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Juvenile delinquency: a comparative and ecological study of agency delinquents in Missoula Montana 1955-1956

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JUVENILE DELINQUENCY: A COMPARATIVE AND ECOLOGICAL STUDY OF AGENCY DELINQUENTS IN MISSOULA, MONTANA, 1955-1956

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The increasing number of young people involved in some form of deviant behavior has become the concern of growing numbers of professional and lay persons alike. Juvenile delinquency is but one form of deviant behavior, and it is the purpose of this study to investigate such behavior.

The question often arises, why should we be so concerned about juvenile delinquency? There have always been children in trouble with the law. Are there really more delinquents now, then in grandfather's day, or is it merely that we are more aware of them now than we were before? Such authorities\(^1\) feel that because of changing concepts in dealing with delinquent children, officials are now more apt to record known cases of delinquency than they were a few decades earlier. But others feel that despite the increase in recording juvenile cases, delinquency is on the increase, and at an alarming rate. For example, "Juvenile court delinquency cases increased by about 44 per cent in the four-year period of 1950 to 1954....Only 12 per cent of this increase can be accounted for by the increase in juvenile population in those years."\(^2\) In addition to the increase in all types of delinquency, there is also much concern as to the number of major criminal offenses committed by our youth. Of all the crimes committed against property in 1954 the following percentages of offenders were under 18 years of age: Robbery-18.7%; Burglary-49.0%; Larceny-43.6%; and Auto theft-57.5%.\(^3\)

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\(^2\)Pilcher, op. cit., p. 10.

\(^3\)Uniform Crime Reports, XXV (1955), 113.
From these few statements and figures then, it is apparent that our concern with the problem of juvenile delinquency is a legitimate concern, and we are justified in investigating pertinent phases of the problem in the hopes of being able to predict, and therefore control, juvenile delinquency. It was for these reasons that an investigation of juvenile delinquency in Missoula, Montana was undertaken.

Purpose of the Study

This study was undertaken in the hopes of discovering some fruitful information concerning juvenile delinquency in Missoula. More specifically, it was hoped that the extent and nature of deviant behavior of children in Missoula might be determined. In conjunction with this was the investigation of the juvenile court in Missoula and the probation department, and the part that these agencies play within the field of delinquency in Missoula.

Based on available statistics, it seems safe to say, in agreement with most authorities, that juvenile delinquency is increasing in the United States. The exact rate of increase is not known, but

In comparison with 1 per cent, which previously had often been employed as a crude index to measure the nation's annual volume of delinquency, the estimate for the year 1952 was 2 per cent of all children between ten and seventeen, or a total annual volume of 385,000 children. If this be accepted with any credence, it means that our annual rate of delinquency has actually doubled since the period preceding World War II.¹

It is felt that these alarming trends justify continued and increased efforts of research in the various areas of juvenile delinquency.

Specifically, this study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. Does the pattern of juvenile delinquency in Missoula follow the same pattern as that for the nation as a whole? If not, in what areas does the pattern differ? How does it differ?

2. In regard to current standards set forth by various competent authorities, how well do the laws, the juvenile court, and the probation department of Missoula assume the responsibilities of their roles? How can they be improved?

This study is based on information gathered from the records of the probation department in Missoula. This department serves five counties including Missoula, but only those records pertaining to the urban area of Missoula were used. A fifty per cent random sample of all the listed cases of delinquency for 1955 and 1956 was taken.

In regard to the first question with which this study deals, the data obtained from the files of the probation department was of the case history type. In every instance, where possible, these data were analyzed with the idea of discovering possible trends and patterns of agency delinquents in Missoula.

The second part of this study was devoted to an investigation of the juvenile court in Missoula. As a result of this investigation, it was felt that perhaps some information concerning another juvenile court in the United States might prove fruitful in regard to Missoula's juvenile court, and to delinquency in Missoula. Therefore, data concerning juvenile delinquency, and the juvenile court in Darien, Connecticut were obtained. It was hoped that by comparing certain phases of delinquency in the two communities, and the two juvenile courts that more information
might be discovered regarding Missoula.

Before proceeding any further, the basis of this report must be made clear. Official figures and records for juvenile delinquency do not account for the entire juvenile delinquent population. As Carr and others have pointed out, many children who commit delinquent acts go undetected, and therefore unrecorded. For example, Porterfield found in his study of a group of college students that, "...there are great similarities in the behaviors of college students and in cases that are complained about in the juvenile court...." and also that, "...there is a wide difference in the extent to which the two groups are brought to court for the same offenses." It is imperative then, that we make clear what we mean when we talk about juvenile delinquency here. The present study deals with "agency delinquents" only. That is, those children who have committed an act deemed delinquent by the law, and who have been detected and brought to the attention of an agency - in this case the probation department.

It has been pointed out that to use a group such as the agency delinquents for a study is to bring forth answers which are not valid. Such a group represents only a minor percentage of the entire juvenile delinquent population and may therefore bias the statistics. All this is true, and the researcher must be constantly on the alert to avoid producing unvalid statements, but a study based on such a group may still be meaningful and useful if the limitations of the statistics are realized.

6Austin L. Porterfield, Youth in Trouble (Fort Worth, 1946), p. 45.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In more recent times it has become more and more apparent to persons investigating juvenile delinquency that no community study can be termed complete without due regard given to the value system of that community. For example, Bloch and Flynn state in regard to delinquency that, "In many cases, the community reacts only if the child's behavior appears to be overwhelmingly dangerous to community standards, the child's interests, or the safety of others. But this is invariably a relative matter of community practice and standards."7 In one community a child may be judged delinquent for loitering on a street corner late at night, whereas in another community this act may be considered harmless. Court standards and community practices determine in large part whether or not a child will be labeled a delinquent. The situation just discussed makes it imperative that a description and evaluation be made of any community that is being studied in regard to juvenile delinquency.

According to all available reports it seems safe to say that the vast majority of delinquent children fall between fourteen and sixteen years of age. Actually this is not surprising - as Bloch and Flynn explain,

The age categories into which apprehended delinquents fall depend largely upon legal definition and customary practice. Since formal adjudication frequently does not take place until the anti-social behavior of the child brings him perilously close to the statutory dividing line between juvenile offenses and adult criminality, it is not surprising to find the chief cluster of ages


P. 5
falling within the two-to-three year age period directly
preceding the statutory limitations for juvenile offenses.8

For some years now, the records have shown that, "...the vast majority
(about three-fourths) of the children involved in delinquency cases are
fourteen years old or more."9 And in 1949 the median age of delinquent
children was about fifteen and a half years.10 It may also be noted that
about twelve per cent of all people arrested for criminal offenses are
under the age of 18.11

From all over the nation records show that boys outnumber girls five-
to-one in delinquency cases, an increase over the previous record of four-
to-one, and the average age for boys is slightly higher than that for
girls.12 Bloch and Flynn explain,

That in our particular culture we should find more male than
female youngsters apprehended annually is not at all surprising.
The role-definitions we apply to boys and girls in our culture
are quite different, providing the boy with far more opportunity
and incitement to enter delinquent activity. The socialization
processes of boys and girls differ considerably, so that we have
come to expect a certain amount of prankishness and misbehavior
on the part of boys which we are hardly prepared to accept in
girls. "Boys will be boys" is a maxim that clearly expresses the
cultural tolerance of this form of behavior. Such permissive
outlets for girls are regarded with considerable misgiving and
disquiet, although in our, to an extent, male-dominated culture
we are apt to show some slight regard for the so-called "tomboy".13

Up to now no attempt has been made to define a juvenile delinquent
except to explain that this particular study is concerned with "agency
delinquents" only. However, any offense committed by a juvenile may be

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8Bloch and Flynn, op. cit., p. 34.
9Ibid., p. 35.
10Ibid.
12Bloch and Flynn, op. cit., p. 36.
13Ibid., p. 37.
considered a violation by a juvenile of one or more basic conduct norms of a society. The organization of a society depends on rules and if an individual of the society breaks the rules he will be punished in some fashion, formally or informally. In this connection it must be stressed that the family is important and crucial in the learning of these norms or rules of a society. It is for this reason, that is, the socialization processes, that sociologists, social workers, criminologists, psychiatrists, and other professional people generally agree on placing considerable emphasis on the family in the study of child deviant behavior. Earlier, researchers were inclined to point to one item, such as broken homes, as the cause of juvenile delinquency. However, later research in the field indicates that there is not one cause for juvenile delinquency, but rather a multiplicity of causes, differing in individual cases, but definitely many factors which may have direct or indirect influence on a child becoming delinquent.

Although sociologists and others have come generally to take this view, a great majority of them still agree that although many factors are involved, the family and home remain as a major concern in regard to delinquency. This does not mean just "broken homes," but the family relationship, whether broken or not; it refers to the economic status of the family; to the occupation of the parents, their place of residence, and other related factors. For instance, Sullenger notes that,

Delinquency is not often considered a direct product of poverty or low economic status, but such conditions undoubtedly provide a fertile soil for the nurturation of criminal tendencies. Poverty may cause undernourishment and poor physical health, which, in turn, may lead to a lowered mental resistance to the temptations that arise. No doubt, there is a close relationship between crime and poverty, as they are often found in association, yet it is doubtful that poverty can be classed as a direct causative factor.\(^{15}\)

As to the types of offenses committed by our children, the primary offense for boys is stealing, followed by "general acts of carelessness or mischief." The girls are apprehended more often for "being ungovernable" than for anything else, with "running away," and "sex offenses" following closely.\(^{17}\) As was mentioned earlier, youth commits an alarming rate of our more serious crimes against property (See page 1-2). It should also be noted that about one third of the children brought before the courts annually have been referred at least once before.

The field of ecology is represented by the well known names of Park, Burgess, McKenzie, Shaw, Hoyt, and more recently, Lander and many others. This study relied mainly on the above mentioned names as frames of references when dealing with the ecological distribution of juvenile delinquents.

McKenzie states that, "Human ecology is fundamentally interested in the effect of position, in both time and space, upon human institutions and human behavior."\(^{18}\) Shaw gave much weight to just this sort of meaning,

\(^{15}\)Sullenger, op. cit., p. 7. See also, F. Ivan Nye, James F. Short, Jr., and Virgil J. Olson, "Socioeconomic Status and Delinquent Behavior," The American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (January, 1958), 381-389.

\(^{16}\)Bloch and Flynn, op. cit., p. 41.

\(^{17}\)Ibid.

trying to prove that urban development is directly concerned with juvenile
delinquency. That is, he felt that the strong family pattern of the rural
areas breaks down in the cities, with the consequent weakening of family
ties, and the children turning to delinquent acts. The highest rates of
delinquency, he found, were concentrated in, or adjacent to the areas of
heavy industry and commerce, and that the rate of delinquency declines as
one moves from the center of the city outward toward its periphery. 19

Burgess developed a theory of concentric zones, somewhat similar in
many ways to the work of Shaw. According to Burgess, an urban area con­
sists of five concentric zones. These zones represent areas of functional
differentiation and expand radially from the business center. These zones
are:

1. "The Loop," or central business district, commonly called
"downtown."
2. The Zone in Transition, "which is being invaded by business
and light industry."
3. The Zone of Workingmen's Homes, "inhabited by the workers in
industries who have escaped from the area of deterioration
(Zone 2) but who desire to live within easy access of their
work."
4. "The Residential Zone of high-class apartment buildings or
exclusive residential districts of single family dwellings."
5. The "Commuters' Zone" beyond the city limits; within a thirty­
to-sixty-minute ride of the central business district. 20

Another well known theory of ecological expansion is that of Hoyt.
Hoyt maintained that industry and commerce do not develop in circles
around the central business district, but rather in lines away from the
center. Industry grows up along railroad lines and water fronts, and

19 Shaw, op. cit., p. 7.
20 Ernest W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City," in Robert E. Park,
Ernest W. Burgess, Roderick D. McKenzie, The City (Chicago, 1925),
pp. 47-62.
more recently at the outskirts of cities and towns. The development is more string-like, rather than in circles.\textsuperscript{21}

In a more recent study by Lander, it was found that in Baltimore at least, part of Shaw's theory does not hold. Lander says that,

The findings of this study do support Shaw's thesis, "that delinquent behavior is related dynamically to the community and that because of the anonymity in urban life, the individual is freed from much of the scrutiny and control which characterize life in primary group situations in small towns and rural communities" but our findings do not support (at least in the case of Baltimore) Shaw's hypothesis that the processes of city growth, as such, provides the basic explanation of a city's wide variations in delinquency rates.\textsuperscript{22}

Lander also found that although the highest rates of delinquency are nearly always found in the so-called "zones of transition," Shaw's concept of the gradient, that is, the declining rate of delinquency from the center of the city to the outskirts does not always hold true.\textsuperscript{23}

Another study used as a reference in studying the ecological distribution of offenses in Missoula was an unpublished thesis which dealt extensively with the ecological distribution of juvenile offenses in Missoula for the period from 1946 to 1949.\textsuperscript{24} The findings of this study indicated that none of the above mentioned theories can be applied wholly to Missoula, but parts of the different theories were applicable. This study will be dealt with more fully in a later chapter (See pages 40-44).

All these ecologists, and others too, differ in their approaches and

\textsuperscript{21}Lander, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., p. 90.
in various minor phases, but nearly all of them agree on the importance of discovering these various delinquency areas in our cities. They agree that such areas breed more and more delinquent children.

"Children living in high delinquency areas are exposed to contradictory standards and forms of behavior. The presence of a large number of adult criminals also means that many children are in contact with criminal behavior and organized crime. They also more readily become familiar with the location of illegal institutions and the procedures and contacts with the corrupt officials which make possible criminal activity." And in such areas is the "...existence of a coherent system of values supporting delinquency and...transmission of this tradition from the earliest history of the neighborhood through successive generations of boys residing in these areas in much the same way that language and other social forms are transmitted."\(^{25}\)

The philosophies of various agencies and courts dealing with children who have all sorts of problems have turned more and more to the concept that "...the delinquent child is not considered a criminal. The purpose of the juvenile court therefore is not to punish the child but to help the child accept the necessary restrictions of society."\(^{26}\) More enlightened juvenile courts take the view that the child is not altogether responsible for acts of delinquency, and that when such acts occur, it is a sign that the family and/or the community have failed, and the court must take over the responsibility of preparing the child to live in harmony with the rest of his community and with himself.

The vast majority of communities in the United States have juvenile courts which are served by judges from the adult courts on a part-time basis. It is difficult for the public at large to comprehend the in-

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\(^{26}\) Pilcher, op. cit., p. 11.
creasing agreement among authorities that special full-time judges should be assigned to juvenile courts.

"A common misconception is that because the work in a children's court may take relatively little time, as far as courtroom work is concerned, it is economically feasible to have juvenile court judges devote part of their time to criminal court or civil court duties. This is far from the truth, because children's cases require diligent study and careful consideration, and there is need to spend a great deal of time on the administrative and other responsibilities..."  

The judge is the foundation of any court, and the court cannot function without a competent judge. A part-time judge can only produce a part-time court, and that is exactly the case in so many of our juvenile courts. Running a juvenile court requires a specialist, and a judge who can devote only a part of his time to juvenile matters has had no time to become expert or experienced in juvenile court matters. In addition to the already mentioned problems concerning juvenile court judges, we must face yet another problem. The prospect of becoming a juvenile judge is not very alluring as far as material rewards and gains are concerned. The hours are long and hard; the pay rather poor compared to other judge-ships; and a juvenile judge must put all ideas of a political life out of his mind.

Many other problems beset the juvenile court, aside from obtaining a full-time, dedicated judge. However, despite handicaps, some courts are beginning to develop progressive programs, and are accomplishing rewarding figures pertaining to the rehabilitation of wayward youngsters. The

27 Bloch and Flynn, op. cit., p. 361.
29 Ibid., pp. 202-204.
National Probation and Parole Association has listed a series of eight standards by which any juvenile court may be measured. These are:

1. Exclusive jurisdiction over children....Jurisdiction over adults in children's cases.
2. A judge chosen for his sympathetic understanding of children and parents.
3. Private friendly court hearings....Informal noncriminal procedure.
4. A sufficient number of professionally trained probation workers, both men and women.
5. Facilities for physical examinations and for psychiatric study of problem children.
6. A well-equipped detention home or selected boarding homes for temporary care of children.
7. An efficient record and statistical system....Adequate clerical help.
8. Cooperation with other agencies....Community support through interpretation to the public.30

Only during the last decade or two has the idea and practice of state wide juvenile courts come to light. Three states, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Utah, for some years now have maintained a state-wide setup with very favorable results. One of the most important results of the state-wide court is that it requires a full-time, specially selected judge. No other judge is allowed to sit in these courts.31

A competent, full-time juvenile judge cannot perform his duties, however, unless he is supported with a competent staff.

"The members of the probation staff...directly affect the work of the court in two definite ways: they provide the social information required by a judge if he is to make an appropriate disposition of the cases of children who come before him; and they provide the supervisory services when children are disposed of through the use of probation.32

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30Quoted in Bloch and Flynn, op. cit., p. 413. See also p. 400.
32Bloch and Flynn, op. cit., p. 363.
The ability of probation officers in the field of juvenile work has increased and is increasing, but much remains to be improved within that field of work. Too often juvenile courts employ persons who are not qualified. The minimum standards suggested by the National Probation and Parole Association for probation officers are:

a. Personality: Emotional maturity, broad common sense, capacity to learn by experience, and interest in the welfare of human beings. The applicant must have good character, balanced personality, integrity, ability to work with others, and insight into the causes of human behavior, and a general knowledge of his community.

b. Education: A bachelor's degree from a college or university of recognized standing, with courses in the social sciences. Preferably he should have, in addition, professional training for probation work in an accredited graduate school of social work.

c. Experience: One year of paid, full-time experience under a trained supervisor in a social agency or similar agency of high standards, or one year of graduate work in a recognized school of social work in lieu thereof.33

These are high standards, but to produce high caliber results, such standards are necessary.

It might be well to briefly present some of the concepts and principles which authorities agree are essential in the field of probation, specifically when working with juveniles. Actually, probation means much more than the definition assigned it in a dictionary. Aside from the act of supervising someone who is on probation, additional work must be performed by the probation officer if probation is to be successful. Simultaneous with the supervision is the social study which most authorities divide into three component parts: study, diagnosis, and treatment. However, it is emphasized that the entire process should be treated on a continuum. That is,

33Quoted in Bloch and Flynn, op. cit., p. 377.
...as facts are collected, there is some attempt at delineation of the specific information that will be brought together in an individual situation; as this information becomes more clear there is the beginning of classification or diagnosis of the facts; and, ideally, the development of relationship between the probation worker and the child and his family, which may begin early in the social study, is the first stage of treatment. Depending upon the ability of the worker and the readiness of the child or his family to establish the relationship in question, the treatment process may begin almost immediately.\(^{34}\)

However, if the social study is to be meaningful, information must be gathered from a variety of sources available to the probation officer such as the child and his family, clinical reports, records of social agencies, schoolteachers, clergymen, and others who know the child. The gathering of facts and information must be accompanied by interpretation of these facts.

An adequate interpretation demands considerable insight into the dynamics of human behavior as well as an awareness of one's own bias with respect to the problems presented by other people. While the need to replace subjective judgments by skilled, nonemotional evaluations is apparent immediately to anyone, the difficulties in achieving such a standard should be equally apparent.\(^{35}\)

Consequently, in any well run children's court one would expect to find in addition to the facts, interpretation and judgment by a professional person "...on the meaning of the facts in relation to what should be done with the child."\(^{36}\) What the court needs from the probation worker, as well as from medical and other sources of information, is "...a descriptive, diagnostic statement that will show the kinds of relationships the child has with his family and with others, the dynamics of the family background itself as it has an impact on the child, his ability to adjust

\(^{34}\text{Ibid., pp. 364-365.}\)
\(^{35}\text{Ibid., pp. 346-347.}\)
\(^{36}\text{Ibid., pp. 346-347.}\)
to various situations, his capacity, and some indications as to his treatment needs." The interview is invariably the essential tool for obtaining this type of information. "Enabling the individual to manage his own affairs more competently is the very heart and core of the casework process as it is conceived today."  

Probation work, then, employs all the techniques and skills of social casework - the principles and concepts used in such work may be listed as follows:

1. Behavior is purposeful, and it has a meaning for each individual. Despite what seems to be a lack of logic, delinquent acts are essentially logical to the offender. ....
2. The meaning of an experience to an individual must be understood. In effect, this is a corollary to the first concept, and in its simplest terms it means that each person and his problems must be considered individually. What seem to be identical experiences - for example, when two youngsters steal an automobile - in fact are not identical experiences and usually have altogether different meanings and motivations for each person involved.
3. The right of each person to self-determination must be respected. This does not imply unrestricted license, or the right of any person to choose what he will do regardless of the consequences either individual of social. But it does mean that each offender must be helped to achieve socially acceptable objectives of his own choosing. Frequently this question involves a discussion of the authoritative setting in which probation work is practiced; but actually the controversial issue of how authority may be used in casework without vitiating or denying fundamental casework principles is not in fact a serious problem. ....
4. Growth and personal development come from within the individual and cannot be superimposed from outside. Nevertheless, it is possible to stimulate, motivate, or strengthen this development through the help skilled caseworkers can provide, especially as they concentrate on strengths within a person and in his situation and not on weaknesses.
5. The social work process includes the orderly, conscientious use of scientific method. In effect, this is...
seen best through the continuing process of study, diagnosis, and treatment.\(^3^9\)

The utilization of these concepts cannot be expected from persons selected according to the standard suggested in the "discreet person of good character" of the statutes.

All too often case records fail to meet the ordinary standards expected from them. This failure in turn makes the work of the judge, or researcher, next to impossible.\(^4^0\) Various reasons are responsible for poor case records. Many communities will not, or cannot hire specially trained personnel, who among other things, are able to prepare constructive case records. Some courts have trained personnel, but not enough, and when a court is understaffed, the quality of work falls off, despite the competence of the workers. The United States Children's Bureau and the National Probation and Parole Association agree upon 50 cases under supervision as a maximum load for one probation officer.

Observation in court after court indicates that when the number of social studies required goes above the standard already suggested, supervision is seriously neglected. The usual result is that the worker, faced with deadline after deadline in preparing cases for the court, tends automatically to ignore his supervisory responsibilities until they are thrust upon him by the development of a crisis, such as a youngster being arrested by the police.\(^4^1\)

As with the case of the juvenile judge, the prospects for a probation officer are not very alluring - low salary, little chance for advancement, etc.\(^4^2\)

\(^3^9\)Ibid., pp. 382-383.
\(^4^0\)Helen Sumner, "The Probation Officer and Case Recording," National Probation and Parole Association. IV (April, 1958), 142-147.
\(^4^1\)Bloch & Flynn, pp. cit., p. 369.
\(^4^2\)Ibid., pp. 384-385.
...some communities tend to tolerate bad conditions and then insist on punishing the children who are the product of these conditions....The structure of some of the specific treatment agencies makes it difficult to attract necessary personnel, and, above all, the salary situation throughout the country inevitably results in relatively few competent persons being attracted to these services.43

Many of the problems of probation work may be eliminated in a state-wide juvenile court. There are also many other advantages, aside from the improvement in probation, with a state-wide set-up.

The smallest community gets the same type of service from the court as does the large city or metropolitan area. Procedure and philosophy are standardized, and the variety of practice and disposition is eliminated. As is the policy in Connecticut, the state court travels on circuit and sits in the individual communities, but, under circumstances which tend to foster, not forestall, objectivity. "It is completely divorced from local prejudices, politics, or pressures, all of which have at times made justice difficult in local courts."44

On a state-wide basis, there are many more resources available. There is a greater use of physical, psychological, and psychiatric facilities, for example. And new resources are more apt to be developed at the state level.

Staff members are trained, experienced, and chosen by competitive merit system examinations. Judges have longer terms, and are usually selected for their interest and ability, and they may not practice law or enter politics.

43Ibid., p. 247.
Social histories are adequate and available for staff persons and others having a proper interest.

The fact that the child receives no criminal record, that case histories are confidential and open only upon order of the court itself, that jails are not used for juveniles, that hearings are closed and informal becomes actual in practice as well as being in the statute book. 45

Training programs geared to improving and adding to staff knowledge become common practice. Research which is limited on a local or district level is more feasible when applied to the state as a whole. You get uniform and reliable statistics when the entire agency is reporting on the same basis.

There is a state-wide and not a spotty attack on the problems of delinquency and neglect. Because of the standardized approach and because the schools, the police, the social agencies, the churches, and the institutions are all included you get concerted and cooperative action.

The problems encountered in the detention of juveniles are better solved with the state-wide court. For example, during 1952, more than 2,000 children were detained in jails in Virginia. In the same year, about 1,200 children were detained in Connecticut, which has about two-thirds the population of Virginia, but none of them were confined in jails. 46 There seems to be a strong case for removing children who must be detained in small communities from facilities under local jurisdiction to a regional or state facility.

46 Bloch & Flynn, op. cit., p. 269.
Real progress in this direction has been made by only three states - Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Utah. Connecticut, for example, uses three regional detention facilities which have completely replaced ninety-two town and village jails as detention places for children.\textsuperscript{47}

The most recent revision of the National Probation and Parole Association's Standard Juvenile Court Act includes a plan for a state juvenile court. This action was based upon the approval of the following resolution introduced at the 1948 annual meeting of the Association:

Whereas, although the law of every state in the Union provides for juvenile courts, large areas of most states are still without effective juvenile courts, and even when the need for an adequate separate juvenile court is recognized and the desire for its establishment prevails, it is impracticable to set up such courts in rural or less densely populated areas on a county basis because there is not sufficient volume of work to justify a full-time qualified juvenile court judge, probation staff, clerical employees and detention facilities, with the attendant financial cost; and

Whereas certain states, notably Utah, Connecticut and Rhode Island, have established and found effective the system of area or district courts to serve a combination of counties, towns and smaller cities within the borders of such area or district having a sufficient population and volume of work to justify an adequately staffed court and its attendant expense;

Be It Resolved: That the plan of such area or district courts is commended and recommended.\textsuperscript{48}

One important caution must be observed, however. The establishment of a state-wide juvenile court does not automatically deal with all of the questions that involve juvenile courts today. There still remain such issues as how judges should be selected, what their specific qualifications and salaries should be, and problems involving probation personnel and other services available to the court.

Nevertheless, the state-wide juvenile court unquestionably appears to provide the best framework for improvement. Certainly, the dependence upon local autonomy and local fiscal support resting upon a county tax base has failed to produce results.\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., p. 328.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., p. 329.
CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

1. Description of Missoula

By definition Missoula is a city due to its population of approximately 35,000, and also because it is an urban settlement "which dominates an entire region, both rural and urban."\(^{50}\) The city is located on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains in Western Montana, making it a part of that vast territory known as the Pacific Northwest, an area which in some respects has only begun to develop during the last 50 years.

Missoula lies in a large valley, surrounded by mountains with the Clark Fork River running through the center of the commercial district. Various classifications have been made by persons\(^ {51}\) attempting to fit all cities into specific groups. It is difficult to say that Missoula is one specific type of city - it does not serve one particular function, but rather several. It caters to farmers who live in fertile valleys adjacent to the city; it is the headquarters for District One of the United States Forest Service; it is the seat of the Montana State University; it has a sizable amount of tourist trade; and it appears to have a great number of retired people mostly from other sections of the state. One can see then, that Missoula may fall into several categories, and does not easily fit one type of city.

Aside from the functions attributed to it above, it may be said that Missoula is a city of churches, schools, and homes. There are approximately 38 protestant churches, and two Roman Catholic churches situated

\(^{50}\)Bergel, op. cit., p. 127.
\(^{51}\)McKenzie, op. cit., pp. 66-68. Also, Bergel, op. cit., pp. 150-165.
in the city; plus 15 grade schools, one school for children in the ninth grade, one high school, and one parochial school. Some of the organizations for children are: the Boy Scouts, Block Buster Rod and Kustom Club (sponsored by the Police for teenage boys), Camp Fire Girls, Children's Theatre, Order of Demolay, Future Farmers of America, Girl Scouts, Horizon Club, Job's Daughters, Key Club, Order of Rainbow, Y-teens, and 4-H Club. In addition there is Little League baseball.

Missoula cannot be considered an industrial city - its only industry being lumber mills, a sugar beet factory, a pulp paper mill, four creamery plants, two flour mills, two meat-packing plants, and a brewery. In fact the City Directory states that, "Missoula is essentially a city of homes...it has been peopled by pioneers and successive generations of their children who love the city for itself. There is little or no foreign element, as the growth of the town has been due largely to a steady influx of the Anglo-Saxon races. The influence of the University adds much to Missoula's intellectual life." It can be seen, then, that the people of Missoula do not think of their city as industrial.

Within a subjective frame of reference it may be said that the vast majority of Missoula's population are white Protestant and this majority makes up the bulk of the middle class. Zimmerman and Du Wors say that, "The people in the Pacific West show a rural hospitality in an urban atmosphere. On the other hand, the roots between man and man are not as deep as in other regions....These American strangers are mechanically

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52 Missoula Chamber of Commerce (Personal communication).
53 Missoula Supt. of Schools office (Personal communication).
55 Ibid., p. xiii.
alike in that they have similar appearance, background and general values. The Pacific region both rural and urban, excluding a few ethnic groups settled here and there, are almost all American middle class. It is felt that this description of the entire region fits the people of Missoula very well. They appear to be middle class Americans with middle class values. There is not the type of sophistication characteristic of the urban-northeast.

There is a fairly mild climate in the Missoula valley, but rather harsh winter weather conditions exist in the surrounding rugged countryside. As a result of this, plus the great distances involved, the people are somewhat isolated from other larger urban centers.

With this rather scanty sketch of Missoula, we will proceed to the investigation of delinquency in Missoula.

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2. Age and Sex of Delinquent Children

Of the fifty percent random sample of juvenile delinquents taken from the files of the probation officer, 46 cases were obtained for the year 1955. In that year the largest number of cases fell in the 17 year old age group with 15 delinquent children. In other words, nearly one-third of the children who became delinquent in 1955 were 17 years old, and nearly three-fourths of these children were boys.

The age group with the next largest number of cases is the 14 year old group with 7 delinquent children, representing less than one-fifth of the total. However, the next two largest groups are similar in number to the 14 year old group (See Table I). Taken together, the 14-15-16 year old groups account for over one-third of the total number of cases, and slightly less than three-fourths of these children were boys.

The group with the next largest number of cases is the 12 year olds, with 5 cases, or about one-tenth of the total number of children. It is seen, then, that there is a significant drop in juvenile delinquency for children under 14 years. That is, nearly three-fourths of the cases were children who were 14 through 17 years old, and it is probable that nearly all of these children were in high school. This is in line with the national trend where three-fourths of the delinquent children are 14 years or more.\(^{57}\)

The 1956 sample yielded 83 cases of delinquency, with the 16 year old group having the largest number of delinquents. In that group there were 23 children, or slightly less than a third of the total number of

\(^{57}\)Bloch and Flynn, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 35.
TABLE I

Frequency Distribution by Age and Sex of Delinquent Children in Missoula, Montana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cases. The 17 year olds were next with 20 children, representing nearly one-fourth of the total number of cases, and of this group 90 percent were boys. The group with third largest number of cases is that of the 15 year olds with 18 children, accounting for about one-fifth of the total number of cases. When the 14 year olds are added to these three age groups, the entire group of 14 through 17 year old children represent approximately 80 percent of the delinquents for 1956.

It may be seen, then, that during the two years the age of the children corresponds favorably to the age of juvenile delinquents on the national level. However, the sex ratio deviates from the national average, with just under 3 boys for one girl in 1955, and about 4.5 boys to one girl in 1956. On the national level, boys outnumber girls 5 to 1.\(^5\)

It is seen that in 1955, the 11 year old group has no offenses. This same group a year later is the 12 year old group again with no offenses. In 1955, the 12 year olds are proportionately high (5 offenders). This same group in 1956 as 13 year olds is again proportionately high. The comparison of the 1955 13 year olds and the 1956 14 year olds is again similar with both comparatively low. However, the comparison ends at this age limit and a type of upper age recruitment takes place. The 1955 14 year olds show a great increase by the time they reach 15. The same is true of the 1955 15 year olds and 16 year olds.

3. Delinquent Children With Previous Juvenile Records

In nearly one-third of the total number of cases in 1955 there was no record as to the previous offenses, if any, of the children. However,

\(^5\) Ibid., p. 37.
of the cases which had this information recorded, 50 percent of the children had at least one previous offense, and three-fourths of these previous offenders were boys. Slightly over half of the children with previous offenses had had only one offense prior to the present one. The remaining cases were somewhat evenly distributed, ranging from three previous offenses to ten previous offenses (See Table II). It is interesting to note that of the 16 children with previous offenses, 15, or over 90 percent of the children fall between the ages of 14 through 17.

In 1956, in a little less than 40 percent of the total number of cases there was no record for the previous offenses of the children, if any. However, of the cases which had this information nearly 60 percent of them had at least one previous offense. Of this group 19 children, or 63 percent had only one previous offense. The remaining number of children with more than one previous offense are somewhat evenly distributed, ranging from two previous offenses up to six previous offenses, with one noticeable exception. Six children had three previous offenses (See Table II).

In 1956, as in 1955, there is a very high percentage of the children with previous offenses in the older age groups. That is, 92 percent of them were between 14 and 17 years of age.

During the two years then, the percentage of children having committed previous offenses is significantly higher than the figure cited for the national level. Whereas in Missoula it is estimated that approximately half the children brought to the attention of the probation department have committed one or more previous offenses, only about one-third of the children brought to the attention of the courts throughout the country have had previous dealings with these courts.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Previous Offenses</th>
<th>Boys 1955</th>
<th>Girls 1955</th>
<th>Total 1955</th>
<th>Boys 1956</th>
<th>Girls 1956</th>
<th>Total 1956</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Number of Children With Previous Offenses: 12 boys, 4 girls, 16 total in 1955; 24 boys, 6 girls, 30 total in 1956.
4. Incidence of Broken Homes

For the year 1955 there was no information available concerning the status of the parents of nine children. This was slightly less than one-fifth of the sample. For those cases which had this information available, 23 made their home with their original mother and father. In other words, 62 percent of the children who had this information available in their records did not come from broken homes.

A broken home means here that one or both of the original parents is absent from the child's home. This does not necessarily mean that the parents are separated or divorced, but that the broken home may be due to death or several other reasons (See Table III). In this study it was found that fourteen children in 1955 came from some type of a broken home. That is, slightly less than 40 percent of the known cases did not have both the original parents present. Six of these children, or 43 percent of the cases with broken homes were 17 years old, and 93 percent of the children from broken homes fell into the 14 to 17 age group. Also, 43 percent of the children from broken homes had at least one previous offense.

In 1956 37 percent of the cases did not have the information on the family status available. However, 58 percent of the known cases for 1956 had both the original parents present. Twenty-two children, or 42 percent of the known cases came from broken homes, and 95 percent of these children were in the 14 to 17 year old age group. Also, 55 percent of the twenty-two children had at least one previous offense.
TABLE III
Status of Family of Delinquent Children
in Missoula, 1955-1956

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status of Family</th>
<th>1955</th>
<th></th>
<th>1956</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father and Mother</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father Dead</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Dead</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepfather</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepmother</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents Separated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents Divorced</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father deserted</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Deserted</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adopted</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living with Grandparents</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Conditions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status Unknown</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Classification of the Parents' Occupation

Occupations of the parents were classified by the use of the Dictionary of Occupational Titles, which assigns a code number to each type of occupation.

"The determining factor in establishing a job classification on the basis of duties performed may be the machines operated, the articles produced, the material worked with, the machine attachments used, or other considerations. However, the general principle followed throughout is that jobs that require the same experience, techniques, or abilities on the part of the worker are classified together." 59

There are ten code numbers used, or ten classified groups, ranging from zero (0) to nine (9). Zero represents professional and managerial occupations; one represents clerical and sales occupations; two is service, and building service worker. Three represents agricultural, fishery, forestry, etc.; four and five represent skilled occupations; and six and seven represent semiskilled occupations. Eight and nine represent unskilled occupations. 60

Of the total number of fathers in 1955, the occupations of 35 percent of them were unknown. However, of those whose occupations were known, one-third of them fell in the (5) classification, the skilled occupations. Of the mothers in 1955, the occupations of 30 percent were unknown but of the ones known, approximately one-third of them worked, the rest remaining at home and listed their occupations as housewives.

In 1956 the occupations of nearly half of the total number of fathers was unknown. Of the ten classifications, (5) had the largest

---

60 Ibid., p. xxiii.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>1955 Fathers</th>
<th>1956 Fathers</th>
<th>1955 Mothers</th>
<th>1956 Mothers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional and managerial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and sales</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service, domestic, etc.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural, forestry, etc.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semiskilled</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead or disabled</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewives</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE IV
Occupations of Parents of Delinquent Children in Missoula, 1955-1956
number of fathers, but this represented only 19 percent as contrasted to the 33 percent in 1955. In the case of the mothers in 1956, the occupations of 45 percent of them were unknown, but of those known nearly half were listed as housewives, and the rest were employed outside the home. Fifty percent of those mothers who work were in the (2) classification.

6. Types of Offenses Committed by Juveniles

The types of offenses committed by juveniles in Missoula have been presented in two ways (See Tables V, VI): first in a detailed manner, presenting every kind of offense which in some cases was a combination of offenses that were committed at the same time, such as "intoxicated and careless driving." This manner of presentation shows a more realistic picture of a limited part of the larger problem. That is, children do not commit delinquent acts in an orderly pattern so that investigators can go to the records and proceed to list offenses in a systematic order. They commit all kinds of offenses which are felt to be some kind of a danger to society, and if it is a complex act, it must still be put into some sort of a concise description. To make known this complex pattern of delinquency, this investigator has presented the cases for each year, showing every offense and combinations of offenses.

In the second manner of listing, the offenses were placed in broader categories than before, to give a more compact and workable arrangement. With this method, some cases are listed more than once where there was a combination of offenses.

It is significant to note that in both methods, and in both years, the same four types of offenses appear to be the ones most frequently
TABLE V

Offenses and Combination of Offenses of Juveniles in Missoula, 1955-1956

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loitering</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism and theft</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Break-in and damage to property</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causing disturbance and traffic violation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Causing disturbance</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Destroying property and drinking</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroying property and bodily assault</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causing disturbance and drinking</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal possession of liquor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal possession and sale of beer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking and violation of curfew</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking and illegal possession of liquor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal possession of liquor and theft</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal possession of liquor and careless driving</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violation of curfew</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoplifting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car theft and damage to car</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runaway and burglary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runaway</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting in populated area</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungovernable</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic violation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hit and run (dog)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgery</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larceny</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglect</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE VI

Offenses Committed by Juveniles in Missoula, 1955-1956

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<td>Acts of mischief and vandalism</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic violation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquor violation</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungovernable</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curfew violation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgyery</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runaway</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immoral</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglect</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
committed. They are: Vandalism, Traffic violations, Liquor violations, and Theft. These four vary in order of importance, but according to the records they remain the four offenses that are most often committed by juveniles in Missoula. In 1955 these four offenses represented 75 percent of the total number of delinquent acts, and in 1956 there is an increase to 86 percent. As was stated earlier in this study, the majority of crimes committed by juvenile boys in the nation is stealing and various acts of mischief and vandalism. This holds true for Missoula as well, except that traffic violations, and liquor violations follow very closely. For the girls, Missoula does not appear to follow the national trend so closely. The delinquent girls in Missoula are brought to the attention of the probation department for offenses other than "running away" and "being ungovernable," although these two offenses occur a little less than 50 percent of the time.

In an earlier study of delinquency in Missoula\(^{61}\) it was found that between 1946 and 1949, the trend in types of offenses committed by juveniles followed the national pattern and is similar to the present study in respect to stealing and acts of mischief and vandalism. However, there was no sex break-down given in the study, therefore to say the trend for boys in Missoula has remained steady over the past decade is impossible. This is true also in regard to the girls. It may also be noted that in this earlier study, figures were based on the records of the Missoula Police Department, and not on those of the probation department. Whether or not this factor may prove to be a double check on

\(^{61}\)Cacavas, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 43-46.
statistics, or whether these two agencies deal with different types of delinquents in regard to the offense they have committed is unknown.

7. Number of Offenses by Month

The seasonal pattern of delinquency in 1955 has its lowest ebb from February to May. For the following eight months up to and including January, the rate of delinquency takes an upward swing and maintains a fairly steady rate with some minor variations (See Figure I).

The pattern of delinquency of the boys follows very closely the pattern of the total with one exception. There is a marked drop-off in August with the boys accounting for none of the delinquency.

The girls follow the total pattern from January to May. From June to December they differ radically from the total pattern, their own pattern taking a particularly erratic upward swing in August where they account for all the delinquency during that month (See Figure I).

In 1956 the pattern of delinquency hits a high in July, remaining at a high rate with gradual drop-offs until October. In November there is a sharp decline, and then in December there is a sharp upward swing. The rate continues in this erratic manner, falling in January, rising in February, dropping in March and remaining at a low rate to June.

As in 1955 the boys follow the total pattern very closely in 1956, barely deviating at all. From February to June the girls follow the total pattern, but in July where the total rate has a sharp increase, the girls remain at the same rate, until September. In October the girls rate rises but drops again in November and December.

Mr. Cacavas found in his study of Missoula that, "Offenses for
FIGURE I

FIGURE II

Monthly Distribution of Juvenile Offenses in Missoula, 1956
juveniles were highest during the school months and lowest during the summer recess.\(^{62}\) According to the data, exactly the opposite trend appears to exist for 1956, where offenses were highest during the summer months, and lowest during the school months. However, during 1955, the offenses for juveniles were lowest during the last part of the winter on into May. Although the number of offenses is higher during the three summer months, this rate does not drop off again during the school months, but remains high until February (See Figure I).

8. Ecological Distribution of Delinquents

As was mentioned earlier, Cacavas found in his study of Missoula that no one ecological theory is applicable to Missoula, but instead several theories may be applied in part. In the present study it was found that this still appears to be the situation in regard to Missoula - no one pattern can be applied to the city.

Most authorities, such as Shaw, Burgess, Hoyt, and Lander, etc., generally agree that the majority of delinquents in an urban community are concentrated, that is, live in one or more particular sections. That is, certain areas produce juvenile delinquents, as well as adult criminals. Such areas are commonly referred to as "zones of transition," a term first coined by Burgess, and later widely used by other investigators. It is here that Missoula deviates so radically from many other cities: first, Missoula has a slight, or perhaps no zone of transition, and secondly, juvenile delinquents are not concentrated in any one area.

This was found to be the case during the period of 1946 to 1949, and still appears to hold true for 1955 and 1956.

Although the Missoula delinquents are generally scattered throughout the city, during 1955 there was somewhat of a concentration of delinquents living near or adjacent to the Northern Pacific Railroad track which runs southeast and northwest at the north end of the city (See Maps I, II). The north side is considered to be that area north of the Clark-Fork River. Fifty-seven percent of those children whose residences were known lived in this north side area. This section comprises a smaller area than that of the south side, so that it is obvious that the density of delinquent children residing on the north side in 1955 is greater than on the south side. This north side might almost be called a "railroad area." The Northern Pacific railroad cuts diagonally across the entire area. Judging from the outsides of the homes, the landscaping, etc., the people of this section are below average in regard to any socioeconomic scale. Through the use of a spot check, it appears that the majority of the working adults are employed by the Northern Pacific Railroad in various capacities, and most of them can be classed as unskilled or semi-skilled workers.

Although this is by no means an area of transition, it is an area which does not give any feeling of physical or mental well-being. Scattered throughout this section are warehouses, freight yards, trucking yards, run-down trailer courts, vacant lots, and junk piles. The homes are small, and the vast majority are poorly constructed, and in

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63 See Cacavas, op. cit.
MISSOULA, MONTANA

LEGEND

Each dot represents the place of residence of one juvenile delinquent in 1955.
MISSOULA, MONTANA

LEGEND

Each dot represents the place of residence of one juvenile delinquent in 1936.
need of major repairs. Landscaping is nonexistent in some spots, chang­
ing to rather neat and well-kept yards in others.

The types of offenses committed by youngsters residing on the north
side are much the same as those committed by children living on the
south side. During 1955 the following offenses were noted more fre­
quently on the northside than on the south side: Vandalism, Stealing,
and Liquor violations. The south side accounted for more of the Traffic
violations. However, the situation is completely reversed in 1956.
Most of the Vandalism, Stealing, and Liquor violations were committed on
the south side, with the majority of traffic offenses being committed by
children living on the north side (See Table VII).

Of interest too, is the incidence of children from these two areas
with previous offenses. In 1955 slightly over one-third of the young­
sters from the north side had previous offenses, and a little less than
half of the children from the south side had previous offenses. During
1956 the trend is reversed with half the children from the north side
having previous offenses, and less than a third of the youngsters from
the south side having previous offenses noted on their records.

As far as discovering any ecological pattern in regard to the resi­
dences of juvenile delinquents, it would seem that if Missoula follows
any pattern at all, it would be in most respects a combination of Hoyt
and Lander. That is, Hoyt maintained that industry does not always
develop around the central business district but rather it may extend
in lines along railroads, water fronts, and other lines of communica­
tion and transportation.\footnote{On the north side of Missoula, west of the

\footnote{Bergel, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 103.}
TABLE VII

Residences of Delinquents
and Types of Offenses in Missoula, 1955-1956

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offenses</th>
<th>North Side</th>
<th>South Side</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts of mischief and vandalism</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic violation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquor violation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungovernable</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curfew violation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgery</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runaway</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immoral</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglect</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
main business center, such industrial development has occurred in a line moving away from the commercial center. In regard to this is another factor which employs Lander's rebuttal of Shaw's concept of the gradient, that is, Lander found that the rate of delinquency does not always decline from the center of the city to the outskirts. There were very few cases of delinquency in the center of the city, with increasing numbers as one moves west into the "railroad area," and also many cases were scattered throughout the south side district.

65 Lander, op. cit., p. 90.
CHAPTER IV

INVESTIGATION OF MISSOULA'S JUVENILE COURT

1. The Laws

The laws pertaining to juveniles are set down in Volume I of the Revised Codes of Montana. As there is no literature published by the state or court district, it is difficult to ascertain the philosophy of the court or its basic aims and principles. However, in the codes concerning a delinquent, it is stated that,

"...the care, custody, education, and discipline of the child shall approximate, as nearly as may be, that which should be given the child by its parents, and that, as far as practicable, any delinquent child shall be treated, not as a criminal, but as misdirected and misguided, and needing aid, encouragement, help and assistance." 66

This then would appear to be the "official" philosophy of the Missoula juvenile court, but in practice this may not be the case. Recently in Missoula a new man has been appointed as the juvenile officer on the Missoula Police force. In a published interview this young man made known his own philosophy. Speaking of delinquency he said,

"This deplorable situation will continue until the juvenile laws have some teeth in them. Juveniles commit grand larceny and they are given a strong lecture. Hot-rodders break the law time and again and juvenile officers can't even take their licenses. If they are put in jail where they belong, the judge releases them. What can we do? We release them; they laugh at us. There is only one thing to do: treat every hot-rodder like an adult; punish grand larceny with jail sentences; crack down on law breakers." 67

An inconsistency appears to exist between this statement and the law,

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66 I. W. Choate, and Wesley W. Wertz, Revised Codes of Montana (Indianapolis, 1957), I, 546.
67 The Montana Kaimin, February 13, 1958, p. 4.
which states that, "...any delinquent child shall be treated, not as a criminal."\(^{68}\)

The law also provides that the general public be excluded from all juvenile court hearings, and no delinquent child's name may be published in regard to any delinquent act.\(^{69}\) Recently, however, increased efforts are being made by some officials in the state to have the names of juvenile offenders published.\(^{70}\)

To be considered delinquent the child must be,

(a) A child who has violated any ordinance of any city.  (b) A child who has violated any law of the state, provided, however, a child over the age of sixteen (16) years who commits or attempts to commit murder, manslaughter, assault in the first degree, robbery, first or second degree burglary while having in his possession a deadly weapon, and carrying a deadly weapon or weapons with intent to assault, shall not be proceeded against as a juvenile delinquent but shall be prosecuted in the criminal courts in accordance with the provisions of the criminal laws of this state governing the offenses above listed.  (c) A child who by reason of being wayward or habitually disobedient is uncontrolled by his parent, guardian, or custodian.  (d) A child who is habitually truant from school or home.  (e) A child who habitually so departs himself as to injure or endanger the morals or the health of himself or others.  (f) A child who unlawfully, negligently, dangerously, or wilfully operates a motor vehicle on the highways of the state or on the roads and streets of any county or city so as to endanger life or property, and a child who operates a motor vehicle on such highways, roads or streets while intoxicated or under the influence of intoxicating liquor.\(^{71}\)

2. Selection of Personnel

The juvenile judges for the Fourth District, in which the city of Missoula is included, are the two regular district judges who serve also as the juvenile judges. In other words, there are no specialized

\(^{68}\)Choate and Wertz, op. cit., p. 546.  
\(^{69}\)Ibid., p. 557.  
\(^{70}\)The Daily Missoulian, May 29, 1958, p. 13.  
\(^{71}\)Choate and Wertz, op. cit., pp. 546-547.
juvenile judges. The judges who deal with all types of adult criminals must also deal with delinquent children. These judges are elected to office. As can be seen, Montana does not have a state-wide juvenile court. Each judicial district abides by the state laws, but other than that there is great variation in the practices of each district court.

In the Fourth District there is one chief probation officer; his wife serves as deputy probation officer. They have held their positions since 1951. These two must cover a territory of 10,725 square miles, which includes the counties of Missoula, Ravalli, Lake, Sanders, and Mineral. The total population of this area is 78,000. It is roughly estimated that between 80 and 90 percent of the delinquency cases are from the city of Missoula.

The selection of all probation officers are made by the district judge on the following basis. "...the judge...may appoint one discreet person of good moral character, who shall be known as the chief probation officer of such district and who shall hold his office until removed by the court." Despite the fact that these qualifications are lacking in objectivity and up-to-date criteria, it so happens that at the time of this study the chief probation officer has a Bachelor of Arts degree in journalism and a Master of Arts in Education from Montana State University, and his wife, the deputy probation officer, has a Bachelor of Arts from Westminster College in Pennsylvania. The chief probation officer is allowed up to $4,800 in annual salary, and the

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72The Montana Almanac (Missoula, 1957), p. 3.
73Ibid., p. 178.
74Choate and Wertz, op. cit., p. 554.
75Personal communication.
deputy probation officer up to $4,300. In addition, the probation officer is reimbursed for any traveling expenses in connection with his job.

With such a low salary offer, it is difficult to imagine any change in the qualifications required for the position. As in certain other fields, such as teaching, and social agency work, there is the problem of underpaid staff. With a higher salary officials would be better justified in requiring more qualified personnel for the positions; people who have had more specialized training, and experience.

3. Conduct of the Court

The juvenile court of the Fourth Judicial District is a part of the regular district court. That is, "It is provided that the district court shall be called the juvenile court when acting under the juvenile court laws." All cases involving children are heard separately from trials involving adults, and any evidence used in a child's case may not be used as evidence against the child in any other case.

4. Method of Recording Each Case

On the surface the methods used in recording each juvenile case appear adequate, but after a little investigation it is evident that the juvenile authorities in Missoula have formed no organized system for this aspect of their work. In many instances the police are brought into contact with juvenile offenders, and if the offense is not serious,

76Choate and Wertz, op. cit., p. 554.
77Ibid., p. 547.
78Ibid., pp. 550-551.
or for a number of other reasons, no record of this child's delinquency is brought to the attention of the probation officer. Therefore, it is highly probable that the records of the police, and those of the probation department do not correspond.

Many times a child is brought to the attention of the probation department and the probation officer may merely lecture the child if the offense is minor and send the child home without making any record. If the probation officer feels that the child's actions were serious enough, he then makes a record of it. This brings up the problem of official and unofficial cases. Missoula does not make any designation as to which of the two categories a case may fall under. However, on the national level "More than half of all juvenile court cases were handled unofficially."79

There is a specific form (See page 52) used by the probation officers for recording each case. (The form will be discussed later). If a child has a court hearing, there is a slightly more extensive typewritten report given to the judge. However, when one begins looking through all the juvenile cases in the files, which are kept in the home of the probation officers, one finds that roughly one-fourth to one-third of the individual case folders have only the name of the child on the folder, with no additional information. In other words, the form that should be filled out for each child brought to the attention of the probation officer does not exist in many cases. In addition to this it was discovered that many folders had only one or two scraps of paper in them with just a few sentences scribbled on them. In many other cases the

79 Bloch and Flynn, op. cit., p. 31
form was present, but not completely filled out. However, the law states that, "The probation department shall make such investigations as the juvenile court may direct, keep a written record of such investigations and submit the same to the judge." The importance of complete case records has been discussed in Chapter II (See pages 14-20).

When this investigator began extracting cases from the files for 1955 and 1956, it became evident that there were far too many more cases in 1956 than in 1955, and that the difference between the two years was too great to be explained by an actual increase in delinquency. Upon questioning the chief probation officer it was discovered that when the filing cabinets became too full he would pull out files of those children who had reached their eighteenth birthday, and no longer came under juvenile court jurisdiction, and throw said files away. Therefore, more cases in 1955 than in 1956 would be missing from the files. This manner of "thinning" the files leaves much to be desired, but what is even more disturbing is the fact that the files are "thinned" at all. It was felt that the chief probation officer had little confidence in any scientific investigation as a means of positive construction for lessening juvenile delinquency. It appeared that he felt his first-hand contact with delinquent children would throw more light on the problem of delinquency. Therefore, the weeding out of the files, and the inadequate records did not greatly disturb him. It must be pointed out, however, that the probation department in Missoula has no clerical help. All clerical work is performed by the probation officers in addition to their regular duties.

80Choate and Wertz, op. cit., pp. 554-555.
5. Types of Forms Used by Probation Officers

The probation department in Missoula has a standard form that is filled out for children and put in their case folders. (It was mentioned earlier that these forms are not completed in every case (See pages 40 50). These forms (See page 52) supply a limited amount of vital information on the children; it is limited because there is very little in the way of case history data. Of the items contained in the form, the "others in household" item usually includes only the number of sisters and brothers, so that in the majority of the cases it is impossible to determine the age or sex of the siblings.

The item pertaining to "religion" is left blank in so many cases that it could not be considered as a criterion for this study. The "school record" also could not be used for the same reason, and "I.Q." is listed only in a few cases where the offense is a very serious one. The same holds true for the "Health Examination," and "Mental Clinic Examination." Cacavas was confronted with much the same situation in his study of Missoula. "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."81

It was already mentioned that a more detailed report is prepared in cases where a hearing is held. When they first began their work in 1951,

81Cacavas, op. cit., p. 87.
PROBATION OFFICE
FOURTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT
STATE OF MONTANA

Address: Case # Date
First Names Middle Names Last Name

Age: B'date: B'date Verification: Birthplace: Grade: School

Detailed directions for reaching home:

FATHER's name: Occupation: Address:

MOTHER's name: Occupation: Address:

Others in household: Church:

School record:

I. Q. Other Tests:

Employment record:

Police or probation record:

Present offense: Date: Time:

Others implicated:

Amount of damage of destruction:

Intended method of making restitution:

Driver's license valid until D.L. No.

Car (if any): Make: Year Model License

PRELIMINARY HEARING:
Date: Judge: Place:

Present:

Disposition:

Petition filed (date)

For:

PROBATION REQUIREMENTS:
FORMAL HEARING:

Date: Judge: Place:

Petition:

Prosec. Witnesses: Defense Witnesses:

Disposition:
Court Order or Commitment

Paroled to:

Conditions of probation or parole:

Health Examination:

Dr. Date:

Mental Clinic Examination: Date:

Remarks:
the probation officers typed a fairly lengthy report on each child who
was to appear in juvenile court. They attempted to give as much of the
pertinent information concerning each child as they could, but soon they
were told by the judges to shorten the reports, the judges claiming that
they didn't have time to read them.  

6. Annual Reports by Probation Officers

Each year the chief probation officer presents an annual report of
juvenile delinquency in the Fourth Judicial District. When this reporter
requested copies of the annual reports for 1955 and 1956, the probation
officers produced a copy of the 1956 report, but no copy could be found
of the 1955 report. It is supposed that the probation officers make up
approximately half a dozen copies which are handed out to various
officials such as the judges and other offices. According to the proba­
tion officers these reports are seldom returned to them. They made a
sincere attempt to locate a copy of the 1955 report from the judges, but
the judges were not able to locate any copies. Therefore, as the record
stands at this date, the annual report of juvenile delinquency in the
Fourth Judicial District in 1955 is not in existence. As a result, there
can be little or no discussion of delinquency in 1955 in this section of
this thesis.

However, in the 1956 annual report it is stated that there was a
total of 409 children brought to the attention of the probation depart­
ment in that year. Assuming that the fifty percent sample used in this

82 Personal Communication.
study is valid, this would indicate that the hundred percent sample for 1956 would be approximately 166 individual children. A discrepancy of 243 cases exists between the annual report and the files of the probation department. An attempt will be made to explain this.

First, the 409 cases in the annual report represent the entire district, whereas the 166 represents only the city of Missoula. The annual report states that, "More than ninety percent of the cases handled by the probation office during the year 1956 were located in Missoula county....Of the cases handled in Missoula County, only sixteen (16) were outside the Missoula area...."^8^ This then would reduce the 409 cases to approximately 352 for the city of Missoula, but still leaves us with a difference of 186 cases.

Another possible reason for this discrepancy has been mentioned earlier (See page 50), that is, the practice by the probation officers of making room in their files for new cases by discarding the records of old cases. Undoubtedly, an unknown number of cases for 1956 have been thrown away, which would account, in part, for the lower number of cases in the files than in the annual report, assuming that the annual report was compiled immediately after the end of 1956 before many records had been pulled from the files.

Another explanation of this inconsistency in reports may result from the incomplete case records. This also has been mentioned in another section. A sizable number of individual case folders in the files did not have sufficient information to determine whether or not they should

be included in the sample. For example, a folder might have all the in-
formation except the date of the offense, which made it impossible to
use that particular case. It is highly probable that a significant num-
ber of cases in 1956 were excluded from the sample of this study for
that reason, accounting, in part, for the lower number of cases in the
sample of this study as compared with the number of cases in the annual
report.

The police department may be another source for the existing dis-
crepancy. The data for this study are based entirely on the records of
the probation department, but it is possible that in many instances the
police are brought into contact with children who have committed, or are
suspected of committing, delinquent acts of a minor type whom the police
lecture and then release. Such children would probably never reach the
attention of the probation department except as statistics, and not as
individual case records, although the probation officer states in the
annual report that, "It should be remembered that this list is complete
only insofar as it indicates the number of cases handled by the probation
officers of the district. Many juvenile cases are handled by Sheriffs,
Deputy Sheriffs, Town Marshalls, and City Police, which are not reported
to the probation office." 84 This probability is suggested by the annual
report which lists 147 children as having been lectured and released in
1956, and similarly for 21 children there was insufficient evidence with
no action taken. (These perhaps might be called the unofficial cases).

The types of offenses presented in the annual report for 1956
correspond fairly closely to the pattern found in the files (See Table

84Annual Report, op. cit.
VIII). However, owing to the original discrepancy of the total number of cases, the total number of each type of offense listed in the annual report exceeds those gotten from the files. Also, the annual report lists incorrigibility as the most frequent offense, but the various types of stealing such as theft and burglary were broken up into several categories, with the same holding true for traffic violations, and vandalism. However, when these various offenses are grouped into broader categories there is a close correlation between the annual report and the information taken from the files (See Table VIII). Thus, it is found that traffic violations or offenses involving a motor vehicle, theft, and/or burglary, vandalism, liquor violations, and ungovernable have the largest number of offenses in both the annual report and the data taken from the files of the probation department. There was no sex break-down in the annual report.

In addition to the listing of the types of offenses, the annual report for 1956 includes a list of the disposition of cases and brief discussions of the following topics: prevention activities, cooperation with other agencies, probable causes of delinquency, juvenile detention, and suggestions. Some of these topics will be discussed later.

7. Detention Facilities

In the case of children who commit some offense, or who are suspected of having committed some offense, a place of detention is necessary in some of the cases for holding children temporarily, until the court has heard the case and made disposition of the case. When a child is first apprehended by the police, or first brought to the attention of
TABLE VIII
Comparison of Data From
Probation Department Annual Report and Files
1956

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Offenses</th>
<th>Annual Report Number</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>Files Number</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acts of mischief and vandalism</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic violation</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquor violation</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungovernable</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curfew violation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgery</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runaway</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immoral</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglect</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the probation department, it is deemed necessary some times to remove the child from his home immediately. The reasons for this vary according to each individual and the circumstances surrounding the case. It may be felt that to leave the child in the home situation will only bring on more trouble, or it may be that there is a possibility of the child committing another offense against the community. In many cases a child is apprehended by the police, and the child must be held until the parents are located, which may in some cases take many hours or even days. At any rate, there is a variety of reasons for the necessity of holding children temporarily.

In the Fourth Judicial District there is no detention home for children. In the city of Missoula children who are held temporarily are detained in the county jail. In the annual report of the probation department it is stated that,

In Missoula County, juvenile boys are detained in a small room, formerly used as a store room, just off the jailer’s office on the ground floor. In the past, the juveniles were required to go into the adult prisoners’ ‘Bull Pen’ for meals, or to use the toilet or take a shower. In 1956, toilet and shower facilities were installed in this juvenile room. However, the juvenile room is still used as a consultation room for attorneys, and whenever an attorney comes to the jail to confer with a client, the juvenile must go into the adult section of the jail to permit the attorney and client to confer privately. Juvenile girls in Missoula County are detained in the regular women’s quarters, on the second floor.\footnote{Ibid.}

A table is presented, showing the number of children detained in the Missoula County jail during 1956 (See Table IX, X). It should also be noted that the Montana law provides that a child may be held in detention facilities until the court hears the case, if it is thought
**TABLE IX**

Age and sex of Juveniles Detained in Missoula County Jail, 1956

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE X**

Length of Time Juveniles were Detained in Missoula County Jail, 1956

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than overnight</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overnight</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Days</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Days</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Days</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Days</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 5 days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
advisable by the court, police, or probation officer. Otherwise he may be released in the custody of his parents, guardians or custodians until his hearing. The law further states however, that,

"No child under eighteen (18) years of age shall be placed in or committed to any prison, jail, or lockup, nor be detained nor transported in association with criminal, vicious, or dissolute persons, provided, that a child whose habits or conduct are deemed to be such as to constitute a menace to other persons may, with the consent of the judge or chief probation officer, be placed in a jail or other place of detention for adults but in a room or ward separate from adults." 87

At the present time local groups and individuals are trying to acquire some buildings which would be a Youth Guidance Center and would serve as a detention home. Whether or not they will be successful in their efforts remains to be seen.

87 Ibid., pp. 555-556.
A minor investigation of juvenile delinquency in Darien, Connecticut was undertaken with the idea in mind of determining whether or not a state-wide juvenile court, as opposed to local juvenile courts, is better able to function in regard to prevention, reporting, and caring for delinquent children. Darien was chosen because a) it is a community which is part of a state-wide juvenile court system; and b) this writer was familiar with the community, and cooperation was more easily obtained with the authorities. Darien is perhaps not the ideal community to use in such a study, due to the differences found there in comparison with Missoula. But a community within a state-wide juvenile court system was necessary, and Darien was the one with the most accessibility for this investigator.

The nature of a state juvenile court has been discussed in Chapter II (See pages 18-20), and therefore it is felt that no further discussion is necessary.

1. Description of Darien

Darien is located in the southwest corner of Connecticut, only thirty-five miles northeast of New York City, with Long Island Sound bordering it on the south. To the west it is bordered by the industrial city of Stamford which has a population of nearly 70,000. To the east is Norwalk, another industrial city nearly as large as Stamford. To the north is New Canaan, a town similar in size and character to Darien. There are three main arteries into New York serving the residents: the
Merrit Parkway, The Boston Post Road, and the new thru-way. In addition to these is the New York, New Haven, & Hartford Railroad, and recently a limited helicopter service has been inaugurated.

Darien's population is 15,700, and its area is 14.9 square miles, making the population density 1053.6 per square mile.\(^88\)

The Boston Post Road runs west to east, cutting across the southern part of the town, and has been a factor in the development of agglomeration and conurbation. That is, there is a continuous narrow strip of high density urban population bordering each side of the Post Road. Instead of one intense business district there is a narrow strip of commercial zone that runs nearly entirely across the town (See Maps III and IV).

Darien is a residential town, with no industry, serving as a suburban place of residence. Three-fourths of the population of working males have their place of business outside of Darien, and nearly two-thirds of this group commute into New York every day.\(^89\) In many respects Darien is a part of that area often referred to as "Greater Metropolitan New York."

Public recreational facilities include two public beaches, summer playgrounds, tennis courts and a public library that contains 39,097 volumes.\(^90\) In addition to these facilities there are various organizations such as the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, Little League baseball, Babe Ruth League, and many other clubs with varied interests for the residents. There are also five private country clubs which have their own

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\(^88\) Darien, Our Town (Darien, 1958), n.p.
\(^89\) Stamford Advocate, June 12, 1958, p. 1
golf courses, beaches, and other facilities. In addition to these there is one private hunt club.

Of the six churches in Darien one is Roman Catholic, the remaining five are Protestant with the following denominations: Congregational, Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and one interdenominational. Some of the residents of Darien are served by churches outside of the town, in neighboring communities.

Darien has retained the practice of town meetings, which are held four times a year. Instead of electing a mayor, a Board of Selectmen is elected consisting of five men with one of them being the First Selectman. The position of First Selectman is much like that of mayor.

Over 50% of the town budget is devoted to school purposes. In 1956 a home owner in Darien with a $10,000 assessment paid approximately $46 in school tax. The cost per pupil in 1955-56 was $345. Darien has six grade schools, one junior high school and one senior high school. Seventy-seven percent of the high school graduates in 1956 went on to college, and 85% of the graduates took some kind of post high school education.

Up to this point has been presented a geographical description, and bare facts concerning the town, but the question of character, or sociologically speaking, the culture of the people in Darien remains to be answered. The answer to this question will be a subjective answer, made by this writer, although objectivity will be sought for within a subjective frame of reference.

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91 Ibid., p. 53.
92 Ibid., p. 54.
To give the reader an understanding of the town and its people, the following quotes from a publication by the League of Women Voters is presented.

"Darien's history is one of pride and dignity. From the first dissenters who settled the town to those who supported the Revolution and subsequent wars in the nation's history, its story has echoed with vitality.\(^93\)

"Our town is suburban, retaining a country atmosphere and is a refuge to those who want to enjoy a quiet life. Perhaps the vital spirit of the town has been and is due to its geographical situation. Darien has always been easily accessible, linked at all times to other cities and states, first by water, soon connected by the Old King's Highway, later by the railroad, the Boston Post Road, and the Merritt Parkway. This has resulted in a constant influx of new people and new ideas since the beginning of its history.\(^94\)

"Darien is an interesting New England town. In spite of its rapid growth and the development of modern business areas, it retains the atmosphere of a small Connecticut town, an atmosphere which is desired and guarded by the residents. It is a town of trees and wooded areas, of jutting rocks and little hills, of rolling fields and marshy lands. There are ponds and many brooks which become rivers as they approach the Sound. The jagged coastline, secluded coves and little islands offer infinite variety to the explorer by water or land.\(^95\)

"Darien is a good town to live in. It is a community of comfortable homes, ample business activity, and recreational facilities. Its atmosphere is that of a town that has captured the best aspects of both town and country life. We are proud of it.\(^96\)

The above is rather lengthy, but will help the reader to obtain, in part, the in-group feeling that the majority of the residents have for their town. Essentially, the same holds true for many other nearby towns, and others throughout the region. For many young married couples in this

\(^{93}\)Darien, Our Town (Darien, 1954), p. 7.
\(^{94}\)Ibid., p. 12.
\(^{95}\)Ibid., p. 13.
\(^{96}\)Ibid., p. 17.
region of the country, their goal is to live in a "good," or "nice"
section of a town like Darien and to belong to one of the country clubs.

Darien, then, unlike Missoula, is a suburb, whereas Missoula serves
as a center for a large geographical region. More extensive comparisons
of the two towns will be presented later.

2. Brief Comparison of Quantifiable Data of Both Communities

Before any comparisons may be made, the nature and extent of the
information concerning delinquency in Darien must be examined. Per­
mission was not obtained from the Darien Juvenile Court for personal
access to the records of the probation department. However, this writer
is indebted to the probation officer in Darien, who kindly gathered to­
gether certain statistical information which is presented in this study.
However, none of the information is of the individual case history type,
and this fact places a severe limitation on the various items which may
be compared between the two towns.

In Darien in 1955 there were thirty-four cases of delinquency
brought to the attention of the probation department and slightly over
75 percent of them were boys. Fifty-five percent were fourteen years or
over. Of the 34 children, eight of them had previous records with the
court. As to the types of offenses committed by these 34 children, the
majority of the cases fall into the following categories: Damage to
property, Act of carelessness or mischief, Taking auto without per­
mission, and Theft (See Tables XI, XII).

In 1956 Darien had 58 children noted as delinquents and of these
over 90 percent were boys. Sixty percent of the children were fourteen
TABLE XI

Frequency Distribution by Age and Sex of Delinquent Children in Darien, Connecticut, 1955-1956

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XII
Offenses Committed by Juveniles in Darien, Connecticut, 1955-1956

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offenses</th>
<th>1955</th>
<th>1956</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking auto without</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>permission</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlawful entry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holdup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truancy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runaway</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungovernable</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injury to person</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damage to property</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act of carelessness</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or mischief</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
years or over. Nine of the children were dealt with previously by the court. The types of offenses most often committed in 1956 were: Damage to property, Taking auto without permission, Theft, and Being ungovernable. This corresponds closely to the pattern in 1955 with the exception of the last category - Being ungovernable (See Table XII).

The ecological distribution of delinquency in Darien during 1955 seems to support Shaw's theory that the rate of delinquency declines from the center of the city to the outskirts. As can be seen (See Map III), the majority of the delinquents are located along the line of business and commerce, with fewer numbers in the outlying residential areas.

Darien has zoning laws which provide the following specifications: Area 1) is the business zone, area 2) is a residential zone which provides from one-fifth to one-half acres per family, and area 3) which provides from one to two acres per family. In other words, if someone owns a lot in area, or zone 3, only one family may reside in the building on that lot, and the lot may be no smaller than one acre.

It can be seen, then, that fewer delinquents are located in area 3 than in area 2 and 1, and fewer delinquents are located in area 2 than in area 1, the business district.

During 1956, the ecological distribution is similar to that in 1955. However, there are more youngsters in the "better" areas, areas 2 and 3, than in 1955.

The information just presented is a summary of all of the limited statistical data available, concerning delinquency in Darien. Before beginning any actual comparisons, it is essential to do so only within
a particular frame of reference. That is, one cannot merely take the statistical data from the two towns, compare those statistics, and then state similarities and discrepancies between the two places. The reason for this is that each community is different, and has its own conduct norms which help each town to determine whether certain acts by juveniles are delinquent or not delinquent. For example, hanging around a poolroom may be considered delinquent in Missoula, but not delinquent in Darien.

Similarly, there may be differences in methods of recording delinquency and this aspect will be dealt with more fully later. However, these problems are best explained by Bloch and Flynn, who list five reasons for the difficulty in comparing data from two communities:

1. our lack of uniform reporting and the absence of compulsory registration of delinquent offenses; 2. variations in court practice in classification and handling of delinquents; 3. variations in community practice in the referral of delinquent and behavior-problem children; 4. institutional differences in the receiving of children for care, and their methods of reporting; and 5. differences in police administration for the handling and referral of delinquency charges brought to their attention.97

Keeping these facts in mind, an attempt will be made to compare certain aspects of juvenile delinquency in Darien and Missoula. In total population, Missoula is approximately twice as big as Darien, and whereas Missoula covers an area of approximately eleven square miles, Darien's area is 14.9 square miles.98 It was impossible to ascertain the exact area of Missoula which this study covers. Figures for part of the area were available, but not for the entire area. Therefore, the figure of

97 Bloch and Flynn, op. cit., p. 25.
LEGEND

- BUSINESS ZONES
- RESIDENCE ZONES: ONE-FIFTH TO ONE-HALF ACRES
- RESIDENCE ZONES: ONE TO TWO ACRES.

EACH DOT REPRESENTS THE PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF ONE JUVENILE DELINQUENT IN 1955
eleven square miles is an estimate. However, using this figure, the population per square mile in Missoula is approximately 3,000, and in Darien there are approximately 1,000 people per square mile.

In 1955 there were 5,974 children under eighteen years of age in Darien, and .6% of them were listed as being delinquent. For the same year in Missoula there were 11,328 children of which .8% were listed as committing some delinquent act. In 1956 the population of children in Darien had increased to 6,182 with a very slight rise in the rate of delinquency to .9%. The population of children in Missoula increased also in that year to 11,960 with a rise in the delinquency rate to 1.3%. In Missoula for a juvenile population increase of 4.4% the juvenile delinquency rate increased at a rate of .5%, or a ratio of approximately 9 to 1. In Darien for a juvenile population increase of 3.4% the juvenile delinquency rate increased at a rate of .3%, or a ratio of approximately 11 to 1. We find then, that for the two years Missoula has a slightly higher rate of delinquency increase per population increase than Darien, but the difference is so slight that it cannot be considered significant for such a short period.

It is found on a national level that types of offenses such as stealing, and acts of mischief and vandalism account for the majority of offenses committed by boys in the United States. Darien and Missoula follow this pattern with those types of offenses accounting for approximately 75 percent of the total offenses committed by boys in

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100 Board of Education Enumeration Report (Darien, 1956), n.p.
101 Bloch and Flynn, op. cit., p. 41.
Darien. In Missoula during the two years these offenses accounted for about 65 percent of the total number of offenses committed by boys.

The nation-wide pattern for girls is that they most often are brought to the attention of the authorities as a result of "ungovernable behavior," and sexual or moral offenses. In 1955 and 1956 Darien did not follow this national tendency. In 1955 none of the delinquent girls committed any offense in those categories, and in 1956 only 25 percent of them committed such offenses. Missoula, on the other hand, tends more to follow the national tendency with over 65 percent of the delinquent girls in 1955 having committed one of the two offenses, although in 1956 only half of them committed the two offenses.

Another point that offers possible comparison is that of the number of children brought to the attention of authorities who have previously been dealt with by the probation department or court. Of the 34 children considered delinquent in Darien in 1955, less than 25 percent had been dealt with previously, and in 1956, the percentage dropped to 15 percent of the total. In Missoula it was found that of the total number of cases that had this information recorded, half of the children in 1955 had at least one previous offense, and in 1956 the percentage was nearly 60.

Percentage of Delinquent Children With Previous Records

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Darien</th>
<th>Missoula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>58.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

102 Ibid.
The communities in this study appear to be fairly dissimilar in regard to the sex ratio for delinquent children, however, they do correspond somewhat for the year 1955. The ratios for Missoula are a little less than 3 boys to one girl in 1955, and nearly 5 boys to 1 girl in 1956. Although the ratio for Missoula in 1955 appears to be somewhat lower than that cited for the United States, it does seem to follow the national tendency closely in 1956. Darien is not too far off from the national tendency in 1955 with a ratio of about 3 boys to 1 girl, however, there appears to be a sharp deviation in 1956 with a ratio of nearly 14 boys to 1 girl. In the nation as a whole the ratio is about 5 boys to 1 girl.

3. Juvenile Court in Darien

The juvenile court of Darien is in reality a part of the Connecticut Juvenile Court, which was established in 1952 as an outgrowth of conditions described below.

Prior to the establishment of the state-wide juvenile court system, juveniles were handled on a local basis. In the state's 169 towns there were 134 municipal court judges, 115 probate judges, and some 500 justices of the peace who were authorized to dispose of the cases of delinquent and neglected children. Because of the lack of financing or the supposed small number of cases, 101 of the towns had no juvenile probation officers. Only four of the metropolitan areas had full-time workers. The remaining towns had part-time personnel, poorly paid, and not particularly equipped for the skilled handling of the children's problems. Judges of the local criminal courts doubled as judges of the juvenile court. They held short terms and changed constantly. Treatment depended on the community resources in the area where the child lived.\[103\]

In setting up the juvenile court on a state-wide basis, the state was divided into three districts with a judge, nominated by the governor

\[103\] The Connecticut Juvenile Court. op. cit., p. 2.
and approved by the legislature, for each district.

"The court goes to the communities but in so doing, still maintains its practice of unobtrusiveness... Three district offices and fourteen area offices are maintained... The offices are strategically placed in population areas and are staffed in most instances by two or more probation officers and a clerical assistant. Each area office is responsible for a number of towns and cities immediate to that office.¹⁰⁴

Darien is located in the First District which is composed of Fairfield and Litchfield Counties. In a further sub-division Darien is under the authority of the Stamford Area Office.

Any child under sixteen is considered a juvenile and is handled by the juvenile court. "It may also accept on transfer from the local courts any youngster between the ages of 16 and 18 who the local judge feels might better be handled by the Juvenile Court. Any youngster so transferred enjoys all the protection accorded a juvenile under the age of sixteen."¹⁰⁵ (Because of this law, it is admitted that comparisons between the two communities may be biased). Most of the Connecticut laws concerning juveniles are up-to-date and consistent with current juvenile practices.

The official philosophy of the court is lengthy, but parts of it are worth mentioning.

"That the child is referred on the basis of the offense which necessarily must be considered since it colors the thinking of the child himself, his family, school and neighbors but this must not preclude recognition of the postulate that the overt act may or may not be indicative of the total problem. Accordingly the disposition should be geared to the total problem, personal, family, community or otherwise.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., pp. 2-3.
¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 3.
"That the case work function is basic in carrying on the work. Case work involves investigation, diagnosis, planning, and treatment. It means recognizing the real as well as the apparent problems, helping the client to understand his difficulties and aiding him in doing something constructive himself about them.

"That Probation is case work done within the frame of authority. Authority is merely one of the tools used in probation. Although the child comes to the court in conflict with law it does not mean that the only tool at hand is the use of authority. A knowledge of the many other techniques and resources used by any good case worker is essential.

"That no child can be treated in isolation. His home, his family, his neighborhood, his school, his church and all other influences on his well being must be considered.

"That when probation is not the answer there is a place for a group situation or an institution. Private placement or placement in a state training school takes place when the court feels that for therapeutic, not punitive reasons, the child needs the type of in-patient care that a good private institution or state school can give. Some youngsters before they can be treated as individuals in a community need the stabilizing effects of group living and training.106

The Stamford Area, of which Darien is a part, has three probation officers and two clerical assistants. The requirements for a probation officer are a bachelor's degree and four years experience. In addition, a civil service examination must be taken.107

As to the conduct of the court, again we quote from a state publication.

"Judges are selected because of interest, ability, and willingness to serve full time. They must be attorneys-at-law. They cannot practice law or engage in politics. They must devote their entire time and energies to the job.

"Receiving Centers or Detention Homes are provided to handle youngsters who must be detained. Children cannot be and are not held in jails in the state of Connecticut.

106 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
107 Personal communication.
"Files are closed and confidential. The court's files are open only upon order of the Judge.

"The child receives no criminal record. He is not fingerprinted. He cannot be prosecuted for an offense before a juvenile court, nor shall the adjudication of such court that a child is delinquent in any case be deemed a conviction of a crime.

"Court hearings are closed and informal...The judge may exclude any person he so desires from the courtroom. Hearings cannot be held in any courtroom or place where adults are present.

"These factors are standard recommendations for any good juvenile court. It is felt that state operation has made possible the translation of theory into fact.108

In the method of recording each case, it is well to note that Connecticut has a method whereby they classify all cases into one of two categories - official and unofficial. There are numerous lengthy statements, determining the conditions that constitute an official or unofficial case. For complete understanding, these are quoted below.

"Official hearings are held in
1. Cases involving commitment or custody.
2. Cases where it is necessary to determine delinquency.
3. Cases where the parent or child when given the choice of an official or unofficial treatment of the case, exercise their right to appear before the judge.
4. Cases where the impact of the offense on the community is a serious one and where, after a conference with the judge or director initiated by the probation officer, it is decided the matter should be handled officially. This might be true, for example, of car thefts, breaking and entering, sex offenses, shop-lifting.
5. Cases where the probation officer feels the need of official action in working out the particular problems involved. Examples would be problems where the parents are uncooperative, where the child does not adhere to instructions of probation officers, or any other situation where the case is so complicated that only the proceedings followed in official hearings could hope to bring the desired results.

108 The Connecticut Juvenile Court, op. cit., p. 10.
6. Cases where placement is indicated and where the agency or institution concerned desires official action.

7. Cases where the child's age warrants the protective action of an official hearing. An example would be a case where the child is approaching the maximum juvenile age and where a suspended sentence might offer him, for a longer period, the protection of the Juvenile Court.

8. Cases where two or more youngsters are involved in a companion offense and where it has been decided that one or more of the youngsters is to be treated officially. It is often well, in situations of this sort, to treat the whole group officially.

An unofficial case is one where the probation officer feels he can handle the problem without recourse to an official court hearing. To so handle a case, the following conditions must be fulfilled:

1. It is imperative that there be a definite acknowledgment of the delinquent act by the child.

2. The parents and the child must be informed of their rights in the matter and must waive these rights to an official hearing.

3. Where there is doubt or confusion in the mind of the probation officer as to the disposition, a conference must be held with the judge or director to determine whether the case can be handled unofficially.

4. Should the child deny his part in the offense, an official hearing is mandatory to determine the innocence or delinquency of the youngster.

In handling cases unofficially, all the resources of the community are brought to bear on the situation just as in the supervision of a child handled officially. 109

It is stated that between 30 and 35 percent of the cases are handled officially in Darien. 110

Darien's method of recording each case is extremely comprehensive, as required by the state-wide setup. Every effort is made to discover the complete history of the child. Every facet of his life is investigated such as his school life, leisure time activities, etc. (See Forms, pages 82-84).

110 Ibid., p. 12.
Comparison of State-wide and Local Juvenile Courts, as Evidenced by Darien, Connecticut, and Missoula, Montana

The advantages of a state-wide juvenile court as opposed to local courts were discussed earlier. (See pages 18-20). However, it might be well to compare the two systems again, using information from the two communities used in this study. In this way, it may help to pinpoint relevant factors essential in work with juvenile delinquents.

First to be considered is the over-all problem of personnel. Recall that the Missoula Juvenile court is in reality a part of a Judicial District Court, and may be termed a local court operating in theory under the Montana State Statutes. The judge for the Fourth Judicial District, who is elected to office and serves as the judge for the juvenile court on a part-time basis, appoints all probation officers, and the only qualifications required by law for a probation officer is that he be a person of "good moral character." In contrast, the Connecticut Juvenile Court is a completely separate court, and is served by three judges who are nominated to the general assembly by the governor. In turn, the judge appoints all probation workers and other staff personnel after open competitive civil service examinations conducted by the State Personnel Department.\footnote{Ibid., p. 3.}

Probation officers for the state of Connecticut may have up to 50 cases under supervision. When this limit is surpassed, additional workers are appointed to take over the work load. In Missoula, no matter how many cases exist, the probation staff is not increased.
The lack of thorough social studies of individual delinquents in Missoula was discussed earlier. It might also be mentioned that when a child is placed on probation in Missoula, most of the contacts between the child and probation officer is by phone, or letter. In Connecticut "The supervision record is chronological with a summary dictated every second month and an evaluation dictated every fourth month." 112 This difference between the two courts regarding to probation supervision may be due, in part, to the case load.

Another reason may be the fact that the two Missoula probation officers must cover an area that includes five counties, or 10,725 square miles, whereas the three probation officers who serve the town of Darien, and three other adjacent cities, cover an area that includes only two counties which in square miles is considerably less than that of the Missoula district.

Another point to be made in reference to personnel is that the Darien Department is served by two clerical assistants, whereas Missoula has no clerical assistant. The clerical work must be assumed by the probation officers.

Comparison in regard to detention should also be made between the two systems. As was noted earlier, (See pages 56-60) children are detained in the county jail in Missoula because there is no detention home. In Connecticut the court operates four receiving centers located in four divergent centers of population. These are small 15 to 18 bed homes staffed with a superintendent, matrons, school teacher and

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112 Ibid., p. 12.
recreation leader. 113

The only practical solution to the problem seems to be state control and operation of detention facilities. This has worked extraordinarily well in Connecticut, where four regional detention homes, operated in conjunction with Connecticut's state-wide juvenile court, have literally abolished jail detention of children in that state. 114

As for rehabilitation, it was shown earlier (See page 73) that Darien appears to have a considerably lesser percentage of children who are "repeaters." It may also be mentioned that Connecticut has four state operated training schools, and Montana has two which are strictly state operated, although other private institutions are used occasionally.

Mention might also be made concerning resources available to probation workers. It is generally felt that on a state-wide basis there are more resources available, and more use made of physical, psychological, and psychiatric facilities, for example. However, on the local level, as evidenced by Missoula, such resources are not as easily available, nor are they used as often even when they are available. For example, in 1956, out of 409 children, only six from the Missoula district were referred to the Montana Mental Clinic, and only four to the Child Welfare Division of Montana Department of Public Welfare. 115

113 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
115 Annual Report, op. cit.
SCHOOL REFERRAL □
AND
SCHOOL REPORT □
TO THE
Juvenile Court for the State of Connecticut

Name of Child

Father last first initial Address

Mother last first initial Address

Child: Date of Birth

Present Grade Grades Repeated

Date of School Entrance

How many schools attended in last three years

Special Class — Yes ( ) No ( ) If so what type

Summary of Attendance Record
Including Reasons for Non-Attendance

Description of Child’s Behavior

Indicate any Special Educational Handicaps

PHYSICAL EXAMINATION. Given by ________________________________ Date ________________
Physical Defects: Vision ________________________________ Hearing ________________________________ Speech ________________________________
Other defects: ________________________________

Has there been a psychiatric examination? Yes ( ) No ( ) Date ________________
By whom given ________________________________ Address ________________________________

TEST RECORDS: Educational. Name of test ________________________________ Date ________________
E. A. ________________________________ E. Q. ________________________________ Grade Ability ________________________________

Mental. Name of test ________________________________ Date ________________
M. A. ________________________________ I. Q. ________________________________ Examiner’s Name ________________________________

Recommendations of Examiner ________________________________
### JUVENILE COURT FOR THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

#### FACE SHEET

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHILD</th>
<th>TYPE OF CASE</th>
<th>FILE NO.</th>
<th>COMPLAINANT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Delinquent □ Neglect □ Service □</td>
<td>Name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Date moved this address

Address of Child at time of First Complaint and new Address

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Phone</th>
<th>No. of Rooms</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Tenant</th>
<th>Probation Officer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### Date of First Complaint

Date of First Complaint

#### First Name | Items Below Refer to Child's Family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Give Maiden Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### Give last Name if not Family Name

Children

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. 
11. 
12. 

#### COURT RECORD

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Official Unofficial</th>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Disposition</th>
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</thead>
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#### DETENTION

Place of Detention

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Placed</th>
<th>Date Released</th>
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#### RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

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<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Clergyman</th>
<th>Date Contacted</th>
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**JUVENILE COURT FOR THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT**

**DISMISSAL SHEET**

**NON - JUDICIAL**

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<th>LAST Name</th>
<th>FIRST Name</th>
<th>Date of Complaint</th>
<th>P.O. Name</th>
<th>P.O. Address</th>
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</thead>
</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Present Address</th>
<th>Birthdate</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
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<tr>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Birthday</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
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</table>

<table>
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<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Step-parent</th>
<th>Birthday</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
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Referrals: Police □ School □ Agency □ Other □ Other □

Offense:

**COMPLAINT SUMMARIZED:**

**CHILD'S STATEMENT:**

**CHILD**

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<tr>
<th>Intelligence</th>
<th>Excellent</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Poor</th>
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<td>Church</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of leisure time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to parents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude toward authority</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working record</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**HOME**

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<th>Broken</th>
<th>Both parents working</th>
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<td>Foster</td>
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<td>Only parent working</td>
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<td>Relative</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Other (explain)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

**INTERFAMILY PATTERN**

**Physical setup**

**Neighborhood**

**Parental attitude toward offense**

**PRIOR RECORD**

**DISPOSITION**

(Use other side for further comments or explanation)
1. Summary and Evaluation of Findings

To begin, an attempt will be made to answer the questions raised at the start of this study: first, does the pattern of juvenile delinquency in Missoula follow the same pattern as that for the nation as a whole? As is so often the case, a straight yes or no answer cannot be offered. Actually the pattern in Missoula differs in some areas, but remains compatible in others. To avoid confusion, those areas in which Missoula follows the national pattern will be discussed first, and secondly those areas in which the delinquent youth of Missoula deviate. The two areas shall be referred to respectively as: Areas of Agreement, and Areas of Disagreement.

a. Areas of Agreement:

1. Assuming the data are valid, it may be said that the age of Missoula delinquents and that of delinquents on the national level are in close agreement with no noticeable exceptions. That is, three-fourths of all juvenile delinquents, including those in Missoula, are fourteen years of age and over. However, according to Cacavas only about two-thirds of the delinquent children from 1946 to 1949 were 14 years and over. Therefore, if all information is correct, the Missoula delinquents may not have been in such close agreement, in regard to their ages, with delinquents throughout the country a decade earlier.

2. It is also evident that those boys who come to the attention

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116 Cacavas, op. cit., pp. 43-47.
of the Missoula probation department commit much the same offenses as those committed by boys across the country in general. Various forms of stealing rank first among the male youth of the nation, with acts of mischief and vandalism second, followed by traffic violations. According to the data the same pattern holds true for the male delinquents in Missoula in 1955; however, the order of importance changes in 1956 with acts of mischief and vandalism leading the list, followed by traffic violations, and stealing, respectively.

b. Areas of Disagreement:

1. The offenses committed by girls in Missoula do not appear to correspond with those committed on the national level, which list being ungovernable as most often committed, followed by running away, and sex offenses. In 1955 in Missoula, being ungovernable was among the three offenses most often committed by the girls, but the other two offenses were acts of mischief and vandalism, and traffic violations. Nearly the same pattern seems to hold true for the girls in 1956 (See Table VI).

2. The sex ratio in Missoula, although not drastically different from that of the nation, is, nevertheless, not as high. On the national level boys outnumber girls five to one, whereas in Missoula during 1955 the boys outnumbered the girls by only 2.83 to 1, and in 1956 by 4.52 to 1.

3. It was found that Missoula, unlike most cities, does not appear to have any one area in which the residences of delinquents are concentrated. In 1955 there was a tendency for the delinquents to live

\[117\] Bloch and Flynn, op. cit., p. 41.
near or adjacent to one of the railroad tracks with this tendency somewhat weakened in 1956. But this was the only evidence of any concentration of delinquents in a specific area.

4. Throughout the nation about one-third of the delinquents have been brought to the attention of authorities on previous occasions. However, during 1955 in Missoula, half of the delinquent children had at least one previous offense, and in 1956 there was a slight increase to 58 percent. It appears, therefore, that Missoula children who are brought to the attention of the probation department are more apt to commit some offense again than are the children throughout the country.

An attempt shall now be made to answer the second question, namely, How well do the laws, the juvenile court, and the probation department assume the responsibilities of their roles?

c. The Laws:

The laws concerning juvenile delinquents in Missoula and Montana have been discussed in detail earlier (See pages 45-46). For the most part they are up-to-date and in line with present day standards. However, there is one exception and that is the law containing the requirements for probation officers (See page 47). This law is outdated and should be revised and strengthened. Also, the law pertaining to the duties of the probation officers, although up to present day standards, is not being enforced (See pages 48-50).

d. The Juvenile Court:

Probably due to the fact that there is no state-wide juvenile court in Montana, the judges are overworked. They serve on a part-time basis for juvenile matters because they are also district judges and must
devote the majority of their time to adult matters. For this reason, they are also relatively untrained in the handling of delinquent children. That is, they have little time to devote to the study of the case histories of children, and their judgments rest more heavily on their personal experience; wise as this judgment may be it is, nevertheless, not the judgment of a specialist. Thirdly, the part-time judge can devote little if any time to administrative affairs of the juvenile court.

Another deficiency in the Missoula Juvenile Court is the lack of any detention facilities. (This was discussed in Chapter IV).

e. The Probation Department:

This topic has also been discussed earlier, but briefly to answer this part of our second question, the probation department does not appear to be assuming all its responsibilities. The present officers are sincere in their efforts, but they do not possess the specialized training which present day standards demand. Furthermore, they are thwarted in their work by the lack of sufficient staff, particularly clerical staff, and therefore are extremely overloaded in work. All these factors probably contribute to the inadequate system the department maintains for keeping case records.

2. Problems Encountered in the Study

Three major problems were encountered by the investigator in the course of this study. Foremost was the inability to secure all the data desired. This was due to the lack of uniform case records and inadequate methods for recording pertinent data.
Secondly, the fact that only agency delinquents were used in the investigation, limits the answers one may validly present. Such a group represents only a percentage of all delinquents, thereby limiting any conclusions to that group only.

Third was the problem of not having any valid, objective value system of the Missoula community. Such an item must always be considered in this type of study, but with nothing like this available this writer had to rely on subjective judgment.

3. Recommendations

a. It is felt that a study designed to determine the value system of Missoula should be undertaken. Such a study, if successful, would render much assistance in future studies within the area of delinquency, as well as in other areas.

b. Another study is recommended to investigate the differences in the records of the police and those of the probation department, and the reasons for any existing differences. Such a study should include an investigation of the type of cooperation between the two agencies.

c. As was stated previously, a revision in the law pertaining to the requirements and qualifications of probation officers is long overdue, and very much needed.

d. Also mentioned earlier was the need to enforce the law regarding the duties of the probation officers, especially in respect to keeping adequate records.

e. It is also recommended that a distinction be made between official and unofficial cases, and in so doing be certain that every
case, no matter how minor, is recorded in its entirety.

f. It is felt that some provision be made to insure that all records of the probation department may be stored permanently.

g. Without doubt, detention facilities are sorely needed in Missoula, and it is recommended and hoped that such facilities are obtained as soon as possible. Such a proposal will probably go to the state legislature in the near future.

h. It is felt that the most significant recommendation to be made in this study stems from the minor investigation of the juvenile court in Darien, Connecticut in relation to Missoula. That is, many of the above recommendations could very probably become realities if Montana was to develop a state juvenile court, such as now exists in Connecticut. Among other things, such a set-up would enable the juvenile courts of Montana to have their own full-time judges. Also it might be possible to increase the number of probation officers throughout the state, and through this more organized manner, to obtain a generally more efficient system of handling juvenile delinquents.

If the figures be given any credence, they would seem to point to the probability that Darien, probably because of its more efficient set-up, has far less occurrence of recidivism among their juvenile delinquents than does Missoula. Although the two years studied in this report do not represent a long enough period to determine, with any reasonable accuracy, it does appear that a longer range study in this area might verify the finding that while recidivism among juvenile delinquents in Darien is decreasing annually, it is increasing annually in Missoula. This may further point to the fact that the Darien proba-
bation department is better able and equipped to follow through on their cases, and to rehabilitate more successfully than is Missoula.

It should be mentioned that a state-wide juvenile court is not limited to small states with relatively densely populated areas; the success of the state juvenile court in Utah bears witness to the applicability of this system in less densely populated areas.
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