

NON-FAMILY BOYS
ON RELIEF

Bureau for Homeless Men
St. Louis, Missouri

N O N - F A M I L Y B O Y S

=

O N R E L I E F

----- O -----

A Study of Non-Family Boys,
Age 16 to 21, inclusive, on
relief in St. Louis prior to
August 31, 1933

BUREAU FOR HOMELESS MEN

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

Issued By

Bureau for Homeless Men
204 a North Eighteenth St.
St. Louis, Missouri

May 1937

FOREWORD

Why is a non-family boy? Whenever and wherever the problem of the older non-family boy is discussed, this question is soon asked. Why is a non-family boy non-family? What happened to his family? The usual answers are - death of the parents, broken homes due to domestic discord; desertion by the father and neglect by the mother. These and many other answers are given, but even while giving them, we know that our knowledge of the subject is shakey and that our answers are based on supposition, suspicion, and guesswork.

It was to get an accurate answer to these and similar questions that the Bureau made this study of non-family boys on relief. The cases of all boys age 16 to 21 inclusive who applied for relief and whose cases were closed prior to Aug. 31, 1933 were studied. 1,641 cases were included; of these, 1,428 were given only a cursory examination while 213 were held out for more detailed analysis. Most of the report concerns these latter cases. A detailed schedule was made for all of them and tabulations made from the schedules.

The closing date of Aug. 31, 1933 was chosen because it marks the date on which the division of responsibility between public and private agencies was made in St. Louis. All boys prior to that date were under the care of the private agency, the Bureau for Men, and the cases are in the files of the Bureau. We hope at a later date to make an additional study of those boys under care after August 1933, in both the private and public agencies so that the story will be complete.

Much of the work of record reading and schedule making was done by two N.Y.A. students, Misses Ruth Armbruster and Anne Costello, graduates in social work, who were loaned by St. Louis University.

G.M.G.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Part I. <u>A General Study of All Boys Applying</u>	1 - 10
The Scope of the Study	1
The Method	1
Sample Schedule	2 & 3
Age and Race	4
Month of Application	5
Records not Studied	6
Transiency	8
Part II. <u>A Detailed Study of a Smaller Group</u>	
Why is a Non-Family Boy?	11
Relatives	15
Sources of Support	17
Problems Presented	18
Employment	20
Age	22
Schooling	24
Transiency	25
Referrals by a Children's Agency	25
Living Arrangements	25
Time on Own	26
Childhood Environment	27
Length of Time in St. Louis	27
Tenure of Cases	30
Reason for Closing	32
Part III. <u>A Summary of Findings</u>	35

TABLES

I	Boys Studied, By Age & Race	4
II	Records Not Studied, By Reason & Race	7
III	Records Not Studied, By Reason & Age	9
IV	Analysis of All Cases by Residence & Age	10

TABLE OF CONTENTS cont'd.

<u>TABLES</u>		<u>Page</u>
V	Why Non-Family Boys Are Non-Family	12
VI	Relatives of Non-Family Boys by Race	16
VII	Sources of Support by Race	18
VIII	Problems Presented By Boys	19
IX	Prevailing Type of Work & Age Began Work By Race	21
X	Age at Time of Application by Race	22
XI	School Grade Completed By Race	24
XII	Living Arrangements at Time of Application	25
XIII	Time on Own Resources By Race	26
XIV	Childhood Environment of Boys By Race	27
XV	Length of Time in St. Louis By Race	28
XVI	States of Origin of Boy Immigrants by Race	30
XVII	No. & Length of Time Under Care By Race	31
XVIII	Reason for Closing Cases By Race	33

CHARTS

I	Applications by Race	6
II	Year of Arrival in City By Race	29

A STUDY OF NON-FAMILY BOYS, AGED 16 to 21
INCLUSIVE, ON RELIEF PRIOR TO AUG. 31, 1933

PART I. A General Study of All Boys
Applying

The Scope of the Study. As has been pointed out in the Foreword, the complete study covers all boys known to the Bureau and whose cases were closed prior to Aug. 31, 1933. That date marks the division of case load between the private and public agencies in St. Louis, all cases closed prior to that time remaining in the files of the private agency. While this would theoretically extend the time of the study from 1925 through two-thirds of 1933, in practice it covered only 1931, 1932, and 8 months of 1933, as only 7 cases were found dated prior to 1931.

Except for a few items, all information was taken from the cases as of date of first application, the purpose of the study being to learn as much as possible regarding the condition of these boys when they first came to the agency. The case records of all boys who were 16 to 21 years of age, inclusive, at time of application were taken from the files and examined. This covered 1,641 case records, or about 9% of the total cases of all ages. It was found necessary to divide these again into two groups, one consisting of 213 records, or 13%, suitable for intensive study, and the other consisting of the remaining 87%, or 1,428 cases, which for various reasons (see "Reasons Not Studied") were not suitable for such an intensive examination.

The Method. As the records were read they were divided into the two groups. In the last group, those not suitable for intensive study, tabulations of age at time of application, month of application, and the reason for no further study were made. In the smaller group for in-

(Sample)

B.H.M. - BOYS' STUDY - 1936

Name Doe, John Address 12XX Marican Case No. 3442

Race N Age 19 Birthd. 3-6-14 Place IND. School Left Grade 8

Opened	Closed	Reason	
1 5-8-33	9-6-33	Employed	Came to City <u>29</u> From <u>Mo</u> With <u>Parents</u> Childhood Env. Urban Sm.Town <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rural
2.			AT TIME OF APPLICATION
3.			Ch.Agc Pub Pr Age Why
4.			Released Institution

REL.	Dead	City	Out	Cl.	Rel.	J.C.	
Fa.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>						On Own <u>12</u> (mq) How Sup. <u>Employed</u>
Mo.			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				Why N.F. <u>7a dead - Next Sister left town</u>
Wi.							Living con-Fam R.H. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Fl.H. Fo.H. Wk None
Si.			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		Clearings <u>SRC</u>
Bro			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				Court Rec. <u>none</u>

From	To	SUP. BY	Why Term	Rel	Returned?
30	31	Parents	death / fo		EMPLOYMENT - None Age began <u>16</u>
31	32	mo.	left town		General type - Lab Sk <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cl.
31	32	Sister	" "	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Type of work Duration St. Int. Odd
32	33	self	unemployed		<u>Chauffeur</u> <u>1yr</u> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

COMMENT

Mother left town after father's death. Boy lived with sister until she also left town.

PROBLEMS PRESENTED (See Russell Sage Card)

1.	24.	52.
2.	25.	53.
3.	27.	54.
4.	29.	55.
5.	30.	56.
6.	31.	57.
7.	32.	58.
8.	33.	60.
9.	34.	61.
10.	35.	63.
11.	36.	64.
12.	37.	66.
13.	38.	67.
17.	39.	69.
18.	40.	70.
19.	41.	71.
20.	44.	
21.	45.	
22.	46.	
23.	51.	

tensive analysis, a schedule (see page 2&3) was filled out on each case and all tabulations were made from it. This was in no way a "sample study" as all cases in the age classification were examined.

Age and Race. As is to be expected in a group of this kind, we find the smallest number of boys in age 16 and increasing numbers up to age 19, the largest group. There were 140 boys age 16; 177 age 17; 338 age 18; and 363 age 19. Age 20 was about the same as 19 with 359, and 21 was considerably less with only 264. The large increase in the 18, 19, and 20 year age groups was principally due to the large numbers of white transient boys applying in 1932 and 1933. Table I. gives these figures and also the percent in each age group.

Age	Totals		Race	
	Number	Percent	White	Negro
All Ages	1,641	100	862	779
Age 16	140	8.5	90	50
" 17	177	11	117	60
" 18	338	20.5	207	131
" 19	363	22	198	165
" 20	359	22	174	185
" 21	264	16	76	188

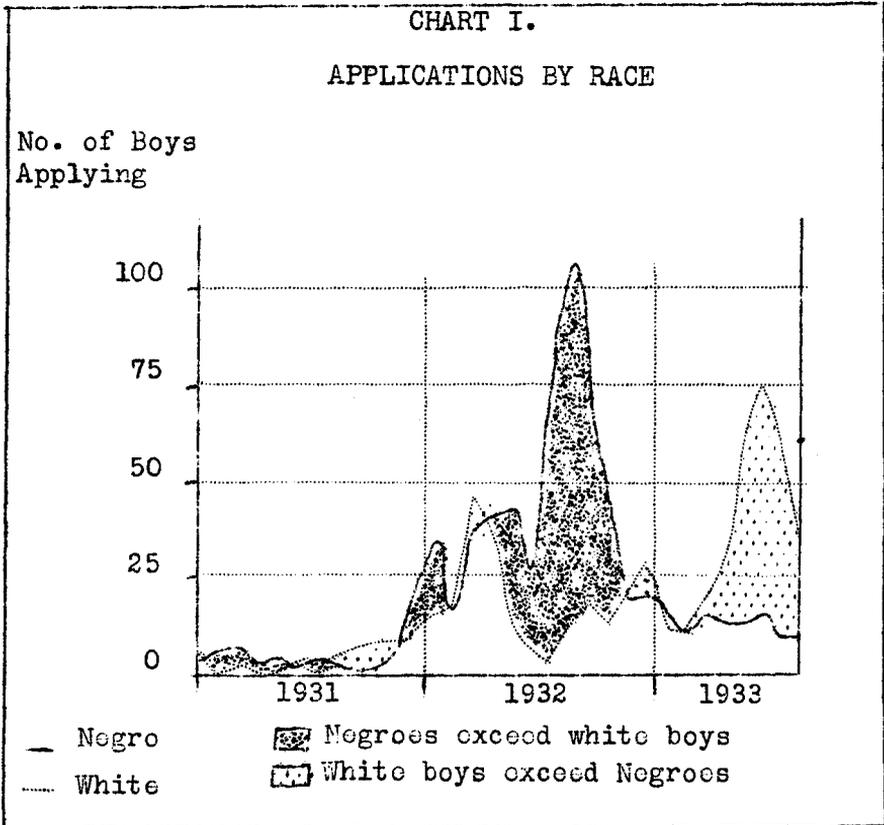
47% of the entire group were Negroes. Both the number and the percent of Negroes was smallest in the lower age groups, 50, or 16%, in the 16 year level, and increased as the age increased, the largest being 188, or 71%, of the 21 year group. White boys, on the other hand, were lowest in the 16 and 21 year groups, 90 and 76 respectively, and highest in the 18 year group, 207, principally due to the large number of applications from white transient boys. Table I. gives these figures in

detail. Other points regarding race and age are brought out in later topical sections, but all the figures show that Negro boys applied for relief out of all proportion to their numbers in the total population of the city.

Month of Application. While the study theoretically covers the entire period from 1925 to August, 1933, it actually covers only the 32 month period of 1931, 1932, and the first 8 months of 1933 as only 7 of the 1,247 cases (*) had an application date prior to 1931. 1932 was the heavy year in applications, 760 or 61%, of the boys applying during that year. This was an average of more than 63 per month. Seven-tenths of them were Negroes and three-tenths white. Only 105, or 8½%, an average of less than 9 per month, applied in 1931, and 375, 30%, or an average of 47 per month, during the 8 months of 1933. These proportions were approximately the same in those cases held for intensive review as in those discarded.

A review of the figures as divided by race and month brings out the interesting fact that 536, or 78%, of the Negro boys applied during 1932. 58 applied in 1931 and 97 in 1933. The largest number in any month was 106 in August, 1932. 1933, on the other hand, was predominantly white, again because of the large number of white transients applying. 278 of the 375 applying in 1933, or 74%, were white boys. The largest number of white boys in any one month was 75 in June of 1933; other large months were 56 in May, and 59 in July of the same year. Chart I. portrays these various figures graphically.

(*) Through error, information regarding the month of first application was not tabulated on 394 of the 1,428 cases not held for intensive study, so that this section deals with a total of 1,247 cases instead of the complete total of 1,641.



Records Not Studied. When the entire group of records was examined, we found that only 213, or 13%, of them were suitable for intensive study. The other 87%, numbering 1,428 cases, were discarded for various reasons. 758, or 53% of them, could not be used in this study of resident non-family boys because they were records on transients; 315, or 22%, could not be used because information in them was not sufficiently complete to enable them to be studied; 159, or 11%, contained information that upon investigation had been found to be

TABLE II.

RECORDS NOT STUDIED, BY REASON AND RACE

Reason Not Studied	All Races		By Race		
	No.	%	White	Negro	% Negro
All Reasons	1,428	100	764	664	46.5
Transiency	758	53	639	119	16
Insufficient Information	315	22	55	260	83
Fictitious Information	159	11	15	144	91
Living with Parents or Wife	138	10	42	96	70
No relief Needed	56	4	13	45	80

fictitious; 10% were living with parents or a wife and were not typically non-family boys; 4% were with more distant relatives or friends and had no real relief need, so that only brief records were set up on them. (See Table II.)

Examining these cases from the viewpoint of race (Table II.) we find that while 46.5% of the group were Negroes, only 16% of the transient boys were of that race. The percent of Negroes in the other four classifications varied from 70% for those living with parents to 91% of those giving fictitious information at time of application. The "Insufficient Information" group was 83% Negro and the "No Relief Needed" group was 80% Negro.

Table III., which analyzes all the discarded cases by reason for discard and by age, also brings out some interesting facts. Approximately half of the transients were concentrated in the ages 18 and 19 and the other half were about equally divided between those younger and older. The other four groups, those that were predominantly Negroes, show a steady increase each year up to age 21, age 16 being the lowest and age 21 the highest.

Transiency. 46% of all the boys included in the study were not residents of St. Louis (Table IV.). Dividing them by race, we find that 74% of the white boys included were transients and only 15% of the Negro boys. Dividing them by age we find a decreasing percentage of transiency as the age increases; 63% of the 16 year old boys were transients and only 21% of the 21 year old boys. The other age groups ranged between these two extremes. These figures indicate again that transiency was primarily a problem of young boys and of white persons.

TABLE III.RECORDS NOT STUDIED, BY REASON AND BY AGE

Reason Not Studied	All Ages	By Age Groups					
		16	17	18	19	20	21
All Reasons	1,428	130	155	292	314	302	235
Transiency	758	88	103	185	186	140	55
Insufficient Information	315	8	29	49	60	78	91
Fictitious Information	159	7	10	21	34	43	44
Living with Par. or Wife	138	21	8	24	22	26	28
No Relief Needed	56	4	5	9	11	14	15

TABLE IV.AN ANALYSIS OF ALL CASES BY RESIDENCE, RACE, AND AGE

<u>Item</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Residents</u>	<u>Transients</u>	<u>% Trans.</u>
All Cases	1,641	883	758	46
By Race - White	862	223	639	74
Negro	779	660	119	15
By Age				
16	140	52	88	63
17	177	74	103	58
18	338	153	185	55
19	363	177	186	51
20	359	219	140	39
21	264	209	55	21

PART II.

A DETAILED STUDY OF A SMALLER GROUP

213 of the 1,641 records included in the study concerned resident boys and also contained sufficient information to enable us to carry out a detailed study of the circumstances surrounding each one. A schedule, (See pages 2&3) was made out for each case and the information tabulated from the schedules. This section of the study is a report on those tabulations.

Why Is a Non-Family Boy? Our principal purpose in making the study was to obtain an answer to this question. Why is a non-family boy? Because both parents are dead? Yes. Because of a broken home? Yes. Because he ran away? Yes.-- and the same answer to many other similar questions. But the real answer is that there is no simple explanation for the non-family condition. There are almost as many explanations as there are boys, although we are able to place them in certain groups. (See Table V.)

For example, 45 of the 213 boys were orphans, but only 18 of these were absolutely alone in the world. The other 27 had close relatives, but either could not or would not live with them. 19 could get no aid from relatives because of economic reasons; 6 had relatives who refused to have anything to do with the boy; and 2 boys refused to have anything to do with relatives. (Lines 2 - 5, Table V.)

45 boys were "non-family" because of incompatibility with parents or step-parents, but this group also shows a variety of conditioning circumstances. 18 of them had one parent dead and could not get along with the remaining one, generally the father. 12 left home because of friction with a step-parent, and 5 left because of friction with natural parents. 10 boys, on the other

TABLE V.

WHY NON-FAMILY BOYS ARE NON-FAMILY

Cause	Number of Cases		
	Total	White	Negro
All Causes	213	98	115
1.Left home to work in city	30	4	26
2.Orphan-no locateable relatives	18	3	15
3. " -relatives cannot help	19	4	15
4. " -relatives refuse help	6	3	3
5. " -boy refuses to live with relatives	2	2	0
6.1 par. dead,incompatible with other	18	12	6
7.Incompatible with step-par.	12	12	0
8.Incompatible with both par.	5	4	1
9.Boy put out of home	10	9	1
10.Par. sep.-no relatives can help	13	4	9
11.Par. sep.-physically imp. to help	5	3	2
12.Father deserted, mother dead	18	5	13
13.Father des.-mother left city	7	2	5
14.Father des.-mother immoral	3	2	1
15.1 par. dead-other in hospital	6	4	2
16.1 par. dead-other in prison	2	1	1
17.1 par. dead-other with relatives	5	1	4
18.Removed from fam. by social agency	4	3	1
19.Left city on trip-par. moved	3	1	2
20.Parents left city	2	2	0
21.Married - sep. economic reasons	3	2	1
22.With father on relief	22	15	7

hand, were put out of the home by their parent or parents. The distinction between this group and the other three is that in this one the fault seemed to lie with the boy rather than the parent. (Lines 6 - 9, Table V.)

The largest single group was composed of 30 boys (Line 1, Table V.) who came to the city, leaving parents and family in some other city or town, to find work. 26 of this group were Negroes and 4 were white boys. Most of them came to St. Louis in 1928 or 1929 when jobs were plentiful, but now found themselves out of work and in need of relief. They were, of course, residents of St. Louis.

18 boys were in the "non-family" class because of the separation of their parents. In 13 cases, there were no relatives, either parents or others, in a position to be of any assistance to the boys and in the other 5 cases it was physically impossible for a parent to take the boy in, generally because of work which included room and board as part of the pay and which it seemed inadvisable to drop in order to have the boy with the parent. In several of these cases the present whereabouts of one or both parents were unknown. (Lines 10 and 11, Table V.)

In 28 cases the home was originally broken by the desertion of the father and later happenings to the mother completed the boy's non-family status. In 18 of these cases, this later happening was the death of the mother, in 7 it was the departure of the mother from the city (which may or may not have happened immediately prior to the application for relief) and in 3 it was immorality of the mother which caused the final break between mother and son. (Lines 12 - 14, Table V.)

Another group, 13 boys, came to the Bureau because of the death of one parent and a later happening to the

remaining one which completed the break-up of the family. (Lines 15 - 17, Table V.) Quite often this later break-up was only a temporary one, as, for example, the 6 boys who had no home because the remaining parent was in the hospital. In 2 cases the other parent had been sent to prison; curiously enough, it was the mother in both cases. In 5 cases the parent was living with relatives who found it physically impossible to accommodate the boy as well.

There were several other smaller groups which did not come under any of the above classifications. (Lines 18 - 22, Table V.) 4 boys - 3 white and 1 Negro - were removed from the home by a social agency for the welfare of the boy. This was generally done by the Juvenile Court and in every case happened several years prior to the time of application to the Bureau. 3 boys left the city on a "bumming trip" through the country and found on their return several months later that their family had moved and could not be located. In 2 cases the parents moved from the city and left the boy behind. Later, unemployment made it necessary for him to apply for relief. 3 boys were married, but separated for economic reasons. The last group of 22 boys were actually not "non-family" boys as they were still living with their fathers, but were under care at the Bureau, the non-family agency, because of a local relief policy which classed all "family groups" composed entirely of adult males as non-family men.

Grouping the various causes as given in Table V. into broader classifications, we are able to make the following general "cause table" for the six largest classifications.

Cause	Totals		By Race	
	No.	%	White	Negro
All Causes	213	100	98	115
Orphans	45	21	12	33
Incompatibility	45	21	37	8
Left home to work	30	14	4	26
Desertion	28	13	9	19
Separation of parents	18	8	7	11
Death of one parent	13	6	6	7

Thus 83%, or more than four-fifths of the boys, were non-family from some variation of one of these six general causes.

A comparison of items in Table V. and the above table by race brings out at least one curious, but not surprising, point. Almost half (47 of 98) of the white boys are separated from parents or close relatives because of incompatibility or emotional conflict of various degrees, but only one-tenth of the Negro boys are separated for these reasons. The predominating factor with Negro boys seems to be economic; for example, 26 of them left home to better their economic condition in the city and 28 had relatives who were willing, but financially unable to assist them.

Relatives. In connection with the discussion of why boys are "non-family" and of the closeness of their social ties with relatives, it is interesting to note the number of boys who have relatives of varying degrees of relationship and especially those who have close relatives living in the city. Figures regarding relatives are given in Table VI.

48 of the 213 boys, or almost one-fourth, were orphans, the proportion being much higher among the Negro than among the white boys. 68, or 32%, had both

TABLE VI.
RELATIVES OF NON-FAMILY BOYS BY RACE

Relatives & Location	All Boys		Race	
	No.	%	White	Negro
All Cases	213	100	98	115
Parents, both dead	48	23	13	35
" both living	68	32	32	36
" 1 living	97	45	53	44
Father, dead	85	40	33	52
" in city	74	35	46	28
" Out of city	54	25	19	35
Mother, dead	108	50	46	62
" in city	46	22	34	12
" out of city	59	28	18	41
Wife, in city	4	2		4
" out of city	2	1		2
1st degree rel., in city	85	40	56	29
(1) " out of city	49	23	18	31
2nd degree rel., in city	89	42	34	55
" out of city	46	26	25	21
Any relatives in city? Yes	172	81	85	87
No	41	19	13	28
If Not, any out of city?	29	14	11	18
No relatives at all	12	6	2	10
(1) Refers to brothers and sisters only				
(2) Includes grandparents, uncles, and aunts				

parents living and 97, or 45%, had one parent living. In 85 cases, the father was dead; in 74 he was living in the city; and in 54 he was living out of the city. In 108 cases the mother was dead; in 46 she was living in the city; and in 59 she was living outside of the city. In many cases, although one or both parents were known to be living in St. Louis, their exact addresses were unknown. These figures do, however, show the degree to which family ties had been broken. This was true to a greater extent with the white boys than with the Negroes. 6 boys, all Negroes, were married but separated from their wives. In 4 cases the wife was in St. Louis.

85 boys, two-fifths of the entire group, had first degree relatives (brother and sister) living in the city and 49, or 23%, had first degree relatives outside of St. Louis. The figures on second degree relatives, including only grandparents, uncles, and aunt, were 89 in St. Louis and 46 outside. 172, or 81%, had relatives living in the city and of the remaining 41 who had no close relatives in the city, 29 had some living outside, so that only 12 of the 213 boys had no close relatives at all. 10 of these 12 were Negroes and 2 were white boys. These figures illustrate again our previous point that actual "non-family" boys are few and far between and that most of them are "non-family" because of social or emotional conflicts of various kinds.

Sources of Support. Table VII., dealing with sources of support for the boys from birth to time of first application, also throws some interesting light on their social and economic ties with relatives.

TABLE VII.
SOURCES OF SUPPORT BY RACE

Source	All Boys	Race	
		White	Negro
All Sources	213	98	115
Parents	213	98	115
Uncles or aunts	45	17	28
Friends	31	11	20
Orphanage or agencies	27	20	7
Brothers or sisters	19	7	12
Grandparents	15	5	10
Cousins	10	2	8

All boys at some time during their life were supported by one or both parents. The next largest groups were 45 of the 213 cared for by Uncles or Aunts, and 31 by Friends. 27 were supported at some period by an Orphanage or a Child-Caring Agency, 19 by Brothers or Sisters, 15 by Grandparents, and 10 by Cousins or more distant relatives. The relative importance of these various sources was about the same for both Negro and white boys, except the support from Orphanages and Children's Agencies; 20 of the 27 in this group were white boys. Less than two-thirds of the 213 boys included in the study received support from any source other than parents at any time prior to application for relief.

Problems Presented. The prevalence of these same problems is further emphasized by Table VIII., with the number of cases in which certain problems, as listed on the statistical card form of the Russell Sage Foundation, appeared. The most "popular" problems, omitting unemployment, which appeared in 208 of the 213 cases, were

TABLE VIII. PROBLEMS PRESENTED BY BOYS*

No.	Description	No. of Cases		
		Total	White	Negro
Total Cases		213	98	115
1.	Unemployment	208	95	113
3.	Seasonal employment	2	2	
8.	Tuberculosis	5	3	2
11.	Cardiac	1		1
12.	Syphilis	4	1	3
13.	Gonorrhoea	19	8	11
18.	Malnutrition	1	1	
20.	Other chronic illness	2	1	1
21.	" acute "	5	2	3
22.	Need of dental care	1	1	
23.	Need of optical care	4	3	1
24.	Blindness or sight impaired	4	3	1
25.	Paralyzed or crippled	2	2	
27.	Other physical disability	8	3	5
30.	Psychosis	2	2	
33.	Mental disorder suspected	1	1	
34.	" def. diagnosed	4	3	1
35.	" " suspected	2		2
36.	Alcoholism	3	2	1
38.	Irreg. sex relationships	9	7	2
39.	Personality problem	46	29	17
41.	Att. producing conflict in fam.	32	25	7
44.	Orphan	48	13	35
45.	Inadequate parental care	97	56	41
51.	Juvenile delinquency	28	18	10
53.	Imprisonment	6	1	5
55.	Conflict with community	38	22	16
56.	Unfriendliness of relatives	64	45	19
57.	Begging tendency	12	8	4
58.	Irregular school attendance	5	2	3
60.	Inability to read or write	3	1	2
63.	Need for vocational adjustment	3	2	1
64.	Bad housing	4	2	2
66.	Chronic drifter	23	16	7
70.	Enuresis	3	3	
71.	Masturbation	2	1	1

* Problems taken from Russell Sage Statistical Card

"Inadequate parental care" in 97 cases; "Unfriendliness of relatives" in 64 cases and "personality or behavior problems" in 46 cases. Others not quite so popular were (No.55) "attitude producing conflict with the community" appearing 38 times; "juvenile delinquency" (no.51) 28 times, "chronic drifter" (no. 66) 23 times, and "begging tendency" (no. 57) 12 times. 9 boys were psychotic or had mental disorder or defectiveness diagnosed or suspected; 19 had gonorrhoea and 4 syphilis; 5 had tuberculosis; and 10 were crippled or physically disabled. In all, 36 different problems were noted, averaging 3 1/3 problems per case.

Employment. 46 of the 213 boys covered in this study had never worked prior to their application for relief. The proportion of white boys who had never worked was slightly higher than that for Negro boys. Of the 164 boys who had worked, 76 had generally had steady work; 55 had only intermittent jobs; and 33 had worked only at odd jobs. The proportion of white boys on steady work was also much higher than that for Negroes.

Only 8 boys of the 164 had worked at clerical work. 7 of these were white and the other was a Negro. 17, 13 white and 4 Negroes, had skilled jobs, and the other 139 had worked only at laboring or unskilled types of work. A review of the jobs held, in connection with the above figures, shows that employment had always been a "catch-as-catch-can" proposition, taking any job that was available. In no case in either the skilled or clerical groups did we find where a boy had held two jobs of the same general type in similar industries.

Most of the boys began work when 15, 16, and 17 years of age, 105 of the 164 boys starting during this three year period. 19 boys started work at age 14 and 11 when less than 14 years old. The youngest were a

<u>TABLE IX.</u>			
<u>PREVAILING TYPE OF WORK AND AGE BEGAN WORK BY RACE</u>			
Types of Work	All Boys	By Race	
		White	Negro
<u>All Cases</u>	213	98	115
A. Never worked	49	25	24
All types	164	73	91
B. Steady	76	46	30
Intermittent	55	18	37
Odd jobs	33	9	24
C. Clerical	8	7	1
Skilled	17	13	4
Unskilled	139	53	86
D. Age began - Under 14	11	4	7
14	19	9	10
15	30	13	17
16	37	17	20
17	38	18	20
18 & over	21	9	12
Not given	8	3	5

white boy who started selling newspapers when 12 years old, and a Negro boy who started as helper in a grocery store when 11. 21 boys were 18 or older when they found their first employment. These figures are given in Table IX.

Age. Table X. shows the ages of the boys included in this study. The peak age for these resident boys is 20 as compared to 19 in the total group of 1,600 cases. This is largely because the transient boys, who were included in the larger group, are younger than resident boys at time of application. The average age of the Negro boys was $19\frac{1}{4}$ and of the white boys $18\frac{2}{3}$.

<u>TABLE X.</u>			
<u>AGE AT TIME OF APPLICATION BY RACE</u>			
Age	All Boys	Race	
		White	Negro
All Ages	213	98	115
16	10	9	1
17	22	11	11
18	46	24	22
19	49	23	26
20	57	22	35
21	29	9	20

It is interesting to note the circumstances of the 10 boys who applied for relief when only 16 years of age. The following summary shows this for each case:-

1. Mother dead. With father and older brother on relief. Has worked for 1 year and held 3 jobs.

2. Mother dead. Father deserted. With older brother on relief.

3. With father on relief. Mother in sanitarium - diagnosis, paranoid-praecox. Has never worked.

4. Orphan. Lived with an aunt for last 5 years and 2 orphanages prior to that. Aunt cannot continue to keep him. Has worked for 1 year and held 3 jobs.

5. Mother dead. Father chronic alcoholic and takes no interest in the boy. Has worked for 1 year and held 2 jobs.

6. Mother dead. Boy cannot get along with father and stepmother. Has never worked.

7. Blind boy. Left home 4 years ago to live with friends and was later sent to state school for blind. Ran away from school and was found begging on streets. Had never worked.

8. Parents separated several times. With father on relief. Had never worked.

9. Mother dead. Father deserted. All relatives refused to help in any way. Classed as an "in-corrigible" boy. An older brother in same circumstances and also receiving relief. Had never worked.

10. Negro boy. Father dead and boy came to agency when mother was sent to tuberculosis Sanatorium. Has never worked.

Only 3 of these 10 boys had ever worked and none of those 3 had held steady jobs. 4 of them were on relief with father or older brother, 1 was an orphan,

1 had one parent dead, and the other in a sanitarium, 3 were non-family because of incompatibility with relatives and the other was the blind boy who had run away from school. These 10 cases show how difficult it is to classify "non-family" boys.

Schooling. Table XI. gives information regarding the schooling of the boys. It shows that 102 of the 213 finished the 8th grade, 49 of them being white boys and 53 Negroes, and that 10, 2 white and 8 Negroes, finished high school. The average grade completed for the Negro boys was 7.1 and for the white boys 7.5. 5 boys, 4 Negroes and 1 white, were still attending school at time of application.

<u>TABLE XI.</u>			
<u>SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED BY RACE</u>			
<u>Grade Completed</u>	<u>All Boys</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
<u>All Grades</u>	213	98	115
None	2	0	2
1 to 4	17	4	13
5 to 8	136	68	68
9 to 12	44	18	26
College	3	2	1
Not known	11	6	5

According to this table, only 47, or 22%, of these boys have gone beyond the eighth grade. FERA statistical reports regarding Youth on Relief* estimate that 41% of the urban males, age 16 to 24, have gone beyond the eighth grade. This would seem to indicate that broken homes, family discord, and unsettled family conditions make it necessary for non-family boys to leave

*FERA Research Bulletin, Series I, No. 16., Jan. 6, 1936

school earlier than is true of the general run of youth on relief.

Transiency. The records of only 33 of the 213 boys showed any history of transiency prior to application. Many of these had only made one trip and only 23, 16 white and 7 Negroes, were classed as chronic drifters (see "Problems Presented"). None of them had ever been returned to St. Louis by a social agency. It should be remembered, however, that this study antedates the formation of the Federal Transient Bureau.

Referrals by a Children's Agency. Only 6 boys were actually referred to the Bureau by a children's agency although 20 boys had received support from such an agency prior to application (see "Sources of Support"). All 6 of these were white boys. 2 were referred by a public agency and 4 by a private.

Living Arrangements. Approximately half of the boys were living with a family, although not a part of it, at the time of application and one-third were living in rooming houses. 15% had no home at all, although this condition had generally lasted for only a few days. 4 were living in a flop house and 3 were in foster homes. These figures are given in Table XII.

Arrangement	All Boys		Race	
	No.	%	White	Negro
All types	213	100	98	115
With a family	93	48.5	34	59
Rooming house	64	33	23	41
Flop house	4	2	4	0
Foster home	3	1.5	3	0
None	29	15	21	8
Not given	20	x	13	7

Time on Own. It was difficult to make an accurate count of the length of time a boy had been "on his own" prior to application. Many of them had been living with friends or relatives and had received much financial assistance, yet these friends had actually assumed little or no responsibility for the boys welfare. We finally decided that if the boy was wholly or principally self-supporting and was assuming the responsibility for his own planning, then he was "on his own."

102 of the boys had never been dependent upon their own resources and 16 had been for only 1 or 2 months prior to application. On the other hand, 66 had been "on their own" for 2 years or more. These figures, and others in Table XIII. show that some of these boys were quite self-reliant, a fact which is more true of the Negro than of the white boys.

Length of Period	All Boys	Race	
		White	Negro
All periods	213	98	115
None	102	50	52
1 - 2 months	16	7	9
3 - 4 "	5	5	0
5 - 6 "	4	2	2
1 year	9	6	3
2 years	17	9	8
3 years	12	1	11
More than 3 years	37	11	26
Not given	11	7	4

Childhood Environment. It would be assumed that, since this study deals only with resident boys, the predominating environment during their childhood would be urban, but this is not by any means the case. Only 61% of the boys had an urban environment during the formative years of their life. 31% grew up in small towns and 8% in rural territory. (See Table XIV.)

Environment	All Boys		White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All cases	213	100	98	100	115	100
Urban	130	61	69	70	61	53
Small town	67	31	24	25	43	37
Rural	16	8	5	5	11	10

The white group had a higher percent urban, 70%, and were corresponding lower from small town and rural territory, 25% and 5%, respectively. The Negro group were slightly over half, 53%, urban, 3% small town, and 10% rural.

Length of time in St. Louis. The comparatively small percentage of boys with an urban background is explained by the figures in Table XV., which show that only 30% of the boys had spent their life in St. Louis and only 4% had been in the city more than 10 years.

TABLE XV.

LENGTH OF TIME IN ST. LOUIS BY RACE

Yrs. in City	All Boys		White		Negro	
	No.	Cum. %	No.	Cum. %	No.	Cum. %
All cases	213	100	98	100	115	100
Life	63	30	43	44	20	17
11 or more	34	43	13	57	21	36
9 - 10	20	55	10	67	10	44
7 - 8	16	62	6	73	10	53
5 - 6	20	72	8	82	12	63
3 - 4	34	88	7	89	27	87
2 or less	23	99	8	97	15	100
Not given	3	100	3	100	0	0

44% of the white boys were native St. Louisans and 57% had been here more than 10 years. The figures for the Negro group were far below the average, only 17% having been here for life and 36% for 10 years or more. 13% of the Negroes and 8% of the white boys had been here less than 3 years. Of the 95 Negroes who are not native St. Louisans, 44, or almost half, came to the city in the four year period from 1927 to 1930. (see Chart II.) 8 came in 1927, 12 in 1928, 14 in 1929 and 10 in 1930. Most of these boys came alone to find work in the city, leaving their parents and family in the rural district. 37 arrived before 1925, most of them in the immediate post-war period, coming with parents or relatives. The white group show no such decided trends. The largest number in any one year was 6 in 1925, while 5 each in 1928 and 1930. 24 arrived prior to 1925.

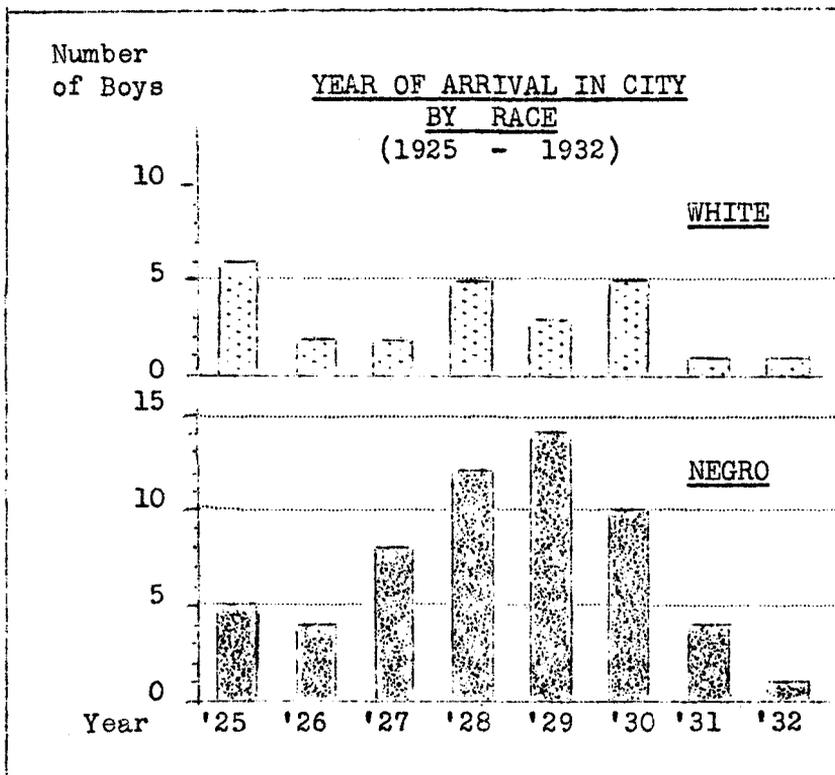
CHART II.

Table XVI. gives still more information regarding those boys who have come to the city in recent years. Of the 49 white boys not born in St. Louis, 23 came here from out-state Missouri, 12 from Illinois and 14 from other states. The heavy immigration from Missouri was before 1925, only 8 having arrived since then. The same thing holds true of the other states as well. The heavy state in the Negro immigration was Mississippi, 28 of the 95 coming from there. The next highest were Arkansas with 22, and Missouri and Tennessee with 11 each. Illinois sent 7 and Alabama 4, with 12 coming from various other states. 16 of these 28 from Mississippi came in the 6 year period from 1926 to 1931, and 15 of the 22 from Arkansas between 1927 and 1932. 4 of the Missouri's 11 arrived in 1928.

States of Origin	All Boys	Race	
		White	Negro
All states	213	98	115
Missouri - St. Louis	63	43	20
Out-state	34	23	11
Illinois	19	12	7
Arkansas	25	3	22
Mississippi	29	1	28
Tennessee	11	0	11
Others	32	16	16

Tenure of Cases. All information discussed in previous sections has concerned conditions at time of, or prior to, application. We made no attempt to evaluate the agency's work or to account for any later changes in circumstances. The case records were, of course, read during the progress of the study, but this reading was

wholly for the purpose of determining the accuracy of the information given at the time of application. The only section of the schedule referring to information or happenings subsequent to application was the one calling for opening and closing dates of case records, and the reason for closing.

A. No. of months*	Total	White	Negro
Total cases	213	98	115
1	29	11	18
2	35	24	11
3	18	13	5
4	22	9	13
5	17	7	10
6	16	5	11
7 - 9	30	7	23
10-12	25	14	11
13-18	15	5	10
19-24	4	3	1
25 or more	2	0	2
B. No. of times opened			
One	166	78	88
Two	37	17	20
Three	7	1	6
Four	2	1	1
Five	1	1	0
Total	274	124	150
Average	1.29	1.26	1.30
* First time only			

Information tabulated from this section of the schedule shows that contacts with the boys were generally of short duration (Table XVII), the average for the white boys being 6 months, and for the Negro boys 6.6

months. Almost half, 104 of the 213 cases, were under care for 4 months or less, and only 21 for more than one year. These figures refer to the first period of care only, later periods were generally for a still shorter time.

47 cases were opened 2 or more times, the average number of times for all cases being 1.29. The average for white boys was 1.26 and for Negro boys 1.30. 7 cases, 1 white and 6 Negro, were opened three times, 2 four times, and 1 five times. These figures indicate that Negro boys, by a slight margin, applied for relief oftener and stayed on relief for a longer time.

Reason for Closing. The reasons for closing the cases throw some interesting sidelights on the results obtained. (Table XVIII) 116 of the 274 were closed because contact with the boy was lost. The next largest group was 42 for whom employment was secured. Relatives assumed responsibility for the boy in 59 cases but in 24 the relatives were receiving relief from a family agency. 14 were dropped from the rolls during the two financial crises in February and July, 1932, while 13 were sent to CCC Camps, 5 were in jail, and 4 were sent to school on scholarships. The most promising part of the report is that 59 boys were reunited with relatives and that 42 were self-supporting through employment. These two reasons account for almost two-fifths of the closings.

TABLE XVIII.REASONS FOR CLOSING CASES BY RACE

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
<u>All reasons</u>	<u>274</u>	<u>124</u>	<u>150</u>
Lost contact	116	48	68
Employment secured	42	24	18
Relatives assumed responsibility	35	16	19
Relatives (on relief) assumed responsibility	24	8	16
Further relief refused (no funds)	14	0	14
Sent to CCC	13	9	4
In jail	5	2	3
Sent to school	4	2	2
Further relief refused (case work reasons)	3	1	2
Joined army or navy	3	2	1
Placed in working home	2	2	0
Boy refused employment	2	0	2
In hospital	2	2	0
Referred to Juvenile Court	1	1	0
Not given	8	7	1

PART IIIA SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Why Non-Family? 45 boys were orphans, 45 were separated from their family because of incompatibility, 30 left home to work in the city, 28 were "non-family" because of desertion, 18 because of separation of parents, 13 because of the death of one parent, and the other 39 for various other reasons. (See page 12)

Relatives. Only 12 of the 213 boys had no close relatives. The others had relatives living in or out of St. Louis, although exact addresses were often unknown. (See page 16)

Sources of Support. Less than two-thirds of the boys received support from any source other than parents prior to their application for relief. (See page 18)

Problems Presented. The most prevalent problems were "Inadequate parental care", which appeared in 97 cases, "Unfriendliness of relatives", 64 times, "Personality or behavior problems", 46 times, "Attitude producing conflict with the community", 38 times, and "Juvenile delinquency", 28 times. In all, 36 different problems were noted, appearing at the rate of 3 1/3 for each case. (See page 19)

Employment. 164 of the 213 boys had worked prior to application. 8 of these had worked at clerical jobs, 17 at "skilled" jobs and the other 139 at laboring work. Most boys began work when 15, 16, or 17 years of age. (See page 21)

Age. 10 boys applied when only 16 years of age. The largest number, 57, were age 20. The average age of the Negro boys was 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ and of the white 18 $\frac{2}{3}$. (See page 22)

Schooling. The average school grade completed was 7.1 for the Negro boys and 7.5 for the white boys. 5 boys were still attending school at time of application. (See page 24)

Transiency. The records of only 33 of the 213 boys showed any history of transiency prior to application. 23 boys were classed as chronic transients. These 213 boys were all residents of St. Louis, however. 46% of the entire group of 1,641 cases studied were not used for intensive study because the boys were not residents of St. Louis. (See pages 8 and 25)

Childhood Environment. Only 61% of the boys had an urban environment during the formative years of their life. 31% grew up in small towns and 8% in rural territory. (See page 27)

Length of time in St. Louis. Only 30% of the 213 boys had spent their entire life in St. Louis and only 43% had lived in the city more than 10 years. 44% of the white boys were native St. Louisans and 17% of the Negro boys. The heavy years of Negro immigration to the city were 1928, 1929, and 1930. There was no outstanding year of white immigration. (See pages 27 and 28)

Tenure of Cases. White boys were under care for an average of 6 months and Negro boys 6.6 months, immediately following application. Cases on white boys were opened an average of 1.26 times and on Negro boys 1.30 times. Negro boys, by a slight margin, applied for relief oftener and stayed on relief for a longer time. (see page 30 and 31)