A Study of 202 Children Referred to the Family Court of Cook County for Unspecified Neglect

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A STUDY OF 202 CHILDREN REFERRED TO THE
FAMILY COURT OF COOK COUNTY FOR
UNSPECIFIED NEGLECT

by

Irma L. Hillery

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

June
1951
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Statistical Department of the Family Court of Cook County first gathered statistics as of January 1, 1949. This Department was established to perform a two-fold function: the collection and tabulation of accurate and representative data concerning the work of the Court; and the scientific, objective analysis of the data. One part of the data referred to consists of determining the number of children referred to the Court as well as the reason for referral.

In the most recent report of the Department, covering the period from December 1, 1949 to June 1, 1950, it was found that 846 children had been referred to the Family Court for reason of alleged Neglect; 156 had been abandoned or deserted, 39 suffered abuse or cruel treatment, 179 were living under conditions injurious to morals, but 472 children or 55% of the total number were considered as being referred for an unspecified reason. With such a large proportion of the referrals not covered by the present categories of Neglect, the Statistical Department had some question about its present methods of collecting its data—particularly if the data was giving as

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1 Family Court of Cook County, Statistical Department, *Monthly Statistics*, December 1, 1949 to June 1, 1950.
representative a picture of the work of the Court as it could.

In the six month period just referred to, some variation occurred from month to month in the incidence of referrals for the reason of unspecified Neglect until April and May, 1950. In those two months 173 cases were so classified. These constituted 50% of all the cases referred for any reason of Neglect during the two months.

This present study therefore grew out of this concern on the part of the Statistician, and at his request. In it an attempt is made to analyze the social characteristics and the situations of the children who were referred to the Family Court during April and May, 1950 for reason of unspecified Neglect with the aim of discovering common elements in their situations which might lead to additional classifications or reasons for referral. With additional reasons or classifications, a more comprehensive picture of the reasons for referral would be expected.

Indirectly the study points out some of the difficulties encountered in establishing a statistical program on a sound basis.

The sole source of information for the Statistical Department is the complaint slip completed by Probation Officers in the Complaint Division where the initial contact is made. This slip lists identifying information and the reason for referral as specifically as possible. In instances of Neglect, where none of the categories in use seem to cover the situation, usually the term Neglect is given as the referral reason without further breakdown. When this term is applied, such cases are accounted for by the Statistical Department as cases of Unspecified Neglect.
All of the identifying information and the reason for referral are transferred onto a statistical file card, which then becomes the single source of referral information from the Statistical Department. A Statistical file card is prepared for every child referred to the Court.

Since the card is the only record kept by this Department, it was therefore necessary to read the case material available to the Complaint Department at the time these complaint slips were completed. This case material consisted of information obtained at the point of complaint; interviews, investigations or letters of referral.

A summary of the process involved is as follows: Statistical cards for the 173 cases classified as instances of unspecified Neglect during April and May, 1950 were removed from the file. On the basis of these cards, a schedule for taking information from the records was developed.

At this point it was learned that in instances of alleged Neglect, all the children in a family are automatically referred to the Court, not just the child or children who first came to the attention of the referring source. Statistically, each child in a family is also considered to be a separate case. Thus a family of seven children is statistically entered as seven cases. It developed also that 202 cases were classified as unspecified Neglect instead of 173. The explanation for this discrepancy was found in the fact that additional complaint slips were received by the Statistical Department subsequent to the original compilation of statistics for the months covered by the study.

Actual gathering of the material was hindered by the difficulty and
delay in obtaining the case records; some were in the hands of Probation Officers for further investigation, others were in closed files because of termination of action by the Complaint Division, still others were only in the form of a letter not yet followed up by the Complainant, and a few were complaint slips on which the information was very meager and no other record existed.

Limitations to further study were imposed by the dearth of information in certain categories; school verifications are never obtained until after the field Probation Officer receives the case for further investigation, frequently no indication of the sex of the children is given on the complaint slip, and parental birth dates and marital status appear sporadically. The facts about housing and income are generally omitted.
CHAPTER II

THE STUDY GROUP

In order to evaluate the significance of the characteristics of the study group, Family Court as well as general population statistics have been utilized in an endeavour to determine to what extent, if any, this particular group compared to others in the same field of investigation.

The characteristics considered were: religion, family size and composition, sex, age distribution of parents and children, housing and sources of income. Where such information appeared to be relevant, the above headings were also discussed with reference to the race of the individuals concerned.

An analysis of the family units showed that out of 68 families— with a total of 202 children—52 were white and 16 were negro, or an approximate ratio of 3 to 1. There is probably some social significance in this ratio, in the light of the sample population statistics of Metropolitan Chicago, according to which the number of negroes in that entire area totaled 471,617, or almost 10% of the aggregate population, while native and foreign born whites together numbered 4,210,869 persons,1 or nearly 80% of the

From the standpoint of religious affiliation, analysis showed that the Roman Catholics and Protestants were almost evenly divided, the former accounting for 32 families and the latter for 31. In 5 of the family units the religious affiliation was unknown. These figures compared with percentages of 42.4 and 48.6 respectively for the Roman Catholic and Protestant denominations in the sample census previously cited. According to which the former numbered 1.983.497 while the Protestants accounted for 2.290.712 out of the total population. In view of the relatively small number of cases involved in the study, the slightly higher percentage of Protestants represented in the Metropolitan Chicago statistics seems to possess no special significance.

The range in size of family in the study group was considerable, varying from a minimum of 2 to a maximum of 11 persons. Table I shows the distribution of families according to size.

2 Ibid., 20.
Table I shows that 63% of all the families in the study group consisted of four members or less (43 out of 68). According to the 1947 Sample Census, 1,081,827 families out of 1,378,618 or approximately 79% of the total, contained four persons or less.3 This disparity of about 16% is by no means decisive; however, it might suggest that the families in the study group tended to have more children than families in the population as a whole. This would seem to be further emphasized in that 25 families in the study had 5 members or more, that is almost 4 out of every 10 families, whereas in the general population figures, only 1 in 10 of the families were in that category.4

Distribution according to sex showed that 87 of the children were

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3 Ibid., 30.
4 Ibid.
boys and 71 girls; while in 44 instances the sex of the child was not known. Boys therefore accounted for approximately 56% of the 158 children whose sex was reported, and girls for the remaining 45%. It is interesting to note that this distribution varies only slightly from the picture of Court referrals in all categories. For example, during the six month period from January 1, 1949 through June 30 of the same year 3,119 boys were referred, as compared with 1,820 girls, or in the proportion, approximately, of 5 boys for every 3 girls. The distribution on the basis of sex was much closer and more evenly divided in the specific category of Neglect, which indicated a total of 443 boys among the referrals, as compared with 422 girls. 5

Figures on age distribution show that over 50% or 107 out of the 202 children in the study group were below the age of 10; while 62 of these children were under school age and were the largest age group. This analysis must also be considered in view of the fact that the ages of the children were not listed in 37 cases. The breakdown found here does not correspond even roughly to the age levels for all the children referred for reasons of Neglect, as indicated in the Fiftieth Anniversary Report. According to this Report, children 10 years of age and under accounted for 625 referrals, while those over 10 accounted for only 211 referrals. 6 Figure I, the vertical bar graph, shows the ages of the children at the time of the referral to Court. 7

5 Juvenile Court of Cook County, Fiftieth Anniversary Report for the Year 1949, 33.

6 Ibid., 34.

7 Figure I, 39.
Upon analyzing the living arrangements of the children in the study group it was found that 11 children in 8 families were living with neither parent. Placement with paternal grandparents had been made by 3 families and 2 families had children in foster homes provided by previous Court referral. In 2 other families children had been placed in the homes of relatives and in the eighth family 1 of 6 children was detained by the hospital and awaiting placement in a convalescent foster home.

Although it is difficult to draw any exact comparison between the data in the study and those of the Statistics on child care in the entire Chicago area, an analysis of the latter does yield some interesting contrasts with regard to placement outside of the home.

According to a recent study, in the year 1948 there were a total of nearly 5,700 children in the Chicago area being supervised in foster homes. This represents about 2 of 1 of the approximately 1,210,000 children under the age of twenty-one living in Cook County according to the 1940 Census Report.

In the study group, however, the 11 children affected by placement constituted a little more than 5% of the total group. Approximately 1 family in 9 was affected by placement, either with relatives or in foster homes. These figures would seem to point to a much higher percentage of placement in the study group than in the total Cook County population.

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An examination of the age distribution within the family units disclosed wide ranges in ages with a concentration at certain levels. Table II on ages of parents embraces ages ranging from under twenty-one through sixty years.

**TABLE II**

**AGES OF LIVING PARENTS AT THE TIME OF REFERRAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>Number of Mothers</th>
<th>Number of Fathers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 thru 25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 thru 30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 &quot; 35</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 &quot; 40</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 &quot; 45</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 &quot; 50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 &quot; 55</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 &quot; 60</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated in Table II, age information was available on only 39 of the fathers, of which all but 3 fell within the range of 26 to 56 years of age, with 3 of the 36 fathers coming within the category of 51 to 60 years of age. This distribution of the majority of the male parents did not deviate sharply from that found among the mothers; 47 of the 56 whose ages were ascertained, fell within the age span from 26 through 45 years. Only one mother, whose age was given as 55, appeared in the age level above 45 years.

These age concentrations, pointing to a rather mature group of parents—at least in respect to age, seem to contradict somewhat the general impression that it is among younger parents that one is most likely to
encounter offenders in the matter of child Neglect. A comparison of these findings with the data on those referred for specified Neglect might prove fruitful.

Analyzing the marital status of the parents in the 68 families under consideration, we find among them only 19 known complete family units, that is both parents living together in the home. In two of these family units, the parents were not legally married. In 44 known families, or nearly two-thirds of the total group, only one parent was in the home, and in 5 of these the father was the sole parent.

Table III indicates the marital status of the parents in the study group and the number of children affected.

**TABLE III**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married and living together</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deserted</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Parent deceased</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried and living together</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures in this table suggest considerable instability on the part of both parents. In fact more than one half of the families were broken
either by separation, desertion or divorce. This is in keeping with the findings of virtually all sociological studies, not only in Chicago but throughout the nation, which indicates that neglect or abandonment of children occurs most commonly in broken homes.9 Thus in the study group only about 20% of the parents whose marital status was known, were married and living together. This contrasts sharply with the data appearing in the Sample Statistics of the general population previously cited, which shows a total of 1,079,455 marriages out of an aggregate of 1,378,618 families, or a percentage of 78.3 married.

Some difficulty was experienced in evaluating the factor of housing, since information on nearly 50% of the families in question was not available. However, the findings are presented for whatever validity they may possess. Table IV presents a picture of the housing situation of the 68 families.


TABLE IV

TYPES OF DWELLING AT THE TIME OF
REFERAL OF THE 68 FAMILIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Dwelling</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basement</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One family</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two family</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple Unit</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rooming House</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Project</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shack</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28 of the 36 family groups, whose type of dwelling was known, were inadequately housed, that is they occupied substandard living quarters. The remaining 8 families lived in one family housing units, two-family units or housing project apartments. Only the 5 in the last mentioned category could properly be considered to be adequately housed.

A breakdown of dwelling accommodations on the basis of race shows some striking contrasts. Of the 10 negro and 26 white families on whom housing information was obtained, 13 families in both groups occupied basement homes. Of the 10 dwelling units housing negro families, fully one-half were basement homes. Only 1 family resided in a two family house reported to be in a livable condition. Although insufficient material is at hand for a comprehensive study of housing for the negro families, enough facts are at hand to suggest a general picture of poor and sub-standard, congested housing for the negro group in this study.
Finally, an examination of the known sources and amount of income for the families in the study group brought out some interesting facts about these families. Again sharp deviations due to differences in race were evident. Table V presents the principal sources and amounts of income, where known, of the 68 families.

**TABLE V**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources of Income</th>
<th>Amount of Weekly Earnings</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public Assistance</td>
<td>($20 to $40)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Employment</td>
<td>($40 to $60)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>($60 and over)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>68</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No interpretation of the above table was possible as the limited information did not lend itself to interpretation. However, it was determined that the majority of white families reported earnings from private employment, while of the ten negro families in which source of income was established, eight were the recipients of Public Assistance. In only one case were both parents known to be employed full time. The one family reporting absence of any type of income or assistance lived on the charity of the neighbors and the landlord.

To summarize, it was found that white and negro families were represented in the study group in the ratio of about 3 to 1, as compared to
10 to 1 in the total population of Metropolitan Chicago.

As to family size, the study group families were larger than those of the total population; and boys predominated slightly in this group.

The analysis of the known ages revealed that most of the children were older than the children referred to the Court for all other reasons. Parents of these neglected children were found to be principally in a middle group, 26 through 45 years of age.

Among the families whose religious affiliation was known, there was an equal number of Catholics and Protestants.

There also existed a high degree of marital instability among these parents evidenced by the large number of broken homes. Directly related to the broken homes was the fact that 1 family in 9 had placed some of their children outside their own homes.
CHAPTER III

SOURCES OF REFERRAL

The 202 children in the 68 families came to the attention of the Complaint Department from eight sources named in the order of frequency: relatives, police, schools, other social agencies, neighbors, landlords, public institutions and a Public Health Agency. Here again a racial breakdown was given whenever information was sufficient and seemed relevant to warrant separate treatment.

Table VI lists the referral source for the total group with respect to racial background:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources of Referral</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Number of White Families</th>
<th>Number of Negro Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PARENTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathers</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepfathers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Relatives</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Agencies</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbors</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landlords</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Health Agency</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The overall picture gained from Table VI shows that a little over one-fourth of the children were referred by parents. Almost 4 out of every 10 children were referred by someone within the family, while public and private organizations, that is, police, schools, social and health agencies, accounted for the referrals of close to one-half of the children.

More significance, however, came out of understanding how the referrals occurred. Out of the 52 white families referred, 42.5%, the largest number from any single source, came from one of the parents. Fathers accounted for 15 referrals and the mothers brought complaints in the remaining 7 instances of parental referrals. Relatives caused 10 white families or 8% to be brought into court. The only other source from which a sizeable number of referrals of white children originated, was the Police Department.

In contrast to these figures, Table VI shows that the largest number of referrals among the negro groups were made jointly by the police, the schools and other social agencies. These three sources contributed 62.5% of referrals. Parental referrals accounted for but one case, and there were only two complaints referred by other relatives.

A closer inspection of these data brings to light the following point: the majority of the 52 referrals of white families originated within the family group, parents or relatives made the referrals; whereas, most of the 16 referrals of negro families were from outside sources, such as Welfare Agencies, institutions and the police. This dearth of parental and relative referrals among the negro families may be attributed to various factors. The most feasible explanation probably is a failure to recognize Neglect or else
to appreciate that such conditions could be handled by a competent outside authority.

The general picture of referral sources for the study group obtained from Table VI followed rather closely the actual pattern of sources of referral as indicated by the statistical data in the Juvenile Court's Fiftieth Anniversary Report. These statistics listed parents and relatives as the chief source of referral of children for the reason of Neglect. Police referrals came next and referrals by social agencies followed. Although Table VI assigns third place to school referrals, in Family Court statistics given in the Anniversary Report school referrals are included under the more general heading, "Other Referrals." Within the study group itself, the school proved to be a highly productive source for referrals.

Further examination of the parental and relative referrals revealed that, in the majority of families, the fact of Neglect was not the actual reason that brought the family into Court. There were other circumstances involved which were later brought out in the course of the interview, or else there were factors which came to light as a result of complete investigation by an authorized agency prior to acceptance by the Complaint Division.

The following summaries are representative of the parental complaints:

---

1 Juvenile Court of Cook County, Fiftieth Anniversary Report for the Year 1949, 35.
1. A divorced mother of two children brought the complaint to the Court. She stated that both the children were ill, as a result of living in a dark, damp basement. Although she was gainfully employed she alleged inability to provide proper care and support for the children, and requested placement. However, she offered to pay for any care they might receive. After considerable questioning and probing it was learned that she feared the children might be annoying to their father, from whom she was divorced but who had recently returned to the home.

Thus, a complaint which began as a request for placement due to inability to care for the children, developed into an effort to remove an impediment to a reconciliation.

2. A second example relates to a father who brought a complaint against his wife, charging her with chronic alcoholism and mental incompetence, which resulted in gross neglect of their two children. He had with him at the time of complaint a male friend who substantiated his story. He said that he and his friend, who boarded with the family, were obliged to do all the housework and take care of the children. He said he hoped the Juvenile Court would investigate and commit his wife to an institution.

3. A third case concerns a father who was separated from a mother of two children, ten and sixteen years of age respectively. This parent petitioned the court to place his children. He accused the mother of immorality and affirmed that the children were frequently abandoned while the mother went out to carouse at night.

Investigation by another authoritative agency as well as school reports in both situations disclosed no particular evidence of Neglect. It was learned, however, that in the latter case, the home was badly over-crowded and that friction existed between the parents. Subsequently, the mother acknowledged that the two children had been borne prior to this marriage. In this family the children were clearly the victims of an unsatisfactory
In analyzing police referrals—which constitute the second largest group—attention should be called to the fact that such referrals resulted from the police discovery of the situation of Neglect, as an incidental factor in the investigation of the home. As was frequently the case, the family first came to the attention of the police for some completely different initial cause.

For example, a few cases came to the attention of the police in connection with investigating a charge of loitering; other parents were questioned because children were picked up by the police in quasi-delinquent situations; in still other instances boisterous or mischievous conduct or disturbance of the peace was responsible for bringing the police to the home. The original situation was then submerged or eclipsed, as the police came to recognize it as one involving Neglect. However, it is noteworthy that in no single instance did the police originally observe, in line of duty, clear cut signs of Neglect and as a result bring the family to the attention of the Court.

A scrutiny of the Social Agency referrals brought to light some similarity to the police referrals, in that the Neglect situation was uncovered during an investigation begun for some other reason.

1. In one instance, a case worker for a Public Assistance Agency, in the course of a routine home visit in connection with continued eligibility, noticed flagrant neglect of the children. When she sought to enlist the cooperation of the parents to alleviate the situation, she met with complete indifference bordering on hostility. The only recourse was to refer the case to the Juvenile
Court, on the assumption that this agency with its authoritative function was the competent public agency to intervene in such a case.

2. In a second instance of agency referral a case worker in the course of attempting to help a parent in the solution of a marital problem, became aware of a serious personality maladjustment. A follow-up home visit substantiated her diagnosis. Here, likewise, the resultant Court referral had grown out of help rendered to a parent in a totally different area.

Referrals from the Board of Education or directly from the schools included two types of cases. A few reached the Court because of the unsatisfactory physical appearance or else misbehaviors of the child in the classroom. Others were referred as a result of excessive truancy on the part of the child. In both types the referrals indicated that possible Neglect was the true cause. In other words, visits to the home by the Truant Officer uncovered conditions of Neglect, and the referral to the Court followed.

One marked divergence between referrals by the police, social, health agencies and the schools on the one hand, and family referrals on the other, existed in the degree of objectivity. In the case of the former group, the original complaint to the Court gave some evidence of alleged Neglect as the focal problem. Family referrals were mainly subjective in nature consisting of accusations or complaints against the marital partner or relative. Frequently these complaints proved groundless as the referring individual was found to be using the Court for personal retaliation.

With respect to other types of referrals, they consisted largely of initiative taken by health institutions, landlords and neighbors, and were similar in nature to the police and agency referrals; the initial relation—
ship with the family occurred in some other area and the Neglect situation came to light accidentally.

For example, the two institutional referrals—one from a hospital and the other from a convalescent home—stated that in both cases the children had been acutely ill and that prolonged periods of convalescence were imperative. The recurrence of the symptoms after brief periods of remaining in their own homes led to investigation, which established general parental neglect.

These referrals came to the Court after the children had been returned to the institution a second time, as a result of recurrent sickness during the period of out-patient supervision. The institutions felt that these children were victims of Neglect on the part of the parent.

Landlord referrals appeared to develop mostly as a means of protecting the property from undisciplined children. Both the appearance as well as the wayward behaviour of the children directed attention to apparent parental neglect.

Neighbor referrals also grew out of proximity of the family in question. Referrals by landlord or neighbor bear some resemblance to those by parents or other relatives, in that the subjective element probably predominated in both, as contrasted with greater objectivity on the part of police, agencies, schools and institutions. The landlord referral might better be considered a neighbor referral. The sources of referral did not give any specific indications that would lead to additional types of Neglect.

In summary of the material just presented several factors seem to
be of importance. So far as the sources are concerned, they follow in
general, the entire Family Court picture with respect to frequency of referral
from a given source. Among the white families considerably more than one
half of the referrals came from parents and other relatives. No parental
referrals appeared among the negro families.

In the case of parental referrals, these Neglect situations would
not have come to light had it not been for some other discordant situation
in the family. With regard to referrals by all other sources, the children
had first come to the attention of the referral agency for some other reason
than neglect.
CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE
COMPLAINT SITUATIONS

In this chapter the referral situations were studied in an effort to determine how many of them had similar factors which would lead to new classifications.

In studying the situations involving the 202 children in the study group, it was found that one of the situations involving seven children did not fit within the category of Neglect, but seemed to lend itself to Dependency.

These seven youngsters, all members of one family, were left in the care of a landlord while their mother entered the hospital to give birth to an eighth child. Because of unforeseen complications, she remained hospitalized longer than the customary period; with the result that the landlord referred the children to the Court.

According to the Juvenile Court Report, "The cases included under Dependency are those children who lack proper care through no fault or habit of their parents (such as physical, or mental illness or disability of the parents or death of the parents.)"\(^1\)

\(^1\) Juvenile Court of Cook County, *Fiftieth Anniversary Report for the Year 1949*, 31.
It would seem that this particular case should be included under the classification of Dependency.

Returning to the 195 children whose situations could be classified under Neglect, 46 seemed to fall within specific categories already established by the Family Court. The following is a breakdown of these referrals as they seem to fit into the present or established classifications of Neglect:

The situations of 31 children seemed to contain elements that would best fit into the classification of, Living Under Conditions Injurious to Morals.

The present category of Abandonment or Desertion covered the situations of 8 of the children, and Abuse or Cruel Treatment seemed to describe the situations of 7 other children.

Some difficulty was experienced in obtaining exact working definitions for the established categories of Neglect. However, those in daily contact with classifying these situations agree on these definitions:

Living Under Conditions Injurious to Morals includes those cases in which the reason for referral is the child’s living in a place likely to harm his moral development, such as in a home with parents or others in which conditions of immorality or intoxication exist, a house of prostitution, etc.

Abandonment or Desertion includes those cases in which a child is abandoned or deserted by one or both parents or guardian. Legally, six months is the period of desertion.

Abuse or Cruel Treatment includes those cases in which a child has been exposed to two repeated acts of cruelty, or is abused (or treated cruelly) by one or both parents or
These definitions of the established categories were used in this study, and seemed to best describe the situations of the above mentioned 46 children.

Two typical examples of situations which were determined to be Injurious to Morals were as follows:

1. Neighbors referred a family of nine children to Court because of the constant fighting between the parents in which blows were exchanged; because sexual intercourse was engaged in before the children.

2. A Public Welfare Agency which was helping a family with financial support referred five children to Court, because the mother had permitted a married man to come into her home and cohabit with her fifteen year old daughter in the presence of the younger children.

Before leaving the category of Living Under Conditions Injurious to Morals, it seems worthwhile to mention that 8 of the 31 children in question were referred to the Court because their mothers were prostituting. While in only two instances was prostitution the major reason for referral; it was found as a secondary reason for referral in six other situations.

The following situation appeared to be an instance of Abandonment or Desertion:

A Private Counseling Agency referred a family of two children to Court. The mother while receiving marital counsel from the agency, had deserted her family, and gone to live with a girl friend. The father had then dumped the children on

2 United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Division of Statistical Research, Social Statistics Section, Instructions For Using the Statistical Cards For Children Dealt With By the Juvenile Court: January, 1946.
elderly paternal grandparents. The exact whereabouts of the parents were unknown.

The examples below would seem to fall within the definition of Abuse or Cruel Treatment. At least, for the purposes of classification at the time of the complaint interview, there seemed to have been enough factors in these two situations that pointed to cruelty to warrant classification as Abuse or Cruel Treatment:

1. A stepfather of four children, all under seven years of age, brought the problem to the court. According to him, the mother had a violent temper. She had beaten the oldest child unmercifully many times. He said he was afraid she would injure some of the children in her fits of anger.

2. A maternal Aunt referred one child. She reported that a divorced father who had custody of his daughter was abusive to her. The child accused her father of brutal beatings. There were bruises on her body to prove her assertions.

Turning now from the situations of the 46 children which appeared sufficiently specific to classify under the established neglect categories; there still remained the examination of the situations of 149 children in order to determine if there were any common characteristics in these situations which might lead to additional classifications.

The result of this examination was the discovery of two possible additional categories, Physical Neglect and Request for Placement. Table VII which follows shows the proportion of children whose situations appeared classifiable under these two derived categories.
TABLE VII

DERIVED REASONS FOR REFERRAL OF CHILDREN
REPEATED FOR UNSPECIFIED NEGLECT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for Referral</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Neglect</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Request for Placement</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified Neglect</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was found in Table VII that 112 of these children were affected by instances of Physical Neglect and Request for Placement. The other 37 situations were still unclassifiable.

The situations of 97 children would seem logically to belong under Physical Neglect when we consider the terms Physical Neglect as meaning: Children who were constantly left alone during the day or night; who were continuously ragged, dirty, or unkempt; or where there was lack of supervision accompanied by low housekeeping standards, irregular meals, etc.

The following examples are typical of those which seemed classifiable as Physical Neglect:

1. A Public Assistance Worker referred a family of five to court. She substantiated a neighbor's story that the family lived in filth. The children were seldom allowed to go outside the home. They were never permitted to play with other children; when seen, their behavior indicated that they did not know how to play. The mother and the maternal grandmother in the home would not admit visitors. The Assistance Worker attempted several visits after the mother sought financial help. She observed the children peeping from the windows half-naked, ragged, dirty. They appeared to be unsupervised and alone.
2. A Truant Officer referred a family of five children to court after verifying the landlady's accusation that the mother of these children was continuously out of the home. The children were often without food, fed by neighbors in the building, and truant from school. All of the children were illegitimate, and the whereabouts of none of the fathers was known.

3. A Private Protective Agency on the basis of a report from the Board of Education, Child Study Division, requested help from the court in making some plans for the second oldest, a girl in a family of three. This child came to school "in a filthy bundle of rags." She also appeared undernourished. The Child Study Division's investigation of the home brought to light a deplorable, dirty, extremely overcrowded home. The mother and siblings were unkempt and ragged. The oldest child had already been examined by the Institute for Juvenile Research. The recommendation was placement in a State Training School for the Mentally Retarded.

It is apparent that those situations that appear to fall within the category of Physical Neglect involve other factors which possibly brought about the neglect; but the neglect was the reason for their being brought to Court.

One such factor found in these situations was the condition of "Alcoholism" of one or both of the parents. Out of the 97 children involved in Physical Neglect, 25 were affected by evidences of excessive drinking. "Alcoholism" on the part of the mother presented the more serious problem, as out of the 11 families so affected, 9 mothers were described as "alcoholic." As for the other 2 families, in 1 the father was the offender; in the other, both parents drank excessively.

An interesting sidelight on the mothers accused of excessive drinking was provided by an examination of the marital status of these 9
mothers; 6 of them represented broken homes; 6 of which were broken due to separation or divorce. In the seventh family, the father was hospitalized with tuberculosis, in the eighth, the mother was a widow with 6 children.

It might also be pointed out that the category of Physical Neglect seems feasible in the light of the fact that 7 complaint slips had been specifically classified as Physical Neglect by workers in the Complaint Department, even though such a category was not in use. This tends to support the classification of Physical Neglect employed in this study.

Further substantiation of Physical Neglect would lie in the high proportion of broken homes, the larger families; the inadequate housing, the low incomes. With so many factors deviating from the normal, Physical Neglect of these children could almost be expected.

The second derived category might be designated as Request for Placement if we think of the term as covering those cases in which a parent or parents came to the Court and requested that their children be placed outside the home as they thought they were neglecting them or would. There were 7 such requests in which 15 children were involved.

Only in 2 situations, where both parents requested foster home placement, were the parents married and living together; and in 1 of these the father was in and out of the home intermittently.

The 2 situations which follow illustrate this type of request:

1. A mother of 2 children, aged 6 and 4 years who had been separated from her husband for a year and a half requested placement of her children. She admitted lack of interest in them. She said she frequently left them with their maternal grandmother who was not well. The mother also
claimed the children made her nervous and she refused to care for them.

2. An employed mother of one child asked the court to place her son. Because of her job, she had been obliged to leave this child with various people. Her first explanation for changes in supervision, had been dissatisfaction with the type of care given to the boy. She later brought out that he was half Chinese and she met objections to his appearance.

As is shown in the examples above, rejection on the part of the parents was evidenced in both cases; and similarly in the other 5 requests.

Some Officers in the Complaint Department indicated that rejection and request for placement were definitely primary factors to be noted on the Complaint Slip. In 5 instances where requests for placement were made, the complaint slips showed the referral problem as Request for Placement or Rejection, even though this category was not in use. In studying these two terms, it seemed that Request for Placement was the more tangible category, while rejection was the intangible factor involved in the request.

Considering now the unclassified group of 37 children not yet discussed, it was observed that insufficient common factors or insufficient information kept their situations in the category of Unspecified Neglect. The situations in which these children lived had something in them that pointed to neglect—yet they were not specific enough at the time the complaint was taken. In 2 or 3 of these situations, there may have been some common elements, but others were totally unclassifiable.

The vagueness and the lack of specificity of the charges is best illustrated by case examples:
1. A father who was separated from his wife and six year old child requested that the Court place his son with him. He stated that his wife was neglecting the child and not caring for him adequately.

Although this father said 'Neglected' and 'not caring for him adequately,' they were just terms. He was unable to give explanations or cite specific incidents of neglect.

2. A stepfather of a fourteen year old girl came to Court with the complaint that his wife and her daughter left him several months before. Shortly before she left him, this mother brought the girl from Canada. She immediately got the girl a job in a factory. The school authorities did not know the girl was in the United States. He could not give additional information to aid the court in locating the girl and her mother; but he was of the opinion that she was not properly cared for.

Too limited information in the above complaint kept the problem within the classification of Unspecified Neglect.

3. Another example concerns maternal grandparents who asked help from the Court in locating a grandchild. They claimed that the mother had lured the child, whom they had raised, away from them by meeting him at school. The mother was supposedly highly unstable since the death of the children's father several months earlier; and most likely was neglecting the children.

Having completed a discussion of the situations which apparently fell into the newly derived categories of, Request for Placement and Physical Neglect; and of the unclassifiable situations which fell under Unspecified Neglect; Table VIII shows the complete reclassification of the children in the study group.
From Table VIII it was apparent that more than 55% of all the children referred were affected by Physical Neglect or Request for Placement; while Physical Neglect alone was the reason for referral in approximately 50% of the total unspecified referrals during the two months studied.

It was also apparent that the situations of only about 25% could be classified under the classifications of Neglect already in use. The category of Unspecified Neglect was still of major importance in the overall classification as Table VIII shows that the conditions of nearly 20% of the children seemed unclassifiable.

To sum up the findings in this Chapter; the referral situations
of the 202 children were analysed for similar factors to serve as a basis of
classification. With the exception of a situation involving seven children,
all of the situations could be classified as instances of Neglect. The
situation of these 7 children—all in one family—was classifiable as one of
Dependency.

Applying the working definitions of "Living Under Conditions
Injurious to Morals," "Abandonment or Desertion," and "Abuse or Cruel Treat-
ment," it was found that a little less than one-fourth of the children could
be classified in the established categories of Neglect.

It appeared that 2 new categories seemed to emerge: Physical
Neglect and Request for Placement. Together they accounted for more than
one-half of the children in the study group.

However, 37 children were involved in situations that still could
not be specifically classified.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was the result of the growing concern of the Statistical Department of the Family Court of Cook County over the number of cases referred for reason of Neglect which could not be specifically classified by the Complaint Division. Within the six month period immediately preceding the inception of the study, December 1, 1949 to June 1, 1950, over 50% of all cases of Neglect were considered unclassifiable under the existing classifications of reasons for referral. The cases accepted in two of the above six month period were selected as the study group. They were examined in an effort to find if these cases, which fell in the category of an unspecified reason for referral, had any common characteristics which might lead to additional categories of specific reasons for referral.

Indirectly the study also pointed out some of the difficulties encountered in establishing a statistical program on a sound basis.

It was found that 202 children had been referred to the Family Court of Cook County during the two months selected, April and May, 1950, and were considered to be referred for an unspecified reason of Neglect. The following factors developed; the 202 children came from 68 families, and that in these 68 families there was a much greater proportion of negroes than in the general population of Metropolitan Chicago.

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As to the sizes of families within the study group, on the whole, these families had more children than did those in the general population.

Of those children whose sex was reported, boys constituted 55% of the children in the study group. This slightly higher incidence of boys was indicated throughout the Court referrals in all other categories. The children in the study group were generally older than classified under other reasons of Neglect. A study of the ages of the parents of these 202 children placed them definitely in a middle or older age bracket, somewhat contrary to normal expectations.

Over two thirds of the children were affected by broken homes, and in less than one fourth of the families were the parents married and living together; while in the general population more than three-fourths of the family heads were married and living together.

Another indication of disintegration in these families was the number of children placed outside of their own homes at the time of referral. Approximately 5% of the children in the study group were affected by placement, outside their own homes, as compared with \( \frac{3}{4} \) of 1% of the children of the general population.

With respect to sources and amount of income, the white families were relatively self-supporting; but in most instances, negro families received public financial assistance.

Too little information was obtainable for a valid discussion of housing; but indications were that most dwellings were sub-standard.

For the most part, sources of referral as well as frequency of
referral from given source for the study group families followed closely
the pattern of those in the entire Juvenile Court picture, with the parents,
relatives and police taking care of about 75% of the referrals.

The pattern of referrals in the study group of children differed in
regard to race. Sources of referral of negro families were largely authori-
tative in nature; while more than 60% of the white children were referred by
parents and other relatives.

Rejection appeared to be the basis of the maternal referrals; while
a sense of resentment or vindictiveness on the part of the father toward the
mother seemed to prompt their complaints.

The analysis of the referral situations revealed that all of the
children except those in one family were considered neglected. It was also
developed that a little less than one-fourth of the children could be
classified under existing reasons for referral.

A study of the situations involving 149 children indicated that
most of them had been referred because they were either physically neglected,
or placement was desired by the parents or guardians. By adding these two
new categories as reasons for referral to those already established, the vast
majority, 81.6%, of the children in the study group could be specifically
classified. The use of these new categories, therefore, seemed to give a more
comprehensive picture or understanding of the reasons why the children in
this group were referred to the Family Court of Cook County for alleged
Neglect.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES


Juvenile Court of Cook County, Fiftieth Anniversary Report for the Year 1949.


United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Division of Statistical Research, Instructions for Using the Statistical Cards for Children Dealt with by the Juvenile Court: January, 1946.

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS


Number of children

Ages of Children

FIGURE I
AGE DISTRIBUTION AT THE TIME OF REFERRAL
OF THE 202 CHILDREN
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>AKA</th>
<th>COURT NO.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADDRESS</td>
<td>DATE OF BIRTH</td>
<td>SEX: ☐ MALE ☐ FEMALE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OWN PARENTS' NAMES:</td>
<td>FATHER</td>
<td>MOTHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER PARENTS' NAMES:</td>
<td>FATHER</td>
<td>MOTHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIVITY</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>FOREIGN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>1. WHITE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FATHER</td>
<td>MOTHER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELIGION</td>
<td>ROMAN</td>
<td>2. JEWISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHILD</td>
<td>FATHER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOTHER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARRITAL STATUS OF PARENTS</td>
<td>MARRIED</td>
<td>1. LIVING TOGETHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHEN CHILD WAS LIVING</td>
<td>IN OWN OR ADOPTEE HOME</td>
<td>IN ORphanAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REASON FOR REFERRAL</td>
<td>1. ATTENDING 11th GRADE</td>
<td>2. ATTENDING 12th GRADE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATISTICAL CARD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUVENILE COURT OF COOK COUNTY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**IDENTIFYING INFORMATION ON CHILD**

I. Birthdate _______ C.A. ______ I.Q. ______ Race ______
   Religion _______ Ordinal pos. ______ Sex ______ Prev. Ct. ______
   Rsc. _______

   School Hist: In school _______ Not in School _______
   Full Time ______ Part Time ______ If part time, legally employed ______
   Grade ______ Scholarship _______ Department _______
   Specific Behaviour Diff. _______

II. Parental Bkg’d.: No. in family ______ No. of Adults ______ No. of
    Chn. ______ Non Family ______
    Marital Status: M. ______ S. ______ SEP. ______ W. ______ DIV. ______ DES. ______
    Marr. Date of Parents _______ Parental Conf. Indicated _______
    (if together)
   Father living _______ Deceased _______
   Step-Father living _______ Deceased _______
   Mother living _______ Deceased _______
   Birthdate of Father _______ Nat. Born ______ For. Born ______
    " " Mother _______ " " _______ " _______
   Not Parents: Adoptive _______ Foster _______
   Mo. Employed outside home _______
   Living Conditions _______ No. of Rooms ______ Type of Dwelling ______
   Average Income (monthly or weekly) _______
   Age of Child at time of Placement _______ How Long _______
   Reason for Placement _______

III. Present Situation (current ref.) _______
    Reason on Complaint form _______
    Reason from History _______