The ecological distribution of juvenile offenses Missoula Montana 1946-1949

Thomas Theodore Cacavas

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THE ECOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION
of
JUVENILE OFFENSES,
MISSOULA, MONTANA, 1946-1949

by

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B.A., Montana State University, 1949

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

Montana State University
1950

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I am deeply indebted to Mr. W. Gordon Browder and Mr. James Carroll, under whose able supervision this study was conducted. Appreciation also to Mr. James J. Doyle, because if it were not for his confidence in placing the juvenile records at my disposal, this study would not have been possible.

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INTRODUCTION

Juvenile delinquency is a community problem. All elements of the community—the parents, police, church, and school—must fully understand what the problem is and what the needs are in order to solve the problem.

Much has been written on the subject of juvenile delinquency. The psychiatrist, sociologist, and others have attempted to define delinquency and to seek the causation. However, the causative factors are difficult to define. But what are the factors in a youngster's life that lead him to commit a crime? Is there any one factor that may be labeled the "main determinant?"

The answer is simply no. While many writers state that broken homes figure prominently in many cases of juvenile delinquency, other offenders come from well integrated homes. Some offenders live in slums, others in fashionable residences. What, then, is the reason for juvenile delinquency? No one reason can be stated as being the one determinant. From the various writings on the subject, three distinct elements appear significant. These elements are: (1) the inner circle of the child's psychological development; (2) the middle circle of his family's influence; and (3) the outer circle of the kind of neighborhood he lives in.
This study attempts to clarify the latter two "circles", particularly the main emphasis being on the ecological aspects, in order to present a clear insight into juvenile delinquency. The ecological approach is used in this thesis and is the frame of reference for locating other factors that may produce juvenile delinquency.

The author has attempted to reveal as much data within the frame of reference as he could uncover. In some points the author failed completely, not because of neglect of research, but because of the inaccessibility of date. Every possible factor that may have been even remotely connected to delinquency was explored, but only those that appeared significant are mentioned in order to keep the subject brief, yet as authentic as possible.
CHAPTER I

THEORY AND APPLICATION OF ECOLOGY

This thesis is exploratory in nature. It seeks to determine the ecological pattern of juvenile delinquency in Missoula, Montana and to attempt to relate ecological phenomena to this pattern. Also, attempts will be made to bring other factors contributing toward juvenile delinquency into the body of material so far as they have been uncovered in this study.

Four considerations caused the writer to undertake a study of this type. Frequent reference in texts dealing with urban ecology and delinquency to Clifford R. Shaw and his studies in Chicago in 1929,1 aroused interest as to whether a similar application of his studies could be made to the city of Missoula. Secondly, there was the desire to discover in what natural areas of the city of Missoula delinquency might be prevalent—thus classifying these sections as "natural areas of delinquency" in Missoula. If such a factor were located, further study into the phenomena of delinquency would then be a relatively easy undertaking. The third consideration for this study is to determine the extent of delinquency in Missoula. Finally, and related

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1The Shaw study will be presented in Chapter II.
closely to consideration number one, the frequent reference in ecological literature to Ernest W. Burgess, one of the pioneers in the study of human ecology, to his concentric zone theory as applied to certain American cities caused interest as to whether the theory could be applied in Missoula. Burgess' work appears so significantly in the literature dealing with human ecology and delinquency that its application to Missoula should be tested.

These four problems, then, compose the theories to be examined. The various aspects of each problem will be discussed in the following chapters and their application to Missoula will be presented.

The underlying concepts of ecological theory vary and thus the general picture which will be presented in the general discussion of ecology describes no one ecologist. Llewellyn presents a definition of human ecology as:

Human ecology attempts to describe the factors that influence the location, size, and physical organization of the community. It distinguishes community from society, and accepts an organic interpretation of the dynamics of community (an aggregate of individuals, groups or institutions) as a series of interdependent natural areas, one within the other, each area controlled by a center of dominance and varying in its charac-

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teristics (physical and correlated social) according to the distance from the center of dominance. Competition is the driving force, both for determining relative position, and for changes in spatial relations over time, when equilibrium or balance, is disturbed. Changes take place through the locomotive powers of man (mobility being the means of survival and readjustment), through invasion and succession. This change is evidenced in concentration, segregation and centralization.

The discussion which follows divides ecological theory into those of Structure and Process, a division artificial but useful.

STRUCTURE

The ecological approach in sociology dates from 1926, when the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago under Ernest W. Burgess and Robert E. Park instituted a series of research projects emphasizing this method of study. Professor Burgess' intensive study of Chicago and its environs caused him to arrive at the conclusion that the modern city assumes a pattern of concentric zones, each possessing certain distinguishing characteristics. These zones were idealized concepts inasmuch as no city conforms

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3Ibid., pp. 470-71.


absolutely to his scheme. Certain physical barriers, i.e., rivers, hills, etc., tend to distort the pattern of the zones. Burgess' contribution to the field of human ecology remains a classic and ecologists frequently refer to his theory, as evidenced by the numerous references to this concept in the literature. Burgess' concentric zone theory is a hypothesis which asserts that the city can be said to be composed of five specific areas, each possessing its own particular characteristics. The theory of concentric zones includes:

a. The central business district. This first, or inner zone, comprises the central business district which is essentially an area of retail trade, light manufacturing, and commercialized recreation. This area occupies a relatively small proportion of the entire community.

b. The zone of transition. This area is located adjacent to the central business district and it lies in the immediate path of business and industrial expansion. This zone tends to be heavily populated by the lower income classes, such as Old World immigrants, rural migrants, criminals and prostitutes.

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c. The zone of workingmen's homes. This third zone is composed of better residences than are located in the zone of transition, but falls short of the residential areas of the middle classes. This area is occupied by workers whose economic status has improved to the extent that they are able to leave the zone of transition, which they previously occupied.

d. The zone of middle-class dwellers. This area lies beyond the working class zone and is occupied mainly by professional people, managerial groups and the like.

e. The commuter's zone. This area lies on the outer periphery of the city. It is an area often beyond the city's political boundaries and may be composed of satellite towns and suburbs "existing in a sort of symbiotic relationship to the metropolis." It is in this zone that the city's workers reside who commute from home to work and from work to home.

Since Burgess suggested his concentriz zone theory other writers have added to the concept, modified the theory in some cases, or entirely refuted the hypothesis. Homer Hoyt, for example, formulated the "sector theory" of urban development which lays stress upon the hypothesis that

7Ibid., p. 100.
cities tend to develop outward along one sector and that in some cases the districts assume the shape of a cut of pie, extending from the center to the city's periphery.\(^3\) The pattern of the city, according to Hoyt's theory, is likened to an octopus with tentacles extending in various directions.

These two theories, the Burgess and Hoyt, have been considered because they are the most readily accepted by human ecologists when dealing with the structure of a city. Further, they are to be tested to see if they apply to Missoula.

THE NATURE OF ECOLOGY

PROCESS

Having noted the two main theories of urban development one must take cognizance of the social factors that operate to produce ecological phenomena, in order to understand the way people and institutions are arranged in space.

Human ecology, the study of man in his environment, attempts to describe the location, size and physical organization of the community. According to Park the essentials of a human community are:

(1) a population territorially based; (2) the community more or less completely rooted in

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 102.
the soil it occupies; (3) individuals living in a relation of mutual interdependence which is symbiotic.9

The driving force, both for determining relative position and for changes in spatial relations over time, is competition. Where one lives in a community, or the social position one occupies, is influenced by the success or failure of one's competition with others.

The result is that individuals with similar status often congregate ecologically and occupy a similar position in a hierarchical social system. Thus ecological position and social status are inextricably related.10

In addition to understanding the spatial distribution of people it is necessary to consider the values, attitudes, prejudices, likes and dislikes of individuals. A particular residential area may be populated by a group not because of special utility or economic advantage but because the area becomes a symbol of certain values the group cherishes.

The element of segregation is a further aspect of the ecological process. Segregation is the concentration of type of population, physical structure and utilities within an area.

In the symbiotic society which comprises the ecological community each person as well as each institution struggles for position. His degree of success determines where he takes his place in the community.

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10 Gist and Halbert, op. cit., p. 95.
Land values and rents are the primary determinants in limiting his choice.\textsuperscript{11} In this sense, the processes select and segregate. The factors of selection include the physical, social, geographic, economic and psychological, but the economic is regarded as basic by almost all sociologists dealing with the ecological processes.

McKenzie makes some distinction between economic levels. He finds that ecological segregation decreases in homogeneity as income level rises and choice has more place. Segregation, then, through its process of selection, brings about culture areas which in turn determines the relative frequency of the type of personality and behavior. That is not to imply that the area, as such, determines personality, but rather certain types prefer a chosen area because of certain qualities within the zone, or that through economic maladjustment certain persons have no choice but to occupy a certain area.\textsuperscript{12}

The underlying key to the ecological setting appears under the heading of spatial movement, or mobility. Mobility always affects social relationships and when this phenomenon is excessive, it tends inevitably to confuse and demoralize the person. In its extreme forms, mobility is conducive

\textsuperscript{11}Gurvitch and Moore, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 98.

to erratic behavior and social disorganization; it hinders the functioning of traditional forms of social control; it is disastrous to the development of community consciousness. "In a word, it is inextricably linked with the social problems of the city."  

The concept of human mobility possesses the dual aspect of physical and mental movement, versatility, and plasticity. This distinction is conceptual rather than actual, since they are two aspects of the same situation. "It is impossible for a normal human being to move from place to place without experiencing some new sensation. Change in physical location results in new ideas, experiences, schemes and outlooks." Mobility presents many ramifications within the ecological setting. The one great demoralizing factor that is introduced by excessive mobility is the breakdown of primary group controls. Cooley brings to attention the close dependence upon the primary group for moral solidarity. Standards of right and wrong emanate from intimate group life. With excessive mobility this vital contact is lost. Constrained by no home ties

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13 Gist and Halbert, op. cit., p. 272.
the individual loses his sense of social responsibilities and welcomes a break in the "cake of custom." Further, excessive movement tends to increase mental strain which results in mental diseases. Suicide is one of the ramifications that results from excessive mobility.

Two further concepts remain to be considered in dealing with the ecological setting: (1) Invasion, and (2) natural area. These concepts will be discussed primarily because they are mentioned frequently in the ecological literature. Although they do not play a dominant part in this thesis, it would be an incomplete survey of the ecological literature if they were omitted.

The process whereby the original group residing in an area is displaced by a different one is called invasion.

Invasion occurs when a group of inferior economic or cultural status moves into an area occupied by a group possessing superior status, gradually taking over the district and changing its complexion to match the culture of the invading element. However, the process does not always take the form of displacement by an inferior group over the superior, as often times the reverse is true.

Invasion is usually of two types: the influx of one

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16 Elliott and Merrill, op. cit., p. 305.
17 Gist and Halbert, op. cit., p. 145.
type or population into an area occupied by another—residential invasion; and secondly, the movement of certain institutions (usually commercial) into areas which were previously put to a different use—institutional invasion. In both types of invasion (residential and institutional) the basic factor is the struggle for a more advantageous position. Certain conditions may be cited as being associated with the invasion process: (1) desire for increased social prestige; (2) increased economic resources; (3) desire for better living conditions; (4) desire for home ownership; (5) improvement in transportation; (6) desire to be near one's place of employment; (7) taking over of residential property for industrial or commercial use; and (8) obsolescence of neighborhoods.

McKenzie has attempted to identify the process of invasion along the lines of an "invasion-succession cycle" consisting of three stages, while Burgess notes four different stages. The four stage theory postulated by Burgess is more readily accepted in the ecological literature and it includes: a. The initial stage. This stage is characterized by the movement of a small number of families into an area. b. The reaction. As soon as the original inhabitants

18Ibid., p. 149.
19Ibid., p. 152.
are aware of the invasion a reaction may set in. However, the intensity of the reaction depends upon a number of conditions such as: the cultural and racial characteristics of the newcomers, the degree of community and neighborhood solidarity among the older inhabitants and the extent to which the occupants are socially rooted by virtue of home ownership. The reaction process may see defensive measures undertaken by the original inhabitants in order to block the possibility of further invasion. These defensive measures may run along the lines of a covenant, whereby the property owners enter into an agreement not to rent or sell to individuals who by specific designation are undesirable. Real estate companies may also enter into agreements to protect certain areas against unwanted elements. A final method of protecting an area is the erection of economic barriers by increasing property values which results at least in slowing down an invasion. c. The general influx. In this third stage of the invasion process the original residents have abandoned the area when all preventative measures have failed and the new inhabitants have command of the area. d. Succession is the final stage in the invasion process and the concept refers to the stage of invasion where displacement is complete—"the stage in which a different population group or set of institutions tends to predomi-
In discussing the processes influencing the ecological setting it may be stated that as the process of growth and expansion develops there results certain typical zones, such as the central business area, which has already been discussed. One further result of the process in addition to the generalized zones of ecological organization are the sectors that tend to have particular cultural and ecological characteristics which mark them off from other areas spatially contiguous. These are "natural areas" which correspond roughly with what the anthropologists designate as a culture area.

The essential features of the two concepts are the same, namely a sufficient cultural similarity between the constituent elements so that one area can be distinguished from a contiguous area. In both cases there is a recognizable degree of institutional and traditional homogeneity. These areas are natural in the same sense that any social phenomenon may be natural—that is the unplanned result of certain uncontrolled and relatively unpredictable factors.

Thus we see that competition, segregation, mobility, invasion, and natural area appear to be the significant elements in the processes of ecology. The structure and

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20 Ibid., p. 159.

the processes which go to form the ecological setting have been discussed and now an attempt will be made to show how the ecological setting is related to juvenile delinquency.

ECOLOGY AND DELINQUENCY

In a competitive society such as America is, there is a tendency for business or industrial areas to be located where they can function most effectively. Thus businesses tend to occupy the central area of a city and this center of dominance acts as a sort of central core to the city. The zone surrounding this central area has been designated as "the area of transition" because it lies in the immediate path of business expansion. It is in this zone that vacant buildings are found along with the so-called slums where no improvements are forthcoming until business occupies the area for its own specific use. Here also is found the "delinquent area" which Shaw and McKay discovered were "breeding places for delinquency" when they conducted their study in Chicago in 1929. The fact that rentals were lowest in this area was conducive to occupancy by the lower income classes, namely the Old World immigrants. As the immigrants secured their footing in the city and secured the means to

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move away from this deteriorated zone, they left the area of transition and moved to a better zone, usually the zone of the workingmen's homes. When the original inhabitants vacated the transitional zone other immigrants were ready to move in. This marked change in composition of population, with the diffusion of divergent cultural standards and the rapid disorganization of the alien culture as the people slowly became assimilated into American culture caused conditions favorable to delinquent acts. The familial control over the child became insecure and with clashing standards of custom certain demoralizing factors became operative. This latter fact is mentioned primarily to emphasize the point that causes of juvenile delinquency are not attributed specifically to ecological areas, per se, but to the cluster of socially pathological factors that function to favor personal demoralization and delinquency.23 Thus the area in which the highest rate of juvenile delinquency is found is in the area of deterioration (surrounding the business district). This area is characterized by marked physical deterioration, poverty and social disorganization—all those factors commonly assumed to be conducive of juvenile delinquency.24

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It was noted that the immigrant moved away from the transitional zone in order to occupy an area superior to that in which he had previously resided. The area of the workingmen's homes is largely occupied by those persons whose economic status enables them to have many of the comforts and even some of the luxuries the city has to offer. This area has a notable decrease in juvenile delinquency over that of the transitional zone. This may be attributed primarily to the stabilization that the family has acquired in respect to employment, schooling, and housing which they secured after moving into this area.

Beyond this zone is found the area of the middle class dwellers, populated mainly by professional people, owners of small business, the managerial group and the like. There are apartments with spacious yards and gardens with sufficient space for playgrounds for the children. There is a significant decline in juvenile offenses in this area also.

On the periphery of the city is found the commuter's zone consisting of satellite towns and suburbs existing in a sort of symbiotic relationship to the core city. This area is occupied by persons whose employment is within the core city but who desire to live away from the noise and disturbances of the large city. Here are found the persons who have acquired sufficient means to live in their own homes.
with play space for their children. Delinquency in this area is the lowest for the entire city, substantiating Shaw's hypothesis that delinquency has its highest incidence in the inner zones, with consistently declining rates as the distance from the central business district increases.\(^2^5\)

With this background of the processes and structure of the ecological setting the next topic for discussion will be a review of the studies in juvenile delinquency as related to ecology and some criticism which the writer of this work found of great assistance in his study of juvenile delinquency in Missoula.

\(^{25}\text{Ibid.}, p. 103.\)
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter has been designed primarily to present to the reader an analysis of the work done in the field of juvenile delinquency by such writers as Shaw, McKay, Banay, and Thrasher. The writer of this thesis used the works by the authors mentioned as a foundation for his study.

The studies to be discussed are presented as a frame of reference to the study conducted in Missoula. They also are correlated to the ecological approach to juvenile delinquency and although some of the material cited may be repetitious of the previous chapter, they are mentioned to give emphasis to the ecological theory of juvenile delinquency.

It will be noted that throughout the chapter certain criticisms are mentioned in regard to the studies conducted by other researches. These criticisms are cited because the author discovered that in the course of his research certain data appeared for which there seemed to be no significant reason.¹

STUDIES AND CRITICISMS

Clifford R. Shaw with his research in juvenile delinquency has made special application of the ecological approach and concludes that the delinquent's behavior is very largely the direct function of his cultural and ecological environment. The cultural and ecological base is a highly important factor in determining the delinquency of an individual or group. When the observer knows the position of each juvenile in the social morphology he has completed the first step toward understanding the delinquent's role in his various group relationships.2

Shaw began his study of juvenile delinquency by spotting on a large base map of Chicago the residences of youthful offenders, and by doing this he discovered that the offenders were grouped in certain characteristic areas and that there were very striking variations in delinquency rates between areas.

These differences in truancy, delinquency and crime are the logical outgrowth of differences in background characteristics of particular communities or natural areas. The youth naturally reflects the definitions of his elders in matters of conduct. His desire for recognition can be satisfied in no other way, and as a consequence high rates of juvenile delinquency results. In many cases, when a delinquent has moved out of a neighborhood of delinquency into one with socially sanctioned definitions, his habits of delinquency have dis-

appeared. In the areas of extreme disorganization, where community opinion is dead, patterns of delinquency are transmitted as are all other patterns of conduct. Attitudes of disrespect of law, of hatred for the police, and veneration for the gangster all tend to develop in the deteriorated areas. They become an integral part of the community mores and are perpetuated from one generation to the next. The neighborhood becomes a delinquency area because delinquency is the norm of the group.

In expanding his theory, Shaw states that the "marked changes in composition of population, diffusion of divergent cultural standards and the rapid disorganization of the alien culture" go hand in hand with the breaking down of community traditions and cultural institutions. A criticism is raised at this point in regard to Shaw's conclusions that the comparative influence of nationality or ethnic background "inherent" community elements are factors in juvenile delinquency. Later research does not appear to substantiate this theory. There are other factors that must be considered when looking for determinants of juvenile delinquency and not the delinquent area, per se, as cited by Shaw. Some factors that may affect delinquency rates, but may not directly influence delinquent behavior are:

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3Elliot and Merrill, op. cit., p. 320.
1. Differences in laws as to what constitutes delinquent behavior.
2. Differences in police policy of enforcement.
3. Differences in administrative policy of the court.
4. Differences in liabilities of different groups to arrest at different times.
5. Existence or absence of extra legal and non-court procedure for handling delinquency.

Each point may be expanded somewhat for purpose of further clarification. Under item one, differences in laws as to what constitutes delinquent behavior, may be found those acts that today are classified as delinquent offenses but may not have been a crime a decade ago. For example, hitch-hiking today may be a violation of a criminal statute in some states and cities, whereas ten years ago this may not have been an offense.

In item two—differences in police policy of enforcement—a change in police administration may result in more frequent arrests for misdemeanors which in the previous administration were merely "tolerated" with no arrests being made. This stricter enforcement of the laws would naturally result in a rise in arrests with a result of influencing the statistics.

Differences in administrative policy of the court may also be a factor in influencing arrest statistics. It may

6 Ibid., pp. 609-10.
be stated for purposes of illustration that a lenient or sympathetic judge may not hold a court trial for some, specific offender, which may result in no record being made. On the opposite side, a judge noted for his severity may consider cases that could have been handled without a court hearing, resulting in a record being made. These examples tend to show the factors that may influence statistics when the researcher is dealing with court records and records from police arrests. Under item four—differences in liabilities of different groups at different times, it may be cited that racial prejudice may be the liability of the group. The Negroes in the United States have a ratio of arrests, convictions, and commitments to penal institutions of three to one for whites. The statistics probably reflect a bias against the Negro as indicated by numerous investigations instituted to probe the matter of this overwhelming variations in arrests. The Seabury Commission in New York heard testimony to the effect that

police men on certain assignments were expected to make a specified number of arrests per month and if in a particular month they were short on this quota 'they used to go to Harlem and go to any colored house... and make arrests, any arrest, because they thought colored people had less chance in court.'

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7 Edwin H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology*, (Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1947), p. 120.
8 Ibid., pp. 121-22.
Thus the statistics of arrests vary according to locality and the prejudice prevalent in that certain area which in turn has an influence on the data sought.

Under the final topic—existence or absence of extra-legal and non-court procedure for handling delinquents—it may be noted that a police department in a certain city may have a juvenile officer whose duty it is to arrest and hold a juvenile offender for an offense committed. However, the juvenile officer may handle the problem himself through cooperation with the offender's parents, the result being that no record is entered. This may influence statistics so that the researcher concludes that a decrease in offenses is noted, while actually this may not be the case. The point in discussion under these five topics is that the researcher must be cautious when studying court or police records and attempt to discover if any of the preceding factors prevailed that may influence his material.

Further criticism of Shaw's studies in Chicago has been raised in respect to the factors directly affecting delinquent behavior not ecologically, per se, as stated by Shaw, but factors that may have an influence on the ecological aspects of delinquency. These factors may be cited as being:

1. General economic and social forces of the times.
2. Social conditions in local areas at different times.

3. Ecological characteristics of the areas at different times.

4. Socio-economic status of delinquent environment.

5. Demographic characteristics of the population, age and sex composition of the population under consideration.

6. Cultural orientation of the areas. Are groups native white, or colored, or are they of foreign nationality and what nationality?9

The general economic and social forces of the times may have a definite relation to delinquent behavior when, for example, a depression has entered the scene. During the depression of the '30's it was not assumed criminal by some people to steal coal from the railroad yards to heat one's home. In fact stealing in the neighborhood was a common practice among children and approved by the parents.10 This deviation from the norm during a time of crisis must be considered in dealing with the statistics of offenses.

The social conditions in local areas at different times, the ecological characteristics of the areas at different times, the socio-economic status of the delinquent's environment, the demographic characteristics of the population under consideration and the cultural orientation of the areas all must be weighed and considered when dealing with statistics. An area, for example, may change from a slum

9Jonassen, op. cit., p. 610.

district to a public housing project with modern conveniences and play space being afforded. This social and ecological improvement may result in change of statistics and these should be noted. Further the economic status of the individual within the area may be improved resulting in better conditions for the individuals. The age and sex characteristics of the area must be surveyed for obvious reasons. For example, if the area at the time of the study hadn't the number of children it had a decade previous, the number of delinquents from that area is certain to show a drop. Further, if the sex of the population within an area is predominately female, the delinquency index is due for a drop over the period when males predominated because females have definite low chance of arrest. The nationality composition of the area must be studied before any conclusions regarding race and nationality be made. For example, if an area is almost wholly German, then the offenses in that area will be predominately charged against this specific nationality as contributing to delinquency. How near absurdity and how misleading the statistics may carry the researcher if he isn't cautious in interpreting the data by weighing each specific item in relation to other phenomena!

In taking up Shaw's studies in juvenile delinquency
there will be noted nine headings under which are summarized his findings, along with comments, criticisms and substantiations by other sociologists who have performed follow-up studies of Shaw's and McKay's earlier works. The influence of these considerations upon this study for Missoula are that considerations number 1, 3, 4, and 7 stated by Shaw do not hold for Missoula as will be shown in later chapters and the remainder of the considerations are mentioned so as to present to the reader the summarizations that the writer could not verify for this study, but that may or may not be valid for Missoula.

The nine summarizing points are:\(^{11}\)

1. Juvenile delinquents are not distributed uniformly throughout the city, but rather tend to be concentrated in areas adjacent to the central business district.

2. The present area of high rates of delinquency have been characterized by high rates for many years. Jonassen criticized this hypothesis by stating that "delinquency producing factors inherent in a community are not valid because over a period of years the areas note some change."\(^{12}\) The criticism is directed to the fact that Shaw used larger areas in the studies of 1927 in order to secure


an adequate population in districts that were sparsely settled at the time of the earlier series (1900-06).

3. The location of high delinquency areas is definitely related to processes in city growth, particular features which include the gradual deterioration of certain sections, increase in rates of dependency, high percentages of foreign born and Negro families among the total population and high rates of adult crime.

4. The community has failed to function effectively in setting up agencies of social control in these areas of high rates of delinquents. Moreover, the greatest concentration of juvenile malefactors is found in the sections marked by the greatest degree of social disorganization and sections marked by the rapid intrusion of business and industry into residential zones, the decay of cultural standards, the movement of older residents out of these transitional areas and the influx of other families of lower standards of living and of cultural norms lower than or divergent from their predecessors.

5. Juvenile delinquency, like adult criminality, tends to develop fixed and accepted patterns of behavior in such areas just noted.

6. Seventy-five percent of the delinquent acts committed were by a boy in companionship with some other boy or boys.

This statement is further substantiated by a study of 6,000 theft cases where it was found that in 90.4% of the cases, two or more boys were involved in the act.13

7. There was no consistent correlation between rates of broken homes and rates of delinquents.14

8. It is evident that participation in the behavior of delinquent groups frequently satisfies the fundamental human desires of the boy who lives

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14 Young, op. cit., p. 577.
in the areas of the city marked by high rates of delinquency.

Banay states that "delinquent action is purposive action. The child is trying to adapt himself to his environment, to attain an equilibrium within it. When these efforts at adaptation are misdirected, the child runs afoul of the law."\(^{15}\)

9. Finally, to understand and control the delinquent boy, we have to deal with the delinquent's own personal attitudes, his definition of the situation, even though these may be exaggerated.\(^{16}\)

This brief critique is submitted primarily to show that the ecological factor, per se, is not a determinant of delinquency as some would assume, but that there are also the profound effects of social and cultural factors in producing juvenile delinquency. The social processes that help to produce delinquency areas in the city operate within a general social-cultural framework that characterizes each modern American metropolis.\(^{17}\) The mobility and anonymity of the population have weakened the primary values and controls that formerly characterized the more simple community. The urban population clings tenaciously to its beliefs in the desirability of individual freedom and initiative and as a result the people have to judge one another,


not in terms of externals such as manners, clothing, or membership in groups. These influences differ in contrasting sub-areas of a city. In the better residential areas where the inhabitants enjoy a higher material standard of living and enjoy membership in a widely recognized and approved social group, it is presumed that these people have achieved success through competitive means that are in harmony with the conventional standards of an individualistic urban culture. The children reared in these areas are subjected to a relatively homogeneous social group in which conventional behavior brings recognized success. "To the extent that these children assimilate this conventional pattern, which most of them do, they do not become members of delinquent groups."18

Children reared in less desirable areas of the same city are in a less satisfactory situation. They interpret as indicative of their parents' lack of success the competitive economic struggle and they can foresee little opportunity for membership in conventional groups. Consequently, the larger number of these children of these areas are confronted with serious barriers to personal satisfaction if they attempt to follow the conventional road to success. This latter statement may be supported by two theories ex-

18Ibid., p. 510.
pounded by Banay and Sutherland. Banay reports that the earliest manifestations of delinquency are more often than not an indication of the craving for relief from distress. "Delinquent action is purposive action. . . ."19 There is an attempt by the child to adapt himself to his environment. When these efforts are misdirected, the child may run afoul of the law. Sutherland stresses the theory of differential association as a conducive factor to delinquency and crime. In an area of a community where the conventional standards of morality are not strong, the principle of differential association may become operative—in this case in the less desirable areas of the city. Sutherland's concept is defined as "an excess of definitions favorable to violation of the law over definitions unfavorable to violation of the law" which in turn influence the person to vary from the conventional norms into that of criminality and delinquency.20

The less desirable residential areas offer a second consideration. If delinquent groups have already become established, these groups can offer the companionship, prestige and personal satisfaction that the children seek. "Success" may be pointed out to the neophytes of the

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19 Banay, op. cit., p. 23.
20 Sutherland, op. cit., p. 82.
delinquent leaders—"success as judged in terms of externals, good clothing, cars, and spending money. Therefore, delinquent groups and delinquent behavior seem to offer many boys an easier path to 'success' than do the conventional groups."21

When dealing with causal factors in juvenile delinquency within ecological areas, an enormous wealth of material may be uncovered as a result of the numerous researches conducted by private and public agencies. Certain generalizations would be stated, to be certain, and these have already been discussed. The family, neighborhood, companions, community, etc., have been studied by researchers seeking the delinquency-producing characteristics so that prevention may be completely effective once the cause is determined. It must be stated, however, that the studies have resulted in reforming some areas and have caused some measure of prevention.

This chapter has dealt primarily with Shaw's and McKay's studies in juvenile delinquency and is presented first as an introduction to the field of juvenile delinquency and as a means of acquainting the reader with the work conducted in this field. Further, this chapter is presented to form a frame of reference in dealing with the

21 Quinn, op. cit., p. 511.
findings of juvenile delinquency in Missoula, Montana. The studies of Shaw and McKay and the criticisms of Jonassen have been of immeasurable aid to the writer in paving the way for his study and also pointing out certain pitfalls that the researcher must be aware of when undertaking a study such as this.
CHAPTER III

STATISTICS OF ARRESTS

This chapter deals with the numbers, types, and frequency of juvenile offenses committed in the city of Missoula, Montana for a four year period, 1946-1949. The data have been compiled from the juvenile records that are available in the Missoula Police Department. Every child between the ages of nine and seventeen, inclusive, who violated the law, and whose offense was considered serious enough to warrant "booking" was taken to the juvenile officer's office at City Hall and questioned. After questioning the youthful offender the juvenile officer decided whether or not the case should be entered into the records. Thus only those cases serious enough to require police action were recorded. The name of the offender was entered as was his home address within the city and the specific offense committed.

There were, to be sure, more offenses committed by the juveniles other than those entered into the record which in turn appear in this study. However, the majority of the cases were handled by the juvenile officer in cooperation with the parents so that no record appears. This extra-legal procedure has been discussed in Chapter I.
Thus, it must be noted when dealing with this study that only those names of offenders listed in the record comprise the data that the writer had to work with. The overall picture cannot be presented for this reason. In attempting to discover the reason for these omissions the writer was told that the names were purposely omitted because once a name is entered into the record, it cast a black mark upon the youths who may have been in trouble only once. Thus, the "break" given to some particular youths may not hinder them from pursuing some particular vocation which requires a thorough investigation into the individual's background.

The purpose of this chapter is to interpret the data in the light of offenses committed by age and by specific offense. In order to indicate more clearly the types of offense include in this study a brief classification is noted:

1. Disturbance.—Includes all charges of committing a breach of the peace, vandalism and violating curfew hours.
2. Traffic.—Includes violation of regulations with respect to the proper handling of a motor vehicle.
3. Runaway.—Includes attempts to leave parent's or guardian's home without permission.

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The classification for these specific offenses was noted in the Uniform Crime Reports, published semi-annually by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C.
4. Sex Offenses.—Includes offenses against chastity, common decency, morals and the like. Includes attempts. Does not include rape.

5. Theft.—Includes all cases where a motor vehicle is stolen or driven away and abandoned, including the so-called joy-riding thefts. Includes thefts (a) of $50.00 and over in value; (b) under $50.00 in value. This includes theft of bicycles, automobile accessories, shoplifting, or any stealing of property or article of value which is not taken by force, violence, or by fraud.

6. Burglary.—Includes burglary, housebreaking or any unlawful entry to commit a felony or a theft, even though no force was used to gain entrance. Includes attempts.

7. Assault.—Assault not of an aggravated nature, i.e., by weapons, etc. Includes attempts.

8. Liquor.—Includes drunkenness, (not driving while intoxicated), liquor law violations, state or local.

9. Holdup.—Includes stealing or taking anything of value from the person by force or violence or by putting in fear, such as strong-arm robbery, stick-ups, robbery armed. Includes attempts.

10. Forgery.—Includes offenses dealing with the making, altering, uttering or possessing, with intent to defraud, anything false which is made to appear true. Includes attempts.

The latter two definitions (9 and 10) are of no great significance for this study inasmuch as only one attempt at each offense was committed by a juvenile.

For the purpose of this study, as a matter of convenience, the four year period is divided into two two-year periods. The first period extends from 1946-1947 inclusive, and the second from 1948-1949.

During the first period the charge of disturbance was listed with greater frequency against juveniles than
during the second period. In 1946 disturbances accounted for 60 arrests from a total of 115 arrests for that year, or 53% of all offenses. It should be stated that the Missoula Police Department had just recently installed a juvenile office to handle this specific phase of law enforcement and entries may have been made at that time that today are considered too minor to record.²

In the year 1947 the offense of disturbance was listed with greater frequency than all other arrests for that year. Eighty-nine arrests for disturbance were noted from a total of 170 arrests, or 52% of the total. While dealing with these statistics it is interesting to note the preponderance of arrests for disturbance, but no generalizing conclusions may be drawn either from the data as recorded according to numbers, or locations of the offenders' residences. For the entire first period there was no localization of arrests for disturbance, rather there was a general tendency for sporadic disturbances to occur in all parts of the city. Inasmuch as no localization of offenses occurred, a further study as to causation was impossible.

²Chapter II of this study deals with this characteristic of law enforcement that may tend to influence the statistics of arrests because of change of police policies. Offenses of a minor nature that were listed in the record were not listed by the researcher because they did not appear to be of any great significance. Examples of some entries are, "John Doe, age 14, 1000 Avenue, throwing water from coke bottles on automobiles as they go under the underpass."
The data reveal that during the first period arrests for traffic violations remained rather constant with 17 arrests being noted for each of the two years. Traffic violations that resulted in arrests for juveniles accounted for 15% of the total arrests for the year 1946 and 10% of the total arrests for 1947. While traffic violations did occur more frequently in Missoula's South Side there was no great majority of violations in this area to warrant further study.

An unexplained phenomenon that occurred in 1946 was a large number of arrests listed as runaways. Seventeen such cases were entered in the juvenile record for 1946, or 15% of the total offenses recorded. This is surprising in view of the fact that the offense of runaway fell to .01% of all arrests in 1947, or 2 from a total of 170! The attempts to interpret this phenomenon were impossible because of the wide dispersion of cases within the city and no method was found possible to aid in explaining this unique feature of the study.

Sex offenses during the first period accounted for a total of five arrests (three in 1946 and two in 1947). Burglaries accounted for six arrests during this period. These latter arrests were distributed generally over the city.

Theft during the first period accounted for 60 arrests, 15 in 1946 from the total arrests of 115, or 12%; and 45 in 1947 from a total of 170 or 26%. This rise becomes
significant when viewed with respect to the data gathered for the second period. This specific topic will be discussed later in this chapter.

The second period (1948-1949) saw a notable decline in arrests for the offense of disturbance. Forty-six entries for disturbance were made in 1948 from a total arrested of 121, or 37%; and 38 arrests in 1949, or 26% of a total of 146. The reason for this decline may be that the juvenile offenders were not entered into the record if the offense was not considered sufficiently important to warrant such recording. It must be noted also that the position of the juvenile officer in the police department changed hands at the expiration of the first period and with this change in police administration "booking" of juvenile offenders for slight infractions of the law may not have been deemed necessary.

Traffic arrests for juveniles during the second period remained about constant with those of the first period. In 1948 there were 13 arrests for traffic violations or 10% of the total offenses recorded, and 19 in 1949 for a percentage of 12. Again in this latter period there were more traffic violations in the South Side of the city, but no localization to warrant further study.

Burglaries increased in the second period over the
first. Arrests under this offense accounted for six, or 4%, in 1948 and 14, or 9% in 1949. The apparent increase for this specific offense was investigated further, but inasmuch as there was no localization whatsoever, a further study into the matter was not possible. It may be well to note at this time that although juveniles were arrested for a charge of burglary more frequently than in the first period the cases were handled for the most part out of court. Recovery in these cases was 100% and no further action was taken against the juvenile offenders, although some cases are pending in District Court.

Runaways accounted for only 3% in 1948 and 2% in 1949 and were not localized in this period either.

Turning to offenses listed under theft, an increase is evident. Arrests for theft in 1948 totalled 50, or 41% of all arrested. In 1949, 50 arrests for theft were also recorded, or 34% of the total. This increase over the first period, for which theft, it will be recalled, accounted for 12 and 26% in 1946 and 1947 was deemed important enough to require further study. When it was discovered that the arrests for theft were localized more than any other specific offense, a deeper probe into the matter was conducted.³

³See Chapter IV dealing with offender's homes, etc.
The author considered it worthwhile to probe further into the matter by means of the questionnaire which is discussed in Chapter V.

As a summary to this study of frequency of arrests it may be stated that only two juveniles were declared delinquent by the courts and sent to institutions. The majority of cases were handled in a fashion that would tend to "give a break" to the offenders.

AGES OF OFFENDERS

When dealing with this topic of discussion it is recalled that the ages dealt with in this study include the nine-seventeen year group, inclusive. Those below the minimum age of nine years old were not considered significant for this thesis after considering the offenses that these youngsters were arrested for. There were at most a dozen cases involving children below the age of nine over the four year period and not one of these actually had committed a violation of the law worthy of recording.

Turning to the age groups nine to seventeen, during the first period, it was found that the sixteen-year-olds accounted for the greatest number of arrests in 1946—22% of all arrests by age groups and the major portion of these were in traffic violations and disturbances. The fifteen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Total, all ages</th>
<th>Age 9</th>
<th>Age 10</th>
<th>Age 11</th>
<th>Age 12</th>
<th>Age 13</th>
<th>Age 14</th>
<th>Age 15</th>
<th>Age 16</th>
<th>Age 17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbance</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runaway</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Offense</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Juvenile Record, Missoula Police Department
year olds accounted for 25% of the total arrested in 1948 with their offenses being theft and disturbance evenly distributed with twelve in each. The sixteen year olds had 21% arrested for the offense of theft and disturbance, each being evenly distributed.

Fourteen year olds had 21% of the arrests in 1948 with theft being their leading offense. Fourteen percent of arrests in 1948 were for seventeen year olds and they were arrested for disturbance and theft. The thirteen year olds carried 9% of the total with theft and disturbance accounting for their recorded charges. In the twelve year old group theft and disturbance was their specific charge from a four percent total of arrests in this year. The ages below this were listed with one offense each. (See Table III, p. 46).

The final year of the second period (1949) noted the fifteen year olds leading in arrests with 23% of the total arrested for that year. Their most frequent offense was theft. The sixteen year olds claimed 17% of arrests with traffic and disturbance being their specific charges. The seventeen and twelve year olds had 13% arrests each with liquor violations accounting for the majority of arrests for the seventeen year old group and theft and disturbance occurring more frequently for the twelve year olds. The fourteen
TABLE II

ARRESTS BY OFFENSE AND AGE GROUPS, MISSOULA, 1947

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>all ages</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbance</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runaway</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Offense</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquor</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Juvenile Record, Missoula Police Department
TABLE III
ARRESTS BY OFFENSE AND AGE GROUPS, MISSOULA, 1948

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Total, all ages</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbance</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runaway</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Att. Holdup</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Juvenile Record, Missoula Police Department

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year olds were 12% of the total with theft being their main offense. Ten per cent was the total offense by the thirteen year old group, theft being their most frequent violation. The eleven year age group had .06% arrests, with theft also heading their violation list. The ten and nine year age groups were not high enough in offenses to warrant listing.

Summarizing with regard to age of offenders it appears that there is not any consistency for age of offense other than the fact that the fifteen year olds had the highest frequency of arrests over the two periods, except in 1946, when the sixteen year olds led the list. However, one point is clear. The seventeen year old age group is the age where a decline appears over the length of juvenile offenses. This may be explained by the fact that the offenses committed by this group may be considered more serious by society and prosecution will result if anyone in that age group persists in violating the law. Also, it may be noted that this age is nearest to the eighteen year old group and when the latter commit an offense, prosecution by regular officials will be undertaken as the juvenile then has become an adult under the law and is liable to the criminal code with no special consideration for age being given.

ARRESTS BY SEX

In distinguishing between sex and the number of of-
TABLE IV
ARRESTS BY OFFENSE AND AGE GROUPS, MISSOULA, 1949

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Total, all ages</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>146</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disturbance</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
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</tr>
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<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquor</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Juvenile Record, Missoula Police Department
fenses committed for the two periods it is found that the males far outnumber the females for all arrests with the exception of arrests for sex offenses. (It will be recalled that under the classification of sex offenses rape is not listed as there were no cases recorded.) It is at this point that the females exceed the males in arrests. For example, in the first period three sex offenses were recorded and of this number two were female offenders, or 66% of the total. In the second period five sex offenses were noted, three of these listed for females, or 60% of the total. With such a small number of offenses being noted under sex offenses it is difficult to arrive at any conclusions. However, it was noticed that in the majority of the cases recorded that when a girl was arrested for the charge "sex offense" she was in the company of an older male (more frequently an adult). In cases such as these, the girl was held for juvenile authorities and the adult offender turned over to regular police authorities for trial on a charge of statutory rape.

Runaways in 1946 numbered 17 and of this number five were female offenders, or 29%. Theft in this year totalled 15 cases with the females contributing two of this number, or 13%. Females had only a 5% participation in disturbances of 60 cases entered for 1946. Of the total offenses for
1946, 112 cases, the females were arrested for 12 violations, or 12%.

During 1947, 170 cases were entered in the juvenile record with the females contributing 11 of this total, or .05%. In a breakdown of figures it is found that females had 13% of the total arrest for theft (6 of 45 cases); 12% of traffic violations (two of 17 cases); 16% for liquor violations (one of six cases); and .02% of disturbances (two of 89 cases). Of the total 170 cases of juvenile offenses committed and recorded for 1947, the females accounted for only .04% of the total, a sum of eleven arrests.

For the first part of the second period (1948) the offenses of runaway was listed four times and females made up 50% of the total—two out of four cases. Theft for this year was entered 50 times in the record with females making up four of this number, or .08%. Traffic violations recorded 13 names, one of these being a girl, or .07%. The total arrests for the year was 121 with the females having only seven contributors to this total, or .05%.

1949 saw an increase in offenses committed by females. From a total number of 146 arrests for this year, girls contributed 19, or 13% of the total. (This is closely approximate to the female violations in 1946. See above.) A breakdown of these figures reveals that of runaways, girls
made up 50% of the total (two of four cases); sex offenses numbered five in 1949 with females being responsible for three of this number, or 60%. The 50 cases of theft for this year included six girls, or 12%; disturbances totalled 38 with five female contributions, or 13%; and liquor violations for 1949 numbered 15 with three girls contributing, or 20%.

In all these cases cited under sex differentiation there was no localization whatsoever. The cases were dispersed throughout the city with no starting point for further study evident.

Under age groupings by sex for offenses committed in 1946, the sixteen and seventeen year olds were responsible for more violations than all other ages for girls. In 1947 and 1948 the age differentiation was dispersed with all ages contributing. The year 1949 saw the upper age brackets (15-17) contribute more to juvenile offenses. It may be noted that in the years 1946 and 1949 there was a total of eight sex offenses listed, while in 1947 and 1948 there was no such entry made, thus accounting for the upper age contributions of the 46-49 period inasmuch as it is at this age that most sex offenses occur for juveniles—(15-16-17 years of age.)

In summary, for the two periods there was a total of
552 juvenile offenses recorded resulting in the same number of arrests for juveniles. Disturbances led the number of arrests with 233, or 42% of the total. Theft ranked second with 160 arrests, or 28%. Traffic violations was third with 66 entries, or 11%.

As mentioned previously in this chapter, none of the offenses were concentrated to some particular section of the city with the exception of theft. This offense was located more often in the northwestern section of the city of Missoula. Prior to delving further into this problem the writer, in the following chapter, has attempted to describe the city, ecologically speaking, and has then proceeded to state the facts as he found them operating, which may throw some light upon the localization of the offenses against property in this part of the city.
CHAPTER IV

THE ECOLOGY OF MISSOULA

In delimiting the city of Missoula for purposes of an ecological study, the two major hypotheses of Hoyt and Burgess\(^1\) were used as a frame of reference. Attempts will be made to show that either of the two theories may apply in some areas of the city, while in other sections, neither theory holds. As will be shown later in this chapter the Burgess theory was not applicable in all cases, but rather the Hoyt theory appeared to apply in these areas. In turn, the Burgess theory applied where the Hoyt theory was not valid.

As a first step the city was marked off from the core, or the central business district, outward to the periphery. The central business district of Missoula covers an area of five blocks in length, i.e., north and south. At the southern end of the area the business zone has a width of two blocks while at the northern portion the area has narrowed down to a one block width. Within this central area are located the banks, recreational facilities, retail stores, hotels, restaurants and business offices. The southern end of the business area is severed sharply because

\(^1\)See Chapter I, page 5.
of the geographic location of the Missoula River.

From this southern portion of the zone going westward are located the garages, filling stations and used car lots which extend to join the main arterial highway running east and west through the center of the city. Following the highway westward are situated the motor courts, drive-ins, and small industries extending to the city's limits. A similar pattern may be observed eastward from the central zone, except for the fact that there are located residences, both single and multiple dwelling units, more frequently in this area than the section to the west.

The zone of transition, which according to Burgess surrounds the central business district, is the area held in readiness for further business expansion. It is the deteriorated area where the slums are located and social pathological factors are prevalent. However, contrary to the Burgess hypothesis there is not a zone of transition, as such, in the city of Missoula. The reader will recall the example cited above which does not include any living quarters where pathological factors would enter. It is at this point that the Burgess theory breaks down. The zone of transition for Missoula applies to a relatively small area at the northern end of the business district and will be discussed later.
As previously mentioned the business area extends at most to two blocks on each side of the central business core. Included in this area, in addition to the factors mentioned above, is the federal post office and court house; the county court house and jail, the city hall and jail and small appliance and retail stores. There are no buildings held in readiness for further business expansion. Every building in this area is utilized for some purpose and does not appear to be awaiting business expansion. There is no "prevalence of poor housing, crime, vice, poverty and disease." There are no "Black Belts, Chinatowns, Little Italies, Ghettos, and other types of racial and immigrant colonies,"\(^2\) which Burgess maintains are located in this second zone. Suffice it to say that in place of a transitional area Missoula claims a residential area with homes of middle-class residents, along with a few relatively scattered commercial establishments. There is no gradation between zones. Rather, there is an abrupt change from the business district to a residential area.

The multiple dwelling residences in this second zone are not the deteriorated slums that Shaw and McKay discovered.

in their studies in Chicago, but are modern apartments with lawns and trees in place of streets littered with debris. The apartments are occupied by civil service employees and workers in the business establishments whose occupations are located in the central zone.

Burgess' concentric zone theory does apply, however, in the location of the "area of the homeless men." This area is located at the northern portion of the central business district, extending two blocks to the west. If a hoboehemia may be said to exist in Missoula, it is in this area. Here are located the "flop-houses," domiciles for single men who have no steady employment. Hoboes and vagrants frequent this area of dingy hotels and run-down saloons. Yet in the center of this area are a few establishments that gain a large proportion of their trade from the university students in quest of some leisure time. These few establishments frequented by students are legitimate night spots that furnish musical entertainment and eating facilities along with their drinking qualities. This is mentioned primarily to show an example of the ecological pattern the city follows in that in the center of a "vice area" there are located perfectly legitimate establishments.

At the western end of the "zone of homeless men" are located the houses of prostitution—four in number. This vice area is composed of a half dozen saloons frequented
largely by lumber-jacks, farm hands, unemployed men and a motley class of women. From this zone, again there is an abrupt change. Diagonally across the street from this area, southwestward, are located residences of middle class residents. Again, there is no gradation from zones, rather a very abrupt change. Flanking the vice area to the west and south are located single family residences with a scattering of multiple dwelling apartments.

Returning to the northern portion of the business district, it is found that expansion in this direction is blocked by a railroad depot with its freight yards, roundhouse, etc. This severance of the central business zone marks the extreme to which it could move if expansion in this direction were desired. Warehouses, truck transport facilities, and train-car unloadings are the main activities performed in this area. Westward, parallel to the railroad tracks is located Missoula's skid-row, warehouses and other facilities attached to railroad duties. As the distance increases from these commercial activities, residential areas are found in the vicinity of the railroad tracks. The dwellings are not, from external appearances, equal to those of the better residential areas. These residences are primarily those of railroad workers and workingmen's homes. This area may follow Burgess' zone III, for classification
purposes only; the zone of the workingmen's homes. Hoyt's "sector theory" may apply, also, inasmuch as the area does not follow a circular pattern but, rather, extends in a "cut of pie" pattern. This zone extends to the city's periphery with no important intervening industries present aside from a lumber mill located at the edge of the city's limits.

To the east along the railroad lines the same type of residences are found as those of the workingmen's homes in zone three. Here the distance does not extend as far in length as did the former. The city's boundaries in this direction are abruptly halted by the location of a mountain and a large farm that occupies the space following the highway to the east. To the north and east of this area is located the "Rattlesnake" residential area, in which are found newer homes than those to the west. This is also a residential area with no industries or other commercial activities aside from a few neighborhood grocery stores.

In this immediate area is found Greenough Park, the city's only recreational park which provides picnic facilities. To the west of the park, beyond the city's reservoir, are located other residences of workingmen's homes.

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3Gist and Halbert, op. cit., p. lll.
These homes, too, are occupied mainly by workers of the skilled and semi-skilled classes. This area extends to the city's periphery with no industries present.

Moving to the southern portion of the central business area, it will be recalled that the boundaries of this specific zone are severed by the Missoula River. Expansion in this direction, also, is impossible because of this geographic factor. Across the river, which is spanned by one of the four bridges that forms a connecting link for one portion of the city to the other, is located Missoula's south side. At the southern end of the bridge a nucleated business center is located. This change of locations of the centers of business areas is in response to the general shifts of population, "usually in the direction of the better residential districts." The composition of this nucleated business center consists of a drug store, movie theatre, barber shops, grocery stores, and the like. This specific area extends southward for a distance of four blocks. South and eastward from this area is located the zone of better residences, classified as zone A, where no further commercial expansion is allowed. Located in the heart of this area are "Missoula's finest residences" and at the eastern extremity is found the Montana State University campus.

Ibid., p. 111.
Progressing still further southeastward is the location of newer residences where the majority of new residential structures are being erected. This area extends to the southern extremities of the city.

Progressing westward from the ploynucleated business center, additional residential areas are located. Adjacent to this secondary business area is located the "apartment center" of the city where the majority of rentals occur. As the distance increases from this point the residences resemble those of the southeastern area of the city. Here, too, the residences are newly erected and this area extends to the city's limits.

Two factors distinguish this latter area from the former residential zone. This is the existence of two of Missoula's primary industries: a sawmill and a flour mill. The former, which threatened to expand into a residential zone, was restricted from further expansion by Missoula's city council passing a city ordinance which established the residential area as a class A zone and prevented further commercial expansion of the sawmill.

The westward expansion to the city's periphery includes areas that are termed "acreage." This term connotes residences of city dwellers who have acquired land adjacent to their homes where they plant crops for their domestic
use and perhaps for some commercial transactions.

In summary, then, the area south of the bridge, to the east and west, constitutes principally the residential area of the city. There are, to be sure, gas stations, dry cleaning establishments, etc. in this area, but scattered throughout the area so that it can be safe to say the zones spoken of are residential in nature.

It is obvious to the reader that more emphasis was given to the central business zone and to the non-existence of the transitional area than to the other areas of the city. This is because the major portions of the city are residential in character and not so much emphasis need be given.

From this brief survey it would appear that Missoula is primarily a residential city. From the almost total lack of industries the question may arise as to what constitutes the economic basis for the community. There are no major industriest prevalent in the city aside from lumber mills and a sugar beet factory. The major economic functions of the city, in the researcher's mind, are: (1) catering to farmers who live in fertile valleys adjacent to the city; (2) tourist trade for the national parks to the east and west of the city; (3) retired persons settling here from other sections of the state; (4) the university; and (5) headquarters for U.S. Forestry Service District Number 1. However, it is not the writer's object to discover the
economic basis for the community, but merely to indicate some explanation of the city's residential character in view of the lack of industries.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF DELINQUENCY WITHIN THE CITY

In order to present more clearly the distribution of offenses committed by juveniles in the city of Missoula, a spot map for each year was drawn and the residence of each offender was checked. The results of this appear on the maps on the following pages.

A study of the maps will show the central business area almost completely void of juvenile offenders. As mentioned previously in this chapter the reason for this discrepancy is the fact that there are not the residences in this area where families with children could reside. The business area is primarily a commercial entity with no apartments within its own boundaries. Suffice it to say that the almost complete absence of juvenile offenders within the central business area results primarily because there are not any juveniles in the area.

A general picture of the remainder of the city reflects no localization of offenses; rather there tends to appear a scattering of offenses throughout the city. One point which may require explanation is the lack of offenses
FIGURE 1

LOCATION OF RESIDENCES OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS
KNOWN TO THE POLICE, 1946.

(Each dot represents one offender)
in the southeastern section of the city for 1946. This may be explained for the reason that this area was not in the city's political boundaries in this year and therefore was not under the city police jurisdiction. However, for the following three years it may be noted that offenses in this area appear. This is a result of the area being encompassed by the city's boundaries and therefore being under police jurisdiction.

The area surrounding the university district shows the least number of offenses as compared to the western and northwestern portions of the city. The researcher, having attempted to explain this unusual pattern has arrived at the following conclusions: (1) From visitation to the university area at different intervals it was noted that an almost complete lack of juveniles existed in the area. The children observed were either younger in ages of nine to seventeen which was the age of offenders dealt with in this study, or were not present in the area when the writer visited the neighborhood. From a survey of the neighboring grade school, it was noted that aside from the large enrollment it had no great majority of children in attendance from the university district. However, it must be stated that the particular grade school noted had students in attendance from other districts because of the current high
FIGURE 2

LOCATION OF RESIDENCES OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS KNOWN TO THE POLICE, 1947.

(Each dot represents one offender)
enrollments with the resulting crowded facilities in other schools.

(2) The researcher concluded, further, that if any children in numbers worth considering were located within the area, their spare time was accounted for in other ways rather than mingling around the district so that they could be observed.

(3) The university area is the location of many older persons in the city and this may explain the lack of children. The reason for this conclusion is the high cost of the residences in this area which it seems reasonable to expect that younger parents with children could not afford in a non-industrialized city.

(4) Finally, it may be concluded that the lack of children in this district may be because of the upper class, or professional group, located within the area with their small families. As it is known the upper classes have smaller families than the working classes so that this may account for the absence of children.

This survey of the university district caused the researcher to conduct a similar approach to the area of high offenses, the northwestern section of the city. By numerous visits to this area where juvenile offenses appear relatively more frequently, it was discovered that more
FIGURE 3
LOCATION OF RESIDENCES OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS KNOWN TO THE POLICE, 1948.

(Each dot represents one offender)
children tended to congregate in groups at various times of the day. By observation it was noted that in the early evening children were more frequently encountered on the streets in this area than in the university area. There tended to be street play under an arc-light in these areas while the university area showed none of this activity. It became obvious that the spare time of these children was not as well accounted for as was the spare time activities of the children in the other sections of town.

A further study into the northwestern and western sections of the city revealed that the residences in the areas were not in such neglect as to be classified as slums or low class dwellings. The lawns and houses were kept in neat appearance which led the writer to conclude that economic factors couldn't explain the presence of offenses in this area. Rather it must be other factors that had to be studied.  

The remaining portions of the city appeared to be "normal" in their number of juvenile offenses committed. Since there was no great localization of all offenses, the study was confronted with a difficult obstacle. Had offenses been predominately concentrated in one area of the city as opposed to all others, the study of this phenomena may have been an easier task since the researcher could focus his

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5On this point see Chapter V on attempts to explain causation.
FIGURE 4

LOCATION OF RESIDENCES OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS KNOWN TO THE POLICE, 1949.

(Each dot represents one offender)
effort upon this one area in order to arrive at some specific conclusion. However, careful scrutiny revealed that in spite of a general picture of offenses throughout the city one variation appeared. This was the higher frequency of arrests for theft in the northwestern section of the city. To be sure, the variation was not overwhelming for the offense of theft for this section, but of significant numbers to warrant further research.

In general then, the city of Missoula reflects a pattern of juvenile offenders that is at variance with the other studies conducted in this field. The explanations are difficult to enumerate, but as much evidence as has been uncovered will be presented in the following chapter.
CHAPTER V

AN EXPLANATION OF SOME CAUSATIVE FACTORS

It may be reiterated at this point that while offenses for theft appeared more heavily in one area of the city than in others, that the area, as such, could not be the inherent factor as a means of causation. Rather, there are other factors within this area that cause the offense of theft to appear more frequently. Because of the apparent localization of this offense, further study was conducted in order to gain a more thorough knowledge of the problem. To this end the writer devised a questionnaire which was presented to 935 students of the elementary and secondary school level. The elementary school students questioned were of the seventh and eighth grades and the high school students were of the first three grades.

From the eleven schools which answered the questionnaire, two will be discussed inasmuch as their replies appear to have some significance for this study. The remainder of the schools will not be discussed because their replies conform closely to the school located in the area of least theft. The school in the area of heavier theft gave such differing answers on the questionnaire that the significance of these answers will be noted. To expedite matters and

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cause as little confusion as possible, the schools will not be referred to by name, rather the school within the area of heavier theft will be labeled as zone A and the school located in the area of least theft will henceforth be referred to as zone B.

The questionnaire was designed to give certain basic answers in regard to juvenile delinquency and was presented to the students with the assumption that the students questioned resided within the neighborhood of the school.¹ The endeavor at this point was to note if any difference with respect to attitude toward law, etc., could be correlated with residences in those areas where offenses of theft were known to exist.

In zone A it was discovered that 50% of the students who answered the questionnaire attended church every Sunday, or at least once a month, while 50% attended seldom or never. Zone B answered 66% affirmatively in church attendance and 34% as attending seldom or never. This may reflect somewhat upon the incident of thefts because the church is one of the facets of community organization that gives moral guidance to the people and if guidance is not given, the moral implications of right and wrong may not be understood by the young-

¹Certain exceptions to this assumption will be noted later as the discussion progresses.
sters, which in turn may cause them to act delinquenty. It is accepted, however, that the church is not the only facet of the community for molding a person's behavior. This is indeed true because the family and companions also have their influence in forming personality behavior patterns. These answers were sought also and the results are that zone A students stated that 48% of their companions steal at one time or another, while in zone B 21% stated that their friends may steal on occasions. Thus, in church attendance and companionship, zone A differs to some extent from zone B. Bad companionship is one of the determinants of juvenile delinquency as noted by most authors dealing with the subject, and if zone A youths admit such a high frequency of thefts among their companions, a second reason for this area of high frequency of thefts may be stated as being that of bad companionship.

By self-admission on the questionnaire 24% of zone A students indicated that they were living in broken homes. Of these students from broken homes 58% admit to theft. By comparison, zone B students reported 8% as coming from broken homes and only 16% of these admitted to theft. This presents two interesting facts. Zone A has a greater number of broken homes as compared to zone B and secondly, there is a higher percentage of thefts from broken homes in Zone A than in the
latter. This indicates that the broken home may be a factor in determining juvenile offenses. The broken home cannot be totally called the main determinant of delinquency but there must be factors within the broken homes that are conducive to the formation of delinquency. Thus the data support previous studies on the relationship between juvenile delinquency and broken homes.

Thus far three basic differences have been uncovered in relation to the "inherent qualities" of the two areas. (1) Zone A students attend church less often than do zone B students. (2) Zone A students' companions are inclined toward theft more than are those in zone B. (3) Zone A has a greater number of broken homes and more thefts occur from these broken homes. This is not to say that the areas have caused these phenomena to occur, but rather they appear to conform to previous studies in family disorganization and juvenile delinquency. By recalling the ecological processes that were discussed in Chapter I, the reader was shown that the area tends to select its members. (As noted, zone A has the greater frequency of thefts and broken homes.) The family in this case may not be as stable as those in zone B. As indicated in Chapter IV, zone B is composed of the better residential districts of the city, while zone A is not in such a class. This may show, and support to some
extent, the hypothesis that divorce and familial discord occur more frequently in the less stable areas of a city. Zone A, while not a slum nor deteriorated area, is the area of workingmen's homes and not of the more stabilized type such as zone B, or the area of the professional men's homes. The presence of the family break-up may in turn reflect upon personal disorganization to the juvenile which in turn may cause him to undertake delinquent actions.

To return to the data compiled from the questionnaires it was revealed that in reference to the amount stolen area A students admitted that 31% of them had stolen amounts over $15.00, while zone B had only 10% admitted thefts of over this amount. Thus, amount of theft, by self-admission, is greater in zone A than in zone B. The reason for this may be that zone A students coming from the homes lower in social status than zone B needed money which may not have been given them because of economic reasons, while zone A students may have a steady allowance because of their parents' economic advantage.

When questioned about punishment in the home, 35% of the zone A students admitted being punished often while zone B students replied that only 22% of them were frequently punished. Type of punishment appeared to be rather inconsistent between areas. In zone B the method appeared more often to be of the type which restricted privileges or allowances. This
may be indicative of the classes within the zones. Zone A punishments were of a physical type more often than the punishment of zone B where the lecture method was used more frequently. In zone A only 15% of the students were punished by denial of privileges, while in zone B 34% of the students were restricted. Type of punishment cannot be correlated with the offense of theft, but it might reflect upon the parental authority over the child. Zone B parents appear to hold material values over the child while zone A uses the common form of punishment, be it scolding, whipping or slapping.

From the questionnaires returned by the students in other areas of the city, it should be noted that too much reliability cannot be placed upon the geographic location of the students' homes. This is due to the fact that the other schools in the city have in attendance students from other areas than those within its own immediate vicinity. This is a result of the overcrowding of schools in some areas and the necessity of sending some students to schools in other areas of the city. The replies from the other schools showed, upon tabulation, no significant variations in any question from those in zone B. This may indicate that zone A is unique in its replies to the questions asked. Zones A and B were the two schools in the city which had the
greater majority of enrollment from children in their respective areas. This fact aided this study not only because of the differences in theft in their respective localities, but also singled out the areas ecologically for further study.

The returns from the high school students showed that 22% of them admitted that their companions may steal as against 48% and 21% for zone A and B respectively. Twelve percent of the high school students were from broken homes and from these broken homes 28% admit to theft. Church attendance, amount of theft, punishment, and privilege deprivation appeared closely related to zone B. The high school students were questioned to see whether or not any significant differences appeared between those of the secondary level and those students of zones A and B. From the results it may be concluded that the high school students are closely related to zone B, of which the latter may be cited as being the average throughout the city.

To summarize briefly the data presented above, there appear certain basic differences in the areas discussed. Zone A has the highest number of thefts as shown by spot maps in Chapter IV. Children in this area have companions who are prone to theft more often than zone B. Church attendance is lower in zone A and broken homes are more numerous here.
Thefts from broken homes occur more often in zone A as does the amount stolen appear greater in this area. Type of punishment shows some difference in areas, but not significantly important so as to be related to the offense of theft. Thus companionship and family emerge from the data to become the two main differentiating points between zones. This is in agreement with the many other studies in the field of juvenile delinquency. Another problem could be examined which may reveal further insight into this phenomena. This could easily become another study. What is there, or better still, what is there lacking within the home in zone A that causes the child to run afoul of the law in respect to theft? Would it be economic pressures, social prestige, or familial discord that causes the child to seek companionship outside the family? As yet this problem has not been solved and when one refers to the statements of J. E. Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation:

... that youths played a predominant part in the commission of crimes against property is indicated by the following figures: During 1949, there were 192,122 persons of all ages arrested for robbery, burglary, larceny, theft... and 52,670 (27.4%) of those persons were less than 21 years old,2

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it becomes apparent that these persons are starting a criminal career at an early age and something must be done to remove the causative factors. In a personal interview with Warden Lou Boedecker of the State Penitentiary at Deer Lodge, Montana, the writer was informed that 60% of his inmates had records as juveniles. Indeed, this presents a problem which must be faced and solved.

The extent, and some causative factors have been indicated here. It is the author's contention that the city of Missoula will not be confronted with a "crime wave" of juvenile delinquents, partly because of the efficient means of law enforcement by juvenile authorities, there appear to be no breeding areas of delinquency, and the new mental health clinic inaugurated on the campus of Montana State University within the past year. The clinic under the direction of a trained and experienced psychiatrist has as its goal the prevention and cure of children's conflicts and frustrations which may result in delinquent acts and other personal demoralizing acts.

The community organization of Missoula is providing juveniles with recreational leadership, work shops and numerous activities which have as their purpose the means of molding the youngsters into upstanding citizens of their community. Their spare time is provided for by well-rounded activities which serve as counteractions to their having too
much leisure time in which they may "get into trouble." As the juvenile officer stated, "Kids are kids, and we adults have to recognize this fact. Let's go along with them and sooner or later they'll straighten up. In the meantime let's give them all the advantages we can and remember that as children we may have gotten into trouble but because of some break given us we straightened up." The author believes the sincerity of this statement primarily because of a case that occurred last spring in Missoula. A boy of fifteen years of age was finally apprehended after the juvenile officer lay in wait six hours for the youngster to make his appearance at the building he was expected to break into. For ten consecutive times this boy, alone, had broken into and burglarized this same building. On his eleventh attempt he was apprehended.

When brought to trial in district court and found guilty by the court, the judge asked if anyone had any comments to make prior to his passing judgment upon the offender. The juvenile officer arose and addressed the court. His statement proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that this officer is interested in aiding boys gone wrong. He pleaded for the boy by stating that if anyone were to be sentenced today it should be the entire community for allowing this boy to perpetrate eleven crimes before being apprehended. The office owners didn't inform the police immediately of the break-ins.
The police were lax in apprehending this boy. If the boy had been apprehended after his first offense he would not have been in the trouble he was in now. This, to the juvenile officer, was not the boy's fault entirely, but rather the entire community's. With this plea the court sentenced the boy to a period of probation rather than sentencing him to the Boys' Industrial School. The juvenile officer afterwards stated that he had the utmost confidence in this boy. And after recalling that this police officer has had seventeen years experience in police work, he must know where to place his confidence.

CONCLUSION

The significant factors for this study of juvenile offenses in Missoula have been uncovered and revealed. Broken homes and bad companionship appear to be the most significant factors in producing juvenile offenders. What the relative weight of these factors is upon offenses can easily become a subject for further research.

It is hoped that these explanations into juvenile offenses may shed some light into the matter. The problem has been studied as completely as possible and all relevant data presented in a manner that the reader can observe for himself.

Throughout the study it has become evident that the
city of Missoula is unusual in its pattern of ecology and in its spatial distribution of juvenile offenses. The main theories of ecology as proposed by Burgess and Hoyt do not hold entirely for the city studied. The variations have been discussed in preceding chapters and the writer concludes that Missoula is one of those cities mentioned in the ecological literature which does not conform either to the hypothesis of concentric zones nor the sector zone theory. In this respect the first problem of the thesis has been examined and attempts have been made to reveal exactly how Missoula does not follow the hypotheses which were discussed.

From the statistics and spot maps presented, it becomes evident that there is not a natural area of juvenile in the city except in regard to the offense of theft. Thus, in regard to the second problem it was found that instead of a natural area of delinquency, where it could be stated that juvenile delinquency was concentrated in some specific area, the data reveals a rather generalization of offenses throughout the entire city.

The extent of delinquent offenses in Missoula, the third problem, has been noted with a total of 552 cases over a four year period entered into the juvenile record. This is from a total of 4,697 children in Missoula, or 11% who were involved in delinquent acts. Thus, the extent of

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offenders among juveniles is not very great. Smaller still is the number of actual delinquents who have been sent to the Boys' Industrial Home at Miles City, Montana. This number is two delinquents for the four year period of this study.

Finally, the fourth problem reveals that the pattern of delinquency in Missoula does not appear to follow the studies of Shaw in Chicago. According to Shaw's studies, which revealed that delinquency was greater in the central business zone with a gradual decrease in numbers as the distance from the center increased, delinquency fell into natural areas of the city. It has been shown in a previous chapter that Missoula has no natural areas of delinquency so that it may be concluded that juvenile offenses in Missoula do not follow Shaw's studies of Chicago.

The problems, as stated in Chapter I, have been examined and discussed. Missoula, its ecological structure and its distribution of juvenile offenses, is not similar to the studies discussed in Chapter II. The conclusion for this study may be stated as being that juvenile offenders are not located within one specific area of the city, nor that they are all from broken homes. The multiple factor theory of causation appears to be operative. As many factors as could have been operative have been uncovered and
presented in this thesis. The writer realizes that more work remains to be done on the phenomena of social and personal disorganization if a solution is to be found. As much as could be done with the data on hand has been accomplished. Therefore, it is hoped that this thesis may have given some insight into juvenile delinquency as it exists in Missoula, Montana.
A. BOOKS


B. PERIODICALS


C. PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Mr. James J. Doyle, Missoula, Montana.

Mr. Lou Boedecker, Deer Lodge, Montana.
APPENDIX A

METHODS AND APPLICATION

The nature of this thesis has been exploratory. The problems, as stated in the first chapter, were to discover whether or not certain characteristics from other studies in juvenile delinquency and human ecology could be made to apply to Missoula. To determine this, certain obstacles confronted the writer for which there was no solution. Also, data was uncovered that could not be presented within the body of this study. Thus, the obstacles and the data not presented earlier will be discussed here.

It should be borne in mind that the data the writer compiled in regard to juvenile offenses were limited. Had the entries in the juvenile record been made complete as later required, more information would have been acquired. The majority of the entries contained no more than the name of the offender, age, home address and offense. This limited the use to which the records could be applied.

Some attempts to correlate socially pathological factors with juvenile delinquency were impossible because of the inaccessibility of records. It was hoped that by court records, and records from public welfare and unemploy-

\[1\) A copy of the juvenile record entry is shown in Appendix B.
ment agencies that a further insight into juvenile delinquency might be secured. The records sought were divorce, public welfare aid and unemployment data. By these records the author felt that he could check the homes on a spot map to see whether or not the factors of a broken home or those in economic distress could be correlated to the homes of juvenile delinquency. The agencies possessing the data would not permit access of these to the writer because of technicalities of laws which state that the records are not for public perusal.

One attempt to correlate a factor with delinquency was from Banay's statement,\(^2\) that truancy from school and juvenile delinquency are highly correlative. By checking the records in the various schools of the city for truancy, the writer could discover no correlation of truancy and delinquent offenses, by area of the city. Zone A (area of highest frequency of arrests for theft) had 28 truants, while zone B had 16 truants for the four year period. The remainder of the schools had approximately the same number of truancies.

It has often been remarked by some sociologists and writers in the field of juvenile delinquency that delinquents

\(^2\)Banay, *Youth in Despair*, *op. cit.*, p. 194.
are emotionally more unstable and less emotionally mature than non-delinquents. Schuessler and Cressey contradict this theory by a study conducted of delinquent and non-delinquent children. Their results are that the findings of personality characteristic tests reveal no significant difference between delinquent and non-delinquent children.\(^3\)

In regard to emotionality, emotional maturity, emotional disturbance and temperament, the tests proved negative when they attempted to differentiate between delinquent and non-delinquent children. Further, the tests revealed that delinquent children were not inferior to non-delinquents in moral knowledge and that most delinquents did not cheat on honesty tests, but a larger proportion of delinquents than non-delinquents cheated.

The Rorschach test failed to establish the differences in personality between the two groups. "In so far as emotionality or personality measurement, per se, is concerned the Rorschach test as here scored is of little assistance in differentiating between the two groups."\(^4\)

It will be recalled that during the four year period of this study, only two children were committed to an


\(^4\)Ibid., p. 482.
institution of correction. The juvenile officer of the Missoula Police Department defended this low number of commitments by the fact that through his numerous visitations to the offenders' homes and through cooperation with the parents, the offenders were "straightened out" before they could repeat their delinquent acts. The parents were, for the most part, cooperative in seeing that their children did not run afoul of the law again. The officer felt that this cooperation by the parents was a strong influence upon the children in keeping them out of further trouble.

In regard to actual offenses committed, the officer continued, he felt that a parental responsibility clause in the laws would see a noted decline in juvenile offenses. Through this clause the parents would be liable and responsible for their children's actions and by this law more control over the children would be asserted by the parents. This reflects upon the authority that the family has over children. As evidenced by the numbers of offenses, it may be stated that control from the family is not as efficient as it should be, but the law may replace some of the lost authority on the parent's part. To the juvenile officer this law is most desirable, not as a punishment or tool of fear, but as a means of prevention. The parents, knowing that they are legally responsible for their children's ac-
tions, may use more influence and instruct them as to the values in regard to law before they commit some offense.

Throughout the reading of this thesis it may have been noted that the children whose names appeared on the juvenile record were classified as offenders, not as delinquents. The State of Montana defines a delinquent child as one who has been declared so by the courts. Thus, every child who commits an offense is not a delinquent unless the courts declare him to be so. Missoula, then, has had only two actual delinquents because the district court has adjudged them so to be.

When compiling the data from the juvenile records the author noted that offenses for juveniles were highest during the school months and lowest during the summer recess. While it would appear logical that the offenses would increase in the summer with more spare time on the children's hands, the data revealed just the opposite. The explanation for this decrease in offenses in the summer is that the children are more occupied with activities such as part-time jobs, fishing, vacationing, etc.\(^5\) The interesting point here is that the after school hours appear to be more conducive to juvenile offenses. This would indicate

\[\text{Explanation is given by the juvenile officer of the Missoula Police Department.}\]
that after the children are dismissed from school, some have leisure time which is not directed to any useful ends, therefore they pursue acts that are contrary to the laws.
APPENDIX B

No. 800  JUVENILE REPORT

City of Missoula

Date

Name________Age________Address________School-Grade________
Father's Name________Address________Occupation________
Mother's Name________Address________Occupation________
Step-Father's Name________Address________Occupation________
Step-Mother's Name________Address________Occupation________

The above juvenile appeared in the Police Department for questioning on the _____day of__________, 194_____, for______________________________


Arresting Officer________

Results of Questioning


Questioning Officer________
APPENDIX C

Age________
Male______ Female________
Grade School attended________

Church attended________
Parents: Married________
Divorced________
Separated________
Remarried________

1. How often do you attend church?
( ) a. every Sunday
( ) b. once a month
( ) c. not often
( ) d. never

2. If you wanted to play ball on a neighbor's lot, would you
   ( ) a. ask him?
   ( ) b. play on it without asking him?
   ( ) c. play on it if he told you not to?
   ( ) d. play on it if he told you not to but he had left town?

3. Have your parents ever punished you:
   ( ) a. for taking something?
   ( ) b. for staying out late?
   ( ) c. for causing a disturbance?
   ( ) d. never.

4. Have you ever been punished at home?
   ( ) a. often
   ( ) b. seldom
   ( ) c. once, only
   ( ) d. never

5. How were you punished?
   ( ) a. scolding
   ( ) b. slapping
   ( ) c. spanking
   ( ) d. whipping
   ( ) e. other ways

6. If you found a wallet containing the owner's address and $15.00, would you:
   ( ) a. return the money and the wallet to the owner?
   ( ) b. tell your parents and ask them what to do?
   ( ) c. take the money out and throw the wallet away?
   ( ) d. keep both the money and the wallet?

7. If you decided to steal, would you:
   ( ) a. tell your friends?
   ( ) b. expect your friends to help you?
   ( ) c. not tell anyone anything?
8. Assume that you are a member of a neighborhood basketball team and one night your team was going to play another club in the school gymnasium, but you found the gymnasium locked, would you:
   ( ) a. break in and play anyway?
   ( ) b. call off the game if it meant a forfeit for your team?
   ( ) c. call off the game in spite of anything?

9. If your companions told you to help them steal some old tires from a garage and you knew you would not get caught, would you:
   ( ) a. go with them?
   ( ) b. go with them and steal in order to get money for a movie?
   ( ) c. not go with them and tell them not to steal?
   ( ) d. not go with them and tell the police?
   ( ) e. not go with them and not tell the police?

10. Do you think your companions steal?
    ( ) a. often.
    ( ) b. once in a while.
    ( ) c. not at all.

11. Have you ever stolen goods valued at:
    ( ) a. over $15.00?
    ( ) b. under $15.00?
    ( ) c. less than $5.00?
    ( ) d. nothing?

12. If you found a wallet containing $15.00 and the owner's address and you took it home to your parents, would they:
    ( ) a. let you keep the money and wallet?
    ( ) b. let you keep the money and throw the wallet away?
    ( ) c. make you return the wallet and money to the owner?

13. If your father stole something would your mother:
    ( ) a. tell him she didn't like his stealing?
    ( ) b. tell him to take it back?
    ( ) c. say nothing because father knows best?

14. If you came home with a new camera, would your parents:
    ( ) a. ask you where you got it?
    ( ) b. tell you to return it if you had stolen it?
    ( ) c. say nothing?

15. If you got into trouble would you expect your parents:
    ( ) a. to alibi for you?
    ( ) b. to take your side no matter what?
    ( ) c. to see you punished even if you were their child?