JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
AND URBAN AREAS

A Study of Rates of Delinquents in Relation to Differential
Characteristics of Local Communities
in American Cities

By

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FOREWORD

ONE of the most disturbing aspects of the problem of crime in America is the fact that such crimes as burglary, robbery, and larceny, which comprise a numerically important place among the total crimes for which persons are committed to reformatory and prisons, are to a very great extent a phenomenon of youth. The large number of youthful offenders in our prisons comprises one of the critical problems confronting the American people.

The importance of this problem cannot be measured in terms of its cost in dollars and cents, the property losses it entails, and the loss of the contributions which might be made by the thousands of these youthful offenders if their energies and talents were turned to useful enterprises. These considerations are important, to be sure, but there is the added fact that the prevalence of crime among youth is symptomatic of conditions in our social life which must affect unfavorably a much larger proportion of our children and youth than those who become offenders. The problem of dealing with delinquents and youthful criminals is part of the larger task which society faces in providing properly for the security, protection, and training of all of its young people.

The data in this volume, compiled during years of laborious and painstaking work, present a direct challenge to every citizen. The eradication of the delinquency-producing conditions that obtain in low-income areas of our cities is a task of primary importance. The disproportionately large number of children who become delinquent in these areas is only part of the price we pay for our neglect of this task. What about the thousands of other children whose physical, moral, and spiritual well-being is impaired by these conditions?

For twenty years I have had an opportunity to observe at close range the problem of delinquency and crime. I have watched, year after year, successive groups of delinquents enter our industrial schools and proceed from them to the reformatory and

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CHAPTER II

GROWTH OF CHICAGO AND DIFFERENTIATION
OF LOCAL AREAS

CHICAGO is a large industrial and commercial city located
on the western shore of Lake Michigan near its southern
extremity. It is the second largest city in the United
States and the largest included in this study. Within a period of a
little over a century it has grown from a small town, with a popu-
lation of about 200 and an area of 2½ square miles, to a great
industrial metropolis, with a population of over 3,000,000 people
and a corporate area of 111 square miles, extending some 25 miles
along the lake front and from 8 to 10 miles inland.

During its growth a differentiation of areas has taken place
within Chicago. Even a casual observation reveals that certain
districts are occupied largely by industry and others used exclu-
sively for residential purposes; that certain areas are occupied by
persons of low economic status and others by the very rich; and
that certain neighborhoods are characterized by a native white
population, and others by the foreign born, whose dominant lan-
guages are still those of the Old World. It is generally known, also,
that among areas in the city there are wide differences in the rates
of truants, of delinquents and of adult criminals, as well as in dis-
ease and mortality rates and other indexes of well-being. More
subtle are the differences in standards and cultural values, in com-
community organization, and in the nature of social life; but that they
exist there can be no question.

Why do these variations exist? Why has the city assumed this
configuration, with this particular distribution of poverty and
wealth and of racial and national groups? Why are there such
wide differences in standards and cultural values among areas
within the city?

This volume is based on the assumption that the best basis for
an understanding of the development of differences among urban
areas may be gained through study of the processes of city growth. Areas acquire high delinquency rates neither by chance nor by design but rather, it is assumed, as an end-product of processes in American city life over which, as yet, man has been able to exercise little control. This elaboration of the differentiation of areas in city growth is presented, then, as a frame of reference, a basis for analysis of the problem of delinquency not only in relation to the processes of urban expansion but also in relation to the whole complex of urban life.

In the present chapter an effort will be made (1) to outline and describe the processes of growth involved in the differentiation of areas in large cities; (2) to analyze the growth and expansion of Chicago with reference to these processes; and (3) to present some evidence of this differentiation, with the characteristics of the different types of areas resulting.

Processes of City Growth

The general processes of growth underlying segregation and differentiation of areas within cities have long been the subject of investigation by students of urban life. Professor Robert E. Park and others have pointed out the general character of these processes, noting that every American city of the same class tends to reproduce in the course of its expansion all the different types of areas and that these tend to exhibit, from city to city, very similar physical, social, and cultural characteristics, leading to their designation as "natural areas.",

In his description of the processes of radial expansion Professor E. W. Burgess has advanced the thesis that, in the absence of opposing factors, the American city tends to take the form of concentric zones. Zone I in this conceptual scheme is the central business and industrial district; Zone II, the "zone in transition," or slum area, in the throes of change from residence to business and industry; Zone III, the zone of workingmen's homes; Zone IV, the

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residential zone; and Zone V, the outer commuters' zone, beyond the city limits. The same general pattern of areas tends to appear in any major industrial center, even though such a "center" may be on the outskirts of a large city. This idealized circular con-

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struction furnishes a frame of reference from which the location and characteristics of given city areas may be studied at any moment, as well as the changes that take place as time goes on. In a growing city, zones are continuously expanding, which means that each inner zone must invade the next beyond. The result of this process is observable in our large cities, where the central business and industrial areas, now largely uninhabited except by a transient population, at one time included within their limits all gradations of areas in the city.

The starting-point for a discussion of the processes of expansion and differentiation within the city, as indicated above, is the concentra-
tion of industry and commerce, especially the configuration including the central business district. Even if the city were not growing, and its internal organization were assumed to be static, the residential neighborhoods adjacent to industrial and commercial areas would be considered, to doubt, physically less desirable than those farther removed. This would be true especially of residential areas near the central business district, for in most cities these are the sections built up first in the development of the city and for that reason are characterized by the oldest homes. Generally speaking, the largest proportion of new dwellings are to be found in the outlying sections of any city, while the areas with the most old dwellings are close to the points of early settlement.

More directly, the presence of either industrial or commercial districts affects the desirability of adjacent residential areas, making life in them less pleasant, according to prevailing standards.

The smoke and soot from heavy industrial plants soon render nearby residential structures dirty and ugly in appearance. Noise from factory machinery may be distracting; and the odors of certain industries, notably slaughtering and processing, are often very disagreeable. These conditions, together with the fact that they

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1 The terms "invade" and "invadation" are here used in their technical ecological sense, meaning to "ensnatch upon."
soon become associated with undesirable social status, would tend to create wide differences in the distribution of areas even if the basic structure of the city were permanently fixed.

In an expanding city these differences among areas are exaggerated because invasion or the threat of invasion from inner-city areas results in more active deterioration, with subsequent demolition of the structures in those sections adjacent to industry and commerce. As the city grows, the areas of commerce and light industry near the center encroach upon areas used for residential purposes. The dwellings in such areas, often already undesirable because of age, are allowed to deteriorate when such invasion threatens or actually occurs, as further investment in them is unprofitable. These residences are permitted to yield whatever return can be secured in their dilapidated condition, often in total disregard of the housing laws, until they are demolished to make way for new industrial and commercial structures. Even if invasion has not taken place, these processes are evident when the area is zoned for purposes other than residence.

The same general trends are seen in residential districts adjacent to outlying industrial centers. The distinctions may not be so noticeable, the dwellings so old, or the threat of invasion so active; yet the sections closest to industry are, in general, considered least desirable.

When residential areas are being invaded or threatened by invasion, there is apparently little possibility of reconstruction without public subsidy. The physical undesirability of these areas and the ever-present prospect of change in land use make it improbable that any first-class residences will be constructed from private funds without the enactment of some special protective legislation. The result is that persons living in these areas move out as soon as possible. The general effect of this process has been the gradual evacuation of the central areas in all large cities.

The differentiation of areas within the city on the basis of physical characteristics is co-ordinate with a segregation of the population on an economic basis. The relentless pressure of economic competition forces the group of lowest economic status into the areas which are least attractive, because there the rents are low, while the economically most secure groups choose higher-rental residential communities, most of which are near the periphery of the city. Between these two extremes lie communities representing a wide variety of economic levels.

This segregation according to the distribution of economic goods implies also a distribution of the population on an occupational and vocational basis. The persons in those occupations which command the lowest wages—the unskilled and service occupations—are forced to live in the areas of lowest rents, while those in the professions and the more remunerative occupations are concentrated in the more attractive sections of the city. The segregation of population on an economic and occupational basis results, in turn, in the segregation of racial and nativity groups if, within these groups, different economic levels are represented. In northern industrial cities the group of lowest economic status has, until recently, comprised the most recent immigrants. This fact has resulted in the concentration of the foreign born in areas of lowest economic status and, conversely, in the concentration of native whites in the areas of higher economic status; but this separation does not mean that a given group of their descendants are permanently segregated, when the distinction is based on cultural differences only. The national groups which comprise the foreign born in one era may prosper and move; or they may follow their grown children, most of whom are native born, into outlying areas. Their places are taken by newer immigrant groups, who in turn are replaced by still more recent arrivals, and so on, as long as immigration continues. The result tends to be that, while the segregation of the foreign born in the areas of lowest economic status persists, the nationality groups predominating change from decade to decade. Similarly, the na-
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diagramed schematically in terms of concentric circles, is at once modified, therefore, to a study in terms of semicircles. The Chicago River, likewise, has been significant both because it has interfered with transportation along the diagonals from the point of original settlement and the present business center and because early in the history of Chicago heavy industry was concentrated along the two branches of the river. This development was accompanied by the location of groups of factories in the areas surrounding this industrial section along the river, while high-class residential districts developed north, south, and west of the central business district.

The internal pattern of Chicago was determined largely by the section lines of the government survey. Dividing the city into square-mile areas, these lines become the important streets which extend throughout the city from north to south and from east to west, tending to facilitate transportation and, consequent-ly, to accelerate radial expansion along those arterial routes running at right angles and to retard radial expansion in those areas at oblique angles to the streets of the central business district. This basic tendency has been lessened somewhat by the presence of diagonal streets to the northwest and southwest, which in-itially were Indian trails and later became plank roads leading to Chicago from outlying suburbs.

The growth of Chicago is revealed by the changes between decennial census years. In 1840, 10 years after the original town was plotted, the population numbered 4,470. The population expanded nearly six times between 1840 and 1850, two and one-half times between 1850 and 1860, and nearly three times between 1860 and 1870. It reached 500,000 in 1880, 1,000,000 by 1900, and was well over 2,000,000 by 1910. The rate of increase between 1910 and 1920 was 23.6 per cent; between 1920 and 1930, 24.8 per cent; and between 1930 and 1940, 6.0 per cent. The drop in the rate of increase between 1930 and 1940 is due in part to the fact that during this period the areas of most rapid growth were outside the political boundaries of the city.

The territorial expansion corresponded roughly to population increase. In 1880, when Chicago comprised 44 square miles, an
area of 126 square miles was annexed at one time, quadrupling the area of the city and increasing the number of square miles within the political boundaries to 170. This area included Kenwood, Hyde Park, South Chicago, Pullman, and many other small towns, as well as much unoccupied territory. From that time to the present, annexations have been relatively small but have increased the total city area to 211 square miles. Although some of the land within the political boundaries is as yet unpopulated, the metropolitan area extends far beyond these boundaries in every direction and includes many contiguous cities and towns located chiefly along transportation lines toward the north, south, and west.

In the course of this expansion, marked changes have taken place in the character of some sections of the city. This is especially true around the central business district, where early residential areas have been invaded by industrial and commercial developments and have therefore been extended farther and farther out from the center. Similarly, single-family dwellings have been replaced by the characteristic two-flat dwellings in many neighborhoods or by large apartment houses along the important transportation routes. Exclusive residential districts of single homes are now to be found only in the outlying districts and in the suburbs.

The general configuration of Chicago resulting from growth and expansion within the limits set by Lake Michigan, the Chicago River, checkerboard streets, and the early distribution of industry is outlined in Map 1, which shows the areas other occupied by or zoned for industrial and residential purposes.

Today the central business district covers much of the area included in the city as incorporated in March, 1837. This district of approximately 10.6 square miles has primarily a hotel and transient population near its center, but on the outer edge the land is in transition from residential to industrial and commercial uses. This change has not progressed at the same rate in all parts of the area. In some places light industrial plants, business houses, and garages have replaced dwelling-houses almost completely, while in other parts the land still is used primarily for residential pur-
poses. The fact that it is zoned for light industry and commerce, however, makes it subject to occupancy for these uses as the central business district expands.

While practically all of the exclusive residential neighborhoods of early Chicago now are included in the areas either zoned for or occupied by industry and commerce, one small area on the Near North Side has withdraw successfully the threats of industrial and commercial invasion. This district, occupied by large residences and exclusive apartment houses and known locally as the "Gold Coast," stands in vivid contrast to the adjoining areas of deteriorated dwellings and industrial development. In contrast with the areas zoned for light industry and commerce, located for the most part in a semicircle surrounding the central business district, the districts of heavy industry in Chicago are widely distributed. They tend to be located at points strategic for industrial development because of natural advantages, such as the lake, trunk lines of railroads, or abundance of cheap land. The most extensive industrial areas in Chicago lie along the two forks of the Chicago River. The areas zoned for heavy industry on the North Branch extend some 4 miles north-west from the central business district, while the southern extension follows the south fork to the city limits, after broadening out to include the Union Stock Yards and the so-called "central manufacturing district."

Between these forks of the Chicago River lie two large industrial areas which extend westward from the central business district along railroad trunk lines. These in turn, are intersected by industrial areas along trunk lines running north and south, so that in a very real sense the Near West Side, the Near Southwest Side, and, to a lesser extent, the Near Northwest Side are bounded by industrial establishments.

The Union Stock Yards and affiliated industries, clearly indicated on Map 1, were opened in 1863. The site was chosen both because of its industrial advantages and because at that time it was far outside the city limits. In the general annexation of 1889, however, this area was brought within the corporate boundary of the city, so that today the Union Stock Yards occupy a position not far from the geographic center of the city.

The South Chicago steel-mill center and the industrial centers indicated by the large areas zoned for industry in the southeastern section were also originally outside the city limits. South Chicago, located on Lake Michigan at the mouth of the Calumet River, was founded almost as early as Chicago, and for several decades remained an independent city. Although annexed to Chicago in 1889, it is still a more or less independent commercial and industrial center. The town of Pulman, located just west of Lake Calumet, likewise was annexed in 1889 and, like South Chicago, has retained its name and essential industrial characteristics. Much of the remaining area zoned for industry in the Calumet district at present is unoccupied waste land. Similarly, on the Southwest Side, the large sections marked in solid black on Map 1 are zoned for, but not yet occupied by, industrial establishments.

EVIDENCES OF DIFFERENTIATION RESULTING FROM CITY GROWTH

Demolition of Substandard Housing.—Evidence of physical change and deterioration in Chicago within the general framework of the industrial configuration is seen first in the high proportion of buildings in certain districts which have been condemned either for demolition or for repair. Map 1, showing the location of dilapidated or dangerous buildings demolished as of December, 1935, reveals that a large proportion of these buildings are adjacent to the central business district. It is within this district, known sociologically as an "area in transition," that the change in land use has been most rapid.

Increase and Decrease of Population.—Indirect evidence of the processes of invasion and differentiation in Chicago is seen in the decrease of population in areas adjacent to Industry and Commerce and the increase in outlying areas. In a rapidly growing city it is natural that a large number of areas should be increasing in population. For purposes of differentiating among communities it is much more significant that, even while the city of Chicago
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was growing at a very rapid rate, large areas constantly being depopulated.

Between 1920 and 1930, a period of rapid growth, there were great changes in the distribution of the population in Chicago. The percentage of increase or decrease of population for this period in each of the 113 areas into which the city was divided is shown in Map 3. It will be noted that the areas of decreasing population, delimited by heavy shading, almost completely surround the central business district, while practically all of the areas of rapid increase are near the periphery. Between these two extremes there is a continuous variation. The areas of greatest decrease in population are near the center. Beyond, in order, are the areas where there was a small decrease, then a small increase, then a substantial increase, and finally, at the city's periphery, a zone where the change was very great. It is this continuum rather than the division into areas of decreasing and increasing population that is significant in showing the essential nature of the processes of city growth.

From Table I and Map 3 it will be seen that the population in 10 square-mile areas decreased more than 20 per cent between 1920 and 1930, and that in 25 additional areas the drop was between 1 and 20 per cent. The decrease reveals the fact of expansion more vividly when analyzed in conjunction with the rates of increase and decrease of population for the previous and subsequent decades. Between 1910 and 1920 the population decreased in 23 square-mile areas; while between 1930 and 1940, a period of comparatively slight growth in total city population, a drop occurred in 68 out of the 140 square-mile areas. It will be noted

These areas represent the basic units into which the city of Chicago was divided for the presentation of data of delinquency and other data based on the 1920 census. In the more densely populated sections of the city these are square-mile areas bounded on all four sides by the section lines of the government survey. In the more sparsely settled outlying areas, it was necessary, in many instances, to combine two or more contiguous square-mile areas until a minimum population base was secured. For the purpose of delinquency rates further combination in the outlying areas reduced the number of areas to 110. For 1930 data many of the larger, more populous outlying areas were subdivided, and the total number of areas increased to 140. Although some of these units contain more than 1 square mile, they will be referred to throughout the study as "square-mile areas."
that the outward movement from the 30 areas that decreased in population between 1920 and 1930 reduced the proportion of the total population in these areas from 40.0 per cent in 1920 to 27.7 per cent in 1930 and to 25.9 per cent in 1940.

This change in population in the different areas of Chicago establishes the rapidity with which the population is being evacuated from the center of the city. As the areas near the central business district are taken over for industry and commerce, the depopulated district extends farther and farther outward from the Loop; and new residential areas, characterized by very rapid growth of population, are pushed back to the city limits or into the suburbs beyond. On a smaller scale a similar process can be noted in the areas adjacent to each of the major outgoing industrial centers.

Although the continuous decrease in population in the inner-city areas indicates a great drop in the number of persons per acre in these areas, this should not be interpreted to mean that there has been any increase in the number of rooms per family or decrease in the number of persons per room. It indicates rather that certain areas are being depopulated as they are abandoned for residential purposes, and either are allowed to remain unoccupied or are taken over for industrial or commercial use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERCENTAGE OF CITY POPULATION, 1930, 1930, 1940, FOR SQUARE-MILE AREAS GROUPED BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION INCREASE OR DECREASE BETWEEN 1920 AND 1930</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DECILING INCREASE OR DECREASE OF POPULATION POSTPONED AREA Number of Square-Mile Areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decreasing: 0-25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing: 0-25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 and over</td>
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</tbody>
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TABLE 2
ECONOMIC SEGREGATION BY AREAS GROUPED ACCORDING TO INCREASE OR DECREASE OF POPULATION 1920 AND 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage Increase or Decrease of Population 1920-30</th>
<th>Percentage of Families on Relief 1924</th>
<th>Median Family Income 1924</th>
<th>Median Family Income 1929</th>
<th>Percentage of Families Owning Homes 1924</th>
<th>Percentage of Families Owning Homes 1929</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Decreasing:</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>$10.55</td>
<td>$12.5</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-19 (7.3%)</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>37.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20-29 (29.1%)</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>35.0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30 and over (46.7%)</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>47.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Increasing:</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>$10.55</td>
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* Percentages of families on relief are the areas of physical deterioration and decreasing population. The lowest percentages, on the other hand, are found in the outlying and newer districts of the city, where the population is increasing and where there is considerably less deterioration. Between these two extremes the gradations correspond roughly with the gradations in the physical characteristics of the areas as already presented. A notable exception to this tendency is seen in certain Negro areas, where the rate of families on relief is high but where the population is increasing, probably as a result of the restrictions to free movement of Negro population into other areas.

Medium Rentals.—Another index of economic status is presented in Table 3, which shows for 1930 the median equivalent monthly rental for each of the 140 areas. These rentals are based on the monthly rentals and home values as presented in the 1930 federal census, in relation to the total number of homes in each square mile. From Map 5 it will be seen that the areas of lowest

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rentals are concentrated around the central business district and the industrial areas along the two forks of the Chicago River. Outside these inner-city areas and in the South Chicago industrial district are the areas of slightly higher rents. In general, the rentals are successively higher as one moves outward from the central business district or away from the heavy industrial center. With the exception of several Negro areas, where the rentals are disproportionately high, the configuration presented by the variations in median rentals corresponds closely with the variation in the percentage of families on relief as presented in Map 4.

*Occupation Groups:* Other evidence of economic segregation is to be seen in the differential distribution of occupation groups. These data are included in Table 2. They indicate that a disproportionate number of industrial workers are concentrated in the areas of physical deterioration and decreasing population, and a disproportionate number of professional and clerical workers in outlying residential communities, where the population is increasing most rapidly. Since these occupational groups reflect variations in economic status, the facts constitute further evidence of economic segregation.

*Segregation of Racial and Nationality Groups as a Product of Economic Segregation:* The segregation of population on an economic and occupational basis in American society brings about, in turn, a segregation of racial and nativity groups. Throughout most of the history of Chicago the groups of lowest economic status—that is, the foreign born and, more recently, the Negroes—have been concentrated in the areas of physical deterioration and low rentals. On the other hand, the native white population has been centered in the outlying communities, for collectively this group has a higher economic status. Together, the foreign-born and Negro groups furnish a large proportion of the unskilled industrial workers and a comparatively small proportion of the professional and clerical groups. The foreign-born have been concentrated, therefore, in the areas adjacent to industrial establishments not only because it is economical and convenient for these workers to live closer to their work but also because they often cannot afford to live elsewhere. The same distribution among low-rent areas would probably characterize the Negroes were it not for the fact that racial barriers prevent their movement into many such areas and, in effect, operate to raise rents in the Negro area.

This segregation of population on an economic basis is again clearly indicated in Table 3. Especially noticeable is the concentration of Negro population in the areas where more than 21 per cent of the families are on relief. This concentration was not so apparent in 1930, when the highest proportion of Negro population was found in the areas with intermediate rates of dependent families, based on number receiving relief from private charities.

*Concentration of Most Recent Immigrants and Migrants:* As indicated by the previous discussion, those nationality groups which represent the newest immigration constitute the largest proportion of the population in areas adjacent to the central business and industrial districts, while the so-called "older immigrant groups" are more widely dispersed. If citizenship is taken as an
indication, more positive evidence of the segregation of the newest immigrants is to be seen in the differential distribution of the alien population, both in 1930 and in 1920. These variations in

TABLE 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of Families on Relief in 1920</th>
<th>Percentage Foreign-born and Negro Heads per Total Population</th>
<th>Percentage Negroes in Total Population</th>
<th>Percentage Foreign-born in White Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28.0 and over (29.2)*</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.0-27.9 (26.8)*</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.0-20.9 (25.0)*</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>35.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.0-13.9 (23.5)*</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.0-6.9 (22.9)*</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentage for class as a whole.

the proportion of aliens in the white population are presented in Table 4. This table indicates that the areas of lowest economic status are occupied not only by the highest proportion of foreign born in the white population but also by the highest proportion of aliens in the foreign-born white population 21 years of age and

TABLE 4

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of Families in 1920</th>
<th>Percentage of Foreign-born in Total Population</th>
<th>Percentage of Foreign-born in White Population</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>33.9</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentage for class as a whole.

In his study of the Negro family Frazier similarly found the most recent Negro migrants to the city concentrated in the most deteriorated sections of the Negro areas. He states:
Although nearly four-fifths of all the Negroes in Chicago were born in the South, the proportion of southern-born inhabitants in the population diminishes as one leaves those sections of the Negro community nearest the heart of the city. It is in those zones just outside of the Loop where decaying residences and tottering frame dwellings pressage the imprints of industry and business that the southern migrant is able to pay the steep rents that landlords are willing to accept until their property is demanded by the expanding business area.

The results of this process of segregation in Chicago as of 1930 are revealed in Map 6, which shows nativity and race of family heads. In those census tracts where a predominant number of the heads of families were foreign born, the leading nationality group is indicated.

On this map the areas in solid black are those predominantly occupied by Negroes. Since only the numerically dominant group is indicated in each area, it should be remembered that there are Negroes in many of the other tracts in the city. This is especially true on the Near North Side, where large numbers of Negro families are to be found.

Several facts are immediately apparent from Map 6. In the
first place, a large proportion of tracts where the foreign-born heads of families constitute the predominant group are clustered around the city's point of original settlement or are distributed in the areas where heavy industry has been located. Secondly, symbols designating the country of birth of the foreign-born heads of families show that in some instances large areas are dominated by one national group and that the most recent immigrants are concentrated in the least desirable sections of the city.

This map represents the distribution of racial and national groups as of 1910, but it does not even suggest the nature of the process that brings about this segregation—the continuous succession of national groups in these immigrant areas. Similar maps for earlier decades would reveal a more decided concentration of foreign born, but the nationalities included would be different. In short, nationality groups have succeeded one another in the areas of lowest economic status, while the concentrations of older immigrant groups are now to be found beyond the inner-city areas. Each new nationality group was segregated into the lowest areas during the period of its adjustment to the New World. As they have moved out, their places have been taken by other newcomers from abroad until recent years, when part of this inner-city area has been occupied by the newly migrated Negro people.

Thus, in the process of city growth, areas within Chicago have been differentiated in such a way that they can be distinguished from one another by their physical or economic characteristics or, at any given moment, by the composition of the population. Associated with these differences and with the more subtle variations in the attitudes and values which accompany them are found marked variations in child behavior. These are reflected in differential rates of delinquents, as presented in subsequent chapters.

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**CHAPTER III**

**DISTRIBUTION OF MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN CHICAGO**

This chapter is concerned with the geographic distribution of delinquent or alleged delinquent boys and the manner in which rates of delinquent boys vary from area to area in the city of Chicago. Questions pertaining to the total number of such boys in the city at any given time or to the trend in the total number during a given period of years are extraneous to the primary purpose of this discussion. The data presented serve as a means of indicating the pattern of distribution of delinquency in the city and the extent to which this pattern has changed or remained constant during a period of forty years. As an initial step in this study it is important to make clear the sense in which the term "delinquency" is used.

**Definitions.**—The term "male juvenile delinquent," as used in the studies reported in this volume, refers to a boy under 17 years of age who is brought before the Juvenile Court, or other courts having jurisdiction, on delinquency petition; or whose case is disposed of by an officer of the law without a court appearance. "Alleged delinquent" is the more accurate term, since it sometimes happens that charges are not sustained. Legally, a boy is not a delinquent until he is officially known to have violated some provision of the law as currently interpreted. Only in terms of this official definition can the data here presented be considered as an enumeration of male juvenile delinquents.

Several different types of series will be analyzed in the following pages—school truants, alleged delinquents as above defined, and repeated offenders or recidivists—representing in various degrees of inclusiveness boys who have been dealt with either by the juvenile police officers or by the court. Although these are official cases only, it is assumed that their utility in differentiating areas

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1 Paul F. Crenz, "The Succession of Cultural Groups" (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1929).

2 The age limits vary in the cities studied.