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## ETHNIC DIFFERENTIALS IN DELINQUENCY IN HONOLULU

HARWIN L. VOSS\*

This paper presents rates of official delinquency by ethnic ancestry and explores ethnic differentials in unofficial or unrecorded delinquency in Honolulu. To depict ethnic differentials in delinquent behavior data are presented pertaining to (1) *alleged* delinquents, those officially charged as delinquents in Honolulu, (2) *institutionalized* delinquents, those officially adjudicated and incarcerated as delinquents in Hawaii, and (3) "*actual*" delinquents, those revealed by reports of the juveniles themselves, in response to questionnaires.

The view that the delinquency rate among juveniles of Oriental ancestry is extremely low is generally accepted.<sup>1</sup> This conception is drawn from official statistics based on the records of law enforcement agencies. These records describe the behavior of officials—policemen, judges, and probation officers—rather than the behavior of adolescents.<sup>2</sup>

Official statistics give one picture of the distribution of delinquent behavior by ethnic group. However, the official records may reflect the bias of the police and courts. Adolescents in ethnic groups concentrated in the lower class may have a categorical risk of apprehension, adjudication, and institutionalization as delinquents greater than that of other adolescents.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See BARRON, *THE JUVENILE IN DELINQUENT SOCIETY* 56 (1954); Hayner, *Delinquency Areas in the Puget Sound Region*, 39 *AM. J. SOC.* 314 (1933); Hayner & Reynolds, *Chinese Family Life in America*, 2 *AM. SOC. REV.* 630 (1937); Lind, *The Ghetto and the Slum*, 9 *SOCIAL FORCES* 206 (1930); Lind, *Some Ecological Patterns of Community Disorganization in Honolulu*, 36 *AM. J. SOC.* 206 (1930); MacGill, *The Oriental Delinquent in the Vancouver Juvenile Court*, 22 *SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH* 428 (1938); NEUMEYER, *JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN MODERN SOCIETY* 247 (3d ed. 1961); SELLIN, *CULTURE CONFLICT AND CRIME* 73 (1938); SHULMAN, *JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN AMERICAN SOCIETY* 79 (1961); TEETERS & REINEMANN, *THE CHALLENGE OF DELINQUENCY* 125 (1950).

<sup>2</sup> Cohen & Short, *Juvenile Delinquency*, in *CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS* 83 (Merton & Nisbet eds. 1961).

<sup>3</sup> Mitchell, "The Youth Bureau: A Sociological

The official statistics describe only samples of the universe of delinquents, not that population itself, and the samples may be unrepresentative.<sup>4</sup> They do not reveal the extent of delinquent behavior in American society, because only a small fraction of delinquent acts is detected by the police.<sup>5</sup> Biases in the official statistics which make them an imperfect index of the delinquency rate in the population may be related to ethnic background. It is conceivable that the relationship between delinquency and ethnic ancestry results from the use of biased data. The limitations of official statistics on delinquency are well known.<sup>6</sup>

Analysis of delinquent behavior by means of self-reports (i.e., reports elicited from the juveniles themselves) has been suggested as an alternative to the study of police records, court referrals, and institutional populations.<sup>7</sup> Pioneer studies of unrecorded delinquency have indicated the feasibility of using self-reports as the criterion of delinquent behavior.<sup>8</sup> These studies reveal the need for further

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Study" (unpublished thesis, Wayne State University, 1957), quoted in Hartung, *A Critique of the Sociological Approach to Crime and Correction*, 23 *LAW AND CONTEMP. PROB.* 729 (1958).

<sup>4</sup> COHEN, *DELINQUENT BOYS: THE CULTURE OF THE GANG* 36 (1955).

<sup>5</sup> CLOWARD & OHLIN, *DELINQUENCY AND OPPORTUNITY: A THEORY OF DELINQUENT GANGS* 4 (1960); ROBISON, *CAN DELINQUENCY BE MEASURED?* (1936); Short & Nye, *Extent of Unrecorded Juvenile Delinquency: Tentative Conclusions*, 49 *J. CRIM. L., C. & P.S.* 296 (1958).

<sup>6</sup> Beattie, *Criminal Statistics in the United States: 1960*, 51 *J. CRIM. L., C. & P.S.* 49 (1960); Bloch, *Juvenile Delinquency: Myth or Threat*, 49 *J. CRIM. L., C. & P.S.* 303 (1958); Cohen & Short, *supra* note 2, at 81-88; Cressey, *Crime*, in *CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS*, *op. cit. supra* note 2, at 26; Perlman, *The Meaning of Juvenile Delinquency Statistics*, 13 *Fed. Prob.* 63 (Sept. 1949); ROBISON, *op. cit. supra* note 5; Schwartz, *Statistics of Juvenile Delinquency in the United States*, 241 *ANNALS* 9 (1949).

<sup>7</sup> Cohen, *Sociological Research in Juvenile Delinquency*, 27 *AM. J. ORTHOPSYCHIATRY* 781 (1957); Nye & Short, *Scaling Delinquent Behavior*, 22 *AM. SOC. REV.* 326 (1957); Short & Nye, *Reported Behavior As a Criterion of Deviant Behavior*, 5 *SOCIAL PROBLEMS* 207 (Winter 1957-1958).

<sup>8</sup> NYE, *FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AND DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR* (1958); Murphy, Shirley & Witmer, *The Incidence of Hidden Delinquency*, 16 *AM. J. ORTHOPSYCHIATRY* 686 (1946); PORTERFIELD, *YOUTH IN TROUBLE* (1946); ROBISON, *op. cit. supra* note 5;

research to determine the extent of delinquent behavior in the population not adjudicated delinquent. This is particularly true with respect to metropolitan and non-Caucasian populations.<sup>9</sup> It is not suggested that this approach should replace collection and analysis of official records; however, reported behavior warrants further investigation, because it provides an alternative to official discretion as the criterion of delinquency.<sup>10</sup> Currently, unrecorded delinquency is an important, but relatively unknown dimension of legal deviance.

Use of reported behavior as the criterion of delinquency enables one to determine the social facts concerning legal delinquency. In any discussion of ethnic differentials, one first needs to know the frequency of delinquency by categories. Information concerning the types of delinquent acts committed by juveniles in different segments of society also is helpful.

It is hypothesized that there is a significant difference in the nature and extent of involvement in "actual" delinquency among the several ethnic groups in Honolulu. Although this statement is phrased positively, the null hypothesis, in which no significant differences are posited, is tested. This analysis has relevance for the untested assumption that the ethnic characteristics of those apprehended by the police differ significantly from those who are not apprehended.

ALLEGED DELINQUENTS

The extent of involvement in delinquency shown by the Hawaiians is striking. (See Table I.) Forty per cent of the boys officially charged as delinquents in Honolulu in 1958 are of Hawaiian ancestry, although only one-fourth of the population (10-17 years of age) are Hawaiian.<sup>11</sup> In con-

Schwartz, *A Community Experiment in the Measurement of Juvenile Delinquency*, YEARBOOK OF THE NAT'L PROB. ASS'N 157 (1945); Short, *A Report on the Incidence of Criminal Behavior, Arrests, and Convictions in Selected Groups*, 22 RESEARCH STUDIES OF THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON 110 (1954).

<sup>9</sup> Cohen & Short, *Research in Delinquent Subcultures*, 14 J. SOCIAL ISSUES 20 (1958); NYE, *op. cit. supra* note 8, at 31; Nye, Short & Olson, *Socioeconomic Status and Delinquent Behavior*, 63 AM. J. Soc. 381 (1958).

<sup>10</sup> Nye & Short, *supra* note 7, at 331; COHEN, *op. cit. supra* note 4, at 170-73.

<sup>11</sup> The distinction between Part-Hawaiians and Hawaiians was abandoned in the 1950 census. Three principles are used to classify persons of mixed racial ancestry. (1) Any person of Part-Hawaiian ancestry is designated a Hawaiian. (2) Any person of mixed Caucasian and non-Caucasian parentage, other than Hawaiian, is classified according to the ancestry of his non-Caucasian parent. (3) A child of two different non-

TABLE I  
RATES OF DELINQUENCY BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND  
AND SEX OF ALLEGED DELINQUENTS  
IN HONOLULU

Ethnic Back-ground and Sex	Number of Delinquents*	Per Cent of Total by Sex	Per Cent of Population† by Sex	Rate of Delinquency Per 1,000
Hawaiian				
Male.....	1,911	39.8	25.0	201.8
Female.....	557	52.3	24.9	62.0
Caucasian				
Male.....	727	15.2	21.0	91.1
Female.....	155	14.5	20.8	20.6
Chinese				
Male.....	80	1.7	7.9	26.7
Female.....	7	0.7	7.9	2.5
Japanese				
Male.....	842	17.6	32.3	68.7
Female.....	55	5.2	32.9	4.6
Filipino				
Male.....	394	8.2	8.9	116.3
Female.....	80	7.5	8.9	25.0
Other				
Male.....	843	17.6	4.8	459.2
Female.....	212	19.9	4.6	127.3
Total				
Male.....	4,797			126.4
Female.....	1,066			29.6

\* "Statistical Report: 1958" at 45 (mimeo.; Honolulu Police Department, n. d.).

† Estimates of the population 10 to 17 years of age were derived from tables showing ethnic background by age. Bureau of the Census, *op. cit.*, note 11.

trast, Japanese males comprise less than 18 per cent of the alleged delinquents, but one-third of the population is Japanese. Thus, the Hawaiians contribute 15 per cent more and the Japanese 15 per cent less of the alleged delinquents than one might expect on the basis of the proportion of each group in the population. The delinquency rate of Hawaiian males is approximately three times the rate among the Japanese.

Other ethnic differences are evident. Less than 2 per cent of the alleged delinquents are Chinese, but they constitute 8 per cent of the population. The delinquency rate of the Caucasian and Filipino

Caucasian and non-Hawaiian parents is classified according to the race of the father. These principles assume racial purity among the Caucasians, although this group is ethnically heterogeneous. Cf. U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, U.S. CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION, II, Part 52, VI (1952).

males is approximately one-half the rate among the Hawaiians.

Half of the girls officially charged as delinquents are Hawaiian, and only 6 per cent are Chinese and Japanese. The delinquency rate of the Hawaiian girls is more than ten times higher than the rate among the Chinese and Japanese.

In the heterogeneous "Other" category,<sup>12</sup> composed of the numerically smaller ethnic groups, there is a gross disparity between the percentage of alleged delinquents and their proportion in the population. The delinquency rate is exceedingly high in this category for both males and females. Although the Koreans, Puerto Ricans, Negroes, and other small ethnic groups comprise less than 5 per cent of the population, nearly 20 per cent of the alleged delinquents are from this category.

Division of this polyethnic unit is not helpful, because the "All Others" portion contributes most extensively to the universe of alleged delinquents. Less than 1 per cent of the population are in the various ethnic groups combined under the heading All Others, but some 12 per cent of the official delinquents are so classified. The Puerto Rican and Korean groups are roughly comparable in size. However, the Puerto Ricans produce approximately twice as many alleged delinquents as might be expected by chance, while the Korean group is somewhat better represented in the population than in the universe of alleged delinquents.

#### INSTITUTIONALIZED DELINQUENTS

Further evidence that the delinquency rate is high among the Hawaiians and Others and low among the Japanese and Chinese is found in the ethnic distribution of the 123 males and 60 females committed to Hawaii's training schools. (See Table II.) Nearly 60 per cent are of Hawaiian ancestry. The percentage of Caucasians and Filipinos is below the proportion of each in the juvenile population, while the reverse is observed among those classified as Other. In contrast, the

<sup>12</sup> The "Other" category in Table I includes the following: Puerto Rican males, 228, females, 42; Korean males, 54, females, 4; All Other males, 561, females, 166. Only population totals for the State of Hawaii are available for the groups classified as Other in the reports of the U.S. Census Bureau. In 1950 there were 7,030 Koreans, 9,551 Puerto Ricans, and 2,651 Negroes in Hawaii. *Ibid.* Comparable figures for the Koreans and Puerto Ricans are not given in the advance reports of the 1960 census, nor do these reports show age by ethnic ancestry for the larger groups. U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, 1960 CENSUS OF POPULATION: ADVANCE REPORTS. GENERAL POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS (Bulletin PC (A2)-13, March 30, 1961).

TABLE II

ETHNIC BACKGROUND BY SEX OF JUVENILES  
IN THE TRAINING SCHOOLS IN HAWAII

Ethnic Background*	Males		Females	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Hawaiian.....	72	58.5	34	56.6
Caucasian.....	15	12.2	10	16.7
Chinese.....	1	0.8	1	1.7
Japanese.....	7	5.7	2	3.3
Filipino.....	13	10.6	4	6.7
Other.....	15	12.2	9	15.0
Total.....	123	100.0	60	100.0

\* As reported on questionnaires administered in the Spring of 1959.

number of Chinese and Japanese adolescents in the training schools is exceedingly low and differs noticeably from their proportion in the population. This is particularly true of the Japanese, the largest ethnic group in the islands.

The official data support the traditional view concerning the distribution of delinquency in Honolulu's ethnic groups. The statistics on alleged and institutionalized delinquents show that the Japanese and Chinese contrast sharply with the Hawaiians and Others. The Hawaiians provide the majority of alleged and institutionalized delinquents, while the official rate of delinquency among juveniles of Japanese and Chinese ancestry is very low, and they are rarely institutionalized as delinquents.

Recognition that selective factors may be operative leads one to question the ethnic distribution of delinquency derived from official sources in which the criterion of delinquency is official discretion. This investigation, therefore, turns to an approach seldom used, analysis of unofficial or "actual" delinquency, defined by the criterion of reported delinquent behavior.

#### UNOFFICIAL OR ACTUAL DELINQUENCY

##### *Methodology*

The data on reported delinquent behavior were gathered by the administration of anonymous questionnaires in interview groups ranging in size from 20 to 25 respondents.<sup>13</sup> The questionnaires

<sup>13</sup> Information, including name, sex, date of birth, and school attended, was obtained from the Hawaii Department of Public Instruction for each seventh grader in the Honolulu public schools. The identity of

were completed in the spring of 1959 by a 15.5 per cent simple random sample ( $N = 620$ ) of seventh grade students in Honolulu intermediate schools and by the 183 adjudicated delinquents in Hawaii's training schools.

Sixteen items in the Nye-Short delinquency check list were included in the questionnaire.<sup>14</sup> The items were dichotomized following the Ford IBM scaling technique.<sup>15</sup> A coefficient of reproducibility of 92.3 was obtained for the males on a six-item scale,<sup>16</sup> and a coefficient of 91.6 was derived on a five-item scale<sup>17</sup> for the females. The requirements of Guttman scale analysis were met, though two of the items in the girls' scale were outside the recommended 80-20 range of marginal frequencies.<sup>18</sup>

Each of the scalable items constitutes either a law violation or a behavioral deviation generally accepted as sufficient basis for commitment to a training school. Since each item has the proper content for the area under study the scales have "internal validity."<sup>19</sup>

approximately 95 per cent of the respondents, including all who had an official police record, was established by matching this information, the data provided in the questionnaires, and the demographic material recorded in the police files. The latter included name, age, sex, ethnic background, size of family, sibling position, and school attended. Recorded and reported delinquent behavior were not used to establish identity. However, responses on the delinquency check list and the alleged delinquent acts recorded by the Honolulu Police Department were compared as a check on validity. The respondents were identified to permit this comparison and their identity has not been revealed in any way.

<sup>14</sup> Nye & Short, *supra* note 7.

<sup>15</sup> M. W. RILEY, J. W. RILEY & TOBY, *SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES IN SCALE ANALYSIS* 273-305 (1954).

<sup>16</sup> These items were:

- Ever skipped school without an excuse?
- Ever had a fist fight with another person?
- Ever taken little things (worth less than \$2) that did not belong to you?
- Ever taken part in "gang fights"?
- Ever purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property that did not belong to you?
- Ever driven a car without a driver's license or permit?

<sup>17</sup> These items were:

- Ever had a fist fight with another person?
- Ever defied your parents' authority (to their face)?
- Ever taken little things (worth less than \$2) that did not belong to you?
- Ever hurt or inflicted pain on someone else just to see them squirm?
- Ever purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property that did not belong to you?

<sup>18</sup> Extreme marginal frequencies limit the possibility of error. Consequently, a number of items had to be eliminated because over 90 per cent of the responses were in the "did not commit" category. Cf. RILEY, RILEY & TOBY, *op. cit. supra* note 15, at 284-85.

<sup>19</sup> STOFFER, *et al.*, *STUDIES IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY IN WORLD WAR II* 57 (vol. 4 of the series MEASUREMENT AND PREDICTION, 1951).

The internal consistency of the data was indicated by the results of Guttman scale analysis, and several additional reliability checks were employed. For example, the use of interlocking questions facilitated detection of inconsistent or haphazard responses. Two respondents gave contradictory replies to questions on gang relationships placed in different parts of the questionnaire. Otherwise, responses to these items were consistent.

An internal check on the validity of the delinquency scales was conducted by comparing the scale scores of the training school and seventh grade samples. The distribution of delinquency scale scores in the two groups "known to be different" distinguished between them adequately.

When a cutting point is established between scale types three and four, 13 training school boys are placed below and 110 above this point. Only 10.6 per cent are placed incorrectly. At this cutting point, 84.6 per cent of the seventh grade males are placed below and 15.4 per cent or 43 boys are placed above this point. Similarly, if one establishes a division between scale types two and three, 85.4 per cent of the seventh grade females are labelled nondelinquent; however, 21.7 per cent or 9 of the institutionalized girls are thereby categorized erroneously.

A major limitation of reported behavior as the criterion of delinquent behavior is the lack of an external check on the validity of the respondents' replies. The variance between respondents' reports of their behavior and the actual incidence of that behavior is unknown. This problem is not unique to this study.<sup>20</sup>

The names of the respondents were checked against the records of the Honolulu Police Department. The value of this external check on the validity of self-reports is related in inverse proportion to the extent to which these official records are biased.

The validity of the responses on the delinquency check list is indicated by the admission of delinquent acts for which the respondents have been apprehended. Prior to this study 44 boys and 8 girls, or 52 of the 620 respondents, were known to the police.<sup>21</sup> These respondents had been appre-

<sup>20</sup> Scott, *Two Dimensions of Delinquent Behavior*, 24 *AM. SOC. REV.* 240 (1959); Ball, *Delinquent and Non-Delinquent Attitudes Toward the Prevalence of Stealing*, 48 *J. CRIM. L., C. & P.S.* 259 (1957).

<sup>21</sup> Determination of which respondents had prior contact was not a problem. The police did not apprehend any of the students in the sample for the first time during the period the questionnaires were administered.

TABLE III  
ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND REPORTED DELINQUENT  
BEHAVIOR FOR MALES

Ethnic Background	Most Delinquent		Least Delinquent	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Caucasian.....	15	44.1	19	55.9
Hawaiian.....	19	38.0	31	62.0
Chinese.....	11	45.8	13	54.2
Japanese.....	37	26.6	102	73.4
Filipino.....	5	27.8	13	72.2
Other.....	12	63.2	7	36.8
Total.....	99	34.9	185	65.1

Chi square = 14.01 df 5 P < .02  $\bar{C}$  = .28

hended for 83 offenses, and only 4 of these were not admitted in the questionnaires. Three of the respondents who did not admit one delinquent act officially recorded against them admitted the other acts for which they had been apprehended. They also answered affirmatively to the question "Have you ever been taken to the police station because of something you have done?" The other respondent, who was known to the police for only one offense, answered this question negatively.

#### Reported Delinquent Behavior

Japanese boys and girls report significantly less delinquent behavior than adolescents in the other ethnic groups. (See Tables III and IV.) They are concentrated in the least delinquent segment of the dichotomized delinquency scale.<sup>22</sup> Approximately 35 per cent of the males and females in the sample are classified as most delinquent, but only one-fourth of the Japanese are so classified. In contrast, the Hawaiians and Caucasians report slightly more delinquent behavior than expected by chance, and there is considerable variation in the smaller ethnic groups. Higher percentages of Chinese males, Filipino females, and Other males are categorized as most delinquent, while the reverse obtains for the opposite sex in these groups.

The relationship between ethnic background and reported delinquent behavior is significant at the .001 level for girls, and this results almost entirely from the concentration of Hawaiians in the most

<sup>22</sup> The boys' scale was split between types 2 and 3 and the girls' scale between types 1 and 2 to permit tests of significance and multivariate analysis using most and least delinquent groups.

delinquent sphere and of the Japanese in the least delinquent sphere. The significant difference in reported delinquent behavior by ethnic ancestry among the males results from the concentration of the Japanese in the least delinquent category and of those classified as Other in the most delinquent group.

The data on "actual" delinquents, alleged delinquents, and institutionalized delinquents are in general agreement concerning the participation of Hawaii's polyethnic population in delinquent behavior. Each set of data shows that the adolescents from the smaller ethnic groups, who are classified as Other, are more highly involved in delinquency than juveniles in the larger ethnic groups. The evidence is clear regarding the limited involvement of the Japanese in delinquency. Further, the data are in accord regarding the Hawaiian females, who contribute half of the official female delinquents. Almost 60 per cent of the Hawaiian girls in the sample are classified as most delinquent. Use of reported delinquent behavior as the criterion of delinquent behavior does not alter significantly the ethnic differentials observable in the official statistics on juvenile delinquency.

However, the data on recorded and reported delinquent behavior are not in complete accord. Hawaiian males are not as highly concentrated in the most delinquent sphere as one would expect on the basis of the official statistics, while the reverse is found among the Caucasian and Chinese males. If one judges on the basis of the ethnic differentials observed among the alleged delinquents, then Caucasian and Chinese boys report more and the

TABLE IV  
ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND REPORTED DELINQUENT  
BEHAVIOR FOR FEMALES

Ethnic Background	Most Delinquent		Least Delinquent	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Caucasian.....	12	50.0	12	50.0
Hawaiian.....	38	57.6	28	42.4
Chinese.....	14	29.8	33	70.2
Japanese.....	42	26.4	117	73.6
Filipino.....	12	44.4	15	55.6
Other.....	3	23.1	10	76.9
Total.....	121	36.0	215	64.0

Chi square = 24.24 df 5 P < .001  $\bar{C}$  = .34

Hawaiians less extensive participation in delinquent behavior than one would anticipate.

It is not surprising that the data on reported delinquent behavior do not agree completely with the official statistics, since this study analyzes the behavior of seventh graders, rather than an age span encompassing juveniles until they reach their eighteenth birthday. Further, this investigation treats relatively minor types of offenses, which are defined descriptively, rather than the entire gauntlet of delinquent behavior. The fact that one is analyzing petty, non-career types of legal delinquents must be recognized.

That the Hawaiian males contribute more extensively than other groups to the universe of alleged delinquents cannot be ignored. This difference may be a result of the more extensive participation of Hawaiian males in those delinquent acts considered serious in the judgment of law enforcement officers. Another possible explanation of the discrepancy may be phrased in terms of class differentials. This difference may be a product of socio-economic bias in the official handling of juveniles as delinquents. Possibly both points are essential to explain the disproportionate number of Hawaiian males in the universe of alleged delinquents.

Social class and ethnic background are related in Hawaii.<sup>23</sup> The Hawaiians are concentrated in the lower socio-economic strata, while the Japanese are found in the lower and middle levels. The Caucasians and Chinese occupy the upper levels of the hierarchy. The respondents classified as Other are, like the Hawaiians and Filipinos, concentrated in the lower class.

Thus, the ethnic groups concentrated in the lower class furnish a considerably greater proportion of alleged delinquents than one might expect on the basis of chance, and the reverse is observed for the ethnic groups dominant in the upper socio-economic strata. Although this does not constitute conclusive proof, it supports the presumption that lower class youths run a greater risk of entanglement with law enforcement agencies than those in higher classes.

#### *Ethnic Differences in Types of Delinquent Behavior*

Reported participation in specific delinquent acts was analyzed to locate significant ethnic differ-

ences. A simple dichotomy of committed or did not commit the act was used where positive response was sufficient to permit analysis. Fourteen tests, nine for boys and five for girls, were conducted. Six significant results were observed.

Significant ethnic differences among the females were noted for two acts, fighting and petty theft. In both cases the result was due to limited participation among the Japanese and extensive involvement for Hawaiian girls.

Similarly, significant ethnic differentials were observed among males for truancy, gang fighting, vandalism, and driving a car without a license. Japanese boys consistently report minimal participation in these acts, and the same is true of the Chinese with the exception of property destruction. Property destruction is an act in which the Chinese, as well as the Caucasians and Hawaiians, are highly involved.

The results are consistent. A rank order, based on the percentage of positive response for the six acts in which significant ethnic differences are observed, indicates that the Japanese are least involved in delinquent behavior, followed by the Chinese, Hawaiians, and Caucasians.

#### CONCLUSION

This investigation did not concentrate solely on known delinquents, but also considered a representative sample of the juvenile population selected without regard to their known or probable delinquent careers. Then, on the basis of self-reports the respondents were delineated delinquents and non-delinquents of various degrees and kinds. In this way one can achieve a valid conception of the distribution of actual delinquency in groups and strata of the population.

The data on reported delinquent behavior permit rejection of the null hypothesis. There are significant ethnic differences in reported participation in delinquent behavior.

The available evidence supports the traditional and popular conception of the distribution of delinquent behavior in the several ethnic groups in Honolulu. However, the data on recorded and reported delinquent behavior are not in complete agreement. Caucasian and Chinese boys report more and Hawaiian boys less extensive participation in delinquent behavior than one would anticipate on the basis of the ethnic differentials observed among alleged delinquents.

<sup>23</sup> Yamamura & Sakumoto, *Residential Segregation in Honolulu*, 18 SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII 35 (1954).