUSIONS.....	59
A. Negro Overrepresentation Among Delinquents.....	59
B. Socio-Economic Class, Race, and Delinquency.....	60
C. Race and Types of Offenses.....	64
D. Socio-Economic Class, Race, and Types of Offenses.....	66

Chapter	Page
E. The Ecological Picture.....	76
F. A Summary.....	77
G. Suggestions for Future Research.....	82
APPENDIX A. A SOCIAL HISTORY INVESTIGATION.....	84
APPENDIX B. THE INDEX OF STATUS CHARACTERISTICS AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE DELINQUENT POPU- LATION OF CHARLES COUNTY--1962 THROUGH 1964.....	88
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	92

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
I.	The Number and Rate of Charles County Juvenile Delinquents By Race--1962 Through 1964.....	45
II.	The Number and Rate of Charles County Juvenile Delinquents By Race and Socio- Economic Class--1962 Through 1964.....	47
III.	The Number and Rate of Charles County Juvenile Delinquents Who Committed Offenses Involving the Theft or Attempted Theft of Property By Race and Socio-Economic Class-- 1962 Through 1964.....	51
IV.	The Number and Rate of Charles County Juvenile Delinquents Who Committed Offenses Involving Violence By Race and Socio-Economic Class--1962 Through 1964.....	52
V.	The Number and Rate of Charles County Juvenile Delinquents Who Committed Offenses Involving the Destruction of Property By Race and Socio-Economic Class--1962 Through 1964.....	54
VI.	The Number and Rate of Charles County Juvenile Delinquents Who Committed Offenses Which Were Injurious to the Child By Race and Socio-Economic Class--1962 Through 1964...	55

LIST OF GRAPHS AND MAPS

Graph or Map	Page
GRAPH I. Charles County Delinquents By Race and Type of Offense--1962 Through 1964.....	48
MAP I. Charles County Delinquents By Place of Residence--1962-1964.....	57

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Are Negroes proportionately overrepresented among juvenile delinquents? Are there differences in types of offenses committed by Negro and white delinquents? Can the differences, if any, between Negro and white delinquents be explained in terms of socio-economic class differences? These are the questions that constitute the basis for this exploratory research project. The goal of this project was to determine if there is a difference in the proportionate number of Negro and white juveniles who are found to be delinquent. Further, to determine if there is a difference in types of offenses committed by Negro and white delinquents, and finally, to determine if the differences found can be explained in terms of socio-economic class differences.

The values of knowing if differences exist between Negro and white delinquents are numerous. If a judge is aware of these differences, he will be better equipped to deal with the children who appear before him. If the criminologist has this knowledge, he is better equipped to deal with questions related to causes of delinquency. If the correctional worker is aware of these differences, he is better equipped to work in the field of treatment and prevention.

Due to the limited nature of this project, it must be made clear that the findings which result will not be applicable to any population except the one under study. The project was conducted in an area with unique characteristics just as every area has its own uniqueness. The unique characteristics would have to be taken into consideration if one were to attempt to generalize from the findings. Although the findings of the project will be limited, it is hoped that the conclusions which are drawn will give indications to others in similar areas. It is also hoped that the findings will contribute to the complex question of the nature of juvenile delinquency in general.

The area selected for the project was Charles County, Maryland. This area was selected because of the writer's access to available data, such as court records, and the writer's general knowledge of the area as a probation officer in the juvenile court of Charles County.

Charles County is located in the southern portion of Maryland. Charles and two adjoining counties are frequently referred to as Southern Maryland. Charles County contains 502 square miles, of which 458 are land and 44 are water.¹ The 1960 Census recorded the population of Charles County at 32,572 persons. The entire county is considered rural, with 83 per cent of the population being rural non-farm and

¹Charles County Chamber of Commerce, Your Guide to Charles County, Maryland (1963), p. 5.

the remaining 17 per cent rural farm.² The economy of the county is divided into three major segments. Approximately equal portions of the labor force are divided among agriculture, the chief crop being tobacco; manufacturing, the major employer being the Federal Government; and tourism, providing services for tourists passing through the county.³

Charles County was originally settled by wealthy landholders who developed large manors. During the nineteenth century, slavery flourished and provided the chief source of labor for the landholders. The original settlers of the area were Catholic. Catholicism became the religion of slave and master alike and is still the major religion in the county.⁴

Change has come slowly to Charles County. Although the county line is only approximately twenty miles from Washington, D. C., it was not until the Federal Government established a Naval Propellant Plant and a major north-south highway was constructed that the pressures of modern America began to be felt within the county. Adjoining Charles County to the north is Prince George's County. This county is one of the most rapidly growing areas in the nation. At the

²United States Bureau of the Census, 1960 Census of Population, Characteristics of the Population, Vol. I, Part 22 (1963), p. 81.

³Charles County Chamber of Commerce, op. cit., p. 85.

⁴Ibid., p. 67.

present time, Charles County is beginning to experience some of the effects of this situation. As living space in Prince George's County becomes more scarce and modern highways produce faster transportation, Charles County can expect its rate of growth in population to increase rapidly.

Racial segregation has a long history in Charles County. According to the 1960 Census, Negroes constituted 33 per cent of the county's population.⁵ A great majority of the Negroes are the descendants of the slaves who worked the tobacco fields for their masters. Negroes still comprise the labor force that works the tobacco fields. Many Negroes can be found as tenant farmers on the same land their grandparents had worked as slaves. All public places of business in the county are now legally integrated, but most Negroes continue to patronize the places that have traditionally been for Negroes. The school system was segregated until the 1954 Supreme Court decision. Since that time the school system has operated on a freedom of choice basis. Most Negroes have continued to attend schools that were originally built for them, although more and more are transferring to the predominately white schools.

In order to interpret the findings of this project, it will be necessary for the reader to have an understanding of the socio-economic structure of Charles County. Due to the fact that there has been no recent study of this nature in

⁵United States Bureau of the Census, op. cit., p. 65.

Charles County, it has been necessary for the writer to develop an analytical description of the socio-economic structure. Because this description was based on estimates, it was necessary to deal with general rather than specific figures.

The stratification system used to describe the Charles County socio-economic structure will be a five-class system: upper class, upper-middle class, lower-middle class, upper-lower class, and lower-lower class. The five-class system was selected because researchers have found this system to be applicable to modern American society.⁶ W. Lloyd Warner pointed out that this type of system can generally be used in all American communities.⁷ It is Warner's methodology, which includes a five-class system, that is used in this project to establish social class placement for the juveniles under study.

Charles County has a relatively small upper class consisting of the owners of large estates and the highly paid professional group, such as doctors and lawyers. In most instances the highly paid professionals are members of the same landowning families. This upper class group is composed almost entirely of white families. Although there are

⁶Joseph Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York, 1957), Chapter 7.

⁷W. Lloyd Warner, "A Methodology for the Study of Social Structure," Social Structure, ed. Meyer Fortes (New York, 1963), p. 12.

a few highly paid Negro professionals working in the county, most of them reside outside the county. The upper-middle class in Charles County is also relatively small, consisting of owners of large to medium size businesses, and highly paid government workers. Here again, this group is composed of nearly all white families. The lower-middle class is again small, but somewhat larger than the upper-middle class. The lower-middle class consists of the lower paid professionals such as teachers, highly skilled craftsmen, and the medium salaried government workers. In this class the Negroes are well represented but are considerably outnumbered by the whites. The upper-lower class is the single largest class in the county. This class is composed of lower paid government workers, owners of small farms, service occupations and skilled construction workers. In this class one finds the largest concentration of both Negro and white. Due to the two-to-one population ratio, the whites outnumber the Negroes. The lower-lower class in Charles County is approximately the same size as the upper-middle class. The lower-lower class consists of poorly paid tenant farmers, laborers, and welfare recipients. This class is composed largely of Negroes. This is substantiated by the fact that approximately 90 per cent of the tenant farmers and 85 per cent of the welfare recipients are Negroes.

To summarize the socio-economic structure of Charles County, it is estimated that the population is 5 per cent upper class, 10 per cent upper-middle, 25 per cent lower-

middle, 50 per cent upper-lower, and 10 per cent lower-lower class. For the white community it is estimated that 7 per cent are upper class, 15 per cent are upper-middle, 31 per cent are lower-middle, 40 per cent are upper-lower, and 7 per cent are lower-lower class. For the Negro community it is estimated that 1 per cent is upper class, 4 per cent are upper-middle, 20 per cent are lower-middle, 60 per cent are upper-lower, and 15 per cent are lower-lower class.⁸

To identify the delinquent population studied and to give the reader necessary minimum information on the juvenile court structure in Charles County, the writer will present a brief history and characterization of the juvenile court in Maryland and more specifically Charles County, Maryland. By and large this history is similar to the development of modern juvenile delinquency control in the country as a whole. For this survey the writer relied heavily on an unpublished Master's Degree Thesis written by Nathalie S. Woodward at the University of Maryland in 1945.

The Constitution of Maryland, which was adopted in 1867, made no provisions for separate handling of juvenile offenders. The Constitution made no mention of dealing with juveniles in any different manner than adults. Both

⁸The percentage estimates were based on the "General Social and Economic Characteristics" of Charles County as presented in the United States Bureau of the Census 1960 Census of Population, pp. 149-160.

juveniles and adults were to be dealt with by the regular court structure. In 1902, the first juvenile court in Maryland was established in Baltimore City. This was only three years after the first juvenile court in the United States was established in Chicago. The 1902 juvenile court law for Baltimore City did not create a new court system. In Maryland at the time, there was in existence a Justice of the Peace Court which had jurisdiction over minor offenses for both adults and juveniles. The 1902 law provided for an additional justice of the peace in Baltimore to hear all minor juvenile offenses. The 1902 law was limited because it did not define juvenile delinquency; all juveniles who committed felonies still went to adult court. The only method for disposing of juvenile cases provided by the law was probation.⁹ In 1904 the law was amended to permit the justice to commit children under sixteen years of age to training schools.¹⁰ The major result of the 1902 law was to provide separate court treatment for juveniles and to change the emphasis to correction rather than punishment.

In 1916 the State Legislature passed the first state-wide juvenile court law. The new law placed the juvenile court on the circuit court level. This gave the circuit court exclusive jurisdiction over juvenile matters. The 1916

⁹Laws of Maryland, 1902, Chapter 611.

¹⁰Laws of Maryland, 1904, Chapter 521.

law defined delinquency as:

Any male or female child under the ages above specified /any male child under twenty years, or any female child under the age of eighteen years/ and who, while under such age, may violate any criminal law of the State, or is incorrigible, or knowingly associates with thieves, vicious, or depraved persons, or is growing up in idleness or crime, or knowingly frequents liquor or beer saloons unaccompanied by a parent or guardian, or is guilty of indecent, immoral, or lascivious conduct.¹¹

The 1916 law did not create new judgeships. The current circuit court judges were to conduct juvenile matters. The new law did provide for informality, allowing the judges to deviate from rules of procedure and evidence observed in the conventional criminal courts. The 1916 law was not mandatory and only a few counties chose to utilize it. Charles County did not establish a juvenile court at that time.

In 1931 a new statewide juvenile court law was passed. This law repealed the 1916 law. The 1931 law removed the juvenile court from the circuit court and placed it on the magistrate level. The governor, with the consent of the senate, was given authority to appoint another magistrate for each county to act as juvenile court judge.¹² The 1931 law did not greatly change the existing concepts concerning juvenile court methods and procedures. Local counties were responsible for appropriating funds to pay the new magistrate. Charles, along with several other counties, failed

¹¹Laws of Maryland, 1916, Chapter 326, Section I.

¹²Laws of Maryland, 1931, Chapter 323.

to appropriate the needed funds and thus the existing situation did not change.

As of 1945, Charles County had not established a juvenile court. Although the county had had the opportunity to establish a juvenile court, the need had not been felt. In 1945, juveniles who committed minor offenses were still taken to magistrate's court and those who committed felonies were taken to the circuit court. In 1945, the State Legislature passed the present juvenile court law. This law made the establishment of a juvenile court somewhat mandatory, stating that the circuit court shall have jurisdiction over juvenile matters. The juvenile court was again raised to the circuit court level and in most counties the regular judge was to conduct juvenile court.¹³ It was at this time that Charles County established a juvenile court.

The Juvenile Court of Charles County functions under the Juvenile Court Act of 1945. A juvenile delinquent in Charles County Juvenile Court is any child under the age of eighteen:

- (1) who violates any law or ordinance, or who commits any act which, if committed by an adult, would be a crime not punishable by death or life imprisonment;
- (2) who is incorrigible or ungovernable or habitually disobedient or who is beyond the control of his parents, guardian, custodian, or other lawful authority;
- (3) who is habitually a truant;
- (4) who without just cause and without the consent of his parents, guardian or other custodian, repeatedly deserts his home or place of abode;
- (5) who is engaged in any occupation which is in

¹³Laws of Maryland, 1945, Chapter 946.

violation of law, or who associates with immoral or vicious persons; or (6) who so deports himself as to injure or endanger the morals of himself or others.¹⁴

In this project a juvenile delinquent will be considered a child who falls under this legal definition and is found to be delinquent by the court.

The juvenile delinquency rate in Charles County is among the lowest in the state. The delinquency rate for Southern Maryland, which includes Charles County, in 1962 was 74 court delinquents per 10,000 children. In 1963, this figure dropped to 53 per 10,000 and in 1964 the figure increased to 114 cases per 10,000 children. In terms of actual numbers, in 1964 there were 97 children charged with delinquency in the Charles County Juvenile Court. In 1964 the delinquency rate for Maryland was 23.6 court delinquents per 1,000 children between the ages of ten and seventeen.¹⁵ This rate is somewhat deceiving because in Baltimore, Maryland, juvenile jurisdiction ends at age sixteen rather than eighteen as it does in the rest of the state. This means that if the sixteen and seventeen year old offenders from Baltimore were added to the Maryland rate, the rate would be substantially higher. In nearby Washington, D. C., the delinquency rate in 1964 was 29.2 per 1,000 juveniles

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Maryland State Department of Public Welfare, The Annual Statistical Report of Cases Disposed of by the Juvenile Courts (1964), p. 4.

between the ages of ten and seventeen.¹⁶ Using the same method for computing rates, the 1964 national average juvenile delinquency rate for urban areas was 37.7. The national average delinquency rate for semi-urban areas was 26.5 and the rate for rural areas was 13.3.¹⁷ The delinquency rate in Charles County in 1964 was 12.6 per 1,000 youths between ten and seventeen years of age, below all national averages as well as below rates in nearby areas.

¹⁶Charles V. Willie and Anita Gershenovitz. "Juvenile Delinquency in Racially Mixed Areas," American Sociological Review, Vol. 29, No. 5 (October, 1964), p. 742.

¹⁷United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Children's Bureau Statistical Series--Juvenile Court Statistics-1964 (1965), p. 23.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH IN DELINQUENCY AND THE NEGRO

The question of overrepresentation of Negro youths in juvenile courts has received a great deal of attention for a number of years. Attempts to explain this phenomenon have been numerous. One of the earliest explanations and one that has continued to be used, is that it is not Negroes who are overrepresented but the lower socio-economic classes which contain a high percentage of Negroes. As early as 1929, Shaw and his associates found that juvenile delinquents by residence were concentrated in certain "high delinquency areas" of the city and that these areas were deteriorated areas populated primarily by people from lower socio-economic classes. Shaw's early studies in Chicago found that Negroes and foreign-born minorities who inhabited the lower socio-economic areas of the city produced the highest rates of juvenile delinquency.¹⁸ By 1942, Shaw, his associates, and followers, had discovered the same pattern in many major cities around the nation. Shaw found that even though one minority group left the slum areas and another minority group replaced it, the highest delinquency rates

¹⁸Clifford R. Shaw, Frederick Zorbaugh, Henry D. McKay, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Delinquency Areas (Chicago, 1929).

remained in the slum areas. This early finding indicated that delinquency was associated not with particular minority groups, such as Negroes, but with other factors present in lower socio-economic areas.¹⁹

During the years 1939 through 1942, Bernard Lander examined the juvenile delinquency patterns in Baltimore, Maryland. Lander found that 49 per cent of Baltimore's court delinquents were Negro, although Negroes only constituted approximately 20 per cent of the comparable age grouping in the general population. Lander pointed out that some Negro areas had delinquency rates no higher than some white areas. He also found that delinquency rates for Negro areas varied as widely as rates for different white areas. These widely varying rates indicated great differences in behavior patterns that could not be ascribed as an effect of race per se. Lander concluded that "the indicated fundamental relationship between delinquency and Negro, is not a function of race nor being Negro, per se, but rather a reflection of the instability and anomie that characterizes Negro community life in Baltimore."²⁰

As recently as 1964, Charles Willie and others found a similar pattern in Washington, D. C. Willie's findings were

¹⁹Clifford R. Shaw, and Henry D. McKay, Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas (Chicago, 1942), pp. 51-54.

²⁰Bernard Lander, Toward an Understanding of Juvenile Delinquency (New York, 1954), pp. 64-82.

the results of a project he conducted as Research Director for Washington Action for Youth. Washington Action for Youth was a delinquency prevention project in Washington, D. C., sponsored by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. Willie found Washington to consist largely of white and non-white neighborhoods. Less than 20 per cent of the land area is devoted to racially mixed residential neighborhoods. He found that the higher socio-economic areas were predominantly white and the lower socio-economic areas were predominantly Negro. It was only the middle socio-economic areas that contained racially mixed neighborhoods. The juvenile delinquency rate in Washington was found to be 29.2 per 1,000 youths ten through seventeen years of age. The rate varied from 13.2 in white areas to 37.0 in non-white areas. In the racially mixed areas the rate was 29.7. It was found that as socio-economic status went down, the delinquency rate went up. When non-white high socio-economic areas were compared with white high socio-economic areas no difference in delinquency rates were found.²¹

The vast majority of research dealing with delinquency and socio-economic class has been conducted in urban areas. Since the project under way deals with a rural area, it was thought necessary to examine any existing research conducted in rural areas. One such project contrasted the differences

²¹Willie, op. cit., pp. 740-744.

between rural and urban delinquents. In 1948-1949, William P. Lentz compared 420 boys committed to the Wisconsin School for Boys. Lentz found that the rural group did not differ significantly from the urban group with regard to age, school grade attained, social status, and racial or minority group represented. It was found that nearly 80 per cent of both groups came from the lower socio-economic classes as indicated by the occupation of the family breadwinner.²²

There have been a number of explanations as to why the lower socio-economic areas or classes produce the highest delinquency rates. The most popular explanation for this phenomenon is that methods used to measure delinquency discriminate against the lower class juveniles. Proponents of this view claim that lower class youths are more likely to be arrested and referred to courts and social agencies than middle or upper class youths. Delinquent acts of middle and upper class juveniles do not come to the attention of the authorities and thus the delinquency rates are lower. One proponent of this view, Austin L. Porterfield, pointed out that lower class juveniles are from unimportant families and are friendless, whereas middle and upper class juveniles have friends among police and courts and thus are not officially

²²William P. Lentz, "Rural Urban Differentials and Juvenile Delinquency," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, Vol. 47, No. 3 (September-October, 1956), pp. 331-339.

recorded as delinquent.²³ The view of Porterfield and others is in contrast to a second explanation which holds that lower class juveniles do in fact commit more offenses and more serious offenses than middle and upper class juveniles. This view is held by Martin Gold, who found that in Flint, Michigan, lower class juveniles accounted for the highest delinquency rates, even when rates were computed a number of different ways. In the Flint Youth Study delinquency rates were computed from institutionalized delinquents, court records, arrests, police contacts, and self-reporting scales; lower class juveniles ranked highest on every method. Gold points out that even though this is not proof that lower class juveniles commit more offenses, it is enough evidence to justifiably accept the hypothesis.²⁴

A third explanation as to why lower socio-economic classes produce the highest delinquency rates has been developed around the concept of anomie. This explanation is rapidly being accepted by leading sociologists and constitutes the latest thinking on the subject of delinquency and social class. Anomie is not a new concept to sociologists. The concept was introduced by the French sociologist Emile Durkheim at the end of the nineteenth century.

²³Austin L. Porterfield and C. Stanley Clifton, Youth in Trouble (Fort Worth, 1946), p. 48.

²⁴Martin Gold, Status Forces in Delinquent Boys (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1963), p. 13.

Durkheim defined anomie as a state of normlessness. He explained that modern Western society permits everyone to have unlimited aspirations. Society forces everyone to strive for goals far beyond reach. When people fail to reach their desired goals, they become frustrated and dejected. Durkheim pointed to this situation as the cause of anomic suicide.²⁵

The concept of anomie lay dormant until the nineteen thirties, when it was picked up and developed by the American sociologist, Robert K. Merton. Merton used the concept of anomie in a systematic analysis of social and cultural sources of deviant behavior. He wanted to show how the social structure exerts a definite pressure upon certain groups of people in the society to engage in nonconformist rather than conformist behavior. Merton viewed modern American society in a state where great emphasis is placed on certain success goals but where equivalent emphasis upon legitimate means of achieving these goals is not present. Every person in the society is obligated to maintain lofty aspirations; anyone who does not maintain these aspirations is penalized by society. The American way of life encourages everyone to strive for the same goals, they are open to all; failure is only when one no longer strives for these goals. Merton pointed out that certain groups in society,

²⁵Emile Durkheim, Suicide: A Study in Sociology (Glencoe, Illinois, 1951), pp. 246-257.

namely the lower class groups, do not have full and equal access to legitimate means to achieving lofty goals. When legal means to achievement are not present many people turn to illegal means. This factor accounts for the highest rates of illegal behavior among the lower classes.²⁶ Durkheim had placed the emphasis on unlimited aspirations within society; Merton has emphasized the limited opportunities available to achievement for certain groups of people.

One can easily see why the concept of anomie has been used as an explanation for juvenile delinquency. Albert K. Cohen touched upon the concept of anomie when he pointed out that certain children are denied status in the respectable society because they cannot meet the criteria of the respectable status system. Cohen saw the American public school system as one of the places where children from the lower classes fail to meet the criteria of the respectable status system. He points out that the public school system is geared to middle class standards. Schools are operated by middle class boards of education, taught by middle class teachers, and curriculum is designed in terms of middle class values. Lower class children are labeled as "problematic" by teachers because of the children's lack of training in order and discipline and lack of interest in intellectual achievement. The children from the lower classes find

²⁶Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," American Sociological Review, Vol. III (October, 1938), pp. 672-682.

themselves failing to achieve the status they desire.²⁷

The inability of lower class children to achieve status has resulted in the formation of delinquent subcultures. Cohen suggests that the delinquent subcultures are the groups of boys' gangs that flourish throughout America. The delinquent tradition is passed on to the younger children by the older ones. The delinquent subculture is a way of dealing with adjustment problems. The delinquent subculture provides the child with the status he cannot receive from respectable society. The delinquent subculture rejects the status criteria of respectable society and provides status criteria that the children can meet. Cohen points out that it is the lower class children who have the longest way to go to achieve the goals society expects them to strive towards. Because of the conditions within society, the lower class children have the least chance of achieving these goals and obtaining status. One response to this dilemma is the delinquent subculture. Delinquency is a group response to the lower class child's inability to gain status from respectable society. The group finds status within the subculture.²⁸

Other researchers who saw group delinquency as a response to the anomic influences in society were William C. Kvaraceus and Walter B. Miller. They found that when a child,

²⁷Albert K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys (Glencoe, Illinois, 1955), pp. 112-115.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 121-131.

associated with a delinquent group of children, is motivated to engage in delinquent behavior, his perception of the potential gains to himself in terms of prestige and group status outweighs the sanctions that might be directed toward him by respectable society. Kvaraceus and Miller point out that delinquent behavior is an attempt by a child to meet some personal need. In this sense delinquent behavior must be considered as adjustive behavior from the standpoint of the child.²⁹

A landmark in the anomie theory of juvenile delinquency was presented by Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin. Cloward and Ohlin took the concept of anomie as developed by Merton and applied it to juvenile delinquency. They pointed out that when a social system presents problems of adjustment for members of a particular social class, it is possible that a group response to the legitimate rules of conduct will emerge. The problems of adjustment are caused by the acceptance of universally high aspirations and lack of equal opportunities to achieve these aspirations. Because these problems are most acutely felt in the lower classes, there may develop in that class a common resentment towards the advantages of others. Interaction among those sharing this resentment may provide encouragement for the withdrawal of support from the established system of norms. Once

²⁹William C. Kvaraceus and Walter B. Miller, Culture and the Individual (Washington, D. C., 1959), p. 65.

freed from the established system, such groups may adopt delinquent means of achieving success.³⁰

Lower class adolescents frequently find themselves at a competitive disadvantage in gaining access to legitimate opportunities to success. The adolescent perceives this disadvantage as a failure within the system and not within himself. He thus becomes free to join others in delinquent solutions to his problem, with little concern about the moral validity of his behavior. The result is the development and maintenance of a delinquent subculture. Within the subculture the delinquent finds status and support.³¹

To briefly summarize the anomie theory as it relates to delinquency and social class, it can be said that lower class juveniles are most often involved in delinquent behavior because their delinquent behavior is an attempt to achieve aspirations to which legitimate means of achievement are blocked. Middle and upper class juveniles are less often involved in delinquency because legitimate means of achievement are more readily available. The lower class juvenile finds status and achievement for delinquent behavior among his peers; thus delinquency becomes a group rather than an individual response to the socio-cultural conditions.

The controversy concerning overrepresentation of lower socio-economic class juveniles has not been settled to

³⁰Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity (Glencoe, Illinois, 1960), pp. 108-109.

³¹Ibid., pp. 110-118.

everyone's satisfaction. However, there are a number of basic principles that stand out. Negroes and other minority groups are regularly overrepresented in juvenile courts. The lower socio-economic classes are regularly overrepresented in juvenile court. This study will not attempt to deal with the question as to whether lower class juveniles are justifiably overrepresented, but will attempt to explore the validity of the theory that Negroes are overrepresented in juvenile court not because of race, but because of socio-economic class level.

Much less research has been conducted on types of offenses committed by juvenile delinquents. Very little has been done as far as contrasting Negro and white delinquents with reference to types of offenses. A number of researchers have hypothesized that certain types of offenses are associated with juveniles from particular socio-economic levels. Two such researchers are William W. Wattenberg and James Balistrieri, who after analyzing the records of a large number of delinquents found that auto theft is an offense usually committed by middle and upper class juveniles.³² The Flint Youth Study found that property destruction was most frequently committed by boys from the higher socio-economic levels. Offenses involving violence were most frequently committed by lower class juveniles regardless of race.

³²William W. Wattenberg and James Balistrieri, "Theft: A Favored-Group Delinquency," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LVII (May, 1952), p. 576.

Offenses involving theft appeared to be spread throughout the socio-economic structure, although lower class juveniles committed this type of offense more often. Offenses which are injurious to the child himself, such as truancy, sex offenses, and running away, appeared most often among lower class juveniles.³³

One explanation for different types of offenses appearing among particular socio-economic groups of juveniles regardless of race has been presented by Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst. Davis and Havighurst analyzed a large group of Negro and white parents from different socio-economic levels. They found that middle class families, regardless of race, tend to rear their children more rigidly than lower class families. They found that rearing practices of middle class Negro mothers tended to approximate the tightness of control by middle class white mothers contrasted to relative permissiveness of the lower socio-economic group of mothers of both races. Davis and Havighurst concluded that factors within different socio-economic levels are more important in child rearing than factors within racial groups.³⁴

To complete the review of previous research in delinquency and the Negro it is necessary to comment on the

³³Gold, op. cit., pp. 8-11.

³⁴Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review, Vol. 11 (December, 1946), pp. 698-710.

concepts of Negro and white crime and delinquency. Social science accepts the fact that in contemporary American society the color of a person's skin still makes a great difference in various conditions of living. Negroes in America have a greater or lesser categoric risk than whites to be a part of problems involving certain areas and conditions. Categoric risk means that being a member of a category, such as being Negro or being in the lower class, gives a person a greater or lesser chance to be involved in certain problems. For example, suicide in the United States is one problem in which Negroes are much less involved than white persons. On the other hand, crime and delinquency are problems for which the Negro has a much greater categoric risk than white persons.³⁵ The question has been raised as to whether this greater categoric risk for crime and delinquency can be explained in terms of a socio-economic class risk. Other possible explanations are the biological racial factor and the cultural differences between Negro and white.

The biological racial factor has all but been discarded by American social science. Donald R. Taft has pointed out that no man by reason of race alone is liable to crime and delinquency.³⁶ Taft has interpreted the overwhelming

³⁵Walter C. Reckless, The Crime Problem, 3rd ed. (New York, 1961), p. 42.

³⁶Donald R. Taft, Criminology, 3rd ed. (New York, 1956), p. 101.

evidence of cultural factors in Negro crime as proof of the nonexistence of biological factors. Taft accepts the possibility that both mental defects and mental disease may be somewhat more common among Negroes than whites, but he quickly points out that mental states are not often demonstrably hereditary and that many mental states may be effects rather than causes of crime and delinquency.³⁷

American social science for the most part agrees that the Negroes' greater categoric risk for crime and delinquency is a combination of a socio-economic categoric risk and a cultural categoric risk. Earlier in this chapter the concept of anomie and its relation to delinquency was described. The anomie theory is one example of the socio-economic class risk. Because of the existence of anomie in American society the lower a person is in the socio-economic structure the greater the risk that he will be involved in crime and delinquency. Other factors contributing to the socio-economic class risk have also been mentioned. Lower class persons are arrested and convicted of crimes and delinquency more often than persons above them in the class structure because lower class persons have the fewest friends and least influence among police and courts. Characteristics of the lower class, such as poverty, poor housing, unemployment, fewer educational opportunities, and the fact that lower class areas provide hiding places for underworld persons, all have an influence

³⁷Ibid., p. 137.

on the high categoric risk of lower class persons.

The high categoric risk for crime and delinquency for lower class persons has an effect on both Negro and white persons. Cultural factors within American society have created for the Negro a second categoric risk for crime and delinquency. At the present time in America there still exists a prejudice toward the Negro. Prejudice contributes to the fact that Negroes have a greater chance than white persons of being arrested, held for court action, and given a conviction and incarceration. Reckless points out that the percentage of Negroes arrested and convicted is disproportionately high in comparison to the general population. Special traditions and minority group status also contribute to the Negroes' greater cultural categoric risk for crime and delinquency. Reckless identified some of these special traditions as crap shooting, razor carrying, illegitimacy, matriarchal family life, and burial insurance. Reckless sees these special cultural patterns as having a direct effect upon crime and delinquency and exposure to arrest.³⁸

A comparison of Negroes and whites who commit specific types of offenses also reveals the presence of a Negro cultural categoric risk. The Negro rate for crimes of violence is two and one half times greater than the rate for white persons. Reckless sees this phenomenon partially resulting from the Negroes' special tradition which allows for the

³⁸Reckless, op. cit., p. 43.

carrying of weapons and the settling of disputes with violence.³⁹

Generally speaking, following the emancipation of the slaves the Negro in America was forced to accept the white pattern of values, but with a difference. The Negro was isolated from the status producing elements in American society. This has resulted in a dilemma for the Negro American; he is in American culture but he is not readily accepted by American culture.⁴⁰

³⁹Ibid., pp. 43-44.

⁴⁰Taft, op. cit., p. 147.

CHAPTER III

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

A. The Hypotheses and Definitions of Terms and Concepts

Taking into consideration previous research, the following hypotheses are in order in an attempt to determine if Negroes are overrepresented in juvenile court and/or if lower class juveniles are overrepresented in juvenile court.

1. In the Charles County Juvenile Court, Negro juveniles account for a significantly higher rate of the juvenile delinquency cases than white juveniles.

2. In the same court, lower socio-economic class juveniles account for a significantly higher rate of the juvenile delinquency cases than juveniles from socio-economic classes above the lower class.

In an attempt to determine if types of offenses are different among Negro and white delinquents and/or if types of offenses differ among socio-economic classes, the following hypotheses are in order.

3. In the Charles County Juvenile Court, juvenile delinquents who committed offenses involving the theft or attempted theft of property are from all levels of the socio-economic structure, although lower class juveniles commit this type of offense more often.

4. In the same court, a significantly higher rate of the juvenile delinquents who commit offenses involving violence are from the lower class.

5. In the same court, a significantly higher rate of the juvenile delinquents who committed offenses involving the destruction of property are from socio-economic levels above the lower class.

6. In the same court, a significantly higher rate of the juvenile delinquents who committed offenses injurious to the child himself are from the lower class.

The terms and concepts presented in the hypotheses are defined as follows:

1. "Charles County Juvenile Court" is the Circuit Court for Charles County, Maryland, Sitting as a Juvenile Court, with jurisdiction over any person under the age of eighteen who has been charged under the Maryland State Law with being dependent, neglected, feebleminded, or delinquent.

2. "Negro juvenile" is any person under the age of eighteen who identifies himself or herself as a member of the Negroid race.

3. "White juvenile" is any person under the age of eighteen who identifies himself or herself as a member of the Caucasian race.

4. "Juvenile delinquency cases" and "juvenile delinquents" are the juveniles who appear in court and are found to be juvenile delinquents under the Maryland Juvenile Court Act of 1945. (A definition of a juvenile delinquent as it

appears in the Act may be found in Chapter I.)

5. "Offenses involving the theft or attempted theft of property" are breaking and entering, larceny, shoplifting, and auto theft.

6. "Offenses involving violence" are assault and armed robbery.

7. "Offenses involving the destruction of property" are vandalism and arson.

8. "Offenses which are injurious to the child himself" are sex offenses, running away, truancy, and incorrigible behavior.⁴¹

9. "Lower class juveniles" and "juveniles from socio-economic levels above the lower class" are juveniles who are from particular socio-economic classes. Socio-economic class level will be determined by the use of W. Lloyd Warner's Index of Status Characteristics.⁴² This Index will be described in detail later in this chapter.

⁴¹The specific offenses used to define types of offenses listed in items five through eight are not an exhaustive list of juvenile offenses, but the offenses used do include all types of offenses committed by juveniles in Charles County during the period under study. The classification of specific offenses into four types was performed by the writer. The basis for classification was the distinguishing characteristic of each type; for example, the distinguishing characteristic of vandalism and arson is the destruction of property.

⁴²Warner, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

B. The Universe

The area selected for this project is Charles County, Maryland. In order to obtain a current picture of the delinquency characteristics in Charles County, the three most recent years for which records of delinquents appearing before the juvenile court were available were selected--1962 through 1964. It was felt that a three-year period would provide a workable number of cases and compensate for the possibility of selecting an atypical year. The three-year period provided 193 delinquency cases.

It was necessary to eliminate from the universe all delinquency cases involving juveniles who were not residents of the county. This was necessary because much of the data used in this project were based on Charles County population statistics and many of the research techniques involve comparing the delinquent population with a portion of the entire juvenile population of the county. If cases involving non-county residents were not eliminated, accurate comparisons could not be made. Cases involving non-county residents were those juveniles who traveled to Charles County from other jurisdictions and committed offenses in the county. During the years 1962 through 1964, less than ten per cent of the delinquency cases were of this type. After these cases were eliminated the universe provided 175 delinquency cases.

C. The Data

The data needed for the project were the number of Negro and white juveniles who appeared before the court and were found to be juvenile delinquents, plus the type of offense each had committed. These data were gathered by going through the court files on every juvenile found to be a juvenile delinquent during the calendar years 1962 through 1964. Each file contained a juvenile petition on which was recorded the age and race of the juvenile along with the offense each had committed. The information on the petition is usually furnished for the court by the police officer who investigated the case. If no police officer is involved in the case, such as in a truancy case, then the information is furnished by the Board of Education or the parents of the child.

In order to determine if Negroes were overrepresented in the juvenile court, it was necessary to have an accurate count of the number of Negro and white juveniles living in the county in 1962 through 1964. These data were obtained from the permanent records of the Charles County Board of Education. The Board of Education maintains records for the parochial as well as the public schools. The school records contain the age and race of each child. Since mandatory school attendance ends at age sixteen, school records are accurate only through age fifteen. In order to obtain an accurate count of the sixteen and seventeen year olds for

a given year, it was necessary to count the number of children who were fourteen and fifteen years old two years previously. Although it is only an assumption that those children who were fourteen and fifteen were still living in the county when they were sixteen and seventeen, it is believed to be a sound assumption because of the relatively small population mobility within the county. Lack of population mobility is substantiated by the total school enrollment in the county in 1961 as compared with 1963. In 1961 there were 9,202 children enrolled in school; by 1963 the number had increased to 9,963--an increase of only 8 per cent over a two-year period. Lack of population mobility is further substantiated by the records of the County Chamber of Commerce which show that very few families left the county between 1960 and 1964.

During the period under study only three children below the age of ten were found to be juvenile delinquents. Due to this fact, it was felt that a comparison by race between juvenile delinquency cases and county juveniles between the ages of ten and seventeen would produce the most accurate account of Negro and white juvenile delinquency in the county.⁴³ Since only statistics on juveniles ten through

⁴³Ten through seventeen is the most vulnerable age group for delinquency. This age grouping has been used by leading researchers in juvenile delinquency, including Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay (Shaw, op. cit., 1942, p. 63) and Charles V. Willie (Willie, op. cit., p. 740). The age grouping is also used in the U. S. Children's Bureau Statistical Series--Juvenile Court Statistics (1965, p. 11).

seventeen years of age would be used, it was not necessary to compile figures on county juveniles below the age of ten.

Data needed for the Index of Status Characteristics were the types of dwellings in which each delinquent lived, the location of the dwelling, and the occupation and source of income of the breadwinner in the home of each delinquent. These data were used to determine the socio-economic characteristics of the delinquent's family. The method used to determine class placement will be discussed later in this chapter. These data were compiled from social history investigations on each delinquent; the social histories were part of the court files. The social history is prepared by the juvenile probation officer for the court. The probation officer interviews the child and parents, parent, or guardian in the home of the child. Information on occupation and source of income is obtained directly from the breadwinner. Information on the type and location of dwelling is obtained directly by the probation officer while visiting the home. Social history investigations are conducted in order to provide the juvenile court judge with background information on the delinquent and his home; the investigations are not prepared to provide objective sociological data. The investigations contain much more information than has been mentioned above; some of the information is based on subjective opinions of the probation officer. Since the data needed for this project is factual in nature, demands no interpretation by the probation officer, and is presented

factually in the social history, it was felt that the data could be accepted as valid. An example of a social history may be found in Appendix A.

Since the data from the social histories were of primary importance in this project and since the social histories were produced by probation officers, a description of the probation officers' qualifications is in order. In Charles County the probation staff is employed by the State Department of Parole and Probation. Probation officers are employed only after passing a state merit system examination. To qualify to take the examination one must have received a bachelor's degree from an accredited college or university. The specific field in which the degree was taken is not specified although a degree in a social science is desired. In Charles County during the three years under study the social histories were written by two probation officers. One of the probation officers was the writer and the second was the writer's predecessor. The writer's predecessor had received a bachelor's degree in political science and at the time the social histories were written he was attending law school. The writer had received a bachelor's degree in sociology and was attending graduate school in sociology. The probation officer devotes approximately one-third of his time conducting social history investigations. The remaining two-thirds of his time is devoted to the probation caseload.

Still other data needed were the number of Negro and white county juveniles ten through seventeen years of age in

each socio-economic class. Since there has been no study of this type in the county, it was necessary for the writer to determine these figures. The number of Negro and white county juveniles ten through seventeen years of age in each socio-economic class was determined by using the total number of Negro and white county juveniles ten through seventeen years of age and the estimated percentage of Negro and white county residents in each socio-economic class.⁴⁴ The total number of Negro and white juveniles ten through seventeen years of age were divided into groups equal to the estimated percentage of Negro and white county residents in each socio-economic class. In other words, since 20 per cent of the Negro residents were estimated to be in the lower-middle class, 20 per cent of the total number of Negro juveniles ten through seventeen years of age were estimated to be in the lower-middle class. This same procedure was followed for Negro and white juveniles ten through seventeen years of age in each of the five socio-economic classes.

The writer accepted the resulting figures with a clear understanding of the possibilities of errors that might be involved. It must be remembered that the percentages of Negro and white residents in each socio-economic class were estimated from general social and economic characteristics of county residents. Error may also be involved in assuming

⁴⁴The estimated percentages can be found on pages 6 and 7 of Chapter I.

that each socio-economic class contains a proportionate number of juveniles ten through seventeen years of age. Data on the size of families by socio-economic class was not available.

D. The Methods of Analysis

The techniques used to present the data were rates and percentages. In order to determine if Negroes were over-represented in the juvenile court rates were developed. The rate used was the number of delinquents per 1,000 juveniles ten through seventeen years of age. Rates were developed for all delinquents, plus separate rates for Negro and white delinquents for each of the three years under study as well as combined rates for the entire three years. These rates were developed from the total number of Negro and white delinquents and the total number of Negro and white county juveniles ten through seventeen years of age. In order to determine if lower class Negro and/or white juveniles were overrepresented in the court, rates were developed for Negro and white juveniles in each socio-economic class. These rates were developed from the number of Negro and white delinquents in each socio-economic class and the number of all Negro and white juveniles ten through seventeen years of age in each socio-economic class.

As mentioned earlier, the method used to determine socio-economic class placement of each delinquent was the Index of Status Characteristics developed by W. Lloyd Warner.

The Index of Status Characteristics (I.S.C.) was selected because the I.S.C. uses the five class system which it was believed would best describe the socio-economic structure of the county. The five class system was described in Chapter I and an explanation was given as to why it was selected. The I.S.C. was also selected because the data needed were available from the social history of each delinquent. It has also been found that the factors used to determine class placement are capable of exact comparison throughout all American communities.⁴⁵

The characteristics required by the I.S.C. are the type of dwelling, location of dwelling, and the occupation and source of income of the breadwinner in each dwelling. The source and validity of these data have been presented. These factors were extracted from the social history by the writer. After tabulating all four characteristics for each delinquent and his family, the writer rated each characteristic using the scales provided by Warner. After each delinquent and his family had been rated on the four characteristics, the weighted totals were secured, again using a scale provided by Warner. The weighted totals were then converted into social class levels. (Appendix B contains the scales used for rating the characteristics, the scale used to secure weighted totals, the conversion table used to change weighted totals into social classes, and the resulting socio-economic class placement of each delinquent.)

⁴⁵Warner, op. cit., p. 12.

The steps involved in converting the four characteristics into socio-economic class levels were predominantly mathematical. Once objective characteristics had been secured and ratings had been determined, the remaining steps were mechanical. The writer has already presented the steps taken to secure the characteristics. It was pointed out that the characteristics were presented factually in the social history. Since the scales used to convert the characteristics into ratings require factual information, objectivity was not considered a major problem. The one exception in this process was converting location of dwelling into type of area. This step required making a decision concerning the type of area, for example, whether the area was a slum or an area considerably deteriorated, but not slum. Although objectivity could not be completely assured, it was felt that the writer's knowledge of all dwelling areas in the county provided an acceptable background for making these evaluations.

As mentioned earlier, the I.S.C. utilizes the five class system--upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower, and lower-lower. According to Warner, using the procedure presented above, placement in one of these brackets is correct 96 per cent of the time. When a small letter subscript accompanies one of these class brackets (e.g. lower-lower u.l.), this indicates that social class placement is correct 69 per cent of the time. Warner points out that 96 per cent and 69 per cent are the degrees of accuracy

of the class placement for predictive purposes. These percentages were determined through the use of statistical techniques.⁴⁶ Also included in the I.S.C. are indeterminate classes. Placement in an indeterminate class indicates that social class placement cannot be made with greater certainty than to say that the family under consideration is between the two classes or in one or the other of the two classes indicated.

In this project, for the purposes of analysis, those delinquents who fell into the indeterminate classes were equally divided between the class directly above and below. If there was only one delinquent in an indeterminate class, he was arbitrarily placed in the class directly above. For those delinquents who fell into classes with subscripts, 69 per cent were placed in that same class without a subscript and the remaining 31 per cent were placed in the class directly above. This division was based on the 69 per cent degree of accuracy as presented by Warner. Dividing the delinquents who fell into the indeterminate classes and the classes with subscript among the five basic classes will cause the findings of this project to be less reliable than they might have been had the writer been able to deal directly with the indeterminate classes and classes with a subscript. Since the socio-economic classes of the delinquents were to be compared with the socio-economic class placement

⁴⁶Warner, op. cit., p. 14.

of all juveniles ten through seventeen years of age, and since indeterminate classes and classes with a subscript were not used in describing the class structure of all juveniles ten through seventeen years of age, it was necessary to eliminate the indeterminate classes and classes with a subscript. It was felt that the methods used to distribute those delinquents who fell into the indeterminate classes and classes with a subscript would provide the most accurate socio-economic class distribution possible under the circumstances described above.

Percentages and rates were used to determine if there were differences in types of offenses committed by Negro and white delinquents and/or if there were differences in types of offenses committed by delinquents from different socio-economic classes. The data on types of offenses were analyzed to determine what per cent of the Negro and white delinquents committed each of the four types of offenses. These percentages show the actual differences between types of offenses committed by Negro and white delinquents. To determine if there were differences in types of offenses committed by delinquents from different socio-economic classes, the data on the socio-economic class of each delinquent and the data on the socio-economic class distribution of all juveniles ten through seventeen years of age were used. First, the Negro and white delinquents who committed each type of offense were placed in their proper socio-economic class. Secondly, Negro and white delinquency rates

were developed for each type of offense for each socio-economic class. This was done using the socio-economic class placement of each delinquent for each type of offense and the number of all Negro and white juveniles ten through seventeen years of age in each socio-economic class. These rates show the differences between Negro and white delinquents in the same socio-economic class who committed the same type of offense. These rates also show the differences between the delinquents in different socio-economic classes who committed the same type of offense. The rate used was the number of Negro or white delinquents per 1,000 Negro or white juveniles ten through seventeen years of age.

The final method of analysis used in this project was a simple ecological investigation of the delinquents under study. The residence of each Negro and white delinquent was plotted on a map of Charles County. The residence of each juvenile was taken from the court petition. The purpose of the ecological investigation was to determine if there were any significant patterns in the spatial distribution of county delinquents.

CHAPTER IV

THE FINDINGS

A. Negro Overrepresentation Among Delinquents

In order to determine if Negroes were overrepresented among Charles County juvenile delinquents, rates of delinquency were developed. The rate used was the number of Negro or white delinquents per 1,000 Negro or white juveniles ten through seventeen years of age. Table I shows that taking each of the three years under study separately, in 1962 the Negro rate was 7.5, the rate for white delinquents was 6.4, and the combined rate was 6.9. In 1963 the Negro rate was 9.1, the rate for white delinquents was 7.2, and the combined rate was 7.9. In 1964 the rate for Negro delinquents was 12.4, the rate for white delinquents was 12.9, and the combined rate was 12.7. When the figures for the three years were combined it was found that the Negro delinquency rate was 9.7, the white delinquency rate was 8.8, and the combined rate was 9.2.

B. Socio-Economic Class, Race, and Delinquency

To determine if lower class Negro and/or white delinquents were proportionately overrepresented among county

TABLE I

THE NUMBER AND RATE* OF CHARLES COUNTY
JUVENILE DELINQUENTS BY RACE--1962 THROUGH 1964

YEAR	NUMBER			RATE		
	NEGRO	WHITE	ALL	NEGRO	WHITE	ALL
1962	18	23	41	7.5	6.4	6.9
1963	23	27	50	9.1	7.2	7.9
1964	33	51	84	12.4	12.9	12.7
COMBINED	74	101	175	9.7	8.8	9.2

*The rate used was the number of delinquents per 1,000 juveniles ten through seventeen years of age.

delinquents, rates of delinquency were developed for Negro and white delinquents by socio-economic class as well as combined rates for each socio-economic class. In some cases the total number of delinquents in a given class was too small to produce a meaningful rate. Rather than develop a rate, the writer dealt with the total number. These cases can be identified in the tables by the parentheses around the number.

Table II shows that during the three years under study only one delinquent belonged to the upper class--a white delinquent. The upper-middle class contained two delinquents--both were white. Within the lower-middle class the Negro delinquency rate was 2.0, the rate for white delinquents was 13.2, and the rate for all delinquents was 9.8. In the upper-lower class the Negro delinquency rate was 3.7, the white delinquency rate was 8.4, and the rate for all delinquents was 6.1. In the lower-lower class the Negro delinquency rate was 47.3, the rate for white delinquents was 17.7, and 35.2 was the rate for all delinquents.

C. Race and Types of Offenses

To determine if there was a difference in types of offenses committed by Negro and white delinquents, percentages were used. Percentages were developed for the number of Negro and white delinquents who committed each type of offense as well as combined percentages for all delinquents. Graph I shows that during the three years under study, 59

TABLE II

THE NUMBER AND RATE* OF CHARLES COUNTY JUVENILE DELINQUENTS
BY RACE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS--1962 THROUGH 1964

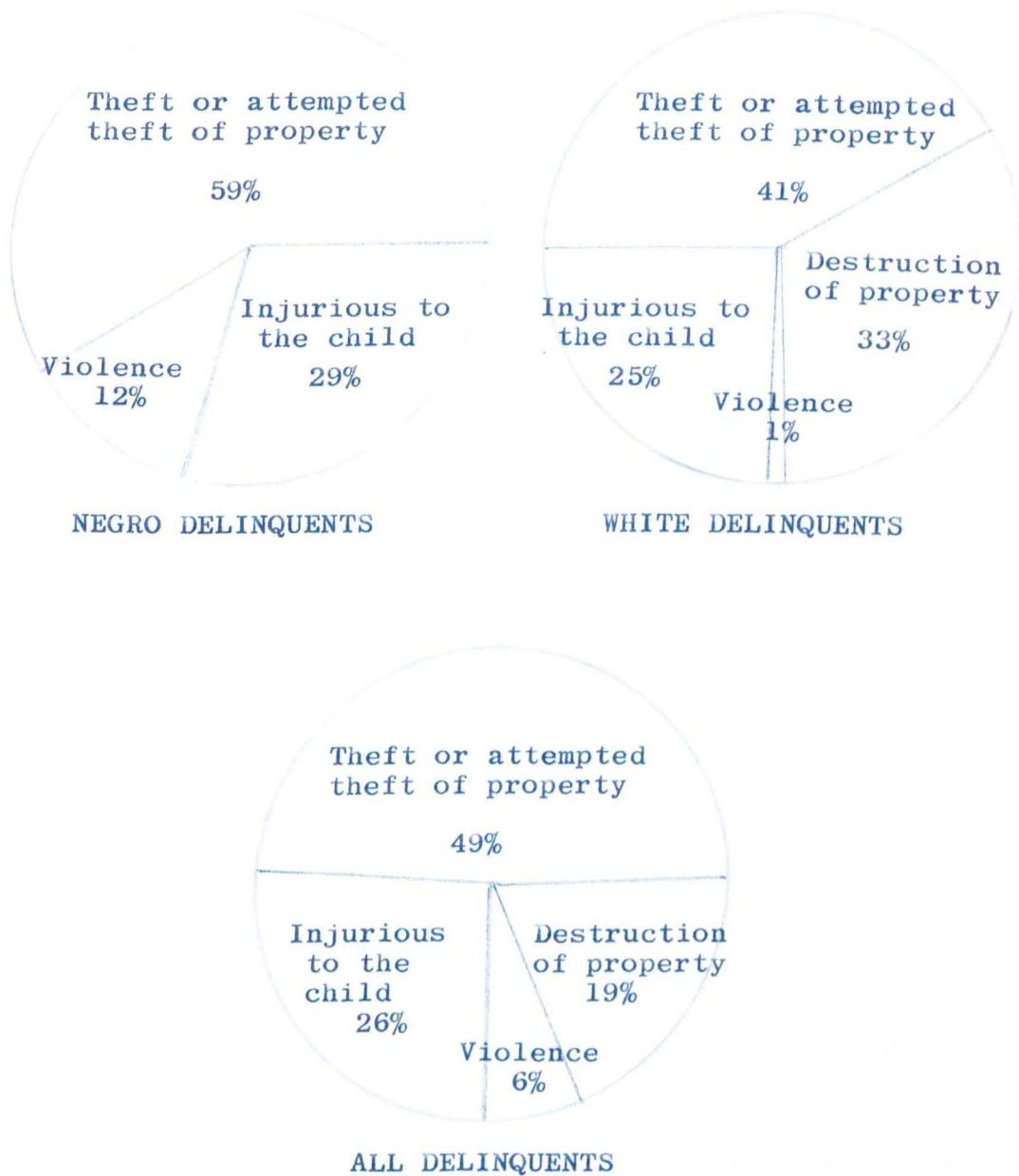
CLASS	NUMBER			RATE		
	NEGRO	WHITE	ALL	NEGRO	WHITE	ALL
UPPER	0	1	1	0	(1)	(1)
UPPER MIDDLE	0	2	2	0	(2)	(2)
LOWER MIDDLE	3	47	50	2.0	13.2	9.8
UPPER LOWER	17	37	54	3.7	8.4	6.1
LOWER LOWER	54	14	68	47.3	17.7	35.2
TOTALS	74	101	175	9.7	8.8	9.2

*The rate used was the number of delinquents per 1,000 juveniles ten through seventeen years of age.

A number in parentheses is a total number and not a rate. This was done when the total number was too small to produce a meaningful rate.

GRAPH I

CHARLES COUNTY DELINQUENTS BY RACE
AND TYPE OF OFFENSE--1962 THROUGH 1964*



*From Juvenile Court records

per cent of the Negro delinquents committed offenses involving the theft or attempted theft of property, 41 per cent of the white delinquents committed this type, and 49 per cent of all delinquents committed offenses of this type. Of the Negro delinquents, 12 per cent committed offenses involving violence, only 1 per cent of the white delinquents committed this type, and only 6 per cent of all delinquency offenses were of this type. None of the Negro delinquents committed offenses involving the destruction of property, 33 per cent of the white delinquents committed this type, and 19 per cent of all delinquency offenses were of this type. Of the Negro delinquents, 29 per cent committed offenses injurious to the child, 25 per cent of the white delinquents committed this type, and 26 per cent of all delinquents committed this type of offense.

D. Socio-Economic Class, Race, and Types of Offenses

To determine if types of offenses differ among Negro and white delinquents in the same socio-economic class and if types of offenses differ between socio-economic classes, rates were used. The rate used was again the number of Negro or white delinquents per 1,000 Negro or white juveniles ten through seventeen years of age. Rates were developed for Negro and white delinquents in each socio-economic class who committed each type of offense as well as combined rates for each class. Here again, in some cases the total number of delinquents in a given class was too small to

produce a meaningful rate. Rather than develop a rate, the writer again dealt with the total number. These cases can be identified in the tables by the parentheses around the number.

Table III presents the differences between Negro and white delinquents and socio-economic class differences between delinquents who committed offenses involving the theft or attempted theft of property. Only one upper class delinquent committed an offense of this type--a white delinquent. Only one upper-middle class delinquent committed this type of offense--also a white delinquent. In the lower-middle class the Negro delinquency rate was 2.0, the white delinquency rate was 4.6, and 3.8 was the combined rate for all delinquents. In the upper-lower class the Negro delinquency rate for this same type of offense was 2.2, the white delinquency rate for this offense was 3.6, and 2.9 was the combined rate for all delinquents. For this same type of offense the delinquency rates in the lower-lower class were 27.1 for Negro delinquents, 8.9 for white delinquents, and 19.7 for all delinquents.

Table IV presents the differences between Negro and white delinquents and socio-economic class differences between delinquents who committed offenses involving violence. None of the delinquents from the upper and upper-middle classes committed offenses of this type. Only one lower-middle class delinquent committed this type--a white delinquent. Only two upper-lower class delinquents committed

TABLE III

THE NUMBER AND RATE* OF CHARLES COUNTY JUVENILE DELINQUENTS
WHO COMMITTED OFFENSES INVOLVING THE THEFT OR
ATTEMPTED THEFT OF PROPERTY BY RACE AND
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS--1962 THROUGH 1964

CLASS	NUMBER			RATE		
	NEGRO	WHITE	ALL	NEGRO	WHITE	ALL
UPPER	0	1	1	0	(1)	(1)
UPPER MIDDLE	0	1	1	0	(1)	(1)
LOWER MIDDLE	3	16	19	2.0	4.6	3.8
UPPER LOWER	10	16	26	2.2	3.6	2.9
LOWER LOWER	31	7	38	27.1	8.9	19.7
TOTALS	44	41	85	5.8	3.6	4.5

*The rate used was the number of delinquents per 1,000 juveniles ten through seventeen years of age.

A number in parentheses is a total number and not a rate. This was done when the total number was too small to produce a meaningful rate.

TABLE IV

THE NUMBER AND RATE* OF CHARLES COUNTY JUVENILE DELINQUENTS
WHO COMMITTED OFFENSES INVOLVING VIOLENCE BY RACE
AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS--1962 THROUGH 1964

CLASS	NUMBER			RATE		
	NEGRO	WHITE	ALL	NEGRO	WHITE	ALL
UPPER	0	0	0	0	0	0
UPPER MIDDLE	0	0	0	0	0	0
LOWER MIDDLE	0	1	1	0	(1)	(1)
UPPER LOWER	2	0	2	(2)	0	(2)
LOWER LOWER	7	0	7	6.1	0	3.6
TOTALS	9	1	10	1.2	(1)	.5

*The rate used was the number of delinquents per 1,000 juveniles ten through seventeen years of age.

A number in parentheses is a total number and not a rate. This was done when the total number was too small to produce a meaningful rate.

this type of offense--both were Negro. In the lower-lower class the rate for Negro delinquents who committed offenses involving violence was 6.1, none of the lower-lower class white delinquents committed this type of offense, and 3.6 was the rate for all delinquents in the lower-lower class who committed the same type of offense.

Table V presents the differences between Negro and white delinquents and socio-economic class differences between delinquents who committed offenses involving the destruction of property. None of the Negro delinquents committed this type of offense. None of the white delinquents from the upper class and only one white delinquent from the upper-middle class committed this type of offense. In the lower-middle class the rate for white delinquents was 4.9 and the rate for all delinquents who committed this same type of offense was 3.4. The rate for white delinquents in the upper-lower class was 2.8 and 1.4 was the rate for all delinquents in the upper-lower class who committed this type of offense. In the lower-lower class only two white delinquents committed offenses involving the destruction of property.

Table VI presents the differences between Negro and white delinquents and socio-economic class differences between delinquents who committed offenses injurious to the child. None of the delinquents from the upper or upper-middle classes committed offenses of this type. In the lower-middle class, none of the Negro delinquents committed

TABLE V

THE NUMBER AND RATE* OF CHARLES COUNTY JUVENILE DELINQUENTS
WHO COMMITTED OFFENSES INVOLVING THE DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY
BY RACE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS--1962 THROUGH 1964

CLASS	NUMBER			RATE		
	NEGRO	WHITE	ALL	NEGRO	WHITE	ALL
UPPER	0	0	0	0	0	0
UPPER MIDDLE	0	1	1	0	(1)	(1)
LOWER MIDDLE	0	17	17	0	4.9	3.4
UPPER LOWER	0	13	13	0	2.8	1.4
LOWER LOWER	0	2	2	0	(2)	(2)
TOTALS	0	33	33	0	2.9	1.7

*The rate used was the number of delinquents per 1,000 juveniles ten through seventeen years of age.

A number in parentheses is a total number and not a rate. This was done when the total number was too small to produce a meaningful rate.

TABLE VI

THE NUMBER AND RATE* OF CHARLES COUNTY JUVENILE DELINQUENTS
WHO COMMITTED OFFENSES WHICH WERE INJURIOUS TO THE CHILD BY
RACE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS--1962 THROUGH 1964

CLASS	NUMBER			RATE		
	NEGRO	WHITE	ALL	NEGRO	WHITE	ALL
UPPER	0	0	0	0	0	0
UPPER MIDDLE	0	0	0	0	0	0
LOWER MIDDLE	0	13	13	0	3.7	2.8
UPPER LOWER	5	8	13	1.1	1.8	1.4
LOWER LOWER	16	5	21	14.0	6.3	10.9
TOTALS	21	26	47	2.8	2.4	2.5

*The rate used was the number of delinquents per 1,000 juveniles ten through seventeen years of age.

A number in parentheses is a total number and not a rate. This was done when the total number was too small to produce a meaningful rate.

offenses injurious to the child, the rate for white delinquents who committed this same type of offense was 3.7, and the rate for all delinquents who committed the same type of offense was 2.8. In the upper-lower class the rate for Negro delinquents who committed this type of offense was 1.1, the rate for white delinquents was 1.8, and 1.4 was the rate for all delinquents who committed offenses of this type. In the lower-lower class the rate for Negro delinquents who committed offenses injurious to the child was 14.0, the rate for white delinquents was 6.3, and 10.9 was the rate for all delinquents who committed this same type of offense.

E. The Ecological Picture

To perform a simple ecological investigation of delinquency in Charles County, the writer sketched a map of the geographic boundaries of the county. On this map the areas of highest population density were blocked in. The writer's knowledge of the county provided the information needed to identify the highest population density areas. Home addresses of each juvenile who was found to be delinquent during the three years under study were taken from the court files and plotted on the map. Here again, the writer's knowledge of the county provided the basis for plotting the addresses on the map.

An examination of Map I shows that delinquents living within the county were widely scattered residentially. Map I also shows that juvenile delinquents, both Negro and white,

MAP I

CHARLES COUNTY DELINQUENTS BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE 1962-1964



are most heavily concentrated in the highest population density areas. Because the specific population density for each high density area was not known, it was impossible to say whether delinquency occurrence was proportionately greater for the high density areas than the lower density areas. In view of the crudeness of the method used, this particular aspect of the study should be considered as completely exploratory.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSES AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Negro Overrepresentation Among Delinquents

An examination of Table I reveals that in 1962 the Negro delinquency rate was 1.1 higher than the white delinquency rate. In 1963 the Negro delinquency rate was 1.9 higher than the white rate. In 1964 the Negro delinquency rate was .5 lower than the white rate. When the rates for the three years were combined the Negro delinquency rate was 9.7 and 8.8 was the rate for white delinquents. Statistically speaking, this means that the difference between the two was less than one delinquent per 1,000 juveniles ten through seventeen years of age.

The hypothesis concerning Negro overrepresentation among delinquents stated that in the Charles County Juvenile Court, Negro juveniles account for a significantly higher rate of juvenile delinquency cases than white juveniles. On the basis of the above findings this hypothesis must be rejected. The Negro delinquency rate was less than one delinquent per 1,000 juveniles ten through seventeen years of age higher than the white delinquency rate; this difference cannot be accepted as significantly higher. This finding appears to be in contrast to much previous research which

found Negroes significantly overrepresented among delinquents. But it must be remembered that previous research found Negroes overrepresented among delinquents only when lower class delinquents were overrepresented among all delinquents and Negroes were overrepresented within the lower class. The next step in this project was to determine if lower class delinquents were overrepresented among all delinquents and if Negroes were overrepresented within the lower class.

B. Socio-Economic Class, Race, and Delinquency

An examination of Table II shows that during the three years under study only one delinquent was from the upper class and only two delinquents were from the upper-middle class. Within the lower-middle class the Negro delinquency rate was 2.0 and 13.2 was the white delinquency rate. The difference between the two rates within the lower-middle class was 11.2. This finding indicates that within the lower-middle class white juveniles are significantly overrepresented among delinquents. The combined delinquency rate was 9.8 for the lower-middle class. Within the upper-lower class the Negro delinquency rate was 3.7 and 8.4 was the white delinquency rate. The white delinquency rate was 4.7 higher than the Negro delinquency rate. Here again, the findings indicate that white juveniles were overrepresented among the upper-lower class delinquents. The combined delinquency rate for the upper-lower class was 6.1.

Within the lower-lower class the Negro delinquency rate was 47.3 and 17.7 was the white delinquency rate. The Negro delinquency rate was 29.6 higher than the white delinquency rate. This finding indicates that within the lower-lower class Negro delinquents are significantly overrepresented. The combined rate for the lower-lower class was 35.2.

The hypothesis concerning socio-economic class and delinquency stated that in the Charles County Juvenile Court lower socio-economic class juveniles account for a significantly higher rate of the juvenile delinquency cases than juveniles from socio-economic classes above the lower class. It has been found that during the three years under study only three delinquents came from the upper-middle class or above. It has also been found that the delinquency rate for the lower-lower class was 35.2; this was 25.4 higher than the lower-middle class rate and 29.1 higher than the upper-lower class rate. On the basis of these findings the hypothesis must be accepted. This finding is in agreement with previous research which found that lower socio-economic class juveniles are overrepresented among delinquents.

This study has found that lower class juveniles were overrepresented among delinquents, but this study has also found that within the lower-lower class Negro delinquents account for a significantly higher rate than white delinquents. This finding creates two problems. First, previous research found that when Negroes were overrepresented within the lower class, then Negroes were overrepresented among all

delinquents. This study has found that even though Negro delinquents were overrepresented within the lower classes, Negroes were not overrepresented among all delinquents. Secondly, previous research has tended to indicate that when socio-economic class was held constant, differences between Negro and white delinquency rates disappeared. This study has found that the differences in rates between Negroes and whites did not disappear when socio-economic class was held constant.

The first problem can be explained by the fact that even though Negro delinquents were overrepresented among lower-lower class delinquents they were not overrepresented among all delinquents because in socio-economic classes other than the lower-lower Negroes were underrepresented. Within the lower-middle and upper-lower classes white delinquents were overrepresented. The overrepresentation of Negro delinquents in the lower-lower class and the underrepresentation of Negro delinquents in the lower-middle and upper-lower classes causes the total delinquency rates of Negroes and white to be about the same.

The second problem was why there was a difference between Negro and white delinquency rates within the same socio-economic class. Table II shows that the Negro and white delinquency rates within the lower-lower class were higher than in any other socio-economic class. The white lower-lower class juveniles, as well as the Negro lower-lower class juveniles, were overrepresented among county

delinquents. The problem then was not why white juveniles were underrepresented among lower-lower class delinquents, but why Negro juveniles were overrepresented among all lower-lower class delinquents. Taking into account previous research, one explanation for this situation is that the lower-lower class Negro in Charles County is the victim of racial prejudice. Although there are no data available to substantiate this explanation, one can hypothesize that racial prejudice leads to the overrepresentation of lower-lower class Negro juveniles among county delinquents. As mentioned earlier, racial segregation has a long history in the county and is still a reality in many areas of the county. It can be hypothesized that because of racial prejudice the Negro is arrested and brought to court more frequently than white persons. The writer's knowledge of the county police system leads the writer to suspect differential reporting of Negro and white juvenile offenders to the court. It is suspected that the county's all white police force has a tendency to refer Negro juvenile offenders to the court much more readily than white juvenile offenders. Frequently the police will unofficially dispose of cases involving white juveniles. Negro juveniles are detained in jail and held for court action when a white juvenile might be released to his parents and the situation "worked out." Because of a lack of resources such as money and friends in high places, it is suspected that the lower-lower class Negro is least able to defend himself against the racial

prejudice. Other cultural factors within the county which could account for the lower-lower class Negroes' overrepresentation among delinquents are special traditions. Some of the suspected special traditions which are most common among lower-lower class Negroes are allowing school age children to miss school to work or help around the house, a high illegitimacy rate, a dependence on public and private agencies to settle disputes within the family, and the carrying of weapons such as knives and guns. It can be seen how these special traditions could have a direct effect upon the lower-lower class Negro delinquency rate.

The above explanation does not account for the differences between Negro and white delinquency rates within the lower-middle and upper-lower classes. In these classes it was found that white juveniles were overrepresented among delinquents. At this point, no explanation for these findings will be attempted. An explanation will be postponed until the findings concerning types of offenses have been analyzed. It was felt that the findings concerning types of offenses would provide some insight into the overrepresentation of white juveniles among lower-middle and upper-lower class delinquents.

C. Race and Types of Offenses

A review of Graph I reveals that offenses involving the theft or attempted theft of property was the most popular type of offense committed by both Negro and white delinquents.

Of the Negro delinquents 59 per cent committed this type of offense and 41 per cent of the white delinquents committed this same type. Although theft or attempted theft was the most popular type of offense for both Negro and white delinquents, 18 per cent more of the Negro delinquents committed this type of offense than the white delinquents. This finding indicates that Negro delinquents were overrepresented among all delinquents who committed this type of offense. An explanation of this finding and subsequent findings concerning race and types of offenses will be postponed until after the findings concerning race and types of offenses have been analyzed in the light of socio-economic class.

Offenses involving violence were the least popular type of offense committed by county delinquents. Of the Negro delinquents 12 per cent committed offenses involving violence, only 1 per cent of the white delinquents committed this type, and only 6 per cent of all delinquents committed this type of offense. Negro delinquents were responsible for 90 per cent of the offenses involving violence. Even though the volume of offenses involving violence was small, there was a marked difference between Negro and white involvement. This finding indicates that Negro delinquents were overrepresented among all delinquents who committed offenses involving violence.

Offenses involving the destruction of property present an interesting situation. During the three years under study thirty-three delinquents or 19 per cent of all

delinquents committed offenses of this type; all of the delinquents involved were white. Not one Negro delinquent committed this type of offense, but 33 per cent of the white delinquents committed offenses involving the destruction of property. This finding indicates that white delinquents were overrepresented among all delinquents who committed offenses involving the destruction of property.

Offenses which are injurious to the child himself was the second most popular type of offense committed by county delinquents. Approximately 27 per cent of all offenses were of this type. Of the Negro delinquents 29 per cent committed this type of offense and 25 per cent of the white delinquents committed this type of offense. There was only a 4 per cent difference between Negro and white involvement in this type of offense. This finding indicates that neither Negro nor white delinquents were significantly overrepresented among delinquents who committed offenses injurious to the child.

D. Socio-Economic Class, Race, and Types of Offenses

A review of Table III reveals that delinquents who committed offenses involving the theft or attempted theft of property can be found on every level of the socio-economic structure. Of all delinquents during the period under study only three were from the upper-middle class or above. Two of these three delinquents committed offenses involving theft. Within the lower-middle class the Negro delinquency rate for offenses involving theft was 2.0 and 4.6 was the

rate for white delinquents who committed the same type of offense. The difference between the two rates within the lower-middle class was 2.6. Although the white delinquency rate within the lower-middle class for offenses involving theft was more than twice as large as the Negro delinquency rate, both rates were so small that the actual difference between Negro and white delinquents was not great. The actual difference was less than 3 delinquents per 1,000 juveniles ten through seventeen years of age. Within the upper-lower class the Negro delinquency rate for offenses involving theft was 2.2 and 3.6 was the white delinquency rate for the same type of offense. The difference between the two rates was 1.4. Here again the actual difference between the rates was small because the rates were small. Within the lower-lower class the Negro delinquency rate for offenses involving theft was 27.1 and 8.9 was the rate for white delinquents who committed the same type of offense. The difference between the two rates within the lower-lower class was 18.2. There was a marked difference between Negro and white involvement.

The hypothesis concerning offenses involving theft stated that in the Charles County Juvenile Court, juvenile delinquents who committed offenses involving the theft or attempted theft of property are from all levels of the socio-economic structure, although lower class juveniles commit this type more often. The analysis of the findings has revealed that delinquents who committed offenses

involving theft were found on all levels of the socioeconomic structure and the highest delinquency rate for this type of offense was found in the lower-lower class. On the basis of these findings the hypothesis must be accepted. This finding is in agreement with previous research.

The analysis of the findings has also revealed that only within the lower-lower class was there a marked difference between the proportionate number of Negro and white delinquents who committed offenses involving theft. The overrepresentation of lower-lower class Negroes who committed this type of offense accounts for the overrepresentation of all Negroes who committed offenses involving theft which was found in the analysis of race and type of offense. Taking into consideration previous research, the best explanation for this situation is the suspected racial prejudice against the Negro and the lower-lower class Negroes' inability to defend himself against the racial prejudice. Since a detailed explanation of the racial prejudice within the county was presented earlier in this chapter no further explanation need be given here.

A review of Table IV reveals that of the delinquents who committed offenses involving violence none were from the upper-middle class or above. Of the ten delinquents who committed this type of offense, one was in the lower-middle class, two were in the upper-lower class, and seven were in the lower-lower class. Of the seven in the lower-lower class, all were Negro delinquents. The delinquency rate

for lower-lower class Negro delinquents was 6.1 for those who committed offenses involving violence.

The hypothesis concerning offenses involving violence stated that in the Charles County Juvenile Court, a significantly higher rate of the juvenile delinquents who commit offenses involving violence are from the lower class. The analysis of the findings has revealed that the lower-lower class delinquents accounted for by far the highest rate of delinquents who committed offenses involving violence. On the basis of this finding the hypothesis must be accepted. This finding is in agreement with previous research.

The analysis of delinquents who committed offenses involving violence revealed that lower-lower class Negro delinquents were overrepresented among all lower-lower class delinquents who committed this type of offense. The fact that offenses involving violence were concentrated among lower-lower class delinquents and that Negro lower-lower class delinquents were responsible for all offenses involving violence within the lower-lower class accounts for the overrepresentation of all Negroes who committed offenses involving violence which was found in the analysis of race and type of offense. This finding can be best explained by the categoric risk of Negroes. As pointed out earlier one factor involved in the categoric risk is the existence of special traditions within the Negro community. The specific special traditions which would lead to Negro overrepresentation in offenses involving violence are the

carrying of weapons and the tendency to settle disputes with violence. Reckless pointed out that Negro involvement in crimes of violence is two and one half times greater than the involvement of white persons.⁴⁷

A review of Table V reveals that delinquents who committed offenses involving the destruction of property were found on every level of the socio-economic structure except the upper class. Within the upper-middle class only one delinquent committed this type of offense and within the lower-lower class only two delinquents committed this type of offense. The delinquents who committed offenses involving the destruction of property were concentrated in the lower-middle class with a rate of 3.4 and the upper-lower class with 1.4 as the rate.

The hypothesis concerning the destruction of property stated that in the Charles County Juvenile Court, a significantly higher rate of the juvenile delinquents who committed offenses involving the destruction of property are from socio-economic levels above the lower class. Due to the fact that the highest delinquency rate for this type of offense was in the lower-middle class and that only two lower-lower class delinquents committed offenses involving the destruction of property, the hypothesis must be accepted. This finding is in agreement with previous research on which the hypothesis was based. One explanation for the

⁴⁷Reckless, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

concentration of offenses involving the destruction of property within the middle portion of the socio-economic structure has been presented by Walter Reckless. He pointed out that committing vandalism and related offenses provides an outlet for the pressures felt by youth living in the rocket age. The pressures referred to include the belief that a college education is essential, the pressure to maintain good moral behavior, and the pressure to conform to social and cultural norms. These pressures should not be confused with anomic pressure. It is the middle class youth who is under the greatest pressure in our rocket age. Public property is frequently the object of destruction. This has been interpreted as being symbolic of striking back at the society that is the source of pressure upon the youth.⁴⁸

The analysis of delinquents who committed offenses involving the destruction of property revealed that all of the offenses of this type were committed by white delinquents. The fact that no Negro delinquent committed this type of offense presents a unique phenomenon. The writer was unable to locate previous research which contrasted Negro and white involvement in offenses involving the destruction of property. The design of this project was simply to determine if there was a difference and did not attempt to reveal the causes of the difference. Due to these factors the explanation for the above phenomenon was

⁴⁸Reckless, op. cit., p. 368.

based on inferences from related research and is purely hypothetical. It has been pointed out that special traditions within the Negro community cause Negroes to belong to a higher categoric risk category for crime and delinquency. It can be hypothesized that there are, however, some special traditions which cause the Negro categoric risk for specific types of crime and delinquency to be less than the risk for white persons. Reckless pointed out that in American society special traditions within the Negro community relate directly to the fact that Negroes commit suicide much less frequently than white persons.⁴⁹ It is possible that the Negro community contains special traditions which prevent Negro youths from committing offenses involving the destruction of property as often as white youths. The fact that only within the last one hundred years American Negroes have been allowed to possess property and that Negroes have had to work hard to possess material things, along with the fact that many of those Negroes who have reached the middle class are doing so for the first time, may have created within the Negro community, and especially the middle class, a greater respect for material things than within the white community. Further research is needed to determine if this difference between Negro and white delinquents who commit offenses involving the destruction of property exists

⁴⁹Reckless, op. cit., p. 42.

elsewhere and to attempt to determine the causes of this difference.

A review of Table VI reveals that of the delinquents who committed offenses which were injurious to the child himself none were from the upper-middle class or above. The highest rate for this type of offense, 10.9, was found in the lower-lower class. The second highest rate for delinquents who committed offenses injurious to the child himself was found in the lower-middle class. The lower-lower class rate was more than three times higher than the lower-middle class rate.

The hypothesis concerning offenses which were injurious to the child himself stated that in the Charles County Juvenile Court, a significantly higher rate of the juvenile delinquents who committed offenses injurious to the child himself are from the lower class. The analysis of the findings concerning offenses injurious to the child himself revealed that by far the highest rate for this type of offense was in the lower-lower class. On the basis of this finding, the hypothesis must be accepted. This finding is in agreement with previous research on which the hypothesis was based.

The analysis of Graph I concerning race and types of offenses revealed that the proportionate numbers of Negroes and whites who committed offenses injurious to the child himself were approximately the same. When offenses injurious to the child himself were viewed in the light of socio-economic class it was found that the highest rates for Negro

and white delinquents were within the lower-lower class. The Negro delinquency rate was 14.0 and 6.3 was the rate for white delinquents. Within the lower-lower class the Negro rate was more than twice as high as the white rate. The reason there was no significant difference found between all Negro and white delinquents who committed offenses injurious to the child himself was that within the lower-middle class the white delinquency rate was 3.7, but no lower-middle class Negro delinquent committed this type of offense. The fact that lower-lower class Negro delinquents were overrepresented was offset by the overrepresentation of lower-middle class white delinquents.

The fact that lower-lower class Negro delinquents were overrepresented among all lower-lower class delinquents who committed offenses injurious to the child himself can best be explained by the presence of special traditions within the Negro culture. Although no data are available it is suspected that one special tradition among Negroes and especially lower class Negroes is a dependence on public and private agencies to settle disputes which arise within the family. It can be hypothesized that Negro parents report the misconduct of their children to public and private agencies more often than white parents. Offenses injurious to the child himself, including sex offenses, running away, truancy, and incorrigible behavior are offenses most often reported by Negro parents. It can easily be seen how the existence of this special tradition would greatly increase

the proportionate number of Negro delinquents who are found to have committed offenses injurious to the child himself.

Why are lower-middle class white delinquents overrepresented among delinquents who committed offenses injurious to the child himself? One explanation that can be hypothesized for this finding is that local police tend to overlook offenses injurious to the child when committed by Negro juveniles or white juveniles from lower class homes. If a white juvenile from a "good" home is reported as a runaway the local police will attempt to find the juvenile and when found he or she will be referred to juvenile court. If a Negro juvenile or a white juvenile from a lower class home is reported as a runaway local police will allow the juvenile two or three days to return home. If the juvenile returns home no referral is made. If a white female from a "good" home is known to police as being sexually promiscuous she will be referred to juvenile court for help. If a Negro female or lower class white female is known to police as being sexually promiscuous her behavior will be overlooked because it is viewed as normal. School authorities refer middle class white juveniles to court for truancy much quicker than Negro or lower class white juveniles because poor school attendance among Negroes and lower class white juveniles is viewed as normal.

The above hypothetical explanation does not contradict the explanation given for the overrepresentation of lower-lower class Negro delinquents who committed offenses

injurious to the child himself. It was pointed out that the local police tend to overlook offenses injurious to the child himself when committed by Negro juveniles, but most of the cases involving offenses injurious to the child himself are referred directly to juvenile court by the parents of the child. It is lower-lower class Negro parents who most often refer their children, thus accounting for the higher rate of lower-lower class Negro delinquents who commit offenses injurious to the child himself.

E. The Ecological Picture

In the large urban areas of the United States, Shaw and his associates found that the highest delinquency rates were found in the lowest socio-economic areas of the city. This pattern was not found in Charles County because most residential areas are not socio-economically divided. There are only a few distinct lower socio-economic areas. Most of the county has remained rural where upper and lower class families are found living side by side. Because of a lack of data it was impossible to determine if the highest population density areas contained proportionately more delinquents than the lower population density areas. The fact that the delinquents were most heavily concentrated in the highest population density areas indicates that many delinquents knew each other. They would have attended the same schools and frequented the same places of amusement and recreation. This factor tends to indicate that delinquency

in the county, as elsewhere, tends to occur among groups of juveniles and not as isolated deviant behavior. Due to the fact that data concerning group participation in delinquent behavior was not known, the writer was unable to draw any conclusions concerning group delinquency patterns. The only conclusion that could be made from the ecological investigation was that delinquents appear to be proportionately divided throughout the residential areas of the county and that no special ecological patterns were evident.

F. A Summary

The objectives of this project were first, to determine if there was a difference between the proportionate number of Negro and white juvenile delinquents in Charles County, Maryland; second, to determine if there were differences in types of offenses committed by Negro and white delinquents; and third, to determine if the differences found between Negro and white delinquents could be explained in terms of socio-economic class differences.

The findings concerning the number of Negro and white delinquents has shown that there was no significant difference between the proportionate number of Negro and white delinquents in Charles County during the three years under study. This finding was in contrast to previous research as exemplified by Clifford R. Shaw and his associates, Bernard Lander and Charles Willie. These researchers all found Negro delinquents to be overrepresented. Previous

research had also found that Negroes were overrepresented among delinquents because lower class juveniles were overrepresented among delinquents and Negroes were overrepresented among lower class juveniles. The next step in this project was to determine if in Charles County lower class juveniles were overrepresented among delinquents and if Negroes were overrepresented among lower class juveniles.

The findings concerning the proportionate number of Negro and white delinquents in each socio-economic class has shown that in Charles County lower-lower class juveniles were overrepresented among delinquents and that Negroes were overrepresented among lower-lower class delinquents. The reason Negroes were not found to be overrepresented among all delinquents as was found in previous research was that white delinquents were overrepresented among lower-middle and upper-lower class delinquents. The overrepresentation of lower-lower class Negro delinquents was offset by the overrepresentation of lower-middle and upper-lower class white delinquents. This finding was in contrast to previous research conducted by Charles Willie. He had found that when socio-economic class was held constant the difference between Negro and white delinquency rates disappeared. The findings of this project revealed that there were differences between Negro and white delinquency rates within socio-economic classes because there were differences in types of offenses committed by Negro and white delinquents.

Offenses involving the theft or attempted theft of

property were committed by delinquents from every level of the socio-economic structure, although lower-lower class juveniles committed this type of offense more often. This finding was in agreement with previous research conducted by Martin Gold in the Flint Youth Study. The findings concerning offenses involving theft also revealed that lower-lower class Negro delinquents committed this type of offense more often than lower-lower class white delinquents. Although this project was not designed to show the causes of this difference between lower-lower class Negro and white delinquents, an explanation was given based on previous research. It was pointed out that lower-lower class Negroes have the highest delinquency rate because of racial prejudice against the Negro and the lower-lower class Negroes' inability to defend himself against the racial prejudice. This results in more arrests and convictions of lower-lower class Negroes. It should be remembered that this explanation does not exclude the possibility of other explanations.

A significantly higher rate of the delinquents who committed offenses involving violence were from the lower-lower class. This finding was also in agreement with the findings of the Flint Youth Study. The findings concerning offenses involving violence also revealed that lower-lower class Negroes again committed this type of offense more often than lower-lower class white delinquents. The explanation given was that among lower-lower class Negroes special traditions such as carrying weapons and settling

disputes with violence results in more Negroes committing offenses involving violence. Here again, this explanation does not exclude the possibility of other explanations.

A significantly higher rate of the delinquents who committed offenses involving the destruction of property were from socio-economic levels above the lower class. Here again, the findings were in agreement with the Flint Youth Study. The explanation given for this finding was that vandalism and related offenses represent a symbolic expression of juveniles striking back at a society which creates pressures upon them. These pressures should not be confused with anomic pressures. Since middle class juveniles are under the greatest pressures, they commit this type of offense most often. The findings concerning offenses involving the destruction of property revealed that white delinquents were responsible for all of the offenses of this type. Since the writer was unable to determine if similar situations exist outside of Charles County, the explanation given was purely hypothetical. It was hypothesized that special traditions within the Negro culture, and especially the middle class Negro culture, has created more respect for property among Negroes than among whites. Here again, the explanations given do not exclude the possibility of other explanations.

A significantly higher rate of the delinquents who committed offenses injurious to the child himself were from the lower class. This finding also agrees with the findings of the Flint Youth Study. The analysis of the findings also

revealed that lower-lower class Negro delinquents and lower-middle class white delinquents were overrepresented among all delinquents who committed offenses injurious to the child himself. The explanations given for these findings were that special traditions cause lower class Negro parents to refer their children to the court more often than lower class white parents for offenses of this type and that police have a tendency to overlook offenses of this type except when committed by middle class white juveniles. Here again, these explanations do not exclude the possibility of other explanations.

From the findings of this project the following conclusions may be drawn. In Charles County, Maryland, during the calendar years 1962 through 1964 the proportionate number of Negro delinquents was not significantly higher than the proportionate number of white delinquents. Lower-lower class delinquents were overrepresented among all delinquents and Negroes were overrepresented among lower-lower class delinquents. White delinquents were overrepresented among delinquents within the lower-middle and upper-lower classes. Even though each of the four types of offenses were identified with specific levels of the socio-economic structure regardless of race, there were differences in types of offenses committed by Negro and white delinquents within socio-economic levels.

G. Suggestions for Future Research

Most research projects are designed to answer questions raised by the researcher. The results of most projects produce tentative answers to the researcher's questions, but in the process of answering his questions the researcher discovers other unanswered questions. These unanswered questions constitute suggestions for future research. In this project a number of unanswered questions have arisen. Much research is needed in the field of types of offenses committed by delinquents. This project has shown that types of offenses can be identified with particular levels of the socio-economic structure regardless of race. The questions yet to be answered are why delinquents from particular levels of the socio-economic structure commit particular types of offenses.

This project has also found that within socio-economic classes there were differences in types of offenses committed by Negro and white delinquents. The writer hypothesized that many of these differences were caused by racial prejudice and special traditions within the Negro community. Although some research has been conducted concerning the effects of racial prejudice upon crime and delinquency rates, more research is needed. If, as the writer has hypothesized, special cultural traditions cause Negroes to be more or less greatly involved in particular types of offenses, then research is needed: first, to establish the existence of special cultural traditions; and second, to determine the

effects of the special cultural traditions on crime and delinquency.

One of the most unique findings of this project was that all offenses involving the destruction of property were committed by white delinquents, predominately from the middle portion of the socio-economic structure. Research is needed to determine if Charles County presents an atypical situation or if the phenomenon exists outside the county. If the phenomenon is found outside the county, research is needed to determine why white middle class delinquents commit this type of offense and why Negro juveniles do not.

APPENDIX A

A SOCIAL HISTORY INVESTIGATION

The following is a social history investigation prepared by a Charles County juvenile probation officer for the juvenile court judge. The investigation is presented exactly as it appeared in the court records. Only the names of the delinquent and his parents have been changed.

DEPARTMENT OF PAROLE AND PROBATION

STATE OF MARYLAND

DATE:	August 4, 1965	INST. & No.:	IND. No.: J-1187
NAME:	JONES, John	CRIME:	Juvenile Delinquency
ALIAS:			
ADDRESS:	Waldorf, Md.	COURT:	Chas. CCC, Sit. as a Juv. Ct.
AGE:	15	BIRTH DATE:	8-26-50
BIRTH PLACE:	Washington, D. C.	JUDGE:	J. Dudley Digges
RACE:	White	SEX:	Male
HEIGHT:	5' 7"	DATE SENTENCED:	8-2-65
RELIGION:	Catholic	SENTENCE:	Comm. Md. Children's Center
MARITAL STATUS:	Single	DETAINERS:	
OCCUPATION:	Student		
EDUCATION:	7th Grade	CO-DEFENDANTS:	SMITH, Robert

SOCIAL HISTORY

Charles County Circuit Court Sitting as a Juvenile Court

Offense

State's Version: On June 16, 1965, John Jones and his co-defendant did break and enter Welch's Tavern, Benedict, Maryland, and did steal approximately four cartons of cigarettes, four cases of beer, and mixed change in the amount of \$51.00.

Subject's Version: John admits that it was his idea to break into the tavern. He stated that he broke the glass in the door and that he and his co-defendant went in. While his co-defendant was getting the beer, John was breaking into the slot machines for the money. After leaving the tavern the goods were hidden underneath the co-defendant's house.

Record

In the spring of 1965, the subject was referred to the Department of Parole and Probation by the Charles County Board of Education for threatening a companion with a hunting knife while riding on a school bus. At this time the subject was referred to the Charles County Mental Health Clinic.

In March, 1965, the subject appeared in Charles County Trial Magistrate's Court charged with driving without a permit. He had taken his mother's car without permission.

Family and Neighborhood

Jones, Charles F.	Father	42	Waldorf, Maryland	G.S.A.
Jones, Helen H.	Mother	41	Waldorf, Maryland	House- wife

The subject has six brothers and sisters. John Jones is the second of seven children born to the union of Charles and Helen Jones. The subject's father completed one year of college and is employed by the Federal Government by the General Services Administration as a GS-13 with an approximate annual income of \$12,000. Mr. Jones is an occasional user of alcoholic beverages and is a member of the Catholic Church, which he attends regularly.

The subject's mother received a tenth grade education and now devotes her full time as a housewife and mother. She is an occasional user of intoxicating beverages and a member of the Catholic Church, and attends regularly. The subject's parents admit to no serious marital difficulties and have never been divorced or separated. At the time of the subject's commitment, he was living with his parents and five younger brothers and sisters in a rural area of Charles County. The Jones' home is a large, relatively new brick home, consisting of five bedrooms, living room, dining room, kitchen, two baths, and a recreation room. The house is located within walking distance of stores and taverns.

School

In September of 1965, the subject is scheduled to return to the eighth grade at Milton M. Somers School in La Plata, Maryland. During the school year 1964-65, the subject was enrolled in St. Mary's Parochial School. The subject was expelled from this school in the early spring as the result of the knife incident mentioned earlier in this report. School records at Somers School indicate that the subject was failing when he enrolled. Little or no effort was shown by the subject during the spring and he will be required to repeat the eighth grade.

Personality Traits

John Jones is an adolescent who impresses this Agent as a child who is not in complete control of some of his behavior. The subject can give no explanation for the present offense and cannot explain the previous offenses which brought him into contact with this Agent. The subject's parents provide adequately for his physical needs but appear to be unable to cope with or understand his deviant behavior. The subject's father has expressed the opinion that he feels John's

difficulties are "mental." John is aware of his father's belief. The subject's mother impressed this Agent as a mother who is overprotective. John appears to have little respect for her and publicly shows disrespect for her. John is of the Catholic faith and attends church almost every Sunday. He enjoys meeting people and visiting with neighbors and friends. The subject has been under psychiatric care but no diagnosis or treatment is known to this Agent.

Health

The subject has had all the usual childhood diseases and is presently in good health.

Summary

On August 2, 1965, John Jones appeared before the Honorable Judge J. Dudley Digges in the Charles County Circuit Court, Sitting as a Juvenile Court and was found to be a juvenile delinquent for his participation in the breaking, entering, and larceny of Welch's Tavern in Benedict, Maryland. At that time, the subject was committed to the Maryland Children's Center for study and evaluation. Final disposition of the case was postponed until the subject's evaluation could be obtained.

Parole & Probation Supervisor

Parole & Probation Agent

APPENDIX B

THE INDEX OF STATUS CHARACTERISTICS AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE DELINQUENT POPULATION OF CHARLES COUNTY--1962 THROUGH 196

Simple Scales for Rating of Four Status Characteristics

Underlying Index of Status Characteristics*

Characteristic and rating	Definition
------------------------------	------------

Occupation

1. Large professionals, large proprietors and managers.
2. Small professionals.
3. Clerks and kindred workers.
4. Skilled workers.
5. Small proprietors and managers.
6. Semi-skilled workers.
7. Unskilled workers.

Source of income

1. Savings and investments, inherited.
2. Savings and investments, gained by earner.
3. Profits and fees.
4. Salary.
5. Wages.
6. Private relief.
7. Public relief and non-respectable income.

House type

1. Large houses in good condition.
2. Large houses in medium condition and medium-sized.
3. Medium-sized houses in medium condition and all re-modelled houses.
4. Large houses in bad condition and medium-sized houses in bad condition.
5. Small houses in good condition and all dwellings over stores.

<u>Characteristic and rating</u>	<u>Definition</u>
6. Small houses in medium and bad condition.	
7. Houses of any size in very bad condition.	

Areas lived in

1. The 'fashionable' areas of 'right' addresses.
2. The better suburbs and apartment house areas, houses with large yards, etc.
3. Areas all residential, larger space around the house than average, or apartment areas in good condition, above average.
4. Residential neighbourhoods, no deteriorating in the area, average.
5. Area not quite holding its own, beginning to deteriorate, business entering, etc.
6. Considerably deteriorated, but not slum.
7. Slum.

Scale Used to Convert Ratings Into Weighted Totals

<u>Characteristics</u>	<u>Rating</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>Product</u>
Occupation	-	x 4	-
Source of income	-	x 3	-
House type	-	x 3	-
Area lived in	-	x 2	-
Weighted total			-

Conversion Table for the I.S.C. into Social Class*

Weighted totals	Social class level
12-17	Upper
18-19 20-22	Upper _{um}
23-24	Indeterminate
28-29 30 31-32 33	Upper Middle
34-37	Indeterminate
38 39 40-41 42-43 44-47 48-49 50	Lower Middle
51-53	Indeterminate
54 55-59 60 61 62	Upper Lower
63-66	Indeterminate
67-69	Lower Lower _{ul}
70 71-79 80-84	Lower Lower

*The above tables were taken from Warner, op. cit., pp. 13-15.

CHARLES COUNTY JUVENILES CHARGED WITH DELINQUENCY
1962 THROUGH 1964 BY RACE AND SOCIAL CLASS*

YEAR	1962		1963		1964	
RACE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE
UPPER	0	0	0	0	0	0
UPPER _{um}	0	0	0	0	0	1
INDETERMINATE	0	0	0	0	0	0
UPPER MIDDLE	0	0	0	0	0	0
INDETERMINATE	0	1	0	1	0	1
LOWER MIDDLE	0	10	0	2	2	18
INDETERMINATE	0	3	1	8	0	18
UPPER LOWER	0	5	1	7	4	8
INDETERMINATE	1	0	3	2	7	1
LOWER LOWER _{ul}	5	2	0	2	10	2
LOWER LOWER	12	2	18	5	10	2
TOTALS BY RACE	18	23	23	27	33	51
TOTALS	41		50		84	

*Based on W. Lloyd Warner's conversion table for the Index of Status Characteristics. Warner, op. cit., p. 16.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Charles County Chamber of Commerce. Your Guide to Charles County, Maryland. Charles County, Maryland, 1963.
- Cloward, Richard A. and Lloyd E. Ohlin. Delinquency and Opportunity. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960.
- Cohen, Albert K. Delinquent Boys. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955.
- Davis, Allison and Robert J. Havighurst. "Social Class and Color Differences in Child-Rearing." American Sociological Review, Vol. 11 (December, 1946), 698-710.
- Durkheim, Emile. Suicide: A Study in Sociology. Translated by George Simpson. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951.
- Gold, Martin. Forces in Delinquent Boys. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1963.
- Kahl, Joseph. The American Class Structure. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1957.
- Kvaraceus, William C. and Walter B. Miller. Delinquent Behavior: Culture and the Individual. Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1959.
- Lander, Bernard. Toward an Understanding of Juvenile Delinquency. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954.
- Laws of Maryland. 1902, Chapter 611.
- Laws of Maryland. 1904, Chapter 521.
- Laws of Maryland. 1916, Chapter 326.
- Laws of Maryland. 1931, Chapter 323.
- Laws of Maryland. 1945, Chapter 946.
- Lentz, William P. "Rural Urban Differentials and Juvenile Delinquency." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, Vol. 47 (September-October, 1956), 331-339.

- Maryland State Department of Public Welfare. Information Pamphlet No. 18. Baltimore, Maryland, 1965.
- Maryland State Department of Public Welfare. The Annual Statistical Report On Cases Disposed of By the Juvenile Courts--1964. Baltimore, Maryland, 1965.
- Merton, Robert K. "Social Structure and Anomie." American Sociological Review, Vol. III (October, 1938), 672-682.
- Porterfield, Austin L. and C. Stanley Clifton. Youth in Trouble. Fort Worth: The Leo Potishman Foundation, 1946.
- Reckless, Walter C. The Crime Problem, 3rd ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961.
- Shaw, Clifford R. and Henry D. McKay. Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1942.
- Shaw, Clifford R., Frederick Zorbaugh, Henry D. McKay, and Leonard S. Cottrell. Delinquency Areas. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929.
- Taft, Donald R. Criminology, 3rd ed. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956.
- United States Bureau of the Census. 1960 Census of Population. Characteristics of the Population, Vol. 1, Part 22. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963.
- United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Children's Bureau Statistical Series--Juvenile Court Statistics--1964. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965.
- Vedder, Clyde B. Juvenile Offenders. Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1963.
- Wattenberg, William W. and James Balistrieri. "Automobile Theft: A Favored-Group Delinquency." The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LVII (May, 1952), 575-579.
- Warner, W. Lloyd. "A Methodology for the Study of Social Structure." Social Structure. Ed. by Meyer Fortes. New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1963.

Willie, Charles V. and Anita Gershenovitz. "Juvenile Delinquency in Racially Mixed Areas." American Sociological Review, Vol. 29 (October, 1964), 740-744.

Woodward, Nathalie S. Juvenile Delinquency Control in Maryland. Unpublished Master's Degree Thesis. College Park, Maryland: The University of Maryland, 1945.

Zietz, Dorothy. The Development of the Juvenile Court Movement in Maryland, 1900-1948. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. College Park, Maryland: The University of Maryland, 1951.